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**AN EVALUATION ON THE CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL COHESION IN
FORCED MIGRATION THROUGH EMPLOYMENT: THE CASE OF
SYRIANS IN THE CONTEXT OF TURKEY**

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AN EVALUATION ON THE CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL COHESION IN
FORCED MIGRATION THROUGH EMPLOYMENT: THE CASE OF SYRIANS
IN THE CONTEXT OF TURKEY

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Approval of the Graduate School

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

AN EVALUATION ON THE CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL COHESION IN FORCED MIGRATION THROUGH EMPLOYMENT: THE CASE OF SYRIANS IN THE CONTEXT OF TURKEY

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This study reveals that employment is a functional instrument that contributes to the mechanism, considering that social cohesion is a tool that ensures the continuation of the socio-economic order of the modern-capitalist state. In social cohesion activities carried out for the employment of refugees, the state, as the most determining actor, takes the needs of the market as a criterion. Sectoral requirements at the national and global level in employment-related activities determine the work of refugees. In this process, non-governmental organizations support the state and play a facilitating role in the field. This functional aspect of employment for social integration also proposes an item, “the irony of social cohesion as a class instrument” for the agenda. But the organizational scope of the right to work may conflict with this contrast of social cohesion. The social order can be challenged, thanks to the collective resistance that employment provides to sectors of labor. However, as the disadvantage of labor groups in terms of accessing rights and services increases, as is the case with refugees, this unique aspect of employment against social cohesion begins to disappear. This situation increases the fragility of these segments and causes them to regress in social life. The employment of Syrians in our country is an important example of this theoretical perspective. In line with the interviews with the actors operating in the employment of refugees throughout Turkey and differing from each other in terms of administration, it is observed how the employment of Syrians contributes to the socio-economic order that the state tries to protect through the aim of social integration and in fact, the market rules dominate.

Keywords: State, Social cohesion, Social integration, Classism, Employment, Syrians.

ÖZET

ZORUNLU GÖÇTE SOSYAL UYUMA İSTİHDAM ARACILIĞIYLA KATKI ÜZERİNE BİR DEĞERLENDİRME: TÜRKİYE BAĞLAMINDA SURİYELİLER ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışma, sosyal uyumun, modern-kapitalist devletin toplumsal düzeneğininin devamını sağlayan bir araç olduğundan hareketle istihdamın bu düzeneğe katkı sunan işlevsel bir araç olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Mültecilerin istihdamı için yürütülen sosyal uyum faaliyetlerinde devletin en belirleyici aktör olarak piyasanın ihtiyaçlarını kriter olarak baz alması söz konusudur. İstihdama ilişkin gerçekleştirilen faaliyetlerde ulusal ve küresel düzeyde sektörel gereksinimler mültecilerin çalışmasına yön vermektedir. Bu süreçte devlete sivil toplum kuruluşları takviyede bulunmakta ve sahada kolaylaştırıcı bir rol üstlenmektedir. İstihdamın, toplumsal bütünleşme için bu işlevsel yanı, sosyal uyumun sınıfsal bir araç olarak ironisini de gündeme getirmektedir. Fakat, çalışma hakkının örgütlenme kapsamı, sosyal uyumun bu tezatlığı ile çatışabilir. İstihdamın emek kesimlerine kolektif olarak direnme imkânı sayesinde, toplumsal düzeneğe karşı çıkılabilir. Ancak, mültecilerde olduğu gibi emek kesimlerinin haklara ve hizmetlere erişim açısından dezavantajlılığı arttıkça, istihdamın sosyal uyum karşısındaki bu özgün yanı kaybolmaya başlamaktadır. Bu durum ise bu kesimlerin kırılganlıklarını arttırarak, onların toplumsal hayatta gerilemesine neden olmaktadır. Söz konusu teorik perspektife ise ülkemizdeki Suriyelilerin istihdamı önemli bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Türkiye genelinde mültecilerin istihdamı ile ilgili faaliyet gösteren ve yönetsel açıdan birbirinden farklılık gösteren aktörlerle yapılan görüşmeler doğrultusunda Suriyelilerin istihdamının, toplumsal bütünleşme amacı üzerinden devletin korumaya çalıştığı ve aslında piyasa kurallarının hâkim olduğu sosyo-ekonomik düzene nasıl katkıda bulunduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Devlet, Sosyal uyum, Toplumsal bütünleşme, Sınıfsallık, İstihdam, Suriyeliler

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To all refugees working at the cost of their lives...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

3RP	Refugee Response and Resilience Plan
BREDEP	Baseline Research and Development Project
DGMM	General Directorate for Migration Management
IOM	International Organization for Migration)
IGO	Inter-Governmental Organization
ILO	International Labor Organization
LFIP	Law on Foreigners and International Protection
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Turkey is hosting one of the largest refugee populations in the world, which requires more significance given to the issue of social cohesion of refugees. In particular, the title of employment, which is one of the most important tools in the field of social cohesion, is gaining more and more significance. It is thought that having the right and access to participation in the working life of people who have left their country due to forced migration has an important place in terms of “social cohesion” and “social integration” processes (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). The importance of this situation also shows itself in academic studies. As a matter of fact, it can be said that studies and research on the employment of refugees in Turkey have increased in recent years, especially since the 2016 Regulation on Work Permits of Syrians. Therefore, this academic trend can be considered parallel to the increasing efforts in the field to contribute to social cohesion through employment in forced migration.

Additionally, the fact that the Syrians represent the overwhelming majority of the refugee population brings with it the result that they are focused on as a specific refugee group in research on employment. Considering the quantitative data, it can be thought that this orientation is not unfair. According to official sources, 3 million 651 thousand 428 Syrians are registered in our country¹. And also, when it comes to the legal working history of this refugee segment, the last six years bring with it important consequences in terms of employment. As known, having been officially referred to as “guests” or “Syrians under temporary protection” since the early days of Syrian migration to Turkey, Syrian immigrants (Abdelaaty, 2021) have the right to work as of the year 2016. Yet, the more notable result is that a significant part of this population works unregistered despite legal procedures.

In line with the Syrians' Work Permit Regulation, which was put into effect the same year, Syrians under temporary protection have the right to work in Turkey and can access the labor market in a variety of sectors (UNHCR, 2021b). According to the

¹ <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638> Accessed on the date of 10.08.2022.

ILO (2021), there are 2.16 million Syrian of working age (15-65) in Turkey, and one million of them are employed (Kirişçi & Uysal, 2019). Yet, in Turkey, only 1.5% of Syrians work formally (ILO, 2021).

Besides these points, both participation in working life in social cohesion and refugee labor is needed in sectors in Turkey, making the employment concept more remarkable in the context of academia. As a result, the main focus of this study is to evaluate the social cohesion of refugees in terms of employment. Furthermore, with this study, it is tried to be revealed that, on the one hand, it contributes to social integration through the employment of refugees, and on the other hand, social integration is to ensure the continuity of the socio-economic order.

The fact that employment has its own unique consequences for social cohesion and social integration is another reason why this study is directed toward it. Employment has the potential to oppose the social order that is tried to be sustained through social cohesion. When employment is evaluated as an extension of the “right to work”, it includes union rights and freedom. Exactly in this context, employment is able to resist the inequality caused by the market. However, at this point, the fact that refugees are a disadvantaged category compared to other social segments in accessing rights and services comes to the fore. Although Turkey has taken important steps to facilitate the involvement of Syrian refugees in the labor market through various procedures (AIDA, 2021), as the disadvantage of social segments in accessing rights and services increases, employment cannot maintain its original purpose for the Syrians. In other words, social cohesion through the employment of these segments continues to be realized in favor of the market. This point itself is one of the motivations that makes it necessary to include the employment of Syrians within the focus of this study.

From this point of view, this study examines whether the employment of Syrians contributes to social cohesion and social integration and whether the potential of employment to resist the social order works in this context. The aim of the thesis is to shed light on whether employment as a functional tool of social cohesion contributes to the socio-economic order within the context of Syrian refugees. The research is designed as an exploratory study by using the qualitative method and semi-structured interview technique of that method that will prompt the participant to think and discuss

deeply. An in-depth understanding of the problems and finding solutions through the narratives of the actors are aimed. The sample is composed of 14 actors operating in the country regarding the employment of refugees.

With these aims, the following research questions are going to be explored in this thesis:

1. How do the actors evaluate the criteria that determine the employment of refugees?
2. How do the actors evaluate the problems encountered in the field of employment of refugees in Turkey?
3. How do the actors evaluate the solutions of the problems encountered in the field of employment of refugees in Turkey?
4. How do the actors evaluate the factors that determine the employment of refugees in Turkey?

This thesis comprises six chapters. These can be summarized respectively as follows:

The first chapter is the introduction and summarizes the research topic. The reasons for choosing the subject and methodology of the study are summarized in addition to the presentation of the research questions.

The second chapter provides the theoretical and conceptual framework that covers research questions put forward in the introduction chapter. This chapter consists of 3 sub-sections. The first subsection focuses on social cohesion in forced migration, while in the second subsection, social cohesion in forced migration in Turkey is tried to be explained conceptually and theoretically. In the third sub-section, the academic relevance of this thesis and the study's expected contribution to the literature are stated.

In the third chapter, the background subject of this study's focus is presented: Employment. This chapter consists of 2 sub-sections. While the importance of employment in terms of social cohesion is mentioned in the first sub-section, it is emphasized that employment has the potential to disrupt social cohesion in the second sub-section. Therefore, the first sub-part discusses the positive existence of the state in

terms of employment, while in the second sub-part, it is argued that refugees are a disadvantaged category in terms of employment.

In the fourth chapter, the design of the study and the methods of data collection and analysis are summarized. This research is a qualitative study, using a narrative inquiry approach to learn from the institutional experiences of the participants, who are the actors' representatives operating in the refugee field in Turkey. The data is collected via semi-structured in-depth interviews. Afterward, the processes of transforming the narratives into data and analyzing this data are explained. Finally, the consideration given to the ethical issues of the research will be discussed.

In the fifth chapter, the findings are presented with the help of quotes from the narratives of 14 actors operating in the refugee field and with diverse administrative structures. The findings are classified thematically and categorized in four main lines: Factors that determine refugee employment, problems encountered, solution proposals, and actors that determine refugee employment in Turkey.

The sixth and last chapter concludes the study by presenting a summary of prominent research implications. Research aims and questions are answered in light of the findings, and the study's contribution to the literature is highlighted. The limitations of the study are reviewed, and future research areas are mentioned.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is focused on the concept of “social cohesion in forced migration”. In order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon, the chapter is divided into two main parts. In the first part, social cohesion in forced migration is tried to be presented with the main lines in the literature. In the second part, social cohesion in forced migration in Turkey is tried to be presented in detail.

2.1. Social Cohesion in Forced Migration

2.1.1. First Review

Considering social cohesion in the context of forced migration requires starting with analyses that explain it with the phenomenon of mobilization. Forced migration is a category within human mobility, and in this study, it is considered as the most important complementary factor of social cohesion. From this point, the mobility and migratory movements are intrinsic features of humankind as an act of change in the spatiality within a framework of origin, destination, factors, and obstacles (Lee, 1966; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Indeed, the mobilization and migration of human communities have made the social transformation possible and have been the subject of many disciplines. Therefore, it can be said that the mobility and migratory movements lead to societal changes and transformations, which, in turn, have been inquired by multiple disciplines ranging from anthropology to sociology, economics, political sciences, law to international relations (Tamer, 2021). Moreover, it can be maintained that these disciplines handle these concepts differently. Considering different conceptual frameworks, these disciplines differ in their approaches while inquiring about the same subject matter (Tamer,2021). For example, an anthropologist may interpret mobility by arguing, “While people have always been on the move, human mobility has been variously valued and interpreted through time and within as well as across cultures and societies” (Salazar, 2018; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Meanwhile, a sociologist may interpret mobility as “the act of moving – [that] almost

inevitably affects people's differential access to social, economic, and human resources" (Hein, 2009; quoted by Tamer, 2021).

In line with these differences in approach, it can be said that the discipline of migration studies emerged. In other words, within this diversity, the mobility and migratory movements managed to establish their own interdisciplinary area: migration studies (Tamer, 2021). The interdisciplinary nature of migration manifests itself in the diversity of migration theories. It can also be claimed that this diversity is due to the difference in the scope of the unit of analysis. One of the key factors leading to migration studies having various theories is the difference in the unit of analysis approaches within and across disciplines (Brettell & Hollifield James, 2014, p.9; quoted by Tamer, 2021)). It can be argued here that migration theories are roughly differentiated at micro, mezzo, and macro bases, and these categories come with different analyses. While particular theories focus their inquiries on the micro level (e.g., Human Capital Theory of Migration), some others focus on mezzo (e.g., Network Theory) and others on the macro level (e.g., Migration Systems Theory) (Tamer, 2021). However, in analyzing what migration or mobility is, there have been other theories besides those mentioned above. Some of them combined different levels of analysis, such as Dual Labor Market Theory's macro (state) and mezzo (market) analysis or Neo-classical Migration Theory's macro (state) and micro (individual) analysis (Massey D., 1999; quoted by Tamer, 2021). However, the analysis and scope of migration theories are not limited to this, and the policy-making actors that will be mentioned in the following section also contributed to this field conceptually. Albeit, the accumulated knowledge of complementing and opposing theories of migration studies contributed to the establishment of profound concepts about mobility and migratory movements in different contexts, which exceeded the boundaries of academia and stretched through policy-making processes (Massey, et al., 1993; quoted by Tamer, 2021). On the other hand, the parties that are somehow affected by the mobility-for example, not only the elements of the scientific field but also the positions of the actors of the field, such as policymakers- are conceptualized and subjected to analysis. It seems possible to explain this part in the context of the types of mobility and, with the help of Collinson (1994), with four main categories. In this regard, the circumstances and motivations of the constituents of mobility had been categorized as a) strongly political and voluntary, b) strongly political and involuntary, c) strongly

economic and voluntary, and c) strongly economic and involuntary (Collinson, 1994; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Exactly at this point, it gives an idea that mobility is either voluntary or forced. Thus, this process reformulated and reshaped contemporary mobility and migratory movements mainly within two conceptual understandings: voluntary migration and forced migration (Tamer, 2021).

The migratory process can be explained as “[...] people move when they perceive that they will be better off somewhere else. Moreover, they will migrate to where they believe they can achieve this end condition” (Messina & Lahav, 2006; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Yet, this definition does not make the distinction between voluntary and forced migration clear.

However, it is thought that there is a need to distinguish between voluntary and forced migration in order to better understand this study, which focuses on social cohesion in forced migration. In line with this need, it is believed that the definitions by the two main institutions are basic references. For this purpose, due to their relevant fields of sovereignty, responsibility, and authority, and accompanied with their affiliated roles, the conceptual differentiation of mobility and migratory movements will be retrieved from two main sources: the International Organization of Migration (IOM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (Tamer, 2021).

The definition of voluntary and forced migration by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) is an important reference for understanding the difference between these two concepts. According to this:

“Migration is the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition, and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.”

“Forced migration is a migratory movement in which an element of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood, whether arising from natural or man-

made causes (e.g., movements of refugees and internally displaced persons as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects)” (International Organization for Migration, 201, quoted by Tamer, 2021).

Building on this definition of the IOM, two key concepts of forced migration need to be clarified for this study: humanitarian emergency and displacement. The first concept to be examined is humanitarian aid.

“A humanitarian emergency is an event or series of events that represents a critical threat to the health, safety, security or wellbeing of a community or other large groups of people, usually over a wide area [...] Armed conflicts, epidemics, famine, natural disasters, and other major emergencies may all involve or lead to a humanitarian disaster that extends beyond the mandate or capacity of any single agency. Regardless of the type of disaster, survivors are left in urgent need of life-saving assistance such as shelter, food, water, and health care [...] Natural disasters, which can be geophysical (e.g., earthquakes, tsunamis and volcanic eruptions), hydrological (e.g., floods, avalanches), climatological (e.g., droughts), meteorological (e.g., storms, cyclones), or biological (e.g., epidemics, plagues). Man-made emergencies, such as armed conflicts, plane and train crashes, fires, and industrial accidents. Complex emergencies, which often have a combination of natural and man-made elements, and different causes of vulnerability and a combination of factors, lead to a humanitarian crisis. Examples include food insecurity, armed conflicts, and displaced populations” (Humanitarian Coalition, 2019; quoted by Tamer, 2021)

The second concept is displacement.

“Displacement is considered arbitrary in the following circumstances: “(a) When it is based on policies of apartheid, “ethnic cleansing” or similar practices aimed at/or resulting in altering the ethnic, religious or racial composition of the affected population; (b) In situations of armed conflict, unless the security of the civilians involved or imperative military reasons so demand; (c) In cases of large-scale development projects, which are not justified by compelling and overriding public interests; (d) In cases of disasters, unless the safety and health of those affected

requires their evacuation; and (e) When it is used as a collective punishment” (United Nations Commission of Human Rights, 1998)

After explaining the basic concepts of forced migration related to social cohesion- humanitarian aid and displacement- other conceptual discussions of social cohesion in forced migration can be mentioned. However, before that, it may be useful to address some of the unique challenges that will come to the fore when considering social cohesion in the context of forced migration.

