

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL

**REFUGEE ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND THE LIMITS OF INCLUSION:
A STUDY OF SYRIAN REFUGEE ENTREPRENEURS' EMBEDDEDNESS IN
TURKEY**



Ph.D. THESIS

Uğur YETKİN

Department of Management

Management Programme

AUGUST 2022

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**Uğur YETKİN
(403172006)**

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Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof.Dr. Deniz TUNÇALP

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**MÜLTECİ GİRİŞİMCİLER VE İÇERMENİN SINIRLARI: TÜRKİYE'DEKİ
SURIYELİ GİRİŞİMCİLERİN GÖMÜLÜLÜKLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA**

DOKTORA TEZİ

**Uğur YETKİN
(403172006)**

İşletme Anabilim Dalı

İşletme Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Deniz TUNÇALP

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Uğur YETKİN, a Ph.D. student of ITU Graduate School student ID 403172006, successfully defended the dissertation entitled “REFUGEE ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND THE LIMITS OF INCLUSION: A STUDY OF SYRIAN REFUGEE ENTREPRENEURS’ EMBEDDEDNESS IN TURKEY”, which he prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Thesis Advisor : **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Deniz TUNÇALP**
Istanbul Technical University

Jury Members : **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nihan YILDIRIM**
Istanbul Technical University

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet ERÇEK
Istanbul Technical University

Prof. Dr. Beyza OBA
Bilgi University

Asst. Prof. Dr. Anıl DİVARCI ÇAKMAKLI.....
Koç University

Date of Submission : 24 June 2022
Date of Defense : 18 August 2022





Her zaman yanımda olan aileme,



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(Manager)



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ABBREVIATIONS

COO	: Country of Origin
COR	: Country of Residence
ÇSGB	: Ministry of Labor and Social Security
DGMM	: Directorate General of Migration Management
EU	: European Union
INGEV	: Human Development Fund
ILO	: International Labor Organization
KOSGEB	: Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization of Türkiye
MEM	: Mixed Embeddedness Model
NGO	: Nongovernmental Organization
OECD	: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
TEPAV	: The Economic Research Foundation of Turkey
UN	: United Nations
UNDP	: United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees



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REFUGEE ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND THE LIMITS OF INCLUSION: A STUDY OF SYRIAN REFUGEE ENTREPRENEURS' EMBEDDEDNESS IN TURKEY

SUMMARY

As a subset of immigrant entrepreneurship, the literature on refugee entrepreneurship argues that entrepreneurship has an emancipatory impact on refugee entrepreneurs. It helps people overcome imposed constraints, act more independently, and potentially transform their lives, making social inclusion easier. Furthermore, their context drastically changes when refugees flee to another country, requiring a dynamic embedding process in the new environment. This study critically examines how refugee entrepreneurs become embedded in their home and host countries and experience inclusion and exclusion in the host country. The researcher conducted a comprehensive study on how refugee entrepreneurs experience their entrepreneurial processes concerning their contextual embeddedness and social inclusion and exclusion dynamics in the host country.

The study first laid out the theoretical background by clarifying integration, inclusion, exclusion, and immigrant entrepreneurship theories. Then, it described how embeddedness gained currency in immigrant entrepreneurship research. It outlines how the mixed embeddedness model emerged to understand the inherent complexity of immigrant and refugee entrepreneurship.

Empirically, the study qualitatively analyzed Syrian refugee entrepreneurs in Turkey. Turkey has become the largest refugee-receiving country globally, hosting more than 4 million refugees, mainly from Syria. These refugees also become highly active in the Turkish business environment. The author interviewed 39 Syrian refugee entrepreneurs working in 14 sectors across seven Turkish cities and four critical informants.

A qualitative analysis of these interviews through MAXQDA software identified three types of refugee entrepreneurship based on refugees' contextual embeddedness and entrepreneurial motivation: survival entrepreneurs, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs, and integrating entrepreneurs. When refugee entrepreneurs become more embedded in a host country, they experience more differential exclusion and inclusion, depending on the type of their refugee entrepreneurship. Therefore, they constantly negotiate their societal position by developing unique strategies against exclusionary actors and structural barriers. The study analyzed the underlying reasons for the differential exclusion with the critical realist lens. Cultural differences and social status are the primary causal structures for exclusionary activities. Naturalization and forced migration act as generative mechanisms, activating the causal powers of these structures. Thus, entrepreneurship helps refugee entrepreneurs advance their economic integration. However, the deep-seated differential exclusion mechanisms limit the potential emancipatory impact of entrepreneurship for different types of refugee entrepreneurs.

In addition to the theoretical implications of exclusion and inclusion, the study also uses the embeddedness perspective for understanding refugee entrepreneurship. It describes refugee entrepreneurs' unique social, institutional, political, and spatial embeddedness. Surprisingly, extant literature neglects political embeddedness and informal (cognitive and normative) aspects of institutional embeddedness. Also, the study argues that entrepreneurs in each category gradually develop embeddedness in multiple contexts (social, political, institutional, and spatial) and locations to varying degrees. Furthermore, it explains how refugee entrepreneurs dynamically get disembedded and re-embedded in the home and host countries to regain, sustain and grow their resources.

Considering 86% of the refugees settle in developing countries, this study's empirical setting and results contribute to developing the unique refugee entrepreneurship subdomain. The study also provides practical implications regarding refugee entrepreneurs' integration and inclusion strategies. It stresses that labeling refugee entrepreneurs as "good migrants" and seeing them as "an economic opportunity" cause their problems to be pigeonholed and neglected. Furthermore, the "good refugee" discourse makes empty promises and discriminates against refugee entrepreneurs. When entrepreneurs realize it is not the case, they feel even more excluded from society.

As a result, the author believes this dissertation opens new avenues in inclusion, exclusion, integration, and embeddedness research. Furthermore, the research presents some practical implications that could guide the policy-makers.

MÜLTECİ GİRİŞİMCİLER VE İÇERMENİN SINIRLARI: TÜRKİYE’DEKİ SURİYELİ GİRİŞİMCİLERİN GÖMÜLÜLÜKLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR ÇALIŞMA

ÖZET

Girişimciliği çalışan araştırmacılar, girişimciliğin özgürleştirici yanına ve insanların hayatlarını dönüştürücü etkisine vurgu yapmaktadır (Rindova ve diğ, 2009; Verduijn ve diğ, 2014). Bu kapsamda, mülteci girişimciliği bu iddiaları doğrulamak için çok önemli bir ampirik ortam sunmaktadır, çünkü mülteciler göç ettikleri ülkeye bir an önce entegre olup kendi kendine yetecek ekonomik ve sosyal özgürlüğe erişmeye çalışmaktadır. Benzer şekilde, göçmen girişimciliği yazınında da girişimciliğin, sosyal içerme ile entegrasyonu hızlandırdığı yönünde bazı çalışmalar bulunmaktadır (Shneikat ve Alrawadie, 2019; Wauters ve Lambrecht, 2008; Ren ve Liu, 2015). İlave olarak zorunlu olarak bağlam değiştiren mülteciler, yeni bağlama dinamik bir şekilde gömülü olmaya ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Bu çerçevede, bu çalışma, mülteci girişimcilerin sığınılan ülkenin bağlamına nasıl gömülü hale geldiklerini ve içer(il)me ve dışlanma deneyimlerini kritik perspektiften analiz etmektedir.

Göç, dünyanın en önemli sorunlarından biri haline gelmiştir (McGahan, 2019). BM’nin verilerine göre son 10 yılda göçmenlerin sayısı 51 milyon artarak 272 milyona yükselmiştir. Göçmen grupların arasında en çok artış gösteren ise 30 milyona yaklaşan mültecilerdir (McAuliffe ve Khadria, 2020). Bu kapsamda, mültecilerin yüzde 86’sı gelişmekte olan ülkelerde yaşamaktadır. Türkiye ise 3,7 milyon Suriye mülteci sayısı ile son 7 yıldır dünyanın en yüksek sayıda mülteci barındıran ülkesidir (UNHCR, 2020; DGMM, 2022). Öte yandan, tarihsel verilere göre mültecilerin sadece yüzde 3’ü tekrar evine dönmektedir. Bu da mülteci sorununa ülkelerin bakışını değiştirmelerini zorunlu kılmaktadır.

Türkiye’de 15000’in üzerinde mülteci şirketi kayıtlı olup, tahminen 1,5 milyar dolarlık yatırımlarının olduğu düşünülmektedir (TEPAV, 2018). Tarihsel verilere göre mültecilerin büyük bölümünün sığınılan ülkede kaldığı ve mültecilerin yüzde 86’sının gelişmekte olan ülkelerde yaşadığı dikkate alındığında, Türkiye’deki mülteci girişimciler, mülteci girişimciliği çözümlemede çok zengin ve anlamlı bir veri seti sunmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, mültecilerin girişimcilik deneyimlerini en iyi şekilde anlayabilmek için mülteci girişimcilerin sığınılan ülkenin bağlamına gömülü olma seviyelerini incelemiştir. Yazında genel olarak girişimciler ihtiyaç odaklı küçük dükkân sahipleri olarak resmedilmektedir (Wauters ve Lambrecht, 2006; Verver ve diğ, 2019; Chang, 2021). Çalışmanın sonuçları ise yazından farklı olarak, çeşitli gömülülük seviyelerine sahip ve ihtiyaç odaklı ile fırsat odaklı olmak üzere farklılaşan girişimci tipolojisine ulaşmıştır. Diğer bir deyişle, çalışma, mülteci girişimcileri heterojen bir grup olarak değerlendirmiş ve “hayatta kalma”, “etnik-pazar odaklı” ve “entegre olan” girişimciler olarak üç farklı grupta sınıflandırmıştır. İlave olarak, çalışmanın sonuçlarına göre, girişimciler sığınılan ülke bağlamına daha fazla gömülü oldukça, kendilerini daha

fazla dışlanmış hissetmekte ve resmi ve gayri resmî kurumlar (Örnek: ayrımcılık) vasıtasıyla diferansiyel dışlanmaya maruz kalmaktadır. Çalışma, daha fazla gömülü olan girişimcilerin daha fazla dışlanmaya maruz kalmalarını eleştirel gerçekçilik yaklaşımıyla incelemiştir. Çalışma sonucunda ise, kültürel farklılık ile sosyal sınıf yapılarının, vatandaşlığa kabul ve zorunlu göç mekanizmaları vasıtasıyla aktive edilerek çeşitli şekillerde dışlanmaya neden olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Dışlanmanın yanında, mültecilere sığınılan ülkedeki geleceklerine yönelik açık ve şeffaf bir yolun tarif edilmemesi ve devletin vatandaşlığa kabul stratejisi sonucunda mültecilerin farklı hukuki statülere kavuşmaları, diferansiyel içerilmeyi de beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu çerçevede, ülkenin politik bağlamından zorunlu olarak kopuk olmaları ve karmaşık hukuki statüleri, mülteci girişimcileri bağlamdaki değişimlere karşı savunmasız bırakmaktadır. Buna karşılık olarak, mülteci girişimciler, maruz kaldıkları diferansiyel dışlanma ve içerilmeye karşı toplum içindeki konumlarını ilerletmek ve sağlamlaştırmak maksadıyla bir dizi karşı stratejiler uygulamaktadır.

İçerilme ve dışlanma yazınlarının yanında, bu çalışmanın mülteci girişimcilerin gömülü olma eğilimlerine yönelik önemli katkıları bulunmaktadır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, mülteci girişimcilerinin çoklu mekâna ve çoklu bağlama, süreçsel, dinamik ve değişen seviyelerde gömülü olduklarını savunmaktadır. İlave olarak, çalışma, karma gömülülük modelinin kısıtlı yanlarını tespit ederek, girişimcilerin özellikle alansal, politik, bilişsel ve normatif gömülülüklerinin potansiyeline dikkat çekmektedir. Girişimcilik faaliyetlerini etkileme potansiyellerine rağmen, bahse konu gömülme formlarının özellikle göçmen yazınında büyük oranda ihmal edilmeleri en büyük eksiklik olarak görülebilir.

Giriş bölümünde, çalışmanın amacı ve katkıları sunulmuştur. İkinci bölümde öncelikle kullanılan teorik altyapıya yer verilmiştir. Mültecilerin entegrasyonu ile içerilme ve dışlanma süreçleri irdelenmiş, ardından göçmen girişimciliği kapsamında yazında kullanılan teoriler detaylı anlatılmıştır. Müteakiben göçmen girişimciliğinde son dönemde en çok öne çıkan ve çalışmanın da ana teorik çerçevesini oluşturan gömülülük yaklaşımı tüm yönleriyle tartışılmıştır.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde, çalışmanın yöntemi detaylı bir şekilde anlatılmıştır. Çalışma eleştirel gerçekçilik yaklaşımını esas alarak nitel bir araştırma yapmaktadır. Bu kapsamda 14 farklı sektör ve 7 farklı şehirde ikamet eden 39 Suriyeli mülteci girişimci ve dört sektör uzmanı ile yarı-yapılandırılmış mülakat tekniği ile veri toplanmıştır. Veriler transkript edilerek, MAXQDA programında içerik analizine tabi tutulmuştur (Corbin ve Strauss, 2008; Gioia ve diğ, 2012). Bu bölümün sonunda çalışmanın hangi ampirik bağlamda yapıldığını açıklamak maksadıyla Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye’deki durumu ve Suriye mülteci krizi tüm yönleriyle irdelenmiştir.

Yöntemden sonra, dördüncü bölümde çalışmanın analiz sonuçları sunulmuştur. Çalışmanın analizinden ortaya çıkan üç farklı tipoloji (hayatta kalma, etnik-pazar odaklı ve entegre olan) ve dört farklı gömülülük çeşidine (sosyal, kurumsal, politik ve alansal) göre çalışmanın analizi raporlanmıştır.

Analizi müteakip, tartışma bölümünde ise bulunan sonuçlar detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Buna göre sosyal gömülülük, Granovetter’in de üzerinde durduğu üzere hala en önemli gömülülük tipi özelliğini korumaktadır. Mülteci girişimcilerin faaliyetlerine etkisinin yanında diğer gömülme tipleri ile de yakın etkileşim içindedir. Bu çerçevede, girişimci gruplarının sosyal gömülülükleri aile, akraba bağları, etnik çevre ve yerli ağlar olmak üzere çeşitli seviyelerde bulunmaktadır. Analize göre hayatta kalma odaklı girişimcilerinin sosyal ağları, aileleri ve yerel etnik bağlarla

sınırlıdır. Ancak girişimlerdeki en önemli kaynak yine bu sınırlı ağlardır. Öte yandan etnik-pazar odaklı girişimcilerin, aile ve yerel etnik ağlarının yanında, ülke genelinde firmalarının büyümelerine katkı sağlayan daha yaygın etnik sosyal çevreleri ve kısıtlı da olsa yerel bağlantıları da bulunmaktadır. Ayrıca Arapça konuşan ülkelere ticaret yapmaya daha istekli olan bu grubun, Ortadoğu ülkeleri başta olmak üzere orta ölçekte uluslararası sosyal ağları bulunmaktadır. Entegre olan girişimciler ise daha geniş sosyal ağları girişimcilik faaliyetlerinde etkin bir şekilde kullanmaktadır. Ancak özellikle entegre olan girişimciler sosyal hayatta daha sık ayrımcılığa uğradıklarını ifade etmektedir.

Girişimcilerin kurumsal gömülülükleri karşılaştırıldığında, hayatta kalma odaklı girişimcilerin, kurumsal gömülülükleri zamanla gelişmekte, öncelikle gayri resmi olarak işletmelerini açmakta, daha sonra işletmelerini kaydetmektedirler. İşletmeleri, küçük ve basit bir modele sahip olması nedeniyle çok büyük bürokratik işlemlere ve kurallara tabi değildir. Bu nedenle sınırlı kurumsal gömülü kalarak da işletmelerini devam ettirebilmektedirler. Etnik-pazar odaklı girişimciler ise hayatta kalma odaklı girişimcilere nazaran zamanla daha fazla kurumsal regülasyonlara gömülü hale gelmektedirler. Ülke genelindeki etnik pazara hizmet etmeleri nedeniyle daha önce yabancı oldukları işçi hakları, iş sağlığı ve güvenliği gibi ilave kurallara adapte olmaya çalışmaktadır. Öte yandan bankalar başta olmak üzere tedarikçi ve müşterilerle finansal ödemelerde ciddi bir güven sorunu yaşamaktadırlar. Bu nedenle daha önce alışık oldukları pratiklerle (örn: sadece etnik müşterilerle çalışma, bankasız ve nakit işlemler) işlerini yürütmeyi tercih etmektedirler. Entegre olan girişimciler ise banka gibi finansal araçları daha fazla kullanmaktadır. Misafir ülkenin pazarından ve iş yapma şeklinden kaynaklanan bilişsel ve normatif kurumlara daha hızlı gömülü hale gelmektedirler. Öte yandan şehir ve ülke dışına çıkışlardaki kısıtlamalar, mülteci işçi çalıştırmada getirilen sınırlandırmalar gibi kurumsal bariyerler entegre olduğunu zanneden mülteci girişimcileri çok daha fazla etkilemektedir.

Politik gömülülük, göçmen yazınında ihmal edilmesine rağmen, mülteci girişimciler için önemli bir bağlam haline gelmektedir. Göçmen girişimciliği yazınının gelişmiş ülkelerde yapılan ampirik araştırmalar sonucunda şekillenmiş olması, politik bağlamın yeterince irdelenmemesine neden olmuş olabilir. Oysa mülteci sorunu başlı başına politik bir süreçten oluşmaktadır ve mültecilerin yüzde 86'ısı politik olarak sürekli bağlam değişikliklerinin meydana geldiği gelişmekte olan ülkelerde yaşamaktadır. Bu çerçevede bu çalışmanın sonuçları, mülteci girişimcilerin misafir ülkenin politik bağlamına gömülü olamamalarından dolayı girişimleri yönüyle de sınırlı hareket edebildiklerini savunmaktadır. Girişimcilerin vatandaş olamamaları, sürekli artan yabancı düşmanlığı ve ayrımcılık gibi hususların özellikle misafir ülkeye büyük yatırımlar yapan entegre olan girişimcileri endişelendirdiği gözlenmiştir.

Bu kapsamda hayatta kalma odaklı girişimciler daha çok günlük faaliyetlerine odaklanarak geçimlerini sağlama endişesi duyarken, sürekli değişen ve karmaşık politik ortamdan büyük oranda izole yaşamaktadır. Girişimcilerin çoğunlukla etnik-yoğun mahallelerde faaliyet göstermeleri de politik karmaşalardan etkilenmeden kendilerini misafir ülkenin parçası gibi hissetmelerine neden olmaktadır (Lee C., 2019). Bu nedenle her türlü olumsuzluklara rağmen, Türkiye'nin benzer kültürel ve dini yapısı Avrupa gibi gelişmiş ülkelere gitmek yerine alansal olarak Türkiye'ye gömülü olmalarına neden olmaktadır. Ancak yatırımları her geçen gün artan ve misafir ülke ile daha sıkı bağlar kuran etnik-pazar odaklı ile entegre olan girişimciler, yerel ve ülke çapındaki politik karar vericilere çeşitli sorunları iletmek ve politikaları yönlendirmek için ulaşmaya çalışmaktadır. Girişimcilerin kurdukları dernekler başta

olmak üzere kişisel ilişki ağları üzerinden yerel politikacılara ulaşabildiği ve kısmen de olsa gerekli destekleri alabildiği görülürken, ülke çapındaki politik etkilerinin çok sınırlı olduğu tespit edilmiştir. İlave olarak vatandaşlık edinme hakkının belirsiz bir süreç üzerinden işlemesi ve artan yabancı düşmanlığı özellikle entegre olan girişimcilerin geleceğe ilişkin konumlarını korumak maksadıyla bir dizi stratejiler üretmesine neden olmaktadır.

Entegre olan mülteci girişimcilerin misafir ülkenin bağlamına yüksek seviyede gömülü olmalarına rağmen kendilerini diğer girişimci gruplarına göre daha fazla dışlanmış hissetmeleri, yazında bahsedilmeyen bir davranış olarak daha fazla irdelemeye ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Bu kapsamda, yazar verinin ötesinde yatan gerçekliğe ulaşmak için eleştirel gerçekçilik yaklaşımı benimsemiştir. Eleştirel gerçekçilik ile gözlemlenen görgül ve aktüelin ötesinde gerçekliğe ulaşmak temel hedeftir (Fletcher, 2017). Bu nedenle, nesnel yapılara ait gücün, nedensel mekanizmalar ile aktive edildiği gerçeğinden hareketle, eleştirel gerçekçilik nesnel yapıları ve nedensel mekanizmaları tespit etmeye odaklanır (Tunçalp, 2021). Bu kapsamda elde edilen birincil mülakat verileri ve mülteci sorununa ilişkin yapılan bilimsel araştırmalar ve kamuoyu anketleri incelendiğinde, mülteciler ve yerel toplum arasında ile yerel toplumun içindeki kültürel farklılıkların, büyük güce sahip nesnel bir yapı olduğu tespit edilmiştir (Saraçoğlu ve Belanger, 2019). Suriyeli mültecilere vatandaşlık hakkının verileceği açıklamaları nedensel mekanizma görevi görerek, kültürel farklılığın etkilerini aktive etmiş ve bu durum Suriyeli mültecilerde sosyal dışlanmışlık ve ayrımcılığa (Gursel, 2017), yerel toplumda ise ekonomik kriz, milli kimlik bütünlüğünün kaybedilmesi ve sosyal yaşam alanının daralması gibi korkulara neden olmaktadır (Saracoglu ve Belanger, 2019; Erdogan, 2020). Ekonomik sorunlar ve medyanın mültecilere karşı olumsuz tutumu dış mekanizmalar olarak nedensel mekanizmanın etkilerini daha da artırmaktadır.

Kültürel farklılıklar dışlanmaya yönelik soruya cevap vermektedir. Ancak neden özellikle entegre olan mülteci girişimcilerin daha fazla diferansiyel dışlanmışlık hissettiklerini tespit etmek için farklı bir sosyal sorunu irdelemek gerekmektedir. Özellikle entegre olan girişimci grubundakiler Suriye’de geniş sosyal statülere sahip bireylerden oluşmaktadır. Ancak sosyal statüleri zorunlu göç ile birlikte ellerinden alınmış ve yeni geldikleri ülkede sadece mülteci olarak tanımlanmaktadırlar. Misafir ülkede girişimci olarak büyüdükçe, sosyal olarak da yukarı doğru mobilité kazanacaklarını beklerken, ayrımcılığa uğramaları veya en azından talep ettikleri ayrıcalıkları elde edememeleri dışlanmışlık hislerini diğer girişimcilere oranla artırmaktadır.

Çalışma, sosyal sorunlar da dahil olmak üzere analiz sonuçlarını tartıştıktan sonra, sonuç bölümünde teorik, pratik ve yöntem açısından yapılan katkıları özetlemekte, çalışmanın sınırlarından ve müteakip çalışmalara tavsiyelerden bahsetmektedir. Bu kapsamda çalışmanın üç ana katkısı bulunmaktadır:

Birincisi, yazında mülteci girişimciler kısıtlı kaynaklara sahip ihtiyaç odaklı küçük işletme sahipleri olarak resmedilmektedir (Wauters ve Lambrecht, 2006; Chang, 2021). Bu çalışma, mülteci girişimcilerin gömülülük süreçlerini analiz ederek, girişimcilerin çeşitli gömülülük seviyelerinde ihtiyaç odaklıdan fırsat odaklıya kadar çok farklı sınıflara ayrılabilceğini savunmaktadır. İlave olarak, mülteci girişimcilerin gömülülük süreçlerine ve girişimcilik faaliyetlerine etki edecek şekilde çok çeşitli göç paternleri ve kaynakları bulunmaktadır. Bu heterojen tanımlama, yazında tarif edilen

mülteci ve genel göçmen girişimcilerden ayrılmaktadır (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008; Rath, 2000).

İkincisi, mülteci girişimciler bulundukları bağlama gömülü oldukça, daha fazla dışlanmaya maruz kalmaktadır. Yaşadıkları dışlanma, yazında belirtilen diferansiyel dışlanmaya uymaktadır. İlave olarak, mültecilerin hukuki statüleri de çeşitlenmektedir. Bu durum da diferansiyel içerilmeye neden olmaktadır. Çalışma, eleştirel gerçekçilik yaklaşımı sayesinde, içerilme ve dışlanmanın sürecini ve asıl nedenlerini ortaya koymaktadır.

Üçüncüsü, çalışma mülteci girişimcilerin gömülülüklerine yeni boyutlar kazandırmaktadır. Son yapılan araştırmalar, girişimcilik yazınındaki tek boyutlu, durağan ve ikili (gömülü ya da değil) yaklaşımı eleştirmektedir. Bu çerçevede, yapılan çalışma gömülülüğün dinamik, çok boyutlu ve süreçsel yönlerine vurgu yaparak yazında bu yönde yapılan akademik çağrılara katkı sunmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, bu çalışmanın sonuçları, mülteci girişimcilerin gömülülüklerinin birden fazla bağlam ve alanla ilişkili olduğunu savunmaktadır. Ayrıca mülteci girişimcilerin gömülülüklerinin süreçsel, değişen seviyelerde ve dinamik olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Çalışma, gömülülüğün bu özellikleri sayesinde aynı bağlamda yaşayabilen üç farklı mülteci girişimci grubunu (hayatta kalma, etnik-pazar, entegre olan) tespit ederek analiz etmiştir.

Çalışmanın sonuçları karma gömülülük modelinin sınırlarına dikkat çekmekte, mülteci girişimciliğe özgü politik gömülülüğü tanımlamaktadır. İlave olarak, mültecilerin bağlam değişikliği yaşaması, bilişsel ve normatif gömülülüğe ait detayların mülteci girişimcilerde gözlenmesine olanak sağlamıştır. Göçmen girişimciliğinde politik, bilişsel ve normatif gömülülük tiplerinin önemi çalışmayla ortaya çıkmasın rağmen, göçmen yazınının bahse konu gömülülük tiplerinden bahsetmemesi ya da çok az atıfta bulunması şaşırtıcı bir durumdur. Son olarak, çalışmanın sonuçları sosyal ve alansal gömülülüğe ilişkin bulguları sayesinde müteakip araştırmalara önemli derecede ışık tutmaktadır.

Özetlemek gerekirse, çalışmanın sonuçları mülteci girişimcileri “iyi mülteci” ve “ekonomik fırsat” olarak göçmenin olumsuz yanlarını ortaya koymaktadır. Mültecileri girişimciliğe özendirmek, misafir ülkede yaşadıkları tüm sorunların çözüleceği anlamına gelmemektedir. Çalışmanın sonuçları hem entegrasyon, içerilme ve gömülülük alanlarında teorik ve pratik katkılar sunmakta, hem de mülteci girişimciliği yazınının teorik altyapısının geliştirilmesine önemli katkı sağlamaktadır.



1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose of the Dissertation

Proponents of entrepreneurship claim it has an emancipatory impact. It helps people get free from some of their constraints, act more independently, and make their own decisions in transforming their lives and making integration easier (Rindova et al., 2009; Verduijn et al., 2014). Refugee entrepreneurship provides an exemplary phenomenon to validate these claims because refugees need the emancipatory perspective to survive in the new environment. Similarly, researchers claim that entrepreneurship could speed up the integration and inclusion of refugees in the host society (Shneikat and Alrawadieh, 2019; Kloosterman et al., 1999; Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008; Ren and Liu, 2015).

Furthermore, significant contextual changes occur during refugees' immigration. Refugees move to a new country, establish new ties, socialize and become embedded in a new context, sometimes starting before immigration (Eimermann and Karlsson, 2018). Refugees' cultural traits, social networks, and home country institutions' imprints do not vanish rapidly with immigration (Griffin-El and Olabisi, 2018). These factors keep refugees embedded in their home country (Bagwell, 2017; You and Zhou, 2019). At the same time, their embeddedness in a host country increases (Bisignano and El-Anis, 2019). So, studying refugee entrepreneurs' embedding process could help the researchers comprehend the complexity of refugee entrepreneurship and contribute to developing a unique refugee entrepreneurship domain.

This study critically examines how refugee entrepreneurs become embedded and experience inclusion and exclusion in a host country context. It has two main goals: first, it aims to contribute to the literature on when and how refugee entrepreneurship benefits social integration. Second, it hopes to understand the refugee entrepreneurs' embeddedness dynamics. This study's empirical setting is appropriate for this research since 86% of the refugees reside in developing countries. Turkey has consecutively

hosted the largest refugee population in the world for the last seven years (UNHCR, 2020).

Migration has become one of the prominent global issues of recent decades. Its effects are comparable to other significant issues, such as climate change (McGahan, 2019). According to the U.N. migration report, international migrants globally reached an estimated 272 million in 2019, increasing 51 million since 2010 (McAuliffe and Khadria, 2020). A significant part of the increase comes from the refugee figures. In the same period, refugees worldwide nearly doubled and exceeded over 30 million people (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2020). Turkey hosts the largest refugee group globally, with nearly 3.7 million Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 2020; Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), 2022). As of 2021 figures, Turkey alone hosts more refugees than the total refugee population in E.U. countries. In addition, more than 15,000 Syrian companies started operating in Turkey, investing more than 1.5 billion USD in the Turkish economy (TEPAV, 2018; INGEV, 2020). According to the UNHCR (2020) report, only 3% of refugees return to their home country, which means that refugee entrepreneurs are likely to stay in the host country.

