

**DESIGNING TRANSITIONS TOWARDS INTEGRATION:
ENTREPRENEURIAL CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT FOR SYRIANS IN
TURKEY**

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TURKEY**

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ABSTRACT

DESIGNING TRANSITIONS TOWARDS INTEGRATION: ENTREPRENEURIAL CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT FOR SYRIANS IN TURKEY

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The growing intersection of design with systems science and social innovation gave way to new directions to the design discipline today, making it an actor in guiding and leveraging transitions for more sustainable futures. One of the critical transitions today is migration, for which Turkey has been a major scene. This shift of populations required mobilization of actors and resources at a systemic level, for the integration of Syrians. This thesis investigates entrepreneurship as a strategic approach towards integration through the case of Build Your Future entrepreneurship program for Syrians, through field observations and interviews with actors of the program. This thesis draws four main conclusions: capacity development towards social change can be approached from a Transition Design framework, open-ended processes can be employed to accommodate changes in the social context and leverage existing practices, shared visions and cooperation is needed among solution stakeholders for systemic impact and entrepreneurial capacity development activities towards refugees can be approached as agents of integration of refugees to local entrepreneurial ecosystems.

Keywords: Transition Design, Integration, Social Innovation, Entrepreneurship

ÖZ

ENTEGRASYONA GEÇİŞİ TASARLAMAK: TÜRKİYE'DEKİ SURIYELİLERİN GİRİŞİMCİLİK KAPASİTELERİNİN GELİŞTİRİLMESİ

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Tasarımın sistem bilimleri ve sosyal inovasyon ile genişleyen kesişimi, günümüzde tasarım disiplinine yeni yönler vererek, sürdürülebilir bir geleceğe geçişte yol gösterici ve güçlendirici bir aktör olmasını sağladı. Türkiye ise bu kritik geçişlerden biri olan göç için önemli bir sahne oldu. Yaşanan nüfus değişimi, Suriyelilerin entegrasyonu için sistemik seviyede aktör ve kaynakların harekete geçirilmesini gerektirmektedir. Bu tez, entegrasyona yönelik stratejik bir yaklaşım olarak girişimciliği, saha gözlemi ve mülakat metodları ile, Suriyelilere yönelik bir girişimcilik program olan Build Your Future vakası özelinde incelemektedir. Bu tez, dört ana sonuç ortaya koymaktadır: sosyal değişime yönelik kapasite geliştirmeye Geçiş Tasarımı çerçevesinden yaklaşılabilir; sosyal değişimlere uyumlu ve mevcut pratikleri kapsayıcı çözümlerin geliştirilmesi için açık uçlu süreçler uygulanabilmektedir; sistemik etki için çözüm paydaşları arasında ortak gelecek kurgularına ve işbirliğine ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır ve mültecilere yönelik girişimcilik kapasitesi geliştirme aktiviteleri, mültecilerin yerel girişimcilik ekosistemlerine entegrasyonunu sağlayıcı araçlar olarak ele alınabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Geçiş Tasarımı, Entegrasyon, Sosyal İnovasyon, Girişimcilik

Today seems dark, but the future won't start elsewhere.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BYF: Build Your Future

GİRVAK: Turkish Entrepreneurship Foundation

GIZ: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

DfS: Design for Sustainability

DGMM: Directorate General of Migration Management

DSI: Design for Social Innovation

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

POC: Proof of Concept

SDG: Sustainable Development Goal

SI: Social Innovation

SOD: Systems-Oriented Design

SuTP: Syrian Under Temporary Protection

ToC: Theory of Change

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

In the past few decades Earth and its residents have been witnessing change in every possible level, in an unparalleled momentum and not always for good, from disrupted ecologies to ever-aggravating social inequalities. The accumulation of these gradual changes has now reached unignorable scales, resulting in global challenges in an unprecedented scale and complexity. The global agenda is increasingly concerned with these challenges, aiming to mobilize actors from all levels to address them. An important moment of this increasing concern was the announcement of 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development by the United Nations in 2015, which identified seventeen sustainable development goals (SDGs), inviting all countries to engage in a global partnership for contributing to these goals. Besides the wide spectrum of challenges SDGs cover from alleviation of poverty to gender equality, they also include the need for improving the ways in which these issues are addressed.

In fact, the conventional ways of tackling socio-economic challenges of today are now rendered obsolete, because of the wicked nature of these problems, meaning that they are difficult or impossible to solve because of their dependency on multiple factors in complex relations which often involve contradictory opinions. When the conventional methods of public and civil sectors fall short in even capturing the systemic complexity of these issues, innovative approaches are called forth to tackle these challenges. This search led to the emergence of social innovation as a field, which aims not only to address social issues, but to stimulate systemic change by influencing routines, values, resources' and authority

dynamics by involving individuals, communities, institutions and also enterprises in addressing systemic challenges of today (Westley and Antadze, 2010). Besides embracing a systemic and bottom-up approach towards sustainable development, social innovation emphasizes the capabilities of individuals who can come with creative solutions for the social challenges that they face in their everyday life. The emphasis on capabilities of individuals opens the way for entrepreneurial solutions, inviting public sector to collaborate in tackling socio-economic challenges, which was sought to be the domain of actors from public and civil sectors (Ortiz-Ospina and Roser, 2019)

In the face of the changing ways of addressing socio-economic issues, design has been taking on new roles. The concern of design for contributing to society which was first raised in early 1970s by Papanek (1973), is now evolving for design to become a discipline that contributes to the addressing of systemic challenges of sustainability. Human-centered design approach and design-thinking methodology is becoming increasingly recognized by public and civil sectors as ways of leveraging the potential of communities for new solutions. UNHCR employs a human-centered approach to generate community-sustained solutions for sheltering in refugee camps (2016) and UN Women conducts design-thinking workshops to increase participation of young women in peacebuilding processes (2019). Pioneer organizations bring design-led approaches into public service such as the Danish Mind Lab or Participle in UK which reframes welfare state with a new vision by fostering participation of people and enhancing connectivity and contribution of actors to address systemic challenges (Cottam, 2008). In parallel to these developments, the emerging fields of Systems-Oriented Design and Transition Design are defining new frameworks for understanding and guiding social change at the systems level and integrating design with transdisciplinary bodies of knowledge.

1.2. Aim and Scope of the Study

Building up on these new practical and theoretical horizons of design, this thesis approaches the issue of integration of refugees through a case of entrepreneurial capacity development by adopting a Transition Design viewpoint. The scale of the migration today influences socio-economic landscapes around the globe with 258 million international migrants (IOM, 2018) and 25.9 million registered refugees (UNHCR, 2019) in the world. Despite the increasing involvement of design with systemic challenges, the issue of forced displacement remained under addressed by design. The contributions of design in addressing migration remained as grafted interventions in the form of product design, such as wearable tents, backpacks made from discarded life vests and boats or low-cost shelters for refugee camps. In fact these micro-level solutions reached an abundance to the backlash of experts at the Danish Design Week 2017, such as the architecture critic René Boer who asked how we can “un-design some structures or systems that are actually making things worse for refugees” instead of developing more designs for the daily lives of refugees (Fairs, 2017). In the face of this scarcity of a systemic framing of issues of migration from a design standpoint, this thesis aims to contribute to the potential of design in understanding and addressing systemic challenges through a migration-related issue. The primary audience of this thesis are the researchers of social innovation as well as the practitioners of transition design, who are not necessarily from a design background but could benefit from a transition design framework in their endeavors towards systemic change.

This thesis investigates entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians in Turkey which is part of the strategic interventions towards integration of Syrians. Syrian entrepreneurs and their empowerment do not only constitute a systemic challenge, but also part of a long-term transition towards an integrated society in Turkey. Therefore, it has the potential to offer insights into the design of strategic interventions towards transition to envisioned societies. Moreover, Turkey, being the country to host the largest number of refugees (UNHCR, 2019), offers a unique

context for looking at migration from a Transition Design standpoint. The topic is investigated through the case Build Your Future Entrepreneurship Training Program, which took place in June-July 2018 with the aim of developing capacities of novice Syrian entrepreneurs. This case is chosen particularly for the richness of dimensions it involves as a systemic challenge, such as its embeddedness in contextual and systemic relations, involvement of cross-scale stakeholders (policies, organizations, communities, individuals), the journeys of individuals involving their practices and perspectives, and the organizational structures within which interventions are shaped. Moreover, the field of entrepreneurship offers unique insights into the leveraging of capabilities of individuals which is a core theme of social innovation.

While entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians is a designed intervention, involving cooperation of different stakeholders, the people who design this intervention do not have a background of design education. In fact, the emerging fields of design, recognizing the transdisciplinary nature of systemic challenges, are more concerned with the frameworks of designing for transitions rather than the involvement of people trained as designers. A great example of this understanding is Hillary Cottam, founder of the above-mentioned Participle, who was awarded Designer of the Year in 2005, by the Design Museum, London, regardless of her being a non-designer in the traditional sense.

Through the case of Build Your Future Program, this thesis aims to understand the practices, processes and contextual relations involved in the design of a strategic intervention towards the transition to an integrated society. In order to develop a holistic understanding, it includes the perspectives and practices of both the organizations who design the intervention and the individuals who are the local actors of transition. With this aim, this thesis poses the following research question:

How do the intervention strategies of organizations relate to the grassroots practices of individuals in the design of transition towards an integrated society based on the case of entrepreneurial capacity development for Syrians in Turkey?

In order to answer this question, this thesis approaches the integration of Syrians in Turkey as a transition design problem. It seeks to understand the hybrid processes involved in systemic change, with a complementary investigation of the top-down processes involving organizations and the bottom-up processes involving communities and individuals. Therefore, the sub-questions of this research relate to three dimensions as (1) the processes of organizations towards transitions, (2) the experience of individuals and communities which are part of the transition and lastly, (3) the intersection between (1) and (2). In order to develop a holistic understanding of the issue, the following sub-questions respectively address these dimensions:

1. What are the concerns, struggles and practices of novice Syrian entrepreneurs in Turkey, in relation to the socio-economic context they are embedded in?
2. How is entrepreneurial capacity development positioned, framed and applied by organizations as a strategy towards socio-economic inclusion and integration of Syrians in Turkey?
3. In which ways do novice Syrian entrepreneurs approach, engage in and benefit from entrepreneurial capacity development trainings?

By the analysis of these complementary dimensions of a systemic intervention in the field of integration, this research firstly aims to contribute to the understanding of how design can be engaged in addressing systemic challenges of sustainability transitions. Secondly, it aims to contribute to revealing the potential role of design in the development of systemic solutions for migration-related issues, which has been an under addressed field by design, despite its increasing involvement in

fostering sustainable development. It is important to underline that this thesis does not aim to analyze the processes of integration of Syrians or evaluate entrepreneurial capacity development as a strategic intervention, but to frame a systemic intervention from a transition design standpoint and discuss its implications for the framework of transition design.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters as follows:

Chapter 1, *Introduction*, presents a brief introduction to the emerging approaches in design towards social issues and the current landscape of sustainable development, followed by the aim and scope of the study and the research questions.

Chapter 2, *Literature Review*, presents a contextual overview of the development of design that led to the increasing concern of design with social issues. It includes the major branches in design that aim to address social issues, from more mature branches to the emerging ones that adopt a systemic approach. Lastly, this chapter provides an overview of the literature of migration and refugee entrepreneurship, followed by the related context in Turkey.

Chapter 3, *Methodology*, includes the research approach and the methodology of this study, focusing on qualitative research methods of field observation and semi-structured interviews. It provides a summary of the context of research with a structured presentation of the case. It continues with a detailed presentation of methods used in the conduct of the research as well as in the analysis of the data collected from field observation and semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 4, *Findings*, initially presents the context and framing of the Build Your Future Program from an economic inclusion perspective vis-à-vis the existing labor practices of Syrian entrepreneurs. It continues with a presentation of entrepreneurship experience of Syrian entrepreneurs, analyzing their motivations,

socio-economic context, entrepreneurial practices and the networks in which they are embedded. Lastly, this chapter presents an overview of the Build Your Future Program, through the experiences and perspectives of the organizations and participants of the program.

Chapter 5, *Discussion*, presents and discusses the major conclusions of this study, with respect to the research questions and the review of the literature, clarifying the limitations of this study. Finally, it presents the implications of this study for further research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. A Brief History of Social Concerns in Design

In this section, I will present a brief history of design's engagement with social issues, from the early interest in the responsibility of designers on the social and environmental outcomes of the design profession as a motor of capitalist forms of production to the wider role undertaken by design as an agent in the resolution of larger-scale and systemic social issues. This section does not aim to recite a history of design from a social point of view but rather to highlight the critical developments in and around design that prepared the grounds for the emergence of social design.

2.1.1. The Changing Role of Design: From Products to Services and Systems

The engagement of design with social issues has a quite rich and non-linear evolution that is formed upon intersecting, complementary and overlapping theoretical advancements coupled with practical experimentation. Many authors (Huppertz, 2015; Krippendorf, 2006; Johansson-Sköldberg et al., 2013; Veiga and Amendra, 2014; Manzini, 2015) refer back to Herbert Simon's *Sciences of the Artificial* (1969) as the spark of the discussion on the designerly way of problem-solving as we approach it today. Simon (1969) formed a construct of design as a mode of problem solving, by which he did not only strip design off from its early craft origins but also aimed to formulate the design process as scientific problem-solving. Two major arguments flow from his work until today. Firstly, Simon (1969) suggested that the activity of design is not limited to professional designers but that "everyone designs who devises courses of action aimed at changing existing situations into preferred ones" (p. 111). While he formulated design as a problem-solving activity, he also distinguished design

from natural sciences by stating that “the natural sciences are concerned with how things are, [...] design, on the other hand, is concerned with how things ought to be, with devising artefacts to attain goals” (p. 114). These two major ideas, that everybody can be a designer and that design’s aim is to change “situations into preferable ones” (Simon, 1969, p. 111) appear throughout the literature on the role of social activism that design has undertaken today. While these might suggest some of the reasons why design can or should engage with issues further than the creation of commercial artifacts, Simon’s definition did not go without criticism for its portrayal of the designer as a mechanic problem coder, unbound by human judgment (Huppertz, 2015). Although it failed to capture design as a human practice, this distinction of creative problem-solving from purely scientific methodology gave way to design thinking (Dam & Siang, 2019) and human-centered design (Krippendorf, 2006) by its distinction of design from the natural sciences.

In fact, this technical rationality was the *modus operandi* of the industrial area and its premises of optimization, efficient use of resources and betterment of users’ lives. However, in similar years few theorists (Papanek and Fuller, 1972) argued that this “[change] of situations into preferable ones” (Simon, 1996, p. 111) was only valid for a certain segment of the society who could be the users of the gifts of design. They called designers to recognize the social and environmental outcomes of their contributions to the culture of consumption, while a great portion of the world population remained out of the scope of design, if not out of its negative impacts.

While Papanek’s work was largely motivated by the large issues as environmental degradation, blind consumption, social unrest and depletion of the world’s resources from a production-consumption viewpoint, two contemporaneous design theorists, Rittel and Webber (1973) proposed to approach these large problems as planning problems, making them a subject of design practice. They introduced the term “wicked problems” (p.153), which they defined as problems that are difficult or impossible to define and solve due to the intractable, incomplete and even contradictory relations

that they contain (see Section 2.3). According to Rittel and Webber (1973), most design problems are wicked problems, which Buchanan (1992) relates to their inherent condition of “indeterminacy” (p. 15). Rittel and Weber (1973) defined ten characteristics for wicked problems, which mainly underlined their contextuality, open-endedness, relationality and ambiguity. Therefore, wicked problems were never to be found as isolated problems, but as problem systems that contain multiple and interconnected issues. These early methodologic approaches to design starting from 1970s, which are grouped as second-generation design methods (Jones, 2014), broke up from the premises of process-optimization and omnipotent designer of the industrial period of 1960s to move towards more participatory and systemic approaches. In fact, the 1970s was also the period when the first participatory design approaches emerged, in parallel to the democratization movement in Scandinavia (Binder et al., 2011). Whereas the user-centered design had also argued for inclusion of users in the design process as informants, it still drew a clear line between the user and the designer, which was then blurred in the participatory design approach (Redström, 2008). Therefore, the early foundations of the social design were characterized by a questioning of design’s impact on the world and responsibilities of design, the complexity of growing challenges of the world that affect all human beings and a call for modesty and openness of designers to give an ear to those for whom they are designing for.

The early theories which point to the role and responsibility of designers as creators of artifacts within environmental, social and economic systems, prepared the grounds for the expanding role of the designer as design started to occupy a new place in a changing world. To illustrate the shift of field of practice from design from artefacts to abstract systems, Buchanan (1992, pp. 9-10) identifies four main areas of design as practiced in the real world as “symbolic and visual communications”, “material objects”, “activities and organized services” and lastly, “design of complex systems and environments for living, playing and learning”. Especially for the latter two, he suggests design as a way of exploration which contributes flow of experiences.

Krippendorff illustrates this shift as moving from designing the “prostheses of human action” to the design of systems as “prostheses of human intelligence” (Krippendorff, 2006, p.14). This channeling of human intelligence into operational structures was produced in forms of self-regulating technological systems, which related to humans in much more complex ways than artefacts. Krippendorff (2006) points to the semantic shift that design went through while transitioning towards post-industrial societies, beyond the change in the object of design. He notes that in this period, by moving from shaping mechanical outputs of the industry to “conceptualizing artifacts, material or social” (para. 9), design undertook the larger responsibility of meaning something to its users and re-shaping the socio-material that it is nurtured from. In an environment of rapid changes in technology and the socio-technical transformations that they gave rise to, design had to reposition itself with this newly found impact potential on its users and society. This repositioning in increasingly complex environments required a practical reflection of the ways of knowing and working of design as earlier theorists (Rittel and Webber, 1973) suggested. As design moved further away from “tame” (p. 25) technical problems, the livelihood of its outputs started to depend harnessing the inputs of the stakeholders, who have a stake in the object of design and creating consensus around the solution proposals (Krippendorff, 2006).

This shift was rendered even more visible by the emergence of service design and its expanding of human-centered methodologies, as large-scale design consultancy companies started to expand their operations to design immaterial structures that shaped human experiences both in private and public sectors. To illustrate this transition, Giacomini (2014, p. 607) identifies three major paradigms within the design discourse as “technology driven design”, “human-centered design” and “environmentally sustainable design”. He argues that human-centered design, which had its origins in ergonomics and computer science gradually moved from function-specific user-centered understanding to an increasing embrace of contextual factors that shape the experience of product and service systems, as well as the inclusion of

all stakeholders in the design process. Andrews (2011) also argues that service design served to break preconceived notions of creativity by actively illustrating the possible social applications of design and involving more people in the design process. Emilson, Hillgren and Seravalli also (2011) note that, current engagement of design with social issues is less focused on products and affordable technologies as in 1960s and goes through a shift towards systems and services, in parallel to the increasing market orientation towards services. While earlier theories also insisted on the inclusion of non-designer stakeholders in the design process, the dissemination of methodologies of service design under the umbrella term of design thinking gave way to increasing recognition of participatory processes of design in non-industrial sectors as well (Kuure and Miettinen, 2017). The next section will build on this positioning of design thinking as a concept and movement that catalyzed the engagement of design methodologies with service systems in non-industrial sectors.

2.1.2. Emergence of Design Thinking

Design thinking emerged as a methodological approach during economy's shift from industrial manufacturing with a product focus to "knowledge work" and service systems, which expanded the terrain of innovation, but also the field of activity of design (Brown, 2008, p.2). In the continuity of the semantic shift of design illustrated by Krippendorf (2006), design thinking parted from early linear solution-oriented approach to disseminate iterative approaches of design in understandable terms for non-designers. Brown (2008) defines design thinking as "a discipline that uses the designer's sensibility and methods to match people's needs with what is technologically feasible and what a viable business strategy can convert into customer value and market opportunity" (p. 2). Giacomini (2014) indicates that this human-centered approach affected the development and delivery of services, by shifting from "technology-push" strategies to "market-pull" strategies (p. 618) that were shaped by increasingly focusing on the 'needs' and 'demands' of users. While some theorists (Dam and Siang, 2019) see design thinking as a descendant of Simon's (1969) project

for a design science, Buchanan (1992, p. 14) for instance, evaluates design-thinking as an “integrative discipline” between science and liberal arts with the need of extending knowledge beyond the laboratory context to grasp the richness of human life. Design thinking is even positioned as the “obverse of scientific thinking” (Owen, 2007, p. 17) by its focus on the synthetic and possible futures, rather than the analytic thinking about the present facts.

Camacho (2015) points to IDEO’s adoption of the term design thinking as a human-centered method, as the reason for its spread and popularity. In fact, the method offered an iterative process of design and innovation that can be comprehended by non-designers from various sectors. Brown and Katz (2011, p. 381) propose a three-stage innovation process within design thinking as “inspiration”, where the problem is identified as an opportunity; “ideation”, where ideas are generated and tested; and “implementation”, as the pathway from “project room” to the market. As the word choice of “project room” implies, they suggested design-thinking as an approach and a set of skills that need to be adopted by organizations for a fertile environment for innovations. While similar stages can be found in product design methodology, one of IDEO’s main contributions lies in the development of this methodology towards the design of service systems (Brown, 2008).

Design thinking contributed to the increasing practical involvement of design with social issues, through the service-oriented projects of high-profile consultancies such as IDEO as they integrated participatory approaches in the development of service solutions (Melles, de Vere and Mistic, 2011). While the role of the consultancies was central in such projects (Kimbell, 2009), they also promoted the adoption of iterative and experimental methodologies at an organizational level (Brown and Wyatt, 2010).

Based on IDEO’s involvement with projects that address user groups from Third World countries, Brown (2008) underlines the importance of adoption of a systemic view in design thinking, as understanding the contexts in which customers live and addressing these contexts holistically. Although Brown (2008) approaches systems at

a local scale as contexts of users, he and Katz (2011) also point to the necessity of collaboration of NGO's and businesses in the social field. Therefore, design is called upon to act as a cross-sectoral intermediary to capture complex local contexts and foster bottom-up innovation (Bottom and Wyatt, 2010; Camacho, 2015). Beyond its practical implications at the level of local design solutions, design thinking is also seen as a potential tool for large-scale policymaking, complementing the specialist vision of scientific thinking with its generalist and holistic framing of issues. Indeed, these new roles of design refer to earlier positioning of design as an "integrative discipline" by Buchanan (1992). Therefore, the practical work of consultancies that matured design thinking can be said to have contributed in the social engagement of design by the adoption of participatory approaches in service design, collaborations with both private and public sector and embrace of systemic approaches. However, based on the 26 case studies within the SIMPACT (Social Innovation Economic Foundation Empowering People, funded by EU) Deserti et al. (2018, p. 66) report that, despite the wide recognition of design as "a strategic tool in SI (social innovation) initiatives", "design is still underestimated or not considered as a resource" in the practice of social innovation".

It is important to note that the ambitious arguments of design-thinking did not go without criticism. Firstly, despite the arguments of Brown for the holistic and contextual approach of design-thinking, it is criticized for its lack of theoretical foundations and reduction of designers' work to ready-to-use toolkits by taking the very activity of designing out of its context (Johansson-Sköldberg et al., 2013). Later proponents of systemic and social design also criticized design-thinking for its designer-centeredness (Kimbell, 2009) and lack of interest in systemic foundations (Jonas, 2018). Kimbell (2012) insists that design activity is not only carried out by designers, but also by those who are around the design and those who engage with the designed output as in "design-after-design" (Redström, 2008 as cited in Kimbell, 2012, p.1). Therefore, design-thinking, despite having advanced certain essential notions and practical grounds of design's engagement with social issues, it also falls

short in capturing the complexity and multiplicity of stakeholders who are engaged in these issues and their potential resolution.

In summary, design-thinking contributed to the spread of human-centered methodologies of design in public and private sectors majorly through the works of high-profile design consultancies, as well as their recognition as approaches to spur innovative solutions for the provision of services. The works of these consultancies with NGOs and public organizations also fostered the adoption of participatory approaches and bottom-up processes in the design of service systems towards addressing social issues. This review also indicated that, despite the wide-spread of design-thinking in social innovation practice, its contribution to the recognition of design in social innovation field did not reach the same extent. Moreover, design-thinking was criticized by design theorists for positioning the designer at the center of its processes and its lack of consideration of systemic relations that surround social issues.

Summary

This section of the literature presented a historical overview of the involvement of design with social and systemic challenges. The introduction of the concepts of “wicked problem” (Rittel and Webber, 1973) and “design science” (Simon, 1969) proposed new attitudes for design in the transition to the post-industrial era. Historically, the concern of design with social impact and sustainability gradually shifted from the prevention of negative impact of the commercially oriented design, towards the recognition of design as an agent of positive impact in addressing social and environmental issues. In practice, this was reflected as the steering of the designer’s role as creators of artifacts towards the design of systems and complex environments. The maturation of human-centered design and the emergence of service design increased the recognition of design in non-industrial domains. At this stage, design-thinking is considered as a catalyst of involvement of design with service

systems and dissemination of participatory and human-centered design approaches. Namely, the works of large-scale design consultancies contributed to the recognition of design in the field of social projects and the increasing collaboration of design with other disciplines. Building up on these theoretical and practical advancements, the following section will present an overview of the evolution of social orientation of design. This overview will be followed by the emerging disciplines of design that adopt the lens of complex systems towards social issues (see Figure 2.1).

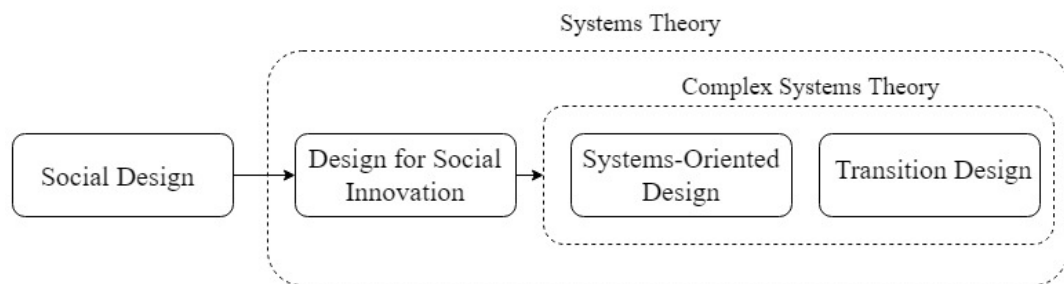


Figure 2.1. Structure of the Literature Review

2.2. The Search for Social Change through Design

The previous section indicated that the generation of social impact by design was focused on meeting needs of the society by design of artifacts (Papanek, 1973) and facilitating the development of services with a social orientation by human-centered design and participatory approaches. Building upon these approaches which clarify that design can be an agent in addressing social issues; the following literature focuses on how design should engage with social issues in a larger sense as well as the relation of design to the changing ways social issues are being addressed. This section initially introduces how social has been framed in design theory and the development of new practical approaches in design to foster social change. This introduction is followed by the review of social design as collective inquiry, design for social innovation and the theory of design for social innovation towards scaling of social innovation from a meta-design perspective.

Koskinen (2016) states that most of the definitions social design have their origins in the work of Victor Papanek (1973) as designing for the marginalized user groups whose needs are not addressed by mainstream production. Veiga and Almendra (2014) also note that social design emerged as an inquiry of practitioners and scholars to respond to the human needs in a more meaningful way, rather than merely matching the potential gain of producers with those of people to feed consumption. Similarly, Whiteley (1993, p.153) pointed to the conflict of socially useful design with dominant economic and social structures. He argues that, on one hand, the current economy and public structures still rely on central approaches against the dynamic and ever-changing needs of the society. On the other hand, the existing language of class-struggle and production relationships which produces an “anachronistic view of society” (p. 116) as oppressors and producers, condemns socially-useful design to fall out of any production relationship and to rely on charities, volunteers and donations. Margolin and Margolin (2002) state that this discrepancy between the dynamics mainstream market and addressing the needs of all humans that Papanek (1973) had pointed to, need to be approached with new questions. These questions relate to the mode of operation of design in the social realm in relation with its surroundings such as new models of funding agencies or the perception of designers by the public. The need for envisioning new product, service and client systems in which human needs can be satisfied eventually led to a gradually search to respond to more complex needs of humanity on social, ecologic, cultural and political levels (Veiga and Almendra, 2014).

In fact, this search was accompanied by the developments in global socio-economic landscape, such as new policy environments and changing production infrastructures. Manzini (2015) portrays this shift as the “great transition” (p. 2) which was driven both by the urgency of finding sustainable ways of living and also the increasing availability of connectivity, which prepared the grounds for merging the local with global and building distributed infrastructures to change our relation to centralized mode of industrial production. Armstrong et al. (2014) also state that the emergence

of social design was prepared by the new policy environments, the spread of design-thinking and strategic design, development in digital technologies (open-governance, etc.) and the growing activist movements. Moreover, Nelson and Stolterman (2012) argue that this shift towards new networked environments may enhance the value of design due to its openness to possibilities as well as its embrace of uncertainty and complexity of the human condition. Therefore, they position design as an integrative discipline where the current fields of knowledge fall short in capturing a holistic view of issues due to their specialization.

In this changing environment, Armstrong et al. (2014) evaluate social design as a "discursive moment" (p.26) within which new approaches and specialized fields can emerge. In fact, in parallel to the shift towards networked environments, the focus of social design oriented from democratization of services for underserved populations to designing networked and participatory services, bringing a quest for new approaches and methods. Armstrong et al. (2014, p.29) identify three "discernible" accounts of Social Design as follows: (1) "Design for Social Innovation" is led by expert involvement in identification, prototyping, and implementation of solutions as argued by Jégou and Manzini (2008). (2) "Socially Responsive Design" involves other experts that are specialized in certain social issues, where a "designerly understanding" (p. 29) can be brought in. Lastly, (3) "Design Activism" develops tools of expression that fall outside of the governance structures, involving independent local groups, to protest and raise consciousness. While these umbrella approaches designate fields of practice for the social engagement of design, many sub-approaches emerged with different priorities and processes. Veiga and Almendra (2014, p.573) list the specific approaches, methodologies and fields of practice that appeared throughout the development of the social engagement of design, which illustrates both the non-linear evolution of the literature and the variance of the specific loci of focus: Social Design, Design for the Base/Bottom of the Pyramid (BoP), Humanitarian Design, Design as Development Aid, Socially Responsible Design or Socially Responsive Design, Design for Social Good, Design for Social Change, Design for

Social Impact, Design for Social Innovation, Design for Social Innovation and Sustainability, Social Economic Environmental Design, Useful Design, Transformation Design, Design for Public.

Janzer and Weinstein (2014) state that, if efficient change is targeted in the social realm, social design should approach the issues at the macro and micro levels of the society, including the political, cultural and economic dimensions. This view is indeed reflected in the development of social orientation of design, which is increasingly concerned with the systemic complexity posed by larger-scale social and environmental issues with growing intersections with systems and social sciences. In order to address the systemic complexity that surrounds social issues, design gradually intersected with social innovation, which aims to generate “new ideas (products, services, models) that simultaneously meet social needs and create new social relationships and collaborations” (Caulier-Grice, Mulgan and Murray, 2010, p. 3). As the emphasis of Caulier-Grice et al. on ‘relationships’ suggests, whereas there is no need for addressing the entirety of the system within which social innovation takes place, there is an increasing interest on ‘recognizing’ that the suggested change takes place within a network of social relationships. Design for Social Innovation, which can be considered as an important moment of design’s involvement with social systems, embraced such an approach, aiming to mobilize and foster social relationships to stimulate social change through innovative solutions generated by people (Manzini, 2015). Building up on the engagement of design with systems with Design for Social Innovation, emerging fields of today such as Systemic Design and Transition Design, not only recognize the inseparability of social issues from the systems they are embedded in, they also aim to address these systems as a whole (see Section 2.3.2)

This section presented an overview of how design relates to social change and its growing intersection a systemic perspective towards social change. A brief investigation of how the ‘social’ is framed in design illustrates the changing perceptions from the efforts towards socially useful design in the face of mainstream

market relations to design's growing involvement with social change with recognition of systems that surround it. This transition is also fostered by the development in the world in a larger sense, such as the emergence of new policy environments and open governance. The evolution of engaging design for fostering social change includes various approaches which are differentiated namely by the 'where', 'how' and 'by whom' of the practical approaches they suggest. The following sections will review Social Design and Design for Social Innovation with respect to the way they perceive social issues, the whereabouts of their potential interventions in social issues and the processes they involve.

2.2.1. Design as Collective Inquiry: Social Design

Design for social change has been the topic of an ongoing discourse since the 1960s, only to recently emerge as a field and gain momentum after the financial crisis of 2008 (Koskinen & Hush, 2016). Markussen (2017) points to the tightening of European budget on public spending following the crisis, which led to the "instrumentalization of art and design" (p. 161) to tackle complex social issues, therefore leading to the emergence of social design.

Veiga and Almendra (2014) employ social design as an umbrella term that accommodates different practical approaches by its open-endedness. They underline that the 'social' does not only relate to social relations but also includes environmental, political and cultural dimensions that are intertwined with the society (2014). Lasky (2013) also uses social design and socially responsive design interchangeably. In order to avoid confusion with the more recent theory of design for social innovation which distinguishes itself from social design (Manzini, 2015) (see Section 2.2.2), this analysis will employ socially-oriented design as a neutral expression to address the multiplicity of approaches that are designated by the generic use of social design.

Social design is defined by various theorists with a multiplicity of points of emphasis. For instance, Armstrong et al. (2014) define social design as "a set of concepts and

activities that exist across many fields of application including local and central government and policy areas such as healthcare and international development” (p. 15), by emphasizing the cross-disciplinarity, public engagement and different levels of intervention of the field. They underline that the activities may be led by designers or be part of processes initiated by non-designers. Markussen (2017) emphasizes the “co-design activities” with the public towards “collective and social ends, rather than predominantly commercial objectives (Armstrong et al, 2014)”. Manzini (2015) on the other hand, underlines the object of social design as problems that are not addressed by the market or state and which cannot be expressed by the affected people through available political and economic means. Therefore, Manzini’s definition advances from the framing of market relations of Papanek (1973) by positioning social design out of the conventional supply and demand relations.

Common to these definitions is the inclusion of stakeholders in processes as public bodies, citizens, experts for socially beneficial ends. In fact, collective inquiry towards design and application of solutions appears as a characteristic of social design. Margolins (2002) underline the importance of multi-disciplinary teams and “client systems” (p. 25) by illustrating the interconnectedness of social issues and posing an open-ended questioning of the specific contribution of designers in this field. In their later response to Margolins’ question, DiSalvo et al. (2011) elaborate on the common grounds of social design and social innovation to suggest “collective articulation” (p. 185) of social issues as the role of designers, which does not necessarily produce a physical outcome but mainly facilitation of dialogue. Similarly, Emilson et al. (2011, p. 26) suggest “embedded design”, which is designing transdisciplinary networks for the longer-term, where the designer appears as a process facilitator and enabler of discussion. Later, Kuure and Miettinen (2017) point to an important moment of social design in its intersection with service design as where “services should be delivered and sustained by communities themselves” (p. 2). This requires the community members to be active participants of solutions not only in design but also in implementation and maintenance of services (Janzer and Weinstein, 2014). Therefore,

the contribution of the designer in social design appears to be the one of a dialogue and collaboration facilitator in cross-disciplinary networks of stakeholders from mixed levels of expertise.

As illustrated above, social design describes the locus of the work of designers as local networks, raising questions about how these efforts are positioned within the large-scale relations that surround them. Markussen (2017) raises this issue by differentiating social design from social entrepreneurship and social innovation. He states that, while social entrepreneurship focuses on “market failures” (p. 161) to generate social outcomes with a business approach, social innovation focuses on “system errors” (p. 164) where the public realm may fall short in recognizing or addressing social needs. Social design, on the other hand, operates at the micro-level, to address the needs of “marginal groups and minorities” (p. 161), instead of aiming for large scale and replicable outcomes (Markussen, 2017). Markussen suggests the conception of social value as the differentiating factor between these fields. He argues that while in social design this value corresponds to small, qualitative change in relations of actors; in social innovation it corresponds to what is good for society and in social entrepreneurship it is measured together with a concern for the market. There social design mainly aims to mobilize the relations of actors at the local level. This locality is not merely seen as the space of activities, but also as the source of new ideas and solutions (Parker, 2010).

While most theories of social design indicate the micro-level and local relations as the primary locus of work of designers the social design discourse does not entirely exclude higher-level interventions. Koskinen and Hush (2016, pp. 65-68) illustrate this difference in levels of intervention in three movements, framed as “utopian”, “molecular” and “sociological” social design. They contrast the utopic ideals of the 1960s which received the skeptical reaction of later proponents of molecular approach. The proponents of molecular approached distanced themselves from utopic ideas to focus on what they deemed possible and to make smaller, local interventions without

intervening with larger social, political and economic structures. “Sociological” social design is rather concerned with the social structures that are at the roots of the inequalities, as well as the practices that maintain these inequalities. Markussen (2017) argues that high-level utopian and low-level molecular levels do not have to be disconnected from one another, nor should designers retain themselves from making an impact at the macro-level. Similarly, Janzer and Weinstein (2014) argue that, a holistic the environments in which social change takes place is a pre-requisite for sustainable initiatives of social design.

To summarize, inasmuch as there exists a consensus in the field of social design on the adoption of participatory and co-design approaches for collective inquiry and addressing of social design, the scale of this collective and the stakeholders it includes remains open-ended, which was later criticized and complemented by other theories that will be described in the following section.

2.2.2. Design for Social Innovation

Building upon the early theorization of social responsibility of the designer and the potential of design’s human-centered and participatory approaches to address social issues, later quest of design is more concerned with social change at the systems level. In fact, this quest of design was contemporaneous with growing global attention on sustainable development and social innovation as the world population started to recognize the urgency of environmental and social issues it faced. With such a concern there occurred a shift from “charity mode” (Manzini, p. 65) of tackling social issues to mobilization of collective resources and capabilities. To exemplify a few widely accepted definitions, BEPA (2011) defines social innovations as:

[...] social demands that are traditionally not addressed by the market or existing institutions and are directed towards vulnerable groups in society. In particular, it focuses on new ideas aimed at provoking a

positive transformation for the society and its infrastructures (people, relationships, collaborations) thus improving society's capacity to act. (p. 6)

Another commonly used definition is the one by NESTA (2008) as:

Social innovation is about developing new ideas to tackle social problems or meet social needs. It may be a new product, service, initiative, organizational model or approach to the delivery of public services. (p. 1)

And lastly, the definition of European Commission (2013) deserves a mention by its impact on policymaking, which is

We define social innovations as innovations that are both social in their ends and in their means, remaining open to the territorial, cultural, etc. variations it might take. So, the social is both in the how, the process, and in the way, the social and societal goals you want to reach. (p. 5)

While these definitions point to different means and actors in the making of social innovation, two principles for social innovation emerge from their common points of emphasis. Firstly, the active participation of members of society in the making of innovation is emphasized, indicating that social innovation does not involve top-down processes. Secondly, the questions of why and how social innovation is made are given a quasi-equal importance, indicating that the processes of social innovation matter as much the social ends (Mortati and Villari, 2014).

Building upon the participatory approaches and the interest in locally initiated and sustained solutions suggested by social design, design for social innovation (DSI) emerged as a more recent field to integrate design capabilities with these principles of social innovation. DSI was born from a quest on what people do to live low-impact

lives, led by Manzini in collaboration with other researchers including Meroni and Jégou (St. Pierre, n.d.).

Although the DESIS network can be seen as the backbone of DSI, its applications in the real world diversifies through multiple loci of practice. Emilson, Hillgren, and Seravalli (2011) document this evolutionary branching of DSI on a geographical basis. They state that, whereas in the USA the field of DSI focuses more on development and delivery of solutions and services to developing countries, the European branch is more focused on local- and community-supported solutions and sustainable lifestyles. The UK on the other hand, as the pioneer in examples of DSI, focuses on multi-stakeholder engagement and transfer of design capabilities to multi-disciplinary actors who take part in the design process. In fact, this distribution, although partially, captures the multiplicity of approaches under social design and DSI.

Manzini (2013) identifies two trends in the dynamics of today's society; he states that while 20th-century world relied on central and hierarchical system architectures to linearize processes (fueled by the concern for resource optimization of industrial manufacturing), there emerged small and connected organizations that tend to form distributed systems. DSI draws the theoretical foundations of these distributed systems from ecological systems (see Section 2.2.2.2). As in ecological systems, these distributed systems are formed upon autonomous parts that have their inner functioning and are more resilient than vertical systems which are vulnerable to unpredicted disturbances.

While the ecological systems approach constitutes the structural foundations of DSI, another important dimension is how it conceives the actors that take part in social innovation. Manzini (2015) poses 'culture of creativity' as a condition of resilient societies, identifying a creative mode of action where people are the experts of their own context and the issues they face. Therefore, instead of expert interventions, he suggests co-design processes, which may or may not include professional designers to foster the collaboration of non-expert actors in new forms of organizations. This

approach is conceptualized as ‘grassroots innovation’ which has its roots in the sustainability literature. Seyfang and Smith (2007) define ‘grassroots innovation’ to describe “networks of activist generating novel bottom-up solutions for sustainable development” (p. 585), underlining the shared experimental approach across many cases. Mokter (2018) summarizes common examples of grassroots innovation such as community energy generation, local agriculture, co-housing and the recycling of local materials. Gupta (2013, p. 19) points out to the emergence of grassroots innovation as “systematic experimentation” and “combining solutions in new ways”, when “existing systems and practices fail to serve people’s needs”, in a similar way to the organic evolution and adaptive response to changing conditions. In fact, this bottom-up approach falls in parallel with NESTA’s (2008) definition of social innovation with its emphasis on “enhanc[ing] society’s capacity to act”. Towards society’s active role in generating social innovation, Manzini (2015) argues for fostering of design capabilities, which he judges to be inherent to all human beings, to empower people towards active engagement in the collaborative development of solutions.

Manzini (2013a, p. 57) bases the field of social innovation on two polarities; firstly, by its processes as incremental vs. radical social innovation and secondly by its mode of action as top-down vs. bottom-up. While the first is related to the range of activities that shape social innovation with respect to the existing approaches and practices, the latter is related to the driver of the innovation as “experts” (top-down) or “communities” (bottom-up). While social design approach also argues for the importance of localized action and inclusion of all stakeholders, DSI argues that the envisioned “new civilization” is not possible by an accumulation of local social initiatives but by interventions at every level such as new economic and knowledge models to support the spurring and growth of the local impact (Manzini, 2015, p. 26).

Recognizing such a need for systemic change, Manzini (2013a, p. 58) proposed “hybrid processes” to move beyond the dichotomy of top-down and bottom-up initiatives. He defines ‘hybrid processes’ as an approach that can accommodate a set

of complex interactions between actors from different scales, to bring together the scaled impact potential of top-down approaches with the rootedness of bottom-up approaches. At this stage the role of the designer shifts from designing large scale interventions or merely ‘facilitating dialogue’ as suggested by social design, to become the developer of "framework projects" (p. 64) that can encourage local participation but also ensure the coordination of smaller initiatives to amplify their cumulative impact. Manzini (2013b, p. 74) frames this approach as “Small, Local, Open and Connected” (abbreviated as SLOC), to illustrate the need for nurturing visibility, communication, and stronger relations between these local initiatives to enable the forming of resilient ecosystems.