Conjunctionally, as a relatively ancient concept, social cohesion is a multidimensional phenomenon that has been the subject of many disciplines. As it stands, it seems difficult to say that there is a consensus on its definition. Nevertheless, the origins of social cohesion can be traced back to the 15th century, while its profound impact was realized in the forthcoming three centuries (Tamer, 2021). During this period, although there have been invaluable contributions to the formation and development of the concept, it seems difficult to reach a clear definition.² The prevalence of studies on the definition of social cohesion stems from the fact that it is a multidimensional concept, and it is not within the scope of this study to include these definitions. As a matter of fact, in this study, social cohesion is limited to forced migration, and its definition is tried to be narrowed in this direction.

In order to discuss the concept of social cohesion in forced migration, which is the main focus of this study, social segments are taken as the unit of analysis. This makes it possible to consider social cohesion most generally as a matter of connection between at least two social groups. From this point of view, Tamer's definition can be accepted as the main reference in terms of the critical perspective that this study tries to reveal. According to this, social cohesion is affiliated at the mezzo unit of analysis as a glue/ bond which keeps the society together by its bridging and linking prospects within the purview of the intergroup perspective (Tamer, 2021). The concepts of bridging and linking stand in a critical place for the definition of social cohesion discussed in the context of forced migration in this study, and they will be examined

² To take a look at the historical course of the concept of social cohesion, see: Tamer, Y. (2021). Social cohesion in forced migration: an attempt to operationalize social cohesion for Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey (Doctoral dissertation, Migration Studies.).

in detail when necessary. Indeed, to explain briefly, social cohesion in forced migration is a term in this study that refers to the relationship both between communities and between communities and institutions while excluding the relationship between individuals. In other words, the unit of analysis of this study is intergroup relations (bridging) and the relation of groups with institutions (linking). On the other hand, social capital typologies are used in the unit of analysis categorization, which is accepted as valid in this study.

It may be useful here to show a valid table of the categorization of social cohesion as a unit of analysis. The table quoted from Tamer's work is so:

Table 1

Adapting Social Capital Typologies to Social Cohesion³

Type	Description	Faculty of Interaction	Interaction between
Bonding	Interactions taking place between individuals who have ties and/or links deriving from the most vital similarities acting as “glue” or “bond” for keeping them together.	Intragroup	Micro-Micro
Bridging	Aggravation and accumulation of interactions between individuals among the self-identified different groups. It is horizontal interactions not necessarily relying on most vital similarities of the constituents of groups but need to bare minimum relies on reciprocity, trust and common good that are acting as “glue” or “bond” for keeping different groups together within a given society.	Intergroup	Mezzo-Mezzo
Linking	Aggravation and accumulation of interactions between self-identified different groups and structure (institutions). It is vertical interaction between groups and structure, having antecedent relations for acting as “glue” or “bond” for keeping the groups and structure together within a given society.	Intergroup	Mezzo-Macro

³ The table has been adapted from (McOrmond & Babb, 2005) and (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009) (quoted by Tamer, 2021).

Inspired by this table, while considering the concept of social cohesion in this study, it is basically accepted that there are two main different groups in a living ground, and one of them is included in this mechanism after the other. The groups in question are categorized as spatial, that is, in-group, and non-spatial, out-group, in Tamer's study. Referring to this perspective, interactions and exchanges are taking place between two mezzo units: in-group (spatial) and out-group (non-spatial), and it is proposed that there are divergences in the sense of belonging, shared identity, and the notion of community between them (Tamer, 2021). From this point of view, it can be claimed that social cohesion in forced migration refers to the unity between two main actors at a basic level. With the acceptance that these segments are mainly between individuals, groups, and institutions, it can be said that social cohesion in forced migration is related to the latter two and is based on the relationship between social groups (in-group) and /or between social groups and institutions (out-group). It can be maintained that a mezzo-analysis is performed in the study based on the units of analysis -the relationship of one group with another group or institution. When the exigency of intergroup interactions at the mezzo-level between forced migrants and the host community are taken into account, it is feasible to utilize the extensive definition of social cohesion as a glue or a bond for keeping the society together by its antecedent relations with affiliated quasi-concepts as well as its dimensions at horizontal (bridging) and vertical (linking) levels (Tamer, 2021).

It should be said that with this concept, in which two main social groups are accepted as subjects, it is also aimed to have a positive relationship between them. When this generalization is applied to the field of migration, it can be argued that these two communities are roughly the immigrant and the host community. To resolve the incompatibility between immigrants and host communities in the field of migration, the trend in both academic and popular literature has been to evaluate these concepts in order to reorganize various forms of social disintegration in the context of migration and to reconstruct the elements that unite communities (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020).

Considering the affiliated nature of social cohesion, in order to abate the emergence of anomies/prejudices, such as intergroup anxiety, negative stereotypes, realistic threats, and symbolic threats, which are depriving factors of social cohesion,

the volume and the frequency of intergroup interactions should be aimed to promulgate trust, common goal, cooperation, and support by social and institutional authorities at horizontal and vertical levels (Tamer, 2021). Therefore, it can be argued that it is necessary to harmonize the other segment, which is called out-of-group, with the existing segment, and that a peaceful coexistence is possible within this harmony. It would not be wrong to claim that the concept of social cohesion in forced migration is roughly in this direction. From this point of view, it is necessary to repeat that the definition of social cohesion, which refers to the dynamic of in-out groups, is also based on the same basis in the nexus of forced migration.

After the definition in which a mezzo analysis is made by focusing on the relation of two units (intergroup or between groups and institutions) and their adaptive coexistence, it is possible to move on to a policy-oriented literature review, in which the phenomenon of social cohesion is discussed in the context of forced migration. Despite doing so, specifically in the policy-based literature review, it should be said that the contextuality or subjectivity preferences of the definers who deal with the concept change its definition dimensionally. The definers refer to the actors who are constructing and/or (re) formulating the definition of social cohesion for their own devices, including- but not exclusive to - individuals at the micro level, societies at the mezzo, and institutions at the macro level (Tamer, 2021). As a matter of fact, the preference of a definer can give a profound idea about how the concept will be defined and how the effects of this definition will play out from the micro level to the macro level. According to this point, as the micro-level example, while some academicians may interpret the concept of social cohesion as the combination of trust, solidarity, and peace, others may interpret it as inclusiveness, poverty reduction, and social capital (Busari & Mekoa, 2018; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Meanwhile, dealing with the concept at the macro level is mostly related to the discussions on how institutions organize this issue. At the macro level, there can be mandate/goal orientations of institutional actors, ranging from international institutions like the United Nations, non-governmental organizations, transnational institutions like the World Bank, and governments of host countries (Tamer, 2021). On the other hand, the contextuality of those who define the concept at the micro or macro level can be associated with the subjective processes they are in or belong to. Moreover, the contextuality approach, which is tried to be observed in the political-based literature review, requires highlighting concepts such

as trust, social networks, and social capital in terms of the studies that deal with the concept of social cohesion in forced migration.

Bearing in mind this intrinsic relationship between the conceptualization of social cohesion and those working on this concept, it can be argued that two issues emerge when reviewing the policy-oriented literature. First of all, as emphasized before, there is no consensus on the definition of the concept of social cohesion, although there are many studies on this subject. Second, which is innately related to the first aspect, there is an immense variety of dimensions, domains, and parameters of the concept (Friedkin, 2004, p.409; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Precisely for this reason, it can be said that the social cohesion in forced migration as a phenomenon maintains its importance in the literature as a dynamic concept that continues to be studied.

Based on this theoretical ground, social cohesion in forced migration can be conceptualized with the help of two understanding lines. In Tamer's study, these are named as follows: "First understanding is integrationist approach which focuses on policies, particularly integration, while the second understanding is social interactionist approach that focuses on social interactions- intergroup interactions - which is inclusive of social capital and network theories (Tamer, 2021)." Although both approaches are thematically important for understanding social cohesion in forced migration, in the literature, they exist in isolation which causes a vague and limited definition, incorporation, and examination of social cohesion (Ozcurumez, Hoxha, & Icduygu, 2020, p:3-4; quoted by Tamer, 2021).

In this study, combining both approaches by associating them with each other is evaluated as a facilitating method for defining social cohesion, which intends to locate it vis-à-vis its bridging and linking prospects, respectively, at horizontal and vertical levels. Both approaches' focus on the social cohesion-forced migration nexus will be correlated with the thematic analysis of the policy-oriented literature (Tamer, 2021).

It can be said that it is difficult to reach a clear definition of social cohesion in forced migration, just as it is difficult to find a clear definition of social cohesion in

the literature. There are various reasons for this situation, and it may be useful to summarize what these reasons are. Considering forced migration, it can be stated that each case has its own dynamics and variables, including the purviews on protection and durable solutions in relation to local integration (Kuhnt, Rischke, David, & Lechtenfeld, 2017, p:11; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Another difficulty of the conceptual literature review regarding social cohesion in forced migration is that the phenomenon of forced migration is highly complex due to its unique features and contextuality (especially the complex nature of migration as a research topic) as well as the fact that the concept of social cohesion is a multidimensional and multi-layered phenomenon. The contextuality of the concept of forced migration and the fact that local integration constitutes one of the important hoops (links) of this contextuality makes the definition of this concept difficult. Some discussions on the term “Local Integration” can be made here.

2.1.2. Local Integration: As a Hoop of Social Cohesion in Forced Migration

It is thought that it is useful to take a look at the term local integration in order to understand a concept such as social cohesion in forced migration on which it is difficult to reach a consensus. In this context, it can be argued that the relative novelty of this concept has led to the novelty of the discussions on it. Social cohesion and social integration appear as concepts that do not have clear connections with the literature on forced migration and are used with changing meanings by scientists and practitioners in the very recent period, especially in discussions about practices, therefore far from being settled discourses in the field (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). In this context, local integration is envisioned as an important link of social cohesion. As will be discussed in detail in the next section, the local integration debate on the social cohesion of Syrians in Turkey also confirms the transformative nature of forced migration. On the other hand, this term is also important for Syrian refugees, which is the main focus of this study. Here, it can be argued that local integration includes “protection and a permanent solution”, especially paying attention to the preference as an umbrella concept by either inclusivists or non-inclusivists. However, due to the peculiar focus of this study on the conceptualization of forced migration, local integration implicitly refers to the inclusion of forced migrants, Syrians in Turkey, in

the host country at multiple angles like legal, economic, social, and political rights, duties, and obligations (Tamer, 2021).

In this direction, horizontal and vertical dimensions of social cohesion in forced migration come to the fore. In other words, the issue of local integration, which can be described as a hoop (ring), can also shed light on the horizontal and vertical dimensions of social cohesion in forced migration. This innately brings forth the intergroup interactions at horizontal and vertical levels where Local Integration is deemed to be a significantly prioritized concept where forced migration crosses over with social cohesion (Ozcurumez, Hoxha, & Icdyugu, 2020, p.2; quoted by Tamer 2021). But here, too, local integration comes into play as one of the reasons that complicate a clear definition of the concept of social cohesion in forced migration because the concept of local integration has definitions that are far from each other, similar to a two-way handicap created by the multiple interpretations of the concept of social cohesion and the subjectivity and contextuality of its definers. This situation can be explained as: “There is no single generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration. The concept continues to be controversial and hotly debated” (Castles S. M., 2002, p.112; quoted by Tamer, 2021).

On the other hand, the combination of the subjectivity of those who define this concept and the context in which the definition is shaped makes the issue of a clear definition of the concept even more difficult. This means defining Local Integration is related to whether and how it is being employed in forced migration where social, legal, economic, and political aspects of each situation and the resonance of their consequences are explicitly different from one another (Phillimore, 2012, p.6-7; quoted by Tamer 2021). However, as a concept, Local Integration unilaterally endured as a prominent idea, or so to say, a strategy while addressing the forced migration situations (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018, p.178; quoted by Tamer 2021). Moreover, attested to its multi-dimensional and multi-directional feature, the concept has also been discussed from different and multiple angles (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018, p.180; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Here again, the regulations regarding the social cohesion of Syrians in Turkey are an important reference point for what may be understood from this definition. Among those, considering the intergroup interactions of forced migrants and host society (community and structure alike), Local

Integration's reformulation as Harmonization in relation to Syrians under Temporary Protection in Turkey can be given as a prominent example (Tamer, 2021). Therefore, it can be argued that one of the keywords of local integration is harmonization.

2.1.3. Social Cohesion in Forced Migration: As a Sui Generis Social Fact

It can be stated that social cohesion and social integration processes are areas that have begun to be investigated in detail, both as sociological terms emphasizing social structures and interactions and as policy targets emphasizing social inclusion (social cohesion) issues in the field of study in which forced migration issues are examined (Özçürümez and İçduygu,2020).

As can be seen, both the concepts of local integration and harmonization and the use of these concepts in official documents and research are important steps for understanding the concept of social cohesion in forced migration. However, despite all these efforts, conceptual ambiguity remains. Here, mentioning some important studies on the *sui generis* social facts may be a way to overcome the ambiguity of the concept. As a matter of fact, these studies are also important for understanding the social cohesion of Syrians, which is the focus of this research.

As mentioned before, the multidimensionality of the concept of social cohesion and the conceptual confusion caused by this multidimensionality increase when a special social event such as forced migration enters the picture. In other words, the multi-layered and multi-dimensional nature of social cohesion has been further stipulated with the *sui generis* social facts of forced migration while investigating the phenomenon (Tamer, 2021). It may be useful to mention the concept of *sui generis* social facts as: "Social identity, composition and perception of homogeneity of the host community, if any, pre-existing relationship between the host and refugee communities along with host and refuge governments, economic deprivation and inequality among the host community, existing infrastructure, access and service capacity of host country, duration of the situation, spatiality-settlement patterns of refugee community, perceptions and relations between the host community and host government" (Zetter, 2015, p.8; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Based on this definition, it

can be concluded that social cohesion in the case of forced migration comes to the fore as a phenomenon with a transformative effect in the host country.

One of the issues that has emerged in the definition of social cohesion in forced migration is that the concept has become more important than before in terms of international protection, especially with the mass migration movements in the last ten years. However, the evaluation of the concepts of social cohesion and social integration within the framework of forced migration and mass arrivals, especially within the scope of international protection in the country of origin, has been in question, especially with the developments in the last ten years (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). This point can be considered as one of the situations that makes the concept a *sui generis* social fact. Additively, the phenomenon of mass mobility, which has occurred after the Syrian crisis, has made the intersections between international protection, humanitarian aid, social cohesion, and social integration processes clear at the global level (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020).

This definition can be a basis for the fact that this inference is verifiable in the context of Turkey and specifically for Syrians. In forced migration, particularly in *en masse* situations like Syrians in Turkey, it is assumed that the inflow of asylum-seekers/refugees transforms the dynamics of the host country (Zetter, 2015, p.63; quoted by Tamer, 2021). As the basis of this view, the realization of a significant transformation in legal framework and practices due to mass migration in Turkey can be shown. Thus, the transformative capacity of forced migration and constituents is stated to have triggered policy changes that have a reciprocal relationship with social changes stemming from forced migrants' own *sui generis* social facts like norms, values, and behaviors (Zetter et al., 2006, p.11; quoted by Tamer, 2021). However, this definition is also falsified by some research. Though this assumption has a fallacy by perceiving refugee and host communities as homogeneous, static, and stable constructs (Spoonley, Peace, Butcher, & O'Neill, 2005, p.96; quoted by Tamer 2021), it nevertheless accommodates a fact: the inflow of forcefully migrated communities facilitates social changes and transformations in the countries of asylum (Tamer, 2021).

From this point of view, there is a dominant perspective in the literature that a social transformation is an inevitable end and that social cohesion is a part of it, with the prediction of a negative situation that may arise between segments of society, primarily social problems. In this relation, this perspective tends to focus on changes and transformations as anomies or prejudices in intergroup interactions such as tensions, civil unrest, grievances, and social fragmentation as depreciating factors of social cohesion (United Nations Development Programme, 2020, p.55; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Building on this, this research theorizes social cohesion as a phenomenon by prescribing it as: “connecting forced migration with social relations, ideas, institutions and structures at various levels” (Zetter, 2015, p.22; quoted by Tamer, 2021).

On the other hand, in the field of migration, especially in order to eliminate the incompatibility between immigrants and host communities, the trend in both academic and popular literature has been to reorganize various forms of social dissolution in the context of migration and to reconstruct the elements that unite communities (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2021). The concepts of “social cohesion” and “social integration” constitute a conceptual basis for designing policies that aim to reduce situations and issues that may cause conflicts and tensions between social groups, including in societies where people who come by forced migration are added as a phenomenon that affects their inter-communal cohesion (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020).

From here, it can be passed to the research of social cohesion in forced migration within the context of Turkey.