1.2 Structure of the Dissertation

The first chapter introduces the purpose of the study, gives a brief background regarding refugee entrepreneurship, and describes the results shortly. The second chapter sets the definitions and provides a comprehensive theoretical background regarding integration, inclusion, and exclusion. Furthermore, the chapter thoroughly explains immigrant entrepreneurship theories since scholars consider refugees a subgroup of immigrants. Scholars categorize immigrant entrepreneurship theories into three groups: cultural, structural, and interactionist. Among these theories, the embeddedness concept gained currency (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018). Kloosterman et al. (1999) developed the mixed embeddedness model (MEM) for immigrant entrepreneurship. The literature review lays out different uses of embeddedness in the immigrant entrepreneurship literature.

In the next chapter, the dissertation explains the method of the research. The qualitative study uses grounded theory with a critical realist lens (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Hoddy, 2018). The author conducted semi-structured interviews with 39 refugee

entrepreneurs and four critical informants online and face-to-face to collect the data. In this chapter, the author discusses how he analyzed the interviews using the MAXQDA program and the Gioia method (Gioia et al., 2012) and why he needed to use the critical realist lens. Furthermore, he discusses the use of interpreters during the interviews and the effects of online interviews on the data collection process. Finally, in the second half of chapter three, the author discusses the Syrian refugee issue in Turkey to familiarize the readers with the empirical context.

The analysis identifies three distinct refugee entrepreneurship types based on their levels of embeddedness and the push/pull factors: "survival," "ethnic-targeting," and "integrating" refugee entrepreneurs. Chapter four presents the results based on these three entrepreneurship categories and four aggregate dimensions: social, institutional, spatial, and political.

Then chapter five proceeds with the discussion of the results, arguing that as refugee entrepreneurs get embedded in the host country's business and social environment, they experience more exclusion. They face differential exclusionary forces and practices due to formal and informal practices. Furthermore, they have different legal statuses, which causes differential inclusion among the refugees. In this regard, the author analyzes the underlying causes of differential exclusion with the critical realist lens. The result identifies cultural differences and social status as two primary structures with causal powers. Furthermore, the study points out that naturalization and forced migration act as generative mechanisms and activate these structures' causal powers, resulting in differential exclusion. Then the chapter discusses the theoretical implications of differential exclusion and inclusion.

The dissertation argues that refugee entrepreneurs become embedded in multiple contexts and locations at varying degrees, thus creating multi-layered, processual, dual, and dynamic embeddedness. Later in chapter five, the study discusses the theoretical implications of the analysis on the refugee entrepreneurs' embeddedness.

The final chapter presents the study's theoretical, practical, and methodical contributions to refugee entrepreneurship' inclusion, exclusion, integration, and embedding dynamics. It also presents the limitations and directions for future research.

1.3 Main Contributions of the Dissertation

The results provide a comprehensive picture of the refugee entrepreneurs' multi-contextual and dynamic embedding process and counterintuitive path to exclusion. The study also stresses the political, institutional, social, and spatial constraints refugee entrepreneurs face in the host country. Hence, the results challenge the commonly accepted emancipatory impact of entrepreneurship. While entrepreneurship supports refugees' economic integration, it merely solves their other fundamental issues in the host country. Thus, inducing refugees to entrepreneurship does not alone provide social inclusion.

In this context, this study's main contributions are four-fold:

First, extant literature (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2006; Verver et al., 2019; Chang, 2021) mainly depicted refugee entrepreneurs as necessity-driven shop owners with limited resources. However, this study analyzed refugee entrepreneurs based on their embedding processes. It claimed that there are necessity-driven to opportunity-driven refugee entrepreneurs with varying degrees of embeddedness. Furthermore, their migration journey and resources are diverse, affecting their embedding process and entrepreneurial activities in the host country. This perspective differs significantly from the literature's description of economic migrants and refugees (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008; Rath, 2000).

Second, this study is one of the few academic studies interested in inclusion and exclusion in refugee entrepreneurship (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018; Ghneim, 2021). It contributes to the efforts to understand inclusion and exclusion in refugee entrepreneurship. The results indicate that as refugee entrepreneurs become more embedded, they face more exclusion which fits the differential exclusion's definition. Additionally, refugees are stratified into different legal statuses, resulting in differential inclusion. So, refugee entrepreneurs try to negotiate their position in society by constantly challenging differential inclusion and exclusion through counter-strategies. This result has led the researcher to explore the deep-rooted causes of these engrained exclusionary activities. Using the critical realist lens helped the researcher pinpoint the generative mechanisms that activate the causal structures, thus causing refugee entrepreneurs to experience exclusionary activities.

Third, this study also introduces new dimensions to refugee entrepreneurs' embeddedness. Recent studies criticize "single-layered, static and binary notions of embeddedness" in entrepreneurship studies (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019, p.1011). This study answers the call for more studies, focusing on dynamic, multi-layered, and processual aspects of embeddedness. According to the results, refugee entrepreneurs constantly engage in disembedding, re-embedding, and embedding steps in the host and home countries. Thus, refugee entrepreneurs' embeddedness is multi-contextual, multi-locational, processual, dynamic, and varying degrees. Thanks to this approach, the study could uncover the heterogeneity of refugee entrepreneurs with three distinct entrepreneurship types ("survival," "ethnic-targeting," and "integrating") co-existing in the same context.

Furthermore, this research identifies the mixed embeddedness model's theoretical limits. It extends by introducing new dimensions to refugee entrepreneurs' embedding process. For example, the study identifies the critical role of political embeddedness in refugee entrepreneurship. It also detects unique aspects of cognitive and normative embeddedness. Surprisingly, the immigrant entrepreneurship literature neglected or mentioned little regarding these embeddedness types. Finally, the study provides novel results about social and spatial embeddedness. It points out the dynamic interaction of the embeddedness types. These results might open new avenues for refugee entrepreneurship research.

Fourth, the study has important methodological implications that could contribute to the scholars studying refugee entrepreneurship. The data collection process from a sensitive population, the use of interpreters, and the utilization of online interviews provided invaluable experience to the researcher with significant implications. Furthermore, the straightforward application of the critical realist lens in the research could encourage other scholars to embrace this approach in future studies.



2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Defining the Immigrant and Refugee Entrepreneurs

This research examines how refugee entrepreneurs become embedded in the new context and tries to understand refugee entrepreneurship's limits and boundary conditions leading to inclusion and integration into the host country. Before moving into details in the literature review, it is essential to define the immigrant and the refugee because the literature covers ethnic, minority, immigrant, and refugee entrepreneurship.

Unfortunately, there is no agreed definition of an immigrant entrepreneur. This study will consider the UN's definition similar to Dabić et al. (2020) and Aliaga-Isla and Criado (2013). UN defines migrants as people who have been outside their country of origin for at least 12 months and become the usual residents of the host country (IOM, 2020). So, immigrant entrepreneurs were born in their home country and currently reside and start a business in the host country (Aliaga-Isla and Criado, 2013; Sasse and Thielemann, 2005). The first generation is the main distinction between immigrant and ethnic entrepreneurs (Aliaga-Isla and Criado, 2013). According to the research, ethnic and minority entrepreneurs' level of embeddedness in the host country is significantly higher than that of immigrant entrepreneurs, making the distinction between these entrepreneur groups necessary (Ashourizadeh et al., 2020).

Immigrants and refugees have similar contextual changes. They leave their home country for a particular motivation and try to adapt to the host country's context. However, there are some differences. For regular immigrants, migrating to another country is deliberate and voluntary. While there may be other reasons to migrate (Ren and Liu, 2015), it is safe to assume that seeking better economic opportunities and living a more decent life (Alrawadiyeh et al., 2018) have primacy in immigrants' motivation.

On the other hand, refugees are people “who have fled war, violence, conflict or persecution and have crossed an international border to find safety in another country” (UNHCR, 2020). Therefore, refugees’ migration is not as planned and voluntary as regular economic migrants are. Their primary concern is to find safety in another country (UNHCR, 2020). They might lack necessary resources (e.g., financial, social networks, and market/opportunities). Their documents to prove their qualifications may be absent (Bizri, 2017; Demir, 2017) or not recognized by the authorities (Barth and Zalkat, 2020). They may also have severe psychological issues (e.g., war trauma) (Meister and Mauer, 2019).

As of 2021 figures, around 89.3 million people are forcibly displaced. However, not all of them are refugees. 53.2 million of them are internally displaced people (IDPs). These people have fled war and violence but did not cross a recognized international border. Therefore, they are not considered refugees. A person's refugee status can be granted individually or on a group basis. Groups are automatically granted as refugees, whereas individual applications are first granted asylum seeker status. There are around 4.6 million asylum seekers in the world. Asylum seeker status is merely a legal status (UNHCR, 2022). Since they live abroad and are forcibly displaced from their home country, from a social science perspective, researchers consider them refugees in their analysis because they are deprived of their previous resources (social and economic) (Bisignano and El-Anis, 2019).

Even though refugees face higher barriers and more constraints than other migrant groups, their entrepreneurship rate is higher than others. This situation is called the paradox of refugee entrepreneurship (Collins et al., 2017). The research argues that refugee entrepreneurs are resilient and innovative (Ram et al., 2022). In addition, they possess a more complex set of social capital and distinct survival and start-over attributes than economic immigrant entrepreneurs (Bizri, 2017). Recent studies also argue that refugees generally come from middle- and upper-class backgrounds and are more likely to be well educated (Alwaradiyeh et al., 2018; TEPAV, 2018).

Refugee entrepreneurship is still in the early development phase. Therefore, it primarily uses immigrant entrepreneurship’s theoretical concepts (Heilbrunn and Iannone, 2020; Desai et al., 2020). As a result, regardless of some differences, scholars consider refugee entrepreneurship as an immigrant entrepreneurship subgroup

(Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008). In this regard, this dissertation will use refugee and immigrant terms interchangeably throughout the literature review.

2.2 Entrepreneurship and Refugees' Integration, Inclusion, and Exclusion

2.2.1 Refugees' integration and entrepreneurship

As refugees migrate to another country, there are mainly three durable solutions: (1) voluntarily repatriate once the underlying issues in the home country finish, (2) resettle in a third country, and (3) integrate into the host country (UNHCR, 2003). However, even though United Nations High Commission for Refugees defines these options, the duration of refugees' stay in the home country is, on average, 26 years (UNHCR, 2015). Moreover, only 3% of refugees voluntarily repatriate, and only 2.4% of them resettle in another country (UNHCR, 2020). Therefore, integration seems to be the most viable alternative for the host countries, considering the lower practicality of the other options.

Integration is a highly contextual construct, dependent on the receiving society context and refugees' capacities (Castles et al., 2002; Smyth et al., 2010). The practical application ranges from assimilation to acculturation or multi-culturalism (Strang and Ager, 2010). Therefore, there is no consensus on the definition. However, literature widely accepts Ager and Strang's (2008) extensive definition of refugee integration. Ager and Strang identified four themes consisting of ten domains. They are (i) *markers and means* consisting of employment, housing, education, and health; (ii) *social connections* including social bridges, bonds, and links; (iii) *facilitators* as language, cultural knowledge, and refugees' feelings of safety and stability and (iv) *foundation* referring to citizenship and rights.

Among these domains, social bond refers to co-ethnic social networks. Social bridges point out the linkages between the refugees and the receiving society. So, refugee integration is non-linear and a two-way process, requiring interaction between the refugee community and the host society and within the refugee community. A clear path to citizenship and obtaining citizenship rights is fundamental to refugee integration (Ager and Strang, 2008). Furthermore, employment interacts with other domains by providing economic independence and self-reliance (Cifci and Atsiz, 2021). To summarize, the modern interpretation of integration is a generations-lasting

process involving the inclusion of refugees into all components of the host society without forgoing their cultural identity (Heckman, 2005; Strang and Ager, 2010).

Inclusion in the economic system is critical for refugee integration (Luseno and Kolade, 2022; Ager and Strang, 2008). Refugees can either find a job to work or become self-employed as an entrepreneur. Therefore, states and international organizations such as United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), World Bank, and European Union develop policies and carry out various projects to remove structural barriers. So, refugees can effectively participate in the labor market or establish businesses (Atlantic Council, 2020). For instance, the World Bank provides financial instruments to countries to prevent forced displacement. Moreover, if forced displacement happens, it develops projects to minimize refugees' economic vulnerability in coordination with the host and home countries (World Bank Group, 2017).

However, refugees still face many structural barriers, causing the “refugee gap” or so-called “canvas ceiling” in the labor market. This phenomenon points out the significant difference in labor market participation between refugees and other immigrant groups (Huq and Venugopal, 2021; Harima et al., 2021). For instance, the refugee employment rate is significantly lower than the native's (EU Commission, 2020). As they fail to find a suitable employment opportunity, entrepreneurship becomes a default option for their economic participation (Luseno and Kolade, 2022).

Policymakers readily assume that refugee entrepreneurship can contribute to refugees' integration (OECD, 2019). Therefore, many institutions, such as European Union and OECD, develop policies to encourage refugee entrepreneurship (European Commission, 2020; OECD, 2019; OECD and European Commission, 2021). They view migrants as potential entrepreneurs (Almohammad et al., 2021). Therefore, the central discourse has become “empower refugees” by “helping refugees help themselves” (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018, p.2; Wood et al., 2021).

On the other hand, the relationship between refugee entrepreneurship and integration is an understudied phenomenon (Shneikat and Alrawadieh, 2019). Studies praise the high rate of refugee entrepreneurship by calling the situation “the paradox of refugee entrepreneurship” (Collins et al., 2017, 33). However, there is little academic research on this topic. Various studies argue that refugee entrepreneurship could contribute to

the integration process, primarily economic integration (e.g., Simsek, 2020; Shneikat and Alrawadieh, 2019; Bizri, 2017). Other studies presume this link between integration and refugee entrepreneurship already exists (Brzozowski, 2019; Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008; Kloosterman et al., 1999).

Alrawadieh, Altinay, Cetin, and Simsek (2021) argue that entrepreneurship serves as a social and economic exchange platform for refugees. It builds mutual trust and understanding among communities and thus contributes to refugee integration and well-being. Furthermore, they argue that entrepreneurs' language skills, family and co-ethnic networks, and interactions with the host society support the integration process (Alrawadieh et al., 2021). Similarly, other studies stress the importance of family embeddedness (Zehra and Usmani, 2021; Kazlou and Wennberg, 2021), social capital (Bizri, 2017; Luseno and Kolade, 2022), and support institutions (Harima et al., 2021) for the refugee entrepreneurs' integration process.

Moreover, ethnic enclaves could help refugee entrepreneurs overcome initial trauma by providing a mutually trustworthy environment and solidarity (Harima et al., 2021). In exchange, refugee entrepreneurship could contribute to the community by creating jobs for other refugees (Dagnelie et al., 2019; Barth and Zalkat, 2021) and lowering the unemployment rate in the ethnic community (Kazlou and Wennberg, 2021). However, ethnic enclaves may also create a comfort zone, preventing refugees from integrating further into mainstream (native) society (Uzzi, 1997; Cifci and Atsiz, 2021). For instance, Vietnamese immigrants in Germany, migrating at different times, indicate significant variations in their social integration levels as those settled outside ethnic enclaves integrate more into the receiving society (Harima et al., 2021).

In their study, Almohammad et al. (2021) argue that refugee entrepreneurs primarily focus on integrating into society. Therefore, contextual barriers do not significantly impact their social and economic integration process. This study positions refugee entrepreneurs as risk-taking entrepreneurial agents like regular (native) entrepreneurs, undermining the significant structural barriers' constraining effects on the refugees' entrepreneurial activities. Similarly, other studies praise the economically empowering role of entrepreneurship for refugees in different contexts (Al-Dajani et al., 2015; Mehtap and Al-Saidi, 2018).

While the above studies stress the importance of entrepreneurship in migrants' integration, studies in various contexts indicate that migrant-led businesses perform worse than native-led firms. They are also less likely to survive for five years or more than Native-led businesses (Solano, 2021). Moreover, refugee entrepreneurs earn significantly less than employed refugees (Brzozowski, 2019). These studies focus on economic integration and take "income" as the primary independent variable. Immigrant entrepreneurs may report lower income due to tax evasion tactics (Brzozowski, 2019). Also, there are many informal immigrant businesses (Atasü-Topçuoglu, 2019). Even though these research articles have significant empirical shortcomings, their controversial results are still helpful in questioning the viability of refugee entrepreneurship. Focusing on entrepreneurship rather than employment could push refugees to a precarious and exploitative state, as entrepreneurship involves risks and failures (Desai et al., 2020).

Other studies also criticize entrepreneurship as an emancipating and viable choice for refugees in the host country (Huq and Venugopal, 2021; Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018; Brzozowski, 2019). They argue that self-reliance discourse driven by the neo-liberalism ideology abandons welfare dependency and pushes refugees to entrepreneurship. This way, policymakers perceive the refugees as economic actors instead of vulnerable victims (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018). So, when they economically fail, it is their fault for not acting responsible and resilient. To not fail, immigrant entrepreneurs should overcome the structural barriers, work long hours and accept the low profitability. Working long hours means that immigrant entrepreneurs have less time to attend civic activities and fewer opportunities to integrate socially (Brzozowski, 2019).

In addition to positioning immigrants as economic actors instead of vulnerable victims, scholars also criticize the use of entrepreneurship to counter-argue the discrimination and racism discourses. For instance, Asian immigrants' success in entrepreneurship in the United States is often used as a minority model image to undermine racism and discrimination. However, this approach blames other minorities for their failures to integrate into society (Bonachie, 1993).

Instead, studies argue that the state could offer these people feasible and meaningful economic options that are sustainable in the long term and support them when necessary. Thus, refugees can be "pulled" to entrepreneurship rather than "pushed"

(Huq and Venugopal, 2021). These critical approaches signal that it is unclear if entrepreneurship is a viable option for upward social mobility or an obstacle for refugees from pursuing a rewarding labor market career (Ram et al., 2022).

2.2.2 Refugees' inclusion/exclusion and entrepreneurship

The integration construct includes inclusion and exclusion (Solano, 2021; Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018; Golob and Giles, 2017). Practitioners and researchers use the terms “inclusion” and “exclusion” to remove the barriers in the long-lasting integration process. It is also true that successful integration leads to better social inclusion (Golob and Giles, 2017). On the other hand, some scholars argue that inclusion and exclusion discourse implies the polarization of society and otherness since inclusion necessitates native society as the norm (Ager and Strang, 2008; Ozkazanc-Pan, 2019).

However, some scholars draw attention to the super-diversity of immigrants and how it transforms, organizes, and changes societies through their practices, ideas, and resources. Therefore, the anchoring of a society to a particular nation-state, people, or time becomes irrelevant because of the “super-diverse” immigrants’ dynamic influence (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2019). Therefore, Ozkazanc-Pan (2019) argues that the inclusion concept alone is insufficient to describe societies’ immense transformation. Instead, she suggests developing the notion of belongingness to understand immigrants’ experiences in the inclusion process.

Similarly, Rashid and Cepeda-Garcia (2021) argued that it is the natives (in-group) versus migrants (out-group) categorization that fuels the populist political and media discourse against the refugees, resulting in partial integration. However, this argument fails to provide an imminent solution to current exclusionary practices. Therefore, without inclusive policies, it is not easy to integrate refugees into society (Luseno and Kolade, 2022).

Immigrant and refugee entrepreneurship literature shows little interest in describing the path to social inclusion and exclusion (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018). There is more interest in other fields of refugee phenomenon, such as child refugee education (Ghneim, 2021). Social inclusion and exclusion first appeared in France to fight poverty in the 1970s. Later, European Community adopted and used the term for a broader scope in the 1980s, including all marginalized groups, particularly entry into

the workforce (Allman, 2013). For instance, the Lisbon European Council of March 2000 requested all member states to develop an action plan to fight against the exclusion of disadvantaged communities (ECRE, 2002). In brief, social exclusion is the involuntary exclusion of individuals and groups from “*society’s political, economic and societal processes, which prevents their full participation in the society they live in*” (UN DESA, 2010, p.1).

Regarding refugees’ inclusion, states design various migration control policies within and beyond borders, leading to various degrees of refugee inclusion, called differential inclusion (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015). Theorized by Mezzadra and Neilson (2012), differential inclusion describes how inclusion in a society can be subject to “varying degrees of subordination, rule, discrimination, and segmentation” (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2012, p.67). This way, states can stratify the migrants’ status based on their attributes, like skills and ethnicities, and form temporalities without giving them full citizenship rights (Könönen, 2018). For instance, Australian society (at least initially) welcomed Bosnian refugees compared to other ethnicities due to their color (Golob and Giles, 2017). This hierarchical state stretches the binary citizenship status. At first glance, the concept sounds like an opportunity for immigrants to become legalized and included in society to various degrees. However, European countries’ differential inclusion policies receive much criticism as a “re-medievalisation” of modern Europe with similar hierarchical standards in feudal Europe (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015; O’Brien, 2019).

In addition to differential inclusion, the concept of differential exclusion is also relevant to this study. Different from differential inclusion, differential exclusion is the incorporation of the immigrants into some areas of the society (e.g., labor market) but excluding from other areas (e.g., political participation, health, education) (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015). Also, the state might restrict refugee entrepreneurs from entering specific sectors (Solano, 2021). It may also restrict their labor market participation through rigid work permit regulations (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018). Differential exclusion may originate through formal rules and regulations, such as defining clear-cut distinctions from the rights of citizens, or through informal practices such as discrimination and racism (Castles, 1995). States also carry out the differential exclusion when the migrants’ stay is temporary. They may argue that advancing the social integration of refugees could pose economic, cultural, social, and political risks

(Castles, 1995). For instance, the government sees young Afro-Italian entrepreneurs as the savior of the stagnant Italian economy. On the other side, nearly one million Africans born in Italy do not possess Italian citizenship, thus deprived of citizenship rights (Hawthorne, 2021).

While policymakers promote economic inclusion and self-reliance (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018), refugee entrepreneurs face exclusion due to social and institutional barriers. For instance, more than one-third of the EU and OECD countries have some limitations and barriers to refugee entrepreneurship. These barriers may require language and professional qualifications or the exclusion of entrepreneurs from specific sectors (Solano, 2021). Furthermore, financial institutions exclude refugee entrepreneurs from credits and loans (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018; Neville et al., 2017). As refugees face exclusion from full economic participation, they become more dependent on the state, leading to more exclusion and discrimination by the host society (Luseno and Kolade, 2022). As a result, these exclusionary activities and othering of refugees result in only a partial integration. Therefore, researchers criticize policymakers for promoting refugees' self-reliance and ignoring the apparent discrimination and social exclusion (Rashid and Cepeda-Garcia, 2021; Luseno and Kolade, 2022).

For instance, according to research conducted in Germany, government support institutions focus only on inclusion policies. They do not tackle issues such as exclusionary barriers and discrimination (Rashid and Cepeda-Garcia, 2021). Other scholars agree that entrepreneurship may not be the ultimate solution for economic self-reliance. However, they argue that it still contributes to refugees' social inclusion (Embiricos, 2020).

So far, this study has attempted to explain what integration, inclusion, and exclusion are and how they affect refugee entrepreneurship. As the United Nation's social exclusion definition states, it is critical to understand refugee entrepreneurs' political, economic, and societal processes for their inclusion and exclusion (UN DESA, 2010). Understanding these processes requires a systematic analysis of the context. Therefore, this study utilized the embeddedness concept to understand the complexity of refugee entrepreneurship and refugee entrepreneurs' inclusion/exclusion experience in multiple contexts. The embeddedness concept serves as a comprehensive theoretical foundation for analyzing refugee entrepreneurs' experiences in multiple locations

(particularly in the host country) (Harima et al., 2021; Embiricos, 2020; Heilbrunn and Iannone, 2020).

Immigrant entrepreneurship scholars commonly use the embeddedness concept. However, Dutch scholars Kloosterman and his colleagues designed a mixed embeddedness model (MEM) for immigrant entrepreneurship studies (Kloosterman et al., 1999). In this regard, first, this study explains all over-arching immigrant entrepreneurship theories and then dives into details about how the embeddedness concept gained currency in the literature. The following section will cover immigrant entrepreneurship theories.

2.2 Immigrant Entrepreneurship Theories

As migration increases, urban cities' demographics have changed dramatically and created a diverse urban population, as some scholars call 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007). Thus, city populations have become more diverse in ethnicity, country of origin, religion, and cultural, social, and economic background (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018). Urban economies underwent a post-industrial transformation, accelerated by deregulation and liberalization policies, starting from the 1980s. So, it resulted in deindustrialization and the service sector's rise. This new economic environment, also called the cognitive-cultural urban economy provided new and diverse opportunities for small businesses (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018). As a result, immigrants have become more self-employed (Ram et al., 2016). For instance, the share of immigrant entrepreneurs in the corresponding labor force of the Netherlands rose from 3.4 % to 7.4 % between 1987 and 1997 (Rath and Kloosterman, 2000). 2011 OECD report also suggests the immigrant entrepreneurs' steadily increasing contribution to the economies and labor force in OECD countries (OECD, 2011).

As the immigrants became self-employed, immigrant entrepreneurship and related theoretical concepts drew more attention from scholars and policymakers. There are mainly three theoretical approaches: cultural, structural, and interactive (Tsui-Auch, 2005).

2.2.1 Cultural approach

Early studies attempted to explain immigrant entrepreneurship's dynamics with cultural factors, focusing on the ethnic economy. This approach mainly attributes

immigrant entrepreneurship dynamics to immigrants' peculiar ethnic and cultural traits, thus focusing on the entrepreneurs' individual and group characteristics (Thornton, 1999; Tsui-Auch, 2005). All economic activities, especially in ethnic enclaves, are managed by "bounded solidarity" and "enforceable trust" (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). These mechanisms enable immigrant entrepreneurs to acquire low-wage labor and provide unique opportunities in the ethnic market. Furthermore, immigrant entrepreneurs leverage family and co-ethnic social support to sustain and develop their businesses (Zhou, 2004).

In this regard, immigrant entrepreneurs establish small businesses such as ethnic restaurants, retailers, and necessary service shops (e.g., hairdressers and tailors) in their respective communities (Zhou, 2004; Elo & Servais, 2018). These sectors are generally demanding and under-served markets that native entrepreneurs are unwilling to enter (Lee R., 2009). These businesses depend highly on the enclave communities as the customer base (Zhou, 2004). They also rely on one another as suppliers and buyers (Lee R., 2009). By serving in the ethnic enclave market, immigrant entrepreneurs fill in the essential gaps in the labor market.

Many scholars have applied the cultural approach in their studies, especially in the USA, to explain the variations in entrepreneurs' performances and motivations. However, researchers also suggest that the cultural approach is oversimplified and deterministic. They claim it focuses almost entirely on the ethnic community factors and reduces immigrant entrepreneurship to an ethnocultural phenomenon (Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018; Verver et al., 2020).

2.2.2 Structural approach

The structural approach argues that immigrants are disadvantaged in the labor market due to their unrecognized qualifications, poor language skills, discrimination, and racism (Ram et al., 2022). Hence, their exclusion from the mainstream economy creates a lack of structural alternatives. This situation pushes immigrants to be self-employed in low-barrier sectors, which are generally not preferred by natives (Rath, 2000; You and Zhou, 2019; Ram et al., 2022). However, this one-sided inference oversimplifies refugee entrepreneurship. It neglects the heterogeneity of the entrepreneurs (Harima et al., 2021) and the role of entrepreneurs' resources, such as their social networks and skills (Kloosterman et al., 1999).

Cultural and structural approaches assume that immigrants are homogenous groups settling in ethnic enclaves, predominantly isolated from the natives (Harima et al., 2021; Elo and Servais, 2018). Consequently, they interact and socialize mostly within the ethnic enclave and rely on their families for the labor supply to overcome the structural disadvantages (Kazlou and Wennberg, 2021). However, as urban cities' demographics become diverse and urban economies transform with post-industrial factors, immigrants are no longer bound to ethnic enclaves. As a result, cultural and structural theories alone struggle to elucidate immigrant entrepreneurship dynamics during the changing contextual environment (Kloosterman, 2010; Rath, 2000). To solve this theoretical issue, Waldinger and his colleagues combined the structural and cultural theories and developed the interactionist approach (Waldinger et al., 1990; Rath, 2000).

2.2.3 Interactionist approach

The interactionist approach argues that immigrant entrepreneurship results from the entrepreneur's resources and available market opportunities, called opportunity structure (Waldinger et al., 1990; Schmoll, 2012; Berwing, 2019). Economic and institutional factors are crucial for the opportunity structure. On the other side of the equation, entrepreneurs' resources mainly consist of ethnic networks (e.g., family and kinship ties) that may influence entrepreneurial activities (Rath, 2000; Tsui-Auch, 2005).