2.2.2.1. Design for Social Innovation and Social Design

Having framed the general of the approach of design for social innovation, it is useful to note how it is differentiated from social design since both essentially embrace participatory approaches by prioritizing active engagement of stakeholders at the local level.

Manzini (2016) differentiates social design and DSI initially on conceptual grounds by what is referred to by the word social. He argues that the ‘social’ in social innovation refers to the way society is built, whereas the ‘social’ in social design corresponds to problematic social issues such as poverty and exclusion, to which public and market structures fail to provide solutions. Since such a framing of social design condemns it to operate in charity mode (Manzini, 2015, p. 65) i.e. out of the market and public relations of service provision, in contrast to “normal” design which functions with the expectation of financial return. Therefore, he argues, social design becomes a complementary activity that cannot operate in economic terms. Manzini (2016) differentiates DSI in two more stages; he argues that the solutions promoted by DSI are based on new, distributed and local economic models instead of relying on existing ones and secondly, DSI aims to mobilize all segments of society towards sustainability and not only the excluded or disadvantaged communities.

However, the validity of this definition of social design by Manzini does not go without criticism. Markussen (2017), in his questioning of the ‘social’ in social design, criticizes Manzini’s framing of social design in three main arguments; (1) focusing on people who cannot support the cost of design limits the impact of social design, (2) limiting the definition of social design to problematic situations reduces the impact only to include developing countries or areas of destruction, (3) social design does not necessarily need to address issues that fall out of the scope of public and private sectors, since it already takes part in such collaborations. Therefore, whereas it can be stated that DSI, by the new economic and social models it advocates for, targets a systemic impact, it may not be distinct from social design in as many levels as it suggests.

2.2.2.2. Design for Social Innovation and Systems Design

The field of DSI has strong intersections with systemic design (see Section 3.3.2) by its ecosystem approach towards the emergence, scaling and dissemination of innovative solutions towards social impact. Manzini (2015) defines grassroots social innovation as solutions fostered by local groups of activists or stakeholders who bring their ‘local expertise’ together in forms of communities to generate bottom-up solutions for the problems of everyday life. Manzini supports this view with the *capabilities approach* suggested by Martha Nussbaum and Amartya Sen (1993; as cited in Manzini, 2015), which conceives people as assets of themselves, the future potential of which depends on the development of their personal resources. Manzini suggests that with a metadesign approach (see Section 2.2.3), these ‘capable’ individuals can not only take part in collaborative efforts of solving problems but also develop their own capabilities / skills. Such small-scale initiatives can be fostered by top-down infrastructures, e.g. institutions and policies, to become mature organizations, while exchanging knowledge with similar organizations in the form of peer-to-peer interaction. In fact, whereas traditional grassroots organizations tend to

be isolated from larger institutions, the current information and social networks facilitate their connection to the larger scale.

Manzini conceives this systemic change in two levels of the impact regarding the scale of social innovation. While the first one assesses the impact of a given design initiative with respect to its pre-defined goals, the second level of impact encompasses culture, institutions and larger networks that constitute the semantic infrastructure. The translation of impact from the first level to the second depends on a favorable environment, which is rooted in the resilience models of ecosystems. Manzini identifies three characteristics for a favorable environment as (1) "tolerance" to adapt to the changes in the environments, (2) "openness" to the free circulation of ideas, (3) "learning capacity" as the ability for experimental collaboration and exchange of information (p. 161). He suggests networks of organizations which can be connected to one another with ties of varying strength for the flow of information, know-how, and ideas. Manzini conceptualizes these conditions as "enabling ecosystems" with the aim of reconciling small scale and local efforts for sustainable lifestyles with larger scale systemic change such as the emergence of new economic models. He underlines that such enabling ecosystems cannot be effectively oriented by individual design interventions that target one aspect of the ecosystem but require framework projects that can operate at a larger scale.

In summary, Design for Social Innovation embraces a systemic approach towards social change, while sharing a common focus with social design regarding the locality of interventions. DSI is rooted in today's trends of moving from central to distributed systems and the embrace of culture of creativity where non-expert people are seen as the creators of solutions. DSI essentially proposes that, the grassroots solutions generated by non-expert and local communities can be re-combined in new ecosystems that amplify their impact and therefore trigger bottom-up change in the whole sociotechnical system. It distinguishes itself from social design stating that these communities do not exclude economic relations, and that sustainable lifestyles

include all segments of society and not only the disadvantaged populations. DSI bases this community-led impact model on the resilience of distributed ecosystems, where local initiatives in sociotechnical systems can adapt to changes, freely circulate ideas and learn from one another to achieve systemic change. The dynamics of such ecosystems is best reflected by the intersection of design for social innovation and systemic design. Therefore, the next section will present an analysis of these two branches of designing for social innovation by looking at their proposals for achieving social change through the frame of metadesign.

2.2.3. Metadesign

This section will present the meta-design approach towards the impact generation at multiple levels of socio-technical systems that social innovation aims to transform. The previous analysis of the literature presented how different approaches in designing for social impact prioritized locally rooted, bottom-up and grassroots efforts of social impact over expert-led interventions. Moreover, the review of DSI outlined the possible enabling conditions to support the dissemination of social impact. However, as suggested by the design for social innovation literature as well, the local solutions need to be supported by wider networks for the dissemination of solutions. The integration of metadesign into social innovation departs from the premise that similarly to ecologic processes, the evolution of social solutions is organic and therefore cannot be controlled by pre-defined processes and outcomes. The following sections will present the concept of metadesign as an approach that supports the wide-scale collaborative development of solutions, followed by its implications in the field of social innovation.

2.2.3.1. An Introduction to Metadesign

Metadesign departs from the premise that in planning that involves humans, conditions and behaviors will emerge, which cannot be anticipated in the design phase

(Suchman, 2007). The current theory of metadesign evolves from a limitation of participatory design, with the recognition that the users who are included in participatory design processes are not the only stakeholders in a design project (Binder, 2011). Van Merriënboer (2012) also calls design to recognize its own limitations and argues that it is important to determine ‘when design is actually needed’, the decision for which is in the hands of clients and stakeholders. Giaccardi (2005, p. 343) reports that the term ‘metadesign’ has been of use since the 1960s to refer to “designing the design” and started to be put into practice in 1980s in the field of information technologies. In the field of design research, the concept was also explored by participatory design, by designing open systems and customizable devices that users can appropriate and adapt to their needs (Binder et al., 2011).

Fischer and Hermann (2011, p.7) define metadesign as an extension of system design methodologies “by allowing users to become co-designers at use time”. Fischer and Giaccardi (2006) highlight the potential of this approach as using the potential of the emergent aspects in a system rather than preventing it, suggesting the development of sociotechnical infrastructures for collaborative evolution of designs. They suggest such structures be open-ended and “underdesigned” (p. 7) in order to accommodate the emergent needs and interactions. In their description of a conceptual framework for metadesign, Fischer and Giaccardi (2006, p.20) define a "three-fold design space" as (1) “designing design”, (2) “designing together” and (3) “designing the in-between”, which respectively correspond to “anticipatory, participatory and socio-technical issues”. The firstly level is concerned with the "malleability" (p. 20) of the processes to create conditions for the active involvement of the users. The second level is concerned with the collaboration of users and designers, focusing on participatory methods. Yet it is also distinct from the participatory approach since it includes the user in the system, rather than seeing the participatory process as validation of the future success of the design. Lastly, the third level is concerned with the networks that can accommodate and nurture collaboration in the long-term.

Early examples of metadesign are mainly in the digital domain where the creative contribution of users is encouraged by open-ended algorithmic frameworks of design without designating pre-defined outcomes. Sevaldson (2013) reports such examples from algorithmic design, especially from the experimental architectural design in the 1990s and early 2000s, where results are varied by modifying the parameters, as a means of versioning. For the development of such open-ended systems for collaborative design in socio-technical infrastructures, Fischer and Ostwald (2002) propose a descriptive three-stage model as “seeding, evolutionary growth and reseeded”. The model essentially proposes (1) the creation of an open-ended system structure, which can (2) evolve by the contribution of users and (3) get updated by a review of the initial structure to accommodate the evolving contributions of users. They suggest the possible applications of this model towards “social creativity” in complex systems, the information contained in which is beyond the understanding of any single individual.

2.2.3.2. Metadesign for Distributed Social Innovation

Previously in Section 2.2.2.2, DSI had argued that the spur, growth and impact potential of small-scale initiatives depended on enabling ecosystems (Manzini, 2015). From a metadesign perspective, the coordination of these enabling ecosystems is referred to as *infrastructuring*. Ludwig et al. (2018) define infrastructuring as a permanently incomplete development process in which designed systems are not endpoints but instead form an “associated body of practices”. Binder et al. (2011) argue that infrastructuring should deliberately give space to “indeterminacy and incompleteness” to pave the way for the unanticipated. Unlike coordinated networks that act on shared objectives, infrastructuring embraces an “agonistic approach” instead of a democratic one. The agonistic approach in infrastructuring refers to the co-existence of conflicting opinions which is derived from the premise that the damping of counter opinions in favor of shared objectives only creates a temporary consensus to later emerge as aggravated conflicts (Binder et al., 2011).

An example of infrastructuring in the real world is Malmö Living Labs, which aims for continuous fostering of relations with different actors in the city of Malmö towards the co-design and co-production of new solutions (“Malmö Living Labs”, 2017). The approach of the Labs builds up on the insights of social innovation theory which invites practitioners to link public sector, social enterprises, social movement advocates and entrepreneurs to establish such horizontal networks of innovation (Ehn et al., 2012). Therefore, instead of operating in project frames with pre-defined objectives and timelines, Malmö Living Labs follow an open-ended strategy of building long-term relations with civil servants, NGOs, companies, and citizens at the local and regional level. By enabling “creative encounters” among a heterogeneous set of actors, they aim to “assess the needs, capabilities, and assets of local communities”, from which future practices, services and products may emerge (Ehn et al., 2012). Ehn et al., (2012) argue that the infrastructuring approach not only facilitates the emergence of locally rooted and collaborative solutions towards social issues but also supports the growth of these local solutions by linking them with larger scale institutions which can leverage their impact potential.

Therefore, the infrastructuring approach, which I consider in this review as an integration of metadesign into the field of social innovation suggests the creation of networks and places within which grassroots solutions can emerge and get linked with actors of larger processes e.g. policymakers, regional/global institutions. In this “hybrid” mode of bringing top-down and bottom-up social innovation, Manzini suggests a second role for designers as the developer of “framework projects” that can ensure the coordination of smaller initiatives to amplify their impact. It must be noted that this view of the open-ended and cumulative impact of horizontal efforts is also criticized in the related literature. For instance, Appadurai (2010) agrees with Manzini’s approach to the point that the organizations in today’s “modern capitalism” contain both "vertebral" and "cellular" qualities. However, he stated that, whereas the distributed structure of cellular organizations may provide unpredicted opportunities, they also impose their own difficulties of manageability. He agrees that the networks

allow for accelerated distribution of these structures yet networks do not address the issue of their essential “divorce [] from manageability and knowability”.

2.2.4. Summary

This section reviewed the fields of social design as collective inquiry and design for social innovation which seek to generate systemic change from local efforts. Lastly, it included an overview of metadesign and its relation to design for social innovation.

In the literature, social design is both used as an umbrella term and a distinct field. The field of social design is focused on addressing the issues that fall out of the interest or capability of the private and public sectors. Such a framing positions social design out of the frame of conventional relations of supply and demand, resulting in its criticism for operating in charity mode. Social design prioritizes the inclusion of stakeholders for the collective articulation of social issues. These collective efforts are not only towards problem solving, but also for application and sustenance of solutions by the communities themselves. In such processes, designer is often positioned as a dialogue facilitator to enhance the collaboration of heterogeneous stakeholders. Therefore, the locus of work of the social design is namely the local level with a few theories concerned with larger impact potential.

The second field, design for social innovation, builds upon the prioritization of local solutions as in social design, yet focuses on the adoption of sustainable lifestyles, by considering people as experts of their own situation at the local level. With an ecosystem perspective, design for social innovation suggests that the distributed changes at the local level can stimulate social change at the larger level through their interactions and accumulation. Similarly, the emergence of innovation at the local, grassroots levels is enhanced by the creation of interactive environments and fostering of design capabilities at the individual and ecosystem levels.

Such environments are investigated from a meta-design perspective, which suggests open-ended and incomplete systems of collective inquiry. This approach is conceptualized in participatory design literature as infrastructuring, which suggests the creation of networks involving stakeholders. Therefore, it relies on enhancing the capabilities of users in ‘enabling ecosystems’, where stakeholders can openly interact without pre-defined objectives, deadlines, and outcomes.

Building upon this introduction to the relation of social goals of design to systems, in the followings section presents an overview of how intended change is conceived in complex sociotechnical systems. This overview will be the foundation for two emerging design fields, systemic design and transition design, the frameworks of which are rooted in the understanding of complexity.

2.3. Designing in Complex Systems

The proposition of “wicked problems” by Rittel and Webber (1973, p. 153) separates wicked problems from tame problems which, unlike the wicked problems, present linear relations of causality, meaning that their root causes can be identified and the outcomes of an intervention can be predicted (see Section 2.1.1). While it can be argued that all design problems as wicked problems as they suggest, it is useful to present an overview of the systems and complexity theory to understand what is so ‘wicked’ about wicked problems.

Rittel and Webber (1973) argued that one of the greatest issues in handling wicked problems is locating it in the complex causal networks that are situated in. Therefore, before delving into how they might be addressed, it is important to understand what these complex networks are. The development of complexity theory dates back to early 1990s (Matei and Antoine, 2015) and to be more specific, to the general systems theory by Von Bertalanffy (as cited in Rotmans and Loorbach, 2009) first published in the 1930s. The field is indeed born as an interdisciplinary one to study “the nature

of complex systems in society, nature, science and technology” (Rotmans and Loorbach, 2009, p. 185). Matei and Antonie (2015) describe complex systems by their distinction from simple systems as they exhibit non-linear behaviors, where a result cannot simply be predicted by the accumulation of past outcomes. Jones (2014) defines complex systems as domains where no single organization or individual can understand the entirety of the system. He conceives systemic design problems as "complex service systems" that are characterized by self-organization, large scale and emergent properties where it is impossible to make design decisions based on individual knowledge. A key point about the complexity science is that it aims to explain “the actual behavior of systems rather than how they should behave”, therefore it avoids simplifying logical frames and relies on intuition (Matei and Antonie, 2009).

Rotmans and Loorbach (2009) describe complex systems as open systems that constantly evolve in non-linear interaction with their environment as well as by the interaction of their components. Similar to the natural ecosystems, while a small stimulus in the system can produce a large effect or none at all, a large stimulus may as well cause a small effect. They draw a few essential characteristics of such systems as follows:

1. The propagation of effects is in the form of *feedback loops*, which may be negative or positive to dampen or amplify an effect. An example of feedback loops might be birth rates. While an accumulation of positive feedback loops may result in a population explosion, a negative feedback loop may indicate saturation of population by declining birth rates (Gupta, 1980).
2. Change in complex systems does not only depend on the current interactions but also the past states of the system, which is defined as *path dependence*. An example of path dependence is the wide adoption QWERTY keyboard which, despite the disadvantages of usage, excluded more efficient keyboard arrangements (Little, 2012).

3. The components in the system are organized as levels, where the interaction between lower level components can impact higher level structures, which is conceptualized as *emergent behavior*. An example of emergent behavior is the forming of flocking of birds is emergent since it is not organized by one single bird but results from the interaction of lower-order components, which are the birds (Aguirre et al., 2016).

2.3.1. Complexity in Social Innovation

Complexity theory is also used to understand social phenomena, therefore revealing (or recognizing the suggested impossibility of revealing) the dynamics of complex behavior of social systems and services offers some basic principles of guiding intended change in society. Matei and Antonie (2014) state that smooth continuous change does not happen in reality, since the real world exhibits more irregular patterns. By suggesting a complexity lens to understand real-world systems, they frame social systems as complex adaptive systems, i.e. systems that can adapt to and learn from the change that they go through.

From a complexity perspective, Matei and Antonie (2014) argue that intended change in social systems depends on guiding the emergent behavior, which is a result of the dynamic interaction of a very large number of parts that constitute the system. Such emergent phenomena appear when the disrupted system seeks a new balance, examples of which are catastrophic natural events and also innovative outbreaks. Since such changes are non-linear, they are experienced as a set of discoveries and unexpected results. Therefore, they suggest a layering of innovation like the “layers of the cortex”, not only for the transferability of the successful outcomes from one layer to another but also for gaining insights, information and creative ideas to nurture social innovation.

In fact, this issue of layering brings in one of the main challenges of complex transition that is the translation of change from smaller components to higher service system

levels. In their suggestion of principles for the management of complex transitions, Rotmans and Loorbach (2009, p. 189) suggest the creation of spaces for niche solutions, protected from the waves of the mainstream. Due to the self-organizing behavior of social systems, these emergent niche solutions “align” in a “new configuration” to affect higher levels of the system. Clausen and Yoshinaka (2009) also suggest empowerment of niche solutions as an important principle of transition management, by supporting niche forms of social solutions with resources such as knowledge, finances, lobby mechanism, spaces of experimentation, etc. By this means, Rotmans and Loorbach (2009, p. 189) seek to overcome the dichotomy of radical vs. incremental change by suggesting “radical change in incremental steps” which they describe as the paradox of the complexity theory. Unlike radical interventions which expectedly face maximum resistance from the existing structures, incremental changes can give to the system space to adapt and generate new structures to correspond to the changing conditions.

This section presented an overview of the principles of complex systems, understanding of which can guide the efforts for intended change in social systems. In the following sections, I introduce two emerging fields of design, systems –oriented design and transition design, the frameworks of which are rooted in the understanding of society as a complex system.

2.3.2. Systems-Oriented Design

The field of systems-oriented design (SOD), also referred to as systemic design, emerges from these premises of systems theory to integrate design and systems disciplines to approach complex systems with human-centered, participatory and iterative methods of design. This section will initially present how systems-oriented design conceives the intersection of design with systems theory, followed by the implications of characteristics of complex systems for design such as uncertainty and

varying behaviors of different scales of a system. Lastly, this section will present examples of systemic design initiatives.

The objective of the systems-oriented design is formulated by Peter Jones (2014, p.3) as “to guide human-centered design for complex, multi-system and multi-stakeholder services and programs”. Sevaldson (2013), in her definition of ‘systemic design’, emphasizes the “embrace and development of organizational culture, value and systems, while developing solutions”.

Jones (2018) traces the roots of systemic design to ‘The Predicament of Mankind’, the seminal text of the Club of Rome authored by Ozbekhan (1970) which emphasized the inter-connectivity of the large-scale issues that the world’s population faces today. Whereas theoretical origins of the systems theory date back to early ’90s, Jones (2018, p. 90) indicates that for a long time, design was thought as an accessory to cover for the ineptness of outcomes for human uses. He states that the maturation of the discipline was brought by the “Third Generation Design” where stakeholders are recognized as designers to develop holistic views of systemic issues.

In the systemic design literature, designers are often portrayed as natural navigators of uncertainty and complexity as they work in relational networks. Nelson and Stolterman (2012, p. 57) argue that “no design exists in a vacuum” and instead, designers, clients and other stakeholders exist in social systems bound by systemic relations and complexity, as the natural order of things. They conceive systemics as the “basic of design logic” (p. 58) as it reflects the relations between subjects, objects and ideas where every action affects another part of the system, due to their inter-connectivity. Sevaldson (2013, p. 2) also highlights the ability of designers to synthesize solutions from “fuzzy” input relations due to their creative tendency to come with unpredicted solutions instead of choosing from existing alternatives.

However, Jones (2014) argues that this rhetorical approach in design which describes complex problems as "fuzzy" or "ill-formulated" alienates social concerns which are

feared for their potential of inhibiting generative and creative processes. Wolfgang Jonas (2005, p. 3) criticized the concept of complexity, which is widespread in systemic design literature. He argues that, although the concept of complexity "sounds promising", it is not as helpful of a concept as it is deemed to be. He argues that, although complexity may relate to the intricateness of relational networks, which are often part of the design practice, it also implies the impossibility of a solution for the that challenge it imposes. Therefore, Jonas (2005, p. 49) proposes the use of "systemic" and "evolutionary" concepts which he judges to be more apt to model the "generative structures and processes" that are rendered visible as complex phenomena. He suggests that design research should seek "procedural/practical" approaches to address complexity by focusing on the "theories of how" rather than the "theories of what" (p. 58). He especially reminds an earlier warning of a systems theory founder, Wiener (1984, as cited in Jonas, 2005), about the limitations of cybernetics-based systems concepts in the context of social issues.

Having presented the intersection of design with systems theory as perceived by systems-oriented design, the following sections will present the implications of dynamic of complex systems on design processes, which include uncertainty and variance of system behavior in its different scales.

Designing the Unpredictable

Systems-oriented design is richer in framework approaches rather than specific methodologies (Bowes ad Jones, 2016), which is also linked to the recentness of the field. Systems-oriented design positions the crucial role lies in the facilitation of such generative and emergent processes since the unpredictability of the system and human behavior do not allow for designing complete processes with specific outcomes (Aguirre et al., 2016; Matei and Antonie, 2014; Jonas, 2005). The creation of social value is considered to be at the core of generative processes (De Mello Freire et al, 2017; Sevaldon, 2013; Wahl and Baxter, 2008), to spark and sustain collective efforts

in addressing social challenges. Nelson and Stolterman (2012) also underline the importance of shared incentives. They state that in the use of a design approach for intentional social change, the initial step is “desiderata assessment” which means identifying not only what is needed, but also what is ‘desirable’ by the actors of social structures. The prioritization of shared values and incentives calls for a humble role of designers, where the processes require a long-term ethnographic and transdisciplinary approach to the context (Janzer and Weinstein, 2014). Aguirre et al. (2016) suggest ‘curation of generative conditions’ as a way of designing for systemic change, which has its own limits since the behaviors of people cannot be designed. They advise organization of “large scale co-creation sessions” as a way of curating the generative conditions where the participants can bring in their personal qualities, experiences and expectations, the interactions among which can result in emergent and unexpected effects that can spark new ideas.

Designing for Scalable Change in Complex Systems

Whereas such environments and value-centric networks may allow for the emergence of new ideas, collaborations and small organizations at the local level, a major challenge of systemic design lies in translating small-scale change into larger-scale transitions. In fact, the cortex-like layers (Matei and Antonie, 2014) of complex systems behave in different ways where scaling a local solution to the higher levels may not produce the same effects and even trigger negative feedback loops. Hunt illustrates this issue of *scalar variance* in a public speech in 2011. Hunt (2011) describes scale as a “blindingly obvious” concept that escapes understanding. He illustrates the issue of scale with the tricky question of how an ant might take a shower. Although the immediate answer might be to scale the shower down until it becomes a water droplet to match the size of an ant, the surface tension of the drop of water makes it impossible for the ant to penetrate in the droplet to get soaked. Therefore, he argues, when we scale the shower down, after a certain point, it is subject to different relations

and loses its defining features to become something else. The scalar variance in socio-technical systems can be thought from a similar viewpoint.

One of the approaches to overcome the challenge of scalar variance is proposed by De Mello Freire et al. (2017) as strategic design. They suggest strategic design as a bridging approach between local and contextual issues which are characterized by their continuous fluidity. With the aim to "guide organizations and projects towards innovation and sustainability" (p. 53), strategic design recognizes the need for open-ended solutions and the creation of enabling conditions that will be the grounds for future changes. For the creation of such enabling conditions, the authors suggest the creation of socio-technical apparatuses instead of end-to-end solutions. They argue that, by bringing actors together for specific challenges and value creation, such apparatuses can foster creative collaborations and adapt to future changes. In fact, similar processes are envisioned in participatory design approach, which suggests open-ended processes to stimulate emergence of new solutions from interactivity of heterogeneous stakeholders (see Section 2.2.3.2) Caulier-Grice et al. (2010) adopt a similar perspective, arguing that systemic innovation can only be achieved when people "think and see in new ways" to give way to new concepts and mindsets. They state that, whereas systemic innovations can be suddenly pushed by disruptive events or technologies (e.g. World Wide Web), they often result from a slow and cumulative process of incremental changes in behaviors, values and infrastructures. They also position collaboration as a key element of systemic innovation since the complexity of the entire system escapes the grasp of individual people and organizations. In fact, these approaches essentially rely on the self-organizing properties of complex adaptive systems, which suggests that provided with enabling conditions, small scale changes can align to form higher-level emergent structures that can have a larger impact.

An example case of such systemic change is reported by Hunt (2014), as a case of large-scale impact by a small perturbation of the system. The case poses the problem

of increased traffic incidents at a busy intersection in the Dutch town of Drachten. The solution developed by Dutch traffic engineer Hans Monderman relied on the interaction between drivers and the people sitting outside the cafés on the roadside by counterintuitively, removing signage that indicates road priority. By doing so, he increased the potential confrontations between pedestrians and cars which aimed to change driver behavior with public negotiation through eye-contact and gestures with the pedestrians. Therefore the obvious cause and effect relationship is bypassed by reframing the problem and engaging the public to generate a bottom-up solution. Based on this and similar cases he presents, Hunt (2014) argues that systemic manipulations should rely on evolutionary processes by reframing the problem, identifying the catalytic agents, seeding effects at the bottom level and letting the system to find a new equilibrium.

In summary, the varying behaviors of the system throughout its multiple levels, poses a major design challenge where causal relations are intertwined and non-linear. Recognizing that the consequences of an intervention in the other levels of the system cannot be predicted in advances, SOD proposes open-ended processes of incremental innovation. Such processes do not only allow for weighing the response of the system and adapting interventions accordingly, they also enable designers to take advantage of complexity by stimulating small, emergent solutions that can trigger change in the higher levels of the system. The following section will present some examples of the real-world application of systemic approach in design.

Design in Large-Scale Policy Making

The intersection between design and systems theory does not only arise from the efforts of design theorists (Jonas, 2005; Sevaldson, 2009; Nelson & Stolterman, 2013; Jones, 2014) to integrate systems approach with design methodologies. In fact, in the domain of practice, design is gaining the interest of policymakers and governments (Kimbell, 2016; Junginger, 2017). Some examples include the Mindlab, a public

innovation lab, or the 27e Région in France, which conducts action-research programs for experimentation in policy making by including stakeholders. In these experiments for public policy, a large contribution of the design lies in the framing of the problem by institutions which involve the “sensemaking manager” in the words of Christian Bason (2017, p. 227), director of the former Mindlab. For the accommodation of experimentation in currently vertical processes of policymaking, Garmestani and Bason (2013) suggest adaptive cycles that can capture and orient emergent behavior. However, as the Policy Making in the Real World report (2011) from Institute for Government of UK states, there exist wide gaps between the theory and practice reflected in the struggle of public servants to translate the know-how of adaptive policy cycles into the practice. Therefore, as suggested by Junginger (2014, as cited in Kimbell, 2016) the current possible outcomes of bringing design into policy-making are mainly (1) understanding the lives of people that are affected from policymaking in human-centered processes and (2) embedding open inquiry in policy making to generate desirable policies. Furthermore, Adams (2014) indicates that a third possible contribution of design may be to take advantage of the richer codes of complex systems, which that can tell more than what mainstream relational schemes readily offer.

Therefore, it can be suggested that design operates in hybrid modes that integrate bottom-up and top-down approaches towards systemic social change. In the bottom-up direction, human-centered and open-ended approaches of design support the emergence of niche solutions at the local level. Yet it also contributes to higher policy level agencies that facilitate the emergence, sustenance and the potential cross-scale impact of these niche solutions. In this regard, the field of systemic design intersects with design for social innovation as they both employ an open-ended meta-design approach (see Section 2.2.3.2) to overcome the challenge of translating social innovation across different scales.

2.3.3. Transition Design

Transition design is an emerging field that aims to facilitate “societal transitions to more sustainable futures” (Irwin, Kossoff & Tonkinwise, 2015). Similar to systemic design, transition design recognizes that societal transitions are the products of systemic plays, where social, natural, economic and political dimensions are intertwined. It distinguishes itself from the similar systemic approaches in design by focusing namely on the “reconception of entire lifestyles”, which has its foundations in the prioritizations of locality as suggested by Manzini (2009; as cited by Irwin, Kossoff & Tonkinwise, 2015). This section will present a historical account of how the approach of Transition Design came to be followed by its guiding principles.

In its most essential framing, Transition Design proposes the creation of a speculative, experimental and open-ended space, mobilized by the development of future visions which need to be bottom-up and locally nurtured, that is adaptable to changes, instead of one-size fits all methodologies. The approach draws its foundations from many theories such as sociology, ecology, psychology, economy and positions itself as an interdisciplinary field. Presenting a brief historical account of the emergence of the field is useful to make sense of the key concepts it employs. Transition Design has its roots in the sustainability discourse (Tonkinwise, 2016; Gaziulusoy & Oztekin, 2019). Gaziulusoy and Oztekin (2019) state that the early work on design for sustainability (DfS) dealt with ecologic issues and environmental outcomes of production and consumption dynamics. Tonkinwise (2016) states that the later 1990s and early 2000s are characterized by the discourse of Sustainable Consumption. The failure of the Sustainable Consumption movement arises from the allocation of the saved resources from “going green” to other environmentally detrimental activities. Therefore the sustainability science turns its direction to “value-based behavior change” which was derived from social psychology (Tonkinwise, 2016). x Two major moments are reported in the 2000s which accelerated the shift in sustainability discourse. The first is the launch of the Great Transition Initiative in 2003, which was an international network consisting of scholars and activists who advocated for a global transition

(Irwin, Kossoff & Tonkinwise, 2015). A second moment is reported as the Changing the Change Conference in 2008, with the first Ph.D. works that linked sustainable transitions with design (Gaziulusoy & Oztekin, 2019). Gaziulusoy (2019) describes the systemic elaboration of sustainability transitions as the current “edge of the field”, which was also facilitated by the maturation of sustainability science as well as the system innovations and transitions theories.

Living Systems Approach in Transition Design

Irwin et al. (2015) suggest Transition Design as a framework to bring together an array of practices with five main aims as (1) visualization and mapping of complex problems, (2) contextually situating these problems, (3) identification and (4) reconciliation of stakeholders around share future visions and (5) identification of “leverage points” where design interventions can be situated. Similarly to systems-oriented design, which was presented in the previous section, the Transition Design framework conceives systemic change with respect to ecologic systems and their behaviors. Irwin (2011) identifies ten characteristics of *living systems* and their relevance to design. She describes living systems as structurally closed systems that exhibit self-organizing properties. The self-organization refers to a continuous state of non-equilibrium as the system continuously responds and adapts to the perturbations from the outside. This continuous dynamism of the system results in *emergent* properties, which appear at the “critical points of instability” that cannot be predicted.

Transition Design adopts a *multi-level perspective* (MLP) in its framing of socio-technical systems, which is one of the two theoretical models of sustainable development (Gaziulusoy, 2019). The multi-level perspective is an approach originally developed for understanding technology transitions. In his framing of MLP, Geels (2002) suggests that the stability of the established socio-technical regimes depend on the heterogeneous relations which result from the activities of social groups. Gaziulusoy (2019) describes multi-level perspective in three dynamic and

interactive levels that constitute systemic innovations/transitions as landscape (macro-level), socio-technical regime (meso-level) and niche-innovations (micro-level) going from top-down.

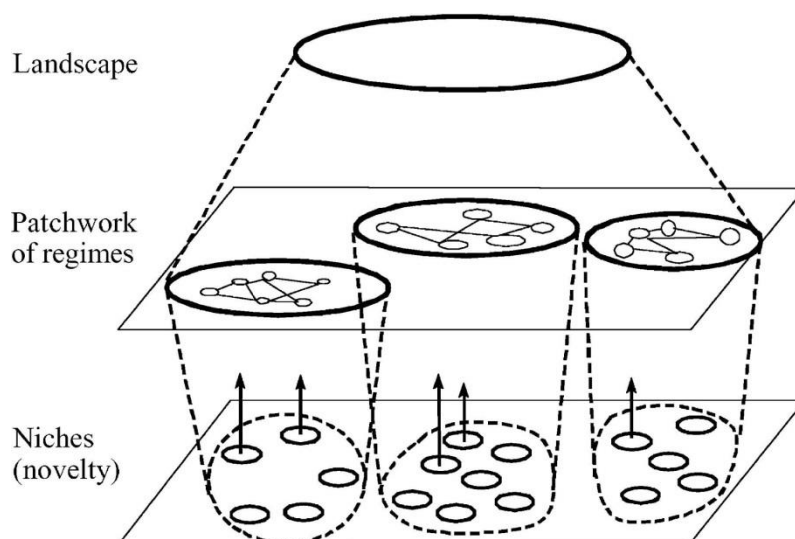


Figure 2.2. Multiple levels as a nested hierarchy.

Adapted from Geels (2002)

Prototyping in Multi-Level Perspective

In the MLP model, the dynamism and mobility increase as we move from top to bottom. The micro-level of niche innovation is what DfS is most concerned with since this is the level where we majorly observe emergent behavior, moving from bottom to the higher levels. The niche-innovation is where the experimentation happens, disrupting larger structures until a new state of equilibrium is reached (Gaziulusoy, 2019). Scupelli (2015) identifies two orders of change within systems. While the first order of change relates to local changes that do not affect the entirety of the system, the second order change is the change of the system itself. He describes them respectively as “perceived change” and “actual change”, the latter being the locus of concern of Transition Design.

Since design usually arises from an initial framing of the problem and the causal relations of improvement, the non-linear causality within living systems seems to be counter-intuitive to the mainstream practice of design. Therefore, designers are invited to embrace an iterative design process with user-centered prototypes, to see the responses that are given the system and adapt their models accordingly. Irwin (2011) signals that, although the behavior of living systems appears to be chaotic, characteristics of the whole and the emergent behavior can be observed at a grassroots level, through local relationships. However, since the interpretation of initial conditions does not suffice to predict the future behaviors of the system, the iterative process requires the observation of the *feedback loops* given by the system. Irwin insists that any attempt to capture the system as a whole would reduce it to a “screenshot of the temporary conditions” and advises a strategy of fostering the “symbiotic relations” within the system (2011).

According to Ceschin (2012), designers can take multiple roles on different levels of sustainability transitions, from design of sustainable product ecologies and services to their embedding into sociotechnical environments as well as the development of experimental paths leading to new outlets of sustainability within which new products and services may emerge. Scupelli (2015) also states that Transition Design recognizes the interconnectedness of systems to address issues at “all scales”, by highlighting that the complex issues are not necessarily those of a large-scale. De Koning (2019) adds that the prototyping activities at the grassroots level may leave traces in everyday life, for people “to enact in their daily lives”.

Having presented the structural approach within which Transition Design conceives systemic change, the following section will summarize the framework of Transition Design as the guiding principles that can inform activities of transition.

The Framework of Transition Design

Irwin et al. (2015) outline the framework of Transition Design in four inter-connected areas as ‘Vision’, ‘Theories of Change’, ‘Mindset & Posture’ and ‘New Ways of Designing’.

‘Vision’ in Transition Design is a shared concept of a possible future which can inspire and inform projects at the present, which are conceived as the pathways leading to the envisioned future scenarios. Irwin et al. (2015) state that specific solutions might be rendered obsolete or subject to change over the course of time and change in the context while maintaining long-term visions of sustainable futures. In fact, they also state that visions themselves are also subject to the same evolutionary cycles and therefore need to be reformulated as new conditions emerge. Building upon the concept of *vision* by Irwin et al. (2015), Scupelli (2015) differentiates the framework of Transition Design as a field from the generic, ‘lowercase’ *transition design*. He states that the systemic change indicated by the word ‘*transition*’ is not necessarily a transition to a more preferable state; however, he states that Transition Design aims to ensure ‘preferable outcomes’ by prioritizing a shared vision of the desired future. Garcia i Mateu (2015) also comments that the open-ended processes as conceived in Design for Social Innovation creates a tension between the experimentation and the need for foresight. She states that the generation of long-term visions in Transition Design can complement the open-ended cycles of experimentation.

The second area, ‘Theories of Change’ (ToC) is based on the development of strategies based on a holistic understanding of the context and dynamics that shape a problematic field. Stein and Valters (2012) draw the origins of the ToC approach back to 1990s to improve the evaluation and practice in community initiatives to evolve into a methodology of “evaluation and informed social practice”. Van Es, Gujit and Vogel (2015) define ToC as “the ideas and hypotheses (‘theories’) people and organizations have about how change happens”. They underline that these theories are not necessarily the outcomes of conscious efforts and can be limited by a “personal

perception of reality” with its beliefs and assumptions. By revealing the surrounding assumptions, a theory of change essentially answers the question of why a desired change would possibly happen in a given context (“What is a Theory of Change”, n.d.). Therefore, the evolving theories of change aim to strip the decision-making process from the assumptions and predictions about specific outcomes, and instead to capture the emergent properties of complex systems and act accordingly. Recognizing that the transition design framework needs to be informed by theories and methodologies from multiple fields, they identify three characteristics to theories of change; (1) a theory of change is always present in any planned/design intervention, whether it is structured or recognized as such; (2) sustainability transitions require systemic actions at every level of society and (3) many wicked problems arise (or their wickedness arises) from our conventional and outdated modes of approaching them.

The third area of the framework is conceptualized as ‘Mindset & Posture’. Irwin et al. (2015) argue that the roots of many wicked problems lie in the individual and collective mindsets that are an accumulation of beliefs, values and assumptions. Therefore they argue that systemic change can only be achieved if these mindsets evolve to pave the way to envisioned futures. Whereas the collective values, beliefs and assumptions are at the foundation of the societal mindset; they also underline that designer's mindset and posture for collaborative action gains importance as well by inviting designers to a self-reflection about their own value systems (Irwin et al., 2015).

The last area of ‘New Ways of Designing’ frames the embrace of the emergent and unpredictability in the design process, which was presented in more detail in the previous section. Irwin et al. (2015) emphasize that the understanding and resolution of wicked problems can be achieved with single solutions but as a result of smaller and incremental solutions. Therefore the designers of transitions must recognize that their solutions might fall obsolete in time to be replaced by new solutions that fit the changing conditions. Therefore, similarly to the arguments of Design for Social

Innovation (Manzini, 2015), designers' role becomes to notice the "emergent properties" and develop adaptable solution environments, instead of developing fully planned and all-inclusive prescriptions.

Whereas the theoretical frame of Irwin, Kossoff and Tonkinwise (2015) focus on the development of sustainable lifestyles based on shared visions, Gaziulusoy juxtaposes her approach with the one of Irwin et al. She states that, alongside local actors, companies play a role of cross-scalar translators of social change, from long-term decisions to the short-term design level, with a focus on product and consumption systems.

2.3.4. Summary

This section presented an overview of the intersection of design with complex systems theory. Complex systems theory provides a frame for understanding the reason behind wicked problems and how they might be addressed despite their complexity that escapes a simple problem framing. From a complexity perspective, wicked problems are embedded in complex causal networks in which cause and consequence relationships of an action cannot be predicted. However, understanding of the characteristics of a systems behavior can inform strategic interventions. Three essential characteristics are highlighted in this review: (1) Complex systems exhibit self-organizing properties, meaning that the entire system seeks more indigenous states through the interaction of countless components that constitute it. (2) The change in these systems happen through feedback loops, which amplify or dampen the effect of a change, according to the response of the rest of the system. These feedback loops are also influenced by the past states of a system, meaning that the system learns in time. And lastly, (3) systems display emergent behavior, which is the change in the behavior of the entire system, through the interaction of its smaller components.

Emergent behavior constitutes the major intersection of complex systems theory with social innovation. In fact, innovation itself is an example of emergence, as a disruption of the system is an unpredictable way. By their embrace of complex systems theory for understanding social phenomena, systems-oriented design and transition design share a similar ground in their understanding of social innovation. They both point to the interaction of stakeholders at the micro-levels of system as the place of focus, arguing that mobilization of these stakeholders can stimulate grassroots innovation. Provided with enabling conditions, these niche solutions at the local level can multiply and get organized in new configurations to trigger higher-level change in systems. Therefore, a primary aim is to understand the relations that surround wicked problems and encourage mobilization at the local level.

An essential problem in triggering intended systemic change is the scalar variance, meaning that the behavior in one level of the system will not produce the same results in other levels, as we move vertically between system landscapes to niche solutions. The proposal of systems-oriented design is making incremental changes in open-ended processes with a continuous observation of the responses given by the system, according to which interventions can be adjusted. Transition design goes one step further in its level of intervention, envisioning not only interactivity of stakeholders but re-conception of entire lifestyles including the mindsets of stakeholders and their future visions. Transition design argues that, if only these stakeholders share a common vision of a desired future can their efforts be harmoniously oriented for transitioning to this future. Transition design suggest theories of change for the organization of these efforts, which essentially define leverage points for taking actions and the steps that might lead to desirable future scenarios. Similar to systems-oriented design, transition design suggests incremental steps that are informed by feedback loops, since transition from today to future scenarios is non-linear and also influenced by the previous states of the system.

Therefore systems-oriented design and transition design share the perspective of design for social innovation in their focus on grassroots innovation and open-ended

processes. However, they also provide a structured understanding of how these approaches can generate systemic change. Besides, these procedural frameworks, there is little mention of how such a mobilization of stakeholders might be organized or what kind of organizational forms can foster the alignment of stakeholders around share visions. Another major gap is the relation of the long-duration processes they conceive to real-world organizations which often function in shorter cycles of intervention. The relation of transition design framework to the real-world case of this research is further explored in Section 5.3. The following section will present an overview of entrepreneurship of refugees, with respect to the systemic conditions that surround these activities and its current state in the context of Turkey.

2.4. Refugee Entrepreneurship

This section is going to present an overview of refugee entrepreneurship as a means of integration and briefly outline the contextual factors that it is bound to, as a systemic issue. This chapter is structured in two sections as ‘Entrepreneurship in Refugee Integration’ and ‘Refugee Entrepreneurship in Turkey’. The first section will provide a theoretical and brief historical foundation on the refugee condition and enterprising refugees. The second section will frame the current situation of refugee entrepreneurship in the Turkey context. Before beginning, it must be noted that the literature includes both immigrants and refugees as entrepreneurs, although they refer to distinct legal status and conditions. Therefore both terms appear in this review with their highlighted distinctive features.

2.4.1. Entrepreneurship in Refugee Integration

The refugee status is defined by the 1951 Geneva Convention as:

“as a person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political

opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him— or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution”

While the 1951 Convention was focused on protecting European Refugees after World War II, the scope of the Convention was expanded with the 1967 Protocol to address the issue of displacement around the world. It is important to distinguish refugees from migrants who are subject to different legal definitions and migrate due to different reasons. Bizri (2017) states that while refugees are displaced due to the threat of life from war, migrants often leave their countries for better economic opportunities. Heilbrunn and Iannone (2018) note that while 90% of the migrants move voluntarily for majorly economic reasons, 10% move to new places to escape violence.