2.2. Social Cohesion in Forced Migration within the Context of Turkey

In line with the research discussed above, the accepted perspective on social cohesion in forced migration in the context of Turkey is a projection of the evaluation of this concept as a political measure taken to prevent inter-communal conflict. In essence, the concepts of social cohesion and social integration represent both the social model and the policy model, which are accepted as remedies for the elimination of incompatibility, violence, tension, and hostility between social groups (Özçürümez

and İcduygu, 2020). It can be said that this approach is operated with the term harmonization, especially in the context of Turkey. Harmonization is discussed in the next section.

2.2.1 Harmonization: As a Marker of Local Integration

In addition to a link-like local integration, the term harmonization also holds a key place in understanding social cohesion in forced migration. In order to understand the framework created for the social cohesion of Syrians in Turkey, which is the focus of this study, and to set an example for this framework, a discussion on this concept can be started. The definition made by the most responsible and competent administrative authority for migration in Turkey is also extremely important. According to this, the established thematic framework of the National Strategy and National Action Plan on Harmonization addresses the concept as: “[...] neither an assimilation nor an integration. It is rather a voluntary harmonization resulting from mutual understanding of each other between the migrants and the society” (DGMM, 2020). Here it should be said that although “harmonization” is not considered either as “integration” or “assimilation” (DGMM, 2020), as none of the semantics is favorable above the other (Crips, 2004; quoted by Tamer, 2021), it has been used as a synonym of – *uyum*- (social cohesion) (Ozcurumez, Hoxha, & Icduygu, 2020, p.6-7; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Furthermore, it became a common theme referred to in official documents as an indication of ever-growing importance (Tamer, 2021). Also, giving the details of the harmonization as described in the aforementioned document can be considered an important step in eliminating the ambiguity about the definition of local integration. Because the document also explains the concept as “[...] harmonization activities in order to facilitate mutual harmonization between foreigners, applicants, and international protection beneficiaries and the society as well as to equip them with the knowledge and skills to be independently active in all areas of social life without the assistance of third persons in Turkey or in the country to which they are resettled or in their own country” (DGMM, 2020).

As can be understood from the definitions made, Harmonization constitutes an indicator of social cohesion, which is considered an inter-actor relation in forced migration. It can be stated that the conceptual definition of Harmonization thematically

refers to the intergroup perspective of social cohesion, albeit having an intricate relationship (Tamer,2021). However, despite its ambiguity, the definition of harmonization itself confirms that it is an important indicator of social cohesion in forced migration. From this, it can be argued that the uncertainty in the administrative approaches to the definition of harmonization causes a barrier in terms of the finalization of the definition. This definition is quite meaningful on the subject: “Harmonization stipulated by Law and in the duties of our Directorate General is neither an assimilation nor an integration. It is rather a voluntary harmonization resulting from mutual understanding of each other between the migrants and the society.” (DGMM, 2020). As it can be seen, the aforementioned definition emphasizes the voluntary coexistence of social cohesion between the two groups and causes a kind of uncertainty by not stating anything about how this will happen.

In addition, in the definition, which constitutes an important reference for the definition of social cohesion in forced migration, a voluntary and bilateral harmonization is mentioned for the continuation of this unity, even though there is a coming together due to necessity. Considering the state of affair approach, social cohesion can be embedded as the process of mutual understanding among the societies, while referring to the mean for end approach, social cohesion can also be interpreted as a condition that results in voluntary harmonization (Tamer, 2021).

Other examples of the uncertain nature of social cohesion can be cited. Indeed, the following definition is quite striking in order to further extrapolate the ambiguous nature of social cohesion: it occurs “[...] through a sense of participation, inclusion and trust among Syrians under temporary protection and members of host communities”, as well as a mean for an end (a condition) “[...] [setting] out a frame for the promotion of the participation of Syrians under temporary protection in community activities and for increased decision-making in issues that impact their lives and governance.” (Outcome Monitoring Report-3RP Turkey Chapter, 2018, p.29-31).

In addition to these descriptive and binding documents, which form the basis of harmonization, the studies of researchers in the literature are also important. To Tamer’s study, in this context, two main categories come to the fore: social cohesion's

mean for end approach and social cohesion's state of affair approach. “Research and studies given to the extent on the social cohesion-harmonization nexus in Turkey, are also affected by the dichotomous understanding of social cohesion’s state of affair approach and mean for end approach” (Tamer, 2021). Based on the focus of this study, studies regarding policies being implemented for social cohesion like providing access to rights and services such as citizenship, health, accommodation, livelihoods, education, and alike can be considered to dwell into social cohesion’s mean for end approach (Toksöz, Erdoğan, & Kaşka, 2012; Şimşek, 2019; Simsek & Corabatir, 2016; Sunata & Tosun, 2019; Adıgüzel & Tekgöz, 2019; quoted by Tamer, 2021). On the other hand, the research and studies regarding interactions such as conditions of work, social networks, family, and kinship ties can be considered to dwell into social cohesion’s state of affair approach (Dedeoglu & Bayraktar, 2019; Kaya, 2014; Lordoglu & Aslan, 2019; İşeri, 2017; quoted by Tamer, 2021).

As a summary, referring to the proposed definition of social cohesion in this study as a glue/bond in the form of a posteriori process at the horizontal level that bridges Syrian and Turkish communities, as well as an a priori condition at the vertical level that links two communities with the structure for achieving Harmonization, the 2019 Syrian Barometer provided a framework on how to achieve social cohesion (Tamer, 2021).

As stated before, the focus of this study is the social cohesion of Syrians in forced migration and its employment dimension. Therefore, it is known that the discussions in this section only involve Syrians. In the context of forced migration, two descriptive characters can be adapted regarding the social cohesion of Syrians. According to Tamer's study, these are as follows:

2.2.2. Settlement / Spatial - Setting Description⁴

The first one is a *prima facie* situation which is attested with *en masse* cross-border movement of the displaced persons. In the direction of that, there are three

⁴ The conceptualization of this definition belongs to Tamer. For details see: Tamer, Y. (2021). Social cohesion in forced migration: an attempt to operationalize social cohesion for Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey (Doctoral dissertation, Migration Studies.).

settlement- *or* spatial- settings described as in-peripheries, in-cities, and in-camps, where the latter two are more relevant to Syrians than the first one (Tamer,2021). A table corresponding to all these settlements and showing the intergroup connection is included in the aforementioned study⁵. The nature of refugee camps generally occurs as a dire solution for meeting the urgent basic needs of the persons of concern only for a short period of time (e Berry & Roberts, 2018, p.70; quoted by Tamer, 2021). In their due nature, camp settings spatially segregate forced migrant and host communities which decisively limits medium and volume of intergroup exchange and interaction (World Bank Group, 2017, p:86; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Here, it can be deduced that social cohesion is handled according to the settlement of the social group in question and that places such as camps have a negative effect on social cohesion. Based on the evolution of the situation, camps may persist for longer periods of time than they are initially anticipated (UNHCR, 2009; quoted by Tamer, 2021). The “in-city” or non-camp settings generally occur where and when the displaced persons have the capacity and capability to decide, which means not being obliged to settle in a camp setting (UNHCR, 2009; quoted by Tamer, 2021). It is possible to say that intergroup social cohesion differs in camp settings and non-camp settings. The comparison of two spatial settings evidently unravels that “in-city” provides comparatively ample medium and volume for intergroup exchange and interaction among refugee and host communities due to cohabiting- either in urban or rural areas- in an approximately similar but not necessarily the same context (UNHCR, 2014; quoted by Tamer, 2021). More explicitly, dwelling in a similar context does not necessitate having the same levels of capacity and/or capability to access services, social networks, rights, entitlements, and opportunities (de Berry & Roberts, 2018, p:9; quoted by Tamer, 2021). This point gives an idea that the same living grounds of the social segments do not necessarily mean that they will achieve the same harmony in the society. Referring to this formula, a causal relationship can be formulated as follows: social cohesion is located within the volume and medium of intergroup interactions between Syrian and Turkish communities, which is correlated with the population of Syrians who have been cohabiting in-city settings (Tamer, 2021).

⁵ Retrieved from (de Berry & Roberts, 2018; quoted by Tamer, 2021).

On the other hand, some data regarding the Turkish context are important in the settlement analysis, which is considered as a criterion in the evaluation of social cohesion in the case of forced migration. As of December 2020, Turkey is hosting 3,638,420 Syrian refugees where approximately 98% of the total Syrian population has been already residing in “in-city” settings, similar to the half of the global forced migrant population (Erdoğan & Balçioğlu, 2020; quoted by Tamer, 2021), which started in Turkey at the early stages of the emergency situation. And Syrians under Temporary Protection in Turkey can also be considered as “urban refugees”, who mobilized their own capacities and capabilities for choosing cities for settlement (Erdoğan, 2020; quoted by Tamer, 2021). In this context, it can be stated while capacities may refer to the social networks, family, and kinship ties that could facilitate support in the selected city of settlement, the capabilities may refer to the availability of livelihood opportunities in the selected city (Erdoğan & Balçioğlu, 2020; quoted by Tamer, 2021).

2.2.2.a. Dimensional Approach

The dimensional approach of the social cohesion in forced migration within the context of Turkey requires dealing with it in horizontal and vertical dimensions again. In this direction, it is important to specify what is understood from these terms and to reveal what is understood from the concept of social cohesion. Most generally, the horizontal dimension of social cohesion includes inter-communal harmonization, while the vertical dimension includes harmonization between communities and institutions. These dimensions can be evaluated with the parameters of belonging, inclusion, participation, recognition, legitimacy, and equality, which are the analytical components of social harmony.

The following table shows how the two dimensions differ in terms of making sense of social cohesion in forced migration.⁶

⁶ Retrieved and proposed based on analysis of the works and studies under Dimension Approach and Nexus Approach namely: (Jenson, 2010), (Jenson, 1998), (Bernard, 1998), (Fenger, 2012), (Forrest & Kearns, 2000) (Larsen, 2014), (Chan, To, & Chan, 2006), and (Spoonley, Peace, Butcher, & O'Neill, 2005) (quoted by Tamer, 2021).

Table 2*Dimensions and Parameters of Social Cohesion Source*

Dimension	Parameters	
	Horizontal (Bridging)	Vertical (Linking)
Belonging	Sense of belonging, being part of community, shared values, norms and social attitudes where people feel connected to their co-residents, their home area	Feeling of attachment which is intertwining with personal, spatial, and institutional identity where people feel can trust the organizations responsible for governing or serving their area
Inclusion	Harmonious common standard, acknowledgement of social obligations and willingness to assist others	Access to opportunities, redistribution of public nuances and of opportunities
Participation	Social interaction within communities and families, civic engagement and associational activity; easy resolution of collective action problems where can take part in social and community local events occur and are well attended	Acknowledgement of diversity through political participation in public affairs that are affecting and impacting on the communities.
Recognition	Feeling of safety, non-restrictiveness for engaging in interactions accompanied with absence of conflict, threats and incivility	Feeling of acceptance by others, acceptance of differences, pluralism, tolerance those are reflecting at institutional level
Legitimacy	As extend as possible sharing common aims and objectives, moral principles and codes of behavior	Acceptance of public and private institutions those acts as mediators, support for political institutions
Equality	Feeling of trust and reciprocity in relations where communities co-operate to support one another	Equality to access to services and opportunities provided by the institutions in egalitarian way.

In relation to the context of this study, ghettoization is the anathema of social cohesion due to its promulgating homogeneity of interactions that are limited within the intragroup perspective, which is accompanied by isolation and exclusion of spatial community from the wider community within a given society (Wirth, 1927; quoted by Tamer, 2021). In the case of ghettoization, an idea can be put forward that in-group

social cohesion weakens. While ghettoization may exacerbate solidarity and trust within an intragroup perspective, it also accelerates isolation and exclusion as adverse effects leading a gateway through anomies- prejudices- against solidarity and trust within the intergroup perspective, which prevents the establishment of vital similarities between refugee and host communities acting as a hindrance of social cohesion (Duman & Alacahan, 2012) (p:57) (quoted by Tamer, 2021). In this context, ghettoization can be characterized as an undesirable result of social cohesion at the horizontal level. Or, it can be said that within the Turkish context, the location of social cohesion at the horizontal level can be attested as a condition in forming intergroup interactions between Syrian and Turkish communities for assuring harmonized cohabitation and bridging of communities within the society (Tamer, 2021). It can be claimed that social cohesion at the horizontal level is exposed to a disruptive effect due to ghettoization, which is a result of the prolongation of the forced migration situation.

Additively, protraction of a forced migration situation not only changes and transforms the horizontal interactions but also the vertical interactions, that is, interactions with the structure (Tamer, 2021). In the context of social cohesion and vertical interactions, there are two key frameworks that demonstrate a definitional reconsideration of social cohesion in Turkey. The first framework is the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP), where Article 96 refers to harmonization instead of integration, which highlights the exceptional and unique status of Syrians in Turkey (UNHCR, 2019; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Referring to the characteristics of Syrians in Turkey as a *prima facie* situation where the constituents are considered as urban refugees, the transformation of legal frameworks in the form of *central* harmonization policy (Huddleston & Tanczos, 2017; quoted by Tamer, 2021) is reflected throughout peripheral -local- level. Therefore, it is explicit that harmonization has been used as the proxy term for mainstreaming social cohesion (Asylum in Europe, 2020) in relation to the intergroup perspective's linking prospect of the phenomenon within the existing protection interventions and durable solution strategies, such as access to and provision of health, education and resilience services, and processes aimed to increase social and economic inclusion of Syrians at the vertical level (3RP Report - Turkey, 2019-2020) (quoted by Tamer, 2021).

On the other hand, the thematic analysis of this study proposed the dimension approach- extrapolated as an integrationist approach- which tried to define social cohesion by utilizing the most common and reiterated mezzo-level dimensions of the policy-oriented literature (Tamer, 2021). Here, too, social cohesion is discussed from two perspectives. The first approach deems social cohesion as a condition. The second one deems the phenomenon as a process.

The following explanation is an example of an approach that understands social cohesion as a condition: “The comprehensive legal framework concerning Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey includes social cohesion components, and efforts aimed at harmonization” (3RP Report - Turkey, 2020-2021), while an example of the second approach, which understands it as a process, would be as follows: “Social protection plays a vital role in achieving greater equality and social cohesion and in supporting human and economic development.” (3RP Report - Turkey, 2020-2021; quoted by Tamer, 2021).

Furthermore, Berry's work also constitutes a sample for understanding social cohesion through horizontal and vertical dimensions within the context of Turkey. In this direction, it seems that the conceptualization of Harmonization in Turkey can be best understood within the study of John Berry`s concept of acculturation, “which refers to the process of cultural and psychological change that results following meeting between cultures” (Berry J., 2010, p.472; quoted by Tamer, 2021). Within the context of daily interactions between two different groups (forced migrants and the host community), Berry`s two assumptions have significant importance. First, individuals are willing to maintain their own identities, which can be surmised as preservation of collective consciousness which reflects the capacity for social change and transformation. Second, individuals are willing to engage with others who are outside of their own groups within the range of daily interactions, which can be surmised as the willingness to interact with others (Berry J., 1980, p.11; quoted by Tamer, 2021) that reflects the location of social cohesion at the horizontal and vertical levels.

Here, the issue of harmonization comes into play again, being a durable solution and a coping mechanism that goes beyond Integration and Assimilation. It requires bidirectional social cohesion for mutual concurrence on vital similarities among forced migrants and host communities to promote voluntariness of interaction and mutual understanding among communities (Phillimore, 2012, p.2; quoted by Tamer, 2021). In this relation, it is paramount to reiterate the importance of the intrinsic relationship between social capital and social cohesion during the adaptation of a coping mechanism, which is correlated with the existence of the former phenomenon at the micro-level leading through the latter phenomenon at the mezzo-level (Cheung, 2013, p.39; quoted by Tamer, 2021). For this very reason, it can be inferred that as a phenomenon, social cohesion seems to be dispositioned as a condition of Harmonization (Tamer, 2021). Therefore, Tamer's definition for the Turkish context has a rather complementary nature; where it has been brought up to the following point:

“Mezzo-level glue/bond as a process that aggregates over time stemming from daily and ordinary interactions of Syrian and host community attested at horizontal, and interactions with the structure (institutions) of host country attested at vertical level as an *a priori* condition which leads through Harmonization (Tamer, 2021).”

Adhering to the mezzo analysis, it can be argued that in the context of Turkey in general, social cohesion in forced migration is tried to be defined through the concept of harmonization, and this is tried to be embodied in two main axes. The first one is the horizontal axis, which is composed of the interactions between Syrian and Turkish communities that act as a bridge and at least necessitate a minimum level of reciprocity, trust, and common good that acts as a glue or bond for keeping the two groups together in Turkey (Tamer, 2021). The second one is the vertical axis, which is composed of interactions of Syrian and Turkish communities with the structure, namely, institutions of the host country, Turkey, and acts as a link that glues or bonds both communities and structure for keeping the society together in Turkey (Tamer, 2021).