Waldinger's interactionist approach relied on the embeddedness concept. It widely utilized the social embeddedness concept on the individual resources side, focusing on the co-ethnic social ties (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018; Rath, 2000). Embeddedness is a powerful concept and has become a prominent analysis tool in contemporary entrepreneurship research as the context significantly affects entrepreneurship (Welter, 2011). In addition, embeddedness can link sociology and economics in the business environment (Uzzi, 1997; Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019).

After Polanyi (1944)'s brief mention, Granovetter (1985) defined embeddedness as the contextualization of economic activity in ongoing patterns of social relations. As this definition implies, embeddedness significantly influences economic performance. For example, Uzzi (1997) specifies how changing embeddedness levels and social network structures affect business outcomes. The sudden changes in the contextual

environment of immigrants made embeddedness highly relevant to the immigrant entrepreneurship literature. “Immigration is a natural source of material for economic sociology since foreign-born communities represent one of the clearest examples of the bearing contextual factors can have on individual economic action” (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993, p. 1322).

Scholars criticize the studies utilizing Waldinger’s interactionist approach. These studies mainly focus on only individual resources as part of the approach: the mobilization of the ethnic networks through social embeddedness (Kloosterman et al., 1999; De Bock, 2014; Kloosterman and Rath, 2018). However, analyzing only the social context leads to premature results. Combining different contexts, i.e., social, institutional, economic, and spatial, affects immigrants’ entrepreneurial activities in varying degrees and stages (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019). Furthermore, the interactionist approach model lacks a broader institutional and regulatory context where the opportunity structure forms. Instead, this approach considers a small set of rules and regulations exclusively applicable to ethnic entrepreneurs (Rath, 2000; Kloosterman and Rath, 2018).

Later in the 1990s, Waldinger and his colleagues’ model inspired Kloosterman et al. (1999), and the mixed embeddedness model (MEM) emerged. It combines an individual’s resources with opportunity structure and institutional context. Unlike Waldinger’s interactionist approach, the societal context is more comprehensive than solely co-ethnic networks. This approach embraces all parties involved in the immigrants’ entrepreneurial activities, such as vendors, customers, and other business organizations (Kloosterman et al., 1999). Moreover, Kloosterman et al. (1999, p.257) argue that the mixed embeddedness ‘encompassing the crucial interplay between the social, economic, and institutional contexts’ holds the original meaning as Karl Polanyi (1944) intended. So, it focuses on the dynamic relations among the entrepreneur, the firm, and the institutional context (Slavnic and Urban, 2018).

The mixed embeddedness approach applies to all entrepreneurship analyses. However, it has been designed explicitly for immigrant entrepreneurs. This customization gives this model an essential lead in the immigrant entrepreneurship literature. Therefore, after introducing the concept in early 2000, scholars have increasingly employed it in analyzing the immigrant entrepreneurship phenomenon.

This approach focuses on the host country's opportunity structure and social and institutional regulatory context. In recent years, scholars started focusing on immigrant entrepreneurs' home country embeddedness and its effect on entrepreneurial activities. Migrants' embeddedness in their home country structures does not vanish in a day when they migrate to the host country. Therefore, some studies include the home country's social, economic, and institutional context alongside the host country, thus creating a multi-layered dual embedded model. These studies focus on immigrant entrepreneurs' transnational activities (Schott, 2018; Bagwell, 2015; Ashourizadeh et al., 2020). However, quite a few studies concentrate on the dual embeddedness of immigrants without direct transnational activities (Leung, 2003; You and Zhou, 2019, Griffin -EL and Olabisi, 2018).

As the review of different theories indicates, there is a natural fit between the embeddedness and the immigrant entrepreneurship phenomenon. Furthermore, immigrants' multi-contextual and dual situations necessitate understanding the dynamic nature of their embeddedness levels. Therefore, this study utilizes the embeddedness concept to understand the complexity of refugee entrepreneurship and their inclusion/exclusion experience. Furthermore, it serves as a comprehensive theoretical foundation to analyze refugee entrepreneurs' experiences in multiple locations (particularly in the host country). Therefore, the following section will further analyze the embeddedness concept and its application in immigrant and refugee entrepreneurship literature.

2.3 Embeddedness and Immigrant/Refugee Entrepreneurship

The review has observed a variety of embeddedness approaches, locating five themes: social, institutional, multi-contextual, spatial, and political. However, it is essential to note that these themes are not mutually exclusive categories, as many scholars have used a combination of these perspectives in their work.

This section first outlines social embeddedness approaches. Then, institutional embeddedness follows. These two types provide the backbone of immigrant entrepreneurs' embeddedness. Then, the study discusses multiple contexts, which present a duality of contexts with extant studies describing various embeddedness levels. The author then discusses spatial embeddedness as a separate but vital

contribution to prior perspectives. Finally, this section introduces political embeddedness, which is new to immigrant and refugee entrepreneurship literature.

2.3.1 Embeddedness to social contexts

Social embeddedness stresses that economic activities do not occur in a social vacuum, and actors' choices highly depend on interpersonal relations networks. Moreover, these relations are affected by the observed and expected behavior of others (Granovetter, 1985). In other words, social embeddedness emphasizes that social ties and networks play a significant role in the (immigrant) entrepreneurs' business outcomes (e.g., Aarstad, 2012; Mosey and Wright, 2007; Kloosterman, 2010).

Some articles have considered social context separate or within multiple contexts, mixed (Idris, 2019) and dual embeddedness models (Von Bloh et al., 2019; Ashourizadeh et al., 2020). These models help scholars understand how immigrant entrepreneurs' social embeddedness extends to different levels.

The author observed multiple layers in social embeddedness literature when considering its levels. Immigrants' social networks vary from family, kinship ties, and intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic networks to a host country's social networks. Proponents of social embeddedness generally criticize cultural approaches for using an ethnic lens. They suggest that these approaches reduce immigrant entrepreneurship to an ethnocultural phenomenon (Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018; Verver et al., 2020). They argue that these studies overemphasize co-ethnic networks' impact on immigrants' entrepreneurial activities (Krogstad, 2004; Asante, 2018; Rodgers et al., 2018). In this respect, Kloosterman et al. (1999) emphasize the need to look beyond the co-ethnic social ties by including mainstream (native) social ties.

Furthermore, they suggest simultaneously considering institutional and economic contexts to complete their mixed embeddedness model. This broad lens does not invalidate the importance of co-ethnic structures, as the social embeddedness of ethnic enclaves might still provide exclusive resources to immigrant entrepreneurs (Zhou and Cho, 2010). However, closely nested co-ethnic structures could prevent other ethnicities from accessing these resources and make penetrating specific sectors harder (Waldinger, 1995).

Among different layers of social networks, the family is the core support group for immigrant entrepreneurs. A family's proximity affects an immigrant entrepreneur's

survival through labor and financial support (Bird and Wennberg, 2016). Even a distant family (e.g., in the home country) may become an advantage for an immigrant entrepreneur. Families often provide human capital (Eimermann and Karlsson, 2018). However, they may also constrain immigrant entrepreneurs by imposing behavioral norms (Azmat and Fujimoto, 2016; Bird and Wennberg, 2016).

Kinship and co-ethnic ties also affect immigrants' entrepreneurial activities (Idris, 2019). These factors play a vital role during a firm's initial phase when many uncertainties abound and entrepreneurs need strong support (Samaratunge et al., 2015). For instance, refugees have more probability of being self-employed when they have a higher share of self-employed co-ethnics in the vicinity (Andersson, 2021). However, after the initial phase, an immigrant entrepreneur needs to reach wider social networks and locate weak ties to "break out," grow and sustain her/his business (Rothbart, 1993; Tsui-Auch, 2005; El Bouk et al., 2013; Kwak, 2013; Rodgers et al., 2018; Zubair and Brzozowski, 2019). Finding weak ties does not mean embedding them in a society's mainstream. Connecting to the key stakeholders may be enough (Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018; Price and Chacko, 2009).

Regarding the entrepreneurial stages, Selcuk and Suwala (2020) argue how immigrant family entrepreneurs' embeddedness levels extend from family ties to international connections throughout the entrepreneurial stages. Therefore, how entrepreneurs' social embeddedness level influences their entrepreneurial activities becomes contingent on venture development stages (Perera et al., 2013). Finding weak ties and building mainstream social relations are difficult for immigrant entrepreneurs (El Bouk et al., 2013). The robust nature of a co-ethnic support system's comfort zone could be a barrier. In these cases, immigrant entrepreneurs remain over-embedded in their co-ethnic networks (Tsui-Auch, 2005; Samaratunge et al., 2015).

Additionally, native society's potentially racist or discriminative behaviors could be significant barriers (El Bouk et al., 2013). These issues might leave no choice for new migrants other than to rely on their co-ethnic social capital. Therefore, they may start their businesses in low-barrier niche markets (Lassalle, 2018). In such cases, these immigrant entrepreneurs may face fierce competition, struggle with razor-thin profit margins, and have difficulty surviving their firms (Jones et al., 2012). Harima (2022) and Meister and Mauer (2019) have recommended a customized incubation model for refugee entrepreneurs. They argue that this approach would help them overcome

embeddedness issues. Incubation centers may help entrepreneurs build local ties and integrate them into the host society. In addition, these centers can be empowering, especially for refugees who lack the necessary language skills (Babin, 2019). However, it is also critical not to create another over-dependence through these institutions (Harima, 2022).

In other circumstances, immigrant entrepreneurs might not have co-ethnic networks for embedding in the first place (Fresnoza-Flot and Pecoud, 2007). For example, a region could be sparsely populated, e.g., rural areas or hinterlands of a country (Boyd, 2013). In such cases, immigrant entrepreneurs need higher levels of embeddedness in their local community from the beginning. In other cases, immigrant entrepreneurs prefer to connect to mainstream networks instead of co-ethnic ones (Phuong and Harima, 2019). Furthermore, social network classifications other than co-ethnic ties, such as co-migrants (Rodgers et al., 2018) or outsiders versus established people (Berwing, 2019), may be present in different cases. As a result, embeddedness allows researchers to think beyond ethnic boundaries.

Social context is a core element of embeddedness, whether it is analyzed independently or within multiple contexts. It entails different social network layers and helps immigrant entrepreneurs extend their embeddedness levels in social networks. It determines the type of business they are going to start (e.g., low-skill, mainstream businesses), their target markets (e.g., co-ethnic, mainstream), and their firms' survival chances (Sequeira et al., 2009; Lassalle, 2018).

Social embeddedness studies analyze immigrants' social networks. However, social embeddedness alone is insufficient to understand and explain the different facets of immigrant entrepreneurship. Institutional, economic, and spatial contexts at home and in host countries also affect immigrants' entrepreneurial activities (Kloosterman, 2010; You and Zhou, 2019).

2.3.2 Embeddedness to institutional contexts

This study refers to Scott (2013)'s definition of three institutional pillars: regulatory, normative, and cognitive, defining institutional embeddedness. If we apply these institutional pillars to entrepreneurship, regulatory embeddedness means laws and policies influencing entrepreneurial ventures (Baughn et al., 2006). As the second pillar, the normative element derives from the social structure and establishes the

standards and boundaries of appropriate and expected societal behaviors (Seelos et al., 2011). The normative context affects entrepreneurial activities and entrepreneurs' ability to develop a sustainable competitive advantage (Dacin et al., 1999). The third and least informal embeddedness is the cognitive one. Cognitive mechanisms present readily available solutions to the community's embedded individuals (Seelos et al., 2011). It reflects how individuals believe they have the skills and competencies to start/run a business and the risk or fear associated with entrepreneurship (Baughn et al., 2006; Amine and Staub, 2009).

Entrepreneurship and organizational studies widely use the "institutional context" (Welter and Smallbone, 2011; Lo and Texeira, 2015; Langevang et al., 2015; Baughn et al., 2006; Amine and Staub, 2009; Masurel and Nijkamp, 2009; Shams and Huisman, 2016). However, in the case of immigrants, the institutional context changes suddenly as the immigrants move from one country to another. Additionally, the institutional context of a host country may also change over time (Slavnic and Urban, 2018). Therefore, the institutional context becomes a critical factor affecting immigrants' entrepreneurial activities. Most articles analyzed institutional embeddedness as part of the MEM in the literature. However, MEM mainly focuses on the regulative pillar of institutional embeddedness. Therefore, nearly all studies in the literature overlooked normative and cognitive pillars (Storti, 2018).

Unfavorable institutional environments in a home country or the favorable institutional context of a host country could be the reasons for the movement of highly skilled immigrants (Salamanca and Alcaraz, 2019). A favorable institutional context may help immigrants start and run their businesses (Azmat and Fujimoto, 2016; Bosiakoh and Tetteh, 2018). For example, Nigerian women entrepreneurs enjoy Ghana's informal economy's favorable reception (Bosiakoh and Tetteh, 2018). Different institutional contexts may also attract different types of immigrant entrepreneurs. For example, immigrant entrepreneurs in Chile are opportunity-driven. However, those in Germany are need-driven because of the institutional setting (Von Bloh et al., 2019).

Another issue is the institutional context difference between the host and the home country. The closer a host country's institutional context is to a home country's, the better the immigrant entrepreneurs become embedded in the new context (Harima, 2022). For instance, Germany has highly bureaucratic formalities as a developed country, creating significant barriers for refugee entrepreneurs from developing

countries. Conversely, embedding in the host country context could happen more swiftly in neighboring states where institutional difference is minimal (Harima et al., 2021). Thus, contextual changes' influence could vary depending on the institutional difference between the home and host country contexts. The institutional difference could become advantageous in some cases. Immigrant entrepreneurs may also take advantage of the institutional gaps and voids to create new opportunities (Harima et al., 2021).

Many studies analyzed the regulatory aspect of the institutional context. However, normative and cognitive embeddedness are also critical factors in immigrant entrepreneurship. The structured routines of cognitive processes may limit economic rationality (Zukin and DiMaggio, 1990). Jiang, Straub, Klyver, and Mauer (2021) analyze refugee entrepreneurs' opportunity production process. They argue that variation in the degree of embeddedness in the cultural norms, values, and cognitive routines influence refugees' entrepreneurial activities. They suggest that applying cognitive abilities gained in the home country to the host country could create cognitive dissonance and misalignment. This condition may cause failure to realize business ideas because the host country's institutional context is drastically different. The knowledge acquired in the home country could be outdated. Therefore, they recommend that refugee entrepreneurs focus on the host country's cognitive routines and social networks to realize their business opportunities (Jiang et al., 2021).

Other research articles support these results. Refugees arrive with specific cognitive skills and experience. However, not all of them could be transferable to the new context, requiring getting disembedded and re-embedded (Harima, 2022). These results encourage immigrant entrepreneurs to readjust their cognitive mindset to the new environment. However, that does not mean they should abandon everything about the home country context (Harima et al., 2021). When the host country's institutional constraints challenge immigrant entrepreneurs, they rely on their home country's norms, values, and cognitive routines to survive (Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018; Griffin-EL and Olabisi, 2018). Furthermore, the dual and transnational embeddedness can support refugee entrepreneurs in reaching diverse resources and creating unique opportunities (Harima et al., 2021; Bagwell, 2017).

To summarize, the embeddedness level of an immigrant entrepreneur in an institutional context determines whether the context assumes a constraining or

enabling role for her/his entrepreneurial activities. However, it is difficult to identify whether the institutional context or the immigrant entrepreneurs' backgrounds are unfavorable to their actions. For example, individual resources sometimes hold entrepreneurs back from reaching complete embeddedness. In other cases, institutional constraints could discourage immigrant entrepreneurs from higher embeddedness in a host country environment. For example, studies comparing recently migrated entrepreneurs with more resources than the earlier immigrant entrepreneurs concluded no significant difference in embedding in the context (Jones et al., 2012; Kloosterman et al., 2016). These results imply that the failure to develop embeddedness in a host country's environment depends on formal and informal institutions (Jones et al., 2014). Likewise, studies conducted in the United Kingdom and South Africa argued that institutional constraints push immigrant entrepreneurs towards their co-ethnic networks. Thus, immigrants operate at the lower end of the opportunity structure (Barrett et al., 2002; Hack-Polay et al., 2020; Moyo, 2014).

Regardless of the institutional constraints, immigrant entrepreneurs may find a way to exert a certain amount of willpower in some instances. However, its effect is limited and does not change the immigrants' disadvantaged position (Villares-Varela et al., 2018). When policymakers eased some of these institutional constraints by changing regulations, Sweden's income gap decreased between natives and immigrant entrepreneurs (Kazlou and Klinthall, 2018).

2.3.3 Embeddedness to multiple contexts

Current multi-contextual embeddedness models combine social and institutional dimensions (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018). However, as immigrant entrepreneurship and, more specifically, refugee entrepreneurship research evolved, researchers described entrepreneurs' embeddedness as dynamic and multi-contextual (Harima et al., 2021). According to these explanations, immigrant entrepreneurship simultaneously involves social, institutional, economic, and spatial contexts (Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018). In this regard, scholars developed multi-contextual analyses of immigrant entrepreneurs' embeddedness. Such analyses help scholars understand how different contexts affect immigrants' entrepreneurial activities (Wang and Warn, 2018).

Multi-contextual articles have mainly used MEM. These articles have studied changing institutional context (Kloosterman, 2003; Kazlou and Klinthall, 2018), broader social networks (Ram et al., 2008; Berwing, 2019), and opportunity structures' effects on immigrants' entrepreneurial activities (Guell, 2016; Kwak, 2013; Paerregaard, 2018). Moreover, as the MEM does not rely on ethnic-focused spatial context, i.e., ethnic enclaves (Yeasmin and Koivurova, 2019), it allows thorough comparisons over multiple contexts. Accordingly, recent research analyzed immigrant entrepreneurs in dispersed areas (Wahlbeck, 2013), suburbs (Boyd, 2013), and rural areas (Munkejord, 2015; Eimermann and Kordel, 2018).

Regardless of the MEM's tremendous contributions, there are also substantial critics. The main criticism comes from scholars studying transnational entrepreneurs. The scope of the MEM is at the national level. It does not include transnational ties and how the immigrant remains embedded in the home country in various dimensions (Bagwell, 2017; Zhuang, 2019; You and Zhou, 2019). Furthermore, immigrant entrepreneurs are connected to the diaspora networks, allowing them to embed in the transnational context (Harima et al., 2021; Bagwell, 2017).

Other scholars criticize the MEM for overlooking the entrepreneurial agency (Daniel et al., 2019; Kazlou and Klinthall, 2019; Harima et al., 2021) and the qualifications of the entrepreneurs (Berwing, 2019). Due to its structural determinism, it undermines the dynamic and processual nature of the embeddedness concept. So, according to Harima (2022), scholars mainly utilize the embeddedness concept as static, failing to explain the dynamic interactions between the entrepreneurial agent and the relevant contexts. In other words, the MEM borrows the concept of opportunity structure from Waldinger's model. It focuses on the entrepreneurial opportunities on the structural (demand) side, disregarding the role of the entrepreneurial agency (Harima et al., 2021). The MEM model also mentions entrepreneurs' entrepreneurial agency and personal resources (Kloosterman, 2010). However, it is unclear how an entrepreneur could act as an agent in the MEM, as it emphasizes an entrepreneur's social networks regarding individual resources. As a result, the MEM assumes the immigrant and refugee entrepreneurs as a homogenous group, under-embedded in the host country, and destined to operate in the lower end of the market (Ram et al., 2022).

There are also recommendations that the MEM should include the role of gender, class, or race as the constraining entry to different entrepreneurial sectors (Wang and Warn

2018). It may also include how time impacts the stages of entrepreneurial trajectories (Zhuang, 2019). Furthermore, as previously mentioned in the institutional context, the MEM only considers the regulatory aspect of the institutional embeddedness and ignores the cognitive and normative dimensions (Storti, 2018; Jiang et al., 2021).

Critics of the MEM have some valid points. However, it would be unfair to criticize the mixed embeddedness approach without considering the context during its evolution in Europe in early 2000. As scholars, we should remember that the MEM is in reaction to the overemphasis on immigrant entrepreneurship's ethnic and cultural factors. Thus, scholars developed the MEM upon the fundamentals of Waldinger's interactionist model (Kloosterman et al., 1999).

In this section, the study will mention two subthemes that have emerged in the literature according to their analytical approaches: multi-contextual comparisons and the duality of context.

2.3.3.1 Multi-contextual comparisons

Researchers have often used multi-contextual comparisons in the literature to demonstrate the complex interplay of contextual factors at multiple levels (Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018). They have compared asylum seekers of different legal statuses (Bisignano and El-Anis, 2019) or different ethnicities in the same spatial context (Miera, 2008; Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018). They have compared immigrant entrepreneurs belonging to the same ethnicity. These co-ethnic groups could be residing in different spatial contexts (Paerregaard, 2018), immigrating at different times (Wang and Warn, 2018), and working in different sectors (Storti, 2014). Some articles have analyzed the interactions of different contexts and their combined effect on the immigrants' entrepreneurial activities (Azmat and Fujimoto, 2016; Paerregaard, 2018; Wang and Warn, 2018). None of the articles in this group has developed measures for entrepreneurs' levels of embeddedness. However, these comparisons mostly use a relative assessment of embeddedness levels. For example, an article compared Turkish and Polish migrants who immigrated to Berlin, Germany. Even though these groups live in the same city, their entrepreneurial patterns are remarkably different. Polish entrepreneurs have higher embeddedness in mainstream society. They leverage the proximity of their home country and use their transnational networks as they face fewer institutional pressures than Turkish entrepreneurs.

On the other hand, Turkish entrepreneurs have chosen to operate in their ethnic market (Miera, 2008). Regardless of their spatially contextual similarity, institutional differences have formed a favorable opportunity structure for one ethnic group. In some circumstances, the same ethnic group in the same context may also have different entrepreneurial patterns. For example, Italian pizza and ice cream shop owners in Germany have developed different informal institutions and social networks (Storti, 2014) and undertaken significant entrepreneurial differences.

Immigrant entrepreneurs' levels of embeddedness change as each element are time and location-specific, connected, and interacts with factors in multiple contexts (Wang and Warn 2018). For instance, Peruvian entrepreneurs used social networks and individual resources differently according to the host countries' receiving context and the opportunity structure (Paerregaard, 2018). Wang and Warn (2018) described how three Chinese immigrant groups moved to Australia under different circumstances and how immigration policies have differed by the type of businesses they founded. Moreover, they have different motivations and professional and educational backgrounds, affecting their embeddedness levels and opportunity structures.

In another study, Azmat and Fujimoto (2016) argue that Indian female immigrants' entrepreneurial activities in Australia depended on the interplay of being an Indian, a woman, and a new Australian citizen. On one side, they fight against discrimination for being a woman and try to decrease their embeddedness level in the informal institutional constraints enforced by their Indian families. On the other side, they strive for higher embeddedness in Australian society, with significant support for immigrant women's entrepreneurial activities. Similarly, Brieger and Gielnik (2020) argue that a supportive host country context has a relatively more substantial positive effect on the female immigrants' entrepreneurial self-efficacy. This situation also boosts their self-confidence in their talents, skills, and capabilities.

Bisignano and El-Anis (2019) have compared asylum-seeking refugee entrepreneurs. They have argued that the changes in their legal statuses affect refugee entrepreneurs' social embeddedness levels. As refugee entrepreneurs secure their legal resident status, they further integrate with the community and the host country's business system. However, this does not mean they have complete embeddedness once they receive full citizenship rights. In another study conducted in The Netherlands, the researchers compared the native and Chinese entrepreneurs living in the same spatial context for

a long time. Chinese entrepreneurs used their co-ethnic structures to substitute their host country embeddedness despite their extended stay in the host country. Therefore, they made sense of the entrepreneurial opportunities through their co-ethnic norms, assumptions, and frames of reference (Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018). This result has important implications, as immigrant entrepreneurs sometimes survive without complete embeddedness in their host society.

Indeed, when contextual restrictions challenge immigrant entrepreneurs, they stick to their home country's rules and norms (Griffin-El and Olabisi, 2018). Thus, immigrant entrepreneurs sometimes benefit from dual embeddedness to survive their businesses.

2.3.3.2 The duality of contextual embeddedness

Some of the articles in this group adopted a dual perspective with multiple contexts. In these articles, a home country context complemented a host country context, creating a duality of contextual embeddedness. These studies mainly focused on immigrant entrepreneurs' transnational activities (Bagwell, 2015; Schott, 2018; Ashourizadeh et al., 2020). Some also focus on immigrants without transnational activities (Leung, 2003; Griffin-El and Olabisi, 2018; You and Zhou, 2019).

The duality perspective suggests that immigrants may have simultaneous embeddedness in host and home country contexts at different levels. Thus, it is necessary to determine the contextual embeddedness level to identify the impact of the duality. Most articles in this group mentioned immigrants' embeddedness levels in some way. Some of these articles quantified embeddedness levels (Sequeira et al., 2009; Bagwell, 2015; Bagwell, 2017). Others preferred a processual approach to assessing embeddedness levels (Griffin-El and Olabisi, 2018; Quan et al., 2019; Harima, 2022; Solano, 2020).

The first group of articles quantified embeddedness levels. These articles focus on immigrant entrepreneurs' transnational ties and social connections in their home country. In contrast, in the second group, processual studies are more thorough in exploring the dis-embeddedness and re-embeddedness stages (Harima et al., 2021; Solano, 2021). They see the immigrants' embedding in the context as dynamic and processual, constantly shifting between the home and host country context. The literature assumes that refugees lost all their home country resources and focus on the "embedded or not embedded" dichotomy (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019). A

processual approach helped realize how refugee entrepreneurs become re-embedded in a home country context. Especially after their initial loss of resources, they reinterpret the value of their home country's resources to create new opportunities in a host country (Harima, 2022). Studies using processual dual embeddedness concepts also included other contextual factors, such as largely neglected institutional pillars (Griffin-El and Olabisi, 2018; Quan et al., 2019).

What contextual embeddedness level do immigrant entrepreneurs need to have in a host country to perform? What is the balance? These questions remain the central issues in dual context studies. Having dual embeddedness may sometimes provide advantages for immigrant entrepreneurs. It creates knowledge spillovers, resulting in transnational economic activities, thus benefiting both home and host country economies (Vereb and Ferreira, 2018). As immigrants maintain their social contact with their home country, they can span the structural holes between the social networks of their home and host countries. This behavior helps them gain advantages in their transnational economic activities (Landolt, 2001; Suter, 2017; Schott, 2018; Solano, 2020; von Bloh et al., 2019) and local businesses (Leung, 2003). Hence, they can export to their home country more than natives (Ashourizadeh et al., 2020). Research also argues that their level of social embeddedness in a home country affects their choice of venture type (Sequeira et al., 2009). These studies focus on using transnational ties and understanding how immigrants utilize their heterogeneous networks in their transnational business activities.

Dual embeddedness is not limited to social relations or transnational business activities. You and Zhou (2019) developed a dual embeddedness model to recognize the complexity of immigrants' entrepreneurial activities. According to their model, immigrant entrepreneurs develop dual embeddedness because of their social networks, labor market dynamics, government policies, home country's economic conditions, and home and host country institutions (Leung, 2003; You and Zhou, 2019). However, the duality may favor or block entrepreneurial activities in these cases. For instance, China's growing economy and entrepreneurship-promoting policies have negatively affected the Chinese nail salons' survivability in New York City. As a result, the appeal of owning a nail salon or working in one has decreased (You and Zhou, 2019). In addition, cognitive and normative institutional pillars in a home country also influence immigrants' entrepreneurial behavior in a host country. These institutional effects play

essential roles in immigrants' ability to identify and realize business opportunities in a host country (Griffin-El and Olabisi, 2018; Liang, 2019). Similarly, Schott (2018) argues that immigrant youths have higher entrepreneurial competencies and intentions because of their home-country embeddedness.

In short, duality could also exist for social, institutional, and spatial contexts or their combinations. Furthermore, immigrant entrepreneurs' embeddedness is not bound only to a home or a host country context. They maintain social and economic connections in multiple countries. Therefore, immigrant entrepreneurs may have different embeddedness levels in multiple countries (Solano, 2020; Bagwell, 2017; Harima et al., 2021). Moreover, dual embeddedness is not a zero-sum game. It does not hinder immigrant entrepreneurs' social and economic integration into their host country (Landolt, 2001; Ren and Liu, 2015). Some claim that dual embeddedness may speed up the integration process (Ren and Liu, 2015). For example, Chinese immigrants in Singapore (Ren and Liu, 2015), Germany (Leung, 2003), the UK (Quan et al., 2019), and Australia (Colic-Peisker and Deng, 2019; Liang, 2019) have experienced dual embeddedness in their social and institutional contexts. In addition, some entrepreneurs move to another country for a better life for themselves and their children. Therefore, they keep their dependence on their already profitable home country businesses, resulting in stronger dual embeddedness (Colic-Peisker and Deng, 2019).

2.3.4 Embeddedness to spatial contexts

Opportunity distribution is not uniform across locations. Therefore, spatial context becomes an enabler or a significant constraint for entrepreneurs. It matters for immigrant entrepreneurs since they recently moved to another location from their home country (Rekers and Van Kempen, 2000). Spatial context is "the topographical, geographical and infrastructural elements as well as the meanings, experiences, and heritage of the location(s) of the entrepreneurial opportunity-creation process" (Korsgaard et al., 2015, p.575).