Often arriving in the host country as an influx and in condensed periods of time -unlike immigrants in most of the case, refugees go through periods of integration to the host society for a re-establishment of socio-economic balance. Berry (1997, p.6) characterizes integration among the other strategies of “acculturation” by the maintenance of a level of cultural integrity while seeking to take part in the larger social network. He underlines that integration is a two-way process consisting of the pursuit of the non-dominant groups to take part in the society and the openness and inclusivity of the dominant society. Inclusivity here refers to the provision of equal access to “housing, health-care, education, training and employment”. Economic inclusion is one of the most crucial areas of integration since it influences many other issues such as meeting locals, developing language skills, restoring self-esteem and gaining economic independence (Ager and Strang, 2008). Not only the economic dimension supports the social dimension, but they are also co-dependent as the social dimension also involves access to local sources of knowledge, skills and networks (Shneikat and Alrawadieh, 2019).

The economic inclusion of refugees does not only support their livelihoods but is also suggested to contribute to the economic growth for the host country. In a report commissioned for Tent Foundation and Open Network, Legrain (2016) reports the

statistics from IMF, indicating that additional spending by EU on refugees corresponding to 0.09% of gross domestic product (GDP) in 2015 and 0.11% in 2016, if coupled with the economy from the refugee's work, would result in a total increase of 0.84% of GDP between 2015 and 2020. Legrain (2016) conceives this spending as an "initial investment" for covering the basic needs, registration, provision of access to education, etc. In brief, the report suggests that investing one euro in welcoming refugees can yield two euros of return in five years.

Among other pathways of economic inclusion, entrepreneurship of refugees as a means of accelerating integration has a place in the international policy discourse on migration. The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (2016) underscores the need for developing long-term and sustainable strategies for the inclusion of migrants and to support their contributions to economic and social development. Based on the 2016 Declaration, in its Policy Guide on Entrepreneurship for Migrants and Refugees (2018), UNCTAD suggests the promotion of entrepreneurship as an important mechanism to advance the integration of refugees by supporting them as active actors in the development process. Similarly, The OECD (2013) Entrepreneurship Indicators Program suggests active labor market policies to fight social exclusion by creating job creation measures among which business start-up incentives take a place. Osborne and Patrikalakis (2018) refer to the use of refugee entrepreneurship as a metric of integration in European studies. Within the integration literature, entrepreneurship is defined by the undertaking of a business venture by accepting the associated risks (Heilbrunn et al., 2019). While some definitions of entrepreneurship emphasize 'ownership of business' (Hanson, 2009), other definitions consider the "capacity and willingness" for such a venture as a sufficient condition for entrepreneurship (UNCTAD, 2018).

The entrepreneurial conditions resulting from migration differ largely from those that apply to locals of a country. Kayalar and Yildiz identify four types of entrepreneurship with respect to migration as (1) migrant, (2) ethnic, (3) minority and (4) diaspora

entrepreneurship. In this classification, migrant entrepreneurs refer to those who aim to create opportunities in a new country on a voluntary basis. Ethnic entrepreneurs, on the other hand, can be citizens of a given country but are characterized by their cultural heritage and the professional network that they build upon it. Minority entrepreneurs are defined as those who are citizens of a country yet do not carry the values of the majority, among which Kayalar and Yildiz mention refugees despite their lack of citizenship status. Lastly, diaspora entrepreneurship refers to the groups who are dispersed among different countries upon leaving their country and maintain a national culture. Heilbrunn (2019) underlines that refugees differ from other ethnic and migrant entrepreneurs due to their lack of country's resources, as well as their assets, networks and markets from the country of origin.

Business-related opportunities and the contextual factors that affect the entrepreneurship of migrants are mostly evaluated with reference to the *mixed embeddedness* thesis of Kloosterman (1999) (Peters, 2002; Kloosterman, 2010; Meister and Mauer, 2018). The mixed embeddedness thesis defines three levels of influence as (1) micro level of individual migrant entrepreneurs and their resources, (2) the meso-level of structure of opportunities that the specific market of the host country presents and (3) the macro level which relates to the social, political and economic environment of the host country (Meister and René, 2018). Kloosterman (2010) argues that unlike the entrepreneurial narrative that puts the image of the "heroic entrepreneur" at the center, the mixed embeddedness perspective considers the contextual factors that affect entrepreneurship. Heilbrunn (2019) points to the importance of the meso-level institutional environment for enterprising refugees who face *blocked mobility* arising from the existing labour structures in which they cannot create paths of livelihood (Heilbrunn, 2019; Alaslani; 2019).

So far, I summarized the contextual factors that surround entrepreneurship of refugees and how these differs from entrepreneurial activities of local and other migrants. In the following section, I will focus on the level of individuals by presenting the role of

motivations in understanding refugee entrepreneurship and how these shape the tactics of individuals.

Motivations of Refugee Entrepreneurs

Situated to the micro-level of mixed embeddedness structure, entrepreneurial intent refers to the individual level as “a person’s intention to become an entrepreneur” (Berns, 2017). Based on the theory of ‘planned behavior’ from social psychology, Krueger and Carsrud (1993) state that understanding the intentions, especially in the case of rare phenomena, provides useful insights into the underlying processes. Therefore, motivations of individuals can provide useful insights to understand the phenomena of refugee entrepreneurship. The report from the OECD Entrepreneurship Indicators Program in EU reveals the most common reason to start a business to be dissatisfaction from the previous situation, especially among the young people. Berns (2017) lists the individual reasons of refugees in the Netherlands to become entrepreneurs as the desire to integrate and entrepreneurial ambition; complemented with the contextual motives of “overcoming blocked mobility”, creating a family business, lack of certifications and language skills for employment and social network. UNCTAD (2018) highlights ‘dignity’ as a particularly important concern for refugees, reporting that many refugees who are unemployed seek to start their own business in order to avoid dependency on social aid. Bizri (2017) notes that immigrants who are excluded from the local economy due to racism also tend to choose the path of self-employment and entrepreneurship to gain socio-economic independence.

Entrepreneurial intents result in fact from a complex set of intertwined internal and external factors. From this perspective, Jones, Latham and Betta (2008) argue that entrepreneurial construction of self-identity is a purposeful activity that is shaped both by the entrepreneur herself and the external narratives of ‘being an entrepreneur’. They suggest that these narratives differ according to the aim of the project, whether it is a business-led enterprise prioritizing private gain or a social enterprise seeking social

value. They argue that due to the deep involvement of social entrepreneurs with their social context, their personal narratives tend to be more connected to their environment (2008). Moreover, entrepreneurship affects the perception of the surrounding society about refugees as Murphy and Chatzipanagiotidou (2018) state, that the impact of social enterprises on their surrounding community enhances the visibility of refugees as members of the community.

Factors Affecting Entrepreneurship of Refugees

The favorableness of the conditions that facilitate the entrepreneurship for refugees is often investigated in relation to the integration process and the existing conditions of the host-country for ventures such as the stability of the economy, rates of employment, etc. Shneikat and Alrawadieh (2019) identify such factors as *push factors* and *pull factors*. While push factors are related to personal and external factors that exclude other opportunities, such as the difficulty of finding qualified employment, pull factors are related to attractive opportunities for entrepreneurship. Among such factors, they exemplify the source of financial capital, recruitment, the social networks crafted upon entrepreneurial contacts and the role of informal networks in enhancing the growth of refugee-initiated ventures.

Due to the similarity of the conditions they face, refugee-led startups exhibit some characteristic features. For instance, through the example of a refugee founded restaurant Bizri (2017, p. 855) identifies five characteristics exhibited by such startups as (1) a “one-way-ahead attitude” of persistence in the face of obstacles, (2) a family-like perception of the business by the employment of other immigrants who develop a moral sense of duty towards the business, (3) “collective-bootstrapping” of material resources through family members and other nationals, (4) distinctive network structure where professional and personal relations are intertwined and (5) “opportunity-seizing behavior” which favors the future success of family members.

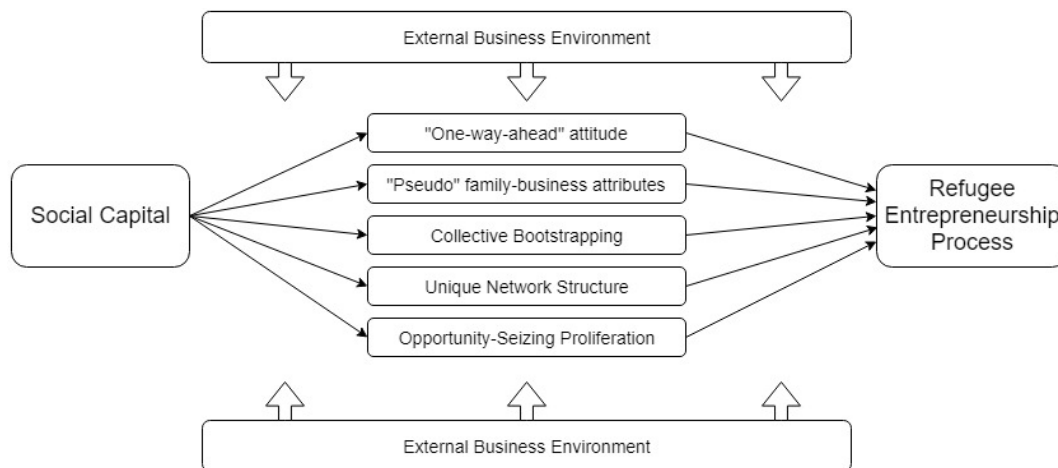


Figure 2.3. Interaction of refugee entrepreneurial characteristics with the external business environment.

Adapted from Bizri, R. M. (2017)

Based on these characteristics, Bizri (2017) suggests that *social capital* plays an important role in shaping refugee ventures' their adaptation to the external business environment. She further argues that social capital gradually leads to intellectual capital which would create new value for a given firm. Similarly to the conclusions of Bizri (2017), Shneikat and Alrawadieh (2019) suggest that Syrian entrepreneurs exhibit strong determination, high ability to form social networks, professional qualification coupled with relevant past experience and willingness to integrate into the host society. Furthermore, Meister and René (2018) note that, unlike immigrants, refugees are less likely to return to their country of origin and therefore tend to establish stronger network ties with the host society.

In his investigation of internal and external factors affecting migrant entrepreneurship in the post-industrial markets, Kloosterman (2010) identifies an opportunity structure matrix consisting of dimensions of 'human capital' and 'likelihood of expansion of a firm'. Kloosterman suggests that in this opportunity structure, high qualification of human capital is mostly coupled with high-scale potential ventures such as high-

technology startups and legal consultancies and lower human capital is often coupled with low-growth ventures such vacancy-chain openings or high-growth niche businesses. However, it must be noted that the proposed opportunity structure does not exclude alternative career trajectories which depend on the conditions of the host country.

As can be seen from the previous accounts, the external factors play an important role in shaping the features of the entrepreneurial pursuits of immigrants and refugees. Rashid (2018) notes some of the barriers that limit the access of refugees to entrepreneurship as bureaucratic complexity, lack of accreditation of foreign credentials, difficulty in policy evaluation and restrictions arising from the legal status. Rashid also highlights that the newcomer refugee entrepreneurs tend to produce replicative businesses, rather than innovative ones with considerable competitive advantages (2018).

Enhancing Entrepreneurial Capacity of Refugees

Various projects and activities are targeted towards entrepreneurial and vocational capacity development of refugees. Ager and Strang (2008) suggest vocational training and the related education programs as essential components of facilitation of integration as they foster employability and can contribute to economic growth especially in sectors with a high demand of labour. While these programs increase the employability of refugees, tailored programs are needed in the case of entrepreneurial ventures. Meister and René (2018) suggest incubators and accelerators as tools to drive success, especially for the case of early-stage ventures. They state that a unique value proposition of incubators is fostering of connections with the local ecosystem, which they define as the social capital of the entrepreneur. Arguing that such social capital is correlating with entrepreneurial success, they highlight that refugees' conditions are significantly different from those of immigrants who are embedded in the networks of their home and host country.

While such programs can be carried out by public and private sector, the programs targeting refugees and immigrants are still a niche field. UNCTAD (2018) reports that many of those programs are still immature to develop an entrepreneurial mindset since they often focus on practical methods of finances, marketing, customer service. Therefore they differentiate the entrepreneurial skills such as navigating uncertainty and creating resources from particular business skills. While short programs are beneficial in the introduction to entrepreneurship and development of essential skills, longer-term assistance is needed for business launch and sustenance. Lastly, the lack of translated materials in entrepreneurship education poses language barriers to accessing entrepreneurial knowledge for refugees and immigrants (UNCTAD, 2018). "Lack of Innovation Another observation emerging from the literature is the tendency of newcomer entrepreneurs to pursue replicative, rather than innovative, entrepreneurship. Referring back to Rashid's (2018) note on the lack of innovative businesses among refugee-led enterprises, such programs can also be considered as potential drivers of innovative business ideas that can generate high economic growth.

This section provided an overview of economic inclusion and entrepreneurship as catalysts of refugee integration, alongside the motivations, resources and contextual factors that affect refugee entrepreneurship. The following section will present the practical reflections of this theoretical background in the context of Turkey.

2.4.2. Refugee Entrepreneurship in Turkey

According to UNCTAD, while the media coverage is more focused on the refugee flows into developed countries, 84% of the world's refugee population is hosted by developing countries. Turkey is one of those developing countries with the 3.9 million refugees it hosts by April 2019, 3.6 million of which are Syrians (UNHCR, 2019). Turkey is bound by the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention, which instructs that 'refugee status' can only be given to those who flee "events occurring in Europe (Kaymaz and Kadköy, 2016). According to the Settlement Law of November 2006,

Turkey only provides full settlement to those coming from Turkish descent and culture, therefore restricting the refugee status for non-European and non-Turkish migrants. People from such origins needed to go through the Refugee Status Determination process by UNHCR until the Syrian influx in 2011 (İçduygu and Diker, 2017). After the large influx in 2011, UNHCR refrained from registering Syrian asylum applications, which was followed by the adoption of Temporary Protection Regulation in October 2014. Temporary Protection Regulation defines a legal framework for administrative procedures and facilitates the access of Syrians to social services such as health, education, labor market (İçduygu and Diker, 2017). While only 9% lives in refugee camps, the rest of the Syrian population in Turkey is settled in mostly urban regions, depending on their own means. Shneikat and Alrawadieh (2019) note that returning to their home country is still not an option for many Syrians since conflicts and safety would persist even if the war ends.

Although Turkey has followed an open-door policy towards Syrians by accepting them as 'guests', Özgüler (2018) notes that from 2011, this approach shifted towards longer-term "developmentalist approaches" as issues started to emerge in primarily labor sector, followed by education and health fields. These highlighted moments were indeed part of a larger policy shift. However, researchers note that Turkey lacked the knowledge pool about Syrians, on which longer-term policies could be founded. Aslantürk and Tunç (2018) state that, due to the unpredicted nature and massive scale of the migration, Turkey is caught unprepared and fell short in developing a functional database. While this causes security issues, it also causes problems in the provision of basic services and integration to the labour market. The current database which belongs to the Directorate General for Migration Management contains data on province, age, gender which is insufficient to develop strategies on educational level and qualifications of Syrians (Kaymaz and Kadköy, 2016) Especially for integration to labor market, the creation of a database is needed to identify the qualifications of Syrians to effectively facilitate their integration (Aslantürk and Tunç, 2018). Due to these limitations, Kaymaz and Kadköy (2016) suggest that current projects focus on

making improvements at the micro-scale where a larger picture to base strategies on seems to be missing.

To understand the condition of economic inclusion of Syrians in Turkey, it is useful to review some facts about the demographic structure of Syrians. The 3RP Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan indicates (2017) that 7 % of Syrians currently inhabit the 21 Temporary Accommodation Centers in provinces near the Syrian border. According to DGMM, 61% of Syrians are of working age (İçduygu and Diker, 2017). Özgüler (2018) states the widespread argument that Syrians in Turkey have low qualifications compared to those who migrated to Europe and the USA. In fact, whereas the rate of university graduate Syrians who migrated from Turkey to Germany is 70%, only 2% are university graduates in Turkey. Kaymaz and Kadkoy (2016) illustrate the demographic contrast between the two countries by reporting that 30% of Syrians who fled to European countries from Turkey had university degrees, which is higher than the average of Germany. Özgüler (2018) reports that within research in Istanbul 49.9% of surveyed Syrians did not have a profession, and those who had a profession were knowledgeable in fields of crafts, handwork, agriculture and stock farming. In contrast, the report by 3RP (2017) indicates that prior to crisis, most Syrians had the skills and experience in industry and service sectors, which could be considered for further programs of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) and employment support.

Integration of Syrians to Labor Market in Turkey

As presented in the previous section (3.4.1), economic inclusion of refugees constitutes a major component of integration. Özgüler (2018) states that migrants who have the opportunity to work distance themselves from the self-perception as a burden to the host country. Similarly, the members of the host population will not feel negative emotions towards migrants as superior people who work and produce. However, this situation is expected in economies where there relatively fewer

problems, unemployment rates are low, informal employment is low and the job opportunities are many and qualified. It is argued that labor markets are becoming more and more problematic due to the global socio-economic developments following the 1980s and changes in ways of production.

Integration of Syrians to labour market remained unaddressed for many years (Kaymaz and Kadköy, 2016). The report from 3RP (2017) indicates that access to livelihoods is an urgent matter since most Syrians exhausted their assets and resources during and after displacement. In addition, the population in the South-East, which is the one most affected by the displacement, is already one of the poorest in Turkey. Important moments in economic inclusion of Syrians are the issuing of Law of Work Permit for Foreigners in 2003, Law on Foreigners and International Protection in 2013, the establishment of Directorate General of Migration Management in 2014 (İçduygu and Diker, 2017). The temporary protection regulation grants access for Syrians to labor market in following conditions: having a temporary protection ID card, being in temporary protection for at least 6 months, the number of Syrian employment in a company being limited to 10% of employees (Turkish), only working in their residence of temporary protection, application to be made by the employer (online) and additional conditions for working in agriculture, education and health sectors (İçduygu and Diker, 2017). UNHCR indicates that this is the first time such a large population of refugee group is granted access to the local labor market. (İçduygu and Diker, 2017)

Although the regulation granted Syrians with the right to work, the dispersion of the policy was quite limited. Kaymaz and Kadköy (2016) report that between 2011 and 2015 only 7700 Syrians were granted work permits. In 2017, İçduygu and Diker (2017) state that, according to DGMM data, despite 61% of Syrians being of working age, only 1% of Syrians were granted work permits. According to 3RP report in 2017, an estimated number of 26.000 work permits were issued. The economic inclusion policies also included the provision of TVET, skills and language training for both

Syrians and members of the host community in order to increase access to employment opportunities.

There are several reasons for low participation in the formal labour market and reception of work permits. Firstly, Turkey is already struggling with high rates of unemployment, while the 3RP report indicates the unemployment rate to be 10.2% by July 2017, by the beginning of Spring 2019 the number reached 14.7% (TRT News). Secondly, although the work permits provide access to formal employment, it does so in very limiting conditions. İçduygu and Diker (2017) state that the high cost of employing refugees is discouraging for employers who need to apply for employing Syrians. Kaymaz and Kadkoy (2016) highlight that the foreigner employment quota of 10% of total employees and the restriction of Syrians to only work in the provinces where they have registered limits the already few employment opportunities. Del Carpio, Seker and Yener (2018) report that many Syrians who move to Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir which have more dynamic labor markets, cannot seek formal employment unless they tackle the cumbersome and costly administrative process of changing their location of registration. Especially the “geographic limitation” and “employment quota” add up to the existing informal and precarious work conditions of Syrians (Kaymaz and Kadköy, 2016)

Due to these reasons, many Syrians, in fact, do not seek formal employment (İçduygu and Diker, 2017; Aslantürk and Tunç, 2018). Firstly, refugees who receive cash support from EU-financed funds lose the benefits of cash support if they work formally (Del Carpio et al., 2008). Özgüler (2018) note that many of the jobs that employ migrants are grouped under 3D jobs, as dirty, dangerous and demeaning. Since Syrian workers accept lower wages than the Turkish, they are afraid of losing their competitive advantage as a cheap workforce, if they get formally employed (İçduygu and Diker, 2017). İçduygu and Diker (2017) also emphasize that this competition for low-wage jobs creates tension between Syrian workers and the host community.

However, they also differentiate the high-skilled labor market which is less influenced by the influx of Syrians.

Syrian Entrepreneurs in Turkey

Turkey is considered to be a favorable environment for entrepreneurship (despite the recent economic crisis that started from 2017 and onwards) by its dynamic domestic market, strong consumer demand and young population (İncesulu, 2017). İncesulu states that the absence of strict regulations may be an advantage for an early-stage business that is looking to scale. He also adds that the geographic location of Turkey makes it 'necessarily' open to foreign markets. Within this context many Syrian established companies sprout in Turkey, ranging from the establishment of new business outlets for existing financial capital to self-employed Syrians and scale-oriented startups led by Syrians.

Kaymaz and Kadköy (2016) note that Syrian established companies exhibit a gradual increase in years. İçduygu and Diker (2017) highlight that Syrians constitute the largest group of foreign entrepreneurs in Turkey. While in 2011 Syrian established companies represent 0.2% of total 54 thousand newly established companies, this number grows to 1% in 2013, to raise to 2.4% with 1600 new companies established by Syrians. Authors add that Syrian-owned businesses are most common in the South-east Turkey, where Syrian established companies constitute 13.1% of new companies in Gaziantep, with 15% in Mersin and 35% in Kilis. These companies do not only bring in the capital of Syrian tradespeople, but they also contribute to the export rates of the region by using their existing trade relations (Kaymaz and Kadköy, 2016). Apart from the profit-driven businesses, Murphy and Chatzipanagiotidou (2018) state that social enterprises established by Syrians offer unique pathways to complement the aid programs run by international organizations and offer inclusive "urban citizenship", namely by the projects carried out by Syrians in Istanbul and Ankara.

However, similarly to the labour market, Syrian-owned companies face many obstacles in operating, sustaining and scaling their business in Turkey. The research on Syrian SME's in Turkey, conducted by Building Markets (2018) highlights some of these issues. The report indicates that the large population of Syrians in Istanbul, which is close to half a million, gave way to a local community in an active and outward-looking city. Similarly, the Turkish-Syrian business cooperation and value creation are still low, which can distantiate Syrian firms from entering the 'public procurement market' as well. The report also states that competition and tax constitute 60% of the issues that these companies face, alongside the relatively minor issues of accessing finance, currency fluctuations and bureaucratic issues.

While these conditions mainly affect established companies, there are ongoing efforts towards the economic inclusion of Syrians as novice entrepreneurs, ranging from small-scale business owners to technology startups. Gürsel (2017) states that the programs to support the entrepreneurship of refugees started following the 2016 'Regulation on Work Permits for Foreigners under Temporary Protection', led by international organizations, NGOs and NPOs. Within this discourse, İncesulu points to the lack of innovative character in Syrian-led businesses, which results in a more modest contribution to the economy. In fact, the entrepreneurship training programs have different scopes in their definition of entrepreneurship with more or less focus on innovativeness. Some of the programs in Table 2.1 below illustrate the variety of the scope of entrepreneurship addressed in entrepreneurship training programs.

Incesulu (2017) states that the language barrier and access to finance remain as obstacles to entrepreneurship, especially for the highly skilled migrants. İçduygu and Diker (2018) also argue that entrepreneurship should be supported with further support mechanisms such as one-to-one consultancies for setting up businesses and providing low-interest loans. Another strategic approach is reported by Incesulu (2017) and Ariadna (2017), suggesting e-learning as a potential training outlet, especially for Syrians who have limited mobility but intensively use mobile devices.

Table 2.1. Example Entrepreneurship Programs for Syrians in Turkey

Program	Organizations	Year	Target Group	Scope of Entrepreneurship
Innocampus	Innocampus and IOM	2015	Turkish and Syrians	High-Medium Growth Ventures
Imece	UNHCR and Habitat	2016	Turkish and Syrians	High-Medium Growth Ventures
Not for Syrians, We Work with Syrians	Young Guru Academy	2016	Turkish and Syrians	Social Innovation
Creative Thinking and Entrepreneurship Training	Habitat and Turkish Red Crescent	2016	Syrians	Re-establishment of existing businesses
Build Your Future	Impact Hub, GIZ, Turkish Entrepreneurship Foundation	2017	Syrians	High-Medium Growth Ventures
INGEV Entrepreneurial Support Center	INGEV	2018	Syrians	Entrepreneurial Consultancy
Girişime Destek [Support to Entrepreneurship]	ILO, Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Security, IKADA Consulting	2018	Syrians and Turkish	Establishment of Businesses

3.4.3. Summary

This section presented the role of economic inclusion in the integration of refugees and migrants and the instrumentalization of entrepreneurship towards high-value economic inclusion. The reviewed literature suggested entrepreneurship as a strong tool for integration since entrepreneur refugees are in closer interaction with their surroundings. Although some of the literature elaborates on entrepreneurship for migrants and refugees as issues with similar characteristics, it can be seen that the differences in their legal status require different strategic approaches towards economic inclusion. In this review, the

entrepreneurship of refugees is approached from a mixed embeddedness perspective, suggesting that the entrepreneurial potentials are bound by personal, market-related and institutional and policy-level factors. The understanding of the personal intentions of refugees in becoming entrepreneurs is given a particular focus as a means of unveiling the underlying factors of refugee entrepreneurship. Similarly, the literature suggested that the entrepreneurship support mechanism that aims to enhance the entrepreneurial capacity of refugees should aim to foster the ‘entrepreneurial spirit’ of their audience, beyond the provision of business and management-oriented skills.

The second section of the review presented an overview of the legal framework that regulates the participation of Syrians into the labour market. The accounts and statistics indicated that despite the regulation for work permits, the penetration of the formal work is still low due to the rigid conditions of the regulations that render formal employment undesirable both for employees and employers. Therefore, entrepreneurship appears as an alternative path for both Syrian tradespeople and young people. The understanding of entrepreneurship among institutions is found to be primarily related to the establishment of small and medium-scale businesses with fewer examples of programs that target growth-oriented ventures. The literature suggests that both Syrian-owned businesses and novice Syrian entrepreneurs need complementary support mechanism to encourage high-value generating businesses and foster the growth of existing enterprises. These supports do not only benefit Syrians but in turn contribute to economic growth, especially in economically disadvantaged regions that Syrians majorly populate.

2.5. Summary

This review initially presented a historical overview of the emergence of social orientation of design and the new roles of designers. Whereas the issue of social responsibility of designers was raised by Papanek (1973) in 1970s, the involvement

of design with social issues in the larger sense was accelerated by the global transition to post-industrial era. As designers' role shifted from designing artifacts to the design of service systems, the issue was no longer preventing the negative consequences of production and consumption mechanisms, but to explore the potential of design as a problem-solving agent in tackling of social issues. Design thinking appeared as a catalyst at this stage, increasing the recognition of design for development of services in non-industrial sectors, which included public and civil sectors. The projects of high-profile design consultancies fostered the adoption of design-led and human-centered methodologies in addressing the needs of underserved communities in the form of services generated through grassroots innovation.

The following discussion on the social involvement design initially around the generation of social change through design vis-à-vis the mainstream market mechanisms which excluded vulnerable communities. At this stage, global developments towards networked services such as open-governance models or distributed production brought in alternative ways of addressing social needs outside of the commercial and charity dichotomy. Social design and design for social innovation departed from this focus on networked services, raising new approaches towards collective articulation of social issues. This was followed by an ever-increasing focus on understanding of the systems within which social change happens and how their dynamics can be used to support the growth of social change. In fact, whereas social design and design for social innovation share a common emphasis on communities, the focus of DSI shifts to the triggering of systemic change through the local initiatives generated by communities. Despite its emphasis on the translation of social efforts into systemic change, DSI is far from specific regarding the means of this translation. Metadesign is one perspective in which collective efforts in a large-scale system is articulated, suggesting an infrastructuring approach which involves open-ended processes in which stakeholders can interact to stimulate grassroots solutions and collaborate to scale and distribute these solutions.

Advancing from this initial intersection of design with the systems approach, later fields of design such as systems-oriented design and transition design base their frameworks on the understanding of behavior of complex systems, which include sociotechnical systems. Both these disciplines embrace the notion that, in the right conditions, a small change in a complex adaptive system can trigger systemic change. Therefore, they both prescribe envisioning of radical and systemic change through incremental steps, by identifying leverage points in the system where grassroots innovations can emerge, multiply and align in new structures to stimulate systemic change. These two disciplines also intersect in their emphasis on the inclusion of stakeholders from all levels in the design of strategic interventions since small-scale initiatives need to be enabled and supported by larger-scale structures for systemic change to take place. However, transition design separates from systems-oriented design by the processes it envisions. It essentially involves longer-term processes, throughout which stakeholders can align around shared visions of distant future, to reach which strategies can be identified, applied, evaluated and adapted in shorter-term iterative cycles.

While the literature is rich in such procedural frameworks, it is scarce in case studies which can inform the application of these frameworks. While the cases in systems-oriented design literature majorly relate to technology transitions, transition design, as an emergent field, presents a narrow literature. With this scarcity of examples of real-world applications of these models, little is said on what kind of organizational forms can accommodate such long-term, open-ended processes or how these models would co-exist with the existing operational frameworks which prioritize specific objectives and deadlines in the shorter-term over iterative processes.

The last section of this review consisted of an overview of refugee entrepreneurship as a means of integration and the contextual factors that it depends on. This review indicated that entrepreneurship of refugees contributes to their socio-economic inclusion, while it is also expected to contribute to the economy of the host country. The entrepreneurial activities of refugees were approached from a mixed

embeddedness perspective, similar to the conception of multiple levels of a system in systems-oriented design and transition design. An implication of this perspective was the understanding of contextual factors that affect entrepreneurship of refugees, which greatly differed from entrepreneurial context of the locals, both by the barriers and opportunities it presented. Following this systemic overview of refugee entrepreneurship, this section presented the context of Turkey with respect to the integration of Syrian refugees and their entrepreneurial capacity development. The literature revealed the lack of systemic mobilization of actors involved in integration of Syrians and the conflicts of interests of multiple stakeholders towards economic inclusion of Syrians in the labor market of Turkey. However, the literature also indicated that, despite the challenges, many Syrians were starting businesses in Turkey the growth of which depended on the accessibility of various support mechanisms. In fact the contextual landscape for Syrians in Turkey, reflected many aspects of the transition design framework such as alignment of stakeholders, importance of shared future visions and the leverage points where small interventions can stimulate large-scale impact.

To conclude, the theoretical frameworks of design-led social change and the real-world landscape of refugee entrepreneurship formed the foundation for approaching the case of this research as a transition design problem. The following chapter will present the findings of this research, which I will discuss from a transition design viewpoint in Chapter 5 *Conclusion*.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study investigates the entrepreneurial experiences of Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey, with respect to their process of socio-economic integration. In order to this, I brought the Build Your Future (BYF) entrepreneurship training program under the lens, which is a program specifically designed to provide entrepreneurial capacity development for novice Syrian entrepreneurs in Turkey. In order to examine the topic, the experiences, opinions, strategies and feelings of both the program participants and representatives of organizing institutions were collected through field observation and in-depth face-to-face interviews.

The choice of BYF Program for this research has several reasons. First of all, entrepreneurship programs that include refugees as their audience are still rare to only gain a relative frequency from 2018. I was able to get informed about the program thanks to my personal networks in the entrepreneurship ecosystem in Turkey. Angrosino (2007) states that the researchers are important parts of the research process since they bring in their own presence and experiences, which contributes to their reflexivity in the research. As the researcher my previous experience as a peer entrepreneur with Syrians, eased my access to the specific terminology of entrepreneurship and enhanced my understanding of the phenomena which I was observing.

In this chapter, I present the context of this research, research approach and design, followed by a detailed account on the conduct of this research. Data collection for this research is composed of two stages: field observation and semi-structured interviews. Initially, field observation was conducted, which was followed by semi-structured interviews with participants and the representatives of involved

institutions. In the following sections, I describe sampling, data collection process, the methodology of data analysis and the limitations of this research.

3.1. Context of Research: Build Your Future (BYF) Program

Build Your Future Program (BYF) is an entrepreneurship training program targeting Syrian refugees in Turkey with the objective of introducing Syrians to the concept of entrepreneurship and providing an elementary level of entrepreneurship training to its participants. BYF Program is powered by Turkish Entrepreneurship Foundation (GİRVAK), supported by Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and therefore funded by German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). BYF Program was initiated within the project activities of GIZ, which is a federally owned enterprise of the German government, providing services in international cooperation for sustainable development in more than hundred countries. In Turkey, GIZ implements a number of different projects supporting refugees and host communities in the areas of education, employment, social cohesion and capacity development, as well as projects not related to the refugee situation in the area of climate and energy.

With the support of GIZ, the content design and execution of the program was carried out by Impact Hub Istanbul which is a branch of the impact-oriented global entrepreneurship network Impact Hub, operating as a co-creation and co-working space. Although GIZ had a relatively long history of working with refugees in Turkey towards development and integration, BYF was the first experience of GİRVAK and Impact Hub Istanbul of working with a refugee group, despite their extensive experience in entrepreneurship training and entrepreneurial ecosystems.

Table 3.1. *Calendar of Build Your Future Program*

Date	May	June 21	June 23	July 27-31
Event	Meetup I	Ideathon I	Meetup II & Ideathon II	Bootcamp
Location	Istanbul	Istanbul	Gaziantep	Istanbul

The first program of BYF was conducted in Spring-Summer 2018 (see Table 3.1), which was within the scope of this research and it was followed by the second program in 2019. BYF was structured as a three-stage program consisting of two meetups in Gaziantep and Istanbul, two-day-long Ideathons in Gaziantep and Istanbul and a five-day-long Bootcamp in Istanbul to which the participants of both Ideathons could apply. The meetups were organized in May 2018, followed by Ideathons on 21 and 23 June 2018, respectively in Istanbul and Gaziantep and the final Bootcamp took place between 27-31 July 2018. The outreach of the program was carried mainly through online channels supported by the communication channels of NGOs in Turkey which have a connection to local Syrian communities. Another channel of outreach was the semi-closed communication channels among the local Syrians such as WhatsApp and Facebook groups where existing members introduced the program. The information about the program was provided on the webpage of buildyourfuture.co which had Arabic and English language options. And lastly, the meetup events provided a physical encounter between the organizations and potential participants to inform them about the concept of entrepreneurship and BYF Program.

I will present a short description of the program components (see Table 3.2). The meetups were essentially information sessions with the aim of introducing a group of Syrians and namely Syrian university students to the concept of entrepreneurship and building familiarity with potential participants. These events were open to the public and included presentations from Syrian businesspeople in order to encourage

participants for entrepreneurship by sharing success stories. Meetups were followed by two, day-long Ideathons in Gaziantep and Istanbul with the objective of introducing participants to a problem-centered idea generation and solution formulation methodology. Lastly, the five-days long Bootcamp at Impact Hub Istanbul, which had more limited participation introduced participants to a step-by-step methodology to shape their solution ideas into viable and structured business plans.

Table 3.2. *Structure of Build Your Future Program*

Component	Meetups	Ideathons	Bootcamp
Duration	1 day	1 day	5 days
Aim	Introducing participants to entrepreneurship	Introducing participants to a methodology of problem-centered idea generation	Providing step-by-step methodology to shape ideas into viable business plans
	Announcing the program		
	Building familiarity with participants		
Audience	Public	Novice Syrian Entrepreneurs	Novice Syrian Entrepreneurs
Selection	N/A	Online Application	Online Application and Phone Interviews
Prerequisite	None	Team Participation	Team participation
			Having participated to the Ideathon
Number of Participants	+30	17-20	20

3.1.1. Participants of the BYF Program

BYF Program essentially targeted Syrian candidate entrepreneurs with a wide demographic array. The meetups, which were the introductory events of the program hosted a mixed public audience. Regardless of participation status to meetups, potential participants could apply through the online form to participate in the Ideathons. The Ideathon application form consisted a short set of questions about the profile of the participant (education level, profession or field of education, age, gender, nationality, city of residence), the problem identified by the participant, the suggested solution (not compulsory), future visions of participants related to the solution and the team composition. Team participation was compulsory. The form was available in English and Arabic and the applications in Arabic were translated to English by translators. Around 200 applications were received for two Ideathons combined. Although the age was limited to 18-35 years at the beginning of the application process, this was later extended to accept applicants up to 50 years old. Similarly, the nationality of applicants was initially limited to Syrians which was later expanded to cover refugee from other nationalities upon incoming applications from other nationalities.

Within the scope of this research, only the Ideathon in Istanbul was part of the observations due to relative strictness of event permissions issued in Gaziantep. 17 people participated in the Ideathon in Istanbul consisting of diverse age as well as diverse educational and professional background. The participants arrived in teams of 2 people. The majority of participants were male, with only 3 female participants in the Ideathon in Istanbul. Despite the age variance among the participants, most of the participants were university students, recent graduates or young refugees.

Following the initial idea generation training at the Ideathons, a secondary application cycle was carried out for the five-day-long Bootcamp in Istanbul. Having participated in the Ideathon was compulsory for getting accepted to the Bootcamp. Similarly, Bootcamp applications were received via the online application form on

the website of the program. Around 50 applications were received via the online application form. Since the participants were expected to have built an elementary knowledge about formulating an entrepreneurial solution statement, the questions in these applications were more detailed and participants were expected to express their reflexivity about creating a business. The questions generally consisted of problem and solution statement related to applicant's business idea, followed by more detailed questions about the envisioned business such as the target user group, potential sources of revenue, competition, market size, previous funding experience etc., as well as their motivation for participating the Bootcamp. Similar to Ideathons, these application forms could be filled in English or Arabic. These questions aimed to both ensure a shared introductory-level knowledge of entrepreneurship among the participants and to exclude the applicants who had a relatively advanced level of entrepreneurship since they would not be able to benefit from the Bootcamp. The application process included a second stage as the phone interviews during which participants were directed similar questions to express themselves verbally. For non-English speakers, these interviews were accompanied by consecutive interpretation between Arabic and English. From 38 online applications, 10 teams were selected to participate in the Bootcamp, 7 of which were from Gaziantep. For participants who were coming from Gaziantep, accommodation was provided alongside meal services for all participants at the event space. Similarly to Ideathon, the Bootcamp hosted a diverse group of participants with business ideas from various sectors, from the social sector to information technologies. While some of the participants had been working on their business idea since a while by developing prototypes or on-paper strategic plans, few others had just started to approach their solution within an entrepreneurial frame.

3.1.2. The curriculum of the BYF Program

In this section, I will present the curriculum of BYF program in two stages as the Ideathon in Istanbul and the Bootcamp. I will describe the curriculum in chronological order, including the other activities such as ice-breakers, warm-ups and reflection sessions. The training was provided by two facilitators and they were accompanied by sector-specific experts and mentors during the Bootcamp. English was the main language of the training and simultaneous interpretation was provided during the training between Arabic and English. Headsets were provided to non-English-speaking participants and the facilitators, whose words were interpreted in a cabin set up at the corner of the room. Therefore, while non-English-speaking participants could follow the facilitators through headsets, they could also express themselves in Arabic which would be translated back to English.

3.1.2.1. The curriculum of BYF Ideathon Istanbul

The Ideathon in Istanbul was a day-long program and had the same curriculum as the Ideathon in Gaziantep. This short program had the objective of providing the participants with a methodology of the problem and user-centered idea generation. The participants were expected to arrive at the program with a problem towards which they wanted to develop an entrepreneurial solution. Although the statement of a solution was optional during the application stage, participants were expected to develop new solutions during this training. Ideathon took place in Impact Hub Istanbul, which includes an event space that is separated from the co-working areas inside the building. The event space can be re-arranged depending on the event and it included a projection screen around which tables were arranged to face the screen. Space also included a food and beverage service area and a mezzanine overlooking the event space from which members of the organization team could follow the event without interfering in the event space.

The Program consisted of seven sessions which were supported playful activities. In Table 3.3, I present the sessions, their content description and the supportive materials which exercise sheets and templates handed-out during the training. The program of the Ideathon started with the arrival of participants. The participants were greeted by the attendants of the organizer team and they were asked about their language of preference (English or Turkish) as they received their name tags. After an approximately hour-long welcoming stage, the introduction of the program started with the presentation by GİRVAK which described the activities of the institutions and emphasized the value of refugees becoming entrepreneurs. The presentation of GİRVAK was followed by the program introduced by the two facilitators of the training. This presentation presented the outline of the program, the objectives, and content of the following Bootcamp and the value of getting inside the entrepreneurship ecosystem in Turkey.

Table 3.3. *Components of BYF Ideathon*

Session	Content Description	Supportive Materials
Problem Statement	Presentation of the identified problems with the 5W2H Method	5W2H Method Sheet
Networking	Verbal exchange of ideas and discussion on potential collaborations	N/A
Persona Creation	Describing a persona who experiences the given problem	Persona Canvas
Problem Definition	Defining the problem with its root causes and the factors that surround it	Problem Definition Canvas
Customer Journey Map	Graphic visualization of the experience journey of a prospective customer	Journey Map Template
Idea Generation	Individual generation of new solution ideas and team voting for ideas	Adhesive Notes
Presentation of Solution	On-stage presentation of solutions and exchange of feedbacks	N/A

The training started with a warmup of impromptu networking where participants shared with each other the challenge that they have brought into the meeting and their expectation of exchange with the rest of the group. During this short warmup, participants talked in random pairs to get to know each other. After the warm-up the first session of the training started where the participants were expected to formulate a clear problem statement indicating the when and where, the impact potential and potential resources that can be allocated for this problem by using the 5W2H (abbreviation for what, why, when, where, who, how, how much) framework on the exercise sheets. After this short exercise, participants were invited to take turns on stage to present the problems that they identified, according to the framework. Participants shared feedback and discussed potential collaborations on similar ideas. A warmup exercise followed this session where the participants could play with non-verbal communication.

The third session of the training was the persona canvas where the participants created a persona related to their problem statement, by using the exercise sheets. In the fourth session, participants were asked to fill in the problem definition canvas, based on the previous exercises. The problem definition canvas required identification of the root causes and surrounding and validating factors of a given problem. In the fifth session, the participants visualized the journey of their prospective customers by identifying the pain-points and discovery phase of their solution using the Journey Map template sheet. The facilitators accompanied the teams during this stage as they were trying to navigate the task. By the end of the exercise, few teams shared their customer journeys, through which the facilitators gave feedback to all participants. After identifying their customer and the experience to be dealt with, the team members individually generated ideas (brain dumping method) which were voted within each team. When the final ideas were chosen, the teams were given a few minutes to prepare a concise formulation of their solution idea and present it on stage with their problem statement. During these on-stage presentations, feedbacks were exchanged both among participants and by the

directives of facilitators. At the closure of the training, participants were re-informed about the Bootcamp and the application process.

3.1.2.2. The curriculum of BYF Bootcamp

The Bootcamp of the BYF Program was a five-day-long condensed entrepreneurship training that aimed to provide novice entrepreneurs with a step-by-step methodology to create a structured and viable business plan from their ideas. The Bootcamp also took place in Impact Hub Istanbul with the participation of 10 teams. Similar to Ideathon, simultaneous interpretation was provided through headphones distributed to the participants and the facilitators/lecturers. The program included training modules that were presented by facilitators and sector-specific mentors as well as warm-up activities and self-awareness exercises that aimed to enhance the entrepreneurial mindset of participants. In addition to the two facilitators who conducted the Ideathon, a trauma healing expert had participated the facilitator team to carry out self-awareness and play sessions. In this section, I will present the general outline of the Program with a daily structure.