In this regard, attested to its goal “[...] to provide a framework for achieving social cohesion with Syrians in Turkey” (Erdoğan, 2020, p.46; quoted by Tamer 2021),

the Syrian Barometer is considered as a sample where its main findings will be reviewed in relation to the proposed definition of social cohesion for Syrians in Turkey. 2019 Syrian Barometer explained social cohesion as:

“An attempt to reveal the conditions of and the road map for the peaceful coexistence of foreigners (migrants, refugees, etc.), in other words the “others” who are in numerical minority in the society, and the rest of the society where they are not perceived as a “threat to social peace” and all segments of society live without conflict and tension” (Erdoğan, 2020, p.12).

Until this part of the literature review, it has been tried to reach the conceptual definition of social cohesion in forced migration in general, and it has been tried to summarize how it is handled in the context of Turkey. In the following part, a framework will be tried to be created in terms of employment, which is designed as one of the most important tools of social cohesion in this study.

2.2.3. Social Cohesion in terms of Employment within the Context of Turkey

In order to understand the employment participation processes of people who have left their country due to forced migration, it is necessary to start by questioning the differences in the working life of the people in their country of origin (Betts et al., 2017). But here, it may be necessary to make a definition of what the source of livelihood is. There is a consciousness in the economic literature on livelihood sources that people need a material base to meet their needs (Kaag, 2004; Kaag et al., 2005; Horst, 2006). It can be argued here that access to life and work is handled with a need-based approach on the basis of the continuity of economic life rather than a rights-based perspective. Another evaluation made as an extension of the needs-based approach is as follows: Livelihoods encompass the capacities, assets, and activities necessary for life (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020).

When it comes to the context of forced migration, it can be said that access to livelihood has a sustainable effect on people's lives as one of the most effective means of realizing social cohesion in the migrated country. In addition, it is thought that access to livelihoods contributes to the healing of traumas that people are under the

influence of due to their forced migration experience and increases the possibilities of transferring sustainable livelihoods to the next generation (Chambers and Conway, 1992). As it can be understood from this consensus, reaching livelihood, which is called employment in this study, comes to the fore as a factor that has a positive effect on social cohesion in general. Even if there is no clear evidence that participation in working life will positively affect people's "social adaptation" and "social integration" processes, it is thought that the most effective environments that enable people who came with forced migration to participate in social interactions are working environments (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). Although any valid approach to social cohesion in the literature has to be based on the principle of being scientific, the positive effect of employment on social cohesion is discussed from a different perspective. Accordingly, employment serves its purpose of social integration as one of the most effective means of social cohesion. Although this issue will be explained in the conclusion part, it may still be meaningful to include the following view. It is stated that having a job and a regular livelihood is a prerequisite for individuals to take an active part in social cohesion and social integration processes, but it is not always sufficient (Çağlar and Onay, 2016; OECD, 2016a).

As a matter of fact, within the scope of the research conducted for the conceptual framework, it has been determined that the most important condition for being self-sufficient is the employment of adult individuals who leave their own countries with forced migration and continue their lives in other countries (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). However, it is important to mention one point here in order to ground the ideas that will be put forward in the conclusion part of this study. In the aforementioned literature, the aim of studying livelihood is to develop a holistic and individual-centered economy, as mentioned by Polanyi, one of the most famous names in this field (Kaag et al., 2005, p.2).

Additionally, considering the country-level studies regarding the social cohesion of Syrian refugees in terms of employment, it is observed that there are various academic studies directly related to the subject. However, it is also observed that a critical approach to social integration is not generally developed in these studies that are based on the social cohesion of Syrians in terms of employment. For example, in Düzakaya's (2016) study, the social cohesion of Syrians in terms of employment and

the policies implemented for employment, which is considered one of the important tools of social cohesion, are discussed. However, a critical view is not included (Düzkaya, 2016).

Moreover, when the research is divided into three main pillars as the social cohesion of Syrian refugees, employment of Syrian refugees, and employment and social cohesion of Syrian refugees, it is possible to find more studies in the literature. However, it can be argued that these studies also ignore the fact that the state is the main actor in terms of being a policy maker and practitioner, and more attention is drawn to the role of civil society in integrating refugees into working life. In this context, Çebi's (2017) work sets an example. This study focuses on the project, campaign, and campaign discourses of some non-governmental organizations in order to raise the role of NGOs in the integration process of Syrians (Çebi, 2017). However, even from this point of view, it can be said that this study provides a humble contribution by making a critique concerning the term of social cohesion and social integration within the context of Turkey through the employment of Syrians.

In the following section, the studies related to the employment of refugees in Turkey studies will be discussed.

2.2.3.a. Employment of Refugees

Considering the studies that take place in the literature on the employment of Syrians in our country, it is possible to state that these studies give priority to this category among refugee groups revealing the experiences of Syrians in their employment life. The studies focusing on the job-seeking and finding processes of Syrian refugees, working conditions, or the problems they met are frequently encountered in the literature (Ağlargöz & Yardımcı, 2019; Taş & Küçükoğlu & Menteşe, 2016; Akbaş & Ulutaş, 2018). The emergence of the most prominent of these studies, especially after 2015, has a close relationship with the emergence of long-term tools, such as employment for Syrians in the 5-year period after 2011, rather than temporary answers such as humanitarian aid tools.

On the other hand, evaluating the integration of Syrians in the context of employment is not sufficiently taken into account in academic studies. The focus of these studies is on the relationship between Syrians' employment and integration in general (Akcan, 2018; Aktaş, 2019; Alca, 2019; Arslan, 2018; Bilecen & Dinçer, 2018; Dönmez Kara, 2016; Duruel, 2017; Düzkaya, 2016; Erdoğan, 2014; Erdoğan 2015; Esen & Binatlı Oğuş, 2016; Gelekçi & Kılıç & Meçik, 2018; Kahveci, 2019; Kaya, 2016; Kaygısız, 2017; Koca, 2019; Kocadaş, 2018; Koç & Görücü & Akbıyık, 2015; Korkmaz, 2018; Koyuncu, 2016; Kutlu, 2019; Özipek, 2018; Özpinar & Çilingir & Düşündere, 2016; Öztürk & Çoltu, 2018; Özyiğit Ökten & Ökten & Gül, 2019; Sönmez & Mete, 2015; Demirci & Arı, 2016; Sunata, 2018; Şimşek, 2018; Şahankaya, 2018; Taş & Küçükoğlu & Menteşe, 2016). However, in these studies that are based on the social cohesion of Syrians in terms of employment, it is observed that the concept of social cohesion is affirmed in terms of social integration, and its political economy is not sufficiently examined. With this study, the gap in this subject will be tried to be filled.

Nevertheless, it can be also claimed that studies based on the impact of the employment of refugees on the Turkish economy, especially on the labor markets, are quite common in the literature. However, these studies have evaluated the workforce of Syrians as an advantage for the country's economy (Aygül, 2018; Cebeci, 2017; Duruel, 2017; Esen & Ayla Binatlı Oğuş, 2016; Kaygısız, 2017; Korkmaz, 2018; Kutlu, 2019; İlğazi, 2019). In these studies, it is mostly argued that the employment of refugees should be evaluated as an opportunity for the development of the country and an increase in the level of welfare. However, Akcan's (2018) study can be excluded from these perspectives, which would be considered a utilitarian approach to refugee employment. According to that, the Syrian workforce has a negative impact on the country's economy, and the state should produce policies to eliminate this situation (Akcan, 2018).

Similarly, Çoltu and Öztürk's (2018) study represents the negative attitude in this direction, considering the Syrian refugee situation as a development that has a negative impact on Turkey's social welfare. For them, the influx of Syrian refugees, far from contributing to Turkey, leads to an increasingly inextricable process that has adverse effects on Turkey's development, and it does not seem likely to be resolved in

the near future (Çoltu and Öztürk, 2018). There are also studies emphasizing the disadvantage in the working conditions of this refugee group. However, for the Syrian community, the main area of challenge seemed to be working conditions, which have been iterated that the conditions are not only difficult due to their existence in the “shadow economy” (Dedeoglu & Bayraktar, 2019) -informal economy- but also due to the exceptional circumstances of available formal employment (Erdoğan, 2020, p.43).

It can be thought that, regardless of whether refugees evaluate their employment positively or negatively, there is a lack of these kinds of critical studies since most of them do not give enough place to the relationship between the employment and social integration of refugees on the basis of critical perspective. From this point of view, it is thought that this study is a contribution considering the deficiency in the literature by treating employment as a functional tool of social order.

It should be noted that it is difficult to make a national assessment of the employment of refugees since most of the studies on the employment of refugees focus on only one region. These studies focus on one or two cities in the country (Ataş, 2017; Aziz, 2019; Bakioğlu & Artar & İzmir, 2018; Cebeci, 2017; Çakıcı & Yılmaz & Çakıcı, 2019; Çetin, 2016; Çoban, (2018); Gürel Üçer & Özkazanç & Atılğan, 2018; Kadooğlu, 2019; Kahveci, 2019; Kaya & Kırac, 2016; Kaya & Demirağ, 2016; İlgazi, 2019; Lordoğlu & Aslan, 2015; Lordoğlu & Aslan, 2016; Pedriye & Mısırlı & Kahveci & Akyol & Gümüşcan & Pınar & Salman, 2018). Yet, it is necessary to acknowledge this handicap’s justification, that is, the focus areas (Şanlıurfa, Denizli, Adıyaman, Istanbul, Ankara, Elazig, Mersin, Adana, Gaziantep, etc.) are places where refugees prefer to live more than other regions, and each region has its own unique socio-economic dynamics. However, it can be claimed that this study makes a wider perspective more possible because the employment topic is focused on at the national level.

It can be argued that almost all of the regional studies emphasizes the language problem, cultural conflicts, adaptation problems (stemming from different work habits and not being employed in jobs that match the skill and experience of the refugees), their labor exploitation due to refugees being at the bottom of the cheap labor ring,

competition (turns discriminatory due to the fact that refugees are cheap labor), and employment problems, such as not working in health and safety environments. However, it is also interesting to note that discrimination, which could exacerbate conflicts among two communities, is considered by the Syrian respondents as one of the lesser important concerns in comparison to “communication/language barrier” or “working conditions” (Erdoğan, 2020, p.142).

However, even if these regional studies, which are mostly based on one city or at most two cities, narrow the scope of the problems, solutions and policy proposals, these studies are extremely valuable to understand the dynamics of the region and develop more specific and effective solutions.

In city-based studies, it is generally assumed that these places are preferred by refugees because they are advantageous in terms of job opportunities. Another point emphasized significantly in regional studies on the employment of refugees and interviews made with the working refugees is that refugees prefer to live in the region due to the high job opportunities (Ağlargöz & Yardımcı, 2019; Akbaş & Ünlütürk Ulutaş, 2018; Arslan, 2018; Ataş, 2017; Aygül & Kaba, 2019; Bakioğlu & Artar & İzmir, 2018; Bostancı, 2016; Budak & Demir & Tan & Sarı, 2017; Çakıcı & Yılmaz & Çakıcı, 2019; Çetin, 2016; Lordoğlu & Aslan, 2015; Lordoğlu & Aslan, 2016). Yet, this assumption is based on the possibility that the refugees living in the relevant city are employed, and the research focus is on the refugees who are employed in these cities. Therefore, the situation of the refugees who live in these cities but are not employed and whose number is higher than those employed, is ignored. But, in a study that puts forward the problems, solutions, and policies regarding the employment of refugees, the reason why the unemployed refugees still prefer to live in these cities seems to be an important research question. In this respect, dealing with the refugees who can not enter the working life in the relevant cities will reveal the dimensions of refugee employment more clearly and provide an opportunity to evaluate the state's attitude on this issue. With this study, the aforementioned deficiency is tried to be remedied by taking into account the situation of the refugees who cannot be employed.

Another shortcoming in the literature is considered to be a lack of attention to research on the employment of refugees in other regions or cities that are not rich in

job opportunities. The fact that the employment of refugees living in these regions and cities is not the subject of much research is thought to be due to the fact that these places are not developed in the sectors in which refugees are employed the most in the country (e.g., leather, shoemaking, textile, blacksmithing, welding, construction, entrepreneurship). In addition, conducting interviews only with refugees who have a working history in that region can be considered as another problem in these studies. In these studies, interviewing employees is encountered (Çınar, 2018; Çiftçi, 2019; Daniş, 2016; Deniz & Reyhanoğlu, 2018; Duruel, 2017; Ekiz, 2019; Gürel Üçer & Özkazanç & Atılgan, 2018; Karan, 2019). However, in a study to be carried out on the employment of refugees, holding these interviews with non-refugee actors will provide depth in terms of problems, solutions, and policies to be proposed. Conducting interviews with non-refugees also seems important in terms of revealing the link between the employment of refugees and their social acceptance; therefore, this problem was tried to be overcome by including non-refugee actors within this study. Another point that comes to mind regarding the studies in the literature on the employment of refugees is that interviewing employers or employer representatives are less preferred, instead concentrating on labor groups. Thus, in these studies, it is also observed that mostly refugees are interviewed (Arslan, 2018; Bilecen & Dinçer, 2018; Dönmez Kara, 2016; Kadoğlu, 2019; Karasu, 2017; Kirişçi, 2014; Koca, 2019; Koyuncu, 2016; Özipek, 2019; Özpınar & Yasemin & Düşündere, (2016); Sunata, 2018).

The fact that there are almost no studies dealing with the relationship between the refugee community, which is known to have a very high rate of unregistered employment, and workers' and employers' organizations can be considered as another deficiency.⁷ And, it is almost impossible to come across the issue of union organization, which is one of the most indispensable areas regarding the employment life of refugees, in the literature. While this issue is encountered in some organization reports, these studies have included some research reports of some professional organizations (Dönmez and Kara, 2016; Erdoğan, 2019; Kadoğlu, 2019). The

⁷ It can be argued that, starting from the weakening of the belief in professional organizations in Turkish society, the lack of political support for this organization plays role in this deficiency. Especially after the 1980 coup, the legal weakening of workers' organizations and the fact that the organization of labor groups are increasingly equated with marginality and the increase in the disorganization of domestic labor groups can be counted as the obstacles or reasons in front of the professional organization of refugee labor groups.

deficiency in the scholarly literature has been tried to be eliminated by including interviews with trade unions in this study.

2.2.3.b. The Link between Employment and Social Cohesion

It can be said that another salient deficiency in studies on the employment of refugees living in Turkey is that the link between employment and integration is not revealed sufficiently. The relation between the two notions is dealt with and treated as a one-way relationship.⁸ The assumption in these studies is generally that there is a positive correlation between employment and integration and that the two have a positive effect on each other. (Arslan, 2018; Bilecen & Dinçer, 2018; Dönmez Kara, 2016; Kadoğlu, 2019; Karasu, 2017; Kirişçi, 2014; Koca, 2019; Koyuncu, 2016; Özipek, 2019; Özpınar & Yasemin & Düşündere, 2016; Sunata, 2018). At this very point, Çoltu and Öztürk's (2018) study makes a difference in terms of considering the Syrian influx as a social and economic threat and considering this relationship in a positive way. Furthermore, considering the reality regarding the employment of refugees in our country, it is possible to say that the correlation between these two variables can be exceptional in some cases. It has also been found in this study that there may be a negative correlation between employment and integration in some cases based on field practice, unlike perceiving the influx of refugees as a potential threat.

There are some scholars who try to make up for the lack of studies on the role of the state in the employment of Syrian refugees in the literature. It can be offered that Acikel's (2015) research is one of the important examples of these studies. According to the author, in order for the integration of Syrians to be possible, the employment policies implemented by the state should aim to be long-term by including methods such as developing vocational skills instead of taking the pulse of the local people (Açikel, 2015).

In addition, another issue highlighted in these few studies is approaching the issue of employment as a social cohesion problem to be eliminated. In these studies, the role of the state is handled as a policy maker (Özpınar & Yasemin S. Çilingir &

Ayşegül T. Düşündere, 2016; Üstün, 2016; Akcan, 2018). However, it can be claimed that the striking point in these studies is that the state is in an ambiguous position in terms of the employment-integration context. Therefore, this study can be considered as a contribution to the literature, as it tries to clarify the position of the state in realizing social cohesion in the context of employment.

A development-based approach is another notable issue in research on the operations applied regarding the employment of refugees, especially in the sense of donor organizations. In these kinds of research and evaluation studies, it is emphasized that developed countries will prevent refugees from returning to their own countries and that the excess demand in developing countries will reach balance through the employment of refugees (Deniz & Reyhanoğlu, 2018; Kirişçi, 2014; ORSAM Rapor No: 195, 2015; Özgüler, 2018). Therefore, academic studies on the employment of refugees need perspectives that can reveal the socio-economic analysis of developing countries such as Turkey from a more objective perspective and that can be an alternative to the development-oriented approach.