Spatial embeddedness has two aspects: Space and place. Space refers to the location's economic assessment based on the potential degree of creating opportunities and profit. So, it is about the capital, goods, human resources, and other sources related to the specific location that enables or constrains entrepreneurial activities (Korsgaard et

al., 2015). Place refers to assessing an area concerning meaning and experience. For example, the site has historical and cultural heritage dimensions, which could influence the entrepreneurial opportunity creation process (Korsgaard et al., 2015).

As immigrants move from one place to another, their new geographic location and meanings attached to that location matter for the immigrant's entrepreneurial activities. Therefore, the roles and opportunities vary depending on the location (Korsgaard et al., 2015; Räuchle and Schmiz, 2019). Especially with the MEM, more studies have focused on diverse regions other than urban cities (Boyd, 2013; Wahlbeck, 2013). Embedding in a spatial context is a dynamic process. It sometimes starts even before immigration (Eimermann and Kordel, 2018). However, current literature seems to overlook some aspects of spatial embeddedness, such as its historical features.

Current literature compared contexts in different locations to understand the differences in embeddedness levels. They also focused on how immigrant entrepreneurs adjust to different spatial contexts (Eimermann and Kordel, 2018; Paerregaard, 2018; Von Bloh et al., 2019; Solano, 2020; Verver et al., 2019). Furthermore, as entrepreneurial opportunity distribution across geographies was not uniform (Korsgaard et al., 2015; Munkejord, 2017; Müller and Korsgaard, 2017; Webster, 2017; Eimermann and Karlsson, 2018), embeddedness in a spatial context could work for or against immigrant entrepreneurs (Rekers and Van Kempen, 2000). For example, rural communities can enjoy immigrant entrepreneurs' revitalization efforts. Therefore, immigrant entrepreneurs may feel more welcome and motivated to give back when supported by a rural host community (Munkejord, 2017; Eimermann and Karlsson, 2018).

Researchers examined immigrant entrepreneurship outside dense ethnic locations thanks to the MEM. In this regard, Kloosterman and Rath's (2001) three-level strategy (national, urban/regional, neighborhood-level) to analyze the opportunity structure contributed further to the place-specific and comparative research. For example, some studies have taken place in Finland's arctic region (Wahlbeck, 2013; Yeasmin and Koivurova, 2019), the hinterlands of North America (Boyd, 2013), rural Sweden, and Slovenia (Eimermann and Kordel, 2018) and Finland (Munkejord, 2015). These studies outlined that immigrant entrepreneurs face challenges similar to those in urban areas on top of their specific environmental challenges. However, these entrepreneurs

could survive in sparse geographic locations and integrate with local communities (Boyd, 2013). In addition, these studies argued that the significance of co-ethnic social networks is over-emphasized. Immigrants can connect to native social networks locally and distant family networks to gain support (Wahlbeck, 2013).

Initial research focused on the ethnic enclaves and how immigrant entrepreneurs serve in the ethnic-niche markets (Zhou, 2004). However, as the immigrants diversified, their spatial patterns also changed from ethnic enclave streets to central business districts (Kloosterman and Rath, 2018). Unlike other immigrant groups, refugee entrepreneurs do not deliberately choose their location as they generally do not know where they would settle (Harima, 2022). So, they do not have the opportunity to pick a location close to their co-ethnic social capital or have time to get ready for the new institutional setting.

However, other researchers identify different situations when refugees leave their home country. According to George (2010), refugee entrepreneurs have two categories. These are those who plan their flight to the host country (anticipatory) and those who flee the home country without prior planning (acute). These groups have three subgroups based on the reason to flee the home country: majority-identified, event-related, and self-alienated. Those in the majority-identified group flee the home country due to the civil war or significant issues in the home country. Event-related subgroup refers to systematic discrimination against a particular group in the home country. The last subgroup, self-alienated, represents the personal reasons for leaving the home country (Heilbrunn and Iannone, 2020). This categorization assumes that refugee entrepreneurs may choose their spatial context. However, current research only perceives refugee entrepreneurs as leaving their home country abruptly without proper planning (Harima et al., 2021).

In summary, spatial context is the leading platform where immigrant entrepreneurs create/discover opportunities and realize their business plans. In this regard, literature pays little attention to certain features of the spatial context. For instance, geographic conditions and location history are critical when assessing a location's influence on immigrant entrepreneurs (Korsgaard et al., 2015). In this respect, the spatial context deserves further attention in refugee entrepreneurship.

2.3.5 Missing embeddedness type: Political embeddedness

In the political context, economic actors are connected to the state and its bureaucracy through formal and informal ties, affecting actors' economic activities due to power differences (Michelson, 2007). For instance, when the geopolitical conditions are extreme, like in conflict zones, entrepreneurs may face political uncertainties, negatively affecting their entrepreneurial activities and plans (Alvi et al., 2017). Furthermore, the government sets general policies in the social and economic environment. It also provides resources that the firms can use. To influence state policies and benefit from the resources, firms utilize non-market activities (Okhmatovskiy, 2010). In this context, political embeddedness analyses the enabling and constraining effects of the state policies, political connections, and power differences among the organizational actors, such as state actors and class politics, on one's entrepreneurial activities (Dacin et al., 1999; Zukin and DiMaggio, 1990).

According to this research, the immigrant entrepreneurship literature neglected political embeddedness. In some articles, there are mere references to the importance of the political context (Ram et al., 2008; Wotherspoon, 2018). Based on the data coding and analysis, political embeddedness emerged as a distinct category for the embeddedness of refugee entrepreneurs. The researcher sought traces of why leading researchers in the field overlooked the political context. Kloosterman (2000), the leading scholar of the MEM, stresses that the primary focus is the institutional context and its direct effect on the opportunity structure at the macro-level. So, he assumes that the political context is too broad. If there is any effect on the labor market and opportunity structure, researchers would observe this through the institutional context.

This assumption could be valid for immigrant entrepreneurship in a developed country where policies, especially immigrant-related ones, are firmly-set and consistent. This claim assumes an apolitical stance for the immigrants. However, strict government policies and states' reluctance to include refugees in some economic sectors exist in developed countries and act as significant political constraints (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018).

Migration, specifically forced migration, is intrinsically political and governed by a political protection regime (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015). The migration regulations and citizenship regimes are politically constructed and determine who benefits from the

state resources (Wotherspoon, 2018). Therefore, in many cases, refugees do not shape their futures independently. Their decisions are highly dependent on the changes in the social and political context (Cifci and Atsiz, 2021). Regardless of the political constraints, immigrant entrepreneurs can challenge the political system and citizenship regimes gradually by establishing their spaces in the sub(urban) areas (Lee C., 2019) and deepening their connection with local authorities (Price and Chaco, 2009), deploying collective action within community institutions (Nguyen Long, 2012) and becoming represented politically over the years (Wotherspoon, 2018).

The political context is a significant constraint and enabler in refugees' entrepreneurial activities. Furthermore, a developing country's political context presents challenges due to the vividly changing contexts and political uncertainties (Alvi et al., 2017). Since 86% of the refugees reside in developing countries (Erdogan, 2020), political embeddedness becomes crucial for refugee entrepreneurship analysis.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Method

The study focuses on refugee entrepreneurs' embeddedness in a host country and their social inclusion/exclusion as a significant social phenomenon, exploring potentially generative mechanisms. Therefore, the author conducted a grounded theory study (Corbin and Strauss, 2008) with a critical realist lens (Hoddy, 2018).

Critical Realism (CR) is a good fit for researching social issues. It can help researchers explore the underlying fundamental causes of societal phenomena (Fletcher, 2017; Hoddy, 2018). It is intrinsically different from positivism and constructivism. CR claims that researchers cannot reduce ontology to epistemology since human knowledge cannot capture the whole reality (Fletcher, 2017). This claim is the main deviation from positivism and constructivism. According to CR, researchers cannot reduce reality to what is empirically known. Thus, CR criticizes positivism as the "epistemic fallacy" (Bhaskar, 1998).

CR argues that the world comprises natural and social structures with causal powers and liabilities. Causal power has an inherent potential to act a particular way. At the same time, liability refers to "susceptibilities to certain kinds of change" (Hoddy, 2018). CR intentionally uses these terms. These causal powers and liabilities do not act like classical causal laws because social events do not happen in isolation. We cannot isolate objects and structures in the social world as specific components under controlled conditions like natural sciences (Sayer, 2000). The social world is an open system where all events interact, overlap, and influence each other. Furthermore, people as actors keep learning and altering the course of events. Therefore, CR looks for tendencies, broken patterns, or rough trends in the empirical data (Fletcher, 2017).

So, causal power and liabilities could act differently depending on the generative or causal mechanisms. These mechanisms may activate the structure's causal powers depending on the context. Nevertheless, in some cases, nothing happens due to other

causal power structures (Hoddy, 2018). Also, a particular mechanism could result in different events at different times (Blundel, 2007). So, as social scientists, we should always consider the context while analyzing the mechanism and causal powers (Bhaskar, 2014). Sayer (2000, p.15) indicates how (generative) mechanisms activate structures along with the external conditions (other mechanisms), which leads the event or effect to take place that is sometimes observable.

In brief, CR combines a realist ontology with an interpretive epistemology. Hence, the social world is real, existing independently from human beliefs and perceptions. In contrast, the human mind's understanding is socially constructed (Hoddy, 2018). In this respect, CR stratifies reality into three layers: (1) "Real," where all these natural and social structures and mechanisms exist and form. (2) "Actual" is when mechanisms activate the causal powers of social structures, and after that, some events occur. (3) "Empirical," where we perceive and experience these occurred events (Fletcher, 2017; Hoddy, 2018).

To understand refugees' entrepreneurial experiences, the author has conducted semi-structured interviews with 39 Syrian refugee entrepreneurs and four critical informants in Turkey between June 2020 and January 2021. This data collection technique allows the researchers to gather many provisional descriptions and contribute to an in-depth understanding and development of theoretical concepts (Bagwell, 2017).

Due to the delicate nature of the target population, the author had a combination of theoretical and snowball sampling (Ram et al., 2008; Räuchle and Schmiz, 2018). The snowball sampling technique is instrumental in conducting studies on sensitive topics and accessing the 'hidden' population (Ram et al., 2008). On the other hand, theoretical sampling maximizes the opportunities to develop the concepts and relationships and explain/control the variation (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Therefore, the author continued to collect data until reaching theoretical saturation. Theoretical saturation is where researchers fully develop the concepts and categories with their properties, dimensions, and variations (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

Due to ethical and political concerns, refugee entrepreneurs are sensitive groups that are difficult to access and get insightful information (Ren and Liu, 2015). Accessing the sensitive group requires developing in-group links and intermediaries to gain the interviewees' trust (Ram et al., 2008). Therefore, reaching a strong tie in the

interviewee's network was critical. In those cases, interviewees trusted the author's purely academic intention and could share their whole stories and opinions. For instance, one interviewee stated:

“Ahmet is an excellent friend of mine. He told me to share everything with you without any hesitations. His word is a law to me. Ask me anything, and I will tell you.” (E11, shoe production, Gaziantep)

Ahmet is a weak tie to the researcher. However, his strong relationship with the interviewee helped the researcher build the trust to conduct an insightful interview.

A limited local context might guide the researcher to misleading conclusions regarding refugees' embeddedness process and inclusion/exclusion experience (Dheer, 2018). Therefore, the author picked the interviewees from 14 different sectors and 7 Turkish cities to identify the variation (Appendix A) (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The author tried to cover as many sectors as possible in which Syrian entrepreneurs are mostly active (TEPAV, 2018). These sectors vary from low-skill sectors, such as textile and shoe production, and innovative-driven sectors, such as plastic design and machinery production. The author also interviewed quite a few interviewees from service sectors. Their firms range from simple barbershops to internationally recognized higher education institutions.

Interviewees are from seven Turkish cities: Istanbul, Gaziantep, Izmir, Ankara, Konya, Adana, and Bursa. These cities host 48% of the Syrian refugees in Turkey (DGMM, 2022). While Istanbul, Adana, and Gaziantep host densely populated Syrian refugees, Izmir, Ankara, Konya, and Bursa host less densely populated Syrian refugees (Figure 3.1). This spatial diversity contributed to the study to gain insightful information regarding refugee entrepreneurs' embeddedness in the space and host community.



Figure 3.1 : Syrian populations in Turkish cities.

Interview questions aimed to help entrepreneurs recall their experiences regarding founding/growing their firms, utilizing their social networks, and mentioning the challenges and supports. In addition, the author interviewed owners and partners in the firm (if available) and sector experts to understand sector dynamics better. Appendix B and Appendix C cover the interview questions. However, the author did not follow the listed questions strictly. Instead, he allowed the interviewees to talk about their stories without interrupting and asked only essential questions to guide the interview process (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Furthermore, the author analyzed the interviews regularly, conducted frequent meetings with his advisor during the data collection process, and revised the interview questions to develop all the concepts and categories (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). As a result, the interviews lasted 62 minutes on average, ranging from 30 to 129 minutes.

Syrian entrepreneurs speak Arabic, Turkish, and English. The author speaks Turkish and English fluently and does not speak Arabic. However, the author selected two professional interpreters familiar with the business terms because of their educational background in business and finance. Both researchers were of Syrian origin and refugees. Their Syrian origin was important because Arabic has different dialects. It was also critical to understand Syrian geography and what Syrian refugees have experienced over the years (Simsek, 2021). In this regard, interpreters' Syrian origin helped the author better understand refugee entrepreneurs' migration journeys and cultural differences. As a result, the researcher conducted 22 interviews in Arabic, 18 interviews in Turkish (including four Turkish informants/sector experts), and three

interviews in English. After the initial contact with the interviewees, the researcher asked them their interview language preference and planned the interpreter accordingly. Throughout the data collection process, the researcher did not experience any considerable difference in the interview quality between the three languages.

Semi-structured interviews can use a tandem translator (Resch and Enzenhofer, 2018). However, the interview should be done with the interpreter, not through an interpreter. Including an interpreter brings triple subjectivity to the interview because the interpreter is also a part of the knowledge production process (Temple and Edwards, 2002). For this purpose, the interpreter comprehended the Skopos (the aim and purpose) of the translation beforehand (Resch and Enzenhofer, 2018). The Skopos theory suggests that the translator understands the aim and purpose of the study before the interviews and integrates the “communicative function of the text into his translation strategy” (Resch and Enzenhofer, 2018, p.139). This way, the translation process is not word by word but depends on the context, varying who said it, to whom, and for which purpose (Berman and Tyyskä, 2010; Resch and Enzenhofer, 2018). Furthermore, the researcher discussed the interviews with the interpreter after each session to gain further insights into the interpersonal situation during the interview (Edwards, 1998; Chang, 2021). Even though the author initially hesitated to use an interpreter, the interpreters’ immense contribution to the study helped the author become more sensitive to the data and see the issues from the interviewees’ perspectives (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

Due to Covid-19 restrictions, the author has conducted 31 out of 43 interviews online. An online interview is comparable to a face-to-face interview (Deakin and Wakefield, 2014). If possible, the researcher conducted the interviews through a video call to simultaneously see the audio and visual cues. The researcher and the interpreter lost the connection during some interviews, but they could reconnect with the interviewee. Thus, the researcher did not experience any significant issues. Online interviews had two main benefits for the author. First, the online option allowed the researcher to do the interviews in the evenings. Interviewees can disclose more information in an informal setting like home without interrupting interviewees’ daily work activities (Thunberg and Arnell, 2021). Second, the author could interview entrepreneurs and experts from seven different cities without traveling under the pandemic condition, thanks to the online interview option.

Scholars describe the rigor and quality of research by its reliability and validity measures. These measures have become standard practice in quantitative research (Cypress, 2017). However, there is no cookie-cutter to-do list for the qualitative analysis. Therefore, some proponents of qualitative research reject the applicability of validity and reliability measures. Instead, qualitative researchers prefer to use the term “credibility” to describe the findings as trustworthy and believable, reflecting the researchers’ and participants’ lived experiences. Simultaneously, the findings could be one of the many interpretations of the data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Other qualitative research scholars note that not adopting quantitative research tools harms the impact of qualitative research (Morse et al., 2002). Therefore, the term “trustworthiness” and its four components developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) gained currency over the years (Tuncalp, 2021). These four components are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility defines the confidence in the “truth” and accuracy of the findings and whether the research is comprehensive and transparently documented (Cypress, 2017; Tuncalp, 2021). In this regard, the author conducted a prolonged engagement to collect the data through face-to-face and online interviews for seven months. Furthermore, during the data collection period, the researcher conducted interviews with the sector experts to confirm his findings from the semi-structured interviews with Syrian refugee entrepreneurs. Additionally, the author used sources such as interviewees’ company websites, social media outlets, and interviewees’ previous interviews and company news published online (e.g., non-governmental organizations’ websites and mainstream and local news websites) for data triangulation. Finally, the author used secondary data such as polls, surveys, and reports about Syrian refugees conducted by local and international research centers and non-governmental organizations.

The second component of trustworthiness is transferability. It refers to the applicability of the findings in other contexts (Tuncalp, 2021). The qualitative analysis does not have any claims to generalize its results (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). However, the researcher needs to describe the context and articulate the data with thick descriptions to have the readers decide the generalizability of the findings (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Cypress, 2017). In this regard, the author used the combination of theoretical and snowball sampling and collected the data until reaching theoretical saturation defined by Corbin and Strauss (2008). This approach allowed the author to collect

thick descriptions and rich insights about each concept in the analysis. Two hundred memos during the data collection and analysis process show the author's commitment to the thick descriptions and thorough assessment of each coded concept.

The third component of trustworthiness is dependability, referring to that the findings are consistent and coherent (Cypress, 2017). During the data collection and analysis process, the author periodically met with his advisor and discussed the collected data and results. The author also discussed the findings with the interpreters and included their assessments in the analysis (Edwards, 1998). Furthermore, he used the MAXQDA program and the Gioia method to organize and analyze the data. These tools helped him comprehend and analyze the data coherently and robustly.

The last component of trustworthiness is confirmability. It refers to the degree of results shaped by the interviewees' responses and not by the researchers' self-interest and bias (Tuncalp, 2021). The researcher must remain resourceful, flexible, and faithful to the data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Accordingly, it was essential to be self-aware of the reflexivity issue. The author is a Turkish citizen residing in Turkey. Therefore, he realizes he has experienced negative attitudes recently about the Syrian refugees in mainstream media outlets. To do an insightful analysis, the researcher needs to be sensitive to the data and "step into the shoes of participants" to avoid losing the richness and depth of the data. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008), a distant researcher could enhance the "validity" of the research but can weaken the "credibility" of the results.

To acquire theoretical sensitivity and develop empathy and respect, the author visited densely populated Syrian refugee districts in Istanbul to meet the entrepreneurs and see their working and living conditions. The author has also lived abroad for six years. Therefore, he identified similar issues in some interviewees' stories in his experience. His previous experience helped him understand insightful meanings immersed in the data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

As the researcher completed the interviews, he transcribed them verbatim. He analyzed them using the MAXQDA program, following the guidelines of Corbin and Strauss (2008) and Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton (2012). He applied critical realism to the analysis following Sayer (2000), Blundel (2007), and Hoddy (2018). His initial coding focused on interviewees' experiences with their own words. He coded 1288 segments

and defined 233 codes. As suggested by Corbin and Strauss (2008), he wrote down 200 memos, entailing an initial assessment of the codes. These memos helped the author organize the concepts and themes. After going back and forth with the coding segments, he paraphrased the codes and reduced them to 40 first-order concepts. In this case, paraphrasing was essential to making sense of the vast empirical data (Gioia et al., 2012; Harima, 2022).

First-order concepts led the analysis to a more dynamic embedding process, enabling and constraining factors in multiple contexts. However, it was also evident that refugee entrepreneurs face social identity struggles, discrimination, and in-betweenness. First, the author was not quite sure how to put them all together so that it would lead the analysis to aggregate dimensions. Nevertheless, the researcher realized a different type of embeddedness evident in the analysis that completes the study. Finally, four aggregate dimensions emerged from the analysis: political, institutional, spatial, and social embeddedness (Table 3.1).

Before going into the details, it is essential to explain the empirical context. Therefore, the following section will clarify the Syrian refugee crisis and the contextual environment in the host country.

Table 3.1 : Content analysis with Gioia Method.

First-Order Concepts	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
- Only the ruling party supports refugees - Fear of losing everything again - Changing political environment	Limited embeddedness	Political embeddedness
- Hopes to go back to COO - Seeing the startup as temporary - Maintaining low business activity in COO - A better rule of law in COR	In-betweenness	
- Unrecognized qualifications - Regulative hardships - Mobility restrictions - Banking constraints - Trust issues in the business	Constraints	

Table 3.1 (continued) : Content analysis with Gioia Method.

First-Order Concepts	Second-Order Themes	Aggregate Dimensions
- Embedding in international business system - Embedding before migration - Slow start to observe the market - Adapting to the regulations	Adapting to the context	
- Market opportunities to settle (suppliers, labor, customers) - Geographic reasons - socio-political reason (religion, culture)	Choosing the space	Spatial embeddedness
- Refugee size in COR - Serving diverse markets	Available opportunities	
- Maintaining social ties in COO - Mobilizing international diaspora ties - Support from family/ethnic network - Partnering w/ other refugees - Support from key native contacts	Mobilizing current ties	
- Using native employees to connect - Interacting w/NGOs, local and international entities - Connecting to refugee entrepreneurs - Connecting to new ethnic and native ties - Learning the language and communication	Building new ties	Social embeddedness
- Discriminated as being a refugee and Syrian - Describing identity (class, social status) - Expecting to be recognized - Skepticism toward natives	Positioning in the host society	

3.2 Empirical Context

In 2011, a civil war started in Syria. Many Syrians fled their country, seeking shelter in neighboring countries like Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, and Jordan (Icduygu and Sert, 2019). This crisis affected Turkey immensely as it shares 911 km of land borders with Syria (Erdogan, 2020). Turkish government pursued the open-door policy until 2016 and welcomed the Syrian refugees as “guests,” implying that their stay was temporary (Akdemir, 2019). As a result, Turkey hosts the highest number of refugees globally and more than the total refugee population in Europe, reaching 3.7 million (UNHCR,

2020; DGMM, 2022). The population estimate exceeds over 4 million with illegal entries, which is close to the population of Ireland.

Turkey signed the 1951 Refugee Convention, and the 1967 Protocol with geographic limitations, granting refugee status only to the victims of events in Europe. Accordingly, Turkey planned to redirect asylum seekers from the eastern borders (Middle East, Caucasians, and Central Asia) to the third countries in cooperation with the UNHCR. Therefore, Turkey did not have a comprehensive immigrant and refugee regulation like the European States when the Syrian refugee crisis started (Könönen, 2018; Erdogan, 2019). Therefore, an unexpected influx of 4 million Syrian refugees created a legal loophole after 2011. It forced Turkish authorities to adapt their institutions and regulations to deal with the new refugee crisis. In April 2013, the Parliament endorsed Turkey's first-ever asylum law, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) No. 6458. It entered into force on April 11, 2014, and the Temporary Protection Regulation on October 22, 2014 (DGMM, 2022).

The law set out the main pillars of Turkey's national asylum system. In addition, it established the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) as the leading entity in policy-making and proceedings for all foreigners in Turkey (UNHCR, 2019). As a result, Turkey considers Syrians as "Syrians under temporary protection" status instead of "a refugee." This definition is not new and exclusive. It is a legal definition adopted by some countries in times of refugee influx (Erdogan, 2020). However, this definition does not change that civil war conditions have forcibly displaced Syrians to other countries. Therefore, this study calls on Syrians as refugees from a social science perspective throughout the paper.

DGMM claims that "Temporary or International Protection" statuses provide the same rights as refugees possess under the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol (DGMM, 2022). Accordingly, the law follows the international "non-refoulment" principle for temporary protection. It warrants that no one would be forced to return to a place where they may be tortured, captivated, killed, or punished severely because of their ethnicity, race, faith, or membership in a particular group (Erdogan, 2020). On the other hand, DGMM also stresses that Syrian refugees are temporarily in Turkey and will return to their home country or resettle in another country. Additionally, the law states that the Council of Ministers (currently the President of Turkey) can terminate the temporary protection status anytime (DGMM, 2022). In this respect, in

2014, DGMM started the mass registration of Syrian refugees and granted temporary protection status to all Syrians (UNHCR, 2019).

The Syrian refugee crisis has affected the neighboring countries and developed states in Europe. In 2015, more than one million refugees crossed the Aegean Sea towards Europe (TEPAV, 2018). After this influx of refugees, in March 2016 European Union signed a deal with Turkey to stop the refugee flow. According to the deal, Turkey would increase the border control measures and accept the returns of the irregular migrants in Greece to Turkey. The EU would agree to resettle one Syrian refugee in Turkey for every irregular migrant returned to Turkey. Furthermore, the EU agreed to financially support Turkey's refugee crisis management effort by providing six billion dollars (European Parliament, 2022). With this deal, Turkey has become a destination country for refugees (TEPAV, 2018).

Despite stressing the temporary aspect of the refugees' stay, the Turkish government started to undertake more integration activities as the Syrian refugees' stay extended. DGMM introduced the "harmonization concept" for their inclusion process. This policy aims to equip refugees with the necessary skills and knowledge to live independently in the host country, resettlement countries, and home country when they return. However, refugees and natives might react negatively to "assimilation and integration." Therefore, the state authorities carefully use "harmonization" for the Syrian refugees' naturalization in Turkey (Erdogan, 2020). International organizations such as the EU, UNHCR, UNDP, and World Bank support Turkey's effort to undertake refugees' social and economic integration. They provide financial instruments for the refugees and the receiving society equally. Including receiving society in the financial support programs is part of the two-way integration approach and a deliberate strategy to ease tensions between the refugees and the receiving society (Atlantic Council, 2020). For instance, the Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization of Türkiye (KOSGEB) provides financial support to refugee and native enterprises with World bank funds (KOSGEB, 2019).

Furthermore, in 2016, the Turkish President announced the naturalization strategy that plans to grant citizenship to some high-skilled Syrian refugees (BBC, 2016; Akcapar and Simsek, 2018). The decision to grant citizenship to Muslim Arabs (Syrians) significantly changes Turkish citizenship policies. Historically, Turkey has defined

citizenship territorially but granted citizenship to Sunni Muslim Turks in practice (Akdemir, 2019).

Citizenship is an essential step forward in the integration process because it defines who can access the social, political, and economic rights in a given society (Strang and Ager, 2010; Akcapar and Simsek, 2018). Unfortunately, Turkish authorities did not announce a clear path to citizenship for Syrian refugees (Baban et al., 2016). As a result, until 2022, only 200,950 Syrians became Turkish citizens (DGMM, 2022). Furthermore, in 2016 and 2018, Turkey conducted two military operations in Northern Syria to create a safe zone. The Turkish government declared that up to three million Syrian refugees would voluntarily return to it once its infrastructure was fully restored (Simsek, 2021). Recently, Turkish authorities announced that 497,926 Syrian refugees voluntarily returned to Syria between 2016 and 2022 (DGMM, 2022). As a result, the naturalization process continues. However, Turkish authorities also emphasize their efforts for Syrians' repatriation.

Unlike refugees in some other countries, 98.2 % of the refugees in Turkey do not live in the camps (INGEV, 2020). They settle in the urban cities, mainly in Istanbul, Mersin, Adana, and cities in South-Eastern Turkey (Hatay, Gaziantep, Kilis, Şanlıurfa) (DGMM, 2022). Moreover, unlike the popular perception of the Turkish public and the media outlets, refugees are not directly financially supported by the Turkish government. So, refugees residing in the cities must work to survive (Erdogan, 2020; Refugee Association, 2022).

In 2016, the government issued The Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners under Temporary Protection to integrate refugees into the labor market. This regulation set out the framework for Syrians to acquire work permits. According to the regulation, employers apply for a work permit for Syrians registered under Temporary Protection for at least six months. Furthermore, Syrian workers should not exceed 10% of the total workforce in the firm (DGMM, 2022). However, only 62,000 Syrians have work permits until 2020 (ÇSGB, 2020). Around 1.2 million refugees are estimated to work illegally in low-paid jobs in garment manufacturing, tourism, food, or other low-end sectors. The low work permit numbers could be related to the problematic applicability of the regulation. Only employers can apply for work permits for their employees. A 10% quota is almost impossible to match in the low-end sectors (Erdogan, 2020).

In recent years, there has been an increasing number of businesses started by the Syrians. As of 2020, the number estimated is more than 15,000 (INGEV, 2020), and this figure does not include the informal economy (Erdogan, 2020). Refugee entrepreneurs are active in every sector. According to TEPAV (2018), 71% of Syrian businesses operate in the service sector, while 14% are in retail and 15% in manufacturing. Recent surveys indicate that Syrian businesses are successful and are more oriented to export (55%) than their native counterparts (31%) (TEPAV, 2018). As a result, most Syrian refugees might consider migrating to third countries or returning home once the war is over (Baban et al., 2016). However, Syrian refugee entrepreneurs have more determination to stay in Turkey (TEPAV, 2018).