The Bootcamp training consisted of eight modules distributed in four days and the last day was dedicated to the mentor meetings and the closure event where participants pitched their business plans to a public audience. The program structure is as presented in Table 3.4.

First Day. The first day of the program started with the distribution of promotional gift packs of the program to the participants. In an introductory presentation, the flow of the program and the facilitators were introduced. The activities started with a collective breathing exercise to increase focus and a quick networking session that encouraged participants to meet new people. This was followed by a short discussion presenting what comfort zone is and how it relates to entrepreneurship, encouraging participants to go out of their comfort zone and to be open to new experiences. The first training module was Purpose-to-Practice Training. The participants initially

formed groups of two with people out of their teams and conducted 9 Whys exercise, aiming to find the root cause of their motivation in solving a problem. Following this exercise, the participants formulated their purpose statement, departing from which they listed the key activities that they needed to carry out in order to reach the purpose. The second training module was the Lean Canvas, which provides a template for identifying the key components of a business such as a problem statement, customers, key revenue channels, etc. While filling in the Lean Canvas, participants were encouraged to identify a level-of-confidence for each component to gain awareness of their assumptions. By the end of the exercises, teams took turns on stage to present their lean canvas and receive feedback as a group. The day ended with a closure activity where participants shared their feelings about the day.

Table 3.4. *Training Calendar of BYF Bootcamp*

Days	Training Modules
Day 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Module 1: Purpose-to-Practice Training ● Module 2: Lean Canvas
Day 2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Module 3: Validation: Stating the top assumptions and validating them. ● Module 4: Strategic Planning
Day 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Module 5: Pitching
Day 4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Module 6: Basic Marketing Tools ● Module 7: Legislative training on how to set up a business in Turkey ● Module 8: Information on access to funding
Day 5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mentor Meetings ● Public Pitching Session

Second Day. The second day of the training started with the third module of validation where participants were encouraged to state their top assumptions about their business ideas and validating them through customer interviews. This session

included a short presentation about customer discovery and the guidelines for conducting customer interviews. Participants were asked to prepare a set of questions for a customer interview, which was then taken to test rounds with on-stage interviews between a few participants and the facilitator. Due to the time limitations of the training, the interviews were carried out between the participants in randomly paired groups. This session was followed by a short exercise where participants imagined that they had an encounter with another participant five years ahead from the training and the personal journey that they would share in such an encounter. The stories were written by participants and exchanged in paired discussions. In the afternoon, participants were introduced to the fourth module of the training, Strategic Planning, where they identified their market positioning and the key milestones for reaching their solutions to the market. The last session of the day was the Storytelling lecture which aimed to raise awareness of participants about the non-verbal aspect of effective presentation skills.

Third Day. The third day of the program started with an on-stage storytelling exercise, where volunteer participants shared the stories behind their business idea. Each presentation was followed by feedback from facilitators about the wording, storyline, body language and intonation of the presenter. The entire day was dedicated to the fourth module of pitching throughout which participants were expected to create the content of their pitch presentation with essential components of a business plan such as problem/solution statement, potential customers, market positioning, competitive advantage, roadmap, etc. While the participants were expected to integrate their previous learnings into their presentations, short lectures were included about specific components of pitch presentation such as market size assessment or value proposition. The presentations were prepared in incremental stages with one-to-one feedback from facilitators. The last session of the day was body language training for enhancing the presentation skills of participants.

Fourth Day. The fourth day of the program was dedicated to sessions with guest lecturers who delivered the modules related to marketing, the legal framework of

business ownership in Turkey and access to funding. The marketing training was in a lecture format with small exercises and questions assisting the participants in identifying the essential aspects of their marketing strategy. The legal training presented the legal framework of business ownership in Turkey with relevant highlights for foreigners including their legal responsibilities as business owners. The final session of the day was the presentation on access to finance which included an array of funding resources from support for SMEs to civil society funding resources and entrepreneurship competitions. By the end of this day, all participants were asked to finalize their presentations for the pitching event on the next day.

Fifth Day. The last day of the program started with the speed mentoring session. With the aim of facilitating communication, each team prepared a flipchart sheet on which they wrote the name of the venture and the three most important challenges they predicted towards the realization of their business idea. Mentors from various sectors arrived at the event space and they introduced themselves and their field of expertise to the participants. During the session, each team hung their sheet on the wall and stood in front of the sheet for the mentors to visit in rounds. Non-English-speaking teams were accompanied by an interpreter to communicate with the mentors. By the end of the speed mentoring session, pitching exercises were carried out with each team pitching on stage and receiving feedback from the facilitators. During these exercise rounds, other teams reviewed their presentations for the last adjustments. In the evening of the day, a public audience was invited for the pitching event, to whom each team presented their business idea on stage. In order to facilitate the communication between the audience and the participants, each team was allocated a paper envelope hanging on the wall, in which people from the audience could leave their feedback, suggestions and contact information.

So far, I presented an overview of the BYF Program and its curriculum which aimed to develop the entrepreneurial capacity of novice Syrian entrepreneurs and mature their business ideas into structured business plans. The curriculum was designed and applied by Impact Hub Istanbul, which also adapted the content of the

entrepreneurship curriculum to include presentations and exercise sheets in English and Arabic. The following section will present the research stages associated with the program.

3.2. Research Approach

In the previous section I summarized the structure and the content of the training. In this section, I will describe the approach that I adopted in this research.

Gray (2004) identifies three epistemological positions that can be adopted in research as “objectivism”, “constructivism” and “subjectivism” (p. 17). This research adopts a constructivist approach in its methodology. Unlike objectivism which suggests independence of reality from consciousness and subjectivism which argues that meaning is “imposed” (p. 17) on the subjects, constructivist approach considers meaning and truth as the creation of interactions of the people with the world (Gray (2004). Therefore, the truth is not discovered but constructed by the subjects in relation to a phenomenon. A constructivist worldview prioritizes understanding of the existing phenomena over theoretical generalization (Creswell, 2009) and sense-making of people about their experiences over pre-defined goals of research (Gray 2004). With the aim of exploring the experiences of novice Syrian entrepreneurs in Turkey and the institutional experiences that are involved in this phenomenon, this research adopts a constructivist epistemological approach.

In order to capture the experience of the program by the participants and the strategies of organizations in entrepreneurial capacity development of refugees within the larger context of migration, a qualitative research approach is adopted in this research. Angrosino (2007) suggests qualitative research as approaching the world as it is, instead of simulations in controlled environments. Focusing on the real-world phenomena, qualitative research reveals insights about how people construct the world around them and their meaningful interactions. Moisander and Valtonen (2006) emphasize that generalization is not one of the primary concerns of

qualitative research which seeks to study situated conventions in their own historical context, in order to interpret cultural practices that often seem blindingly obvious. Therefore, qualitative research aims to develop a holistic understanding of phenomena in natural settings through multiple means of data collection without aiming to test theories or produce generalizable results.

In this study, I employed a qualitative research approach in order to reveal the practices, opinions, strategies, beliefs, i.e. various dimensions that are shaping the engagement of Syrians in Turkey with entrepreneurship. In order to form a holistic picture of the issue, this research is concerned with both the local institutions and the refugee individuals who are involved in entrepreneurial capacity development of refugees. Therefore, this research seeks to shed light on the relations, concerns, and practices that emerge within the scope of the BYF Entrepreneurship Training Program, rather than producing generalizable results for the field of entrepreneurial capacity development towards refugees.

3.3 Research Design

Creswell (2009) identifies the characteristic of qualitative research by stating that qualitative researchers mainly collect data in a natural setting related to the subject phenomena and employ multiple sources of data collection such as observations, interviews, and documents. Therefore, qualitative research is an exploratory process without tending to answer specific research questions or validate a prior hypothesis. Since this research aims to understand the experience of novice Syrian entrepreneurs in Turkey, it was necessary to draw a holistic picture of such experience from multiple levels by understanding the opinions, motivations, experiences, and practices of Syrians alongside the strategies and perspectives held by institutions that aimed to facilitate their engagement with entrepreneurship. The setting of an entrepreneurship training can offer insights about interpersonal relations between participants, facilitators, experts, mentors and public who participate in the event.

Not only people but also material artifacts such as entrepreneurial teaching materials are involved in such a setting, the processes around which can reveal insights about the larger process of entrepreneurial capacity development. In order to understand the relation of an entrepreneurship training to the wider context that it is embedded in, the field ethnography was complemented with interviews with both participants of BYF and representatives of the organizer institutions (see Figure 3.1).

The collected data consisted of field notes, photographs and interviews, which I analyzed in an inductive mode with cross-references across the different types of data sources. Within the constructivist epistemological frame, Flick (2004) states that qualitative research should deal with the material of research at multiple levels. Cresswell (1991) notes that in qualitative research, the data analysis is a bottom-up structuring of interpretation that builds patterns, categories, and themes. It is interpretative and adopts a theoretical lens (not specific theories) to understand the meaning that people attribute to the phenomena in question.

With the aim of constructing the meaningful relations that surround the entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians, this research was structured in three phases as: (1) field observation during Ideathon 2 and semi-structured interviews with participants of this event, (2) field observation during Bootcamp and semi-structured interviews with participants of this event and lastly, (3) post-program interviews with the representatives of the organizations involved in the program. Therefore, two complementary research methods were employed as field observation and semi-structured interviews. Since this study focuses on the practices of both novice Syrian entrepreneurs and institutions that are involved, observation of interactions between individuals from both sides in its natural setting was a unique opportunity of crucial importance. Moreover, observation of interactions with both people and material artifacts as well as the processes that constituted the training program allowed the reveal a multiplicity of practices and the factors that affected them. The textualized material that resulted from the observations and interviews

were analyzed with an inductive approach, seeking to reveal the patterns within the research material, instead of fitting it into pre-defined categories.

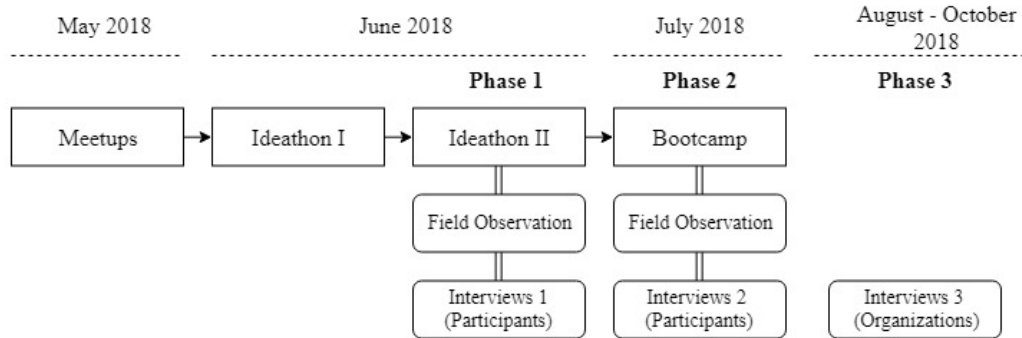


Figure 3.1. Research Design

3.4. Data Collection

In this research, two complementary research techniques are employed as field observation and semi-structured interviews. In line with the constructivist approach adopted in this research, I aimed to interpret the entrepreneurship experience of Syrian refugees and its relation to the larger context of integration through the observation of their practices during the BYF program and the accounts of Syrians and institutional representatives through the interviews. In the following sections, I will present a methodological outline of the data collection, followed by an overview of the conduct of data collection.

3.4.1. Field Observation

Creswell (2009) describes qualitative observation as the observation of behavior and activities of people on the research site by taking field notes in an unstructured or semi-structured way, with varying degrees of engagement with the individuals according to the role taken by the researcher. Since the researcher who conducts the observation is a part of the research field, a question that is often raised is the impact

of researcher's presence on the natural setting of the field and behaviors of people, requiring the researcher to adopt an appropriate role in the field (Wolff, 2004; Bogdan et al., 2007; Flick, 2009). Participant as observer technique (Creswell, 2009) was adopted in both field observations where I remained majorly passive with minor interactions with the participants. Such limited interaction was preferred within the context of the research since I did not fit in the specific participant profile of Syrians and a complete observer approach could disrupt the attention of the participants who could feel like they were being monitored and evaluated.

Mason (2002) states that a critical aspect of observation is the focal area of the researcher and the decision-making involved in the research process as the researcher direct her gaze between multiple happenings at the research site. In order to retrieve and record observation data, the field researcher can use an observation protocol to have a flexible structure of observation that can include portrays of individuals, description of physical space, parts of dialogues, etc. (Cresswell, 1991). Mason (2002) underlines that such research protocols tend to be fluid as new discoveries emerge throughout the observation yet a strong relation to the research questions should be ensured to capture relevant information. Both field observations were conducted with an observation protocol (see Appendix B), in order to capture relevant information from the field.

3.4.1.1. Entering the Field and Consent

Wolff (2004) states that, especially in ethnographic research that involves organizations, the relations with gatekeepers of organizations is of crucial importance to gain access to the research site. In addition, in more horizontal organizational structures, the researcher may need the approval of multiple decision-makers. Therefore, the initial step of this research was contacting the head of the responsible organization in order to conduct the research. In an online meeting, the

aim, objectives and the process of the research were described which were also shared in a printed document.

On the event day, initially the Ideathon, the facilitators briefly introduced me as the researcher and asked for verbal consent of participants for the observation during the training. Following the introduction, I described the research topic and the relevant objectives by encouraging the participants to come and ask if they had any questions about the research. The process of field entry was a similar one during the Bootcamp, some participants of which were already familiar with me and a few among them had already participated in the interviews. During the introduction session at the beginning of the training, I introduced the research and my role as the researcher. In fact, unlike the Ideathon which was a relatively short training, during the Bootcamp, many participants personally came to me to ask questions about the research and offering their help for the research. A similar process occurred with the facilitators, who were willing to share more information about the design of the program and the challenges they were facing behind the curtains, as they gained familiarity with me as the researcher.

3.4.1.2. Conduct of Field Observation

The field observations of this research took place during the Ideathon and Bootcamp events of the BYF Program (in June & July 2018), which summed up to six days of observation of training. Prior to the observation, I prepared a guiding observation protocol (see Appendix B) which included the composition of the participant group, the relations and exchanges between the teams, the responses of participants to the content and application of the program such as acceptance, resistance, deviation etc., the interactions between the facilitators and the participants, the points of specialization of the program content for Syrian participants, the teaching methodology of the program such as case examples, methodological directions and facilitating components. This guide was in the form of a set of questions rather than

a structured template with the purpose of not limiting the observation process to pre-defined dimensions. The observation protocol evolved throughout the observation to include interactions that were not foreseen during the preparation of the observation protocol.

The observations during the Ideathon and Bootcamp were similar in their conduct, with the only significant difference that the second observation was more interactive with the participants which also arises from the longer duration of the training and the familiarity that resulted from the time that was spent together. The data of observation was mainly recorded in the form of field notes. However, during times when the discussions and flow of the training would be too fast and intense for the written record, I took audio notes as voice records, which were added to the field notes at the end of each day. I also took photographs of some of the slides to record the training content, with the permission of facilitators. Although I conducted most of the observations as a spectator of the event, in some occasions such as the warmups I was invited to take part in the group activity since the presence of an outsider would interfere with the flow of the activity. I was also requested to assist the participants during the preparation of presentations when the facilitators would be overloaded, due to my experience as an entrepreneur which was known by the organization.

During the observation, I occasionally engaged in dialogue with the participants, asking informal questions about their experience of the training, their background, and activities. Additionally, since most of the participants were speaking and writing in Arabic, I sometimes asked them to describe what they were doing during the training. In a few cases, I asked the permission of participants to take photographs of their exercise sheets and workspace, while being careful to not to include and identity revealing information in these photographs. Many participants voluntarily started a discussion with me, inquiring about the research and offering their contribution to the research, especially during the break times. Some non-English-speaking participants even requested their peers to interpret their questions for me.

Break-times were full of conversations since one or a few participants would always approach me to chat and share their experiences. In a few cases, participants would divert the topic of discussion to political matters and their traumatic experiences in Syria, in which I would remain rather passive, refraining from expressing opinions.

Similarly, the facilitators shared their experience during the training in some break times, asking about my observations and possible feedbacks. In such discussions, I shared limited opinions about the ongoing training and offering instead, to share my observations in a report format after the training. In the middle of the Bootcamp, I was asked to participate in one of the meetings between the facilitators for the evaluation of the ongoing training. In this meeting, I shared rather generic observations by trying to interfere with the flow of the training as little as possible.

3.4.1.3. Field Notes

Gray (2004) describes the creation of fieldnotes as a three-stage process which is comprised of a mental capture of the setting and how it feels etc. The initial mental notes are followed by jotted notes that fill in the blanks between the mental notes to aid the later production of comprehensive field notes. Mason (2002), states that the process of fieldnotes depends on the methodological and theoretical orientation of the researcher. Therefore, field notes can be perceived as a raw data which will evolve into a structured data set, they can also be part of a developmental process where the research documents personal insights, questions, and analytical ideas. During the observations, field notes included the practices, behaviors, and accounts of both participants and the facilitators, accompanied by descriptive notes relating to the setting and context of the training. Throughout the process of notetaking, sticker icons were prepared by the researcher (see Figure 3.2) to highlight the repeating interactions such as reactions of participants, evaluations from participants, cultural conflicts, etc. I occasionally included my questions, insights

and my role in the setting both as further analytical memos and as a self-reflection in the observer role.

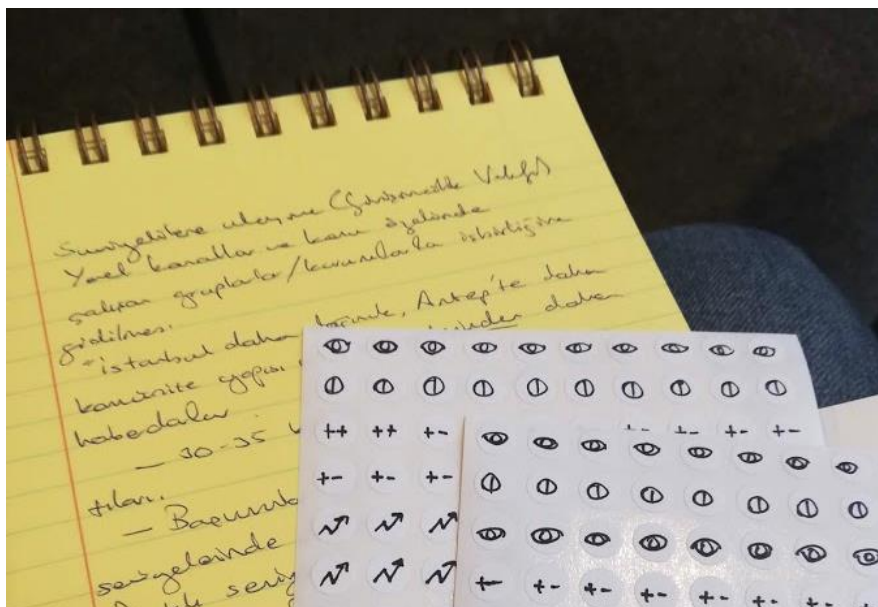


Figure 3.2. Example of field notes and memo stickers

3.4.2. Second Stage Data Collection: Interviews

The second method of data collection in this research was the semi-structured interviews. Interviewing is a preferable research tool when the nature of the research is exploratory and involving the feelings and lived experiences of people (Gray, 2004), aiming to understand the meanings that people attribute to lived experiences (Seidman, 2006). In order to understand the experience of participants and organizations throughout the training and their relation to the larger context of integration, semi-structured interviews were conducted in three stages as: (1) with the participants of the Ideathon in Istanbul, (2) with the participants of the Bootcamp, (3) the representatives of the institutions who took part in the organization of the BYF Program (see Figure 3.1). Semi-structured interviews not only serve the purpose of understanding the meaning attributed by subjects to their lived experiences, but they also allow the researcher to probe questions to clarify

and deepen the topics, with a more flexible structure. Interview guides were prepared prior to the field observation, for all three stages of interviews (see Appendices C, D and E). The findings from the field observation mainly contributed to the development of parts of the interview guides related to the training experience. Since these initial findings were mostly aligned with the topics that were included in the preliminary interview guides, there was not a necessity for major changes in the interview guides. During the interviews, spontaneous probing was employed not only to encourage in-depth conversation, but also to avoid or re-frame sensitive topics for refugee participants who might be reluctant to share their true views with the researcher about their negative experiences (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003).

3.4.2.1. Sampling

Flick (2009) states that gradual sampling strategies in qualitative research require decision-making about the material and the subjects to be included in the research throughout the process of collection and interpretation of data until theoretical saturation is reached. Unlike statistical sampling, where a portion of a population of pre-defined size can produce generalizable results, theoretical sampling is preferred when features of the basic population are initially unknown and sampling criteria is re-defined in each step. Therefore theoretical sampling is purposive and can focus on choosing different cases such as typical, extreme, sensitive, critical, etc. (Flick, 2009). Since the features of the population were unknown before the interviews and the total population of sampling was a small one (21 participants in total) gradual sampling approach was adopted in this research which also depended on the availability of the participants.

An important limitation for sampling was the language of interviews since some of the participants did not speak Turkish or English, yet each team had at least one English-speaking member. The interviews with English-speaking participants were conducted in English. Two interviewees were not-English-speakers but since they

were quasi-fluent in Turkish, these interviews were conducted in Turkish. Only one of the interviewees could not speak either language, therefore the interview was conducted with two members of the team as the other member helped with the interpretation. Only one of the participants who spoke Arabic-only could be interviewed due to the lack of resources for interpretation.

The initial sampling for the first cycle of interviews depended on the communication channels of the institution which was the gatekeeper in the context of the research by holding the contact information of participants due to the absence of personal contacts with participants in the short event. Describing the difference between formal and informal gatekeepers for the research conduct, Seidman (2006) warns about the risk of formal gatekeepers since the interviewees may feel obligated to take part in the research. This was evaluated to be a negligible risk for the case of the research since the participants were not members of the institution and had only been in relation with the representatives for a short amount of time. With an introductory script provided by the researcher, e-mails were sent to the participants by the institution, including an online form to fill to take part in the research. Few participants responded that they would be willing to participate in the research and 3 interviews were conducted with Ideathon participants who did not participate in the Bootcamp.

The second cycle of interviews took place after the Bootcamp, where the participants who were willing to participate in the interviews voluntarily shared their contact information. From this group, a total of 8 interviews were conducted. Participants were purposefully selected to gain insight about the entrepreneurial experience from different age groups and levels of professional experience (see Table 3.5). Lastly, the representatives of the institutions who organized the program were interviewed, with 1 representative from 3 organizations. These representatives were directly contacted during the event for an interview request, which was then scheduled by e-mail.

Participants were also selected to include examples from different entrepreneurial practices. In fact, participants of the BYF Program worked on a variety of business ideas which was taken into consideration in the investigation of networks, motivations and practices of participants. Table 3.6 presents the business ideas of the participants of BYF Program who were interviewed in this research. Anonymization and confidentiality of data is of utmost importance in working with refugees since it can expose participants to life-threatening danger (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). Therefore, the names of the participants were anonymized with pseudonyms, in order to ensure confidentiality of the data, while maintaining the links between the practices of participants in relation to their backgrounds and individual contexts.

Table 3.5. Interviewees and their backgrounds

Interviewees	Age*	Program	Education Degree (completed)	Professional Experience (years)	Previous Entrepreneurship Training Experience
Interviewee 1	20-25	Ideathon	Highschool	2	No
Interviewee 2	35-40	Ideathon	Associate Degree	10+	Yes
Interviewee 3	20-25	Ideathon	Highschool	1	No
Interviewee 4	35-40	Bootcamp	University	10+	No
Interviewee 5	35-40	Bootcamp	University	10+	No
Interviewee 6	30-35	Bootcamp	University	10+	Yes
Interviewee 7	25-30	Bootcamp	University	8	Yes
Interviewee 8	30-35	Bootcamp	University	7	Yes
Interviewee 9	20-25	Bootcamp	Highschool	0	No
Interviewee 10	35-40	Bootcamp	University	10+	Yes
Interviewee 11	20-25	Bootcamp	Highschool	2	Yes
Interviewee 13	35-40	Organization	Master's	10+	NA
Interviewee 14	40-45	Organization	Master's	10+	NA
Interviewee 15	40-45	Organization	Master's	10+	NA

*Ages are given in segments of 5 years

3.4.2.3. Conduct of Interviews

Table 3.6. *Interviewees and their business ideas*

Interviewee	Business Idea
Aman	Collective Camps for Self-Awareness
Usher	Extracurricular Activity Center for Syrian and Turkish Children
Hasan	Legal Counseling for Syrians in Turkey
Zuhal	Legal Counseling for Syrians in Turkey
Ramee	Driving Safety Tracking
Amir	Filmmaking Training Center for Youth
Mohammad	Filmmaking Training Center for Youth
Jafar	Entrepreneurship Training for Syrian Women
Issam	Freelance Digital Development and Design Platform
Naazeer	High-Nutrition Food
Mahboub	Sports Training Center for Children

Since the effectiveness of the interview depends on the communicative skills of the researcher (Mason, 2002), the relation between the interviewee and the researcher is important to retrieve in-depth information. In the planning of interviews, face-to-face meetings were preferred to facilitate an in-depth discussion.

Since the first two stages of the interviews included participants from vulnerable populations, an important role of the researcher was to guide the interview in order to avoid negative experiences or topics that may not be relevant for the research. Seidman (2006) states that sometimes participants may choose to talk about personal experiences and even uncomfortable ones such as death and illness. In such a position it is the researcher's choice to signal if the topic is relevant to the research. However, it is suggested that, if a personal account is shared, it is mostly an important experience for the participant and can contribute to understanding the relations between different

experiences. Gray (2004) indicates that in some cases, interviews can be a therapeutic experience for the interviewee. Seidman (2006) warns that the researcher may fall into a position of therapist, especially if the participant is sharing personal and distressing experiences. In such cases, it is suggested to do nothing, use only a few words and take control of the situation if the topic is causing a stressing reaction from the participant. Seidman suggests that the researchers should weigh for themselves if they can navigate a specific topic, before delving into it (2006). Particularly in relation to the context of this research, Krause (2007) states that, doing research with refugees who often have past traumatic experiences and precarious conditions requires further attention to ethical questions about the process. Indeed, such issues arose during the interviews, which I describe below in more detail. Interviewees were informed about the research and its objectives as well as the principles of confidentiality of the research, by e-mail before the meeting, verbally and in written consent forms during the meetings (see Appendix A). All consent forms were provided in English since all participants were known to be English speaker, therefore consent forms were not provided in Arabic. The meetings were tape-recorded with the consent of the participants.

First Stage of Interviews

The first stage of the interviews was conducted with 3 participants of BYF Ideathon with face-to-face meetings in silent spots of cafés in Istanbul. Since Ideathon was a shorter program with only a few modules, these interviews were shorter in duration between 30-60 minutes. The topics of the interviews included the personal background and arrival to Turkey, previous work in the business idea, expectations from the program, experience of the program, assessment of the program, future plans and entrepreneurial identity.

Second Stage of Interviews

The second stage of interviews following the Bootcamp was also conducted as face-to-face meetings in cafés, in Istanbul and Gaziantep. Especially in Gaziantep, which

was an unfamiliar city to the researcher; finding appropriate public locations proved to be a challenge and each location was tested by the research alone before the meetings. Each interview took between 60-100 minutes. Participants were generally willing to share their personal backgrounds and namely for questions about personal experiences, interviewees were reminded of their option for not answering the question. Since the participants had already gotten familiar with me during the five days program, they were more eager to share their stories with a more familiar face. This was also an advantage of having interacted with the participants during the observation. During some of the meetings, participants would delve deep into their experiences back in their home country and sharing traumatic experiences which would not always be related to the research. Therefore, the interview could quickly slip into a therapy session; in such cases, I would refrain from interfering or expressing any opinions and give the interviewee space to express him/herself. Since the interviews required traveling, they were organized in an intense schedule. In order to cope with the psychological weight of listening to a traumatic experience as a researcher untrained for such situations, I sometimes asked interviewees to take a few minutes of break together.

Third Stage of Interviews

The third cycle of interviews was conducted with the representatives of GIZ, GİRVAK and Impact Hub Istanbul. Two of these meetings were conducted face-to-face and one of them was conducted via phone conversation which was recorded with the ACR App. The topic of these interviews included but was not limited to the background of the program, the role of the institution, the aim, and objectives of the program, the impact measures of the program, insights about the program, learnings from the program and perspectives for the future. Again, the familiarity with the institutional representatives during the time of the program appeared to have a positive impact to facilitate the conversation.

3.5. Data Analysis

Data analysis for this research consisted of the transcription and analysis of the field notes and the interviews. The data resulting from the interviews were coded in two cycles to identify the major concept that appears throughout the data and gradually construct the meaning that is inferred in the data. Saldana (2009) describes first cycle coding as labeling of major topics over large segments of texts to initially identify the general themes that appear throughout the text and their frequency of occurrence. The goal of second cycle coding is to develop a form of organization from the first cycle codes by categories, themes, concepts or theories. The data analysis process followed in this research is presented in Figure 3.3.

3.5.1. Transcribing the Interview Data

Gray (2004) underlines that verbatim transcription of data is crucial, by avoiding shortcuts and transcribing the exact words of the interviewee. Although verbatim transcription is a time and energy-consuming process, it allows for the researcher to capture the feelings, hesitations, and reflections of the interviewee, as well as to evaluate the interview skills of the researcher. Seidman (2006) states that interviewers who transcribe the interview material themselves know their interviews better, but this can be an exhausting process for the researchers.

The interview data was manually transcribed by the researcher herself. An online audio transcription tool (*speechnotes.co*) was sometimes used for the transcription of a few interviews in Turkish, in which the researcher verbally repeated the content of the audio record from the interview to ensure adequate capture of verbal expression. Since none of the participants (except for one interpreted interview) spoke in their native language, manual transcription of the interviews ensured that the expressions were not lost in the transcription process.

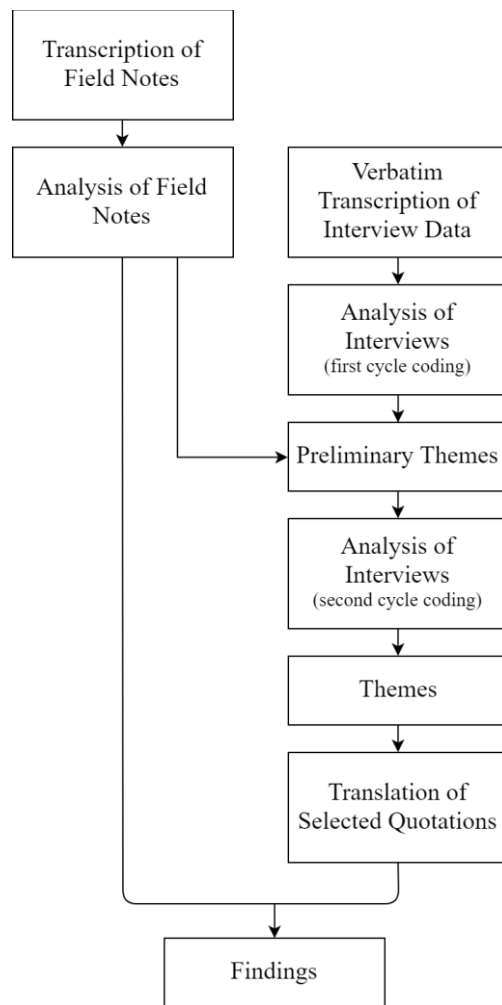


Figure 3.3. Data Analysis Process

3.5.2. Analysis of Interviews

As I outlined in Figure 3.3, the analysis of interviews carried out in two cycles. For the first cycle of coding, initial coding method was used, in which the researcher remains open to theoretical directions offered by the data (Saldana, 2009). Initial coding method essentially aims to provide the researcher with an analytical lens for further investigation of the data. The first cycle of coding was done on paper to enhance the free reflection of the researcher. The codes were accompanied by analytical memos that were written on adhesive notes. Since the interviews covered

the experience of participants as refugee entrepreneurs alongside their experience of BYF Program, more specific coding methods were also integrated into the analysis, such as in-vivo coding, process coding, emotion coding, and values coding. Saldana (2009) describes in-vivo coding as coding by employing the exact expressions of the participant, particularly to refer to cultural terms. In this analysis, in-vivo coding was used to capture the perspectives of participants, especially when a similar expression was frequently adopted by different participants. Process coding was employed to code the actions of participants in the face of ongoing issues (Saldana, 2009). Saldana suggests that as a “universal human experience” (p. 86) emotions provide deep insights into the perspectives and conditions of life of participants. Therefore, emotion coding was employed to capture the motivations, disappointments, fears and other affective states of participants which influenced their life. Lastly, value coding was employed to understand the beliefs, perspectives, attitudes of participants which in turn informed the understanding of their experience as a whole. In some parts of the interviews, simultaneous coding (Saldana, 2009) was employed, when a portion of a passage related to multiple codes. The initial themes that resulted from the first cycle coding were used to inform the second cycle of coding from which further categories resulted.

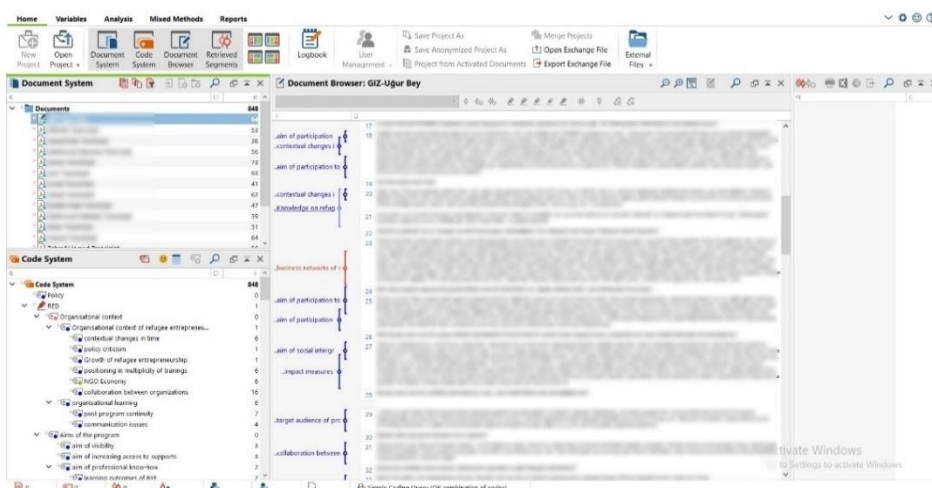


Figure 3.4. Coding in MaxQDA

The second cycle of analysis employed focused coding method in order to develop categories that do not have sharp frames. focused coding enables the researcher to compare new codes that were structured during the second cycle and evaluate their relation and "transferability" (Saldana, 2009, p.158). This stage of coding was carried out on *MAXQDA* software which is design for qualitative and mixed methods data analysis. The transcribed interview files were transferred to *MAXQDA* where the interviews were coded with a gradual emergence and continuous review of categories. By the end of second cycle coding, eight themes were identified, which are presented in Table 3.7 with their example codes.

By the end of second cycle coding, 848 segments were coded and categorized in *MAXQDA*. The categorized segments were exported into an *Excel* sheet. In this sheet, the themes and related categories were manually organized by the researcher in order to construct the narrative of the findings.

Table 3.7 Coding Themes and example codes

Themes	Example Codes
Institutional Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● contextual changes in time ● NGO economy
Legalizing Activities in Turkey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● travel limitations ● search for roof organization
Access to Local Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● entering the Turkish market ● small & big city difference
Interaction with Host Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● familiarity with the local context ● resentment towards the host community
Self-Initiated Prototypes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● prototype as an agent of trust ● not-for-profit prototypes
Entrepreneurship Trainings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● multiplicity of trainings ● vague expectations
Networks of Syrians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● networks through NGOs ● local initiatives
Motivations & Entrepreneurial Approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● sense of gratification ● trade background

3.5.3. Limitations of Data Collection Process

A major limitation that affected both the observation and the interviews was the language barrier between me and the participants. During the field observation, although I could observe the physical actions of the participants to interpret the situation, I was unable to eardrop on conversations or look their usage of the materials since almost all of the participants were using Arabic to speak among them and fill in the exercise sheets. Moreover, I could not spontaneously talk to the participants who were only Arabic speakers as I did with those who could speak English or Turkish. Due to the high cost of working with an interpreter which was beyond my financial capabilities, most of the Arabic-only speakers were left out of the sample, whom I think, could reveal insights about the experience of a language barrier in their daily lives and as entrepreneurs.

My background in entrepreneurship was both a barrier and an advantage. Since my experience was known by the facilitators, I was spontaneously invited to take part in the training and assist the participants in certain stages, which developed beyond my control. However, having an entrepreneurial background also seemed to ease my recognition by the facilitator as an individual who can comprehend the training and reflect insights in an adequate way. Moreover, such interactions with the participants, especially during the Bootcamp, helped me gain the trust of participants to conduct the later interviews in a more friendly atmosphere.

Cultural norms also affected the research, especially during my visit to Gaziantep where almost all the participants who lived there wanted to offer me their hospitality. In one interview, the participants showed up with their family members as they wanted to introduce me to their family as a guest in Gaziantep. Eventually, I suggested to postpone the interview and instead joined their tea and hookah evening. Another limitation of the interviews was the traumatic experiences of most of the participants, some of whom shared their stories with little reservation. Due to my lack of background in the domain of psychology, these accounts and their possible impact on

the current practices of participants were not thoroughly analyzed within this research. After the first few interviews, I requested the assistance of the trauma therapist who was part of the facilitator team and thanks to his guidance I was able to manage such moments of traumatic downpour.

3.6. Summary

In this chapter, I presented the research approach, the context of this study, the process of data collection, the methodology of data analysis and the limitations in the data collection process. This research embraced a qualitative approach within a constructivist epistemological framework with the aim of understanding the experiences of novice Syrian entrepreneurs and institutions who work towards their entrepreneurial capacity development through the case of Build Your Future Program

Two methods of data collection were employed in this research as field observation and semi-structured interviews. The field observation was carried out during the two events of BYF Program and served to understand the dynamics within the training environment. The field observation served both to build familiarity with participants and informed the content of interviews. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with the participants and the representatives of institutions who organized the BYF Program. Through these interviews, I was able to form an understanding of practices of individuals and institutions and how they related to the larger context of integration and refugee entrepreneurship in Turkey. The interviews were transcribed and then analyzed in two cycles of coding. The selected quotations were translated by the researcher herself. The categories that emerged throughout the research were organized in themes and their cross-relations were established. I will present the findings that resulted from this analysis in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The previous chapter presented an overview of the BYF Program as the context of this research (see Section 3.2). This chapter presents the findings of this research, through the accounts of representatives of organizations and participants who were involved in the BYF program, combined with the field research that was carried out during the trainings. This chapter initially presents the positioning of entrepreneurial capacity development with respect to the landscape of participation to labor market for Syrians in Turkey, this section includes the strategic perspectives of organizations and labor practices of participants of the BYF Program. The second section of findings presents the entrepreneurship experiences of participants of the program with a holistic account of their motivations, socio-economic context, and entrepreneurial practices. The third section investigates the BYF Program from the perspective of organizations and individuals, including the process of organization of the program and its objectives, the training environments and its influence on the learning experience and lastly an overview of the impact of the program with a comparative analysis of accounts of organizations and participants of the program.

4.1 Landscape of Participation to Labor Market and Economy for Syrians under Temporary Protection

I position the participation of Syrians under Temporary Protection (SuTPs) to the labor market and the economy in Turkey as a central issue, as it portrays the transition of refugees from a ‘newcomer’ status to active and independent residents of the host country. In this section, I discuss the current landscape of the issue from the perspective of the organizations which are linked with the program, followed by a

comparative analysis of the way organizations frame the issue vis-a-vis the current labor practices of the refugees. The current labor practices of SuTPs will include a description of the current circles of employment followed by the opportunities and challenges that refugees face in their specific context of employment.

4.1.1 Organizational Strategies towards Economic Inclusion

Among the Syrian refugees who actively participate in the local economy, this participation takes on different forms such as the ongoing trade activities by Syrian businesspeople, employment in institutions, freelancing, unskilled employment, freelancing and non-monetized labor in the civil sector. I will discuss the variety of practices of participation to the local market, through the variety of strategic responses that organizations devise.

Labor Market on Turkish and Syrian Pillars

Organizations adopt a multiplicity of connected strategies towards the inclusion of Syrian refugees in the Turkish labor market, which they frame as a complex issue connected with the legislation, social integration, professional capabilities of refugees to name a few.

BYF program is part of the 'TVET (Technical and Vocational Education and Training) and Labor Market Services Projects of GIZ, which consists of two action areas as labor market and TVET. As BYF program was devised within the labor market action area of GIZ, it is vital to draw the landscape from the perspective of GIZ so that I can position entrepreneurship within this landscape in the following sections. According to the account of Demir, who was the representative of GIZ, the aim of the project is to increase the access to labor market services for refugees and host society. Therefore the strategic approach of the project consists rendering support options available for people who are looking for a job or setting up their own

businesses, which can increase their chance of participating in the labor market. Within this frame the TVET action area focuses on providing vocational training in collaboration with the Turkish Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Trade. The department of labor marketplaces employment as their primary area of focus, where GIZ forms partnerships with a broad range of actors, from governmental institutions to NGOs and private sector. These cooperations include capacity development for the Syrian ‘Rızık Bureau of Employment’ (an employment consultancy initiated by Syrians in Turkey), PERYÖN (People Management Association of Turkey), Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) and Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce. GIZ chose the partner organizations based on their technical expertise and capacities, as well as their potential for outreach and proximity to the area of focus. As implied by Demir (GIZ), the potential for outreach of some of these partners places them in a critical intermediary role to communicate ongoing activities. Such outreach serves to scale the span of engagement across a wide range of local actors who can contribute to integration of Syrians to the labor market.

On the Turkish side, as I said, we look at where we can reach while choosing the managers of human resources. Our main goal was to reach the managers of internal resources, and there was PERYÖN. We could not reach much the other local associations, but through PERYÖN, we were able to reach the agents of human resources. They have 18.000 contacts in their mailing list. (...) We reached 600 people directly. (...) From the side of government, we cooperated with the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR). While cooperating with them, we tried to determine the right actors that influence the labor market in Turkey.

While GIZ works with a range of organizations from public agencies to private initiatives, Demir emphasized the importance of engagement of professional associations for their outreach potential and influence.

Professional associations, not only for migrants, they are the greatest factor for a country to be strong in the labor market. Both public and private associations. Chambers of Merchants and Craftsmen [*Esnaf Sanatkarlar Odaları*] have just taken a step, there is a project named ‘Live Together, Work Together’ which was proposed by TOBB (Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of

Turkey). This is the public side; I think that the public professional associations have to take an important role here.

Demir also pointed to the fact that their active engagement in the local economy is not limited to employment. Syrian business and tradespeople are described as important actors of the current market. Unlike the target population in the case of employment, Demir (GIZ) stated that Syrian tradespeople have an existing network and trade accumulation. Namely, he underlined the intensity of the trade relations, especially with the cities close to the Syrian-Turkish border. GIZ carried out capacity development activities to empower the Syrian actors, which point to the strategic positioning of Syrian tradespeople as well as the needs of local business know-how to participate in the Turkish economy.