When looking at the studies on the social cohesion of Syrian refugees, it is noteworthy that this concept is addressed with a broader dimension than employment. In some of these studies, it can be claimed that the state has developed an integration policy to achieve social cohesion. In these studies, the integration policies implemented by the Turkish state in order to ensure the social integration and social acceptance of Syrian refugees are evaluated (Coşkun & Alodalı & Yolcu, 2016). In this context, Erdogan et al.'s work can also be mentioned. It is emphasized that registration should not be neglected on the one hand, while adaptation strategies should be developed for both temporariness and permanence on the other (İçduygu, Erdoğan and Yüksel, 2018). With this study, this deficiency has been tried to be eliminated by focusing on the employment dimension of the multi-dimensional concept of integration.

The striking point in studies such as evaluation reports, which deal with the results and outputs of employment projects in our country, is that quantitative data on employment is included a lot and, mostly the short-term goals of the related projects are focused. Yet, focusing on the short-term consequences of practices regarding the

right to work, one of the most important fundamental rights and freedoms of human life, may cast a shadow over the power of long-term and permanent solutions. Another point that can be criticized is that the reports evaluating the projects on the employment of refugees are made by the very agencies that fund these projects. Apart from the bases of these studies having objective evaluation criteria such as 3RP and TRP, more independent organizations may increase the confidence in these studies. As another deficiency observed, it can be stated that the access to evaluation reports prepared by public institutions is limited, and these reports are not accessible to those who want to do research on the subject. This restriction was tried to be overcome in this study by giving particular attention to public representatives during the meetings. However, the most important condition for overcoming this problem is the relevant institutions removing these restrictions.

In studies dealing with the employment situation of refugees in Turkey, there is also a lack of emphasis on vocational qualifications and language courses specifically, which constitute one of the most important topics of employment. In the literature review, it can be argued that there are very few sources about vocational competence and language courses for refugees. While at least in a few studies, vocational training courses for refugees are discussed (Ereş, 2017; Gökerim, 2020), theoretical studies on the subject are almost non-existent. Therefore, it can be claimed that vocational competence and language courses are not sufficiently mentioned in both regional studies and in wider employment studies, most of which donor organizations implement. In order for refugees to be an active part of working life in the long term and to make their economic integration more possible, vocational training courses should be included in more studies and all the positive and negative aspects of these courses and their results in the Turkish society, especially in the refugee society, should be evaluated more comprehensively. Although this deficiency will not be addressed directly in this study, the subject of vocational education was specifically mentioned in the interviews and sessions held within the scope of the study.

2.3. Contribution to the Literature

It can be said that this study provides a contribution to a field with relatively few studies on social cohesion, especially in terms of employment of Syrians. Hence, the four contributions to the literature in this study can be summarized as follows:

First of all, in this study, in which the scope of social cohesion in forced migration is narrowed on the basis of the employment of Syrians in the context of Turkey, the concepts of social cohesion and social integration are approached from a more critical point. It argues that employment is positioned in a functional place in terms of the continuity of the social mechanism rather than being positive for social cohesion.

Secondly, this study differs in that it refers to the ironic feature of social cohesion as a political tool of the state. Accordingly, this tool developed by the state as a requirement for the continuation of the order of interclass conflict is actually for the harmonization of social disharmony. Addressing the irony of social cohesion can be considered as one of the points where this study is original.

Third, since the intersection of social cohesion with employment is not very common in social cohesion studies, which are commonly encountered in the literature, this study can be considered as a contribution. Because in this study, by trying to evaluate the social cohesion of refugees in terms of employment, the role of employment in social cohesion has been given special importance.

Fourth, by trying to deal with the issue of employment as an extension of the right to work, this study shows that mere employment of refugees is not a contribution to the economy of countries or regions, as claimed by the development perspective approaches frequently encountered in the literature. On the contrary, since employment includes the right to organize, which is within the scope of the right to work, it is considered as a notion that has a distorting effect on social cohesion and is likely to break the main function of the state. At this point, it is thought that this study may be original in terms of where it deploys employment in the context of social cohesion and the state.

As a result, the fact that this study approaches both employment and social cohesion with a unique perspective, intersects these two concepts, and considers this intersection in terms of the social order providing continuity with “social cohesion” and “social integration” can be considered a modest contribution to the studies on the social cohesion of refugees in the literature. In addition, it can be argued that, with these features, it also contributes to existing research on Turkey on a national basis.



CHAPTER 3

BACKGROUND

3.1 The Importance of Employment for Social Cohesion

According to this study, employment is designed as a functional and effective tool that serves the "social cohesion" and "social integration" of a more disadvantaged group, such as refugees. Throughout the study, "social cohesion" and "social integration" in English will be discussed simultaneously and in a complementary way (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). In line with this integrated approach, the general view of the need for social cohesion in working life can be adapted to the view that the employment of refugees is functional for social integration in the context of forced migration. Moreover, in this study, social cohesion, especially in terms of its relation to employment, is explained as the continuity of the order of interclass conflict (between labor and capital classes) on which the capitalist state rises, and this relationship is treated as a kind of harmony of incompatibility. It is argued that this perspective is also valid in the context of social cohesion in forced migration.

In the background of this discussion, there is an assumption about the inclusion of labor groups in the social mechanism through working life in general and employment in particular. From this point of view, it is necessary for the disadvantaged sections of society to become functional for the continuity of the socio-economic system. Employment is an important tool that activates this functionality. It is thought that social integration of a group such as refugees, who are more disadvantaged from the beginning compared to other social segments, is achieved through employment. While the right to work, with its scope of organization, provides labor groups with the opportunity to object to the socio-economic mechanism, the obstacles that refugees face in accessing rights and services from the very beginning and in their employment life prevent them from using this scope of the right to work. This situation exacerbates their disadvantages.

On the other hand, the labor will be able to maintain the functioning of the system by communing with the employment. In relation to this, the labor could be

described as the poor section of society. Then, the right to work is one of the most legitimate tools that makes the poor servant to the system. Bauman can be consulted in order to understand the equivalent of working life in the socio-economic system in line with the perspective of this study. According to Bauman, “The glorification of work as the highest human duty, the condition of moral decency, the guardian of law and order, and the remedy for misery is in harmony with labor-intensive industry that is clamoring for more workers to increase its output.” (Bauman, 1999). Therefore, it can be proposed that there is no difference between the social cohesion of immigrants in terms of employment and the importance of employment in terms of social cohesion, when it comes to the maintenance of socio-economic order. They both stand for it.

In relation to this, it can be stated that the socio-economic order inherent in capitalism needs certain social statuses to ensure social integration in the manner mentioned above. In other words, capitalism needs a cement-like citizenship status to ensure social solidarity, and that is why it is not a coincidence that it intersects with the nation-state. Here, it could be said that rights are needed for citizens to establish a relationship on the base of rights and responsibilities, and the most important of these rights is the "right to work" (Kalaycıoğlu and Çelik, 2008). To speak roughly, the guarantee of rights and freedom of the working class against the capital is related to the crisis of state against the socialist bloc getting stronger. However, this process is beyond the scope of this study and will not be detailed here.

However, in order to better understand the relationship between the right to work, which is considered in the category of social rights, and capitalism, it would be useful to mention some issues in brief. According to this, the unstoppable rise of socialism made capitalism update itself and develop social policies against it to avoid the danger of collapsing. However, although social policies made the labor groups' hands stronger against the capital, they prolonged the life of capitalism. Social rights, which are mostly based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, have become a manipulation tool of capitalism, like many other concepts (Omay, 2009). Apart from the conceptuality that emerged in forced migration and constitutes the basis of this study, social cohesion is a phenomenon closely related to the emergence of the welfare state and social rights in the historicity of the capitalist state. It is a known fact that social cohesion, especially since the emergence of the welfare state, has embodied itself as social rights protecting against social concerns. When the contents of social

rights are analyzed, it is remarked that these rights are mostly about working life (Omay, 2009). Therefore, it could be said that employment is one of the most important elements of social rights.

Therefore, the relationship between social cohesion and employment in forced migration, which is the focus of this study, can be considered in terms of the needs of the social order necessary for capitalism. While social order is ensured by social integration, employment as one of the most important tools of this integration for social segments comes to the fore. Conjunctionally, employment has a significant position in terms of social cohesion as an extension of the right to work, which is a subcategory of social rights.

Another dimension making the employment issue important and original in terms of social cohesion in forced migration is that employment makes the positive existence of the state a must as an extension of the right to work. The prominent role of the state in terms of protecting and guaranteeing this right is positive because it is the victory of objections of labor groups to this contradiction as a result of class conflict in history. In the time of the social state, the state intervened in the market, something that the classical liberal understanding did not want, and the working class had to be protected by the positive presence of the state against the capital. However, the subject differs when it comes to the realization of social cohesion for the modern-capitalist needs, which is always in favor of the capitalist class. The existence of a modern-capitalist state in social cohesion in terms of employment is in contradiction with itself. The existence of it in this area in order to realize employment is one step forward than its responsibilities.

Another dimension of the right to work that differentiates from others is that it includes the freedom to organize and provides an opportunity to object to the base of class conflict. Although this right is an individual right and freedom, it should be used collectively to organize. The right to work, which is thought to be separated from other rights with these characteristics, includes the rights that can be called union rights. The fact that these rights force both the state and employers to realize social rights is the result of their collective character (Tanor, 1978). These rights, which could be interpreted as counterarguments to the perspective that fundamental rights and freedoms are individual, are separated from other social rights categories. As a matter

of fact, without union rights, which form the baseline of social rights, it is impossible to enforce the other social rights effectively (Çelik, 2010). From this perspective, employment has the potential to be a pioneer of systemic change for social segments, and the collective character of this potential distinguishes it from other social cohesion tools. This feature of the right to work carries it to a different dimension in the context of social cohesion in forced migration. In fact, with these features, it can be offered that employment has a dynamic contrary to social cohesion and is located in a unique place in terms of its conflicting relationship with it.

Especially, the freedom of association is thought to be a powerful tool in order to oppose capital. This organization only could be possible with union rights, and union rights are described as the most important insurance of other individual rights of workers (Çelik, 2010). Moreover, the ability of workers to collectively defend their rights against the capital through trade unions, for example, to use their right to strike when the conditions are unfavorable, can be considered as a strong and concrete objection to the mechanism of the capital. The existence of collective labor agreements is proof that capital cannot do whatever it wants to this class. The process of this organization is inspiring because it shows us the objection is not limited to them but more. So much so that the most common mass organizations of the working class have been unions for over 200 years (Koç, 1996). The existence of unions and their position for labor groups are thus noticeable. Employment with its scope of organization makes it possible to resolve this discrepancy in class conflict not in favor of capital but in favor of labor. Although this scenario is valid for those who can have the full scope of the right to work, namely citizens, this very aspect of employment requires considering it differently in terms of social cohesion, even social cohesion in forced migration.

However, despite all this uniqueness and the potential in terms of its historical role against the state organization, the state's decisive role in ensuring social cohesion in terms of employment of refugees, which derives from the plane of contradictions between classes and ends in favor of the ruling classes, remains. Employment in terms of social cohesion in forced migration seemingly helps the class conflict ground by abandoning conflict with social cohesion when it comes to refugees. At this point, its own conditions of immigration and its connection with the state come in.

To access the whole scope of social rights and freedom is getting harder when the social sections are getting less accessible. For example, for the refugees, it would be harder than the other social classes to reach union rights. It is also harder for them than other citizens to enter the labor market. For instance, even in developed and industrialized European countries, mainly because they are thought to have a negative impact on the country's economy and citizens, refugees are not allowed to be included even in the labor market, or severe restrictions are imposed (Efe, 2018). The fact that the percentage of refugees who work illegally is higher than the citizens confirms this claim. In several studies, it is seen that the opportunities for refugees who work illegally to work legally are still weak (Korkmaz, 2018). It could also be argued that unions cannot update themselves against the requirements of global capitalism, and the changing working conditions result from this issue. The spatial fragmentation of production due to flexible production and new practices that make it difficult for labor to come together are interpreted as reasons for the regression of unions (Kalaycıoğlu, Rittersberger & Çelik, 2008). In addition to the inadequacy of the unions in this regard, the change in production conditions and the unorganized and weak intervention by the refugee labor according to these conditions create a basis for the reproduction of the social order through employment in forced migration.

As is seen, the state is decisive in the employment of refugees in terms of the realization of social cohesion in the forced migration from the beginning. The positive existence of the state in socio-economic rights becomes weaker with the absence of elements that constitute the basis of this right in the employment of refugees. The fragility of the modern capitalist state against the abundance in the number of labor and their social rights is manifested in the fact that it avoids responsibility and wants to break the power of the working class. And even the positive existence mentioned above is formed by the (modern capitalist) state itself, which is considered to be duplicitous in rewarding the right of a citizen to work while being much more cautious in terms of the right and freedom of association, especially in the sense of the employment in forced migration.

As concluded above, employment as an extension of the right to work makes the positive existence of the state necessary, while the fact that employment carries the potential of an appeal to social cohesion is in conflict with it. The continuation of the determinant role of the state in social cohesion within the forced migration scope and

its contribution to the order by binding employment and social cohesion together will again be discussed. In the first section, the fact that employment as an extension of the right to work makes the positive existence of the state necessary will be discussed.

3.1.1. Employment: Requiring the State's Positive Presence

Employment, or the right to be employed, is an extension of the right to work, and it is a fundamental element (Kaya and Yilmazer, 2016). The right to work, on the other hand, is a second-generation right among the categories of human rights in terms of requiring the positive presence of the state in order to realize and protect it. Besides these, for most of the world's history, all societies accepted the necessity of work in order to survive (Manning and Shaw, 1998). Although work emerged as a right at a level in the history of the modern-capitalist state, it might be taken as a reality that ensures survival. Work is a concept that is too old to fit into the modern period in terms of its history, and it is a social institution like all other social institutions (Kumar, 1984). However, the right to be employed in the modern sense intersects with the right to work, which is given by the modern-capitalist state to the labor groups as a requirement of its social feature. For this reason, it will not be wrong to say that the concept of employment is not older than the concept of work. The existence of the state in this space to protect the essence of this right is affirmative as it is positive, and the response to the class struggle of labor.

Nevertheless, this necessity cannot save employment from being immanent in capitalism and serve it. At this point, the definition could be done as this. Historically, the right to work has helped capitalists with the process of forced labor and the legitimized dimension of this imposition of capitalist work (Tuna, 2009). However, this issue should not overshadow the reality that the right to work emerges as an achievement of the working class against capital, and the actual scope of this right is useful for opposing the order of class conflict created by capital. The fact that employment as an extension of the right to work has a disruptive effect on the social order/harmony, which capitalism tries to establish between the social sections of society, puts it in a special place.

This point is once again significant as a place where the state gets in trouble with capitalism and is existent in spite of it. As mentioned, the scope of the

organization of the right to work is not desired, although it is a system that always gathers workers. The organized workers use their union rights, which could be a response when used collectively against the state to struggle with capital. The state, on the other hand, has to provide employment as a social right by opposing the capital, even if unintentionally, because the most important reason why union rights cannot be realized without the positive action of the state is the economic and social content of these rights (Çelik, 2010). Therefore, providing the right to work is an obligatory situation rather than a choice. Otherwise, throughout history, there has always been a serious resistance of the capitalist class against the spontaneous realization of union rights (Çelik, 2010). Yet, the state's protection of the labor class against this resistance of capital is related to its history of being a social state, which it has undertaken for the survival of capitalism, as mentioned before.

On the other hand, the fact that the right to work is one of the social rights in the category of basic human rights makes it reasonable to necessitate the positive existence of the state. The right to be employed can be expressed as “the right to engage in any activity based on providing an income worthy of human dignity, which is optionally recognized by the state by establishing minimum conditions (Şen, 2013). Based on this definition, the positive existence of the state in employment comes to the fore, and the responsibility of the state is underlined. In other words, the state must protect individuals in terms of their right to be employed, that is, against unemployment, because protection against unemployment and living with an income will protect human dignity, and dignity is an indispensable fundamental right of every human being (Demir, 2014). This issue is important in terms of understanding the positive existence of the state while ensuring social cohesion through employment in forced migration. Therefore, it is necessary to see the positive existence of the state as a necessity for the continuity of the social order in terms of protecting the scope of this right, even in the context of refugees.

The historical course of the right to work that refers to the positive existence of the state will be able to give an idea of how these rights have a destructive effect on the basis of class conflict and how they are a win in favor of the working class. In order to better understand this position of the state, a very brief history can be mentioned here. According to this, the social misery and hard conditions of the working class in the 19th century triggered the struggle of the working class for political and economic

rights (Kaya and Yılmaz, 2016). As a result of this struggle, a historical momentum has been gained regarding the right to work and organize, which is still updating itself in terms of discussion. In short, together, there has been the struggle of the working class taking place in the background of the social state form of capitalism and the social policies that have become widespread with this form. As a matter of fact, in the aforementioned era, demands for the right to organize, improvement of working conditions, providing job opportunities, and ensuring social security came to the fore. Thus, by breaking the silence of society in the context of class conflict, labor groups attributed responsibility to the modern-capitalist state in terms of the protection of this field (Kaboğlu, 1997). This context of social rights is remarkable for understanding the state's positive status regarding the right to work for nearly two centuries. Considering its broad meaning, social cohesion, which has existed since the beginning for the continuation of class conflict and the hegemony of capital, has come to the fore with the positive existence of the state against capital and on the side of labor as a result of this unique scope and historicity of employment. To conclude, social cohesion in terms of employment has driven the state to a position against capital. When this historicity is taken into account, the relationship between the context of social cohesion and employment in forced migration and the weakening of the power of employment against social cohesion can be better understood.