4. RESULTS

The coding based on the Gioia method resulted in a model indicating three distinct types of entrepreneurship: survival, ethnic targeting, and integrating entrepreneurship (Figure 4.1). These entrepreneurship types differ by entrepreneurs' level of embeddedness on one axis and entrepreneurs' motivation (necessity vs. opportunity-driven) on the other. We assumed that refugees might evade entrepreneurial risk and seek employment for the left upper box (necessity-driven and highly embedded). Three interviewees in the integrating entrepreneurship category initially preferred the employment option regardless of their high embeddedness (E01, E02, and E06). However, confirming this result is beyond the research scope.

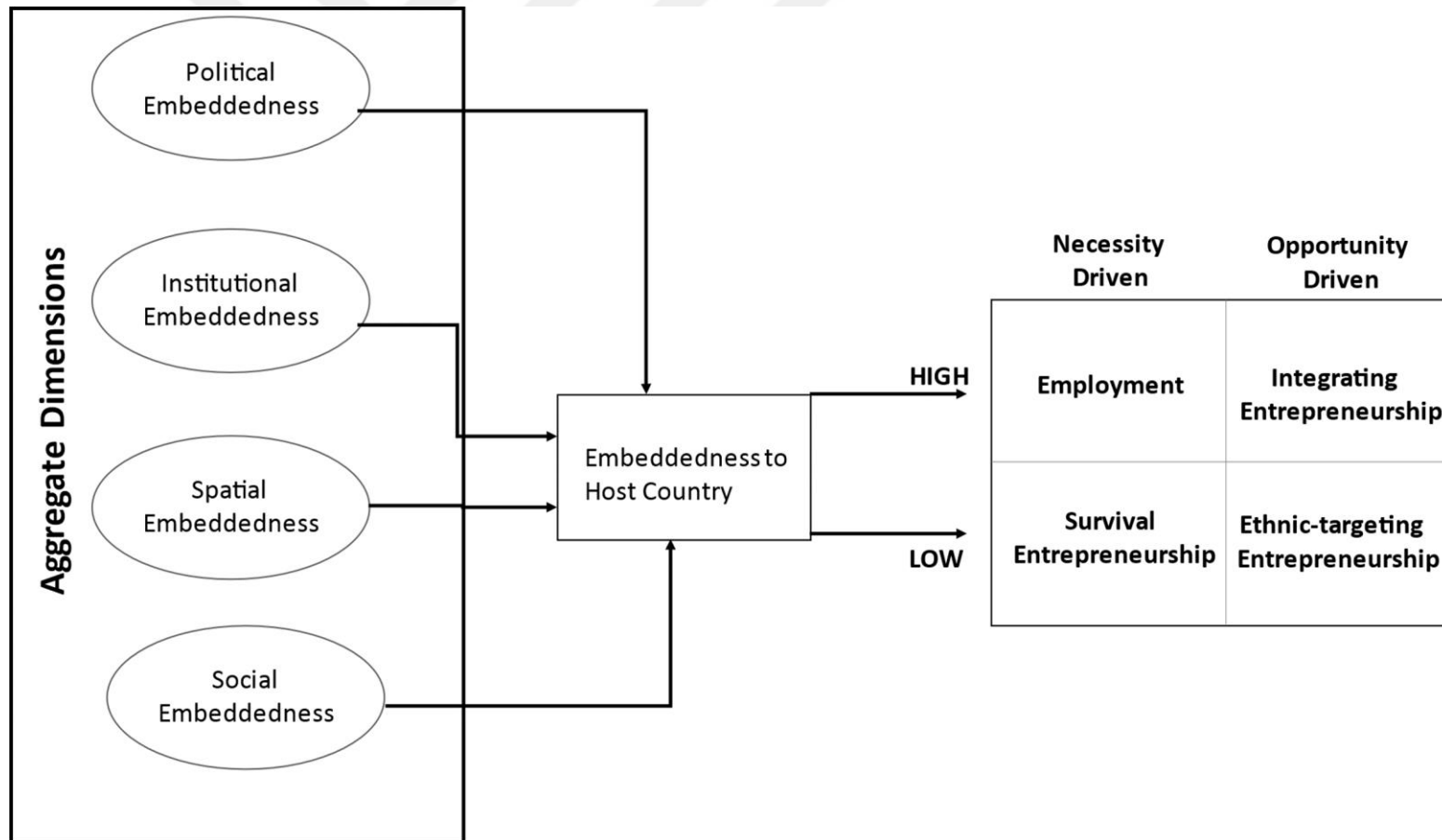


Figure 4.1 : The diversity of refugee entrepreneurship and embeddedness in the host country.

The study's sample indicates a diversely educated group (Table 4.1). For instance, 49% of our interviewees have university or higher degrees which confirms some refugee literature arguments (TEPAV, 2018; Alwaradiyeh et al., 2018). Furthermore, the study identified Necessity-driven Entrepreneurs (NDEs) and Opportunity-driven Entrepreneurs (ODEs). This diversity differs from the refugee profile depicted in the literature, which generally lacks the necessary resources (Bizri, 2017). Only recent research articles argue that refugee entrepreneurs operating in the same context might not be economically homogeneous (Ram et al., 2022; Chang, 2021). The current literature depicts only the survival entrepreneurs and how they are pushed to the low-barrier markets to start their businesses, including the mechanisms by which the state and society discriminate against them (Barrett et al., 2002; Hack-Polay et al., 2020; Moyo, 2014).

Table 4.1 : Education level and legal status.

		Legal Status			
		Temporary Protection	Citizenship	Resident	Total # (%)
Education Level	Primary or Middle School	10	1	1	12 (31%)
	High School	4	3	1	8 (21%)
	Higher Education	11	3	5	19 (49%)
	Total # (%)	25 (64%)	7 (18%)	7 (18%)	39 (100%)

In refugees' cases, war conditions do not distinguish between well-established and young firms or successful and failing firms. As a result, most entrepreneurs owning well-established and successful businesses fled from Syria, creating a diverse profile in the host countries. The results confirm the diversity, as 67% of the interviewees have previous entrepreneurship experience. This proportion is similar to the extensive survey result (75%) conducted by TEPAV in 2018.

Furthermore, the results indicate that Syrian refugee entrepreneurs are institutionally, politically, spatially, and socially embedded in the host country at various levels. Their

levels of embeddedness affect refugee entrepreneurs' inclusion and exclusion experiences. Next, the author will explain three identified refugee entrepreneurship types, their embeddedness, and their inclusion/exclusion experiences in the host and home country.

4.1 Survival Entrepreneurship

4.1.1 Social embeddedness (survival entrepreneurs)

In this category, entrepreneurs have no other viable choice but to start a business. This entrepreneurship type is prevalent in the current refugee entrepreneurship literature (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008). Like the earlier results, survival entrepreneurs in the study's sample first sought employment opportunities. Nevertheless, refugees choose the self-employment option to survive due to precarious and challenging work conditions and blocked mobility in the labor market (Huq and Venugopal, 2021; Brzozowski, 2019). For instance, one interviewee stresses the low wages in the textile sector and how he ended up establishing his own business:

"I got married. I was only getting 150 TL (40 USD) weekly, and it was not enough to rent a house and survive. Therefore, I decided to found my textile workshop." (E27, textile workshop, Adana)

They heavily rely on their families and co-ethnic networks to establish their businesses. Family is the core support group in their network to acquire know-how and exchange key business information and financial support. One interviewee states his family's cognitive and financial support during the initial phase of his business:

"I was working in the shoe factory. My brother knows mobile phone technologies. So, my brothers and I decided to sell mobile phones. We had some capital, but we also borrowed some money from my cousin." (E32, telephone shop, Istanbul)

Furthermore, they utilize their co-ethnic ties to gather resources. E22A (Textile retailer, Istanbul) talks about how she has gathered her business capital and how she accessed her customer portfolio through her social ties:

"I am a social person. I have good relations with my relatives and neighbors. They buy my products and refer others to shop from me. We also have monthly house gatherings (the golden day - altın günü) with my relatives and neighbors. We bring gold for each meeting as a present and give it to the host or one member, taking turns. This way, I can save money and gather capital for my business." (E22A; Textile retailer, Istanbul)

Survival entrepreneurs have limited social capital both in the host and home countries. Regarding their ties in the home country, some survival entrepreneurs have social ties in the home country. However, these ties are irrelevant to their local business. Their local ties are limited to their family, kinship, and local ethnic ties. However, these ties are still valuable to survival entrepreneurs since entrepreneurs' resources are scarce. Their businesses are small and located mainly in ethnic enclaves. Therefore, they have some interactions with native contacts. However, these interactions are limited to business transactions since their language proficiency is low. They know their lack of language proficiency prevents them from socially interacting with the host community. However, they do not have any extra time to learn the language since the survival attribute of their business requires them to work long hours. One informant stated how he has no time to learn the language:

"Unfortunately, I do not have time to take a language course. I am married and have two kids. It is costly to live in Istanbul. Therefore, I need to work to look after my family here." (E20, dessert shop, Istanbul)

4.1.2 Institutional embeddedness (survival entrepreneurs)

As refugees migrate to the host country, survival entrepreneurs do not generally establish a business immediately. First, they work as unregistered employees to survive. Then, as soon as they adapt to the new context and learn more about starting a business, they establish their businesses informally. Later, they formalize their businesses when they know more about the legal requirements or get caught by the authorities. In this regard, the host country's institutional context enables them to undertake a smooth transition to entrepreneurship by allowing them to start their businesses informally. Many entrepreneurs reported that when the authorities noticed their informal business activity, they verbally warned and guided them on the necessary steps to formalize their business. For instance, one informant explains his experience with the tax administration officials:

"My Turkish contacts scared me that the tax administration could take everything away if I get caught. One day, tax officials came to my shop. I was afraid. I handed over the shop's key so they could take away everything. Tax officials calmed me and explained how I could benefit from formally registering my business. Then they told me to register my firm within 15 days to avoid fines. I was relieved." (E24, shoe production, Izmir)

Furthermore, their small businesses do not require too much paperwork, which an accountant can easily manage. E20 states;

"Thank God, I had no issues with the regulations since I was working with an accountant from day one." (E20, dessert shop, Istanbul)

However, institutional constraints still exist, especially for the professions requiring licenses to work. In addition, due to the ongoing war conditions, most entrepreneurs cannot acquire all necessary documents from the Syrian authorities. For example, opening a barbershop is one of the businesses that require a professional certificate.

"Turkish Barbershop Association has asked for my school diploma and Barber Mastery Certificate. I contacted a certification school in Istanbul to give me an equivalent certificate. I paid money and brought all necessary documents from Syria, but the school claims my documents are fake." (E30; Barber, Istanbul)

4.1.3 Political embeddedness (survival entrepreneurs)

Their political embeddedness is extremely limited. Survival entrepreneurs do not interact with political figures or high-level officials like city governors. They also have limited interactions with the local and national business chambers because of their businesses' small size. Furthermore, most entrepreneurs are under temporary protection and have no voting rights, thus having low interest in politics.

During the interviews, the author observed that survival entrepreneurs' primary focus is their daily entrepreneurial activities and how they should manage their activities to survive. Therefore, political contextual changes seem to have limited effect on their small businesses. Only one informant (E30) reported his concern regarding the changing political environment against Syrian refugees. He intends to grow his business. However, he is worried about whether or not the government's Syrian policies could change in the long run, forcing him to return to Syria one day.

4.1.4 Spatial embeddedness (survival entrepreneurs)

There are two critical levels of analysis in the spatial context: country level and local level. First, it is vital to understand why refugees chose the settlement location and whether they became embedded in the local and national spatial context.

Most refugee entrepreneurs do not have many choices when choosing the host country. Turkey is the neighboring country, and as the civil war intensifies, refugees flee from

their country to the nearest possible safe location. Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan are possible neighboring countries that Syrian refugees could seek shelter and safety. In other words, refugees do not have many location choices, unlike economic migrants (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008). However, refugees have more time to think deliberately after migrating to the neighboring host country. Thanks to the NGOs' and international organizations' efforts, refugees have options to migrate to other countries, such as the European Union states. Therefore, it was also crucial for this research to understand why refugee entrepreneurs in this sample did not use Turkey as the transit country and instead settled here.

Survival entrepreneurs choose to settle in Turkey due to cultural and religious reasons. Most entrepreneurs state that they had the chance to migrate to Europe. However, they chose to stay in Turkey because Turkish society has the same religion and cultural values.

After migrating to the host country, they had the opportunity to choose the right location for their business. However, most survival entrepreneurs intended to stay temporarily in the host country and hoped to return to their homes after the civil war. Therefore, their motivation to choose a location is not business-driven. Instead, they settled in cities where they previously had friends, family members, and co-ethnic ties. In the cities, they mainly prefer to settle in ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves are densely refugee-populated areas where refugee entrepreneurs feel safe and secure. One informant summarizes survival entrepreneurs' motivation to choose a location:

"I came here (Istanbul) because my father-in-law was here. I thought we would go back in a few months. But then we ended up staying here... Then I decided to open my barbershop here."
(E30, barber, Istanbul)

To summarize, survival entrepreneurs have limited inclusion in society as they have limited interaction with the native community. However, they are grateful for what they have as their living standard is generally the same or better than their home country. They mainly live in ethnic enclaves and focus on daily entrepreneurial activities. The textile retailer who initially settled in Iraq and Lebanon before arriving in Turkey summarizes survival entrepreneurs' general feelings:

"We are comfortable and safe here. I could go to Europe. I think Turkey is good. People are nice. Most importantly, it is a Muslim country." (E22B, textile retailer, Istanbul).

4.2 Ethnic-targeting Entrepreneurship

In Turkey, the Syrian refugee population is close to four million. Some refugee entrepreneurs serve several needs of these people. The collected data indicates an ethnic-targeting entrepreneurship category serving Syrian refugees' needs. In addition, their familiarity with Arab and Islamic culture enables them to market their products and services to the Middle East North Africa (MENA) region. Earlier results also suggest refugee entrepreneurs' internationalization efforts because they can use their language skills in the international Arab market (Dabic et al., 2020). Their limited embeddedness in the host country context is the main reason to target the ethnic market. Some entrepreneurs become highly embedded in the host country context. However, they still primarily target the ethnic market due to their competitive advantage. The study classified those entrepreneurs as "integrating entrepreneurs."

4.2.1 Social embeddedness (ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs)

While serving the domestic ethnic market and exporting, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs' social and economic relations with the natives extend to a certain level compared to limited relations in survival entrepreneurship. However, they still heavily rely on their family and co-ethnic ties to maintain and grow their businesses. For example, one informant states:

"We have overcome all the hardships with our family. Without my father's leadership and having seven siblings working together, we could not have succeeded in this business. Without family, we are nothing." (E8, Textile production, Istanbul)

Furthermore, E14 (food processing, Gaziantep) talks about how he extended his business to different Turkish cities through his trusted contacts:

"...while choosing distributors in other cities; we preferred acquaintance or acquaintance of the acquaintance. They are all Syrians and from Aleppo (his hometown). When we have a trusted mutual relationship, we have better results."

In addition to the core family support and national-level co-ethnic networks, some entrepreneurs in this category have extensive social ties abroad. Most have previous customer relations in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. Also, their previous business partners and kinship ties in Syria were dispersed in neighboring countries, enabling them to access new customers and suppliers in different countries. For instance, one informant talks about his social contacts abroad:

"I have connections everywhere since Syrians are in every country now. For instance, I have a friend in Egypt. I send the catalogs and the price list to him. He connects me to the new businesses." (E04, marketing, Istanbul)

However, all Syrians dispersed to different countries during the civil war. As a result of the abrupt contextual change, some entrepreneurs lost their communication, mainly with their previous customers. So, initially, they become socially disembedded from the home country context. Nevertheless, as their stay in the host country extended, they used different communication means to re-embedded themselves in their home country's social context (Barth and Zalkat, 2020). One informant explains how they did it with the Internet and social media:

"We lost all our customer contacts. Then we found our biggest customer on Facebook." (E8, Textile production, Istanbul)

They need to connect only to vital native contacts throughout their entrepreneurial stages. Like survival entrepreneurs, language is one of the main barriers to connecting further with the natives. However, they also report more discriminatory issues than survival entrepreneurs do. As they scale and formalize their business, they need to connect to more native contacts, such as employing Turkish labor or working with Turkish suppliers. For instance, one informant explains his experience in his textile workshop:

"We have to hire a medical doctor to observe the labors' safety and health conditions. Sometimes, doctors refuse to work with us. Alternatively, even labor comes in and realizes that the owners are Syrian. He refuses to work for a Syrian boss. According to him, we are foreigners in his country. These incidents happen sometimes." (E8, textile production, Istanbul)

Another entrepreneur mentions his partnership preference:

"I prefer to partner with the Syrian businesspeople. I am sorry to tell you, but Turkish businesspeople look down on us. You cannot sustain the partnership like this." (E10, bakery, Gaziantep)

These two entrepreneurs quoted here are ethnic Turkmen. They speak fluent Turkish and have a similar ethnic identity to the Turkish people. However, regardless of their language advantage and similar ethnic identity, they experience discrimination and prefer to identify themselves for being a Syrian than Turkmen. This result supports that being a migrant or refugee creates otherness and an outsider/insider dichotomy (Berwing, 2019).

4.2.2 Institutional embeddedness (ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs)

Unlike their limited social embeddedness in the host country context, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs put more effort into embedding in its institutional context. Moreover, unlike survival entrepreneurs, they aim to grow their businesses by employing more workers and expanding to different regions. Therefore, they need to adapt to the host country's regulatory environment. For instance, one entrepreneur states:

"We did not know laws and regulations. For instance, we did not know what the accountant and notary are for...we had to learn these things to sustain and grow our businesses." (E12; shoe production, Gaziantep)

To get embedded in the institutional context, entrepreneurs either connect to critical native contacts for help or spend some time in the host country to learn about the regulations and market dynamics. For example, E11 (shoe production, Gaziantep) states how he benefits from hiring a trustworthy Turkish worker:

"Our Turkish employee takes care of our work in the tax administration and other governmental institutions. He ensures that our accountant does his job properly."

Alternatively, they prefer first to understand the business environment and regulations and do a small-scale start.

"My intention was not to start my business at the level where I left off in Syria. First, I had to do the market research and then procure the necessary supplies." (E14; food processing, Gaziantep)

Compared to survival entrepreneurs, they become more embedded in the institutional context, mainly the regulatory environment. However, due to institutional challenges, most ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs remain distant from the mainstream business context. For them, some constraints are not easy to overcome in many instances. For example, banks have major trust issues with Syrian entrepreneurs. As a result, most banks refuse to open bank accounts for refugee entrepreneurs. Even if they do, they restrict some financial instruments such as providing loans, credit cards, checkbooks, or even conducting money transfers. This constraint does not pose a significant issue for survival entrepreneurship since their businesses are small and local. However, to scale a business, basic financial instruments become a necessity. For instance, E29 (shoe production, Adana) explains how he solves the global transaction problem using boutique cargo companies.

"Buyer deposits money to the cargo company. Then, when I deliver the product to the cargo company, they pay me cash. Most of them (cargo company owners) come from Syria. They used to operate in Aleppo."

Literature mentions the banks' trust issues with the refugee entrepreneurs (Meyer, 2018). However, Syrian entrepreneurs were also not used to working with banks. There are two underlying reasons. First, Islam forbids earning or paying interest, and Syrian entrepreneurs are primarily conservative and religious. Second, the bank infrastructure was not well developed in Syria; thus, banks are not a critical part of the Syrian business system (TEPAV, 2018). Therefore, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs prefer to use financial instruments as seldom as possible. To do that, they prefer doing business with their ethnic networks. As the bank's role was limited in the home country, Syrian refugee entrepreneurs are used to conducting all business transactions in cash. A real estate entrepreneur summarizes these issues:

"We, Syrians, never got a loan in our life. I do not need a loan. Even if I need, I cannot. It is haram (forbidden by the religion). Also, we always work by cash. If I have a debt, I cannot sleep." (E17, Real Estate, Gaziantep)

Conversely, the Turkish business system heavily relies on financial instruments. Even though the majority of the Turkish people are Muslim, not many companies and people perceive getting a loan as haram (Demirel, 2020; Kızıltepe and Yardımcıoğlu, 2017). Furthermore, it is common to make deferred payments through installments and cheques in the host business context. However, refugee entrepreneurs are used to making all transactions in cash and right after the product or service is delivered.

These differences pose cognitive and normative constraints for refugees' entrepreneurial activities. To avoid the host country's business constraints, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs remain within their ethnic circles or grow internationally, mainly in the MENA region. In this way, they say, they can get paid faster after the product delivery. For example, E14 (food processing, Gaziantep) states his preference to sell his products to ethnic markets or internationally:

"Most of our wholesale customers are Syrians (in Turkey) or international companies. Turks' payment system is different. It is impossible to work together...We are used to working by cash. Here, Turks ask for 3-4 months of deferred payments. We cannot handle deferred payments. Our business requires cash flow."

As the literature stresses, relying on the home country's routines could create problems in the host country's business context. Therefore, depending on the situation, refugee

entrepreneurs might consider getting disembedded and re-embedded from one context to another (Harima, 2022). In this example, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs follow their previous financial management routines (e.g., cash payments, money transfers, minimal use of the banks). However, this may mean not targeting the mainstream market.

Furthermore, literature warns of the danger of cognitive dissonance and misalignment if the refugee entrepreneur insists on implementing cognitive abilities gained in the home country context (Jiang et al., 2021). For example, E18 (automobile parts, Konya) sells motor oils imported from Germany. They do the same business in Syria. Their motor oil is high-quality and highly-priced but not known much internationally. Due to their business' long history and brand recognition in Syria, they successfully market engine lubricants and oils. However, they encountered significant issues when they tried to sell the same motor oil brand in Turkey. High-quality and high-price positioning in the market did not go well with the Syrian identity.

"Since we are Syrian, our customers ask whether or not this motor oil came from Germany. They suspect we produced them in Gaziantep (a Turkish city where Syrian factories are widespread). They do not believe in us...In Syria, our prices are high. My father has a reputation. We sell only high-quality products. If my father imports something, then people buy." (E18; automobile parts, Konya)

The Turkish market has different dynamics, and their home country's reputation does not help them in the Turkish market. However, E18 is still cognitively embedded in his business model in Syria. This cognitive dissonance and misalignment had them fail in the market.

4.2.3 Political embeddedness (ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs)

Political contextual changes affect refugees' entrepreneurial activities. Therefore, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs attempt to connect to government officials and local leaders to influence the policies. One informant mentions how they developed relations with the local governors:

"As we developed our businesses locally, we had the chance to meet the governors of the cities. For instance, the Urfa city governor allocated free lands to build our factories. I signed the official deal with the governor." (E13, construction, Gaziantep)

Another informant (E10) talks about his involvement in establishing the Turkmen Society and how the governor has recognized him as a "kanaat önderi" - opinion leader.

Furthermore, he tries to regulate the Syrian bread prices by mobilizing all Syrian bakeries under a federation. However, his political attempt to influence local decision-makers backfires due to the free market regulations.

The examples above indicate that ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs attempt to influence local government officials. However, they have limited political embeddedness at the national level. Mainstream media and political parties' intensifying anti-refugee discourse worry these entrepreneurs. Moreover, their temporary protection status and precarious citizenship path fear them regarding their future in the host country. One informant summarizes their concern:

"My sons and I are working hard here. But none of us has a citizenship status. There is a risk of losing everything. I am worried. They (the government) might send us back home." (E10, bakery, Gaziantep)

4.2.4 Spatial embeddedness (ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs)

Like survival entrepreneurs, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs also do not have many choices when choosing the host country. However, unlike survival entrepreneurs, most ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs have previous entrepreneurship backgrounds. Regardless of the few migration options, they plan to continue their business in the host country, thus deliberately choosing Turkey as their new business location. Like survival entrepreneurs, their primary motivation to stay in Turkey and not migrate to Europe is the similarity in religion and culture. According to a recent survey, Syrians feel close to Turkish culture, with a social distance score of +0,76 (very close) (Erdogan, 2020).

Ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs distinguish themselves from survival entrepreneurs when choosing the city for their business location. While survival entrepreneurs' primary motivation to choose a city is the proximity to their social network, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs prioritize their business needs. Their businesses must be close to the targeted market, suppliers, and human capital. For instance, for the machinery producer (E5, Adana), it is critical to be close to the seaport so that he can ship his machines to his international customers. He also needs to have access to all necessary supplies and human capital. Adana is an industrial city where he can access necessary raw materials and labor. At the same time, it is close to one of the most significant

seaports in Turkey. Therefore, he picks Adana as his location after carefully considering different location options.

When necessary, some entrepreneurs change their location to orientate their space to their business needs. For instance, one interviewee (E4, marketing, Istanbul) changed his business location from Adana to Istanbul as more market opportunities are available in Istanbul. Another interviewee (E16, food processing, Gaziantep) changed his bakery facility from Mersin to Gaziantep because Mersin's hot and humid climate negatively affected his product quality.

4.3 Integrating Entrepreneurship

4.3.1 Social embeddedness (integrating entrepreneurs)

Integrating entrepreneurs build extensive networks throughout their entrepreneurial stages from family, co-ethnic, and intra-ethnic to mainstream ties. This entrepreneurship category requires learning the host country's language or partnering with/employing natives to further embed in society and business context. Moreover, this category distinguishes itself from other entrepreneurship categories as entrepreneurs become embedded in the new context, even before migration. One informant says:

“We had a business relationship with a company in Istanbul before the civil war in Syria. So, we used to visit Turkey often. When we came to Turkey first, we first knocked on their door to help find suppliers for our business, and thankfully they helped us a lot. They still do whenever we have any questions.” (E15, plastic production, Gaziantep)

Similarly, another informant talks about how he visited the host country before migration.

“During the civil war, we started hiding in our village. After that, I visited Turkey several times from the village to see if we could do business here. I did market research, met some suppliers, and then started small. We were still hoping that our stay was temporary at that time.” (E11, shoe production, Gaziantep).

In the beginning, integrating entrepreneurs have similar institutional and social constraints as other entrepreneurs. However, they get embedded in the host country more throughout their entrepreneurial stages. There are several reasons for embedding faster. First, most speak the language or learn it right after the migration. Second, the nature of their business requires relying on native suppliers and customers. Therefore,

they must orient their business to the new context, such as learning how to run their businesses with deferred payments. They have also developed various solutions to get embedded in the business system. For instance, informant E15 speaks fluent Turkish. However, this cannot overcome the possible negative attitude towards Syrian companies. Therefore, he also hires a native sales manager with a perfect accent to ensure an excellent first impression:

“I hired a Turkish sales team. They are Turkish but will not speak the Antep (eastern) dialect. Instead, they should speak perfect Istanbul dialect (Turkish dialect taught in the schools) because they represent my company and me.” (E15, plastic production, Gaziantep)

To reach different network layers, integrating entrepreneurs work actively. They attend NGOs’ training and meetings and socialize with the ethnic community. Socializing with the ethnic community allows them to give back to their community. One informant states:

“I attend international NGOs’ events and meet new people. I am very active. Most Arabs students also know me here. I teach them photography. I drive a lot of business [inquiries] through these networks.” (E2, digital marketing, Ankara)

In addition to the vast amount of local social networks, their networks extend to home and other third countries. For example, Syrian refugees dispersed worldwide during the civil war. These Syrian diaspora networks, previous business contacts in various countries, and cultural and language similarities with the MENA region provide extensive networking opportunities. Refugee entrepreneurs keep expanding their businesses to different markets by leveraging these networks. For instance, one informant talks about their extensive networks and partnerships in the host country as well as internationally:

“We have collaboration and partnerships at different levels with Turkish universities...we also partner with the British and Malaysian higher education institutions. This British institution is our old partner in Syria.” (E19A, education, Istanbul)

Regardless of their extensive business networks, integrating entrepreneurs feel the discrimination more than survival and ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs. Some entrepreneurs run across employees or customers who refuse to do business with them due to their Syrian identity. One informant says:

“We surveyed before deciding on the target markets. We found out that young Turkish students (18-25 years of age) do not trust any firm whose owner is an Arab. Therefore, they will not enroll in the institution even if NASA or Oxford accredits it.” (E19B, education, Istanbul).

Nevertheless, they do not have major discriminatory issues in the business context. Instead, they experience discrimination more often in the social context. For example, one informant complains about the issue of stereotyping all Syrians:

“I was not mixing with local people, and there was a stereotyping about Syrians. People were saying – you are a Syrian. Go back, why did you come here? They were not saying directly, but you can feel it from their conversations and how they talk to you.” (E01, digital marketing, Istanbul).

4.3.2 Institutional embeddedness (integrating entrepreneurs)

Integrating entrepreneurs encounter similar institutional constraints to ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs. However, they overcame most constraints throughout their entrepreneurial stages thanks to their extensive social networks and language skills. Additionally, NGOs and government institutions coordinate a few training and mentoring programs. These programs also help entrepreneurs adapt to the new context and receive some limited financial support. These projects are funded mainly by the World Bank, ILO, and the EU (EU Delegation to Turkey, 2018).

However, as entrepreneurs integrate into the new business environment, they encounter new constraints. Mobility becomes a significant constraint. Refugees under temporary protection cannot leave the registered city, let alone the country. Therefore, government agencies require special permission to run a countrywide operation and meet the vendors and customers outside the city. This bureaucratic process slows the response time in a vividly changing business environment. Some entrepreneurs prefer to forgo temporary protection rights (e.g., non-refoulment act, free education, and health services). They apply for a residential status like a regular foreigner to avoid mobility restrictions. Hence, 18% of our interviewees are in residential status.