They (Syrian business owners) said, “increase our capacity, increase our network, we will support you”. We supported training measures to increase their competence (Syrians tradespeople) in the Turkish tax system to the Turkish accounting system, because s/he comes here and does not know what the tax is. We carried out these works of capacity development together with them. We provided them with opportunities to participate in the Turkish fairs and meet the Turkish companies.

Alongside the above-described networks of Syrian and Turkish market actors that GIZ focuses on, entrepreneurship is a field of economic participation covering a relatively smaller portion of the project activities. In the following section I will present how organizations position entrepreneurship trainings among these other strategies of economic inclusion.

Entrepreneurship for Economic Inclusion

Entrepreneurship training for Syrians is a new concept that emerged following the migration of Syrians into Turkey, concurrently with the transition period, from the perception of Syrians as guests by the host society to their integration to the society.

In this section, I will share the accounts of organizational representatives as they refer to the changes in the socio-economic and public context that gave way to new strategies towards the integration of SuTPs in Turkey. The recognition of entrepreneurship as a strategy of economic inclusion was affected by developments in the policy and legal framework for Syrians. Demir described how the strategic shift of GIZ was affected by the issuing of work permits as follows:

In 2016, you must have followed too, the regulation for work permits was just introduced. While even working was forbidden during that time, it could be much harder to tell someone to come and set up a business here. Besides entrepreneurship, after the granting of the working permits, we focused on the other side [formal employment]. [Demir]

Demir expressed that although the Turkish Employment Agency had started to encourage Syrians to start a business from 2013 onwards; Syrians did not initially embrace the idea with the belief that they would go back to Syria in the near future. He noted that the turning point of this transition period towards integration was when the local society started to think that the Syrians would not be leaving in the short term, which prepared the grounds for longer-term strategies towards the integration of SuTPs in Turkey. He put it as follows:

The local Turkish people no longer think that the migrants will be going back in the short term. And actually this makes it possible to take the right steps. Before they were thought as, “we can support them, international organizations can support them, they can open small businesses”. But now there is an acceptance. With this acceptance, public agents are taking steps as well as the private sector. Now local people are slowly supporting these initiatives. [Demir]

Aygül also pointed to a similar turning point, stating that there has been an over-saturation of supports offered to SuTPs which were necessary at the beginning of the migration. She put that the frontier between protection and support has been a blurry one in policies towards SuTPs, requiring new strategies to replace years-long conflict-resolution and protection policies. She also referred to the personal experience of

SuTPs, signaling that the process of integration is not solely a matter of self-sustenance but depends on the contribution of Syrians to the society as a whole. Talking about the aids from NGOs, she described the issue as follows:

Ok, [the aids from NGOs] were important at the beginning but if this guy has been living here for two years, he also needs to feel that he is useful. While doing good, we are actually doing bad. This has to stop at some point. [Aygül]

While the specific aims of the BYF entrepreneurship training program towards Syrian refugees will be detailed in Section 4.3.2, it is important to note how this particular strategy is positioned among the strategies of economic inclusion. First of all, it appears as an alternative to employment, especially in comparison to high-grade jobs which remain inaccessible to most Syrians. Sabuncu, who was the representative of Impact Hub Istanbul, noted that despite the legal permission to work, there are specific rules for the employment of SuTP in corporate firms in Turkey; which creates a barrier of employment. Thus, entrepreneurship was proposed as an alternative to employment for making a living.

Entrepreneurship for Social Integration

Whereas the BYF Program was designed within the program towards integration to the labor market, it is separated from the employment-oriented strategies by its impact objectives. Social integration was stated as the main aim of the entrepreneurship program, underlining the importance of social integration in participation in the labor market. For instance, Demir emphasized that, employment itself can be a source of isolation for Syrians who have limited interaction with the society by getting enclosed in their work environment, he put it as follows:

Because when a person works here (in a company), he goes back and forth from his home to his work, that does not provide any integration. As they usually work in low-grade jobs, there is not much interaction. [Demir]

A similar perspective was also shared by Sabuncu (IHI), who pointed to the isolation resulting from the sub-markets created among the SuTP, especially in Gaziantep.

This is why they (Syrians) don't feel like having to enter the Turkish market. They have been sustaining themselves until today; they did not need to integrate with the Turkish in a professional context. This is why they have not got used to it. How do the Turkish do the trade? How does the Turkish trade function? They don't know.

While it was noted by Sabuncu that how this integration should be made remains uncertain, the difficulties resulting from economic isolation, which were also noted above for the case of Syrian tradespeople, were seen as the significant challenge to be faced by SuTP entrepreneurs. However, this challenge of effective integration of SuTPs to the labor market in Turkey was formulated by Demir as one of the main reasons for supporting SuTPs towards entrepreneurial activities.

But when entrepreneurs do business, they have to interact with the Turkish in a way. This also increases social integration. When they earn money to a Turkish, when they trade... There we saw social integration as an important ground of departure when supporting entrepreneurship. But our goal is surely increasing employment, reviving the economy, to bring them in the economy. [Demir]

It can be seen that entrepreneurial participation in the economy is contrasted to the employment of SuTPs on two principal grounds: firstly, it appears as an outlet of high-grade jobs where SuTPs are faced with challenges in employment in corporations, and secondly, it is seen as a way of generating income while interacting with the host community. The need for creating bridges between the Syrian and Turkish actors of the market was repeated for the case entrepreneurship of SuTPs. Therefore entrepreneurship trainings appear to stand at the intersection of participation to the labor market and social integration which are co-dependent issues.

The representatives of the organizations also referred to these complementary functions of entrepreneurship of SuTPs. Aygül stated one of these functions as the

contribution to the local economy, by referring to a research report of Tent foundation which indicated that the public investment in welcoming asylum-seekers could result in a multiplied return of investment for the host country. Besides the economic outcomes, they also pointed to the role of “active entrepreneurship” towards social integration. Aygül stated that entrepreneurship could offer refugees the channels to direct their concern over the issues that they faced towards positive impact. Furthermore, Aygül emphasized the primacy of the culture of entrepreneurship as a means of encouraging individuals to take action in society, which in turn improves their social integration. She put it as follows:

I mean the entrepreneur should have a problem and the refugee already has that. So if this can be channeled to the right energy and transformed, only then s/he will start to integrate. [Aygül]

Moreover, Demir emphasized that the engagement of SuTPs in entrepreneurship would not only encourage Syrians to interact with the host community but also influence the perspective of the host community towards the Syrians:

We have to increase this sort of events. Because this would make them go in the field and also make us as the locals, the Turkish people, open up to them and provide space for them. Otherwise, we are looking rather from the outside. [Demir]

These combined accounts indicated that entrepreneurship, as a culture and practice was expected to influence the process of social integration both from the perspectives of the local society and the SuTPs. Lastly, the representatives of the organizations also pointed to the fluctuating context of integration of SuTPs, which demands more flexibility in comparison to the traditional project mindset where all steps of an intervention are pre-defined within a timeframe. Demir underlined that the agile approach of GIZ, which enabled the adaptation of the project activities to the changing conditions. He stated that they had been working by adapting themselves to the ongoing contextual changes and responding to emerging needs:

Therefore, we are like water and we take shape the shape of the container. Our next steps are less definite then before compared to the other projects. In fact, there is a plus side; I can see the needs immediately and take steps accordingly. We will evaluate the current situation and then evaluate what can be done.
[Demir]

In fact, it was not only the representatives of the organizations who referred to the changing landscape of integration of SuTPs in Turkey; few participants also stated that the perspective of Syrians was changing on the temporariness of their migration, which was making them more willing to engage in longer-term plans in Turkey. Therefore, the ongoing change in the context not only gave place to longer-term intervention strategies such as the entrepreneurship programs for Syrians but also required adaptive strategies that differentiated from the traditional project-based mindset. Having described the context for the emergence of entrepreneurship trainings for SuTPs, I will describe in the following two sections how organizations position entrepreneurship as a change agent and the current landscape of entrepreneurship-focused interventions in Turkey for SuTPs through the accounts of organizations.

In this section, I reviewed the strategies adopted by the interviewed organizations towards economic inclusion of SuTPs through three means: helping SuTPs get employed, run an existing business, or start a business in Turkey. It can be observed from the interviews that the bridging of Syrian and Turkish communities towards economic participation is undertaken at different levels. In the case of employment through agencies, the connections are based on matching SuTPs with human resources representatives through intermediary organizations; and for the cases of tradespeople and to-be-entrepreneurs, the interaction is moved from professional connection to professional collaboration for the mutual benefit of parties. Within such a strategic landscape, entrepreneurship does not only appear as an alternative outlet of employment, but it essentially carries a function of social integration as entrepreneurs interact with the society unlike the isolated work conditions of other forms of employment. This interaction also increases the recognition of Syrian entrepreneurs

as active members of the society, which affect the representation of Syrians in the mind of the host community as well as the self-perception of Syrians. These interactions with the local context and professional exchange between Syrians and the host society will be further detailed in the Section 4.2.2.1. The next section presents the experience of participation in the labor market from the perspective of participants of the BYF Program, as well as their considerations different ways of maintaining their livelihood.

4.1.2. Labor Practices of SuTPs

This section draws on the various labor practices of SuTPs, which were outlined in the previous section from an organizational viewpoint. Initially, I will describe the types of labor practices that were reported in interviews followed by the considerations and perspectives of participants about their context of employment.

4.1.2.1 Professional and Educational Background

The information presented in this section was collected by the researcher through the interviews and anonymous conversations with participants during the BYF program. While a majority of participants were university graduates that had been actively practicing their profession prior to the war, 4 participants reported themselves to be dropouts from high school or university because of the war. (See section 3.3.2.1 Sampling). Therefore, their context of employment differed by the completion of university-level formal education, affecting access to skilled employment which will be described in the following sections.

Professional backgrounds of participants showed variance as well with college degrees from pharmaceuticals, literature, computer engineering, law, and media. 5 of the participants reported being business owners alongside their employment in Syria, among which there were a small business such as a flower store and a pizza shop, scaled enterprises such as a men clothes brand and a natural cosmetics chain-store and

lastly one industrial family business. 2 participants reported the added skill of their previous experience as business owners:

I don't know if I'm good but I have business experience. As a businessman, someone who knows how to buy and sell things. [Ramee]

Although they could not continue running their business because of the war, they expressed their trading and managerial skills as an added value for their employment in Turkey.

4.1.2.2 Common Labor Practices of SuTPs

Unskilled Labor

Although data indicates (see Section 2.4) unskilled labor and low wage employment as the most common type of employment among the SuTPs, few participants reported working in unskilled jobs, all of which were still students or were trying to pursue their university education except for one university graduate who had previous professional experience. Both for financial self-sustenance and supporting family, they illustrated low-wage labor as the first recourse for their immediate financial needs upon their arrival to Turkey. The participants who were continuing their university education reported having worked in part-time jobs to be able to support themselves. They expressed these employment experiences as temporary and with primarily financial benefits as follows:

(...) to maintain my living expenses and school, I used to work two part-time jobs, in a restaurant and bar. But that was not my thing. It was just a way to get a stable source of income. [Aman]

Other participants expressed the advantage of being Turkish or English speaker to find language-related employment, as a waiter in a restaurant or as a private language teacher. Although the being a private language teacher cannot be qualified as unskilled

labor, it can be argued that its dynamics of employment are similar in its temporariness and financial prioritization.

All of the participants reported having stopped their work upon finding a better job, or upon receiving family or scholarship support.

Skilled Employment in Private Sector

Labor practices of SuTPs in the private sector in Turkey exhibit variances as well, from formal employment to formal or informal freelancing. Only one participant reported full-time formal employment in the private sector, working in a software company in a technopolis. Two participants reported part-time employment in private entities affiliated with their own nationality, which they described to be irregular jobs where they work as the need arises from the employer.

I don't have office hours, it's very casual. The guy calls me, we meet in a café, we prepare papers, we invite trainers, we make an analysis of the students from the last year. So my job... it's very non-formal, which is not really what I was looking for, I was looking to feel settled down here so that I can maybe do my college again in Istanbul. [Aman]

In both cases, they expressed that the position was more linked to their set of skills than their formal profession. Aman, who was struggling at the same time to go back to university, described his employment in an agency from his own nationality as an outlet to develop his skills. He compared this experience to his previous employment as serving staff.

I needed money but I didn't want to work in restaurants, I wanted to practice both my theoretical and practical knowledge. and I found this work at a social media platform, (...) national news production. (...) I had some skills in social media, I did three months there, but we didn't work very long. [Aman]

Freelance working appeared as another means of working in the private sector. While two participants reported doing freelance software design and digital graphics works through their own personal networks, two lawyers among the participants said that they had been developing their own network of customers. As a repeated pattern through the interviews, they reported doing freelance work alongside their formal employment in NGOs. The interviewees also signaled that while their employment in the NGOs was not directly related to their professional field, which offers little value for professional development, their independent work allowed them to practice their own profession.

All this working with [an NGO], it does not mean that I am not working as a lawyer. I always have visits and relationships with Turkish lawyers. I can't forget for one second that I am a lawyer. [Zuhal] (interpreted)

Throughout the interviews, flexible employment and freelancing appeared as the most common ways of professional engagement with the private sector. Although a certain contrast was indicated between employment in private vs. civil sector, the reasons for these professional choices were not questioned within the scope of the interviews. Therefore, whereas the reported practices were in parallel with the perspective of organizations regarding the limitations of employment in corporations, the participants did not explicitly state that their current context of employment arose from this limitation.

Employment in NGOs

As an alternative to employment in private sector, working for NGOs operating in Turkey appeared as a common skilled labor practice among the participants with half of the participants stating employment in NGOs. The labor engagement with NGOs was not only on an employment level but also as volunteerism, which will be described in the following chapter.

Six of the participants reported employment experience in NGOs, with a few among them also stating that this was their first employment in Turkey. All of these participants were university graduates who had professional experience back in Syria. Their positions in NGOs were mostly related to their own professional field. The positions at which they were working varied including project supervisor, information officer, communication outreach officer, logistics coordinator etc. Mostly, personal network and previous employment in international NGOs appeared as the primary channels for employment. The international composition of NGOs was cited multiple times to be a significant advantage as an employment outlet for SuTPs, both for the network they offer and the absence of a language barrier. Amir for example, described this barrier as following:

I have 7 years of experience in the media field, a lot of experience in video recording, editing, and reporting. That is a need for NGOs so I could find my place in NGOs. But in general, in the market in Turkey, I didn't even try to call or send my CV to any company because I am very poor in Turkish. [Amir]

Since the international NGOs that participants worked in mostly focused on Syrians, both those with or without English as second language could access these jobs, even though none of them could speak Turkish. Participants also underlined the salary advantage of NGOs compared to other employment opportunities. Ramee described employment in an NGO as a more stable and better source of income upon starting his life in Turkey, compared to an international freelancing opportunity he had:

When I came here, I could work with [an NGO]. I choose that one instead of [a freelance work I was suggested for] Oklahoma. (...) the salary was good and I needed to work for even 4-5 months. I needed to rebuild myself again, again and again. (...) I was working for [the NGO], I sold my services for them. Also [I thought] if I got an international position, which is great because when you are international, you double your salary. [Ramee]

Amir, on the other hand, pointed to the double bind of the need of time to learn Turkish to find employment in Turkey and the urgency of employment. Because of that, he

turned his direction to NGOs where he could find employment without a Turkish language requirement. He put it as follows:

If I could have time to study Turkish for 6 months... I can find, not a good job but an acceptable one. But NGO door was open and the salaries were better. To be honest, we did not think about the Turkish market. [Amir]

The international composition of the NGOs appeared to bring not only the advantage of salary but also a contextual factor that affected the professional network and integration of SuTPs who were employed at these organizations. While the networks that SuTPs develop around the NGO ecosystem will be further discussed (see Section 4.2.2.1), it can be noted that the network was seen as an added value by the participants. While few participants expressed the advantage of international networks, particularly for those who had entrepreneurial projects related to humanitarian issues, participants put these networks as an advantage for the development of their projects. For instance, one participant described his team forming process for the project through the activities that he was involved in within an NGO.

I worked with some NGOs in Syria and in some workshops with [international organization] and [international NGO] and I've been a supervisor for [international NGO] in one project in Syria. Then I came to Turkey and started with an institution working with some psycho-social supporter. We delivered here, in Gaziantep psycho-social support workshops for Syrian children in schools. [Jafar]

Another participant, who was developing a toy kit to be produced by Syrian women as a source of livelihood, also expressed familiarity with the NGO ecosystem that his project was related with, through the logistics and managerial work he had done for a UN-affiliated organization.

However, interviewees also expressed concerns about employment in NGOs. One of the issues was regarding the temporariness of employment due to the contracted project positions and career blocks, which can result in job-hopping and job insecurity.

At the [NGO name], I asked them to change the position after 2 years of work; I cannot stay just like an employee and stay there. They weren't positive; they kept giving promises but nothing. Then I left there. Then I started with [the second NGO], it was a good opportunity. There were many international people. It worked more professionally. After four months I did too many tasks, he said Ramee hit the ground running, just like when you have a toy and you keep it moving. I knew it was a risk because after one month the project ends, no promise of extension. It ended. [Ramee]

The second issue resulting from employment in NGOs appeared as the downside of the international environment that NGOs offered. Some of the participants expressed that, although the language barrier was removed by the English-speaking staff, they were not improving their level of Turkish due to the lack of need to use Turkish. One of the participants of the BYF Bootcamp expressed that she did not feel the need to learn Turkish because of her employment in NGOs, although she has been living in Turkey for 5 years. Another participant pointed to the change in the job market offered by NGOs and the resulting need for learning Turkish for SuTPs who were employed in NGOs:

Many people around me, they have decided their next phase. When the NGOs closed, people went to universities to learn Turkish, they will have to start from scratch. People like me go back to their dreams, but going back to the country... What will happen if we went back? [Amir]

NGO job market was also criticized by another participant, who described that the young Syrians had a career illusion from the high salaries and positions that NGOs offered them. Underlining the lack of professional experience of young Syrians, he stated that the high salaries they receive at an early stage of their career results in an illusory affirmation of their professional worth and expectations to be rewarded with similar employment positions in the future. He added that this illusory affirmation results in long-term expenses that may not be covered by their future employment and lack of skill-development due to the illusory feeling of professional competence.

The combined findings indicate that employment in NGOs appear as a more accessible alternative of high-wage employment, whereas private sector in Turkey poses a language barrier. Employment in NGOs also presents added value to SuTPs with higher salaries in comparison to the private sector and connection to the international NGO ecosystem. However, it also presents risks of the temporariness of employment and career blocks.

Non-Monetized Labor

Non-monetized labor at the NGOs consists of volunteer work that SuTPs carry out at NGOs, apart from formal employment. Volunteering is included in this section because of the significance of the network that SuTPs engage in, which consecutively affects the social integration and professional skill development of SuTPs.

Three participants stated active volunteer work at NGOs, two of whom were still undergraduates. They stated having worked with a number of organizations, which were mostly local NGOs with either a multi-national team structure or local NGOs with a particular focus on the Syrian issue. One participant expressed that he started volunteering to get actively involved in resolution of issues face by Syrians.

Then I was curious about being a humanitarian volunteer. Because refugees are having a problem, so I started right away. I started working with organizations, public institutions. (...) I worked as a volunteer for them. Both as a volunteer and a little bit of salary, not like a salary but a daily wage.
[Nazeer]

Another participant stated that he started volunteering following a dissatisfactory employment experience in the private sector, motivated by his concern for humanitarian issues.

I moved here to actually influence people in the right way, influence my country for good things, not this way. It was very dramatic back then because I didn't have a backup, I made a very fast decision. So I started volunteering for [NGO Name]. [Aman]

Although volunteer SuTPs stated working in similar ecosystems to those who were employed by NGOs, their engagement was significantly different than an officer or coordinator position. In fact, they expressed being involved in an array of activities with closer relations to the field and beneficiaries of NGOs. For instance, Nazeer stated that was involved in a variety of works from guiding Syrians for legal procedures to the organization of e-commerce and entrepreneurship courses targeting Syrian beneficiaries. Aman described a similarly wide array of activities, from assisting the organization of English-speaking club of the organization to preparing the fundraising plan. The level of engagement with the field-related and administrative activities of the organizations appeared to depend on the initiative of the volunteer. While Aman stated that he was able to carry out the first prototype of his project under the roof of the NGO that he was volunteering for, Nazeer also stated that he could get closer relations with project coordinators:

There was this project, (...) Syrians who are not university graduates but normal people, sometimes they can't find a job. We made them work; I translated for them, helped them, then I represented the Syrians... At first, I came like an employee, then I saw that not everyone speaks Turkish and I talk with [NGO name]. Mr. Orhan then called me, saying that I can join the rest of the project in Gaziantep. [Nazeer]

In addition to the multi-national communities within the NGOs, volunteers expressed engagement with both Syrian and Turkish communities. In fact, one of the participants stated that her experience of volunteer work had helped her improve her Turkish while teaching the language to Syrian children and get closer to the people in Gaziantep.

In summary, the findings indicated that non-monetized labor is an outlet for participants to develop their skills while satisfying their desire of doing beneficial work for society which included both the Syrian community and the members of the host society. Whereas these findings are focused on the direct outcomes of volunteering in NGOs for SuTPs, referrals from multiple participants implied the extensive reach of the networks around NGOs and how these networks affected their

engagement with entrepreneurship. This topic will be discussed in more detail in section ‘4.2.2 Social Context of Entrepreneurship for SuTPs’.

4.1.2.3 SuTPs’ Perceptions of Employment in the Turkish Labor Market

In the previous chapter, I outlined the labor practices of SuTPs through the interviews with the participants of the BYF Program. The findings indicated that the context of employment or volunteer labor was strongly affected by the professional and educational background as well as the personal priorities of the participants. In turn, their context of employment shaped the social and professional networks within which they are positioned in Turkey.

Many participants referred to the difficulty of finding a job in Turkey as a ‘foreigner’. One of the participants described the view of Syrians about the labor market in Turkey as follows:

You know what, a lot of Syrians, still in Syria, they want to come to Turkey but they are afraid of this issue. If we can’t find ourselves, if we can’t find any job or open any work, it’s so difficult. If we have some saving, we couldn’t find any job, we will lose our saving and go back to Syria. They are afraid of this issue. Now I’m starting to encourage them to come, they are sitting under the bombings and they have kids. [Usher]

Usher’s illustration of the landscape of labor market as perceived by Syrians summarizes two pressing concerns that were put by other participants in the previous sections: the lookout for stability and the search for self-affirmation through their work. A shared concern emerges as the dissatisfaction from the current employment. Indeed, some of the participants explicitly stated that they have opted for their current employment on the basis of availability, under social and financial conditions that left little space for selectivity.

Participants stated that they see the market in Turkey as a ‘very competitive’ one, not only as a job seeker but also as a business owner or an employee. One participant put

that a foreigner needs to be “amazing, multitasking, etc.” to be sought as an employee in the Turkish market. It can be argued that in such a landscape, entrepreneurship appears as an alternative to the limitations of formal employment which appear to push SuTPs to settle for less than what they were aiming for. The following sections will illustrate the domains of conflict of concerns, in which employment as a source of income becomes a barrier for non-economic and personal motivations of SuTPs.

Employment as a Time Constraint

The scarcity of time as a resource emerged as a shared concern among the participants, as they illustrated their struggle between their conditions of financial freedom and their concern for personal and career-wise self-improvement. Participants expressed this struggle over time constraints under two major themes: finding time to ‘integrate’ to Turkish society and finding time to develop their own skills and projects.

As discussed in the previous sections, while organizations stated employment as a means of integration of SuTPs to the host country, participants put that they could not find employment in the Turkish-language labor market due to language barriers. A finding that deepened this issue was the difficulty of learning Turkish that participants expressed, due to the time constraints from their employment. Two of the participants who could speak Turkish at a beginner level stated that despite their awareness of the need to learn Turkish to find employment, they could not spare the time that is needed to learn a new language.

Secondly, participants expressed the time constraint due to employment in relation to their concern for self-development and professional progress. An important point to note is that they expressed these concerns in connection with their interaction within their environment. The prioritization of immediate financial needs and the resulting focus on work-related duties appeared to isolate them from their (social) environment. Aman described this conflict through his experience as a freelancer, saying that the constant need to seek money was killing his creativity with hours spent behind his

laptop screen without any social contact. Another participant, Ramee, referred to the same issue when I asked him what he would suggest to a Syrian newcomer to Turkey:

I would recommend, just try to survive financially at first. Try to find a place to think. Just don't fill your day totally, don't work for 12 hours. Just keep 2-3 hours to open your mind to the environment you are in. I had that, when I stayed for 2 years and 4 months, I stayed working, I was looking only for my work, not looking outside. [Ramee]

This conflict between creating time and financial sustenance appeared to create pressure on the individuals as told by participants. "The time here is running like the wind," said Amir, who had started to dedicate his time to developing his project, after having worked for an international association in Turkey. When I asked him how he feels about being an entrepreneur, he illustrated the pressure of financial needs on Syrians as following:

Sometimes I feel like a hero; sometimes I think I'm crazy. When I see the other Syrians, they are only asking for a job, money all the time, money, money... They are feeling the pressure, they are fearing something. I understand, if you don't have a job, you will lose your home in one or two months. Because of that people see me as a crazy guy. [Amir]

Similarly, Aman also expressed his feeling of depression arising from the inability to continue to develop his business idea due to his immediate financial needs. Saying that his decision to stay in Istanbul was based on the city's convenience to carry out his project, he had faced an additional financial burden because of the difficulty of life conditions in Istanbul.

These findings illustrated the lookout of participants for skill development, creative outlets and interaction with the local environment. These efforts were challenged with time constraints from their employment, which left little space in their daily routine for these activities. This challenge appeared to intensify with the addition of entrepreneurship into the equation, which will be detailed in the following section.

Making Space for Double Shift: Employment and Entrepreneurship

This section will focus on the time-wise constraints that participants expressed to have encountered when they were actively engaged with entrepreneurship. The challenges that they faced exhibited similarities, but also varied according to their level of engagement with entrepreneurship from participating in entrepreneurship training programs to proceeding with self-initiated projects. I will first illustrate the challenges posed by employment in carrying out project activities and in allocating time for entrepreneurship training. Finally, I will reflect on participants' strategies on moving from employment towards becoming self-employed entrepreneurs, under conditions of financial dependency.

The time constraint to carry on project activities was the most visible for the cases of participants who were at a prototyping stage of their project idea, a process which was a more time-demanding process in comparison to the planning-oriented idea stage. On the other hand, not all participants of the research who were prototyping their own projects were employed. In fact, two of the participants had already received seed grants or worked as sub-contractors for other organizations as part of their service prototypes, generating income by these means.

Three participants were employed while trying to develop their prototypes. The main challenges that they expressed were related to finding time for teamwork and for developing the infrastructure for their projects. Ramee and Maalik, who were partners in a technology hardware project, presented such a case, working together while Ramee was in a period of voluntary unemployment and Maalik was working in a software company in Istanbul. Maalik stated that he had been working at night to work on the software of the device they were developing and traveling 850 kilometers away to Gaziantep to work with his partner once in every two weeks. Ramee, on the other hand, described the advantage of unemployment, stating that he could spare time to develop his technical skills.

Another employment-related challenge of teamwork was reported by Aman, who was working to form his team within an NGO by developing a demo version of his service offer under the roof of the NGO. He expressed the difficulty of commitment that he faced from the members of the team, who were also volunteering in the same NGO:

Some of them are students but most of them are not. They work and they volunteer for [the NGO]. So it's not easy for them. I asked them to join my team for camping [project]. At the very first start, I was somehow analyzing the community, which people would be there to make this project succeed. There are already other commitments inside the organization, apart from life commitments. They are still willing to help the project, they came with me to three camps. [Aman]

While these cases exhibit similarities to the experiences of locals who are employed while taking a path of entrepreneurship, it is critical to note that these time-related constraints are added to other financial and social barriers that SuTPs face in developing their projects, which I will illustrate in more detail in Section 4.2.2.3.

Participants also shared the difficulty of participating in a condensed entrepreneurship training while they were employed full-time, especially for the Bootcamp stage of the BYF Program, which covered five consecutive days. While they were challenged by asking for permission from their employer for this duration, some participants also expressed that they could not participate in certain events as a team due to uneven employment constraints between the team members.

Ramee stated the risk he took by asking for permission from work, only twenty days after his employment:

When I attended the Bootcamp, I was hired just twenty days before. I wanted to take just 3 days' rest. The HR department said: "you were only hired twenty days ago, how are you asking for three days of vacation?". That was the challenge. [Ramee]

A subtext within Ramee's expression of 'asking for three days of rest', may also signal that it is perceived to be inconvenient to mention entrepreneurial activities to the

employer. Hammed who was working as a lawyer between Syria and Turkey also stated that his partner Zuhail was the one to mostly participate in entrepreneurship trainings due to the limitations of Hammed's work. While such share of 'workload' could be possible for some trainings this was not the case for the BYF Program. Since getting accepted to the program was conditional on team participation, all team members had to spare the five days of the program, three of which were weekdays. In fact, one of the participants stated that he could not apply for the Bootcamp because of the unwillingness of his team members to spare this amount of time. His statement not only reflected the time constraints but also the different levels of commitment within his team:

The Bootcamp was a very exciting opportunity for me. I was talking to a lot of people about this. But it was five days; that was an obstacle. And the second reason was, I could not get to go there myself. They said you should bring one team member and [team members] are really busy and no one is interested to come, spend five days and ditch everything. I can do it because this is what I want to do. I can sacrifice, I can ask for time off. It's disappointing that I couldn't go. [Aman]

Another participant of the BYF Bootcamp program illustrated this issue by comparing the five-day program to other long-term entrepreneurship programs that he had participated. He stated that he had found a longer-term training program that was distributed along multiple weekends more convenient, both to find off-work time and to process the intensity of information received from the program.

The combined findings, which were related to the teamwork and participation to entrepreneurship trainings, reflect that the time constraint posed by employment does not only affect individuals but also the team relations. While this can be a barrier for teamwork, teams of co-founders that have closer levels of commitment turn to share the workload for long-duration activities. Such were the strategies adopted by participants to grow their business ideas into informed business plans through trainings and self-initiated prototypes.

Despite these limitations, participants indicated longer-term strategies to move from employment to self-employment as entrepreneurs while sustaining themselves financially. While some of the participants reported that they had used their personal savings to make the initial prototypes of their business ideas, many participants reported that they were aiming to grow their business idea to a more stable stage to be able to quit their employment. One of the participants from the Ideathon stated that he was trying to grow his business ‘slowly’ and quit his job when the business “gets somewhere”. Another participant, Ramee, expressed a similar concern, similarly saying that he is trying to proceed in entrepreneurship carefully by “moving slowly to another level”. In fact, he stated opting for a six-month-long short-term contract for his job, saying:

I found it perfect and for a startup, it needs money to survive. So six months will give me more time. [Ramee]

In this regard, employment can be evaluated both as an obstacle for active engagement in entrepreneurship and as a financial resource for self-sustenance during the transition from a business idea to an operating business model. It is noteworthy to open a parenthesis on how well these conditions fitted with the program structure offered by the BYF Program. While the organizations did not refer to the current employment status of the participants apart from macro-level statements on the labor market for SuTPs, Sabuncu, who was the representative of Impact Hub Istanbul, signaled the need for adaptation of future programs to these conditions. When she was informed about the preliminary research results regarding the employment of participants, Sabuncu pointed to the challenge of entrepreneurship for participants while maintaining employment:

If this person always feels like having to work, he can’t be an entrepreneur anyway. It is very hard for him to be. He has to struggle a lot. And maybe he won’t want to struggle after a certain point. (...) In the case of a financial problem, if this is a case valid for 70% for the people, then we can say that we can design an incubation program and offer 1000 liras of stipend to those who

are accepted, or that we will schedule evening programs. This information affects our decisions greatly. [Sabuncu]

This statement of Sabuncu also signaled the need for developing additional strategies to facilitate the engagement of SuTPs with entrepreneurship, where the lack of financial freedom emerged as a determining factor.

In this section, I summarized the time constraints arising from the employment of SuTPs as they struggled to balance the time for developing their projects while maintaining financial stability. It is important to note that the time constraint should not be evaluated independently from the accompanying challenges that SuTPs encounter in acquiring local business know-how and interacting with the local context. I will detail these aspects in the following sections.

The Conflicting Mix of Study, Work & Entrepreneurship

In this section I will outline the living conditions of a particular group among the participants, focusing on those who were still students before leaving Syria and arrived in Turkey as high school or college dropouts because of the war. The findings in this section were reported by five participants, who are either studying university in Turkey or trying to continue their university education. The issues arising from the need for financial self-sustenance appeared to be amplified in the case of student SuTPs, who faced even tighter constraints of balancing their time between studying, working and starting their business idea.

Participants who were interviewed reported to have different degrees upon leaving their home country. Two of the participants told that they had continued their high school education in Turkey in institutions that provided formal education to Syrians. Other three participants had already started university yet could not continue their education, one of them still searching to continue his formal education.

The statements of participants showed that they had resort to different channels to continue their formal education, encountering different issues. For instance, Issam reported that upon earning his high school degree from a Libyan institution and passing university exam, he was asked to pay a substantial amount to be able to receive his high school diploma from the institution. Another participant, Aman, who had dropped his university in another country because of financial constraints, reported having applied to universities in Europe to continue his education. Another unusual case was reported by Mahboub, who was a basketball player in the national team of Syria:

I started searching by myself. I went many places. Like it was [a] coincidence that I went to gym. It was in Fatih belediye [municipality]. And in that gym, just one day I came in and I found a tall guy and he was looking like a player or coach. So I asked him: “hey, I’m Syrian, I’m basketball player, do you do things with basketball?” He told me, “yeah, I coach in school”. So I asked, “do I have chance to get scholarship or anything?” He said, “yeah, come tomorrow, we have training in the same place.” So I came next day and directly he asked me for my papers, everything I had to have to enter school. So in that way, I got like scholarship. [Mahboub]

Despite the variety of channels where participants sought to continue their university of education with more or less success, a shared concern of livelihood emerged in a way that is similar to the previous sections. The opening phrase from the project presentation of one participant from the Ideathon perfectly captured the prevalence of the issue, stating: “As a student, an important part of our work is to find job as part-timers”. Another participant illustrated the reasons behind this, underlining that the issue emerges especially for students who are not from high-income families:

As Syrians here, we have two categories of Syrians, some of them have rich family in Syria so they have good life, and they can focus on studying. The others, their family (is) still in Syria and they are just struggling to make money, to study. Because you know, in Syria they can’t send money here. It’s all lost, they will send a lot, and it will come here nothing. [Mahboub]

As I presented previously (see Section 4.1.2.2.), students mostly reported that they were employed in temporary jobs, both as employees and freelancers. A particular issue that was reported by few participants was the cases of abuse when they were deceived by a potential employer with the promise of a job and were faced with increased risks due to the false promises. Mahboub, for instance, stated that he moved from Mersin to Istanbul for possible employment as a basketball coach to face further difficulties:

But it was nothing. So, I mean, he promised me... I came in January and he promised me “in March you are going to start school”. He promised me that he will arrange my residence, so I will not have to pay anything, we will just start working together, earn money... After one week there was no place to sleep, so I had to find the place on my own and pay money. [Mahboub]

A similar case of deception was reported by another participant who was taking paid software development classes until the instructor suddenly refused to give any more classes and neither to return his money back.

Participants commonly referred to the difficulty of finding employment while continuing their studies. One participant, Aman, reported having dropped his university education in Cyprus due to the financial pressures. Mahboub, who was studying on a sports scholarship described the issue as following:

In Turkey, it's really hard to work and study at the same time. It's not like Europe. In Europe, you can have part-time job or find hours. But here, you can't focus on two things together. So what if I'm working, I'm studying and I'm playing basketball. It's been really hard to manage. Sometimes I miss classes; sometimes I have no money, sometimes I lose in basketball... Disappointed... Together and having a normal life and enjoying Istanbul... It was really hard. [Mahboub]

Besides these difficulties of maintaining their livelihood alongside studying, participants expressed their concern over the limitation of realizing their projects and being active members of the society. For instance, one participant reported that postponed contacting mentors from the BYF Bootcamp due to the intensity of the

schedule of his classes. Another participant, Aman, expressed that he was feeling depressed from the pressure of searching a university, working and trying to advance his project idea. He particularly stressed the social pressure of having a degree, which was perceived by his environment as accreditation to execute a project:

I'm thinking about now, how promising this environment here is, for my potentials, to either carry on with my project, to make it a non-profit organization. But I also worry about my degree. I feel that I've been away from school for a while now, but I expanded my skills in this past two years. but still need the education, I need to go to college. Maybe I won't. But I worry a lot about this now. (...) I used to have a lot of social pressure about the degree, people only pay attention to the fact that I stopped college, but not to my experience, not to what I have done. [Aman]

Mahboub, on the other hand, reported that he came to the decision that he would not be able to execute his project idea since he would not be able to engage in the scope of activities of his project. Moreover, it must be noted that these participants did not have a permanent team for their ideas, nor the assistance of a more experienced person. An opposite case was reported by Mohammad, who was studying on a scholarship with occasional freelancing. He stated active engagement with the project activities with a settled team, including a co-founder who had seven years of experience in their field of activity.

The findings signal that undergraduate SuTPs experience different challenges than those of an older group who have relatively more stable financial and professional conditions.

4.1.3. Conclusions

In this chapter, I presented a comparative overview of the labor practices of SuTPs from the organizational perspective and through the reported experiences of participants of the BYF Program. Two overarching themes appeared throughout this section; firstly, the relationship between employment and social integration and

secondly the time constraints of SuTPs arising from the lack of financial freedom vis-a-vis the interaction with host community and engagement with entrepreneurship.

The relation between employment and social integration was a multi-faceted issue according to organizations, who presented bridging of Syrian and Turkish labor market as a pre-condition of active participation of SuTPs in the Turkish labor market. Organizations also underlined the social limitations imposed by employment, presenting entrepreneurship as an alternative to employment, requiring active business exchange with the host community and Turkish market. However, participants reported a much more extensive array of labor practices to those reported by organizations. Whereas organizations mostly focused on employment in the private sector, this practice appeared to represent a smaller portion of the labor practices of SuTPs, dominated by employment in NGOs. While employment in NGOs introduced participants to international networks, participants reported the isolation experienced through employment nonetheless.

Secondly, participants expressed the consequences of their lack of financial freedom under the shared concern over the 'time constraints' imposed by their employment. The time constraints strongly appeared as a barrier to learning Turkish, which was seen as a pre-condition of finding skilled employment in Turkey. Moreover, the time constraint also challenged participants as a barrier of interaction with the host community and active engagement with entrepreneurship. This refers to the interaction with the environment and execution of project activities related to their business ideas, as well as the ability to participate in condensed entrepreneurship trainings. A potential of improved adaptation of the entrepreneurship training programs was signaled throughout the interviews, both for the timing and schedule of the programs and additional livelihoods supports which might support engagement with entrepreneurship under conditions of financial instability.

Combined findings indicated that, while entrepreneurship appeared as an alternative to employment, which resulted in social isolation, it also required a certain level of

interaction with the host community. At this instance, the lack of financial freedom of participants both challenged their engagement with the host community due to the time constraints of employment and also their engagement with active entrepreneurship, which is a time demanding professional path on its own.

In the next section, I will present the process of transition from employment to self-employment through entrepreneurship, which will offer a broader perspective on the mutually affecting factors of participation to the labor market, social integration and entrepreneurship for SuTPs.

4.2. Entrepreneurship Experience of Participants

In this section, I present the approach of SuTPs to entrepreneurship, as reported by the participants of the BYF program. As I discussed in the previous sections, the participants of the program were from various professional backgrounds and education levels, living in different professional and social contexts. This variety was also reflected in their understanding of entrepreneurship, which I am initially presenting through their motivations and individual efforts of self-improvement, which is not always dependent on their professional outlets. While this section will focus on the understanding of entrepreneurship on a motivational level, the documentation of entrepreneurial practices in Section 4.2.3 will provide a complementary perspective between personal statements and actual practices.

4.2.1. Motivations for Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is indeed a challenging path of living and working compared to employment, characterized by even amplified difficulties for the case of SuTPs who are aiming to create their own businesses or civil initiatives in the unfamiliar context of a new country (see Section 4.2.2.3). Therefore it is critical to understand their motivations and personal reasons for choosing the path of entrepreneurship, in the

design of any program towards transition to effectively capture and direct these motivations in their respective outlets. As I mentioned, above participants reported various motivations for their interest in entrepreneurship, which presented an intricate network of motivations varying from the family background or professional goals to social motivations and the lookout for alternative outlets of livelihood. In this section, I will present these motivations under thematic groups, yet it is essential to remember that this grouping does not mean that they function independently from one another.

Business Ownership

Business ownership was one of the prioritized motivations among the participants. Nearly half of the participants explicitly expressed their motivation to be their “own manager”. However, they expressed this motivation with different reasons, such as their parent’s or themselves’ previous business ownership, the freedom of decision-making in self-employment, and limitations of finding work in Turkey.

The flexibility for taking incentives in business ownership appeared as a way out of the dissatisfaction from the bureaucratic environment of NGOs, which did not allow a career pursuit or taking further incentives. One participant put it as follows:

What does it mean to me? I always tried to have my own projects. I don’t feel myself [as] I’m going to be an employee. I see myself as my own manager because I want much space to move and real responsibility, not on paper, not your manager shouting at you, it’s in your own life. [Aman]

Other participants expressed business ownership as an alternative to employment, referring to the difficulties finding and maintaining employment. One of the teams had shaped their project as an outlet for their skills, upon their frustration with freelance work, Issam described it as follows:

We talked one day, last year, saying we have to do something. [One friend and I] know marketing stuff, and Ahmad knows quite about graphic design. We looked and found that we cannot do something by bringing these two together. We thought that we have to get into programming stuff. Thus Ahmad chose

front-end and I choose back-end. [Issam]

The repeating emphasis on ‘doing something’ presented entrepreneurship as a brick and mortar of their technical skills, as they planned to start their own freelance design platform in an economical context where their technical skills brought little financial return.

Sense of Personal Gratification

Sense of personal gratification was expressed by a few participants as a significant motivation for pursuing their own businesses or projects, showing parallelism with the content of their projects which were related to self-improvement with sports, media production and self-awareness. This concern was probably best expressed in the words of Amir, who described entrepreneurship as a lifestyle:

I’m 31 years old. I feel like I’m a student again. I have to study things. I wouldn’t imagine this. I hope I will win (succeed in the project) because I love this lifestyle. I don’t want to be an employee and implement other people’s ideas instead of mine. I can have that. But I want to implement my ideas.
[Amir]

Similar statements pointed to the relation between the sense of personal gratification by finding an outlet for the ‘lifestyle’ that they desired and the condition of being their own managers which I discussed in the previous section.

Social Concerns

At the BYF Program, most of the participants shared socially-oriented business ideas, characterized by motivations for social impact. The aims of social change that they expressed mostly involved both Syrian and Turkish communities that focused on goals as improving the social integration, economic empowerment of SuTPs in Turkey or language learning. Alongside these, participants also had projects with social goals regardless of the origin of the beneficiary group such as a self-awareness camp format

and a peer-learning community platform.