In relation to this platform, the modern-capitalist state has to exist in the field of the right to work in order to preserve it. Here, the dominant role of the state in terms of protecting and securing this right is positive in that it coincides with a victory of the labor groups against this contradiction as a result of the class struggle in history. This background has moved the working class forward against capital and the capitalist system. The scope of citizenship has expanded, and the right to work has been constitutionalized in modern-capitalist states. The roles of the modern-capitalist state, such as regulating, implementing, and supervising this field, are a requirement of its historical course, which requires it to be a social state. However, in relation to the thesis that social cohesion in forced migration is realized through employment, which is the focus of this study, it can be argued that the positive presence of the state in the field of employment, namely the protection of the essence of the right to work, does not emerge as a labor category in the context of refugees unlike for citizens.

In fact, the social state is obliged to provide citizens with a minimum standard of living and create the conditions in which they may exercise their right to work (Çelik, 2006). This responsibility itself, or in other words, the state's positive existence in the field of the right to work as a social right, increases the ability of labor groups to revolt against the social contradictions of employment. In this respect, it can be argued that employment nullifies the ironic side of social cohesion/inclusion, which ensures the continuity of the level of contradiction and incompatibility between the classes of the modern-capitalist state. The unique aspect of employment in this context of human rights is noteworthy in that it has the potential to turn the ironic nature of social cohesion against the modern-capitalist state while bearing in mind that the scenario will differ in the context of social employment in forced migration. In the next section, this unique aspect of employment will be discussed in more detail.

3.2. Employment: As a Tool Disrupting Social Cohesion (within the scope of the forced migration?)

Within the scope of the right to work, the right to demand employment has the potential to object to the level of interclass contradiction when the historical achievement of this right is taken into account. It can be argued that the most important basis for this is that this right also includes the right to organized struggle for labor groups which in turn makes it possible to protect the right to work (Kaya and Yilmazer, 2016). The equivalent of this right and freedom of association is union rights and freedom.

It can be said that unions are the most important concrete response used for the opposition struggle of the working class against the state's emergence in the plane of inter-class contradictions and the ruling class power. It is, therefore, no accident that the state is being questioned as a means to resolve the fundamental contradiction of capitalism between the class with the productive forces and the working class, which has nothing to lose but their labor. Therefore, the fact that trade union rights and freedoms have the potential to object to the existence of the modern-capitalist state, which works against labor makes employment different from other tools in the context of social cohesion (Kalaycıoğlu, Rittersberger and Çelik, 2008). With this difference, employment can stand against social cohesion being the adaptation of maladaptation.

Unions, which are at the forefront of the most important organizations owned by the working and laboring classes, have emerged as a product of class struggle within capitalist social relations (Aydanoğlu, 2015). In this respect, it is not a coincidence that today's trade union struggle is threatening the power of the capitalist classes as the labor groups try to grasp the ruling power. Because the trade union struggle, with its many rights and freedoms, provides the labor sector with the opportunity to object to the order of contradiction between classes. What should be understood from union rights and freedoms is the right and freedom to form a union, to be a member of a trade union of one's choice, to protect professional interests, to conclude collective bargaining agreements, and to engage in activities for the protection of the rights and interests of its members as an organized community (Doğru and Nalbant, 2013). In this respect, it would not be wrong to say that union organization is the barrier put by labor groups against the capitalist class. In addition, it can be argued that the uniqueness of employment, which is created by the right to unionize, conflicts with the social cohesion's feature of being a barrier to the ownership of the capitalist class.

The state has brought the refugee-citizen dilemma to the agenda and added a new layer to the class contradictions it is built on by creating a security strip against the phenomenon of forced migration. And in this dilemma, the state, which has to have a positive status in terms of the citizen's right to work, emerges as a more effective actor in the context of refugees, but in a role that makes one question the existence of the right to work. It would not be wrong to say that the positive existence of the modern-capitalist state lacks the objection potential of employment when it comes to the employment of refugees within the context of forced migration. In the next section, it will be discussed that this eccentricity of employment in terms of social cohesion in forced migration does not work in the case of refugees.

3.2.1. Employment of Refugees: As a Disadvantaged Category

Despite employment's unique potential to cast a shadow over the irony of social cohesion (in terms of ensuring social order and integration mainly by creating the harmony of the incompatibility between the two classes), the state is considered to hold an overall position in favor of capital in terms of employment of refugees. As emphasized from the very beginning, this view of social cohesion can also be adapted

to social cohesion in forced migration. Naturally, the inability of the refugees to integrate with the above-mentioned labor groups, who made the right to work appear on the stage of history with its full scope, due to being more disadvantaged in terms of rights and freedoms – is effective. However, this inability to articulate is a result created by capital and brought forward by the state. More importantly, in the more disadvantaged position of refugees in working life, the state actor does not interfere in creating the forms of labor that capital wants and deprives refugees of the scope of the right to work. This deprivation makes refugees more vulnerable in all areas of society, starting from their working life, and socially excluded. As a matter of fact, social exclusion in the social structure created by these inequalities puts individuals who experience long-term unemployment in a more disadvantaged position (Aslan and Aslan,2017). It is thought that the most important share in this is the new business conditions created by capitalism. For example, flexibility in labor relations stretches the social rights gains of employees too thin (Omay, 2009). The result of this flexibility is the inability of employees to resist the capitalist cycle in their working lives, especially more disadvantaged groups such as refugees. Uncertainty of business processes obscures the employment and organizational capacity of the even lower socio-economic strata, such as traders. This disables the possibility of resisting the system offered by the right to work.

The thought that refugees cannot be integrated into the struggle of the aforementioned labor class as a social reality is due to the fact that it cannot be traced back as much as the struggle of these classes. Because, as a 20th-century concept, the refugee is a relatively new phenomenon. Therefore, it seems inevitable to wait for history to progress in order for refugees to act together with the local labor class, especially regarding their rights in their working life. As a matter of fact, Arendt considers refugees, who are massively deprived of their "human rights", as one of the biggest tests of modern world politics (Arendt, 2012). This assessment itself indicates that refugees lag behind citizens in terms of human rights.

In addition, the fact that refugees are a disadvantaged group compared to citizens in a society means that they are denied the fundamental rights and freedoms from the very beginning, that are, the rights that give them the power to resist class contradictions in the struggle of labor groups. It is why the assessment that the right to work is one of the most basic human rights can easily become meaningless if one is

not a citizen of a country (Efe, 2018). Arendt meant exactly this when she emphasized “the right to have rights” and argued that in order for human rights to be valid for a person, that person must be a valid subject in the political arena, that is, a citizen. For Arendt, these rights are guaranteed all over the world; however, it is conditional upon a person not only to be human but also to be a citizen, to have a passport (Gessen, 2018).

The fact that refugees are categorically deprived of their right to work also prevents them from integrating into local labor organizations (Efe, 2018). Adding the policies of the modern-capitalist state on immigrants to these problems, the right to work has become one of the most abused rights in the refugee situation. Therefore, despite the aspects of the right to work that protect labor, it can be argued that the modern-capitalist state regulates the employment of refugees in favor of the capitalist class and on the basis of their economization. In this, the desire of the states to fill the labor force gap in their economies and to increase competitiveness plays a role (Buanfino, 2004).

Moreover, as for work, the problem experienced categorically from the very beginning for the organization within the scope of this right in society also causes the refugees’ inability to integrate into the labor segments and the state to be less protective against the more disadvantaged people in this area compared to citizens. This issue, on the one hand, contributes to the social cohesion of refugees in a subject such as employment, which has the potential to object to class contradictions (social order). The fact that the right to work, especially in terms of the scope of organization, is not integrated enough for the local labor groups in the countries where the refugees live may be an invisible reason for this adaptation. However, on the other hand, this constitutes a violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of refugees in the context of human rights.

The realization of social cohesion of social classes through employment is a political tool for modern-capitalist states, as well as a subject that includes socio-economic causes and consequences. In the simplest sense, the concept of employment, which means working for a sector and giving service using one’s own labor power, appears as an important phenomenon that plays a role both in the private and daily

lives of people and in the social and economic development levels of societies (Ünal and Çelik, 2011).

From this point of view, it can be understood that the employment of the refugees is seen by the states as functional to ensure economic integrity in terms of their societies, and it is the ultimate decision-making mechanism in this field. In short, the modern-capitalist state continues to be decisive in applying regulations and supervising the employment of refugees, who are a disadvantaged group, under the umbrella of social cohesion and socio-economic continuity, which is a necessity, as it has been claimed from the very beginning.



CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. The Reasoning behind the Selection of the Subject

Turkey is one of the most refugee-dense places in the world, which necessitates more significance given to the social cohesion of the refugees. When Turkey is evaluated in terms of the continuous forced migration influx that emerged after the Syrian crisis, it has been the country hosting the highest number of displaced persons in the world for more than five years (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). Indeed, 65 percent of Syrians struggling to survive outside their country, approximately 3.6 million, live in Turkey (Özçürümez, İçduygu, 2020). Today, according to official sources, 3 million 651 thousand 428 Syrians are registered in the country⁹. This reality means significant weight in the national population. Syrians form around 5% of Turkey's population and are quite visible in daily life (DW, 2020; Kazancı, 2021). Thus, it is understandable that the social cohesion of this population is becoming increasingly important. In particular, the issue of employment, which is one of the most important tools in the field of social cohesion, is gaining significance in the field of refugees. As the Syrians represent the overwhelming majority of the refugee population in Turkey, most of the attention is directed towards them in social cohesion through employment activities. As a matter of fact, there is a dominant view that supports this relationship between employment and social cohesion, albeit from a different angle in this study. Accordingly, it is thought that working lives are the most effective environments that enable people who come with forced migration to participate in social interaction (Özçürümez and İçduygu, 2020). Therefore, it is necessary once again to consider employment, as one of the important elements of social integration, in the context of Syrian refugees living in Turkey.

On the other hand, both participating in working life in social cohesion and refugee labor are needed in sectors in Turkey, which makes the employment concept

⁹ <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638> Accessed on the date of 10.08.2022.

more remarkable in the context of academia. As a result of this reason, the main focus of this study is to evaluate the social cohesion of refugees in terms of employment.

There are two main aims of the study. The first aim is to reveal (with a critical perspective) that social cohesion and social integration (in general, the social mechanism) are achieved to a certain extent through the employment of Syrian refugees. Here, it is thought that the market is the most effective among the actors involved in the employment of refugees, and the appropriate ground for this is created by the state. The second aim is to analyse that the categorical disadvantages of Syrians, which have been in question since the beginning, are multiplied in the context of social cohesion through employment.

4.2. Methods

In this study, the qualitative method is preferred because it is aimed to understand the role of employment of refugees in the reproduction of social cohesion and overall social mechanism. For this aim, semi-structured in-depth interviews are conducted with 14 different actors operating at the national level in the field of employment of refugees. One-on-one interviews are conducted, some of which are attended by more than one person. This technique is preferred to push the participants to think freely and direct them to a thorough discussion on the open questions. A total of 22 participants are interviewed. Yet, interviews are designed according to the number of actors/institutions rather than the number of participants. In determining the actors, attention was paid to the preference of institutions operating at the national level in the field of refugee employment and the diversity of these institutions.

The one-on-one interviews were held within the scope of the “Baseline Research and Development (BREDEP) Project”, which aimed at the technological development of vocational training courses in line with the employment of refugees and led by the Istanbul Bilgi University Center for Migration Research in the period covering 2019 and 2020. Additively, the interviews were conducted online in June 2020 (because of the conditions of Covid-19). Furthermore, participants were reached via e-mail and telephone, thanks to the title of refugee youth consultant carried out in this project. In general, Turkish was preferred as the language during interviews, while exceptionally English was used as well.

On the other hand, in this study, a critical view is introduced to evaluate social cohesion. Interview questions and participant profile table are included in the appendix section.

4.3. Study Setting

Interviews conducted in June 2020 coincided with the COVID-19 restrictions in Turkey. For this reason, in this period, when face-to-face meetings were banned, interviews were conducted on an online platform (Zoom). Turkish was used in 13 of 14 interviews, and English was used in only one interview. All interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants and took an average of 60 minutes.

Doing interviews online made the scheduling of meetings easier for both the researcher and the participants. The online format also eliminated safety concerns of COVID-19 while enabling the parties to avoid the related measures, such as social distancing and wearing masks. Conducting the interviews online made it possible to use the online calendar and make adjustments from there. In addition, this method also made it possible to meet with participants, some of whom were from out of Ankara, easily preventing recurring additional costs or the need to travel. In these conditions, the online interview technique provided the participants with spatial and economic convenience. With this application, the loss of time and energy and the chance of encountering health risks that may arise in face-to-face meetings were eliminated.

4.4. Sample Selection

While deciding on the participants of this study, attention was paid to the diversity of actors operating in the field of employment of refugees. In this diversity, there was an institution-oriented approach. The difference in the organizational structures of the institutions was used as another criterion.

As shown in the participant profile table and interview numbering table in the appendix, 22 participants from 14 institutions operating at the national level in the field of refugee employment were interviewed. Based on the fact that the participants from the same institution reported the same views as a principle, 14 different interview

contents were obtained. Nevertheless, the interview contents were enriched and deepened with more than one participant from an institution.

Institutions selected as actors can be categorized according to their organizational differences as follows:

A total of 14 actors were interviewed, including four public institutions, four National Governmental Organizations (NGO), one Inter-Governmental Organization (IGO), three United Nations Agencies (UN Agency), one Union, and one Social Entrepreneurial Institution.

The sample in question allowed the different actors to evaluate the issue, and the conducted interviews made it possible to make a qualitative assessment with the thematic method of the relationship between employment and social cohesion, which is the focus of this study.

Thanks to these interviews, the views of many actors operating in the field on the employment of refugees have been reached.

4.5. Participants

There were 22 participants in this study (14 female/8 male). The ages of participants varied from 30 to 45. Participants had been living in Ankara or İstanbul. 21 participants have Turkish citizenship, while only one is foreign, having a UN passport. All of the participants are from a department of the institution they are in, related to the employment of refugees, and are from the most authorized names of those places.

The experience of the professionals of these institutions in the refugee field is at least ten years. At the time of the interviews, five participants were working in the public sector, and the others were in the private sector.

The categories included in the participant table shared in the appendix are general due to the risk of sharing information on the identity and professional information of the participants and the commitment given to share the ideas of these people without including their identity and institution information before the interview. For example, it is preferred to give an age range instead of specific age information. On the other hand, the numbering of the interviews in an institution-

oriented manner instead of participant-oriented in the findings section is also related to the security problem explained above.

4.6. Data Collection

In qualitative studies, face-to-face interviews are most commonly used to capture verbal expressions and nonverbal information, such as visual clues during conversations (Novick, 2008; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022). Yet, as mentioned before, due to the pandemic conditions, the interviews used as the main data source in the study could not be realized face-to-face. Therefore, 14 interviews were conducted on Zoom.

4.7. Data Analysis

In qualitative research, the reality can not be objective but constructed and not independent of the values and interpretation of the researcher (Andrews, 2016). Conjunctionally, in this study, in which this method is used, personal evaluations are avoided during data analysis. The aim of a researcher is to transform the data collected from people's stories into knowledge that can contribute to a systematic understanding (Froggatt, 2001, p. 434; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022). And it has been tried to reach systematic and integrated information from the data based on the narrative in this study.

The narrative analysis is conducted to identify, examine, and evaluate the personal stories by finding embedded patterns and themes within the everyday experiences of the interviewees (Basit, 2003, p. 143; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022). In relation to this view, the thematic analysis method is used as the data analysis technique in order to figure out themes concerning the subject. Although individual narratives are limited in their capacity to be generalized or reflect an issue with its full range of dimensions, they can clarify the central issues on the intersection of different identities (Johansson & Śliwa, 2014, p. 23; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022). As a matter of fact, in the data obtained from the interviews conducted in this study, some intersections have been identified in the issues emphasized by the institutions

operating in the country related to the employment of refugees. Thanks to the thematic analysis technique, these intersections are able to be described.

In light of these considerations, in-depth data based on personal/institutional perspectives about the employment of Syrians were collected via semi-structured interviews. The questions of the interview are presented in Appendix A. The questions (i.e., “What is taken into account when organizing the said programs? Refugee needs, industry or international donors?” or “What are the obstacles faced in solving the employment problems of refugees?”) were consciously chosen to uncover the participants’ subjective interpretations of refugee employment. Then, these patterns and themes were interpreted together with the broader structural factors such as employment opportunities, legal rights, limitations of being a refugee, socio-economic order, and social cohesion prospects of refugees in Turkey. Interview questions were taken as a basis, and different actors were evaluated thematically.