Additionally, integrating entrepreneurs mostly employ Syrian employees. However, the temporary protection regulation restricts the number of Syrian employees under temporary protection. The Syrian employees cannot surpass 10% of the Turkish workers (ÇSGB, 2020). So, refugee entrepreneurs end up employing Syrian workers informally. Similarly, the estimated informal employment in Turkey is around 35% (Atasü-Topcuoğlu, 2019). However, informal employment makes the integrating entrepreneurs vulnerable to government inspections. It could hold them back from growing their firms and competing with other larger native firms.

If it is too hard to employ Syrians formally, why do they insist on employing Syrians and not Turkish workers? This result supports the earlier literature that suggests refugee entrepreneurs reduce the unemployment rate among refugees (Dagnelie et al., 2019; Barth and Zalkat, 2021; Kazlou and Wennberg, 2021). Speaking the same language, sharing the same culture, and native workers' reluctance to work in low-skilled jobs could be the main factors in employing Syrian refugees (Kayaoglu, 2020). However, the results also indicate other factors. Syrian employees are used to working in precarious conditions in Syria. Therefore, they accept working longer hours and getting paid less than the Turkish workers.

Furthermore, due to the bureaucratic work permit procedure, Syrian employees do not have many options but to work informally. On the other hand, Turkish employees know their labor rights and insist on implementing them. One informant says:

“We cannot make the Turkish employees work. They want additional monthly food and transportation expenses. They want to work 9-5. If there is a need to work extra hours, they do not work. Nevertheless, Syrians work overtime and ask nothing in exchange.” (E24, shoe production, Izmir)

Along with the regulatory constraints, integrating entrepreneurs initially experienced cognitive dissonance and misalignment in their business models, just like ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs. However, they were more successful in getting disembedded and gradually re-embedded to the host country's cognitive skills. For instance, informants in the higher education sector (E19A and E19B) stated that they initially did offline advertising similar to their marketing campaigns in Syria. When the marketing campaign failed, they realized it was a different context. Their customer segment required online advertisement.

Similarly, another informant (E15) explains how they initially invested in the wrong machinery and mold techniques. They thought they could sell similar plastic containers in the Turkish market. Then after losing some time and money, they conducted R&D and adjusted their productions and operations to meet the new contextual demand.

The entrepreneurs above adapted their businesses to the new context. However, sometimes, getting disembedded from the previous context and re-embedding in the new context requires switching to another business field. So, it takes time to become cognitively embedded in the new environment.

“We were selling automobile tires in Syria. We were importing tires since there was no tire factory in Syria. Here, factories are selling cheap tires. We cannot compete with them by importing tires. Therefore, we have researched and planned our business for two years. Then, we decided to sell imported bicycle and motorcycle tires and spare parts.” (E33A, motorcycle parts, Adana)

In addition to institutional constraints, the results indicate that the new context provided some institutional enablers for entrepreneurs. First, the host country has a better rule of law, allowing the entrepreneurs to plan and operate in a free market environment. Two informants summarize the advantages of the new context:

“We started doing import and export here. Things go smoothly. In Syria, the President’s family and relatives dominate some sectors. They might ask for a commission or ask us not to import or export in a specific sector. Here, we rarely had any issues. When we do, we file a complaint, and government officials support us.” (E35, food processing, Gaziantep)

“As long as you keep working, the government provides great opportunities here. In Syria, the system is like a mafia. They (government officials) come and ask for their share and try to take half what you earn.” (E10, bakery, Gaziantep)

Like these informants above report, most entrepreneurs praise the rule of law in the host country. However, since their legal status is precarious and they are labeled “other,” they try to avoid legal confrontation against native competitors as much as possible. While they do not recall any recent example, they feel that the host country’s legal system might not favor their firms.

4.3.3 Political embeddedness (integrating entrepreneurs)

Integrating entrepreneurs are concerned about political contextual changes. Political parties often criticize the ruling party’s open-door policy and promise their supporters to ensure refugees’ repatriation (Akcapar and Simsek, 2018). However, as the refugees’ stay extends, ruling party voters also support the repatriation (INGEV, 2020; Konda, 2019). Therefore, the ruling party tightens controls on the Syrians’ mobility in the cities and stresses the temporary nature of the refugees’ stay (Karasapan, 2019; Yanasmayan et al., 2019). On the other hand, the integration process through granting citizenship continues. As a result, the ruling party sends mixed messages regarding its political intentions for the Syrian refugees (O’Brien, 2019). Due to the precarious refugee status and unclear citizenship path, refugee entrepreneurs’ political embeddedness is limited in the host country context. Hence, their current position leaves them no choice but to depend on the ruling party’s political strength. This

overdependence concerns the entrepreneurs regarding their future in the host country.

One interviewee states:

“All of us are here in Turkey because one man (referring to the Turkish President) wants us. Maybe he will not set us free as we are now...It is a risky business. It is not stable. So, we started investing in distance learning tools. It is less risky than the alternatives for us.” (E19B, education, Istanbul)

Political contextual changes also worsen discrimination in the host country. Discrimination was not a primary issue initially. For example, when refugees first fled to Turkey in 2011, entrepreneurs stated that the Turkish authorities and the public welcomed them in border cities. However, as refugees’ numbers increase and Turkish society realize that refugees’ stay is not temporary, the welcoming climate turns into public dissent. One informant summarizes the current situation:

“Unfortunately, talking about 40 billion USD all the time (claimed to be spent for Syrian refugees in Turkey as of 2020) negatively affected our situation. The public thinks that they pay taxes to finance Syrian refugees. Unfortunately, politics and the media did not manage the situation well. Now all Syrian investors are hesitant to invest more.” (E15, plastic production, Gaziantep)

A native interviewee’s statement confirms the false perceptions regarding the Syrian refugees:

“I am not 100% sure why E33 (motorcycle part supplier) can sell cheap parts. I think our government provides privileges to Syrian entrepreneurs at the Turkish customs. They can import the parts cheaper than natives.” (E33C, Motorcycle technician – native customer, Adana)

As a result, integrating entrepreneurs fear political changes could jeopardize their significant investments in Turkey when discrimination combines with the changing political context. Therefore, they think acquiring citizenship is vital to safeguard their businesses and properties. However, only 18% of the interviewees have Turkish citizenship. Furthermore, they demand to be treated differently from other Syrians in receiving citizenship since they contribute to the host country’s economy with their investments. One informant asserts their difference from other Syrians:

“There is a small shop owner who acquires citizenship. He does not have any education or proper training at all. On the other side, Syrian businesspeople invest millions of dollars. They are educated but not granted citizenship. We do not know how the citizenship system works at all.” (E35, food processing, Gaziantep)

Another informant refers to their social status difference as Syrian businesspeople:

“Here, most Syrians are regular laborers, working in the construction and similar sectors. There are only a few businesspeople. Therefore, we do not interact with Syrians here. They are different. They are from rural parts of Syria.” (E18, automobile parts, Konya)

As a result, they develop preventive tactics to ensure their businesses’ safety and longevity. For example, when one of the family members becomes a Turkish citizen, they appoint them as the company owner. If not, they try to find a trustworthy Turkish or co-ethnic partner. They stop investing further if they cannot find anyone to safeguard their investments. Also, regardless of the political turmoil in the home country, they try to maintain their home country’s business operation, decreasing its business activities. Some consider this an open option if they need to migrate back to their home country one day.

Additionally, they formed a business association to connect with the local authorities and other mainstream business associations and eventually influence government policies. This association expanded successfully until 2020 and reached out to local authorities. It also collaborated with mainstream business associations to a certain extent. However, using these democratic organizations for political influence is new for them. Therefore, their attempt to become embedded in the political context at the national level remained quite limited. Moreover, as one informant explains, they had issues running the organization and later terminated its operation:

“We are not used to this kind of organization in Syria. We only had a chamber of commerce or similar chambers, but the government appoints its presidents without any elections...In Turkey, we did not know how to run this association well...Learning from our mistakes, we are now working on forming a new business association.” (E15; plastic production, Gaziantep)

Regardless of the limited political influence at the national level, we observe that integrating entrepreneurs could get embedded in the local political context to a certain extent. They leveraged their relations with the local officials to acquire incentives (e.g., free land for their factories) or penetrate mainstream markets through local officials’ references. Furthermore, they became active in local chamber elections as refugee entrepreneurs have enough volume to influence the election results. One informant says:

“I have excellent relations with the chamber of commerce. In the meetings, I always raise my concerns and complaints. They listen to me. Why? Because I know all the refugee entrepreneurs, and when the time comes, I can help them in the elections.” (As this is a political

relation, the author will not disclose the entrepreneur's sector and location. However, refugee entrepreneurs hold more than 10% of the total members in this chamber of commerce)

4.3.4 Spatial embeddedness (integrating entrepreneurs)

Integrating entrepreneurs do not have many options like economic immigrants. However, compared to the survival and ethnic entrepreneurs, they make more careful assessments when choosing the country to settle in. Their priority is to reinvigorate their well-established businesses in the new context. In this respect, “integrating” entrepreneurs value the host country's physical opportunities. Turkey is a liberal economy and has closer ties with the European markets. Therefore, some entrepreneurs see Turkey as a gate to sell their products abroad.

Furthermore, compared to Syria, Turkey has a dynamic economy, sophisticated industrial technology, and well-developed infrastructure (TEPAV, 2018; Erdogan, 2020). As a result, the Turkish economy provides many suppliers in diverse sectors and can access abundant foreign suppliers. In most developed countries, entrepreneurs might take similar opportunities and resources for granted. However, Syrian entrepreneurs appreciate having these resources because similar opportunities and resources did not exist in the Syrian market.

Like survival and ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs, they do not want to migrate to Europe or any other developed country for cultural and religious reasons. Furthermore, they want to be close to their home country and target markets. Migrating to Europe means losing their old customers and probably switching to a different business since their current businesses might not be feasible in a developed country. For instance, compared to developing countries in Germany, there is a high-level bureaucracy and regulations, posing significant barriers for refugee entrepreneurs (Harima, 2022). Refugee entrepreneurs are aware of this institutional difference. One informant states:

“You cannot establish a business in Europe right away. Shoe makers cannot start a business there. You probably work in a restaurant, washing the dishes because they do not recognize your qualifications.” (E24, shoe production, Izmir)

Like ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs, they deliberately choose the city following their business needs. Entrepreneurs whose businesses are in Western cities like Istanbul, Bursa, and Izmir generally value the market opportunities and the large size of the urban market. Cities like Gaziantep in Eastern Turkey also provide ample business

opportunities. However, entrepreneurs whose businesses are in the eastern cities have other motivations. While they value business opportunities, they also want to be close to their hometowns. Some still have running businesses or factories (mostly in idle state) and properties in Syria.

Furthermore, they prefer to raise their children in an environment close to their home country's culture. Therefore, they prefer culturally more conservative eastern cities instead of Western cities, even if it means losing some attractive opportunities. One interviewee explains:

"First, Gaziantep is close to Syria. Second, its culture is close to ours. I know my business would be more successful in Istanbul, but I did not want to live there." (E12, shoe production, Gaziantep)

Spatial embeddedness refers to the location's economic assessment based on the potential degree of creating opportunities and profit. It is about the capital, goods, human resources, and other sources related to the specific location that enables or constrains entrepreneurial activities. It also refers to assessing an area concerning meaning and experience, such as the historical and cultural heritage dimensions (Korsgaard et al., 2015). In this context, integrating entrepreneurs put more effort into embracing the characteristics of their cities than other types of refugee entrepreneurs. For instance, one interviewee explains how he tries to affiliate himself and his company with the prominent industrial city in the host country:

"When I first visited the clients with my sales manager in Istanbul, I suited up, drove a nice car, and brought my best products. However, I also needed to represent Gaziantep culture because I have located my company in Gaziantep. So, I brought Gaziantep baklava (a famous local dessert) to all my clients. It contributed positively to my business. Eat sweet, talk sweet." (E15; plastic production, Gaziantep)

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Feeling both Included and Excluded

5.1.1 Differential inclusion and exclusion

Data analysis resulted in three refugee entrepreneurship categories embedded in the host country at different levels. All entrepreneurship types face discrimination and constraints. Nevertheless, as entrepreneurs become more opportunity-driven and embedded in the host country, they experience more exclusion through facing higher political, institutional, and social barriers. These results point out the differential exclusion defined by Castles (1995). While refugee entrepreneurs are permitted to operate in the business system to a certain extent, society and administration exclude them from other aspects.

Simultaneously, the government's precarious naturalization efforts stratify Syrian refugees into different legal statuses, causing differential inclusion (Baban et al., 2016; Gursel, 2017). As a result of the naturalization process, interviewees in the study argue diversity in legal statuses, with 64% temporary protection and 18% citizenship status (Table 4.1). However, the temporary protection status can be terminated anytime and does not provide a clear path to long-term residency or full citizenship (Baban et al., 2016). Thus, the lack of a clear path to citizenship creates political disconnectedness and concerns, particularly for the "integrating entrepreneurs." Also, this "precarious migrant status" makes these entrepreneurs feel more excluded, causing them to fear losing their properties and facing deportation in the future.

Furthermore, entrepreneurs who acquired citizenship keep experiencing exclusion through informal practices such as discrimination. Citizenship is merely a step in social integration and does not automatically provide inclusion in society (Akcapar and Simsek, 2018). As a result, the co-existence of differential exclusion and differential inclusion forces "ethnic-targeting" and predominantly "integrating" entrepreneurs to develop various strategies to protect and survive their businesses.

These results contribute to the theoretical development of inclusion and exclusion in entrepreneurship studies. This study argues that entrepreneurship literature lacks interest in exclusion and inclusion discourse. Only sociology scholars utilize differential inclusion to analyze refugees' legal stratification and its adverse effects on integration (Baban et al., 2016). Furthermore, it argues that differential exclusion perfectly describes how refugee entrepreneurs are active in the economy but excluded from social and political aspects of society. It also identifies the existence of both differential inclusion and exclusion simultaneously among refugee entrepreneurs. So, while differential exclusion describes the differentiation from the natives, differential inclusion describes stratification in inclusion among the refugees.

5.1.2 Applying critical realism: cultural difference as a causal structure

If this is the case, why does this differential exclusion occur, and why do integrating entrepreneurs feel more excluded than others? The answer is complex and composed of multiple factors. Figure 5.1 explains refugee entrepreneurs' stratified reality through the empirical, actual, and real domains following critical realism. Constraints, discrimination, and entrepreneurs' fear are apparent in the empirical domain. These empirical events lead us to differential inclusion and exclusion, representing the actual domain.

Empirical Domain: Perceptions, experiences, observations	Discrimination Social, Institutional and Political Constraints Frustration and fear of losing all again
Actual Domain: Observed and unobserved events	Differential Inclusion Differential Exclusion
Real Domain: Structures and mechanisms that generate events	Cultural Difference, Social Status, Naturalization, Forced Migration, Economic Downturn, Media

Figure 5.1 : Refugee entrepreneurs' stratified reality.

However, we should look beyond the data to reach reality and pinpoint underlying structures, causal mechanisms, and conditions causing these counter-intuitive "effects and events" (Fletcher, 2017). Therefore, the author has analyzed recent polls and studies on the natives' perceptions regarding Syrian refugees. In the analysis, this study argues that cultural differences and social status as two primary structures are causing

the differential exclusion of embedded entrepreneurs. Inspired by Sayer (2000), Figure 5.2 illustrates how cultural difference and social status utilize their causal powers through generative mechanisms (Figure 5.2).

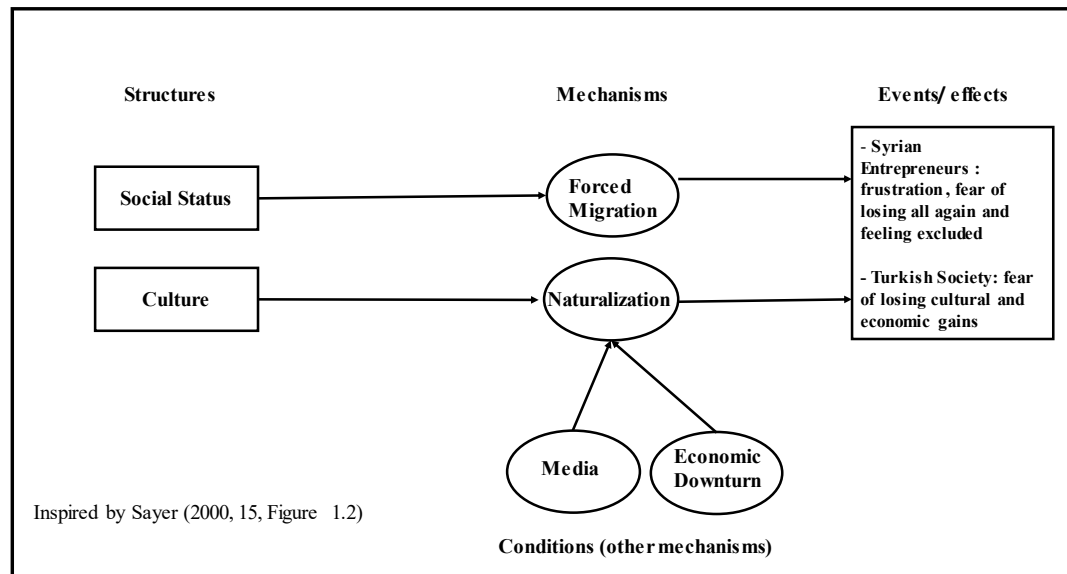


Figure 5.2 : Structures, mechanisms, and events/effects.

The main structure causing differential inclusion and exclusion practices is the cultural difference, mainly due to the cultural heterogeneity within the host country and the cultural difference between the natives and refugees (See Figure 5.2). First, the study should clarify the cultural difference between the Syrian and Turkish societies. Syrians migrating to Turkey are predominantly Sunni Arabs and Turkmen. In general, they are more conservative and religious than Turkish society. This study's results on refugee entrepreneurs' business activities also illustrate their cultural differences. For instance, Syrian entrepreneurs perceive getting a loan from the bank as unacceptable because of their religious practices.

Conversely, even the conservative part of Turkish society is more open to getting a loan from banks (Demirel, 2020; Kızıltepe and Yardimcioglu, 2017). Furthermore, according to a recent survey, Turkish society feels a high level of "social distance" (-0.51 distant) and cultural difference (81.9%) toward Syrian refugees. Conversely, Syrian refugees feel socially (+0.74 very close) and culturally (56.8%) close to Turkish society. So, the Turkish people feel culturally different from the Syrians (Erdogan, 2020).

In addition to the cultural differences between the two societies, Turkish society is also not homogenous. Turkey's modernization efforts started in the 19th century and gained momentum since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. These changes have resulted in an ideological divide among Turkish people as "conservatives" and "seculars" (Öztürk, 2022; Saracoglu and Bélanger, 2019). In the case of refugees, the Turkish conservative ruling party -AKP- initially implemented the open-door policy, referencing the Islamic rhetoric to host the war victims. Moreover, Turkey's active involvement in the Syrian conflict has made the refugees a domestic political issue (Akdemir, 2019). On the other hand, opposition parties mainly following the secular discourse stayed distant from the open-door policy. They accused the ruling party of fueling the conflict in Syria in the first place and using the refugees as political and financial leverage against the European Union (Sazak, 2019).

So far, the study has explained cultural differences as the primary causal structure. Nevertheless, as stated in Figure 5.2, the structure needs some conditions and mechanisms to activate its causal power (Blundel, 2007; Fletcher, 2017). According to this study, the announcement of Syrian refugees' naturalization was a "generating mechanism" for changing the public attitude in 2016. The naturalization of Syrian refugees is a new policy that contradicts the historical tendency to grant citizenship to Sunni Turks in Turkey (Akdemir, 2019). Naturalization also signals that Syrian refugees' extended stay is not temporary. Like Turkey, the historical pattern calls that as the size of refugees grows, and their stay extends longer, the natives are less willing to provide for the refugees (Erdoğan, 2020; Karasapan, 2019). Primarily seculars fear losing all the modernity accomplishments, considering the large Syrian refugee population (Saraçoğlu and Belanger, 2019). Moreover, opposition parties alleged that the ruling party grants citizenship to refugees in exchange for their votes in the elections. The public takes this allegation seriously since the ruling party has kept winning the recent elections with razor-thin margins (Akdemir, 2019).

In the same years, the Turkish economy went through a severe downturn. In addition, the media (traditional and social media) played a critical role in turning public attention to the Syrian refugee issue (Memisoglu and Basol, 2019). Thus, the economic downturn and media became the external mechanisms contributing to the exclusionary activities (Cengiz and Cengiz, 2020). As a result, positive attitudes among Turkish citizens, especially those supporting the ruling party, changed. They increasingly share

similar concerns with the opposition (INGEV, 2020; Konda, 2019; Akdemir, 2019). As a result, the host society blames Syrian refugees for the economic downturn, higher unemployment, and increasing criminal rates (Sazak, 2019; Erdogan and Semerci, 2020). Furthermore, they believe that Syrian refugees have special privileges in health services, education, and businesses (INGEV, 2020). As a result, they fear facing economic losses (unemployment), loss of national identity (security concerns), and loss of urban spaces (lifestyle) (Saracoglu and Bélanger, 2019).

The Turkish government's repetitive assertion of high refugee expenditures worsened the case (Gursel, 2017). A routine poll conducted by Konda Research Centre clearly describes a dramatic decrease in public support. The public opinion decreased from 72% having no problems living with the Syrian refugees in the same city in 2016 to 40% in 2019 (Konda, 2019). Also, different polls and academic research indicate that 80-85% of the natives want the refugees to return to Syria (Konda, 2019; Erdogan and Semerci, 2018; INGEV, 2020). Thus, the economic downturn worsened the adverse effect of naturalization. Popular media outlets have become the leading promoters of refugees' exclusion.

Regardless of the natives' concerns, the result is mixed regarding the impact of the Syrian refugees on the economy (Chang, 2021). The research argues that Syrian refugees have no adversary effect or a limited one, specifically the low-paid laborers employed in the informal sectors (Ceritoglu et al., 2017; Balkan and Tumen, 2016; Cengiz and Tekgüç, 2021). Furthermore, natives' security concerns are unnecessary since Syrians' crime rate is much lower than natives' due to the higher expected cost of crime commitment (Kayaoglu, 2022; Iha, 2022).

5.1.3 Applying critical realism: social status as a causal structure

These generative mechanisms and causal structures do not fully explain why more embedded refugee entrepreneurs face higher exclusion than less embedded ones. There are two possible complementary explanations. First, survival entrepreneurs are busy with daily entrepreneurial activities. They live primarily in ethnic enclaves, and these enclaves seem to act as a buffer against severe exclusionary activities. Compared to them, integrating entrepreneurs operate in mainstream society and interact more with the natives. Their investments and growth efforts are visible, confirming natives' concerns regarding refugees' permanent settlement intentions in the host country.

Furthermore, according to a survey, 84.5% of native society thinks Syrians make a living through the Turkish state support or simply “begging” (Erdogan, 2020). So, when the natives see the prosperity of Syrian entrepreneurs, they might assume that their prosperity comes from government support.

The second reason why the “ethnic” and mainly “integrating entrepreneurs” feel more excluded could be their previous higher social status in Syria. This social stratification could have significant causal powers. Forced migration is a devastating mechanism, stripping off all migrants’ societal possessions, creating downward social mobility, and redefining everyone as refugees with “temporary protection” status (Huq and Venugopal, 2021). The results argue that the forced migration caused a critical trauma to Syrian entrepreneurs who used to have a high social status, living standards, and established businesses in Syria.

Notably, “integrating entrepreneurs” have years of previous entrepreneurship experience in Syria. They feel culturally and financially different from other “ordinary” Syrian refugees who depend on aid and work in informal jobs. Their emphasis on social status differences implies that they think they deserve more privileged treatment than their peers. They expect an inclusionary response due to their economic contributions to the country and educational background, at least by receiving citizenship status. Moreover, those who acquired Turkish citizenship still report informal exclusionary activities by the public, indicating that citizenship rights partly meet entrepreneurs’ demands.

Government announcements (BBC, 2016) and some research articles (Gursel, 2017; Simsek, 2020) claim that refugee entrepreneurs and high-skilled refugees are already positively discriminated against by other refugees. However, these claims are from perception-based data. This study does not support this claim. Conversely, refugee entrepreneurs feel more differentially excluded, specifically more embedded ones. Therefore, the government’s public announcements regarding the high-skilled Syrians might aim to appease public reaction against the Syrians’ naturalization efforts. There is no clear path to citizenship stated in the regulations in practice. Syrians do not apply for citizenship. Instead, authorities invite the selected individuals based on undisclosed criteria and then grant citizenship (Baban et al., 2016).

In short, adverse public and political attitudes against Syrians cause frustration and concerns among ethnic targeting and integrating entrepreneurs regarding their future in the host country. Moreover, their frustration grows as the government motivates them for economic activity while keeping them in “limbo” by maintaining their temporary protection status. Therefore, they constantly negotiate their social status in the host country and challenge their “refugee” identity (Yeröz, 2019).

5.1.4 Emancipatory impact of entrepreneurship

Critical studies challenge the constant human suffering caused by conscious human decisions. Everyone possesses dignity regardless of their position in the “web of reality” (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2010). In order to challenge this suffering, critical theory introduces the notion of emancipation as an act of liberating “human beings from circumstances that enslave them” (Verduijn et al., 2014). In this context, critical studies mention the emancipatory aspect of entrepreneurship (Rindova et al., 2009; Verduijn et al., 2014). Similarly, other studies stress the empowering role of entrepreneurship for disadvantaged entrepreneurs (Babin, 2019; Mehtap and Al-Saidi, 2019; Al-Dajani et al., 2015). However, this study challenges refugee entrepreneurship’s emancipatory impact. Migration is already a means to escape from the constraining conditions of the home country (Groutsis et al., 2019). However, while running away from the constraints, could it be possible that refugee entrepreneurship creates an “illusion of autonomy” (Klickauer, 2015) but, in reality, enslaves the entrepreneurs to function without inclusion in native society? The answer is complex.

This study does not dismiss the benefit of self-employment for refugees’ economic integration. However, it argues that entrepreneurship alone is insufficient for refugees’ social inclusion. Labeling refugee entrepreneurs as “good migrants” and regarding them as privileged and already integrated into society overlook structural constraints, especially upward social mobility. This social glass ceiling is evident in the results as more embedded entrepreneurs feel more excluded by society and the state. It is not easy for the integrating entrepreneurs to evade the “refugee” labeling in the host country. As a result, just focusing on wealth creation in a neo-liberal context looks insufficient to tackle a social issue like forced migration. Critical theorists stress the need to detect constraining cultural, institutional, and social factors and devise

solutions to eliminate those factors (Klickauer, 2015). Only then can entrepreneurship realize its emancipatory potential.

5.1.5 Discussing solutions for inclusion

This study recommends distinct practical implications to alleviate the adverse effects of structural causal powers and generative mechanisms. First, government authorities' vocal support for refugee entrepreneurs implies that they see entrepreneurs as "instruments for development" (Gursel, 2017; Erdogan, 2020). On the other side, this support creates high expectations for refugee entrepreneurs to be treated differently (Gursel, 2017). To avoid creating false expectations, national and local politicians could reinstate the right-based approach. According to this approach, the state focuses on the refugees' fundamental rights through transparent communication strategies (Akcapar and Simsek, 2018).

Second, integration seems to be the only viable path considering the low repatriation rates in the worldwide refugee statistics (UNHCR, 2022). Therefore, policymakers need to develop inclusion strategies with the native and refugee communities because inclusion and integration are two-way processes (Ager and Strang, 2010). The state and NGOs may proactively inform the natives and the refugee communities regarding refugee rights and the criteria for acquiring citizenship. Thus, the naturalization process would become more transparent and more straightforward.

Third, the heterogeneity of refugee entrepreneurs signals that policymakers need to focus on regional and local solutions for a practical solution. Defining the inclusion policies at the national level assumes a homogenous refugee community and a homogeneous host community. However, as seen in the case of Turkey, the host society's lifestyle, worldview, and cultural background are highly fragmented (Saracoglu and Belanger, 2019). Furthermore, heterogeneity becomes even more distinct spatially. For instance, native communities in some cities and districts differ drastically. As a result, it becomes blurry which structure refugees need to integrate. Suppose the government can delegate the inclusion and integration strategies to local initiatives and administrators through flexible national-level guidance. In that case, the solutions could be more fruitful and efficient. However, we must acknowledge that complete integration and creating a shared experience over the years is only possible by developing a sense of belongingness among immigrants. Otherwise, just making

refugees a decision-maker at the table might not include them in society (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2019).

5.2 The Application of the Embeddedness Concept in Refugee Entrepreneurship

5.2.1 Multiple embeddedness at varying degrees

Immigrant entrepreneurship literature often uses embeddedness, with an overarching emphasis on MEM and the social dimension. The MEM provides an exclusive model to analyze immigrant entrepreneurship by introducing institutional and social contexts interacting within the opportunity structure. Its simplicity and multi-contextual understanding contribute to analyzing the immigrant entrepreneurship phenomenon beyond the previous ethnocentric studies (Kloosterman, 2010). However, most articles seem to limit their studies within the given boundaries of the MEM (Bagwell, 2015). In practice, embeddedness has the potential to offer a more thorough analysis than MEM (Storti, 2018).