The socially oriented business ideas mostly originated from the life experience of participants with challenges that were related to being a SuTP to different extents. For instance, one participant who was a lawyer told that her business idea for legal counseling for Syrians emerged from her frustration in a personal case that she had lost. However, participants also shared cases where the issues that emerged from their experiences were not connected to their immigration but could be affected by it. For instance, Aman, who was focusing on non-formal education after his frustration at the university, expressed similar concerns:

Yeah, I reflected about my own life, because anyone who shared something (- [similar] to what I have gone through, they will definitely find it interesting. Because the needs that I could not fulfill, I want to fulfill in this project. That was my vision. (...) I want to provide the society what I could not get. [Aman]

Socially-oriented business ideas also originate from the professional experience of participants both in Syria and Turkey, especially for those who had worked in social projects or initiatives. Such a case was shared by Usher, who had been running independent education groups during the war in Syria and decided to transfer his expertise for better integration of Syrian children in Turkish education environment:

Because the war has been going for 7-8 years and nobody knows when it will finish. Maybe it will take another ten years, nobody knows. This is the biggest problem in our lives here. our future is kids, not us. We need to help them find their goals, try to achieve them, to build this generation. This is regarding community issue. [Usher]

However, the efforts of some entrepreneurs to provide solutions by focusing on Syrians was also criticized by one participant, he put it as follows:

Some of them just closed their sight; “I want to help Syrian; I want to focus on Syrian”. I don’t see it good, maybe it’s good. There are no boundaries for your sight. Why are you focusing only on this? This, I knew in the Bootcamp. [Ramee]

The experiences that the participants shared indicated that the emergence of the social motivations was both, directly and indirectly, related to their experiences and contexts as SuTPs. A second pattern that emerged was the professional engagement of these participants with NGOs in Turkey, which was the case for all participants who reported socially-oriented business ideas. Another important point to note is that participants often aimed for long-term and locally rooted social change, which they connected to the prolonged residency of Syrians in Turkey due to the instability of the political environment. This contextual factor will further be discussed in Section 4.2.2.3, where I will present an overview of the context of social integration of SuTPs.

The findings in this section indicated three major motivations of participants for becoming entrepreneurs as: business ownership, sense of personal gratification and social concerns. These motivations do not exclude one another, for example a participant would have a sense of personal gratification from carrying out his social project in his own terms by owning a business, instead of working within the frame of an NGO.

4.2.2. Social Context of Entrepreneurship for SuTPs

In this section, I will present an overview of the social context within which SuTPs engage in entrepreneurship, as they take the transition towards active engagement with both the locals and other SuTPs through entrepreneurship. I already presented the social context for SuTPs as shaped by their channels of participation in the labor market in Turkey (see Section 4.1.2). However, the networks with which they engage as ‘entrepreneurs’ do not necessarily collate with their immediate professional circle. Furthermore, as entrepreneurs, they engage with society beyond their personal networks, which is in turn, affected by large scale factors such as the perception of SuTPs in Turkey or legal regulations.

Therefore in this section, I will present the social context for Syrian entrepreneurs both at the level of the networks of individuals and at a societal level through the lenses of

individuals. Since different social interactions were exposed through different stages of the path of entrepreneurship, I will report the findings by respecting this parallelism. Firstly I will present an overview of the personal social networks of participants as their social resources in their entrepreneurial quests, including the channels of team forming. Secondly, I will describe the positioning of SuTPs as entrepreneurs in the society in Turkey, focusing on large scale factors of social integration that affect their interaction with society.

4.2.2.1. Less Visible Networks of Syrian Entrepreneurs

The social network of SuTPs was considered in the previous section through its relation to participation in the labor market and social integration. In fact, organizations had referred to the social circles on the basis of social isolation vs. social integration (see Section 4.1.1). While the view of organizations on entrepreneurship as a means of increasing active participation to society can be held true, the personal networks that Syrians activated in their entrepreneurial exposed a broader terrain of social relations. I will present an overview of these networks as social resources that Syrians take advantage of towards advancing their business ideas.

Networks Through Events

Participants reported cases of collaboration with people that they had met through entrepreneurship-related events such as meetups and workshops. Few participants had already participated in collaborative workshop environments such as ideathons and hackathons prior to the BYF Program. They stated that these social connections were not permanent most of the time and did not continue after a routine exchange of contacts, which was also reported to be the case for the one-day Ideathon event of the BYF Program.

However, some participants stated they had developed contacts with people whom

they encountered in different events, which are often organized by institutions that are in relation to one another. For such cases, participants referred to their contacts within the organizations, which could also be interpreted as participation in the institutional ecosystem.

Personal Networks Around the World

Turkey was indeed one of the many countries where Syrians sought refuge following the civil war. The statements of the participants revealed personal networks around the world, with their friends and colleagues living in many different countries. One participant stated during the Bootcamp that Syrians had developed skills for communication and management in distance as people moved farther from one another. Participants reported seeking assistance from their personal networks abroad for different reasons such as feedback, project exposition, fundraising, or search for investment.

Participants reported contacting their friends abroad who were related to the sector for which they were developing their business idea. For instance, Ramee, who was developing a device, stated that he contacted a relative in Europe who worked in the related sector as a potential customer. Similarly, Zuhail stated that she had shared the legal counseling project idea with her Syrian friends abroad:

I have a friend in America and in Palestine, I speak to him about our project and he was very excited. I tell these to two friends, he has a company in Palestine and America, we can make a deal he said, as merchant. [Zuhail] (interpreted)

Moreover, the international network of participants was not limited to the Syrians living in other countries. For instance, Usher, who started working as a journalist in Turkey, reported that he had Japanese associates who proposed to him jobs as a translator and journalist. He also shared that he had been looking for funding for his project from Japan through the same network.

Finally, a point worth noting was that, while they valued their networks that extended beyond Turkey, this did not go pass without criticism. In fact, some participants openly expressed resentment towards Syrians who migrated to Europe and America, representing this choice as the ‘easy way’ and as an escape further away from the issues that Syrians were facing.

Networks in the Civil Sector

Engagement in civil work and employment in NGOs appeared to be a social resource for participants, on which I presented an overview in Section 4.1.2.2. Since the majority of participants focused on social issues in their business ideas, parallelism arose between their field of entrepreneurial practice and the networks that they formed through the civil sector. Participants exemplified various channels through which they formed their networks in the civil sector such as independent initiatives, employment in NGOs, and local networks of volunteers who worked with various institutions.

Independent initiatives were informal groups of people who gathered around a shared objective without expectation of monetary gain. Two participants exemplified such cases, where they engaged in such initiatives prior to the development of their current business idea. For instance, Aman reported that he had been actively engaged in such a group, which was initially formed between friends to go to awareness camps to spread and grow into a larger group of people who were interested:

We started to share stories and have camps for other internationals, to hear our stories, to somehow have non-formal education for kids and for the students. That’s how it started at the very first. It was very casual. we just made a Facebook page and started with close friends, and it grew bigger. One time we had 40 participants. [Aman]

Although he did not have the idea of evolving these collective camps into a project idea with a business plan, he shared this as a successful experiment that prepared the foundation of his current project. Amir shared his engagement with a similar initiative

which was initially a theater group of Syrian university students in Gaziantep. He stated that after his involvement with the group as an experienced assistant, the gradual improvement of the group led them towards implementing the project idea with the same group. These cases signaled the possibility of transition from independent initiatives formed between friends to project teams. This transition can also be considered as a channel that organically leads SuTPs towards entrepreneurship by structuring their ongoing practices around a project idea.

The networks of local volunteers, on the other hand, can be considered as more structured groups than independent initiatives, that participants formed with the people with whom they volunteered in the same NGO or with acquaintances from different NGOs. They stated reaching out to these networks for various purposes as getting updated on local events or sharing their project but especially for finding team members for their own projects. Aman, who was volunteering at a local NGO in Istanbul, stated that he had formed an interdisciplinary team with international members from the other volunteers within the NGO:

So I was social with the groups, I got close to members and other volunteers, I told them “let’s go to Bolu for three days and let’s talk about emotional intelligence, let’s talk about our past stories, inspiring ones”. [Aman]

Although his initial trial proved successful, he stated that the team of volunteers showed little commitment to the project activities due to their volunteering and other responsibilities.

Finally, participants stated employment in NGOs as a channel for their networks in the civil sector, which they used to reach out to prospective team members as well as to access beneficiaries and establish connections with institutions. Jafar, for instance, illustrated such a case where they formed a volunteer team for the field work of their project upon his connections from the NGO where he worked at:

When I worked with the institute, we [were] thinking [that] we can collaborate, cover some Syrian youth, who wanted to deliver something for the community here in Gaziantep. And we met with some youth and teenagers who wanted to launch some initiatives here in Gaziantep. And they decided to establish their own volunteer team. Year after year we expanded our working, and now we have two parts. First entrepreneurship and second, advocacy for Syrian issues, in Syria and in Turkey. [Jafar]

Amir, on the other hand, stated that his employment at the NGO allowed him to travel in Turkey, meet Syrians in other cities of Turkey and connect with people who are related to his project through theater, media and culture activities. Therefore for the case of Amir, his employment at the NGO was a channel to form his team with a local and independent theater initiative that I described above. Moreover, participants stated employment in NGOs as a channel to not only form networks of individuals but also to create connections with institutions. Jafar, for example, stated that he had done the prototype of his entrepreneurial training project in collaboration with Turkish and Syrian economic institutions that he was familiar with through international NGO that he had worked at.

The networks of SuTPs in the civil sector appeared to be a valuable social resource, especially for the participants who had socially-oriented business ideas. Participants expressed that they called upon these networks at various stages of the development of their business ideas, from team forming to prototyping. An important point to note is that, the networks that they described mostly involved Syrians and other internationals living in Turkey whereas connection with Turkish actors remained at the level of institutional partnerships. While the closed business networks of Syrians were mentioned by the organization of the BYF Program, these findings signaled the possibility of another isolated network forming within the civil sector.

4.2.2.2 Channels of Team Forming for Syrian Entrepreneurs

Team forming is one of the vital stages of the development of a business idea, which

also was a pre-condition for participation to the BYF Program. In this section, I will present an overview of the channels and contacts through which participants have formed their project teams. I previously presented cases of team forming through employment and personal networks in the respective sections. In this section, I will present a more comprehensive set of findings related to the team forming process, including the concerns of founders in their teams as well as the outlets of team forming that have not been mentioned before.

Teams of Students and Volunteers

Three teams among the interviewees stated that they formed their first project teams with university students, among whom there were also volunteers of local NGOs. Although students covered a relatively smaller portion of the interviewees, other teams of students were also present at the BYF Bootcamp event. These groups tended to be formed as independent initiatives yet occasional sharing the roof of a university or an NGO to carry out their activities as a team.

The first essential characteristic of the student teams was the prioritization of the skills of individuals over their formal professional training in the role distribution of the team. These skills varied as programming, web design, writing, acting, coordination, social media management, etc. that participants mostly acquired through extracurricular activities or skilled employment. Thus participants described their team distribution as ‘people who have a grip on different things’ combining their skills. For instance, Mohammad described the role distribution of their media and the acting team as following:

When we first formed the group, there was a friend who loved writing. (...) Another friend understands from sound, another one knows about makeup, and another friend knows about actor training. I am from business administration, so whenever there is something about managing, they ask me. I do what I can.
[Mohammad]

Secondly, participants who had formed teams of students also stated that they had sought guidance from more experienced people in developing their projects. While for one team this guidance came from a more experienced co-founder in their respective field, others reported having consulted to people from their professional acquaintances through part-time employment. They also reported varying levels of commitment from their team members.

Teams from Entrepreneurship Events

Entrepreneurship events are not limited to entrepreneurship training such as the BYF Program, but there are also short-term competitions or gatherings such as Ideathons and Hackathons. Two participants reported taking part in different teams at such events prior to the BYF Program. They stated that these events were not explicitly targeting Syrians but welcomed participants from different nationalities by promising English to be the primary language of the event, which was not always fulfilled.

One participant stated that he regularly participated in these events as a recreational problem-solving exercise on the basis of his availability and participated in different teams. However, he could not benefit from the travel award due to his travel restrictions as a refugee. Another participant shared a similar success at a Hackathon, where he developed the first prototype of his current project. Presented with opportunities to further develop his project, he separated from his teammate who was not interested in committing to the project.

Therefore, participants approached entrepreneurship competitions in different ways. While one of the participants represented entrepreneurship events as intellectual exercises of problem-solving, the other represented them as placed of accessing institutional resources and market connections. Yet, they reported similar cases of team discontinuity, as they did collaborate with people whom they teamed up with at the events.

Teams of Friends

Most participants were establishing partnerships with friends after the significant change of their social circles following the migration. In fact, participants reported that the friends that they partnered with were both from friendships originating in Syria and from their social life in Turkey. All of the participants had also teamed up with Syrians without any case of permanent teams consisting of a Syrian-Turkish partnership.

Some of the participants relied on their previous connections, finding friends who could complement their skills, as in the case illustrated by Amir:

My team, it was Raana (...) She is filmmaker, she knows about lighting, decoration, costume design. The other guy is Nader, he was an actor (...) He was my friend so he helped me a lot. Then we have Aakif, he was director assistant of a TV series, so he decided to do the filming of all the training we are giving to students. [Amir]

However, professional set of skills was not the only way of establishing complementary capabilities. Zuhail and Hasan shared such a case where the reason behind their partnership was their complementary networks in Syria and Turkey. Participants also teamed up with other Syrians that they met through their social and professional life in Turkey, to diversify the skill-sets within the team and collect capital.

In summary, the accounts of participants indicated that they formed teams with their university students and volunteers for NGOs, with people they met at entrepreneurship events such as Hackathons and Ideathons and with friends from their social life in Turkey or from previous relations from their home country. The teams that were formed with peer volunteers and entrepreneurship events appear to lack shared commitment for the project idea and they were based on shorter time of relationship

between the members. Therefore many participants chose to form their teams with friends with whom they had previous relations and whose set of skills could complement theirs for the development of the project. In the following section, I will present the concerns of participants that affected such team forming processes.

The Concerns in Team Forming

I presented above the different channels of team forming that Syrian participants used for their entrepreneurial pursuits. The findings indicated that nearly all the participants partnered with other Syrians with a single case of an international team of volunteers which also separated from the others by the loose structure of the team as the team members engaged in project activities as they were available.

Participants also stated that they felt the need to form partnerships due to the concern of their professional perception by other people as individuals. Ramee stated such a concern as follows:

You know, however great you may be, you always need someone beside you, working with you, help you. That way we think we are two and we are more professional people. [Hasan]

Another concern raised by the participants was the perception of the team by the host community and the need for building trust as a team of Syrians as a ‘marketing issue’. Usher stated this concern upon a suggestion that he received from a mentor at the BYF Bootcamp:

Regarding marketing, another mentor said, ‘Usher please, make some of your team Turkish people, for the Turkish society [to] trust you and accept you. This is my question... How can they trust me, accept my project and accept me? [Usher]

At this point, while entrepreneurship events such as Ideathons and Hackathons appeared to be places of collaboration with Turkish people, within the current

findings, their function was more related to the development of an initial business idea, the further development of which did not continue with the teams from the events. Moreover, SuTPs faced barriers in accessing the opportunities offered at the events due to their legal limitations, which may be fueling the discontinuity of the teams formed at the events.

4.2.2.3. Building Familiarity with the Local Context

Syrians employed different channels and outlets to create social resources for their projects, varying from their own personal networks to contacts with institutional representatives. However, their transition from employment to entrepreneurship also signaled engagement with the society in the broader sense. As entrepreneurs, they ought to create connections with people in many new roles as their prospective customers, beneficiaries, audiences, institutional representatives, donors, investors and more.

In this section, I will present an overview of the ‘social factors’ that influence the engagement of SuTPs with entrepreneurship. This section will serve to reflect the relationship between social integration of SuTPs and their entrepreneurial practices, which was also a concern raised by the organizations in Section 4.1.1. Firstly, I will present the perspective of Syrians on the socio-economic context of Turkey for entrepreneurship and their experience of gaining familiarity with this context in which they are aiming to implement their ideas. Secondly, I will present the social challenges that SuTPs face in Turkey by illustrating their concerns over the perception and representation of Syrians in Turkey. These factors that influence the active engagement of SuTPs with the society as entrepreneurs, will serve as a contextual frame for the following Section 4.2.3 where I will document the entrepreneurial practices of Syrians.

Syrians' Perception of the Turkey Context for Entrepreneurship

Participants expressed their perspective on the aptness of the socio-economic context for entrepreneurship, although this issue was not directly covered within the interviews. They exhibited a positive approach despite the challenges that they were facing. Most of the participants expressed their preference to stay in Turkey, in comparison to the possibility of migrating to Europe, yet for different reasons. Usher, for instance, prioritized the feeling of safety and Turkey's proximity to Aleppo when explaining his preference to stay in Turkey:

My friend called me to ask me to come to Europe, even illegally. But I feel very safe in Turkey and found my elf here. And the second thing, I prefer to stay next to Aleppo, just to keep supporting the school. [Usher]

Another significant aspect of their perspective on the local context was the novelty of the entrepreneurship concept in a non-traditional sense and the ecosystem around entrepreneurship programs that they reported to have encountered for the first time. Participants also referred to the cultural recognition of entrepreneurship as they contrasted Syria and Turkey:

You are thinking in the way that everyone is waiting for you to be more creative, more innovative. You can't say it's my idea and that's the end. No one will care about developing your idea. You will not have this in Damascus. We have it but in different way. You have it like going to university, someone will tell you what to do but no one will follow up. In Turkey it's different. [Amir]

Another participant, Usher stated that the ecosystem of humanitarian organizations was also a novelty for Syrians whom, he stated, had little familiarity with the concept before the war:

So we received many new issues during these few years and during the war. We received many new education. We are running very hard to get this information, to help implement solutions in society. [Usher]

Therefore, in addition to the feelings of familiarity with the society, participants also

prioritized the entrepreneurial and humanitarian ecosystems that they have encountered in Turkey as a positive aspect of the local context. However, one participant stated the importance of language for access to these opportunities:

I think in Turkey there are many chances to take but that Turkish language barrier, keep(s) these chances far from us. As we make a friendship with Turkish friend and as we learn and educate Turkish language, to learn and participate with Turkish in programs, we can take and get these chances for us. [Jafar]

Participants expressed in similar statements that they perceived social integration as a gradual process, in proportion with their Turkish speaking ability. This section reflected the perception of local socio-economic context and perception of local ecosystems by Syrian entrepreneurs. The following section will provide a more in-depth insight into the process of gaining familiarity with the local context as migrant entrepreneurs, through the practices and encounters within the local ecosystems.

Building Familiarity with the Local Context as Syrian Entrepreneurs

In the previous section, I mentioned that participating in society as entrepreneurs meant building relations with the people under new roles for SuTPs. Here, I will present these encounters within the local context through the entrepreneurial practices of understanding the customers and beneficiaries as well as the market and business dynamics in Turkey.

The BYF Program presented the knowledge about customers to be one the key components for the development of a business idea. Syrian entrepreneurs worked on profiling the prospective customers and beneficiaries of their business ideas. Employment was one of the outlets of interaction with the host community for SuTPs (see Section 4.1.2.2). However, profiling their customers in an unfamiliar social context spurred Syrian entrepreneurs to resort to different strategies to reach a wider audience. One of the participants, Aman, stated that he prioritized the understanding

of society before engaging in activities for his project, he put it as follows:

But at that time [of searching for a job], I needed to find my way first, to see where I can fit in this society, how does the society function. (...) The project customers here in Turkey, the environment is very different than in [the country where I studied]. [There], you could convince anyone very easily: ‘Come with me camping for five days. There is not much, they are not very busy. Here there are so many things going on, people are running from here to there, they consider work, their colleges, their institutes... [Aman]

Moreover, participants stated that their urge to understand the society did not only arise from their lack of familiarity with the Turkish society but also included other Syrians in Turkey as their needs and concerns changed following the migration. Participants with such aims resorted to surveys and field visits to understand the current needs.

The dynamics of the business world and market was the second field that Syrian entrepreneurs struggled to gain familiarity with. These were not only related to the market fit of the business ideas of Syrian entrepreneurs but also extended to professional communication with Turkish actors. Amir, for instance, mentioned that he needed assistance from a mentor when sending a project draft to a potential partner organization:

When I finished my first draft, I sent it back to [the previous entrepreneurship training program]. So this was one of the perfect things. [The mentor] corrected for me some things, I can't understand [how] people explain the business in Turkey, in general. He explained more things for me in the way how people can accept it in turkey. Then I did my own presentation. the problems I fixed. [Amir]

Yet, not all Syrian entrepreneurs had the opportunity to ask for the assistance of a Turkish mentor to direct them in adapting their business idea to the Turkish context. At this stage, some participants suggested employment in Turkish companies as a way of gaining access to the knowledge of business dynamics in Turkey. They further insisted on the importance of the project to cover both Syrian and Turkish customers

and not to remain isolated within the Syrian community if growth is targeted.

In summary, the accounts of participants indicated that a significant portion of participants and namely those who had started to develop their prototypes actively sought to understand their prospective customers and the culture of business in Turkey. Participants emphasized the challenge of understanding the cultural fabric in which their customers were embedded, which did not only differ from other countries but also between different cities in Turkey. In the face of these challenges, they developed strategies as visiting different cities, expanding their network, conducting surveys and consulting to mentors they knew from previous entrepreneurship trainings. In the following section I will present the contextual differences that participants faced between different cities.

From Gaziantep to Istanbul: Contextual Differences between Cities

For nearly half of the participants, BYF Program was their first time in a professional context in Istanbul. These participants were living in Gaziantep, a city in the south-east of Turkey, a region characterized by inequality of opportunities compared to the west of Turkey and especially Istanbul. These participants highlighted the contextual differences that they have encountered, which influenced their relation to the society and entrepreneurial ecosystems. They also pointed to the cultural differences and geographical concentration of different political opinions, which in turn influenced their relation to the rest of the society and business practices.

They differentiated smaller cities from the metropolises, by their political and cultural isolation, condensed community structure, traditional approach to business. They stated that while the condensed Syrian communities in south-eastern cities expanded their social network, the isolation of these cities limited their access to entrepreneurial opportunities.

However, participants raised different opinions over the market potential of these

different cities to execute their projects. While most participants regarded the market potential in Istanbul as more promising and international, some participants estimated the market in Gaziantep to be more international, due to its trading history with Middle Eastern countries.

The multiplicity of opinions reflected that it is not possible to depict these differences as a relation of deprivation and abundance but as different fertile grounds depending on the sector and content of their business ideas. While participants worked towards finding a favorable environment for their business idea and adapting their business idea to their local context, they also struggled to be recognized as active members of the society under a refugee identity. In the following section I will present these social challenges that Syrian entrepreneurs faced.

Social Challenges for Syrian Entrepreneurs

As indicated in Section 2.4 of the literature review, discrimination is one of the major challenges for migrants around the world. In this section, I will not detail the whereabouts or the nature of the ethnic or political discriminations that SuTPs face, which is not in the scope of this thesis. I will instead bring in the perspective of Syrian entrepreneurs in the face of these common social challenges.

Participants referred to their experiences of discrimination as social issues that they aimed to solve instead of keeping a passive standing. I had already introduced examples of socially-oriented business ideas in Section 4.2.1, the origins of some of which can be traced to these cases of discrimination. Syrian entrepreneurs who shared their views on discrimination mostly focused on social integration and legal rights of Syrians.

Most of the participants summarized their perspective on the defamation of Syrians with the repeated phrase of “good Syrians and bad Syrians”, expressing their resentment over the projection of crimes and improper behavior over the entirety of

Syrians. One of the participants, Zuhail, expressed her reaction over the defamation while reciting such a case of discrimination by one the mentors at the BYF Program:

If you want [to send] bad people, take out Syrian bad people. You make bad Syrian people go out of country. Syrian people, there is good and there is bad. They tell [me], 'I want all Syrian people to go out of Turkey. I tell him, (I) want bad Syrian people to go out of Turkey, so help me, show me a way to make the bad people go out of Turkey. If the picture of Syrians is not good in your eyes. They don't answer it and they go. – [Zuhail] (interpreted)

The negative representation of Syrians in Turkey was also related to the abuse of the migrant status by some Syrians, according to the participants. Most of the participants expressed resentment towards Syrians who took advantage of the humanitarian supports and people's goodwill regardless of their actual needs, Usher put it as follows:

This humanitarian support is not for me, it's for poor people, for disabled people, not for me. It's a shame for normal people to get support from NGOs, even if they are refugees if they can work. You can imagine that when you visit some camp, you can find lots of normal people who can work, they are young, they can find good jobs but they just sit in the camps and wait for support. [Usher]

At this point, participants positioned entrepreneurship as a means of empowering the SuTPs for an active participation to society and as a solution to unemployment which condemned Syrians in a passive standing in society. Usher put it as follows:

We are in a big country and a huge market here in Turkey and this market can accept a lot more people. These people are jobless right now. To provide this [BYF Program], just as a push for them to establish their own business. [Usher]

Therefore the concerns that participants raised over the social challenges and discrimination were more focused on the representation of Syrians, which in turn influenced their interaction with the Turkish society. The findings indicated parallelism between the social challenges that Syrian entrepreneurs faced and their socially-oriented business ideas, which was also signaled in Section 4.2.1, under 'Social Concerns'. Another critical inference is the relation between the current

representation of SuTPs in Turkey as perceived by Syrians vis-a-vis the desired self-sufficient image of Syrians in the society to be reflected through their entrepreneurial pursuits.

4.2.3. Entrepreneurial Practices of Participants

In this section, I will illustrate the entrepreneurial practices of participants through their narratives. In the previous sections, I described the social and economic context that surrounds the entrepreneurial pursuits of Syrians. Thus, this section will contribute to understanding the practical outcomes of the conditions that were illustrated previously. Moreover, an overview of the current entrepreneurial practices of Syrians will serve to clarify the function of entrepreneurship trainings within their ongoing pursuits and notably the BYF Program.

Although all the participants of the program had their business ideas at the idea stage, they engaged in activities to develop their projects, which also requires interaction with the local context. Firstly, I will briefly illustrate examples of projects that were already initiated by the participants themselves. Secondly, I will introduce the outlets where Syrian entrepreneurs seek funding for their business ideas. Thirdly, I will present the strategies of Syrian entrepreneurs to conduct their project activities within legal boundaries. This section will also serve as practical grounds for the next Section 4.3, to compare the actual practices of Syrian entrepreneurs to their needs as perceived by the organizations within the framing of the BYF Program.

4.2.3.1. Building Early Stage Models

Among the participants of the BYF Program that were interviewed, 5 teams reported having started the execution of their business idea, through proof of concepts (POC) and prototypes. Since participants had different projects (see Section 3.3.2.1 in Methodology Chapter), their early models differed in their content as well such as

event series of hardware prototypes. The activities that they carried out as part of their early models varied from customer interviews to fully-funded service prototypes.

In this section, I will present examples of these early models to reveal the strategies and concerns of Syrian entrepreneurs in the early execution of their business idea.

Participants employed various strategies depending on the financial resources that were available to them as well as the social resources that they could use through their professional and personal networks. Similar patterns emerged among the participants' strategies of executing a POC and their available resources and these were identified as three groups below. Table 4.1 presents the resources that participants engaged in developing or completing their POCs.

1. POC with personal resources: Early models that were executed with personal funds that were not affiliated with other institutions.
2. POC with grants: Early models that were executed with grant money and were not affiliated with other institutions.
3. POC under umbrella organization: Early models that were funded by and affiliated with an umbrella organization.

POCs with Personal Resources

In the first category, participants who developed their POC with personal resources reported having a professional background in Syria and being employed in the civil sector that their business idea was also related too. Having professional experience in Syria and in Turkey, they stated that they were able to create a seed fund from their personal savings and engage their contacts with civil organizations in Turkey to build partnerships. Jafar, for instance, had bootstrapped an education center for Syrian children, through the failure of which he developed a more risk-averse attitude towards entrepreneurship:

I think we had some wrongs or something not good. Because we didn't study the project very well, from the profitable side and from the revenue side.

Because of that, there are very challenges related to electricity, bills, rent, [compared] to the limited number of Syrian children who can pay good fees for registration, [to] enroll in our academy. [...] Because we gained a good lesson learned from those projects. (...) From about one year we started with the experience project in entrepreneurship. We take some funds from Syrian economic institution and organize some workshops announcing and explaining about entrepreneurship issues. [Jafar]
[Jafar]

The statement of Jafar and similar accounts of other participants indicated that entrepreneurship trainings encouraged participants to apply the early model of their project as a POC, to validate their model before making more substantial investments in their business ideas.

Table 4.1. *Distribution of resources of proof of concept development by participants*

Interviewees	Completed Training	POC Development	Personal Resource	Grant Money	Umbrella Organization
Aman	Ideathon	Yes			•
Usher	Bootcamp	Yes	•		
Hasan	Bootcamp	Yes	•		
Zuhal	Bootcamp	Yes	•		
Ramee	Bootcamp	Yes	•	•	
Amir	Bootcamp	Yes	•	•	
Mohammad	Bootcamp	Yes	•		
Jafar	Bootcamp	Yes	•	•	•
Issam	Bootcamp	No			
Nazeer	Ideathon	No			
Mahboub	Ideathon	No			

POCs with Grants

Participants also started executing their POC with social and financial resources that they accessed through entrepreneurship training programs and entrepreneurship competitions. Two participants narrated such cases when they were encouraged to start their POC after such programs. They stated that their previous participation in an entrepreneurship training had helped them to plan for a feasible POC without risky investments in their business idea:

And I start to understand how the market is working. Not very clear but at least where we have to start from. So instead of saying ‘we have a center and that center is ten floors, providing everything...’, we started to say we have a course. They thought us how to talk about the small cake. [Amir]

For participants who were not employed in institutions that were related to the field of their business idea, these programs also provided them access to the related professional networks. Ramee for instance, gave a similar example of participating in an innovation fair through the reference of the organizers of the Hackathon event that he had participated. Amir stated that the reference of a mentor from a previous entrepreneurship training gave him the opportunity to participate in a fair where he could contact the Turkish Ministry of Industry.

POCs Under Umbrella Organization

Lastly, some participants sought umbrella organizations to execute their business idea. One participant exemplified such a case, where he executed an early model of his business under the sponsorship of an NGO that he volunteered for, which provided him a legal identity under which he could carry out the activities. he faced other legal issues due to the conflict between the revenue requirement of the business idea and the legal limitations of the NGO to carry out revenue generating activities. He put it as follows:

This thing with [the NGO], [was] the legal part of the issue. I wasn’t introduced to this at first. I did 3 months of plan... Socializing. getting contacts, talking to trainers and everything. Then they told me to not charge for participation. but this was very obvious from the start. [Aman]

Many other participants referred to their search for a similar umbrella organization, mostly to be represented by a legal entity. This finding pointed to the need of legal representation, which appeared to be a requirement for particularly the service-oriented business ideas as they aimed to organize events, gatherings, and trainings which are bound by legal restrictions.

4.2.3.2. Multiple Purposes of POCs and Prototypes

During the BYF Program POCs and prototypes were encouraged as low-risk tools for the validation of the essential assumptions of a business idea. However, participants attributed several other functions to their early models, some of which were prioritized over the function of validation of assumptions. Three categories were identified across the multiple aims that participants targeted with an early model:

1. Testing the Business Idea
2. Accessing Support
3. Gaining Visibility

The multiplicity of these aims reflects the needs of Syrian entrepreneurs and their approach to executing a business idea. Therefore, I will briefly illustrate the practices that participants reported towards reaching these aims. These practices draw on not only the current context for which the interventions are designed, but also indicate facilitating factors in their experience.

Testing the Business Idea

Participants reported that they were planning to test their business idea with prototypes, to have a POC with smaller investments to be later developed into full-scale solutions. One participant referred to the increasing importance that he attributed to the prototype of his service solution due to the financial limitations after his first failed experiment:

Now if we started anything, we can't pay more than 5 to 10 thousand dollars. Better to start with a prototype project and step by step expand. And after that I started to interest in entrepreneurship. [Jafar]

He also implied the change in his understanding of 'prototyping' as he got more knowledgeable about entrepreneurship. Through these prototypes, participants aimed

not only to validate the fitness of their solution for the problem that they had determined but also to validate the fitness of their team. Amir, for instance, referred to his early application by underlining this concern:

In all that, I was evaluating the Project in my side. At the same time, it was totally non-profit. We were training people but it was... Let's say my first prototype. Not a prototype but a prototype for trainers with the trainees, the items we give, for the way the information is flowing in. [Amir]

Accessing Support

Participants reported to be seeking support by presenting their early models, not only in financial terms but also to have legal representation and in-kind (non-monetary) support for their activities within their POC. For instance, one participant referred to his first model as an example to be shown to institutions, under the representation of which he could continue his project:

I will take it slowly now. I will make small camps maybe, talk to people, market it to individuals until I find a hosting community or organization, who can adopt this project. [Aman]

The participants did not only seek the support of institutions with their early models but also aimed to attract members for their initiative by showing their project is “real”.

We will have examples, samples from our work, but this is the real one. This way, people will say, this is real, they are trustable. if you see someone, if they know us, they can't tell I want to work for [this project]. [Amir]

Gaining Visibility

Early models also served participants as tools of presentation of their project on different public occasions such as cultural events and project fairs. Two participants reported having participated in such events to exhibit their projects. One of the participants, Ramee, stated that he participated in an innovation fair with the first POC that he had developed during a Hackathon:

They asked me if I can join the [Innovation Fair]. It was in two weeks. So I joined, just like a fool, with Arduino and lights, in the middle of high-tech companies. You can imagine how fool I am. It takes courage. Just I'm putting a brochure, I called it IVMS, explained, but I had nothing to do. But it was a good experience. For me, not very bad. [Ramee]

Participants reported that the public exposure of their POC provided them access to new professional contacts. One participant also stated that such public exposure helped his team build confidence and commitment to the project.

Whereas participants stated different priorities in executing their POC, it must be noted that these aims are often connected to one another, such as reaching an umbrella organization through a public event, where both concerns of gaining visibility and accessing supports are mutually supportive.

I have outlined in this section the concerns of Syrian entrepreneurs in executing the early models of their business ideas where mechanisms of legal representation and access to funding emerged as two recurrent themes across various practices. In fact, these concerns were not only limited to the early models; participants also mentioned them as issues to be encountered in the future projections of their business. In the following sections, I will offer a closer look at these themes, which will illustrate the major difficulties related to the entrepreneurial activities of Syrians.

4.2.3.2. Search for Funding in Early Stage Business Models

Participants sought funding in the early stages of the application of their business ideas and mainly to execute their POCs. The practices of searching for funding that participants reported appeared to reflect their approach to entrepreneurship through two characteristics. These were the prioritization of funding by the participants and the outlets where they sought funding. In this section, I will illustrate these typical practices, which will further serve to trace the connections between the context of entrepreneurship of SuTPs and their current practices.

Prioritization of the Need for Funding

Firstly, many participants referred to ‘seed funding’ as a pre-condition to starting the execution of their business idea and as a long-term concern in implementing their business idea. Understandably, funding is a common need for entrepreneurs, and it was dominantly prioritized among other needs when the participants were asked about their needs to implement their business idea. One participant described funding as a cure-all solution to implement his business idea as follows:

Anything can be solved by money. If there is money you can solve everything.
[Usher]

One participant who was developing a digital freelancing platform stated funding as a pre-condition to actively engage in his business idea. Another participant referred to the awards from entrepreneurship competitions as milestones where the idea becomes a project, saying, “It will become a project when it wins.”. Some participants even considered funding as a cure-all ingredient for their business idea, explicitly stating: “Anything can be solved by money. If there is money, you can solve everything”.

Channels of Early-Stage Funding for Syrian Entrepreneurs

Participants sought funding for their early stage models through different channels as a characteristic of seed stage businesses.. In this section, I will illustrate the practices of funding search of Syrian entrepreneurs in association with their context of entrepreneurial engagement.

Few participants stated to have initiated the early models of their business ideas by using their personal financial resources. All these participants were employed in positions related to their professional field and they had initiated a preliminary version of their business idea back in Syria, as well as developing their skills. For instance, Amir stated that he invested his money to participate in an entrepreneurship training

program in another city:

You have to customize it [the project] to the place... mentality, conditions, tradition, religion, you have to consider altogether. The first target was... Ok, I have the team but limited money. I can buy tools with that money or I can travel everywhere to see where we can implement the project. So I said let's give that money away and I travelled to [the previous entrepreneurship training program]. [Amir]

Participants also searched funding through their personal networks and some even aimed to fund their prototypes by finding high-wage employment. Participants also referred to the awards from entrepreneurship training programs and competitions as funding sources that they have benefited from for their projects. Few participants also shared examples of meetings with investors at an early stage. While they did not report any case of investment, they pointed to the awareness gained from the feedbacks that they received from potential investors, such as realizing the need to find a co-founder.

Lastly, participants sought funding from NGOs in the form of grants through project calls or direct monetary donations. In fact, the majority of participants mentioned "donors" as potential funding resources, by which they referred to civil organizations which could fund their project in accordance with their organizational aims. I already indicated the relations between socially-oriented business ideas and the civil sector in Section 4.2.1 where I outlined the role of networks of participants in the civil sector and section 4.2.3 where I cited examples cases of POCs under umbrella organizations from the civil sector. Considering these previous findings, the aim of participants to fund their socially-oriented prospects through NGOs can be evaluated as a component of the intricate network between Syrian entrepreneurs and NGOs. The participants reported to have received or to be searching funding from NGOs in various forms such as grants from project calls, commissioned services for NGOs or short-term projects that were executed in partnership with an NGO which also funded the project. One of the participants indicated his efforts to communicate his idea to NGOs led him to approach his business idea as a social project in a traditional sense:

Before [the BYF Program]) we used to, for example, you are donor, just trading the proposal, [saying] we are going to do this for this problem... Now, we are not providing a proposal, we are solving an issue. Not like other NGOs' proposal, get money and spend. [Usher]

Participants did not only seek financial support from NGOs but also in-kind support to implement their business ideas under the legal representation of the NGO. In fact, limitations arising from the absence of legal entity for project activities emerged as a shared concern for Syrian entrepreneurs who resorted to NGOs to host their projects for implementation within the legal terms. They also expressed their struggle in finding the correct legal identity for adequate reflection of their business, namely for social businesses. One participant expressed this struggle as follows:

We talked about fund, the legal issues. How can we... but they said here in Turkey, they can't understand the... Here, maybe humanitarian issue [NGO entity] or a company with money or without money [social startup]. [Usher]

As I signaled at the beginning of this section, two overarching outcomes illustrated the approach and strategies of participants towards the implementation of their business ideas. Firstly, the prioritization of funding among other needs reflected their approach towards the early applications of their business idea as they often reported funding as a pre-condition for executing their POCs. Secondly, the outlets where they sought funding were dominated by the institutional grants in the civil sector with which most of the participants were professionally associated. It can be argued that these findings, combined with the concerns over legal representation assigned a catalyzer role to NGOs towards the implementation of their business ideas and further made them dependent on NGOs and networks that are related to the Syrian community in Turkey.

4.2.4 Conclusions

In this second part of the analysis, I presented an overview of the entrepreneurial practices of the participants including their motivations and strategies, with respect to the social context of entrepreneurship for Syrians as reported by the participants.

The accounts presented in this section showed that most of the participants were already actively engaged in entrepreneurship prior to the BYF Program, although not necessarily in the structure of a business. It is important to bear in mind that participants predominantly reported to have socially-oriented business ideas, which was a characteristic of this group and should not be generalized on Syrian entrepreneurs in Turkey. Therefore, this emphasis on the social motives of the participants affected their entrepreneurial strategies as indicated by their early stage activities. These early-stage activities included team forming, building relations with the society in Turkey, implementation of a POCs for their business and the search for funding. The findings indicated that these entrepreneurial practices of Syrians were extensively affected by their social and professional context, which in turn determined the social and financial resources and limitations that influenced their strategic decisions.

Firstly, the social circles of Syrian entrepreneurs emerged as social resources that they engaged in forming their teams and building organizational partnerships in Turkey. Besides the closer social circles of friends and relatives, participants exemplified collaborations with members of local NGOs by pointing to their network in the civil sector as a critical social resource for their business idea. While these social circles included other internationals living in Turkey as well as other Syrians, participants did not report any case of collaboration with the locals in Turkey. However, despite the fact that they mostly did not collaborate with Turkish actors, they considered the locals as their prospective customers and they developed strategies to understand the local context and adapt their solutions to it, such as in the case of Amir, who travelled different cities in south-east of Turkey to be able to judge how his idea of filmmaking center would fit in the local cultural fabric.

These efforts are framed within their interaction with Turkish society in the broader sense. While most of the participants perceived the socio-economic conditions of Turkey as fertile grounds for their entrepreneurial pursuits, they also expressed concerns over getting familiarity with the local context. They aimed to understand

both the social dynamics to be able to portray their prospective customers and the business know-how in Turkey. Some participants referred to employment as an outlet to see variances in the local culture and the way of doing business, yet others stated that their full-time job isolated them from the rest of society. A possible explanation for this might be that the participants were employed within different networks that were also linked to the field of their entrepreneurial practice at varying degrees. Participants also had recourse to mentors, local events and self-conducted methodological studies to gain familiarity with the local context with respect to their business ideas. According to these findings, it can be inferred that while SuTPs were encouraged to interact with the host community to implement their business ideas, they also struggled with their lack of familiarity with the local context, which mostly consisted of the tacit knowledge of the local culture and the way of doing business.

Another critical dimension of the interaction of participants with the host community was their portrayal of the perception of SuTPs by Turkish society. Most of the participants expressed resentment towards a specific segment of Syrians who received social aid despite their capability of getting employed, stating that this had been causing the defamation of SuTPs as needy and incapable people. Thus they referred to their identity as Syrian entrepreneurs by emphasizing the recognition of their capabilities by the society, also offering entrepreneurship as a remedy for the SuTPs who are unemployed and isolated from the rest of the society.

In the second part of this section, I focused on the entrepreneurial practices of Syrians which reflected their strategies as Syrian entrepreneurs vis-a-vis the local context and the social and financial resources that were available to them. I indicated above that most of the participants had already started working to implement an early model of their business idea or had executed a POC. Since most of the participants had socially-oriented business ideas that offered service solutions, their strategies of implementation mostly relied on partnerships or support from NGOs who were working in similar fields. While it can be argued that this role of NGOs may have arisen from the prevalence of employment in NGOs for the participants (see Section

4.1.2.2.), participants also referred to have recourse in NGOs as strategic partners to overcome issues of funding and legal representation. While participants definitively cast NGOs as facilitators for these issues, they also referred to the influence of project-based methodology of the civil sector on their mindset of entrepreneurship.

Lastly, whereas the participant group majorly consisted of social entrepreneurs, it also included participants with profit-oriented business ideas whose practices were found to be distinct from the former group. These strategies were illustrated through the outlets that participants resorted to in the early stages of implementing their business idea. Unlike the participants with socially-oriented business ideas, these participants sought support from private channels, such as searching for an investor instead of a project fund or participating in private accelerator programs. This distinction signaled that the facilitator actors for the entrepreneurial pursuits of Syrians might differ according to the focus of the entrepreneurs.