In fact, a total of 293 page-long raw data were obtained from the interviews. With the consent of all participants, an audio recording of the interviews was taken and later transcribed.

The transcribing process served to review the collected data and not miss the parts that could be overlooked. Transcribing also enables capturing nonverbal clues and interactions and adding them to the data (Burnard, 1991, p. 462; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022). Ultimately, it facilitated the preparation of a uniform raw data in a shorter time and made it easier to study the data. It was prepared in Turkish.

Coding the data enables categorizing patterns under different sections of the narrative (Froggatt, 2001, p. 435; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022). The open-ended questions helped to navigate data and explore various aspects of the opinions of interviewees during the analysis phase. Important parts, words, or sentences were highlighted as codes of the data by screening the transcripts many times and eliminating unnecessary parts. Codes were created for the interviews, and then themes were determined. Appropriate data were gathered under the same category or divided based on themes. Similar ones collapsed into each other for data reduction. Some quotes from participants were highlighted to be used as a way of data presentation in the research in the findings section. Furthermore, for the analysis and coding, Turkish

narratives were translated into English with due diligence to stay true to the meaning of the original narrative of the interviewee.

4.8. Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are vital for any academic research to preserve scientific integrity (Hwang, 2017, p. 594; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022). In studies on human subjects like this thesis, the researcher bears the responsibility of causing no harm to the participants (Topaloğlu, 2022). The ethical approval of the data used in this study (belonging to the İstanbul Bilgi University Ethics Committee) was given by TED University on May 2021. In this regard, from the moment of initial contact with potential participants, the purposes of the study were introduced, and they were informed about the anonymity of participant identities. At the beginning of each interview, permission for voice recording for transcription purposes was taken, and participants' freedom to walk away from the study at any time without adverse consequences was highlighted. All participants took part in the study voluntarily and gave consent for voice recording. Anonymous coding methods were used to eliminate the chance of revealing the identity of the participants.

A great deal of attention was dedicated to the planning of interviews in order not to cause an unpleasant experience for the participants (Topaloğlu, 2022). Questions were very general, and to keep the consent dynamic, participants were told that they were free to provide as little or as much information as they wanted, including not answering questions at all (Iphofen, 2013, p. 34; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022). Since the issue of refugees is a policy issue in general, attention was paid not to include political views in the questions. With the accumulation of data from each interview, the researcher noticed certain recurring topics and used this information in successive interviews to clarify participants' opinions by asking further questions without being intrusive as much as possible (Iphofen, 2013, p. 2; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022). All the participants completed interviews with positive feelings and thanked the researcher for showing interest in and voicing their stories. Some participants shared a couple of contact numbers with the researcher regarding the process of research. This kindness was an illustration of achieving the aim of the principle of research ethics, i.e., not

doing harm to participants during the interviews (Iphofen, 2013, p. 12; quoted by Topaloğlu, 2022).



CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 The Determinant Criteria in the Programs carried out on Refugee Employment in Turkey (refugee needs, industry or international donors?)

The participants, who are representatives of actors operating in the field of refugee employment, were asked about what is taken into account when organizing the employment programs. In this direction, three options were presented to them in the question as the possible criteria taken into consideration: Refugee needs, sectoral needs, or international donor demand. The answers given on this subject vary according to the needs of the sector and the international donor demand. None of the participants gave an answer indicating that programs were determined according to the refugee needs. The fact that the demands of the international donors and the sectoral needs correspond to the same thing for the participants necessitates saying that there is, in fact, only one answer to this question. The point that all participants agree on is that the basis of these programs is shaped according to the market economy, regardless of whether the refugee employment programs are designed according to the needs of the sector or the international donor.

“On the one hand, there are nation-states that also have their own interests. As soon as the nation-state considers its own interests, the immigrant is already completely excluded. It's very different, it's a puzzle, it's a lot of actors, it has dimensions. International actors, sectoral issues, etc. Unfortunately, when you look at it, the donor is working with neoliberal rationality. The state allowed it. On the field, you emerge with your own motivation and character. However, state officials do not allow this at all.” (Interview Number 1)

“Donors abroad say, like Nasreddin Hodja, whoever pays blows the whistle.” (Interview Number 3)

“As a central authority, I create a policy on social cohesion. If necessary, I get support from international institutions' funds. International organizations should shape their funds within the framework of this policy of mine.” (Interview Number 4)

Examples of the answers given in this direction are as follows:

It is stated that the needs of the employer are taken into account in the refugee employment programs that are claimed to be determined on a sectoral basis.

“Unless you go down to the field and have one-on-one interviews with private sector representatives, it is not possible to make a real analysis on this issue... Of course, mostly sectoral analyses are determinant in the employment of refugees.” (Interview Number 5)

The importance of sector analysis is particularly mentioned in the activities carried out to achieve social cohesion through employment. It is stated that studies on social cohesion will not work without these analyses. Pointing out that it is necessary to take into account the opinions of non-governmental organizations formed by businesspeople, an interviewee argues that participatory employment can be successful with these methods. In this context, s/he says:

“Going down to the field and having one-on-one meetings with private sector representatives or relevant professional chambers or taking the feedback obtained as a basis is indispensable in determining the areas where refugees will work. Or, for example, there is an organization called TRISAD: the Knitwear Industrialist Businessmen's Association. It is very important to have meetings here in terms of the activities to be carried out in Istanbul.” (Interview Number 5)

“In a workshop attended by approximately 150 stakeholders in December, an exchange of ideas was held on sectoral expectations, gap areas, and what we can do. The action plan was also translated directly from the outputs of this workshop and the search process.” (Interview Number 6)

“What kind of difficulties they are experiencing, what solutions can be found, we will first examine them. In addition, we will examine local value chains by product and sector. We will examine where we can put Syrians in these value chains. As a result of these, we will start our grants and training programs.” (Interview Number 7)

“We will conduct sector-oriented work. What are the regularizable sectors, what modalities can be regularizable? In other words, which sectors can be prioritized by the ministry, considering the need of the market rather than the rapid registration of undocumented immigrants, and what aspects of regularization in those sectors can

be implemented? The field research will also be in this direction, and our work will proceed as such...” (Interview Number 9)

“Our friends working in the employment unit already have a different region of their own. They go to the factories, shops, stores, all the companies, and companies in those regions and stay in touch. They try to meet their demands and requests from their own pool of people. Programs are created according to what is determined from here.” (Interview Number 10)

“Of course, I can say that there is a vocational training trend that develops based on employer demands.” (Interview Number 11)

“As an institution, we first conduct preliminary research on the services we provide for employment. For example, we provide vocational training courses. And before we start these, we do research on what needs are in the market where the course will be given. For example, the last course we gave was on exterior sheathing, ceramics, and masonry. Because the need pointed to that.” (Interview Number 12)

It is claimed that the modules used in the employment activities for social cohesion are structured in line with the demands of the companies. A participant expresses her/his views on this matter as follows:

“In our company, the process proceeds according to the needs of the market, where the activity will be realized, rather than standard projects that proceed according to a template and according to the demands of that template. For example, a survey is conducted every year. In these surveys, companies are asked what kind of employees they need. And according to the answers given, new modules are constantly being added. There is a module for solar energy, there is also furniture. There is also “Pimapen”. In other words, we can talk about a vocational training center that constantly renews itself. Those curricula are implemented in line with the demands from the companies.” (Interview Number 13)

The participant continues as follows that sectoral needs are decisive in employment programs:

“There is a constant criticism we hear from the private sector that vocational education cannot meet the needs of the private sector. They always say that it needs to

be updated and renewed. In other words, employers and society have a very critical role in employment.” (Interview Number 13)

5.1.1. Market economy

In the answers given regarding the design of employment programs according to the needs of the sector and the demands of international organizations, attention was drawn to the fact that these programs were mainly based on the market economy.

It is claimed that the social cohesion of refugees is mostly based on their compliance with market conditions. For example, a participant states that the main goal of social cohesion programs that aim to change the living habits of Syrian refugees is to meet the needs of the market in Turkey. Otherwise, it is emphasized, social adjustment activities that do not coincide with the sectoral realities will not be successful. The participant expresses his/her opinion on this subject as follows:

“Because these features neither provide an economic adaptation to this society nor productivity. In other words, their cultural characteristics do not make any sense for the economy in current Turkey. That's why they're trying to change it. This is aimed with social cohesion work. This is actually inevitable.” (Interview Number 1)

The following statement of the participant is noteworthy in terms of confirming the finding regarding the emergence of social cohesion as adapting to market conditions:

“The point is, refugees need to get used to the neoliberal economic workplace environment without losing their more valuable cultural characteristics, and this is the maximum that the state and civil society can achieve together.” (Interview number 1)

It is emphasized by some participants that the needs of the market actors are the most decisive and they expressed their ideas as follows:

“Unless you go down to the field and have one-on-one interviews with private sector representatives, it is not possible to make a real analysis on this issue. Of course, mostly sectoral analyses are determinant in the employment of refugees.” (Interview Number 5)

It is also put forward as a criterion of the market economy by emphasizing that the global reputation is taken into account in the workplaces where refugees are employed.

“I am not saying that this system is completely perfect. But at least at the end of the day, considering all the exploitation and negative practices in the textile industry in Turkey, at least the factories affiliated with the TRISAD are better in this sense. The state also attaches importance to the existence of these structures in terms of international careers. Therefore, the fact that these people also employ Syrian refugees in their factories is actually a plus point in terms of their global reputation.” (Interview Number 5)

It is stated that the policy of social cohesion of the Syrian refugees through employment was discussed by some of the actors from the field, and the main focus of these meetings was what the expectations of the market were. Moreover, as a result of these meetings, a participant stated that they created an action plan as an institution and focused on the employment of refugees:

“In a workshop attended by approximately 150 stakeholders in December, an exchange of ideas was held on sectoral expectations, gap areas, and what we can do. The action plan was also translated directly from the outputs of this workshop and the search process.” (Interview Number 6)

It is claimed that they are helping the state to develop its capacity for social cohesion and to do this, market conditions should be well investigated:

“What kind of difficulties they are experiencing, what solutions can be found, we will first examine them. In addition, we will examine local value chains by product and sector. We will examine where we can put Syrians in these value chains. As a result of these, we will start our grants and training programs.” (Interview Number 7)

It is stated that the needs of the international market, as well as the national market, are effective in the employment of Syrians and that all actors in the field, especially the state, should make their preparations accordingly:

“Turkey, as an objective reality, is a much more developed national market economy than Syria. Now, these people have to be operational in it.” (Interview Number 8)

“We will conduct sector-oriented work. What are the regularizable sectors, what modalities can be regularizable? In other words, which sectors can be prioritized by the ministry, considering the need of the market rather than the rapid registration of undocumented immigrants, and what aspects of regularization in those sectors can be implemented? The field research will also be in this direction and our work will proceed as such...” (Interview Number 9)

In a way that confirms this statement, s/he continued as follows:

“We designed a program called Sector Based Employment Generational Programme. We shared this program with the relevant public institution.” (Interview Number 9)

It is also expressed that the vocational training courses to be implemented by the state are shaped according to the needs of the market:

“Related to this, market research, needs study, its acceptance and absorption capacity are very important. The approach of the private sector to this issue, and in the context of all these, vocational training is the most important of the integrative steps in this regard.” (Interview Number 9)

In the same interview, the employment of refugees is evaluated as a labor market. This evaluation emerges as a factor supporting the view that refugee employment is determined by the market economy.

“A network about the inclusion of refugees in the labor market... It's called the Independent Network of Labor Market Integration Experts. They chose the countries that were members of the European Union at that time and added Bosnia-Herzegovina, Turkey, and Norway alongside these countries.” (Interview Number 9)

It is pointed out that the state realizes social cohesion for the market/according to the market. A participant, who is an employee of a public institution, emphasizes that the needs of the private sector are decisive in the programs they plan for the employment of refugees, confirming the finding that the state realizes social cohesion for the market:

“Our friends working in the employment unit already have a different region of their own. They go to the factories, shops, stores, all the companies, and companies in those regions and stay in touch. They try to meet their demands and requests from their own pool of people. Programs are created according to what is determined from here.” (Interview Number 10)

The answer given by a participant in another interview to the question about which actor is mostly taken as a basis in the social cohesion studies for the employment of refugees confirms that the determining factor is the market. In this regard, the participant makes the following statement:

“Of course, I can say that there is a vocational training trend that develops based on employer demands.” (Interview Number 11)

This view is expressed as follows:

“There is also a livelihood program personnel in each province, about three or four. Together with those friends, we are trying to improve their livelihoods, not specifically for refugees across Turkey, but for people aged between 18-60 who are vulnerable and in need, regardless of their nationality. We try to do this by considering the needs of the market.” (Interview Number 12)

In addition, it is replied to the question about which element is the most determining factor in the social cohesion programs for the employment of refugees, confirming the finding of this study as follows:

“As an institution, we first conduct preliminary research on the services we provide for employment. For example, we provide vocational training courses. And before we start these, we do research on what needs are in the market where the course will be given. For example, the last course we gave was on exterior sheathing, ceramics, and masonry. Because the need pointed to that.” (Interview Number 12)

As can be deduced from this statement of the participant, who works in a non-governmental organization that operates in cooperation with public institutions in the field of social cohesion, especially in the field of employment, the modern-capitalist state continues to be determinant for the market.

It is stated that the state bases its activities on the social cohesion of refugees through employment on the needs of the private sector. For example, it has been

underlined that in cases where market conditions are not observed in vocational training courses, there is a reaction from the private sector. A participant expressed his/her opinion on this issue as follows:

“There is a constant criticism we hear from the private sector that vocational education cannot meet the needs of the private sector. They always say that it needs to be updated and renewed. In other words, employers and society have a very critical role in employment.” (Interview Number 13)

5.1.1.a. National and Global Market System

While attention was drawn to the role of the market economy in refugee employment programs, it was also emphasized by the participants that national and global market economies were both taken into account in these programs. In this context, it has also been claimed that national economies are dependent on the global economic order. In the interviews, it was mentioned that there are some reasons why social cohesion is handled more through employment. Accordingly, the main reason why employment is the most important issue in the social cohesion of refugees is the national market economy. The national market economy obliges the economic integration of refugees. However, the driving force behind this is the international market system.

The participants expressed this issue as follows:

“Some principles are in effect in the employment of refugees. States are not completely independent in this regard. They cannot direct employment on their own. In other words, everything takes shape in accordance with the working principles of a national market economy. In other words, from the way of organizing a meeting to the way of organizing your CV, this is the demand of the market. That is why it is wrong to say that the market is disabled in the employment of refugees.” (Interview Number 8)

It is emphasized that social cohesion, especially in terms of employment, has gained momentum according to the needs of the global labor market. A participant expressed these issues as follows:

“All these institutions take the funds from the FRIT 2 of the European Union and apply them to their programs. The European Union attaches great importance to refugee employment for the global market. And a large part of these funds is already on employment. For example, topics such as entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship are dominant.” (Interview Number 9)

It is also underlined in the same interview that the refugees should adapt to the needs of the national market.

“The biggest problem in the integration literature is that the integration process turns into a process in which refugees change. Now in employment, this is manifested very clearly. So, if you want a job, you will change. If you want a job, maybe you will forget your previous job. It's like we're going to change you again to meet the needs of your industry. It's like this all over the world. Maybe that's what's supposed to happen.” (Interview Number 9)

It is declared that the reason for the need to adapt is to respond to the sectoral needs of the place and that this is an effective method for the national economy of the country. As a matter of fact, according to another participant, this situation is important for Turkey's global competitiveness as well. The participant expressed his/her views on this issue as follows:

“The work we do here aims at the social integration of vulnerable groups, especially refugees. I work here as a livelihood development project manager. Together with a friend, we are responsible for the employment unit of our structure. We have 16 community centers across Turkey in 15 cities. There are two in İstanbul, Anatolia and Europe, Bağcılar and Sultanbeyli. Here, we have units in provinces such as Kocaeli, Bursa, İzmir, Ankara, Adana, Mersin, Hatay, Kilis, Gaziantep, Kayseri, Kahramanmaraş, Şanlıurfa, Mardin, and generally in provinces where the refugee population is dense. Starting from these places, we aim to identify local needs in our activities and to direct refugees to the right areas nationally. Our third program is the orientation to employment. This is also important for the power of our country in the international market.” (Interview Number 12)

It is also reiterated that social segments are integrated into the country's economy for social cohesion. As a matter of fact, the same participant's statement in this direction is as follows:

“Of course, the needs and preferences of the refugees can be taken as a basis in the programs carried out regarding the employment of refugees. This is what I mean when I say the need of the refugee. The refugee had a job or had some dexterity, maybe they had dreams. However, refugees have to leave all of these behind when they come to another country. In a way, they have to leave it all behind and embark on a different profession in order to fill the gap in Turkey. Vocational courses are planned according to the needs of the country you’re now in rather than your personal preferences. Therefore, the need in the country you are in leads you to another choice even if you do not want to do it.” (Interview Number 12)

Although social cohesion emerges as a contextual notion based on the working conditions of the country in which it takes place, at the end of the day, it is a tool that strives to integrate social segments into the global market and the national market, which is determined by the line of the global market.