This study argued that to various degrees, refugee entrepreneurs become embedded in multiple contexts (social, political, institutional, and spatial) at multiple locations (host, home, and third-country). It developed a categorization of refugee entrepreneurs with three distinct entrepreneurship types. As a result, analyzing degrees and types of embeddedness helped identify fundamental differences between refugee entrepreneurs. Their heterogeneity has theoretical and practical implications.

Refugees go through different embedding processes. Some entrepreneurs experience abrupt dis-embeddedness from their home country. This study argues that refugee entrepreneurs try to become embedded in the host country context and re-embedded in the home country context to reclaim their previous invaluable resources. This result is in agreement with Harima (2022). While these entrepreneurs experience sudden contextual changes, others start their embedding process in the host country before migration (Eimermann and Karlsson, 2018). The results underline how refugee entrepreneurs' embedding process is dynamic, gradual, and dual, with steps of getting disembedded, re-embedded, and embedded in the host and home countries. So, this study contributes to the recent calls for a processual and dynamic understanding of the embeddedness concept in entrepreneurship (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019).

Furthermore, understanding embeddedness at different degrees helped to comprehend refugee entrepreneurship better. Uzzi (1996) specifies how changing embeddedness levels and social network structures affect business outcomes. Few scholars emphasize the need to measure embeddedness levels and criticize the creation of a simple dichotomy (Dacin et al., 1999). Some scholars also mention over-embeddedness and under-embeddedness (Uzzi, 1996; Storti, 2018), acknowledging the need for measuring or comparing embeddedness levels. However, many scholars still widely adopt embeddedness with a basic approach, as embedded or not. This widespread adoption is also present in immigrant entrepreneurship research, where an embeddedness level approach is most needed (Wigren-Kristofersen et al., 2019). Thus, this study argues the significance of analyzing refugee entrepreneurship beyond a simple embedded or not embedded dichotomy. Thanks to identifying entrepreneurs' embeddedness degrees, this study detected different types of refugee entrepreneurs and their inclusion/exclusion differences.

Embeddedness analysis also suggested that refugee entrepreneurs differ from immigrant entrepreneurs. For example, immigrant entrepreneurs migrate to other countries with the intention of long-term settlement. Therefore, they seek ways to integrate into the new context socially and economically (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008; Embiricos, 2020). However, this study suggested that refugee entrepreneurs initially consider the host country temporary. They hope conditions in the home country will improve soon so they can return home. Therefore, they either start their businesses at a slow pace with limited resources and less commitment or do nothing and wait, hoping the situation at home improves. As a result, this idle "in-betweenness" state slows the embedding process in the host country.

"Inbetweenness" has advantages and disadvantages for refugees' embedding process in the host country context (Jiang et al., 2021). Many refugee entrepreneurs regretted not starting their businesses immediately after the migration. At the same time, this is their retrospective "what if" assessment. According to this study, a slow start or standing idle also helped some entrepreneurs. Some refugee entrepreneurs benefited from observing the market conditions, working in a related job, and getting accustomed to the host country context before starting a business. They suggested that this preliminary orientation helped them become successful in their entrepreneurial process.

This study argued that refugee entrepreneurs become socially, institutionally, politically, and spatially embedded in multiple locations to varying degrees. The following sections will briefly discuss each embeddedness type (Table 5.1).



Table 5.1 : Embeddedness of each entrepreneurship group.

Embeddedness	Survival Entrepreneurs	Ethnic-Targeting Entrepreneurs	Integrating Entrepreneurs
Social	- Embedded in family, kinship, and co-ethnic ties - Limited interaction with the native society - Limited social network outside the host country - Limited command of Turkish	- Embedded in family, kinship, co-ethnic, and critical native ties - Some transnational networks (home and third countries) - Facing discrimination from the natives	- Extensive social networks transnationally and in the home country, including family, kinship, co-ethnic, intra-ethnic, and native ties - Better command of the Turkish language - Embedding starts before migration - Facing discrimination from the natives
Institutional	- Mix of informal and formal businesses (gradually transforming into a formal business) - Small scope of the business requires simple regulatory needs - Unrecognized qualifications	- Formalizing the business - Abiding fundamental regulatory needs - Financial instruments as the main barrier - Cognitive dissonance (cash flow, business model)	- Higher regulatory, institutional embeddedness - Mobility and labor policies as constraints - Higher cognitive embeddedness - Enabling factors (the rule of law)
Political	- Engaged in daily entrepreneurial activities and less interested in political contextual changes	- Concerned about the contextual changes - Precarious legal status - Limited interaction with the local political actors	- Concerned about the contextual changes and precarious legal status - More engaged with the local political actors - Limited national-level influence on the policy-makers - Developing mitigating strategies against political changes
Spatial	- Limited options in choosing the country - Family and co-ethnics ties as reasons to choose the city and district - Desire to stay due to lifestyle preference	- Limited options in choosing the country - Market size, geography, climate, and proximity to the customers and supplies are essential in choosing the city and district - Desire to stay due to lifestyle preference and market opportunities	- More options about choosing the country - Market size, geography, climate, and proximity to the customers and supplies are essential in choosing the city and district - Desire to stay due to lifestyle preference and market opportunities - Effort to identify themselves with the “place” through cultural and historical symbols.

5.2.2 Discussion over social embeddedness

After Granovetter (1985), many different types of embeddedness emerged and contributed to understanding the contexts' effect on the economic outcome. However, results emphasize that the social dimension is a core element of the embeddedness, affecting the economic outcome. Therefore, refugee entrepreneurs mobilize and extend their social networks to overcome the barriers and compensate for their liability of newness and foreignness in a new environment (Mata and Alves, 2018).

Their level of social embeddedness changes depending on their entrepreneurship category, defined in this study. So, refugee entrepreneurs' social embeddedness cannot be categorized with a simple dichotomy, embedded or not embedded (Wigren-Kristoffersen et al., 2019; Harima, 2022). Their social context ranges from family, kinship ties, co-ethnic, and intra-ethnic to mainstream ties. Furthermore, their social networks extend transnationally. Current literature stresses that refugee entrepreneurs lose all their social networks due to the abrupt contextual changes and dramatic conditions in their home country (Hack-Polay et al., 2020). However, this study has similar results to Harima (2022). Refugees become abruptly disembedded from the home country context due to unexpected circumstances. However, as they get back on their feet in the host country, they gradually regain their previous social resources in the home country. For instance, they try to reconnect their old clients and business contacts.

Moreover, literature depicts refugee entrepreneurs with limited social networks because they migrate to the host country without plans, and their home countries are torn apart (Hack-Polay et al., 2020; Harima, 2022). This study argues otherwise. Unlike immigrants, refugees dispersed to many countries, mainly the neighboring ones (Erdogan, 2020; Harima et al., 2021). In the case of Syrian refugees, they settled in neighboring countries, Europe, Canada, and the USA. Therefore, refugee entrepreneurs might have weak social ties in their home country, as predicted by the literature. However, they possess extensive and diverse transnational networks in locations other than the home country. Primarily, "ethnic-targeting" and "integrating" entrepreneurs utilize these transnational networks efficiently for their business goals. Surprisingly, few studies mention refugee entrepreneurs' multi-locational embeddedness (Bagwell, 2015; Solano, 2020). Most literature refers only to the home

country context regarding the transnational context. So, this study argues the necessity to research multi-locational social networks that enable refugee entrepreneurs to expand their businesses.

This study also stresses the benefit of language proficiency for the embedding process. Learning the language is critical as human capital. It could facilitate integration, better understand the host country's environment, and help create social bridges with the natives (Bristol-Faulhammer, 2017; Nguyen Long, 2012; Leith, 2012).

5.2.3 Discussion over institutional embeddedness

This study confirms that institutional embeddedness is significant in understanding refugee entrepreneurship. Institutions have the power to enable and constrain entrepreneurial activities. In the literature, mainly formal institutions are the main focus (Storti, 2018; Quan et al., 2018). For instance, the MEM focuses only on the regulatory aspect of the institutions (Kloosterman, 2010). On the contrary, this study suggests that normative and cognitive pillars of informal institutions significantly affect refugee entrepreneurs' business outcomes.

Each group of entrepreneurs becomes embedded at different levels in the regulatory context. Survival entrepreneurs' embeddedness in the institutional context is low. However, their regulatory needs are simple since their small business scope consists of a small shop with one or two employees. On the other hand, ethnic targeting and integrating entrepreneurs are more embedded in the regulatory context. They try different ways to overcome regulatory constraints. They receive help from government officials and NGOs. They also utilize their native contacts, hire Turkish employees and get advice from their accountants. Accountants are the key to making entrepreneurs more embedded in the context. They do more than just bookkeeping and calculating taxes. Their advisory role includes but is not limited to business law, business management, human resources, and financial investments. They also provide contextual changes and updates in the relevant regulations.

In short, the regulatory context forces refugee entrepreneurs to follow the rules and regulations. As a result, entrepreneurs adhere to the host country's regulations. For instance, refugee entrepreneurs first resist formalizing their businesses to avoid related expenses (e.g., legal costs and income taxes). This observation shows similarities with Meyer (2018), as they experience the host country's business context without incurring

too much cost. However, they do all the legal paperwork for their firms when they get caught.

Regardless of the entrepreneurs' effort to become embedded, entrepreneurs cannot overcome structural constraints such as mobility, labor laws against refugees, and bank trust issues. Extant literature mentions refugee entrepreneurs' bank and credit issues in the developed states (de Lange et al., 2021) and the South (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2018). Politicians' persistent statements regarding the refugees' temporary stay worsen refugee entrepreneurs' liability of newness and foreignness position (Barth and Zalkat, 2020; Mata and Alves, 2018). Why would banks trust the foreigners whose stay in the country might terminate? Therefore, it does not seem possible for refugee entrepreneurs to benefit from the banks without state intervention. Furthermore, refugee entrepreneurs' religious sensitivities are critical. The author thinks that alternative financial institutions such as participation banks could communicate with refugee entrepreneurs proactively regarding their compatible banking system with Islamic principles.

Compared to regulatory contexts, cognitive and normative contexts are less evident to identify. Therefore, this study observes that refugee entrepreneurs become embedded in the regulatory context faster than in the normative and cognitive context. When informal institutions challenge refugee entrepreneurs, some entrepreneurs prefer to stick to their home country's normative and cognitive contexts (Szkudlarek and Wu, 2018; Griffin-EL and Olabisi, 2018). For instance, “ethnic-targeting” entrepreneurs are challenged with the deferred payment system. Most prefer to stay in the ethnic loop to get paid cash since the cash payment system is critical for their business cash flow. They do not know how to manage their cash flow without it.

However, they need to become embedded in the new environment, in other cases, cognitively. Otherwise, cognitive dissonance and misalignment could lead refugee entrepreneurs' businesses to fail (Jiang et al., 2021). For example, the automobile oil seller (E18, automobile parts retailer, Konya) prefers to stick to their business model in Syria, which did not work in Turkey. Conversely, another entrepreneur (E33A, motorcycle parts retailer, Adana) changed his business plan by dropping their automobile tire business and proceeding with motorcycle parts. He claims this alternative fits better with the host country's business environment. By changing their

business plan dramatically, they became disembedded from the home country's cognitive context and re-embedded in the host country's cognitive institutions.

Getting disembedded from an institutional context and becoming re-embedded to a new one is also a unique aspect of this study. Most literature depicts the dual or transnational embeddedness with the social context duality (Bagwell, 2017). However, very few studies stress that dual embeddedness could occur in different contexts other than social ones (Harima, 2022; You and Zhou, 2019; Quan et al., 2019). This study argues that refugee entrepreneurs become dually embedded in the social and other contexts, primarily in the institutional context.

5.2.4 Discussion over political embeddedness

Immigrant and refugee entrepreneurship literature focuses little on political embeddedness. However, the refugee issue is intrinsically a political problem (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015). Therefore, scholars need to consider political embeddedness as a distinct type in analyzing refugee entrepreneurship. As the results indicate, generative mechanisms activate cultural differences and influence the political environment adversely against refugees.

Survival, ethnic-targeting, and integrating entrepreneurs indicate different levels of embeddedness in other contexts (social, institutional, spatial). However, the political embeddedness levels of all three groups are similar and limited due to the various structural barriers. The results indicate that survival entrepreneurs are almost indifferent and submissive to political contextual changes. Their focus is on their daily entrepreneurial activities since their firms are the primary source of income to survive. However, their indifference does not necessarily mean that they are apolitical. As Lee C. (2019) describes, they are just reinventing their ways to hold on to the new context and use the ethnic enclaves as their space to feel like citizens.

On the other hand, ethnic-targeting and integrating entrepreneurs try to reach the local politicians and participate in their decision-making processes. They form associations and alliances with native associations to influence decision-making. In this context, the results confirm Nguyen Long (2012)'s research that political activity is network-driven. Refugee entrepreneurs constantly strive to build, maintain and mobilize their networks of relationships to participate in political activities. However, despite their efforts, they are only partially embedded in the local-level political context. Their

embeddedness in the national-level political context is still limited. Their limited political embeddedness level mostly depends on structural constraints, mainly the government's distant attitude towards the refugees. Without a clear path to citizenship, they fear that sudden political contextual changes would negatively affect their business survival and their families' future in the host country. Therefore, they have developed various strategies to cope with the political constraints:

- Transferring their assets to family members or trustworthy friends who have already become a Turkish citizen
- Maintaining a low-level business activity in the home country for a backup
- Investing less in the host country
- Growing internationally
- Forming informal and formal associations/organizations to influence local and national policy-makers

Political context also interacts with the institutional context. It affects the national migration policies and related regulations. In addition to the institutional policies, it also has overarching effects from the entrepreneurs' survival strategies to social relations between the natives and refugees. For instance, it interacts with the social context and aggravates the discrimination issue and xenophobia (Yanasmayan et al., 2019). Regardless of the political divide in the refugee policies, both ruling and opposition parties avoid using inflammatory language since Syrian refugees live with the natives in the urban space. Any provocation could have irreversible devastating effects on society. Therefore, research indicates that Turkey's anti-immigration political discourse is less intense than in Europe (Yanasmayan et al., 2019). This study also supports this claim as entrepreneurs stress their hesitation to migrate to Europe due to the more vigorous anti-immigration discourse and Islamophobia in European countries.

The author kept questioning throughout the study why refugee entrepreneurship neglected to focus on political embeddedness. The reason could be related to the developed vs. developing country difference. Developed countries have relatively more stable immigration policies than developing countries, and their political context does not change dramatically. This apparent difference might have led scholars to neglect the effects of the political context on refugees' entrepreneurial activities, as

most studies take place in developed countries. Furthermore, scholars generally focus on economic immigrants because more than 70% of the voluntary immigrants and 90% of “highly skilled” immigrants reside in developed states (Erdogan, 2020). On the contrary, only 14% of the refugees live in these countries (UNHCR, 2020). As a result, the negligence of the political context in refugee entrepreneurship could be the combination of the dominance of immigrant entrepreneurship theories and the developed country context.

Nevertheless, anti-immigration discourse and Islamophobia are rising in the West, and the political climate has changed accordingly (O’Brien, 2019). So, political context could become a significant constraint or enabler in refugees’ entrepreneurial activities even in a developed country. As seen in the Turkish context, the government constantly sends mixed messages through different communication channels regarding the macro-level refugee policies.

Scholars should do more comparative studies to confirm if the political contextual changes affect the refugee issue in different country contexts (developed and developing). Furthermore, since most refugees reside in developing countries, more studies in these locations would help build the unique refugee entrepreneurship literature in the political context.

5.2.5 Discussion over spatial embeddedness

The study suggests the significance and relevance of the spatial context for refugee entrepreneurs. The literature stresses that refugees flee their home countries without planning where to go, thus choosing a spatial context without their consent (Harima, 2022). However, this study argues that it is not always the case because refugees are not a homogenous group in their migration journeys (George, 2010).

Moreover, three types of refugee entrepreneurs identified in the study become embedded in the spatial context at different levels. Refugees have few options to choose from among the countries. However, the integrating entrepreneurs may choose the host country deliberately since most have previous businesses and intend to continue their business in the new context. Also, after settling in the host country, they have abundant opportunities to resettle in another developed country, mainly in Europe. However, they choose to stay in Turkey for religious and cultural reasons. Refugee entrepreneurs feel culturally close to Turkish society (Erdogan, 2020).

Another reason to stay would be their successful entrepreneurship experience. They do not need to risk their accomplishments in the host country. These results suggest that refugee entrepreneurs might have motives other than economic reasons for choosing a location to settle (Ozgen, 2019).

Furthermore, regardless of the few country-level options, they can still choose the city to settle for their businesses. Generally, neighboring host countries allow this type of mobility at the initial stages of the migration. However, most European countries implement a planned placement policy, distributing the refugees among the states, cities, and districts (Erdogan, 2020). While survival entrepreneurs choose the city and district based on proximity to their social networks, ethnic-targeting and integrating entrepreneurs choose an optimal city for their business activities. Furthermore, they do not hesitate to change the city following their business plan when necessary.

Extant literature only stresses the spatial differences between urban and rural areas (Wahlbeck, 2013; Boyd, 2013; Munkejord, 2015). Interestingly, immigrant and refugee entrepreneurship literature neglect the differences between cities in the host country (Rekers and van Kempen, 2000). This study points out that each urban location provides unique opportunities to refugee entrepreneurs. For instance, Turkish cities have different characteristics, ranging from different levels of industrial sophistication to diverse lifestyles. The population in the eastern cities is more conservative and relatively closer to the Syrian culture. Some people even speak Arabic. Moreover, some cities have large industrial compounds, providing many business opportunities. Their proximity to the MENA regions also provides an advantage for export activities (TEPAV, 2018).

On the other hand, populations in western cities are more secular and modern-minded. They raise doubts about the governments' refugee policies (Saraçoğlu and Belanger, 2019). However, western cities are large markets to serve and act as a business gateway to the global market, providing many business opportunities. Ethnic-targeting and integrating entrepreneurs assess their business needs and lifestyle priorities while choosing the city to settle in. As a result, spatial context research is not limited to country-level comparisons or bound to rural and urban dichotomy. It can contribute to refugee entrepreneurship with regional analysis at the city or district level. Each city or district has different characteristics that could enable and constrain refugees' entrepreneurial activities.

This outcome coincides with the refugee integration issue. Integration literature discusses what context the refugees should integrate (Ager and Strang, 2008). However, the cities' social, historical, cultural, and economic heterogeneity suggests that it is tough to implement an all-embracing and national-level integration program. Instead, policymakers can give the local authorities more responsibility and collaborate with the local-level voluntary organizations for refugees' optimal integration process.

Another result is refugee entrepreneurs' ongoing physical attachment to their home country. Discussions over the dual embeddedness of transnational entrepreneurs are mainly limited to social networks (You and Zhou, 2019). However, Syrian entrepreneurs' dual embeddedness goes beyond their social networks. They have properties and businesses in their home country, and some entrepreneurs hope to return or live in a dual state once the civil war ends. So, they are also spatially embedded in the host and home countries. This dual embeddedness holds them back from embedding in the host country context during the early stages of the migration since they were hoping to return home once the civil war was over. However, as the civil war turned into a vicious circle, their spatial embeddedness in the host country increased. Nevertheless, they still keep some of their physical assets in their home countries if the host country forces them to leave one day. So this is another way how spatial and political contexts interact.

5.2.6 Interaction of embeddedness types

Contextual factors affect immigrant entrepreneurs' embeddedness at different levels. Sometimes, their interaction has a unique effect on entrepreneurial activities. Therefore, these interactions could have single or multiple (two-way, three-way, and four-way) interactive effects on the level of embeddedness (Wang and Warn, 2018; Yetkin and Tuncalp, 2021). For instance, Peruvian entrepreneurs use social networks and individual resources differently according to the host countries' receiving context and opportunity structure (Paerregaard, 2018). In another example, institutional context interacts with networks. As a result, institutional constraints push immigrant entrepreneurs to rely on their co-ethnic networks (Hack-Polay et al., 2020). Conversely, when solid co-ethnic networks do not exist, embeddedness may occur at

a lower level. This situation encourages entrepreneurs to rely on formal institutions, thus making them more institutionally embedded (Lo and Teixeira, 2015).

This study supports that each embeddedness type interacts with and influences the other. For example, when institutional constraints such as deferred payments or access to finance challenge refugee entrepreneurs, they turn to their social resources. Also, the political context exacerbates the discrimination issue and negatively affects entrepreneurs' level of social embeddedness in the host society. As a result, entrepreneurs facing exclusion and discrimination choose to diminish their interactions with native contacts. So, the interaction of the contexts acts as either an enabler or constraint.

Sometimes, different contextual factors may conflict and force the entrepreneur to choose between the contexts. The entrepreneur might choose to get disembedded from one context and embedded in a new context. For example, one survival entrepreneur (E29, shoe production, Adana) chose his settlement location based on social ties since his priority was his family's safety. As he became embedded spatially and institutionally in his city context, he realized that he needed to move to Istanbul, where the market is dynamic. Moreover, raw materials and labor supplies are easier to find in Istanbul. However, his spatial preference conflicts with his deep-rooted social networks in his current city. Since he does not want to abandon his social support, he delays moving his business to Istanbul.

5.2.7 Whose fault is it?

The current use of embeddedness in the literature still lacks a clear understanding of the embedding problem. What shall the policymakers focus on if the refugees cannot become embedded in society? Is it the refugee who cannot become embedded, or do the institutional and social constraints refrain them from embedding more? This study's data analysis indicates that we cannot put the whole blame on the refugee entrepreneurs for the failure to get embedded in the host country's context. More often, host country institutions and society create constraints that the refugees cannot overcome. Previous research results also support these (Jones et al., 2014, Hack-Polay et al., 2020). It also coincides with the integration (Heckman, 2005; Ager and Strang, 2008) and inclusion (Ghneim, 2021) literature, as integration and inclusion are

a two-way process involving the refugees and natives (Heckman, 2005; Ager and Strang, 2008; Hack-Polay and Igwe, 2019).

Utilizing NGOs and voluntary organizations and forming exclusive refugee incubation centers could contribute to the refugee entrepreneurs' embedding process (Hack-Polay and Igwe, 2019; Meister and Mauer, 2019). However, this inclusion initiative may not be adequate without removing the structural barriers to refugee entrepreneurship.

The results also indicate that entrepreneurs do not have to completely embed into the host context. For instance, survival entrepreneurs' embeddedness in the host context is low. However, they are content and grateful. Ethnic enclaves provide them with a comfort zone (Zhou and Cho, 2010) and urban space to proceed with their daily lives (Lee C., 2019). Literature primarily focuses on how refugee entrepreneurs grow and "break out" from ethnic enclaves (Tsui-Auch, 2005; Zubair and Brzozowski, 2019). However, refugee entrepreneurs may choose not to grow or "break out" from the ethnic market. Therefore, the author thinks that the refugee entrepreneurship domain should not be analyzed solely based on growth and economic performance. Instead, scholars should consider refugee entrepreneurship as part of the "refugee issue."

Furthermore, this theoretical understanding also has practical implications. Policy-makers may focus on removing structural barriers that hinder refugees from embedding themselves more in society. However, no matter what the policymakers achieve, it is up to the refugees to decide how they want to become embedded in the new context.

5.3 Heterogeneity of Refugee Entrepreneurship

The literature -except for a few studies (Ram et al., 2022; Chang, 2021) - categorizes the refugee entrepreneurs with extremely limited resources (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008) and assumes the refugee community as homogeneous (Kloosterman et al., 1999). As a result, literature depicts refugee entrepreneurs as a small shop around the corner (Wauters and Lambrecht, 2008; Chang, 2021). However, this study argues otherwise. Refugee entrepreneurs in the sample ranged from small barbershops to sophisticated machine producers and higher education institutions. The reason could be the devastating war condition. Unlike economic migrants, most business people fleeing the war open similar businesses in different countries (Chang, 2021). So, 67%

of the interviewees have previous entrepreneurship experience. Additionally, they have the know-how and some financial resources. This proportion is similar to the result of an extensive survey (75%) conducted by TEPAV in 2018.

This study identified three distinct refugee entrepreneurship types based on their embeddedness levels and push/pull motivation. For instance, survival entrepreneurs focus on daily entrepreneurial activities, enjoy ethnic-enclave resources, and become partially embedded in the host country. On the other hand, ethnic-targeting entrepreneurs are more active and opportunity-driven. Therefore, they become more embedded in the host country than the survival entrepreneurs. However, when challenged with the host country context, they prefer to stick to their readily available solutions and resources acquired in the home country context.

These two entrepreneurship types are described more or less in the literature (e.g., Ram et al., 2022; Bizri, 2017). However, integrating entrepreneurs are less on the focus (Chang, 2021; Verver et al., 2019). According to this study, this type of entrepreneur put tremendous effort into embedding in the host society and integrating fully. However, structural constraints and mechanisms hold them back from embedding further. They face more structural constraints when they become more integrated, thus experiencing more exclusion. This heterogeneity also challenges the structural theory, which claims labor market disadvantages push refugees to be self-employed (Harima et al., 2021). This view oversimplifies refugee entrepreneurship. It also neglects its intrinsic complexity and heterogeneity.

Research indicates that institutional difference between the host and home countries plays a significant role in successful refugee entrepreneurship (Harima, 2022). In this regard, the integrating entrepreneurship category may not be visible as a distinct category in developed countries whose institutions are more different than the refugees' home countries. Furthermore, the size of the refugee community is crucial for the ethnic-targeting entrepreneurship category. Therefore, this category could only be visible for countries receiving many refugees. However, this typology can still be valid for developing and neighboring host countries. Considering 86% of the refugees settle in developing host countries (UNHCR, 2020), it could greatly serve the development of the refugee entrepreneurship domain.

Furthermore, putting all the blame on the institutional difference could oversimplify the refugee entrepreneurship phenomenon. Considering the massive influence of the immigrant entrepreneurship phenomenon on the refugee entrepreneurship subdomain, developed country researchers might be focusing only on the refugees with limited resources. Nevertheless, some recent European scholars admit that refugee entrepreneurs' resources might differ from immigrant entrepreneurs (Collins et al., 2017; Ram et al., 2022). Furthermore, research also points out the critical institutional barriers for refugee entrepreneurs in developed countries (Solano, 2021). These barriers cannot be attributed solely to institutional differences. As a result, it would be interesting to see more studies comparing refugee entrepreneurs settling in developed and developing countries.



6. CONCLUSION

This study examines how refugee entrepreneurs become embedded and experience inclusion and exclusion in the host country context. To respond comprehensively to the research question, the researcher employed a qualitative study on Syrian refugee entrepreneurs in Turkey. This developing country context fits with the research goals since most refugees reside in developing countries, and Turkey has become the host to the largest refugee population since 2015.

The results provide a comprehensive picture of the refugee entrepreneurs' multi-contextual embedding process and counterintuitive path to exclusion. The study stresses refugee entrepreneurs' challenges while integrating into the relatively perplexing and new socioeconomic system and sociocultural environment. Hence, entrepreneurship does not provide a rosy picture for the refugees. While entrepreneurship supports refugees' economic integration, it merely solves their other fundamental issues in the host country. Thus, pushing refugees to entrepreneurship does not alone provide social inclusion.

Conversely, as refugee entrepreneurs become more embedded in the host country context, they experience more exclusion. This counterintuitive finding has led the researcher to explore the deep-rooted causes of these engrained exclusionary activities. In search of the deep-seated causes, the critical realist lens helped the researcher pinpoint the generative mechanisms that activate the causal structures, thus causing refugee entrepreneurs to experience exclusionary activities.

As a result, this study has theoretical, practical, and methodological contributions to the refugee entrepreneurship domain and inclusion/exclusion and embeddedness research. This study's developing country setting makes its contributions more valuable. The results may guide policymakers in developing fine-tuned refugee entrepreneurship policies, especially in developing countries. This chapter will continue by explaining the theoretical, practical, and methodological implications.

Then, it will elaborate on the study's limitations and give some recommendations for future research before it concludes.

6.1 Theoretical Implications

6.1.1 Heterogeneity of refugee entrepreneurship

This study argues that understanding the complexity of the refugee entrepreneurship phenomena is critical. It derived a novel perspective based on refugee entrepreneurs' different degrees of embeddedness, push/pull factors, and migration journeys. This model describes the survival, the ethnic targeting, and the integrating types of refugee entrepreneurs. So, unlike the extant literature, this study acknowledges the diversity inherent among refugee entrepreneurs.

Refugee entrepreneurs' heterogeneity challenges common perception regarding refugee entrepreneurs as small shop owners with limited resources. Instead, it argues that refugee entrepreneurs may have diverse and rich resources in the host, home, and third countries. Furthermore, the size of the refugee population in the host country positively contributes to the refugee entrepreneurs' businesses by forming a large ethnic market.

The study also points out that, unlike economic migrants, refugee entrepreneurs first intend to stay in the host country temporarily. This "in-betweenness" affects their entrepreneurial journey and embedding process.