In summary, this section explored the intricate relations between the socio-economic context of Syrian entrepreneurs and their strategies to implement their business ideas by pointing to the joint facilitating or limiting factors experienced by the participants. In fact, the accounts presented in this section were also found to be practical outcomes of the employment context of participants (see Section 4.1.2.) which largely contributed to their social resources in Turkey. These combined findings aimed to shed light on the current practices of Syrian entrepreneurs with respect to their social integration and participation to the labor market, which were the primary aims of the BYF Program as stated by the organizational representatives (see section 4.1.1.). In the next section, I will present a review of the BYF Program which will offer the grounds for a comparison between the intervention strategies of organizations and the current entrepreneurial practices of SuTPs.

4.3. An Entrepreneurship Program Under Focus: Build Your Future

In the previous sections, I presented the main findings related to the socio-economic

context of Syrian entrepreneurs who participated in the study, followed by their entrepreneurial practices, which were elaborated as strategies of entrepreneurs vis-a-vis the opportunities and limitations that they encountered depending on their context. In this section, I will present an analysis of the Build Your Future Program (BYF Program) in order to build a grounds of comparison between the strategic interventions of organizations towards empowerment of SuTPs as entrepreneurs and the current practices, needs, and expectations of the Syrian entrepreneurs who participated in the BYF Program. I will initially present the positioning of the BYF Program with respect to the current landscape of socio-economic integration of SuTPs in Turkey and their understanding of entrepreneurship among similar forms of self-employment. Secondly, I will examine the BYF Program through the findings of field observation and interviews in order to explore the fitness between the expectations of participants and the learning environment of the program. Lastly, I will present a comparative evaluation of the program through the accounts of participants and organizational representatives. These comparative accounts will serve to understand the degree of alignment between the aims of organizations through entrepreneurship trainings and the needs of Syrian entrepreneurs as they perceived themselves.

4.3.1. Framing of Entrepreneurship within the BYF Program

Entrepreneurship is only one of the strategies that aim the socio-economic integration of SuTPs in Turkey, which also include other forms of independent livelihood such as the small businesses which are also referred to as entrepreneurship practices. Thus, entrepreneurship appears to be a vague concept that can encompass various forms of starting a business and it is essential to define the type of entrepreneurship that is referred to by the organizations of the BYF Program. Not all organizations shared the same framing of entrepreneurship, yet they did present a shared understanding of this framing within the BYF Program. The notable distinction in different forms of entrepreneurship was traced by the organizations between (1) the small businesses that

were set up and run by the entrepreneurs themselves with the aim of creating a certain level of income, and (2) startups as growth-based projects which can yield a return on an investment. While Demir stated that they did not define a scope of entrepreneurship within the TVET program, their scope was shaped with respect to the focus of the organizations that were available for partnership. In this case, the partnership with GIRVAK, where Impact Hub Istanbul was a sub-contractor, had turned the focus of the program towards a growth-oriented entrepreneurship, excluding small business from the scope. In fact, Aygül and Sabuncu placed great emphasis on this distinction. Aygül summarized the focus of GIRVAK as “active entrepreneurship”, targeting “entrepreneurs who can create employment or change, or who contribute to development and employment”. Sabuncu stated a similar distinction, stating that they excluded business ideas like shop ownership which were defined as “brick and mortar” works. Demir stated that, through this collaboration with GIRVAK and Impact Hub Istanbul, they aimed to reach ideas that can become “success stories”, by recognizing the scope of entrepreneurship of these organizations. He put it as follows:

With GIRVAK and Impact Hub, we had the intention to reach creative ideas. How many creative projects can become success stories? It can take time to grow a company that you reach from the Chamber of Commerce but you can more easily catch a startup from GIRVAK. [Demir]

This scope appeared to not only limit the types of entrepreneurial projects who could effectively benefit from the BYF Program, but also limit the number of potential beneficiaries of the program. While I will introduce the impact measure of the program in more detail in Section 4.3.4., an important finding is that organizations had different concerns on the impact scale of the program. For instance, Demir referred to the organization’s intention to collaborate with KOSGEB (Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization of Turkey) prior to their partnership with GIRVAK, stating that the engagement of a public organization could lead to a broader outreach. While Aygül also agreed that a broad population was not targeted with entrepreneurship programs, she underlined the indirect impact of entrepreneurship as a mindset and not only as a source of livelihood. She put it as follows:

Entrepreneurship is a powerful thing. Not all of them will be entrepreneurs, not in Turkey. A maximum of 10-15% will be entrepreneurs among university students. (...) So among these refugees (...) maybe a 3-5% will be entrepreneurs. [Aygül]

It is important to note the emphasis on the university students as target beneficiaries, which was also stated by Sabuncu. She raised concerns about the portion of the skilled individuals within the population of SuTPs and the portion of individuals who want to engage in startups with respect to those who could benefit more from a business-oriented KOSGEB training.

Taken together, these accounts show that, whereas the scope of the BYF Program excluded a group of potential beneficiaries who were interested in “brick and mortar” business, the impact aims of the program extended well beyond employment. Organizations presented several inter-connected direct and indirect impact goals, which could indeed not be captured with the number of beneficiaries.

4.3.2. Aims of the Build Your Future Program

Build Your Future program had several objectives which served to the connected aims of participation to labor market and social integration of SuTPs. I already presented the perspective of the organizations regarding the role of entrepreneurship as an agent of change with respect to these aims. In this section, I will present the portrayal of the target audience by the organizations and the specific objectives of the program towards the increasing entrepreneurial capacity of this audience. An overview of these specific objectives will serve to understand the basis on which the BYF Program content was structured.

Target Audience of the BYF Program

As I presented in the previous section, the prioritization of the business ideas with

growth potential within the scope of the program limited the audience to an educated and skilled segment among SuTPs. As stated in chapter 3. Methodology Section 3.2, BYF was the first experience of GIRVAK and Impact Hub Istanbul conducting an entrepreneurship training program targeting Syrians. Desk research was conducted prior to the program to understand the target audience. However, Sabuncu stated that the team of Impact Hub Istanbul was unable to find significant data about the SuTPs, such as the skill levels of SuTPs or the proportion of the SuTPs in the target profile to the entire population. Sabuncu openly put this as: “We threw ourselves in a very dark area”. Therefore, organizations indicated that a specific profile of the target audience of the program had matured along the process of selection of the participants, as they developed new strategies to adapt themselves to an unfamiliar audience.

Demir stated that GIZ expected to reach an educated and English-speaking audience by their partnership with GIRVAK, whose main community consists of university students. However, Aygül reported that their initial portrayal of the target audience proved to be unfit for the actual population that they were able to reach. She put it as follows:

We had actually imagined it like this as the beginning, they can be 18-35 years old, they should definitely speak either English or Turkish... Such was our fantastic dreams. By the way, this was the first experience [of organizing an entrepreneurship training for Syrians] both for us and Impact Hub. [Aygül]

Therefore, Sabuncu and Aygül stated that they expanded the target profile to include novice migrant entrepreneurs from other nationalities such as Afghans and Yemenis, as well as the target age segment up to 50 years old. While such was the segment targeted by the BYF Program, a more thorough selection process was carried out to select the participants from this audience. Representatives underlined that BYF targeted novice entrepreneurs who had business ideas yet to be applied and that they had purposely excluded more advanced entrepreneurs in order to prevent a misfit of the training modules to the participants. Sabuncu (IHI) stated that they followed a two-stage selection consisting of an online application form in Arabic and English, and

phone interviews. She described the targeted participants as “Syrians who are at the idea stage, who have already defined a problem and have an idea for a solution and who are willing to develop it as an entrepreneurship project”. Sabuncu also referred to the selection criteria of Impact Hub Istanbul, which mainly focused on filtering “brick and mortar” business ideas with more advanced questions and measuring the approach of applicants to their idea as a realistic business.

However structured the selection process might be, Sabuncu stated that Impact Hub Istanbul encountered the first communication boundary at the selection stage, where they had trouble in understanding the applicants. Aygül reported that the two-stage selection process had proved to be adequate since a substantial number of participants had not been able to express themselves to the same extent in verbal and written communication. Aygül also underlined the fit between the team and the proposed project idea to be a crucial ingredient for a successful entrepreneurial endeavor, which was hard to judge in written format. Therefore, applicants’ abilities of self-expression were also a factor that influenced their selection process. In fact one of the organizational representatives referred to this issue during the program, suggesting that the previous entrepreneurship training experience of most of the participants could have been a reason for their acceptance to BYF Program due to their improved communication skills.

In summary, BYF Program aimed to reach a segment of educated novice refugee entrepreneurs to provide entrepreneurial capacity development with “modules that aimed to concretize very early stage entrepreneurship ideas”, in the words of Sabuncu (IHI). In the following section, I will present the specific objectives within this aim, which gave shape to the structure of the program.

Objectives of the BYF Program

BYF Program was structured with objectives of entrepreneurial capacity development for its participants, which served to the main aims of increasing participation to the

labor market and social integration through entrepreneurship (see Section 4.3.1. In this section, I will present these objectives as reported by the representatives of the organizations. Since the program consisted of two stages as a day-long Ideathon and a five-days long Bootcamp, these stages differed in the scope of their objectives. Whereas the objectives of the Ideathon were to introduce participants to the concept of entrepreneurship and build familiarity with the prospective participants, the Bootcamp had a much broader scope of objectives. In the graph below, these objectives are grouped under three categories according to the long-term outcomes that they are linked with.

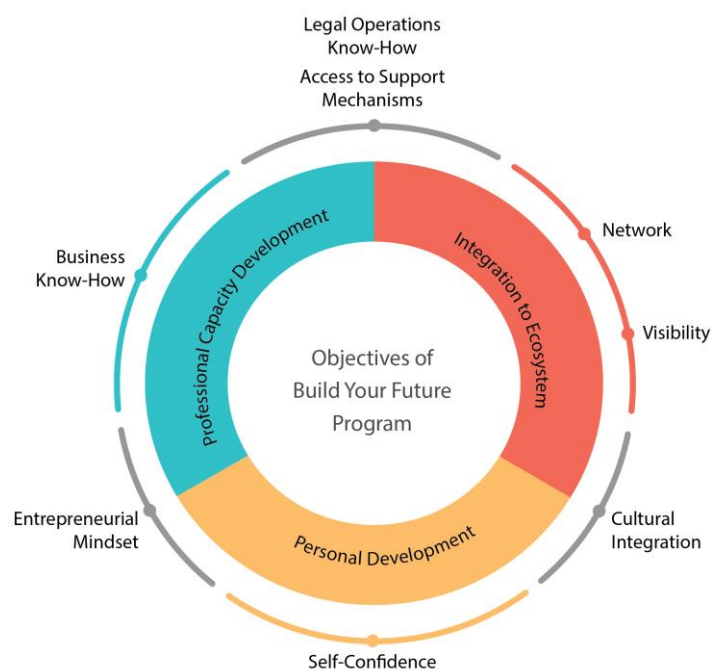


Figure 4.1. Thematic Graph of Objectives of Build Your Future Program

8 specific objectives were highlighted during the interviews (see Figure 4.1). It must be noted that this grouping was made according to the primary outcomes of the objectives and the distant placement of objectives does not mean that they are independent. Hereby, I will summarize these objectives as reported by the organizations.

Demir stated that the BYF Program had the objective to introduce its participants with the “professional entrepreneurship curriculum”. This curriculum provided the essential know-how of starting a business which was supported with training components customized for migrant entrepreneurs, such as their introduction to the legal business procedures in Turkey. At this stance, organizations highlighted the distinction of “professional know-how” and knowledge by the capability of the participants to turn their knowledge into professional outputs. Demir expressed this emphasis as follows:

Actually, we wanted them to learn the professional entrepreneurship curriculum when we met GIRVAK. These guys have an idea, they know about marketing, but they don't do it professionally. The mentors and marketing experts who came there tried to communicate this to 25 people in the most professional way. We wanted them to get this professionalism. [Demir]

Professional capacity development also included the objective of instilling an entrepreneurial mindset to the participants. Aygül described this concern for developing an entrepreneurial mindset as follows:

Actually, we expected them to grow their entrepreneurial muscles. It is valid for all entrepreneurs. You apply to an entrepreneurship program with an idea. You can grow that idea too, that can be. (...) But what really matters is to build the entrepreneurial muscles and entrepreneurial perspective in that program. It's not to grow that idea. [Aygül]

The second grouping of program objectives, *Integration to ecosystem* included network and visibility as the primary objectives. Organizations expressed the integration of Syrian entrepreneurs to the local ecosystem of entrepreneurship as a bilateral issue. In fact, for as much as the program targeted the introduction of the participants to the actors of the local ecosystem (such as mentors, institutions and knowledge platforms), it also aimed to increase their acceptance by the ecosystem by providing visibility to Syrian entrepreneurs. Sabuncu (IHI) referred to this concern as follows:

[Syrians] need to learn our manner. (...) But we need to adapt to them too. It

does not necessarily have to be in a training format. But we need to add things for them to get to know us and for us to get to know them. [Sabuncu]

Moreover, Aygül emphasized that the access to entrepreneurial support mechanisms was also dependent on the inclusion in this ecosystem:

But the important thing is how s/he feels it (the need to do something), where s/he gets inspired from when s/he feels it, in which network s/he is going to do it, which support mechanism s/he has, which network s/he has. The network, money, idea of the entrepreneur on their own... Network is also access to money, without network it's shaky too. [Aygül]

Lastly, both themes of 'Professional Capacity Development' and 'Inclusion in the Ecosystem' appeared to be linked with 'Personal Development'. While the BYF Program had a direct objective of increasing self-confidence, it also aimed to increase cultural integration and development of an entrepreneurial mindset for the participants. These objectives were supported with extra-curricular activities during the trainings, such as self-awareness workshops and group games that focused on the soft-skills. Aygül notably stated the development of an entrepreneur identity for the SuTPs:

Being an entrepreneur is also being rootless. (...) If you are an active entrepreneur, it is also being global, not being dependent on a country but being connected to the world. So, with something that can run wherever you make it, I think entrepreneurship already gives them an identity. (...) It is an identity that will strengthen the refugee identity that they have now. [Aygül]

Therefore, BYF Program targeted inter-connected objectives throughout the program, not only through the transfer of knowledge but also by introducing participants to actors of entrepreneurship ecosystem and by providing extra-curricular activities for social cohesion and personal development. The objectives that I presented in this section will serve as a basis of comparison with the expectations of participants from the program (see Section 4.3.3.2.) and their takeaways (see Section 4.3.4.2.).

4.3.3 Experience of Participants at the BYF Program

In this section, I will present an analysis of the BYF Program content through the accounts of the participants and the field observations at the Ideathon and Bootcamp events. A greater emphasis will be placed on the Bootcamp since it covered a larger portion of the trainings. This part of the analysis will serve to illustrate the expectations of the participants from entrepreneurship trainings through the case of BYF with respect to their needs as novice migrant entrepreneurs which were documented in Section 4.2. This analysis focuses on the process and positioning of the BYF Program from an integration perspective and therefore excludes common aspects of entrepreneurship programs which do not relate to integration.

In this section, I will initially present the application process of the program and the expectations of participants in applying to the program, followed by an analysis of the facilitating factors and limitations for participants in the context of BYF Program where they were exposed to a new set of information and network as Syrian entrepreneurs in Turkey.

4.3.3.1. Announcement of the Program and Selection of Participants

In the section 4.3.2., I documented the target audience of the program and the selection criteria through the accounts of the organizations. The activities of announcement of the program and selection of participants were carried out by Impact Hub Istanbul and GIRVAK, who reported that the BYF Program was their first experience of working with Syrians, resulting in limited knowledge about the target audience. Similarly to the process of profiling the target audience, representatives of both organizations indicated that they had to develop their strategies along the way to reach the target audience, unlike their usual process. Aygül reported that GIRVAK the process differed from their usual program announcements that rely on social media and that they changed their strategy to gaining access to Facebook and WhatsApp groups of Syrians upon the suggestion of NGOs that work with this audience. She described this

learning process as follows:

We make a social media investment, not a big one; all the applications come from there. We imagined that it would be like this. However, they come from social media too, and actually the Syrian refugees talk in WhatsApp groups, so we had to enter those groups. We learned these later. It was very good for us to learn while proceeding to the actual program. [Aygül]

In fact, most participants reported that they heard about the program from their friends who were working in NGOs, with a few emphasizing the absence of an accessible platform to reach these events. One of the participants who could speak Turkish conversely stated that he could access these events easily:

I know Turkish. I check if there are any events, a poster or anything... From the internet, from Facebook. I have Turkish friends, they participate and I check, I can participate. It's easy. Whoever speaks Turkish, it's easy for them. [Nazeer]

Therefore, whereas NGOs and social networks appeared to be valuable communication channels for Syrians in Turkey, the accounts also indicated the language barrier in accessing information, which also appeared to be a result of the rareness of platforms that provide such content for Arabic or English speakers in Turkey.

4.3.3.2 Expectations of Participants from BYF Program

I described the target audience of the BYF Program (see Section 4.3.2) as educated novice refugee entrepreneurs. However, the accounts of participants that I presented in Section 4.2 indicated that a substantial portion of the participants had participated in other entrepreneurship trainings before the BYF Program. Therefore, the accounts in this section should be considered together with the previous entrepreneurship and training experience of the participants.

A substantial number of participants reported that they participated in the program

with rather *vague expectations*. Issam shared such expectations as follows:

I heard from a friend. He said, “You can come if you have nothing to do, it will be very nice.”. We didn’t have anything to lose. We can gain something. [Issam]

Some other participants did not expect specific takeaways but were rather interested in meeting people, network opportunities and useful feedback that they may receive, as one participant puts it:

(I expected to) meet people, new people find chances, solutions... Yeah, not that much expectation, it’s normal, they will not solve everything in these three hours. [Mahboub]

Lastly, some other participants stated they participated despite their assumption that the program would be a similar one to those they had seen before.

I attend many many many courses. I write some proposals, for education projects. All courses and trainings are the same. I expected the Bootcamp to be the same. [Usher]

Few participants expected to *find business solutions for the problems* that they encountered during their current entrepreneurial practice. For instance, one of the participants expressed his disappointment during the Ideathon as he had expected to find a solution to the issue of finding clients that he had encountered. This was observed to be the case particularly during the Ideathon for several participants who already had business ideas that they worked on.

Funding expectation was also reported by many participants, although the program announcement had openly indicated that there would not be any awards. In fact, Sabuncu stated that they were surprised by the high number of the applications in which funding was stated as an expectation. Some of these participants also stated funding as a must-have condition for any entrepreneurship training:

I said, there must be an award. Something like research and development. Like a camp but there will be an award after the camp. I found... like a more immaterial thing. I mean, there can be a little reward, if there is not such a

thing, I don't know how many would come to the camp. But I saw everyone saying, they won't come again. [Nazeer]

Some other expectations that only few participants reported were finding a *competitive atmosphere* for motivation, *learning to give entrepreneurship trainings* and *meeting new people* such as the “mentors and Turkish people who attend the pitch day”.

Therefore, participants had applied for the program with various and mostly ambiguous expectations. While for a few participants this ambiguity of expectations might be arising from the lack of previous experience in entrepreneurship training, for many participants it appeared to be arising from the abundance of entrepreneurship trainings provided by NGOs. In fact, this similarity of many trainings in the field was also criticized by [Aygül], she put it as follows:

Although there are so many [programs] being done, nobody had thought about going in-depth. Everybody thought like “let's give fifty trainings, let's reach two hundred fifty refugees. Nobody felt the need to give in-depth support to the ten people or teams that they received and to follow up on where they move or to measure [the program's] impact. [Aygül]

Therefore the larger context of entrepreneurship trainings and similarity of their audience appeared as a factor that influences the perceptions of Syrian entrepreneurs about such trainings and their expectations from participating in these programs. In this section I presented the variety of expectations that participants had from the BYF Program. In the following section I will describe the training content and environment of BYF Program through the field observations.

4.3.3.3. Facilitating Factors and Limitations in the Training Environment

In this section, I will present an analysis of the training environment at the Ideathon and Bootcamp events. It is important to remind the essential aspects of the trainings within BYF. The participant group consisted of an interdisciplinary group who had

different levels of prior business or entrepreneurship training experience. The curriculum and teaching methodology of the trainings within the BYF Program consisted of many modules (see Section 3.2.2 for the curriculum of the program) that supported the program objectives of professional capacity development, integration to ecosystem and personal development (see section ‘4.3.2 Aims of the Build Your Future Program’). The modules consisted of applied learning cycles, which were complemented with lectures from experts, feedbacks from mentors and presentations by the participants (see Figure 4.2). By this, the trainings aimed to develop skills and mindset of participants towards active entrepreneurship, alongside their knowledge. Moreover, despite the similarity of the learning components conventional entrepreneurship trainings, additional means of facilitation were employed by Impact Hub Istanbul to ensure the inclusivity of the learning environment.

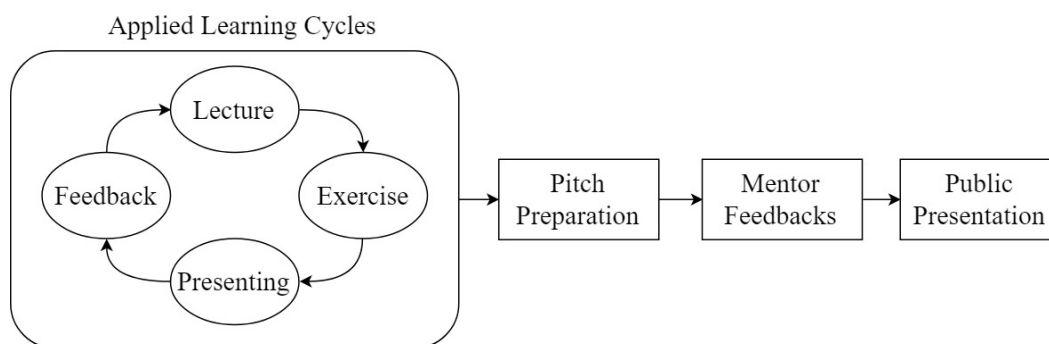


Figure 4.2. Flow of Build Your Future Bootcamp Training

In this section, I will document the factors that affected the training experience of the participants with respect to their integration and inclusivity of the trainings. I will focus on the ways participants learned about and related to the new context in which they were expected to develop their business ideas. Since the scope of this research was the training program, the indirect capacity development outcomes such as the maturation of entrepreneurial mindset or increase in self-confidence which were only

observable in the long-term will be left out of the scope of this section. I will respectively present the following factors in the training environment as: language barrier, time limitation, impact of previous experience, learning from feedback and learning from experts, with respect to the larger aim of integration of the program.

4.3.3.3.1. Overcoming the Language Barrier

The trainings during the Ideathon and Bootcamp were given by facilitators to an audience who had varying competence in English or Turkish, various strategies were developed to facilitate the communication of participants with facilitators, experts, and mentors.

The language barrier was considered by Impact Hub Istanbul to be the major challenge of an entrepreneurship training for Syrians. Therefore, Impact Hub Istanbul employed different methods for the facilitation of the communication between participants and facilitators, experts and mentors. Throughout the trainings, simultaneous interpretation was made between English and Arabic from a cabin set-up in the training area. The interpretation was transmitted with headphones given to participants and facilitators. Arabic translation was also included in most of the training materials such as slides and exercise sheets. However, it appeared that verbatim translation was not the only ingredient to ensure smooth communication. Therefore, I will present the factors that influenced the communication during the trainings across the various learning practices.

Six types of training sessions were identified according to the shared conditions of communication. As I had outlined in Section 3.2.2 of the Methodology Chapter, the first days of the Bootcamp consisted of repeated learning cycles (see Figure 4.2). Presentation and mentoring sessions were added in the last two days. Table 4.2 illustrates the primary types of communication that were identified during the training sessions, with respect to actors of communication and the medium of translation which was observed to be the primary source of noise to affect the communication.

Table 4.2. *Types of communication during Build Your Future Bootcamp trainings*

Session	Type of Communication	Actors	Translation
Lecture	Verbal, Written, Visual	Facilitator / Expert, Participants	Simultaneous Interpretation and Written Translation
Team Exercise	Verbal, Written	Team members	Written Translation
Feedback	Verbal, Written	Facilitator, Participants	Simultaneous Interpretation
Presentation	Verbal, Written, Visual, Non-verbal	Facilitator, Participants, Guest Audience	Simultaneous Interpretation
Speed Mentoring	Verbal, Written	Team members, Mentors	Consecutive Interpretation
Warm-ups	Non-verbal, Verbal	Facilitator, Participants	Consecutive Interpretation

Lectures. The first contact of facilitators with the prospective participants had happened at the Meetup event in Gaziantep, which was not part of the observations. However, the Ideathon in Istanbul was the first training experience of the facilitators with Syrians. Therefore, the team appeared to hesitate about which language to use in their first contact with the participants. Some participants also stated that they could speak Turkish when they were approached in English.

Throughout the trainings, verbal communication was the primary means between facilitators and the participants. Although all the non-English speaking participants were provided with simultaneous interpretation, some participants reported that the information received through the interpretation was not clear for all participants, as Aman puts it:

The communication was bad, terribly bad. For me it was good and I could

adapt the communication. I have good English and I could think about everything, but for others, the translation wasn't really working. Because I feel like they did not really understand. That's why they were not [mentally] inside [what was being told]. Did you feel like they were inside it? [Aman]

The lectures mostly consisted of slide presentations on screen, followed by the distribution of exercise sheets to participants and seldom use of flipchart to explain some concepts. While translations to Arabic was not included in the exercise sheets in the Ideathon, having observed the struggle of participants, the team updated these materials to include translations in the Bootcamp training. Although translations were provided in most slides and exercise sheets, participants appeared to have trouble in understanding the new terminology and sometimes remained reserved from expressing this difficulty, unless they were particularly encouraged to do so.

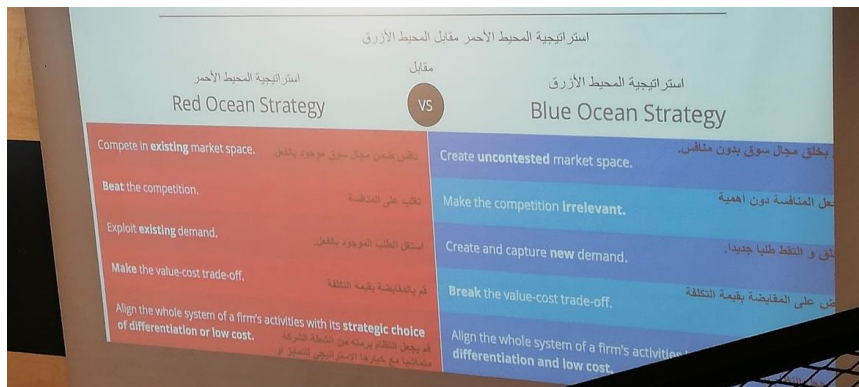


Figure 4.3. A presentation slide from a lecture in Bootcamp

Almost each lecture was followed by a session of team exercise where participants used exercise sheets (see Figure 4.4). Participants who were interviewed reported that the tasks were mostly clear and understandable. However, few participants stated that they struggled in understanding some tasks, which indicates that, besides the language barrier, the comprehensibility of the training content also depended on the familiarity with the terminology and clarity of the methods of trainings.



Figure 4.4. An exercise sheet filled in Arabic during the Bootcamp

Particularly during these exercise sessions, bilingual learning materials appeared to pose a challenge not only for the participants but also for the facilitators who could not give spontaneous feedback as participants filled these template sheets in a mixture of Arabic and English. For instance, during the preparation of pitch presentations, as the facilitators visited each team to give feedback to their presentations, participants who were preparing their presentation in Arabic verbally translated the slide contents to facilitators to receive feedback, which challenged the facilitators to grasp the entire content of the presentations. Moreover, even for the participants who were English-speakers, it appeared to be a challenge to express themselves in concise phrases, which was a requirement especially for pitch presentations. The following discussion illustrates this case:

Facilitator 1: Not clear.

Participant: Excuse me, but in Arabic, everyone understood what I told.

Facilitator 1: Then I got lost in the translation, it was good that you used numbers. (Addressing the rest of the group) you should think about doing this as well.

Facilitator 2: On Tuesday, everybody will be listening to you through translation. You will have 5 minutes, whether you speak in English or Arabic.
Facilitator 1: [In Turkish] There is a rush in between [the speech and interpretation], a knocking sound [from the headphone], that's why I could not follow.

Similar difficulties of understanding occurred for interpreted feedbacks from facilitators. In one such case, the participant had trouble understanding the comment of the facilitator which resulted in the intervention of the interpreter. Therefore, whereas the simultaneous translation facilitated the self-expression of participants in their mother tongue, the efficiency of communication was also affected by the lack of experience of participants in presenting in a pitch format and their vocabulary set in English.

Another notable challenge of communication was during the speed mentoring session on the last day where the participants were expected to conduct a series of short and focused discussions with mentors to address the issues related to their business plans. Teams who needed interpretation were assisted by the interpreters in person. Having predicted possible issues related to the language barrier, Impact Hub Istanbul introduced boards (see Figure 4.5) on which participants wrote their essential questions for mentors, for the mentors to leave written feedback. The teams who were fluent in English were assisted with consecutive interpretation. Since the session was structured as short conversations in a limited amount of time, the intermediacy of interpretation amplified the challenge of time limitation for these teams.

The accounts of the participants combined with the field observation indicated that: (1) the comprehensibility of the materials did not solely depend on the availability of translation, but also the familiarity of participants with the terminology and methods that were used in the trainings; (2) the level of English fluency of participants caused them to struggle in formulating the concise expressions used in pitch presentations that they were unfamiliar with; (3) since some participants depended on interpretation to communicate, they remained reserved from asking questions and requesting further

feedback. Therefore, the language barrier appeared to amplify these challenges of unfamiliarity, rather being a stand-alone factor. Language barrier was an over-arching factor in the trainings. In the following sections I will introduce the other factors with which it was combined.

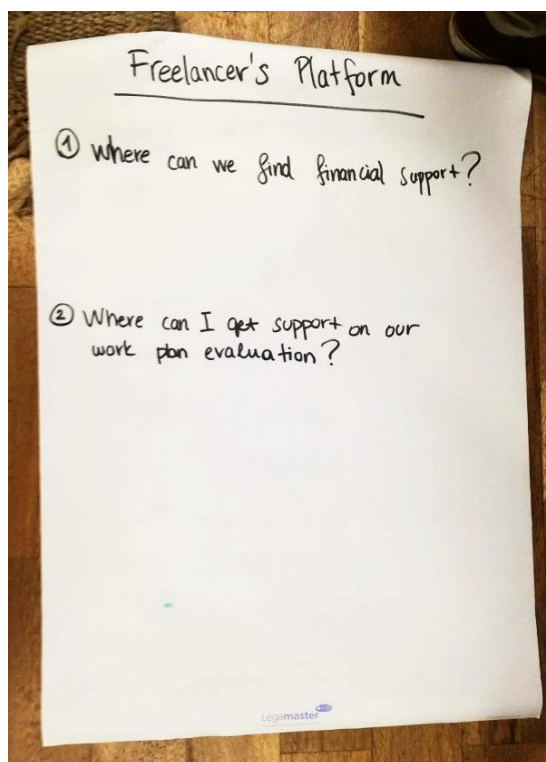


Figure 4.5. A question board from the speed-mentoring session

4.3.3.3.2. Time Limitation during the Trainings

BYF Bootcamp offered a condensed curriculum of entrepreneurship in a time of 4 days with the fifth day of the training reserved to presentation practice and speed-mentoring session. The limitation of time appeared as an over-arching factor which affected all stages of the training and the learning experience of participants. In fact, in each session of lecture and exercise, participants were expected to understand a new concept and put it in the context of their business idea. Jafar described how some

participants struggled with the fast pace of this process as follows:

The trainings were going in so limited time. I think the most attendant[s] [did] not benefit so much from these workshops. Because the time is so limited. They don't present their work in front of the attenders. Some divisions not [get] explaining enough from trainers. Those were reasons that I think the great number of attenders not benefit from these workshops. [Jafar]

Some participants who had previously been working on their projects, unlike the expected profile of the attendees, expressed that they were able to finish the tasks on time only because of their previous work. Similar difficulties were observed during the feedback sessions that followed exercises, where some confusions of the participants remained unresolved due to the limited time and mostly best practices were highlighted. Moreover, time limitation did not only affect the understanding of concepts and methodology but also the interactivity among the peers. One participant put it as follows:

For the trainings, just too much to deliver all that information... But in general, (...) [the facilitators] couldn't give space to the participants. If I want you to be creative, I'll push you and push you, and then go. And then when I leave, ask another participant and exchange information, and you will combine it together. The bad thing about the trainings, there was no space to talk, there wasn't close working together. [Amir]

The observations regarding time limitation indicated the perception of the training environment by the participants. In fact, the multiple accounts that referred to the challenge of receiving feedbacks and exchanging ideas reflected that, beyond a place for receiving new information, participants regarded the trainings as an opportunity to exchange ideas with experts and their peers which was only partially fulfilled.

4.3.3.3.3. Impact of Previous Experience of Entrepreneurship Training

BYF Program received potential entrepreneurs from various backgrounds and

experience levels (see Section 4.3.3.1), who brought in an accumulation of motives, experience and expectations. Therefore, the engagement of participants with the teaching methods was largely affected by their previous experience. In fact, while novice participants stated that they found it hard to comprehend certain concepts, more experienced ones put that they did not benefit much from the Ideathon. Jafar, for instance, who even had experience of running an entrepreneurship training program stated that he participated in the Ideathon in Gaziantep simply to fulfill the requirement of participation to Bootcamp without benefiting from the content:

"Yeah, they asked us to apply for the Antep program. But in the day in Antep Program, they are very simple, I know everything, the information. It's very simple. It's about 3 hours for entrepreneurship. It's not complicated, so simple. I attend and we present our idea. [Jafar]

Some of these participants reported that during the exercises they applied the ideas that had matured along their ongoing work on their business ideas. This was especially apparent during the idea generation session at the Ideathon, where participants were expected to generate solutions for their problem statement. For instance, when asked about the idea generation session, Issam stated as follows: "We stuck the papers [sticky labels], we had these ideas before, so we just stuck them." With a similar experience, Ramee stated: "I built these materials before I came, so [our product] was there as a business idea. Not hundred percent, but it was there." While these participants found the content below their level, some other struggled to keep up with the training as Usher described:

I could understand and my partner was the same, but for other groups, it was difficult. We were three groups on the table and the other groups couldn't understand anything. For me I started explaining to him. He couldn't understand English, first. Second, he doesn't have any background regarding this project. I asked him to listen to the translation and explained some things to him. [Usher]

However, Usher did not only refer to entrepreneurial knowledge by saying

“background”; in fact, although he stated having been to project writing trainings, BYF Bootcamp was his first entrepreneurship training experience as well. Similar to the accounts of other participants, Usher added that the approach of the training differed from those that he was familiar with:

They provide you keys to use when you introduce your project, to achieve your goals. During the trainings, with the experts, keys to how to talk to the donor. The normal courses I have attended here, is very normal, maybe there are many details but it's so normal. How to write your goal, your target students etc. I applied many many proposals here but most of them got refused, because it's a normal proposal. [Usher]

Another participant who had a previous entrepreneurship training experience highlighted the differentiation of the training by its applied learning approach, which gave participants to gradually develop the building blocks of their business idea, upon which they could exchange ideas, he put it as follows:

I liked it because it is not verbal. They hand you the papers, give you the table. You will prepare it, you will get up and present it, it's more dynamic. I think it's beneficial. I have everything ready for my business now, [in other trainings] they say, “fill in”, and I fill in. But then it's like –so what now? It doesn't make sense when you can't get feedback. [Hussain]

The findings indicated while the inexperienced participants struggled in certain stages of the training, experienced participants either applied the methodology with the hope of hearing new feedback or they chose to approach this familiar methodology as an opportunity to review their business ideas with a fresh eye. The combined findings indicated that, unlike the expectations or organizations, some Syrian entrepreneurs were indeed experienced in entrepreneurship trainings and namely needed exchange of ideas around their business ideas, rather than learning a methodology that they were familiar with. An additional finding was the notable role of NGOs in accustoming entrepreneurs in the social field to the project writing format of the civil sector, which was an existing skill set for some participants that could potentially enriched with an entrepreneurial approach.

4.3.3.3.4. Learning from Feedback

During the trainings of the BYF Program, participants received feedback from the facilitators and their peers, upon specific tasks and the strategic development of business ideas. Exercise sessions were followed by on-stage feedback sessions where participants presented their outputs from the exercises, occasionally in the form of group discussions. As I highlighted in the previous sections (see Sections 4.3.3.3.2 and 4.3.3.3.3) the opportunity of receiving feedbacks was evaluated as a differentiating aspect of BYF Program. However, it must be noted that, not all teams benefited from the feedbacks from facilitators to the same extent, since most of the feedbacks were given on-stage and this interaction depended on the initiative of the participants to present on stage. For instance, when asked about his exchange with facilitators, one participant responded as follows:

We didn't have much relation with them. We did not get into communication with them. We did not think with them. We did the work with the papers. [Issam]

Participants also received feedbacks from their peers during the sessions. While some of these feedbacks were directly linked to the curriculum content, others were directed towards their business ideas. A few participants explicitly stated that these feedbacks benefited them to find new ideas to be implemented in their business solutions or to detect flaws and gaps within their business solutions as one participant put it:

It [feedback session] was good, it reminded me of something that I had forgotten. For example, when someone submits an application to the website, when we accept it, he will make a project and will sell it. We must be careful, his project might be bad, it might be good. We have to be careful so that his project doesn't harm anyone. That was reminded to me. [Issam]

Feedback sessions did not only aim the consolidation of learnings but also encouragement of participants to create a network with their peers for future

collaboration. The following discussion from the Ideathon illustrates such a case:

Facilitator: We need to introduce you to someone! Any questions, suggestions, collaboration proposals?

Participant 1: I can introduce you to someone.

(applauses)

Participant 1: As volunteers we work with youth, I hope we can collaborate together.

Participant 2: I work at a place where we can reach beneficiaries. When you have the chance, I have the clients.

Moreover, similar to feedbacks from facilitators, feedbacks from peers were mostly limited to on-stage presentations where other participants were invited to comment and share suggestions. Therefore, this kind of peer-learning did not extend across the training process, as one participant put it:

No, we only worked on our own project. When we realized that it was useful, we did not get in contact with other people. In any case, we communicated with them when we were on stage but not while we were preparing.
[Mohammad]

The findings in this section indicate that participants valued feedback sessions as a differentiating factor of the training and they stated that they were able to find new ideas or identify gaps related to their business idea, even though some of them had previously applied similar methodologies in prior entrepreneurship trainings. Yet, facilitators and the peers were not the only people that participants learned from; they also received lectures from experts from the sector and mentors, which I will describe in the following section.

4.3.3.4.4. Learning from Experts

BYF Bootcamp also included experts and mentors from different sectors to complement the theoretical learnings of participants. Three expert lectures were

included in the training in topics of marketing, Turkish legal system and access to entrepreneurship supports, targeting practical knowledge and awareness of entrepreneurial support mechanisms in Turkey. These lectures were remarkably more interactive, which might be the case because SuTP entrepreneurs have difficulty in accessing contextual real-world knowledge about starting a business in Turkey (see Section 4.2.2.3). In these sessions participants inquired about practical issues they might face as entrepreneurs, from which legal entity to choose to how to apply for supports. Some participants highlighted the need for accessibility of such information and availability of the presentations that were used in the lectures.

The other group of experts was the mentors, which were invited for a speed mentoring session (see Section 4.3.3.3.1 for an overview of mentor meetings). Participants mostly directed problem-based and practical questions to the mentors and notably the practical issues of implementing their business in Turkey. All participants valued the feedbacks from the mentors and the public audience as an opportunity to find new ideas, detecting the weak spots of their business plan and validating their idea. Some participants who had previous training experience also stated mentorship as the essential point of differentiation of the BYF Program; one participant put it as follows:

It does not make sense without the feedbacks. I go to something like this in Antep, it's a 3-months program. I think that is more beneficial because I can develop my idea by getting feedbacks. I need one-to-one mentor feedbacks on my business idea, on its strategies. -Hammed

Indeed, besides reviewing their strategies, participants took the opportunity of mentorship to discover local institutions related to their business idea, to initiate active engagement with these institutions. Moreover, they were encouraged to increase their collaboration with members of the host community as one participant put it:

It helped us to focus more on Turkish competitions and Turkish community and [gave] us a credit that our idea is good but need some development. (...) yeah... And the mentorship gave us some really good names of social platforms and e-platforms. And I checked it about the selling the products online. Now

we care and focus about e-platform. -Jafar

However, participants also encountered challenges in their communication with the mentors and some reported to have received discouraging comments from some mentors. One of the teams even stated that they faced discrimination from one of the mentors. In fact, for most of the mentors, this mentoring session was their first personal encounter with Syrian entrepreneurs, if not Syrians. While this was the only case that was reported by participants, they suggested that the choice of mentors should be adequate to the Syrian audience of the program. They described the case as follows:

Some mentors, it's a special man, they tell us, I don't like the regime in Turkey. He is for [a Political] Party. He said I don't like Syrian people, he said I don't like Syrian people in Turkey. They tell us that, "You must go to government and tell them to give you your rights." (...) Tell the workshop people, you must be very careful when you bring mentors to another workshop, maybe some mentors are against Syrian people in Turkey. That makes problems, that makes crush in their mind. [Hussain]

In this section I presented the learning process of participants from experts and mentors, which they valued as an opportunity of accessing knowledge related to starting a business in Turkey and receiving sector-specific feedback for their business ideas and the challenges related to it. Namely through the mentor meetings, besides receiving information, they also found professional contacts which might offer their support. Therefore, these modules of the training appeared to contribute to the aim of integration to local ecosystem of the program. The accounts of participants indicated that could benefit from legal and strategic assistance in starting a business in Turkey in the longer term.

Section 4.3.4.4. presented the limiting and facilitating factors that affected the learning experience of participants. The previous experience of participants regarding entrepreneurship and their professional background appeared to influence their engagement with the training. Some of more experienced participants intentionally

approached the material that was familiar to them as a new process, some others were more interested in receiving feedback for their existing business plans and therefore repeated the process for the sake of it. The completion of each learning cycle with a feedback session was valued by participants, who stated feedbacks from facilitators and sectorial experts as a major point of differentiation of the BYF Program. Such interactions with people from the business ecosystem in Turkey allowed participants to gain insights about the implementing their business ideas in Turkey, but also encouraged them to actively engage with the host society customers and potential collaborators. The following section will present an overview of the impact of BYF Program, by a comparison of the accounts of institutional representatives and participants.

4.3.4. Impact of BYF Program

In this section, I will present an initial evaluation of the program from the perspective of organizations and participants. Initially, I will present the views of organizations on the effectiveness of the program with respect to the aims and objectives that were reported by the organizers. Secondly, I will discuss the takeaways of participants from the program through the accounts of the participants, with respect to the objectives of the program (see Section 4.3.2). It must be noted that, this section highlights the alignments and conflicts between the perspectives of organizations and participants of the BYF Program and does not aim to present an impact assessment of the program, which is not within the scope of this research.