Finally, the study argues that forced migration does not necessarily mean that refugees migrate to the host country unplanned. Their migration journey is not homogenous. As literature predicts, some refugees flee to the host countries, leaving their assets and resources behind. Nevertheless, some make detailed plans before migration, just like economic migrants.

6.1.2 Contributions to inclusion/exclusion and emancipation

The categorization points out that as entrepreneurs become more embedded in the context, they experience more exclusion. This result is controversial compared to the literature. Furthermore, their inclusion in some economic sectors but exclusion from social life creates a differential exclusion. Furthermore, a precarious naturalization approach stratifies refugees into different legal statuses, thus causing differential

inclusion. This controversial result and the concurrent existence of differential exclusion and inclusion among refugee entrepreneurs open new avenues in inclusion and exclusion literature.

First, the controversial result has led the study to conduct a deeper-level analysis with the critical realist lens. The study argued that cultural differences and social status are critical in refugees' differential exclusion. It also identified naturalization, forced migration, economic downturn, and media as generative mechanisms. They activate the power of these causal structures (see Figure 5.2). As a result, the study contributed to the exclusion research by highlighting the path to exclusion and identifying the underlying causal structures (cultural difference and social status) and generative mechanisms.

Second, this study argues that refugee entrepreneurs from the home country's higher class expect to regain their status as they become more integrated into the host society. This argument is about how they enact restoring their damaged self-esteem and reversing the downward status leveling. However, they are frustrated as they see no progress in upward social mobility. Moreover, they feel that their investments are at risk in the host country because of sudden changes in political contextual changes and precarious migrant status. Refugees' previous social identity is an understudied phenomenon in the literature. Therefore, these results contribute to the literature by indicating the critical role of refugees' previous social status and identity in integrating into the host society.

Third, cultural difference as the causal structure supports literature emphasizing the two-way process approach (including refugees and natives in the process) in integration. Additionally, results regarding the ideological divide in the native community extend the understanding of the two-way process approach by introducing the heterogeneity of the native population into the integration equation. So, the ideological divide in the native society complicates the integration process regarding what refugees should integrate.

Fourth, the study confirms the importance of language proficiency for inclusion. Speaking the host society's language is a critical human capital that enables entrepreneurs to establish social bridges with the native community. It also helps overcome institutional regulatory barriers by familiarizing the laws and regulations.

Last but not least is the emancipation discussion. This study argues entrepreneurship's contribution to economic integration but challenges the current claims about the emancipatory impact of entrepreneurship. Labeling refugee entrepreneurs as "good refugees" and seeing them as "an economic opportunity" cause their problems to become pigeonholed and neglected. Furthermore, the "good refugee" discourse makes empty promises to refugee entrepreneurs and discriminates against refugees. They feel even more excluded from society when they see it is not the case. As a result, just focusing on wealth creation in a neo-liberal context looks insufficient to tackle a social issue like forced migration. As critical theory suggests, emancipation can occur by detecting constraining cultural, institutional, and social factors and coming up with solutions to eliminate those factors.

6.1.3 Contributions to refugee entrepreneurship and embeddedness

In addition to the contribution to social inclusion/exclusion in terms of differential inclusion and exclusion, this study also has ample theoretical implications regarding the embeddedness concept. This study argued that refugee entrepreneurs have complex embeddedness. They become embedded in multiple contexts (social, spatial, institutional, and political) in multiple locations (home, host, and third countries). Moreover, their degree of embeddedness and utilization of their resources affect the economic outcome differently. In this respect, there are important theoretical implications regarding the embeddedness concept.

First, as Uzzi (1996) stresses, changing embeddedness levels affect the business outcome. Therefore, confining the embeddedness concept into a binary opposition (embedded or not embedded) limits its explanatory power. This dissertation argues that refugee entrepreneurs become embedded in multiple contexts and locations to varying degrees. So, its results contribute to the research efforts to understand embeddedness to various degrees. For instance, most literature articles do not specify in which social context the refugee entrepreneurs are embedded. This unclear description of social embeddedness creates ambiguity and lacks in-depth analysis. However, social embeddedness could vary from the family, kinship, co-ethnic, intra-ethnic, and mainstream to international ties. Embedding in one or more of these networks determines the level of refugee entrepreneurs' social embeddedness and affects their entrepreneurial activities. Following this approach, this study described

three distinct types of refugee entrepreneurs, each embedded in different contexts to varying degrees.

Second, refugee entrepreneurs are heterogeneous regarding their migration journey, different from the literature. Some refugee entrepreneurs plan their migration, and their embedding starts before the migration. For others, migration is unplanned and contextual change is abrupt. Therefore, they suddenly experience disembedding from the home country and try to become embedded in the host country context. However, as they ensure their safety, they reverse their embedding discontinuity and start re-embedding in the home country to regain their resources because some are precious in the resource-scarce host environment. As a result, refugee entrepreneurship provides an invaluable empirical setting to understand the dis-embedding, re-embedding, and embedding stages. Hence, these results contribute to the processual and dynamic understanding of the embeddedness concept.

Third, the dissertation supports transnational entrepreneurship literature by emphasizing refugee entrepreneurs' dual embeddedness in the host and home countries. However, the results indicate that dual embeddedness is not limited to the social context. Refugee entrepreneurs can also become spatially and institutionally embedded in their home countries. Additionally, entrepreneurs' business scope does not have to be transnational during the dual embedding state. Furthermore, their social embeddedness extends to the third countries as they have extensive transnational networks.

Fourth, this study introduces the critical role of political embeddedness for refugee entrepreneurs. Limited political embeddedness constrains refugees' entrepreneurial activities and puts them in a limbo state. Moreover, it also overwhelmingly affects social relations, institutional policies, and spatial context. Surprisingly, immigrant literature lacks interest in the political context. The domination of immigrant entrepreneurship and developed country context might undermine the importance of the political context for refugee entrepreneurs who reside in developing countries. Furthermore, this study identified refugee entrepreneurs' diverse strategies to cope with political constraints. These strategies contribute further to the implications of the political contextual changes.

Fifth, this study argues how informal institutions, such as cognitive and normative, matter during abrupt contextual changes. Refugee entrepreneurship provides a convenient empirical setting to identify the change in the informal institutional context. In this regard, refugee entrepreneurs attempt to apply their cognitive abilities to the new environment and strive to align their cognitive skills, and adapt to the normative context. Current immigrant entrepreneurship literature primarily uses the MEM, emphasizing the regulatory context and neglecting the cognitive and normative embeddedness. This study extends the MEM. It also contributes to the literature by incorporating cognitive and normative embeddedness in home and host countries.

Sixth, the literature discusses the spatial embeddedness of immigrants. However, researchers have said little about refugee entrepreneurs. Three identified entrepreneurship types in the study argue different degrees of spatial embeddedness. While most prefer to stay in the host country due to the cultural similarities and proximity to the home country, their embeddedness in their cities differs dramatically. Recent literature dismisses the ethnic enclave argument since it is reminiscent of the outdated theories from the 1970s (Harima et al., 2021; Kloosterman et al., 1999). However, this dissertation argues that ethnic enclaves are still crucial for survival entrepreneurs who prefer to stay close to their families and kinship ties. On the other hand, this study argues that ethnic targeting and integrating entrepreneurs choose and settle in a city by optimizing their living preferences and business needs.

Refugee entrepreneurs benefit from various features of their locations. Their cities differ by providing diverse opportunities, geographical and demographic market advantages, industrial sophistication levels, and access to necessary supplies, including human capital. In addition to using these spatial features, this study also claims that “integrating” entrepreneurs leverage the “place” aspect with its meaning, heritages, and lived experiences. In this regard, this study draws attention to the need for the city/district-level spatial context analysis since the immigrant and refugee entrepreneurship literature mainly focuses on the country-level analysis. This result supports the leading scholars Kloosterman and Rath’s (2001) recommendation for national, urban/regional, and neighborhood-level analysis of immigrant entrepreneurship.

Seventh, the study added a voice to the discussions in failing to become embedded. Just like inclusion and integration, the embeddedness process is also a two-way

process, composed of the refugee entrepreneurs' motivation to become embedded and government and society's will to remove the structural barriers. Interestingly, in some cases, refugee entrepreneurs might choose not to become embedded in the host society entirely, and this situation could be a common feature of a multicultural society. So, refugee entrepreneurs might prefer balanced dual embeddedness that could allow them to become embedded in the host society without giving up their niche home country resources.

Finally, the study contributes to the discussion regarding the interaction of the contexts. Its results emphasize that each embeddedness type interacts, and these interactions affect refugees' entrepreneurial activities as an enabler or constraints. So, we should not perceive contextual factors deterministically as their dynamic interactions require us to interpret them dynamically.

6.2 Practical Implications

There are several vital practical implications of this study. First, the heterogeneity of the refugee entrepreneurs dictates the policy-makers to develop laser-focused and customized policies to help refugee entrepreneurs in their entrepreneurship journey. They should not be left alone, assuming self-employment leads to successful integration. Just seeing them as an economic opportunity leads to differential exclusion. Exclusive refugee incubation centers and government-led support programs could help refugees overcome the structural barriers and contribute to their social embeddedness in the host society.

Refugee entrepreneurs face many constraints. Only the state can remove some of these constraints. Including refugee entrepreneurs in the problem-solving process and reiterating the right-based approach would provide a practical solution. Furthermore, a transparent process would deter the criticism that the government authorities favor entrepreneurs over others. As a result, inclusive policies would decrease refugee entrepreneurs' differential exclusion.

Second, temporary protection regime is intricately a temporary status, leaving the entrepreneurs in a limbo state of investing in the host country but feeling insecure. As a result, the precarious migration path to citizenship triggers differential inclusion. Refugees and the natives do not know who acquires citizenship and under what

conditions. Following a transparent procedure and clear communication would help ease the tensions and fears among refugees regarding their future in the host country.

Third, the ideological and cultural divide among the native society complicates the integration regarding what refugees should integrate. As stated previously, the heterogeneity of the refugee entrepreneurs also questions the cookie-cutter integration policies applied to everyone. As a result, macro-policy makers could delegate the integration policies to the local authorities. These local authorities could develop integration strategies with local NGOs, voluntary groups, and refugees.

Fourth, the study emphasizes the banks and financial system as critical constraints. Unless the state intervenes and refugees' legal status changes, overcoming the banking system barrier seems impossible. However, the state can mobilize participation and state-owned banks to support refugee investors. These entrepreneurs are opportunity-driven and motivated to grow and export. Therefore, they pose an excellent opportunity for the Islamic banks if these banks could persuade the refugee entrepreneurs regarding the compatibility of their banking system with Islamic principles.

6.3 Methodological Implications

This study has three main methodological contributions. First, it has taken a critical realist approach with a grounded theory perspective. Regardless of some scholars' doubts (Fletcher, 2017), the author experienced no major problem implementing a grounded theory approach with critical realism (Hoddy, 2018). On the contrary, critical realism has helped the researcher analyze this issue more thoroughly. Since scholars and policy-makers consider the refugee issue as a global one comparable to climate change, it is vital to understand the underlying causes of the observed differential inclusion and exclusion. Therefore, the critical realist lens helped identify the structural barriers and generative mechanisms in refugee entrepreneurs' embedding process and exclusion in the host country.

Furthermore, to the best of the author's knowledge, this is the first research in refugee entrepreneurship employing the critical realist lens. Methodologically, it is challenging to apply critical realism to the research because critical realism entails intrinsically multifaceted theoretical foundations. Nevertheless, this study explained in detail (with

figures and tables) how it reached the causal structures, generative mechanisms, and external conditions and how these results are interconnected to provide an adequate answer to the underlying causes of exclusion. So, this study could set an example for future studies in similar research fields.

Second, refugees are a sensitive population and not easy to persuade to receive insightful information. The pandemic (Covid-19) worsened the possibility of reaching this sensitive population. Despite the inherent and contextual disadvantages, the author could conduct the interviews and cultivate insightful information because he reached strong ties in refugees' social networks to form a trustworthy relationship between the interviewee and interviewer. The interview flow was smoother when this bond was strong, and the interviewee was more open to sharing their genuine thoughts. Furthermore, these strong connections helped the author conduct the interviews online during the pandemic. As a result, this study contributes to the research literature by underlying the importance of mutual trust and finding the strong ties to create this trust during the data collection.

Finally, the study utilized two interpreters for the interviews in Arabic. Finding an interpreter who is familiar with both cultures (home and host) and fluent in both languages is critical. Moreover, this study contributes to the literature by including the interpreters in the data collection and analysis process. This way, the interpreter is more engaged with the Scopus of the study and contributes to the results.

6.4 Limitations

This dissertation also has three main limitations. First, this is a qualitative study conducted in a developing country. Its results cannot be generalized beyond similar contexts. However, the purpose of the qualitative study is not to make universal generalizations (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The author has conducted interviews from different sectors and locations until reaching the theoretical saturation described by Corbin and Strauss (2008) to make the results more insightful. Therefore, the study's implications give essential insights regarding the integration, inclusion/exclusion, and embeddedness concepts in refugee entrepreneurship.

Furthermore, this retrospective study asks the entrepreneurs to explain their previous experiences and stories. The study could have conducted a longitudinal study to track

refugee entrepreneurs' embedding process and its relation to inclusion and exclusion. However, the dissertation had a limited time and did not allow longitudinal research. A longitudinal study could help the researcher make sense of how entrepreneurial stages, embedding process, and inclusion/exclusion practices co-evolve and affect refugees' entrepreneurial journey. As a result of the longitudinal study, a unique embedding process model could have emerged.

The last limitation could be the use of interpreters. Including an interpreter in the data collection process was challenging since the tandem translation took some time. In some cases, the author observed that the interviewee had difficulty focusing. Furthermore, the study might have lost some critical information during the translation. To mitigate this problem, the author has hired two professional interpreters who are Syrians and speak Turkish and Arabic fluently. In addition, a third translator randomly checked transcriptions and voice records to see if the interpreters missed or misinterpreted anything.

Additionally, including the interpreter has brought triple subjectivity (the researcher, the interpreter, and the interviewee) to the interviews. This situation could be a disadvantage. However, the researcher briefed the interpreters about the purpose and background of the research. Furthermore, before and after the interviews, the researcher and the interpreter met and discussed the interviewee. This way, the interpreters were involved in the data analysis and contributed positively to the research results.

Sometimes, it was hard for the researcher to build and maintain trust with the interviewee through an interpreter. Suppose the researcher could have spoken the Arabic language, first and foremost. In that case, the researcher could have better-built trust with the interviewee. The trustworthy environment could have led to more insight from the interviews, influencing the study results. To overcome the trust problem, the author tried to find a strong tie in the interviewee's network and have her/him talk to the interviewee regarding the purpose of the research before the interview.

6.5 Future Research

The author identified ample areas for more research. First, this study presented a distinct categorization. Therefore, future studies should verify if this categorization

exists in different contexts. This category could be only visible for developing and neighboring countries receiving a large size of refugees. However, considering that 86% of the refugees settle in developing host countries (UNHCR, 2020), this typology could greatly serve the development of the refugee entrepreneurship domain. Therefore, it would be interesting to see more studies focusing on diversity in refugee entrepreneurship and comparing refugee entrepreneurs settling in developing and developed countries. Future studies can also compare diverse refugee groups migrating from different home countries at different times and for different reasons (e.g., civil war, natural disasters, and political issues).

Second, this study took a critical realist perspective and argued that social status and cultural differences are the main structural barriers. However, there is little research regarding the refugees' social classes and their effect on refugees' entrepreneurial journey since literature generally assumes the refugee entrepreneurs as a homogenous group. Future studies may research the effect of refugees' previous social stratification on their entrepreneurial activities.

Third, entrepreneurship studies have little interest in inclusion and exclusion. As entrepreneurship scholars, our job is not only to focus on economic outcomes but also social issues related to entrepreneurs (McGahan, 2020). In this respect, this study's controversial results regarding the more embedded entrepreneurs experiencing more exclusion need further research.

Fourth, one essential research result is the political embeddedness affecting the refugees' entrepreneurial activities. Unfortunately, the literature suggests almost no interest in the political embeddedness of immigrant and refugee entrepreneurship. This situation could be due to the developed country studies in the literature. Therefore, future studies could analyze political embeddedness in developing vs. developed country contexts and immigrants (voluntary migration) vs. refugees (forced migration).

Fifth, this research has conducted retrospective interviews so that refugee entrepreneurs can refer to their previous experiences and stories. Future research may consider conducting longitudinal studies to track the refugees' embeddedness process.

Sixth, this study focused on only the refugee entrepreneurs' embedding process and experience in inclusion and exclusion. Therefore, its results are controversial and

challenge the literature results, especially on the emancipatory impact of entrepreneurship. If this is the case, the alternative is employment. Therefore, it would be exciting to conduct comparative research on refugee employees and entrepreneurs to compare and contrast their embedding process and experience in inclusion and exclusion.

Finally, the author encountered two refugee entrepreneurs who initially moved to Lebanon and United Arab Emirates before migrating to Turkey. So, they have experienced three different contexts. It is not easy to find these exceptional cases. Due to the limited number of these cases in the study, the author chose not to draw any conclusions based on them. However, in future research, researchers can focus on these exceptional cases. It would be worthwhile if these entrepreneurs settled in developing and developed countries consecutively after leaving their home countries. Nevertheless, this type of data could enable researchers to compare and contrast multiple contexts through the same entrepreneur, possibly leading to novel research results regarding the processual and dynamic understanding of embeddedness.

6.6 Concluding Remarks

To summarize, this study put a social phenomenon in the spotlight through the lens of an intricately woven theoretical framework. Its results describe refugee entrepreneurs' embedding process and path to exclusion and how refugee entrepreneurs persistently negotiate to gain their social space in the host society.

This study challenges the common assumptions about the emancipatory impact of entrepreneurship based on a qualitative study on Syrian refugee entrepreneurs in Turkey. Since 86% of refugees reside in developing countries, and Turkey has hosted the largest refugee population for the last seven years, this research could contribute to the theoretical development of refugee entrepreneurship as a research domain.

Additionally, the straightforward application of the critical realist lens to this crucial social phenomenon could encourage other researchers to explore other underlying issues in the refugee entrepreneurship domain. Furthermore, this study's results also open new avenues in inclusion, exclusion, integration, and embeddedness research. Finally, the research presents some practical implications that could guide the policy-makers, practitioners, and other relevant stakeholders in the right direction.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Interviewee profiles

APPENDIX B: Interview questions (Syrian entrepreneurs)

APPENDIX C: Interview questions (sector experts)





APPENDIX A: Interviewee profiles

Table A.1 : Interviewee profiles.

Entrepreneur	Age	Gender	Education	City in Turkey	City in Syria	Sector	Export	Entr. Experience	Status	Employee Nr.
E01	33	Male	University	Istanbul	Aleppo	Digital Marketing	0	0	Temporary protection	1
E02	25	Male	University	Ankara	Damascus	Digital Marketing	0	0	Turkish citizen	1
E03	42	Female	University	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Restaurant	0	0	Temporary protection	2
E04	41	Male	High School	Istanbul	Hums	Marketing	0	0	Resident	2
E05	30	Male	University	Adana	Aleppo	Machinery production	1	1	Temporary protection	10
E06	29	Male	University	Istanbul	Damascus	Tourism Tech	0	0	Resident	1
E07	52	Male	University	Istanbul	Damascus	Media	1	1	Temporary protection	18
E08	22	Male	Middle school	Istanbul	Aleppo	Textile production	1	1	Temporary protection	150
E09	58	Male	Middle school	Istanbul	Damascus	Textile production	1	1	Resident	10
E10	57	Male	High school	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Bakery	0	0	Temporary protection	15

Table A.1 (continued) : Interviewee profiles.

Entrepreneur	Age	Gender	Education	City in Turkey	City in Syria	Sector	Export	Entr. Experience	Status	Employee Nr.
E11	36	Male	Middle school	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Shoe production	1	1	Temporary protection	80
E12	45	Male	High school	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Shoe production	0	1	Turkish citizen	44
E13	54	Male	University	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Construction/ Real estate	1	1	Resident	11
E14	40	Male	University	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Food processing	1	1	Resident	35
E15	33	Male	University	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Plastic production	1	1	Temporary protection	20
E16	27	Male	Middle school	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Food processing	0	1	Temporary protection	6
E17	30	Male	University	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Real Estate	1	0	Resident	1
E18	30	Male	University	Konya	Aleppo	Automobile parts	0	1	Turkish citizen	3
E19A_ Partner	44	Male	University		Aleppo				Temporary protection	
E19B_ Partner	48	Male	University	Istanbul	Aleppo	Education	1	1	Temporary protection	150
E20	32	Male	University	Istanbul	Damascus	Dessert	0	0	Temporary protection	1
E21	27	Male	High school	Istanbul	Damascus	Barber	0	1	Temporary protection	4

Table A.1 (continued) : Interviewee profiles.

Entrepreneur	Age	Gender	Education	City in Turkey	City in Syria	Sector	Export	Entr. Experience	Status	Employee Nr.
E22A_ Partner	39	Female	Middle school							
E22B_ Partner	42	Male	High School	Istanbul	Aleppo	Textile retailer	0	1	Temporary protection	2
E23	29	Male	Middle school	Istanbul	Damascus	Textile retailer	1	1	Temporary protection	1
E24	39	Male	University	Izmir	Aleppo	Shoe production	0	1	Temporary protection	4
E25	41	Male	Middle school	Adana	Aleppo	Automobile Services	0	1	Temporary protection	1
E26	33	Male	University	Adana	Aleppo	Bakery	0	0	Temporary protection	17
E27	35	Male	Middle school	Adana	Aleppo	Textile production	0	1	Temporary protection	30
E28	30	Male	Middle school	Adana	Aleppo	Textile production	0	1	Temporary protection	15
E29	25	Male	High school	Adana	Aleppo	Shoe production	1	0	Turkish citizen	10
E30	38	Male	Middle school	Istanbul	Aleppo	Barber	0	1	Temporary protection	2
E31	25	Male	University	Istanbul	Aleppo	Barber	0	0	Temporary protection	1
E32	42	Male	Elementary	Istanbul	Aleppo	Telephone Shop	0	1	Temporary protection	2

Table A.1 (continued) : Interviewee profiles.

Entrepreneur	Age	Gender	Education	City in Turkey	City in Syria	Sector	Export	Entr. Experience	Status	Employee Nr.
E33A_Owner	48	Male	Elementary	Adana	Aleppo	Motorcycle parts	1	1	Turkish citizen	8
E33B_Owner's son	28	Male	High School						Turkish citizen	
E33C_Customer	34	Male	Middle School	Adana	-	Motorcycle Technician			Turkish citizen	
E34	35	Female	High school	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Food processing	1	0	Temporary protection	6
E35	28	Male	University	Gaziantep	Aleppo	Food processing	1	1	Resident	80
E36	42	Male	University	Bursa	Aleppo	Education	0	1	Turkish citizen	15
Expert	52	Male	High School	Izmir	-	Shoe production	-	-	Turkish citizen	-
Expert	38	Male	High School	Istanbul	-	Barber	-	-	Turkish citizen	-
Expert	36	Male	High School	Ankara	-	Auto parts sale	-	-	Turkish citizen	-

APPENDIX B : Interview questions (Syrian Entrepreneurs)

Table B.1 : Interview questions (Syrian Entrepreneurs).

No	Question
1	Kendinizi tanıtır mısınız?
2	Ne zamandır İstanbul'dasınız?
3	(İş yerini açtığı şhirden önce) neredeydiniz?
4	Ne iş yapıyorsunuz? - Nasıl para kazanıyorsunuz? - Müşterileriniz kimler? - Müşterileri nereden buluyorsunuz? - Rakipleriniz kimler? - Sektördeki rekabet nasıl? - Kaç kişi çalışıyor?
5	Sizin rakiplerinizden farkınız ne?
6	Rakipleriniz, işi kurmanıza/büyütmenize nasıl tepki verdiler?
7	Şimdi işler nasıl gidiyor?
8	Bu işe nasıl karar verdiniz?
9	Nasıl başladınız? Sonra neler oldu?
10	Neden bu ili (müteakip soru ilçeyi/mahalleyi) tercih ettiniz?
11	İş kurmanız için size neler lazımdı?
12	İş kurarken ihtiyaçlarınızı nasıl karşıladınız? - Mali - Bilgi birikimi - İnsan kaynağı (personeli nereden buldu?) - Materyal, makine vb.
13	İş kurarken ihtiyaç duyduğunuz deneyimi nasıl kazandınız?
14	İş kurarken kimler yardımcı oldu?
15	İş kurarken ne gibi zorluklar veya engellerle karşılaştınız?
16	Sizce engeller neden oldu?
17	(Engelleri aşmak için) siz ne yaptınız?
18	İş büyütürken nelere (hangi kaynaklara) ihtiyaç duydunuz?
19	İş büyütürken İhtiyaçlarınızı nasıl karşıladınız (finansal, bilgi birikimi, insan kaynağı, materyal vb.)?
20	İş büyütürken ihtiyaç duyduğunuz deneyimi nasıl kazandınız?
21	İş büyütürken kimler yardımcı oldu/destek oldu?
22	İş büyütürken ne gibi zorluklar veya engellerle karşılaştınız?
23	İşinizi kurduktan sonra işinizi etkileyen önemli olaylardan bahseder misiniz? Bu olaylarda rol alan kişi veya kişilerden bahseder misiniz?
24	Şimdi işler ne durumda?
25	Günlük iş yaşamınızda ne tür sorunlarla karşılaşıyorsunuz? - Müşterilerle ne tür sorunlar yaşıyorsunuz? - Tedarikçilerle ne tür sorunlar yaşıyorsunuz? - Elemanlarınızla ne tür sorunlar yaşıyorsunuz?

Table B.1 (continued) : Interview questions (Syrian Entrepreneurs).

No	Question
26	Yaptığınız iş açısından Suriye ile Türkiye’deki iş ortamını karşılaştırırsanız, neler farklı veya benzer? (sektöre göre üretim, devletle ilişkiler, elemanların yönetimi, pazarlama, satış vb.)
27	Nerede oturuyorsunuz?
28	Suriyeli olmak işinizi nasıl etkiliyor?
29	Şirketinizi nasıl yönetiyorsunuz? Neler başınıza geliyor?
30	Peki işinizin geleceğine yönelik planlarınız neler? Bu iş nereye gidiyor?
31	Suriye ile iş ve aile bağlarınız nasıl?
32	Şehirdeki Suriyelilerle irtibatınız nasıl?
33	Yerel halkla bağlantınız nasıl?
34	Peki işe yeniden başlasaydınız, neleri farklı yapardınız?
35	Türkiye’deki hukuki statütünüz nedir? İhracat yaptığınız ülkelere gidebiliyor musunuz?
36	Sizin sormak istediğiniz veya eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

APPENDIX C : Interview questions (sector experts)

Table C.1 : Interview questions (sector experts).

No	Question
1	Kendinizi tanıtır mısınız?
2	Ne zamandır bu işi yapıyorsunuz?
3	Sektörünüzden biraz bahseder misiniz?
4	Sektörünüzde iş yapmak için ne tür kurallar var?
5	Sektörünüzde ne tür yazılı olmayan kurallar var?
6	Sektörünüzdeki Suriyeli şirketlerin durumu nasıl?
7	Size göre Suriyeli şirketlerin en çok zorlandıkları hususlar nelerdir?
8	Size göre Suriyeli şirketlerin avantaj ve dezavantajları nelerdir?
9	Suriyeli şirketlere sektörünüzle ilgili tavsiyeleriniz ne olurdu?
10	Sizin sormak istediğiniz veya eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?



CURRICULUM VITAE

Name Surname : Uğur YETKİN

EDUCATION :

B.Sc., 2004, USNA, Computer Science

M.B.A., 2010, Northwestern University, Kellogg School of Management

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE AND REWARDS:

2017-... Business Development Manager – MDC Clinic Kadıköy/Istanbul

PUBLICATIONS, PRESENTATIONS, AND PATENTS ON THE THESIS:

- **Yetkin, U., & Tunçalp, D.** 2022. Refugee Entrepreneurship and the Limits of Inclusion: Syrian Refugee Entrepreneurs in Turkey. *Academy of Management Annual Meeting*, August 5-9, 2022, Seattle, Washington, USA.
- **Yetkin, U., & Tuncalp, D.** 2022. Refugee entrepreneurship and the limits of inclusion: A study of Syrian refugee entrepreneurs' embeddedness in Turkey. *13th Organizational Theory Symposium*, February 4-5, 2022, Sinop, Turkey.
- **Yetkin, U., & Tuncalp, D.** 2021. Beyond embedded or not embedded: immigrant entrepreneurs' embeddedness levels. *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy*, Early access.
- **Yetkin, U., & Tuncalp, D.** 2021. Multi-contextual and non-binary embeddedness of entrepreurship: A case study of Syrian refugee entrepreneurs in Turkey. *European Group for Organization Studies Colloquium*, July 8-10, 2021, Amsterdam, Netherlands.
- **Yetkin, U., & Tuncalp, D.** 2020. Banyan Roots and Garden Ivy: A Systematic Literature Review of Embeddedness in Immigrant Entrepreneurship. *European Business and Economics Society Conference*, August 5-7, 2020, Istanbul, Turkey.