4.3.4.1. Impact Measures of Organizations

The BYF program found to be structured on three thematic objectives as *professional capacity development*, *integration to ecosystem* and *personal development*; which served to the longer-term aims of increasing participation to labor market and

improving social integration. In Section 4.3.2, organizations had underlined that not all these objectives are measurable in the short-term. Whereas the devising of business solutions and creation of business plans were observable outputs of the program, personal development and integration to the ecosystem were longer-term outcomes that are influenced by many other factors. Sabuncu reported that a structured methodology of holistic impact measurement was not applied within the program, due to budgetary limitations and the condensed timeline of the program. However, organizations applied a partial impact measurement, through observations during the event, follow-up e-mails and phone calls to participants and meetings with all three organizations. The main impact objectives that will be presented in this section include:

- Visibility and outreach of the program (increasing accessibility of services)
- Experience of active entrepreneurship of participants during the program
- Development of skills and knowledge of participants and finally
- Organizational learning from the program

Visibility and Outreach of the Program

As I presented within the aims of the BYF Program, the intention of the organizations was introducing the participants to the concept of entrepreneurship and the entrepreneurship curriculum, which was the impact of outreach. Therefore, although not all participants of the Ideathons and the Bootcamp were expected to start their own companies, yet they would be enabled to pursue other outlets when they have a solid intention implementing their solutions. Demir (GIZ) underlined the program had reached a total of 180 people through meetups, Ideathons and the Bootcamp.

Another dimension of impact was the visibility of Syrians as entrepreneurs within the network of business, meaning, not only the local ecosystem of entrepreneurship, but also the network of civil, private and public stakeholders associated with the entrepreneurial capacity development of SuTPs. He described this dimension of social

impact as follows:

Starting from the speeches of the mentors who came here, to their visibility in our social media channels and internet, we actually wanted to remind that there is such an activity in the market. (...) It was another important impact of for us, that the people with whom [participants] will communicate receive this information. [Demir]

Therefore the program was evaluated to have had an impact of reciprocal visibility between the ecosystem of entrepreneurship in a wide sense and the Syrian entrepreneurs.

Experience of Active Entrepreneurship

Organizations emphasized the introduction of participants not only to the entrepreneurship curriculum but also to the entrepreneurial mindset as part of their impact. Demir indicated that he observed a “change of perspective” of participants from the first to the last day of the Bootcamp, underlining that such a change is not “100% measurable”. Aygül shared a similar viewpoint by focusing on the maturation of an entrepreneurial mindset instead of immediate application of the business ideas. She put it as follows:

These people can take an idea and make it five years, ten years later. But what we aim is for them to take these ideas and absorb them in their lives. And this is not something that we can measure and put tomorrow. So this is something that we can only see by then. But what we really expected was to see this thing, this change. [Aygül]

Aygül also emphasized the particularity of the uncertain conditions of Syrian entrepreneurs, which appeared to invalidate generic impact measures for an entrepreneurship training program. She stated that the future path of the entrepreneurial pursuit of participants was expected to be highly dependent on their life conditions. She put it as follows:

We are imagining them to start a business here, but these people were just living yesterday with the question of where to live, where to sleep. (...) So, it is not right to expect, you came to this Bootcamp, this should happen when you leave, this should happen in six months and that in eight months. It's not right. Because we may not be knowing where his/her life cycle is going to be in eight months. [Aygül]

On one hand, these accounts indicated parallelism with the findings related to uncertainty of life conditions and time constraints arising from current employment that participants reported to be experiencing (see Section 4.1.2.3). However, although the organizations framed their impact measures for novice entrepreneurs, the substantial number of participants who were already actively engaged in entrepreneurship indicates that different impact measures may have been called forth for these different segments.

Development of Skills and Knowledge

A direct outcome of the trainings was the development of skills and knowledge of participants, namely during the Bootcamp. Although Impact Hub Istanbul had assessed an overall satisfaction of the participants through the post-program survey, Sabuncu indicated that surveying is not an efficient method to measure development of skills of participants, calling forth indirect indicators. For instance Demir reported his observation of the change in presentations as follows:

Especially, at the Bootcamp stage, there was a great difference in their first day and last day presentations. I was greatly impressed by that. They changed the way they presented themselves, maybe they will be able to go to different places more bravely. [Demir]

In fact, participants were expected to integrate their learnings in their pitch presentations at the final event, by re-structuring their business idea according to the business planning methodology. Sabuncu put it as follows:

The most important success indicator that we see in such short programs is how comprehensively they can make their presentation, by integrating the parts that we thought. That presentation is actually what brings together what we thought in five days. (...) From that side, it was good for us. Although they got excited, I think they told it well. [Sabuncu]

Therefore, despite the difficulty of measuring the development of skills in the short-term, organizers observed an effective transfer of the curriculum through the pitch presentations of the participants. Moreover, the presentations not only indicated the direct learning outcomes but also the increase in the self-confidence of participants, which was part of their capacity development for their ability to represent themselves as entrepreneurs in future occasions.

Organizational Learning from the Program

BYF Program was part of a longer-term strategic intervention for the cohort (see Section 4.1.1), the first stage of which was the training program observed within this research. In fact, at the post-program interviews, the cohort was already preparing the second episode of the program. Therefore, the representatives of the organizations also shared their learnings from this program to be transferred to future trainings.

Increasing the efficiency of the program was the first important takeaway that was expressed by the organizations. Sabuncu reported that they changed the program structure to increase the number of beneficiaries of the program. Firstly, the Ideathon stage was removed from the program since “nobody perceived them as such” (Sabuncu), which correlated with the accounts of participants (see Section 4.3.3.2). Instead, three-day-long Bootcamps were going to be organized in Istanbul and Urfa, followed by a presentation event reserved to high-performing participants to be selected from the Bootcamps. Sabuncu stated that by this means, the aim was to increase the number of participants to benefit from the curriculum. However, the reduction of the duration of Bootcamp is found to be inconsistent with the accounts of participants, which indicated the current time limitation as a barrier to effective

learning and interactivity (see Section 4.3.3.2). Sabuncu also shared a potential program structure that could include an incubation program, to accommodate a higher-level segment among Syrian entrepreneurs, where they can receive one-to-one support.

The second takeaway of the organizations was the need to increase cultural and social integration of Syrian entrepreneurs during the programs. Sabuncu stated that the cultural integration should be bilaterally supported for mutual understanding of Turkish and Syrian cultures. Sabuncu also signaled the possibility of future programs in “non-Istanbul cities” (Sabuncu) to include both Syrian and Turkish entrepreneurs with the aim of social integration. She pointed to the emerging need of cultural facilitation in such a program as follows:

Accepting Turkish [participants] to this program is to provide that integration through these programs. But we did not yet come to the stage of thinking how we might differentiate such a program from the programs organized for the Turkish. We might make integration focused programs, place small education modules, to merge [Turkish and Syrian participants] culturally. But we think more of having Syrian-Turkish teams, rather than having separate teams, but it also seems a bit utopic to me. [Sabuncu]

In summary, the learning outcomes of the organizations were partially aligned with the accounts of the participants, namely regarding the removal of compulsory elementary training. However, a further condensation of the program could limit interactivity of the program, which was an issue raised by most participants. The need for supporting cultural integration also emerged as an important theme for future programs. In the following section, I will present the takeaways of participants from the program as they reported which will complement the takeaways of the organizations for a holistic evaluation of the program.

4.3.4.2. Takeaways of Participants from BYF Program

In this section, I will present an overview of the takeaways of participants from the program and especially the Bootcamp. I had already shared the accounts of participants about their learning experience in Section 4.3.3. Therefore, the takeaways presented in this section are drawn both from the accounts of participants on how they were influenced by the program and the accounts that I presented in Section 4.3.3 in relation to the learning process.

Unlike the long-term objectives of organizations, participants majorly expressed their takeaways through the evolution of their business idea throughout the program. Moreover, although participants received the same training modules, their takeaways appeared to vary according to their expectations, priorities and specific needs towards the implementation of their business ideas. With respect to the aims of the program (see Figure 4.1) the takeaways of participants concentrated in *professional capacity development* and its intersection with *integration to ecosystem*. Participants did not report takeaways related to the program objectives of cultural integration, visibility or self-confidence. Most participants reported to have reviewed their business strategies in the light of the new ideas they encountered during the program and some participants highlighted a change in their perspective towards entrepreneurship which was aligned with the expectations of organizations. In fact, one of the participants described the given methodology as “a key” to find a direction, namely for the SuTPs; he put it as follows:

Because I started thinking, like somebody... that means you, provide me the key, ‘open the door and you will find many ways’. This is a key and a lot of people need this key. If you provide them this key, they will open the door, and I’m sure they will find many opportunities if they use this key. [Usher]

Most participants had difficulty in remembering and referring to the specific teaching modules throughout the interviews. This observation suggested that, despite having applied the framework, most participants could not gain familiarity with the

terminology of business planning methodology, which might pose a barrier for future reference to the knowledge that they gained from the training. However, most participants expressed their learnings about the business know-how related to the context of Turkey as a valuable outcome.

Lastly, some participants reported that, having encountered other Syrians in entrepreneurial pursuits, their motivation and sense of community increased after the program. They valued the training as a rare occasion of meeting people who work for common benefits, despite the current context where individual needs are prioritized. These accounts indicated a need for connectivity to other Syrian entrepreneurs, beside integration to the local ecosystem. One participant put it as follows:

Knowing that, I think there are any Syrians caring for each other. I'm very negative in this point but... Because really Syrians here we are doing stuff not just for general purpose, just to push people, to help people to improve themselves, to encourage them to do something different. We are doing a lot of things just to earn money. Probably [to see] where some guys [are] doing stuff just to help people, it was good. [Mahboub]

In summary, participants mostly expressed their learning takeaways with respect to the benefit of the training modules to the strategic decisions within their business plans; therefore they focused on 'professional capacity development'. Whereas non-first-timers indicated similarity of training modules with other programs, mentorship sessions were evaluated by participants as a unique takeaway, which was also described by Aygül as a point of differentiation of the program. The interaction with a new group which included both Syrians and Turkish people, appeared to influence the perception of participants about the Syrian community and also their approach to engaging with Turkish people as part of their entrepreneurial activities.

4.3.5. Conclusions

In this section, I presented the particularities of an entrepreneurship training program targeting Syrian entrepreneurs through the case of BYF Program alongside an analysis of the program outcomes with respect to the objectives of organizers. Hereby, I will respectively present the conclusions regarding these two areas of focus.

The lack of previous experience with a Syrian audience was the first experience of GIRVAK and Impact Hub Istanbul, in circumstances of limited research about entrepreneurship of SuTPs due to the novelty of the concept in the transition period. Therefore, the process of design and implementation of the program was largely characterized as an experimental learning process for organizations who had limited familiarity with the field. However, it appeared that the concept of entrepreneurship trainings was not as unfamiliar for the target audience, a substantial portion of whom had already participated similar trainings, most of which were NGO led. The accounts of the participants indicated a behavior among some SuTP entrepreneurs to participate in such trainings with an unclear expectation of finding new ideas. Moreover, the program objectives appeared to be not effectively communicated, resulting in an audience of different levels of experience unlike the target audience defined as novice entrepreneurs.

Communication emerged as the main factor that affected both the efficiency of learning and the interactivity of the training environment. Central to the issue of communication was the language barrier. To overcome this, organizers introduced facilitating means such as interpretation, conversation flip boards or bilingual teaching materials. Although these means appeared to be effective in ensuring the transfer of information, the language barrier still prevented the interaction between facilitators and the participants, resulting in exclusion of participants who were unable to request immediate assistance of facilitators. The time limitation appeared as the second major factor that influenced the learning experience of participants, who struggled to process the condensed curriculum or were unable to engage with their social surrounding. It

appeared that the challenges of language barrier and the time limitation amplified the issue of intellectual accessibility of the curriculum content, namely for a portion of the audience who was unfamiliar with the curriculum its respective terminology.

In this section, I also presented an overview of the outcomes of the BYF program with respect to its objectives which were thematically grouped as *professional capacity development*, *integration to local ecosystem* and *personal development*. Whereas some of these outcomes were not directly measurable in the short-term, organizers employed different methods to assess the efficiency of curriculum. While the surveys were reported to be indicating positive views about the teaching modules, pitch presentations were seen by the organizations as the main indicators of the ability of participants to apply their learning for the case of their business idea, which were considered to be successful. Therefore, organizers reported to have decided to maintain the current curriculum by changing the program structure to shorter trainings by removing the initial Ideathon phase. However, the accounts of the participants during the interviews conversely pointed to a need for longer-term trainings with more exchange of ideas and feedbacks to consolidate their learning and mature their business plans. This was reflected both in the analysis of time limitation as a barrier to consolidation and validation of learnings and to interactivity with peers and mentors which participants valued as opportunities of finding new solutions. While this discrepancy regarding the evaluation of training duration may be arising from the variance in the levels of participants which fell out of the scope of target audience defined by organizations, it also indicated the value attributed to feedback by the participants. In fact, mentorship was stated as the main point of differentiation of BYF from similar trainings as it appeared to provide the participants not only with strategic feedbacks, but also with the tacit knowledge of local context, which encouraged the participants to actively engage with Turkish actors in implementation of their business idea. While these conclusions pertained to the scope of BYF Program in particular, I will present a holistic analysis of the role of BYF program in relation to practices, perspectives and context of the Syrian entrepreneurs in the next chapter Conclusion.

4.4. Summary

In this chapter I investigated entrepreneurial capacity development for Syrians in Turkey through the case of BYF Program. This investigation was carried out from the perspectives and practices of both organizations which were involved in the program and novice Syrian entrepreneurs who participated in the program.

In this chapter, I initially reviewed the positioning of entrepreneurship within the larger process of integration of Syrians into the host society. Entrepreneurship as a strategic approach emerged recently, in parallel with the strategic shift in the policy framework related to socio-economic inclusion of Syrians in Turkey and the changing perception of Syrians by the host society. Findings indicated that inclusion of Syrians in the labor market constitutes an important dimension of their integration, which required systemic cooperation of related organizations. These co-operations were carried out in flexible processes which adapted to the changing context of Syrians in Turkey. Within the frame of inclusion to labor market, entrepreneurship presented an outlet of qualified employment as the many jobs in larger corporations remained inaccessible to Syrians. However, it also separated from other employment opportunities by contributing to social integration, as entrepreneurs interacted with their social environment unlike the isolating conditions of other opportunities of employment. BYF Program was devised with these priorities, aiming to develop the entrepreneurial capacity of novice Syrian entrepreneurs. The program curriculum was designed with the objectives of professional and personal development of participants as well as increasing their integration to the local ecosystem of entrepreneurship.

Besides the positioning of entrepreneurship in strategic frame of organizations, this chapter also aimed to situate entrepreneurship in the living conditions and labor practices of participants of BYF Program. Indeed, participants stated various labor practices with a shared concern of satisfying their desire to contribute in the society, developing their skills in areas related to their field of profession or education and

improving their working conditions. With such aims, a major obstacle for Syrians was finding qualified jobs in the Turkish-speaking labor market, since the urgency of finding employment did not allow them to learn Turkish. Faced with such an obstacle, many of the participants resorted to the English-speaking job market of international NGOs operating in Turkey where they could find higher-paying job opportunities. Within this landscape of employment, entrepreneurship appeared as an outlet for Syrians to practice their skills and professional expertise while satisfying their desire of doing something they loved in an autonomous way, while contributing to the society. Participants also valued entrepreneurship as a means of changing the perception of Syrians in the host society, as they resented the representation of Syrians and refugees as passive and incapable people. With such aims, they struggled between the time constraint of their full-time employment and the time they needed to spare to develop their business ideas. This issue was even more aggravated for younger participants who were working and studying while trying to develop their skills to the point of exhausting themselves.

In fact, most of the participants were actively working for developing their business idea, even before participating in BYF Program. They were trying to understand the social context in which they would implement their business idea and developing proof of concepts of their business ideas to test them and to gain access to supports by having a palpable example to present. Such activities were largely influenced by the social context of participants as they tried to discover the dynamics of a new society to which they were willing to contribute as entrepreneurs. Their social context also influenced the resources that were available to them, such as the networks for forming their teams or professional relations that could benefit in implementing their business idea. As part of their entrepreneurial activities, Syrians engaged their networks as social resources.

While some of these networks were from events such as entrepreneurship competitions, they rather relied on their networks from NGOs where they worked or volunteered at, as well as their networks around the world which resulted from the

Syrian diaspora. While forming a team around their business idea, Syrian entrepreneurs engaged these networks to find team members whose skills could complement theirs towards the development of the business idea. Since most of the participants already had business ideas with social goals, the networks from the NGOs were of a interest as outlets where Syrians could create collaborations with people who shared their social concerns. Participants also saw NGOs as outlets for execution of proof of concepts of especially socially-oriented business ideas, as they resorted to the financial support and legal representation of NGOs to carry out activities in the early-stage models of their business ideas. Towards the execution of such early-stage model, participants also engaged their personal resources and opted for incremental development of their business idea in order to avoid larger risks that could exhaust their limited resources.

The BYF Program accommodated a group of participants from varying experience and engagement in entrepreneurship as well as different professional backgrounds. Therefore participants came in with different expectations from the program which ranged from finding new ideas and funding opportunities to expanding their network. As an entrepreneurship program in Turkey that trained Syrians, a major challenge of the program was overcoming the language barrier. Despite the use of translation in the training materials and simultaneous interpretation throughout the program, the language barrier appeared to hinder the interactivity of the training environment and intellectual accessibility of the content namely for the inexperienced and non-English-speaking participants. The challenge of the language barrier was amplified by the condensed curriculum of the program as some of the participants were having difficulty in understanding certain concepts, applying their new knowledge and interacting with their peers in the fast pace of the program.

The learning process of the participants was also affected from their backgrounds. In fact, while some of the participants were familiar with the curriculum and were looking to find new ideas to develop their business ideas, others were just being introduced to a methodology of business planning. Despite this variance in the

intellectual accessibility of the content for different individuals, the participants valued the applied learning process that was complemented with feedback sessions, the opportunity to learn about starting a business in Turkey and especially meeting with mentors from various sectors with whom they discussed the potential challenges of their business plans. Most participants expressed their need for receiving more feedback, not only to validate and improve their business ideas but also to consolidate their learnings from the program. When evaluating their gains from the program, participants mostly focused on having structured their business plan and their increased ability to present their business idea. They stated that these gains would increase their chances for finding support towards the implementation of their business idea, such as receiving support from NGOs or gathering a community around their business. In their evaluation of the program, the representatives of the organizations focused on similar measures, as they defined the ability of participants to coherently pitch their business ideas as an indicator of the achievement of learning outcomes and development of soft skills (e.g. communication) of participants. In addition to the direct outcome of the program as the entrepreneurial capacity development, organizations also included the visibility of the program in the impact measures, with the aim of increasing awareness about Syrian entrepreneurs and their potential contributions to the society.

In summary, the findings presented entrepreneurial capacity development as a systemic process which depended on the alignment of multiple strategies towards socio-economic integration of Syrians and indicated that it was largely influenced by the contextual factors that surround the life and entrepreneurial practices of Syrians. The investigation of practices and perspectives of Syrian entrepreneurs in the larger sense revealed that they were engaging networks and resources in foreseen ways from the perspective of organizations. Although the accounts of participants indicated that these pathways of entrepreneurship were highly individual, they also highlighted shared motivations, concerns, challenges and strategies among novice Syrian entrepreneurs. Therefore the combined findings revealed the patterns, systemic

relations and the gaps to be overcome in the entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians in Turkey. In the following chapter, I will discuss the key findings in more detail as well as their implications for the design of socio-economic transitions

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I present an overview of the study followed by the limitations of this study, in order to reframe the scope of this study which affects the implications of the findings. Then, I present the prominent conclusions that were drawn from the findings with respect to the literature that was reviewed. Lastly, I will present the implications of the findings of this study.

5.1. Overview of the Study

The aim of this study is to understand the practices, processes and contextual relations involved in the design of a strategic intervention as part of the transition towards an integrated society. With this aim, I investigated a case of entrepreneurial capacity development for Syrians in Turkey, Build Your Future Program, as an example of strategic intervention for systemic change. In order to reach a holistic understanding, I explored the perspectives, practices and contexts of both organizations and participants of the program through field observation and semi-structured interviews.

In this thesis, I initially investigated the related literature presenting the development of the social concern in design with respect to the developments in the world that accelerated the emergence of new directions in design. I reviewed the different approaches in design for tackling social issues, from more mature branches of social design and design for social innovation to emerging fields that embrace a systemic approach towards social change. The Literature Chapter also included a summary of the complex systems framework and the emergent fields of design that were rooted in this framework. The review of the literature indicated that the gradual integration

of design with systems approach presents a wider outlet for the involvement of design with social issues, beyond facilitation of participatory processes and local interventions. This review also identified gaps in the real-world application of transition design framework and systems-oriented design as the relation of these new approaches to the prevailing methodologies in the civil sector was given little attention. Lastly, this chapter reviewed refugee entrepreneurship from a systems point of view, revealing the multiplicity of factors and their co-dependency for efficient transitions. (see Chapter 2).

Second, Methodology Chapter presented the constructivist approach of this research, followed by the conduct of the research which included field observation and semi-structured interviews. The major methodological challenges were the sensitivity of the participant group and the language barrier (See Chapter 3).

Third, the Findings Chapter presented the context and process of entrepreneurial capacity development for Syrians in Turkey, through the case of Build Your Future Program. The findings revealed the inter-connected professional and entrepreneurial practices of Syrians, indicating potential points of intervention which may not have been identified by the organizations. The analysis of the program indicated impact dimensions of entrepreneurship trainings such as integration to ecosystem and gaining familiarity with local context, which were prioritized over the methodological learning outcomes from the participants' perspective (See Chapter 4).

The final chapter of this thesis presents the conclusions of this study. The major conclusions and their implications are discussed with respect to the literature review.

5.2. Limitations of the Study

This study was carried out through the case of Build Your Future entrepreneurship training program, which included novice Syrian entrepreneurs as its participants.

Therefore, the study reflected some characteristics of this group such as their education levels, their entrepreneurial experience and the aspects of their business ideas. Therefore, some of the findings of this research may not be applicable for the population of Syrian entrepreneurs in Turkey or other entrepreneurship trainings for Syrians.

Moreover, the language barrier between the researcher and the sample group of participants was a limitation for sampling of participants. Due to the financial burden or conducting the interviews with an interpreter, the sampling of participants excluded Arabic only speakers, inclusion of which could generate different results.

5.3. Discussion of Findings

The aim of this study was to understand the practices, processes and contextual relations involved in the design of a strategic intervention towards an integrated society. The literature review indicated that designing an intended change in the society depends on understanding the systems that any change is embedded in. Different fields of design that aim for social change such as Design for Social Innovation, Systems-Oriented Design and Transition Design share a common ground in their suggestion of open-ended and participatory processes. However, the literature is indeed procedural in its suggestions and scarce in addressing what kind of organizational forms may accommodate such processes. Moreover, despite the repeating emphasis of these fields on the inclusion of all stakeholders in the design of interventions, little is said about the relations between stakeholders from different levels i.e. organizations, communities and individuals. In the light of this research landscape, the main research question was formulated to investigate the processes of organizations and translation of impact between different levels of an intervention:

How do the intervention strategies of organizations relate to the grassroots practices of individuals in the design of transition towards an integrated society based on the case of entrepreneurial capacity development for Syrians in Turkey?

In order to provide a holistic answer to this question, this research investigated the case of entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians in Turkey, with a field observation of Build Your Future entrepreneurship training program, complemented with interviews with representatives of the organizations and participants who were involved in the program. The following section will discuss the four prominent conclusions of this research which essentially constitute components of the challenge of designing for system-level transitions. The initial conclusion of this research indicates that (1) capacity development towards social change can be framed as a transition design problem and investigated within the transition design framework. The following conclusions will respectively address the sub-questions of this research as (2) the characteristics of grassroots entrepreneurial practices of Syrians, (3) organizational practices of entrepreneurial capacity development towards integration and (4) the positioning of entrepreneurial capacity development within existing practices of Syrian entrepreneurs.

1. Capacity development towards social change exhibits the characteristics of a transition design problem and therefore, it can be approached from a transition design framework.

This research positioned entrepreneurial capacity development as a strategic intervention that is part of the larger transition towards integration of Syrians in Turkey. The program was created upon the initiative of GIZ, within its action area for increasing access to employment opportunities both for refugees and members of the host communities in Turkey. Acknowledging that this objective requires mobilization of actors on a systemic level GIZ conducts its projects by building cooperation with public and private organizations, as well as the civil sector. Considering the larger frame of operation of GIZ, BYF program was not a stand-alone project but part of GIZ's largest program towards a mutually supportive integration and development, which can be drawn as the transition vision of GIZ.

These cooperative networks within which the BYF Program took place, suggests the connection of entrepreneurial capacity development to multiple levels of the systemic change. In fact, the multiple level perspective adopted in sustainability transitions (Gaziulusoy, 2019) suggests that transitions emerge from the heterogeneous relations of actors in these interactive levels (Geels, 2002). GIZ embraces a systemic approach towards entrepreneurial capacity development by considering conditions at the landscape level, building cooperation with organizations at the regime level as well as mobilizing and supporting actors at the niche level. Based on the findings of this research, Table 5.1 illustrates some example actors and conditions that surround entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians in Turkey.

The transition design framework suggests that, alongside mapping and contextually situating of complex problems, shared vision among stakeholders are required for identification of “leverage points” where design interventions can be situated (Irwin et al., 2015). The findings indicated, the organizations which cooperated for the BYF program shared the vision of an integrated society, towards which entrepreneurship of Syrians was identified as a leverage point i.e. a point of intervention.

Organizations underlined that the emergence of this point of intervention was the result of changing conditions at the larger scale, such as the issuing of Regulation on Work Permits, the increasing global attention on the entrepreneurial potential of migrants and refugees and the changing perspective of the host society in Turkey about the situation of Syrians. A theory of change (Gujit and Vogel, 2015) for the BYF Program can be formulated as: contributing to integration of Syrian and host communities in Turkey by stimulating interaction between Syrians and locals and increasing economic independence of Syrians through entrepreneurial activities of Syrians. Within this theory of change, entrepreneurial capacity development included the development of capabilities of the target group as well as the stimulation of the interactivity of Syrian entrepreneurs with other actors of the ecosystem and facilitating their access to support mechanisms.

Similar to the approach of transition design, organizations adopted an iterative approach towards entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians by underlining that the rapidly changing conditions of Syrians required open-ended processes by omitting obstructive deadlines, objectives and impact measures. Besides the unpredictability of the conditions at the regime level, organizations underlined the instability of the living conditions of Syrian entrepreneurs which rendered futile any predefined recipe of impact measurement. Therefore, they regarded the entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians as a long-term process of supporting capabilities and fostering relations, by the iterative review of steps and their impact in the short-term and observation of the dynamic landscape of transition.

Table 5.1. Entrepreneurial capacity development from a multiple level perspective

Landscape Level: Economic and cultural conditions, paradigms, law	
Ongoing war in Syria Job scarcity in Turkey Instability of Turkish currency	Temporary protection framework Work permit for foreigners Uncertainty of permanency of Syrian residency in Turkey
Regime Level: Dominant actors and institutions, public opinion, shared beliefs	
Turkish Employment Agency Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization of Turkey Private sector in Turkey	NGO job market Universities International NGOs Entrepreneurship Ecosystem in Turkey
Niches Level: Grassroots innovations, projects, niche actors	
Syrian business owners Syrian entrepreneurs Venture capitalists Entrepreneurship trainings	Entrepreneurs from host communities Freelancing Syrians Local groups of volunteers

However, the organizations also highlighted the conflict between such open-ended processes and the prevailing frames of operation which define strict objectives,

scopes, deadlines and impact measures in a project mindset. While GIZ differentiated itself from organizations that function with strict project cycles, Aygül from GIRVAK pointed to the limited result of other entrepreneurship trainings for Syrians that are given with the aim of satisficing target numbers of beneficiaries with little consideration of the long-term change. In summary, the adoption of open-ended processes in the BYF Program and the larger field of activities of GIZ were based on a shared long-term vision among the organizations which allowed them to adapt to and learn from the changing conditions of Syrian entrepreneurs.

Therefore the framing of this strategic intervention indicates the practical implications of the approach suggested by transition design and the gaps in the design of this intervention such as inclusion of different stakeholders or the re-evaluation of theories of change with respect to the feedback loops. This framing also indicates the gaps in real-world applications that remain unaddressed by the field of design that share a social orientation, such as the inaptness of mainstream operational frameworks in accommodating the suggested open-ended processes. The following conclusions will relate to these implications.

2. From the point of view of transition design, the design of strategic interventions can embrace open-ended processes to facilitate adaptability of strategies and learning from grassroots practices.

The findings related to the first sub-question of this research revealed that organizations can adopt open-ended processes to ensure the adaptability of their intervention strategies to an ever-changing problem context. Therefore, organizations learned through feedback loops; observing the outcomes of their intervention in the short term and adapting their strategies accordingly. However, the analysis of existing entrepreneurial and professional practices of Syrians revealed that, these grassroots practices can provide rich insights for the development of strategic interventions and support mechanisms.

The investigation of these practices indicated that the labor practices (dominantly in NGOs) and entrepreneurial activities of Syrian entrepreneurs intersect by the networks in which they take place and generate new relations that orient their entrepreneurial paths. Therefore, unlike the assumed divorce of labor practices and entrepreneurship according to organizations, professional connections to NGOs was an important resource namely for the Syrian social entrepreneurs. Besides professional relations, the networks of civil volunteers appeared as an important social resource for Syrians. Moreover, the findings indicated the Syrian diaspora as an important resource for the Syrian entrepreneurs in Turkey, as they resorted to their personal networks in Turkey and around the globe to find customers, funding and partners. Therefore new ecosystems emerged around Syrian entrepreneurs, the collective potential of which could be leveraged towards integration to the local ecosystems in Turkey.

Moreover, an analysis of the channels through which Syrians sought support for their entrepreneurial practices revealed the gaps in the support mechanisms for refugee entrepreneurship. For instance, while some participants prioritized the need for funding among other needs, this need was majorly arising from their lack of workspace, which could be addressed though in-kind support of organizations. Some of the other needs that were identified were legal representation, access to funding resources, access to information channels and knowledge about local business requirements and need for long-term mentorship. In fact, many participants had participated the training with the hope of fulfilling such needs, requiring entrepreneurship trainings to be complemented with other support mechanisms for systemic impact.

In fact, the grassroots level of innovation is a locus of concern of the various approaches in design deal with social issues such as Social Design (Markussen, 2017), Design for Social Innovation (Manzini, 2015) and Systemic Design (Clausen

and Yoshinaka, 2009; Matei and Antonie, 2014). Similarly, Transition Design points to the bottom level of living systems (Irwin et al., 2015) as where the emergent properties of self-organizing systems appear and where the experimentation happens (Gaziulusoy, 2019). Therefore transition design practitioners can embrace participatory prototyping approaches in the design of strategic interventions to harness the insights from the grassroots level and leverage emerging ecosystems to scale their impact.

3. The lack of coordination among the stakeholders which take part in the efforts towards entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians in Turkey gives way to patch-like and disconnected interventions at the local level, limiting cross-scale mobilization.

The third major conclusion of this research relates to the lack of shared grounds of action and coordination among stakeholders, in relation to the second sub-question of this research. The repetitive efforts of the organizations that are involved in the entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians in Turkey appears to limit the potential impact of local efforts. Many branches of design highlight the importance of the connectivity and interactivity among stakeholders. Transition design, in a similar way highlights the importance of inclusion of stakeholders from all levels and the reconciliation of their interests around shared visions for sustainable transitions. This is mainly due to the scale and complexity of wicked problems that are beyond the understanding and capabilities of any single individual or organization (Irwin et al., 2015). Given the scale of the transition towards integration, the multiplicity of stakeholders that are involved and its immense implications, an all-inclusive dialogue appears to be unrealistic. Although structures of coordination and framework projects exist at the national level, these forms of collaboration appear to fall short in capturing the local practices of organizations where they can cooperate.

Despite the multiplicity of actors, entrepreneurial capacity development is indeed narrower in scope and the number of stakeholders who are involved, yet it presents itself in dispersed efforts. The multiplicity of trainings that was reported by participants indicated that multiple organizations were offering similar entrepreneurship trainings and some of the Syrian entrepreneurs had received training from more than one organization. Therefore, organizations appeared to be little aware from the activities of one another, repeatedly addressing the same group of beneficiaries. Moreover, entrepreneurial capacity development for Syrians requires multiple areas of knowledge and combined know-how of civil and public sector, which was reflected by the efforts of Impact Hub Istanbul and GİRVAK in reaching out to intermediary organizations in the civil sector to benefit from their knowledge and experience in working with Syrians.

In fact, neither Transition Design nor Systemic Design emphasizes the organizational forms that may facilitate the shared understanding and the exchange of knowledge among the stakeholders. Design for Social Innovation, on the other hand, suggests the interactivity of distributed systems as a given through peer-to-peer exchange of knowledge between organizations, which might also be facilitated with “framework projects” (Manzini, 2013). An example such a facilitation may be Malmö Living Labs (Ehn et al., 2012) which operates mainly at the local level. Another example may be the Mindlab of Denmark, the work of which essentially informed policymaking. However, most of these examples involve cross-scale relations, such as the ones between organizations, local communities and organizations with little emphasis on the cooperation of organizations at the same level. The findings indicate that the cooperation between organizations is highly dependent on the form of organization and the willingness of the gatekeeping individuals within the organization to contribute to collaborative work. The findings suggest that new forms of infrastructures are needed for the mutual visibility, flow of know-how, local experience and exchange of network among the organizations.

4. Interactivity constitutes a major component of entrepreneurial capacity development training towards consolidation of learnings and increasing access to the related ecosystem.

The program of Build Your Future training essentially embraced design-thinking and lean startup methodologies, both of which encourage a clear identification of the problem, understanding of customer and a prototyping approach towards the development of an idea. These step-by-step methodologies were complemented with specific lectures to increase know-how of the participants about starting a business in the Turkey context. Participants repeatedly expressed the value that they attributed to receiving feedback and exchanging ideas, throughout the application of the methodology to their business ideas. In fact, these exchanges did not only give them to opportunity to consolidate their learnings and find new ideas but also gain insights about the opportunities and challenges that they might encounter while starting their business in Turkey, in a context that they are unfamiliar with. The accounts of participants indicated that they mostly lacked such environments where they could meet with peers, mentors or people from specific sectors.

These findings indicated that despite the emphasis of organizations on the integration, integration to ecosystem appeared as a side-effect of the training program, limited by the time that was spared to application of step-by-step methodologies of design-thinking and lean startup. From a transition design viewpoint, the side-effect of integration could be positioned as the foundation of entrepreneurial capacity development. Such a shift would require the design of more interactive training environments, as well as enhancing interactivity of Syrian entrepreneurs in the long term. In fact, besides communicating with members of the local entrepreneurship ecosystem, most participants raised the issue of difficulty of working together with their partners and exchanging ideas with their peers. Therefore, a holistic approach interactivity can be suggested, which may take the form of spaces, platforms and gatherings to accommodate productive exchanges, which may also include Turkish members.

Moreover, a systems approach to trainings such as BYF Program may suggest an embeddedness perspective to standardized idea development methodologies such as design-thinking and lean startup. In fact, as the literature review indicated (see Section 2.4.1), refugee entrepreneurs differ by the obstacles that they encounter, resources that they employ and networks in which they operate. The findings indicate that template methodologies may fall short in capturing these variances. Design of these trainings from an embeddedness perspective may address these variances and leverage the existing networks and resources of refugee entrepreneurs. Therefore, the human-centered approach that is extensively emphasized in these trainings need to be adopted in the design of these trainings. Organizations can gradually learn from their audience through feedback loops and develop more integrative forms of capacity development.

5.4. Recommendations for Further Research

This research investigated the entrepreneurial capacity development for Syrian entrepreneurs through the case of Build Your Future Program. At the time of this analysis the training program of Build Your Future was being organized. In fact, the findings from the first program indicated that changes were being made for the second program. A longer-term investigation of this and similar program could provide insights into the learning cycles of organizations and how they adapt their strategies with respect to their learnings. In fact, these cycles of evaluation and adaptation of strategies constitute an important dimension of transition design and strategic use of theories of change.

Another important aspect for further research is the scope of stakeholders who are included in the research. In fact, the stakeholders of this strategic intervention are not only organizations and participants, but also entrepreneurs from host communities, mentors and other members of local ecosystem of entrepreneurship, organizations that provide support mechanisms for entrepreneurs and so on. Therefore, the

perspectives and processes of these stakeholders would contribute to a holistic understanding of systemic relations that are involved in entrepreneurial capacity development of Syrians.

Lastly, this study indicated that this case of entrepreneurial capacity development for Syrians exhibits many characteristics of transition design, by its processes and its innate emphasis on enhancement of capabilities. A similar study could be conducted by integrating an informed process of transition design in order to see its implications in a real world application.

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APPENDICES

A. CONSENT FORM

Informed Consent Form

This interview is held as part of the master's thesis research on the topic of 'Syrian Entrepreneurship Turkey as a Social Innovation Strategy' conducted by Azra Tuğçe Süngü, at Middle East Technical University, department of Industrial Design. The aim of the study is to collect data about the experiences and insights of the participants of Build Your Future program conducted by ImpactHub Istanbul. Participation in the study must be on a voluntary basis. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential and evaluated only by the researcher; the obtained data will be used for scientific purposes.

The interview does not contain questions that may cause discomfort in the participants. However, during participation, for any reason, if you feel uncomfortable, you are free to quit at any time. In such a case, it will be sufficient to tell the researcher that you do not wish to continue. After the interview is completed, your questions related to the study will be answered. We would like to thank you in advance for your participation in this study. For further information about the study, you can contact the researcher.

By signing this form, I agree that;

- I understand that I can withdraw permission to use data from my interview within two weeks after the interview, in which case the material will be deleted.
- I agree to my interview being audio-recorded
- I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.
- I understand that in any report on the results of this research my identity will remain anonymous.
- I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in publications related to this research.

I am participating in this study totally on my own will and am aware that I can quit participating at any time I want/I give my consent for the use of the information I provide for scientific purposes. (Please return this form to the data collector after you have filled it in and signed it).

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date:

Contact Information:

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B. OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

	Organization Representatives	Participants
Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The impact of immigrant status on the program design • The definition of existing capabilities • Targeted skill-sets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The responses to the content of the program (learn from, criticize, deviate, resist etc.) • The usage of teaching materials
Interaction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The approach of facilitators • Strategies of facilitation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relations between teams and team members • How do the demographics affect interactivity (age, gender, ethnicity etc.)
Engagement	NA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The effect on personal background on project • Expectations from program • Prioritization of needs
Opinions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The concerns in the development of program methodology • Perception of the Syrian community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception of the socio-economic context in Turkey

C. IDEATHON INTERVIEW GUIDE (SYRIAN ENTREPRENEURS)

Introduction
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you shortly tell me about yourself? • What were you doing before coming here? • What have you been doing in Turkey? • What kind of difficulties or opportunities did you have here?
Business Idea and Expectations from Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did you decide to come to the program? • Where did you hear about the program? • Why did you come to the program? What were your expectations? • Did you join similar programs in the past? How were they? • Can you remind me about your business idea? • What was the problem you were focusing on? At which stage is your idea? • How did you come up with this idea? • Did you receive any support for your business idea?
Program: First Impression
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did you have a group to work with? Were there people you knew? • How did you feel before the start of the program?
Program: Exercises
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can we walk through the program? • How did you prepare for the problem statement session? • What kind of feedbacks did you receive at this stage? • Then there was persona canvas. How did you shape your persona? • Can you recall how you formulated your problem? • Did you use the material from the previous session? • How did this session change your formulation, or the way you look at the problem? • Then came the customer journey map. How did this session go for you? • Then there was idea generation. How did it go for you? • Did you work as a team? • What kind of ideas did you have? Were there new ones among them? • How was the presentation stage for you? • Were there any changes to what you initially presented? How? • How did you feel upon the completion?
Overall Assessment of the Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In which ways was the program helpful or limiting for you? How do you think the program fitted /or did not fit your needs? • In which ways do you think the program changed your business strategy? • As a person, do you think that the program influenced you? In which ways? • What were the unexpected things at the program for you?
Plans for the Future
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are you planning to move on with your idea after the program? • Are you planning to participate in a similar program again? • What is your ambition in turning your idea into a real thing? • What would you suggest to another migrant entrepreneur?

D. BOOTCAMP INTERVIEW GUIDE (SYRIAN ENTREPRENEURS)

Introduction
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can you shortly tell me about yourself? • What were you doing before coming here? • What have you been doing in Turkey? • What kind of difficulties or opportunities did you have here?
Business Idea and Expectations from Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did you decide to come to the program? • Where did you hear about the program? • Why did you come to the program? What were your expectations? • Did you join similar programs in the past? How were they? • Can you remind me about your business idea? • What was the problem you were focusing on? At which stage is your idea? • How did you come up with this idea? • Did you receive any support for your business idea?
Program: Exercises (1)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you think about the business strategy and model exercises? (There was business model, canvas, roadmap, marketing strategy...) • Which ones of them were the most useful for you? • Which ones of them were the most challenging for you? • How did you work while doing the exercises individually or as a team? • Did you need help or assistance while doing these exercises? At which points? Where did you get assistance from?
Program: Lectures (2)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you think the trainings fitted or did not fit your needs? • Did you need training or mentorship, in topics other than those that were provided? • Did the trainings gave you any change in direction or strategy?
Program: Mentorship Session (3)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What were your expectations from this session? • How did you prepare your questions to mentors? • How do you think you benefited or not from these sessions? • Can you mention any important feedbacks that your received? • Do you think that you could communicate easily with the mentors? Why?
Overall Assessment of the Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In which ways was the program helpful or limiting for you? How do you think the program fitted /or did not fit your needs? • In which ways do you think the program changed your business strategy? • As a person, do you think that the program influenced you? In which ways? • What were the unexpected things at the program for you?
Plans for the Future
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are you planning to move on with your idea after the program? • Are you planning to participate in a similar program again? • What is your ambition in turning your idea into a real thing? • What would you suggest to another migrant entrepreneur?

E. POST-PROGRAM INTERVIEW GUIDE (ORGANIZATIONS)

Introduction
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Can you shortly tell me about your organization?• How did the BYF Program develop?• Why was this cohort adequate for the program?• How does the program differentiate from others?• How do you position entrepreneurship for refugees? What does it change?• What are the other programs that are being run in this field?
Perception of the Audience
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• What was the participant profile that you expected?• What kind of needs did you define?• How did you announce the program?• How did you select the participants?• What skills did you expect participants to possess?
Content of the Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• In which aspects was the program designed for refugees?• In which ways did you aim to develop the skills of participants?
Evaluation of the Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• What were the positive or negative things that were unexpected for you?• What were the aims of the program?• How do you evaluate the program with respect to its aims?• How do you position this training in the wider context of refugees and entrepreneurship?• How did you conduct the impact measurement?• In which ways do you think that participants benefited most from the program?
After the Program
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• What kind of others supports do participants need after this program?• What were the major learning outcomes of the program for your organization?• What are the objectives of your organization after the program?