5.1.2. Labor Market

In the answers given to the first question, which is about the most decisive criterion in employment programs, the participants also draw attention to the fact that refugees are added to the labor market.

It is mentioned that the state of unregistered workers is in favor of the market.

“Actually, informality is at levels that support the economy. Because, especially in the transition of the initial crisis management and migration management processes, the following happened. Will they go or not, will they be included in the labor market or not? These questions occupied the field quite a lot. While there was panic about whether the domestic workforce was being displaced or not, somehow there was no control. Or let's just say it didn't happen with real frequency. And this continued as something the market already enjoyed, and there was an increase in informality in the whole country with Syrians.” (Interview Number 3)

It is implied that the role of the refugees in the labor market and social cohesion policies such as employment is indispensable. According to a participant, the refugees are the main section who revivifies and protects the labor market in Turkey, so their

social cohesion is significant. The sequence of the participant's speech in which this thought is included is as follows:

“Because the section, which will support and protect the labor market, is also this section. The policies of the state in this field are very important. Finding jobs in the market would be beneficial for them in the process of integration into society and for the market in order to satisfy its labor force needs. It is a win-win.” (Interview Number 4)

It is emphasized that social cohesion is a tool for adapting to the market. The participant also stressed that the first basic step in the social cohesion of refugees is to be registered.

“Because it is really important to be registered. It is also very important for the labor market. We also see it as very important for their adaptation process here. Inclusion in the labor market is a point we attach great importance to, both in terms of compliance and registration.” (Interview Number 4)

It is underlined that social cohesion does not only mean supporting the access of social groups such as refugees to rights and services but also that these groups have responsibilities towards society, and these must be fulfilled. In this sense, it is indicated that the most important thing is their involvement in working life. The participant says the following in this context:

“They have access to healthcare, education. There are some countries where these are not accessible. From this point of view, refugees in our country could be considered as lucky. However, the critical point was the labor market. Healthcare and education are reachable, they are supported, but what should be done in return for these? For example, work. You need to learn this language to work. It is needed to be adapted to this society’s cultural values, or most importantly, the working life. For example, you need to obey the rules of the workplace.” (Interview Number 4)

It is stated that there are concrete indicators of the integration of refugees into the labor market through social cohesion activities co-operated with state institutions using sectoral analysis.

“Afterwards, the focus shift to sectoral analysis increased the success of our work. The thing we tried to do in 2019 was that the employability rate increased to around %40. It increased from the %8 to the %40.” (Interview Number 5)

On the other hand, it is also emphasized that refugees are directed to employment in terms of social cohesion, and while this is done, they are directed to sectors where social conflict will be less likely to escalate. In addition, it is declared that the social cohesion activities by the public institution where one of the participants works are tried to be organized according to this need of the sectors. It is stated that refugees are encouraged to work in jobs that are not preferred by the local laborers in order to prevent competition between the domestic worker and the refugee worker and defuse the tension.

S/he expressed these views as follows:

“On the other side, generally, in order to prevent social conflict arising from competition in employment and people from saying, ‘They took our jobs’, we guide them to occupations where there is an employment gap and where many people do not want to work. For example, the agricultural sector is one of these fields. There is no demand for labor in this sector, and they are needed for the labor force. So, we guide them to these occupations as we see the labor force as an investment.” (Interview Number 6)

It is emphasized that besides the involvement of refugees in the labor market, their entrepreneurship should also be encouraged, and this is important for their social cohesion as well. It is stated that one of the main conditions for being integrated into society is to adapt economically, and entrepreneurship is also significant in this context. The participant who claimed that such activities are emphasized in their own institutions, and they are in cooperation with the state on this matter stated the following:

“The main purpose of our work is to enable refugees to build their own businesses by encouraging their entrepreneur side, as well as employment. It is a great advertisement to explain their benefits to society. On this matter, we strive to ensure that they participate in the economy and we integrate them into society.” (Interview Number 7)

It is claimed by some participants that they struggled to make employment common in the policies about the refugee field, and they formed some policy texts that could be exemplary for the other actors. According to a participant, immigration in Turkey cannot be separated from international migration, and it is not possible to provide refugee employment independently of the international labor force. The participant expressed their ideas upon this as follows:

“We started to take some steps on immigration to be considered in the employment issue and try to make it mainstream. Since internal immigration cannot be separated from international immigration, we prepared a baseline study by conducting field studies in the fields we work in and evaluating foreign immigrants in the labor market while we were working on internal migration under the duties assigned to us there. We shared this work with the actors in the field, especially the public, as much as we could.” (Interview Number 9)

It is also underlined that this network is about the inclusion of refugees in the world in the labor market and that countries such as Turkey are added to this network as well as advanced capitalist states:

“A network about the inclusion of refugees in the labor market. It's called the Independent Network of Labor Market Integration Experts. They chose the countries that were members of the European Union at that time and added Bosnia-Herzegovina, Turkey, and Norway alongside these countries.” (Interview Number 9)

It is said:

“All these institutions take the funds from the FRIT 2 of the European Union and apply them to their programs. The European Union attaches great importance to refugee employment for the global market. And a large part of these funds is already on employment. For example, topics such as entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship are dominant.” (Interview Number 9)

It is indicated that the focus has shifted to developing employment policies, especially for irregular labor forces, with the increase in the refugee population. The participant stated that the state has made organizational preparations in this area, and employment is a very hot topic in terms of social cohesion. The views of the participant on this issue are as follows:

“The government institutions that are obliged to provide that service determine their positions and make the necessary judicial or necessary administrative actions as the number of services increases. One of the most important concrete examples of this is the creation of the general directorate that you have already mentioned. But it was not created only for Syrians. Two components: One of them is to struggle with irregular labor migration and increase formal employment. The labor force in working life is a component of preventing or reducing migrant labor exploitation. As you know, our country has an action plan, a national action plan, and a strategy document to struggle with irregular migration. It was prepared in 2015. Currently, that document has been revised. The second version has not been shared with the public yet, but this document has nearly finished the process. One of the important strategic priorities in the relevant action plan is to struggle with irregular labor immigration. The International Labor Force General Directorate is mainly responsible for the activities decided on the fight against this irregular labor immigration. A second component is to move skilled labor to Turkey.” (Interview Number 9)

It is emphasized that social cohesion, especially through employment, has gained momentum according to the needs of the global labor market. A participant expressed these issues as follows:

“Based on this labor market supply and demand analysis, we already contain the data of approximately two million foreigners and refugees within our own structure.” (Interview Number 11)

It is also stated that they guided their social cohesion activities according to the needs of the market by taking into account the labor market:

“Actually, by producing the food and agricultural products according to the needs of that field and region, there is some income provided to beneficiaries-of-sales. Also, we try to support the food supply of that region in some way. From these courses, there are some people whom we guide to employment as a qualified farm laborer.” (Interview Number 11)

It is mentioned in the same interview that social cohesion is realized according to labor force needs while the participant was explaining the details of the social cohesion program. Moreover, the participant emphasized that they have some actions,

especially for the separation between labor categories. The participant explained this case as follows:

“By the way, this content consists of three subsections. It is composed of three programs: white, blue and yellow. We explain the working life culture, labor code, and social rights to the people who will work as white-collar workers. We provide consultancy about which channels they could reach to find jobs in their fields. For example, a white-collar individual is directed to websites such as Kariyer.net, gelbasla.com to find a job in his or her field. We show the white-collar candidates that they can actually find a job in slightly more internet-based channels. However, in yellow or blue-collar, the situation changes. For example, we suggest blue-collar candidates go to the Turkish Employment Agency or register in the Turkish Employment Agency. We also state to the yellow-collar candidates that there is a different program for them, farm laborers. Our program includes non-formal educational methodology program in the process. It is an educational program that includes activities and applications on working life and working culture, labor code, social rights, CV preparation, interview techniques, lifelong learning etc. [It is] a program where we provide consultancy for each collar separately, and we explain what opportunities we have for them.” (Interview Number 11)

As the participants pointed to the labor market, they declared that the places where there is a national labor need are decisive in the programs.

It is expressed in their ideas as follows:

“Especially in the Southeast, there is no one interested in leather and the gentle craft. We have to give importance to these fields. Or, for example, the youth do not want to be shepherds in the countryside. Directing the refugees towards these areas both benefits competition and prevents these sectors from disappearing.” (Interview Number 11)

Moreover, it is stated that in the programs carried out for refugee employment, refugees are directed to areas that will not pose a problem for local labor. A participant stated that the refugees are being directed to occupations that are not preferred by society in the activities of employment of refugees. The participant explained his/her ideas as it is followed:

“We organized many construction course workshops in the vocational courses. Construction course workshops are at the forefront of our courses. One of them lasts eighteen months. So, what I mean is refugees are directed to occupations that local laborers do not prefer. This is a strategic thing in the sense of social tension. Of course, it is not a bad thing. They work as plumbers, electricians, etc. They do these jobs, technical jobs. I think that professional projects related to processes that require more expertise in business life should be increased a little more, and they should be integrated into them with training, but prejudices are barely changed. Maybe we could figure it out before we start. Maybe it is late. It is too hard to change a thing after it started.” (Interview Number 12)

5.1.3. Contribution to Economy

In the answers given to the first question, it is pointed out that the programs related to refugee employment also pay attention to their contribution to the economy. It is remarked that the social cohesion of refugees cannot be established without contributing to the economy. In order to do this, it is underlined that it should be co-operated with the state and hence its institutions.

This point is stated as followed:

“There are lots of children who are born here or came here right after the Syrian Crisis started. So, those children are in Turkey now. They have to contribute to the Turkish economy and development after 20 years. There shouldn't be a lost generation. Otherwise, social cohesion is not possible. This is what public institutions and organizations with which we cooperate in central politics should do. Now, we need to get rid of that support in the crisis period and evaluate the event with an adaptation, a future perspective.” (Interview Number 4)

The attention is drawn to the importance of vocational training courses, and it is argued that the need for intermediate professions, which are not preferred by local workers, can be compensated with refugees.

“There is a section composed of people who are between 15-24 years old. It is around 1 million people, as far as I know. So, there is a big section directed toward working life. It will be much easier for them to get a job in the future if we could train

them as intermediate staff by giving serious training through vocational training. Each of them will even be able to start their own small business. We are currently trying to do this with many institutions in the field. I think we can understand that social cohesion policies towards refugees tend to be more employment-oriented policies from this point of view.” (Interview Number 3)

According to the answers, a refugee should be able to do a job that is beneficial to society. Social cohesion activities that are participatory and criticize the aid-oriented perspective in the refugee field should be structured long-term and in harmony with the neo-liberal order. This opinion was stated by a participant:

“Yes, there is a goal, and it is employment. It is indispensable for these refugees to sustainably, at least do a decent job, earn a living, and fulfill their responsibilities. On the one hand, as I said, there is a humanitarian rationality, which is more refugee-oriented, more save-the-day, and maybe has an aid-oriented focus. On the other hand, there is something more long-term and valid, which is where we try to integrate the immigrant, the refugee, which we can call dynamic, economic, even neoliberal. The second one is more important for the integration into society.” (Interview Number 5)

Encouraging the entrepreneurship of refugees is also included in the means of strengthening the economy. The participants mentioned the importance of efforts to increase the equipment of refugees in order to strengthen them in the market, as well as to encourage entrepreneurship.

This view on this matter is articulated by a participant as follows:

“We aim to increase the production opportunities and marketing opportunities of the Syrians in the employment activities for refugees, which are carried out within our organization. In this way, we aim to enable them to develop economically and ensure their social cohesion.” (Interview Number 7)

It is underlined that social cohesion activities carried out in the institution have two fundamental goals. The first one is to employ refugees, and the second one is to encourage their entrepreneurship. It is claimed that entrepreneurship is a more effective solution, especially in terms of contribution to the economy and, the state is the dominant actor in this context.

It is said as follows:

“Our project aims to increase the employment rate and social cohesion through entrepreneurship. In our project, it is aimed to provide training to increase their employability a little and then to make them start a business by giving grants. We carry out this activity in cooperation with the state.” (Interview Number 7)

It is mentioned by some participants that they tended to focus on employment in the activities they carried out in the last years, and this tendency will increase. A participant described his/her opinion towards this topic as follows:

“We have been focusing on employment in the last years. For example, the aim of our current project is to encourage the entrepreneurship of the Turks and Syrians hence the local people that are defined as the post community. Our main goal is this, and this project is arranged as 36 months. Yet, it will be more than three years. We anticipate that this will continue and that the work on the employment of refugees will gain momentum.” (Interview Number 7)

It is claimed that attention is paid to encouraging the entrepreneurship of refugees and that this means integrating into the economy hence the society. Participants’ thoughts on this issue are expressed as follows:

“Besides encouraging them to work, it is also important that they encourage refugees to start their own businesses. It is not surprising that our programs have evolved into this. It is necessary. One of our main goals is to support their entrepreneurship hence their integration into society and the economy.” (Interview Number 9)

“We, as an institution, cooperated with the United Work recently. For example, adapting to working life in our activities is getting important. The United Work gives some incentives to refugees to work. And these incentives, of course, make our activities easier. It makes it enticing. As we said, these are incentives for the employment of people. They pay taxes or fees for opening to the people who open shops, or because the institutions that issue work permits generally do not know the work permit procedure.” (Interview Number 12)

5.1.4. Contribution to Social Cohesion

In an answer to the question about which criterion is specific for refugee employment, it was mentioned that these programs aim to ensure social cohesion and that there is a positive relationship between employment and social integration.

According to this participant:

“The goal of the courses is mostly on the employment of refugees. Of course, there were some modules about social order, but it was mainly based on employment. Especially after 2016, when the urgency of the humanitarian dimension of the issue started to slow down a little more, social cohesion programs shifted to economic integration. We can still say that.” (Interview Number 1)

It is expressed that it is not possible anymore for the refugees in our country to return to their countries and that so many people should be employed in order to adapt to social life. Thus, it is underlined that the actors in the field should shift their focus from social cohesion to employment with the leadership of the state.

“You know, most of them do not intend to go back. They do not want to go back to their countries. Actually, most of them want to stay in Turkey. There are many researches about this issue, and they also show this. So, it should be explained well that employment is a social responsibility. We are still working on how we can regulate it as a right to work. As you know, we issued a Temporary Protection Regulation only for Syrian refugees in 2016. Of course, this is an inadequate text, and it is open to criticism. Yet, it was an important document to make employment legal for refugees. This document was a positive step toward making them secure economically. It is, of course, very important for refugees to work. However, in which condition they work is also very important. Although this document has some missing points, it was important for protecting them. Yet, these missing points are not easy to fix quickly. The state’s job gets difficult in these topics. A lot of political concerns and so on can get in the way. However, these steps make refugees stronger in society.” (Interview Number 3)

It is indicated that employment has become very common because it is one of the most important tools of social cohesion policies, which are about integration into the social order and are carried out in some participants’ own institutions. They expressed their ideas on this issue as follows:

“Since there is no different program called social cohesion in our institution, I am also the head of social cohesion activities. My main title is the employment program manager. However, activities related to social cohesion are mostly related to working life because when we talk about employment, we also mention economic integration and adaptation. That is why I am the head of social cohesion.” (Interview Number 5)

“As an institution, we are in the preparation process of the structured social cohesion activities for the refugees. Actually, we prepared a five-year action plan. [...] There are hundreds of thousands of refugees in Istanbul. They have to integrate into economic life somehow. Integration into working life is a topic that we attach great importance to, especially in social cohesion.” (Interview Number 6)

“Recently, we have been focusing more on employment. For example, the general aim of our current project is to provide socio-economic integration by increasing the entrepreneurship of Syrians and Turks, local people, which we call local, post community. This is our main aim. And this is a 36-month project. However, the scope of this activity will exceed three years. We anticipate that this will continue and that the efforts for the employment of refugees will gain momentum.” (Interview Number 7)

“There is an existing order. We expect them to live in harmony with the working life of Turkey if they will be in this country and work here like you and me when the aids are finished. This will make social acceptance happen easier. That’s why social cohesion policies should be more focused on employment. Although most of the work in this sense is still not enough.” (Interview Number 11)

It is said that efforts are made to make employment sustainable in social cohesion activities and to produce permanent solutions for social cohesion in the long run. Accordingly, Some participants described their opinion on this issue as follows:

“We try to make providing employment sustainable as a solution to problems that will create employment for the refugees for the short, medium, and long term. Recently, our work about adaptation is towards this topic. A permanent, functional focus. For instance, our current project is about multiple development. The Multiple Development Project.” (Interview Number 13)

“As a central authority, I create a policy on social cohesion. If necessary, I get support from international institutions' funds. International organizations should shape their funds within the framework of this policy of mine.” (Interview Number 4)

5.2. Problems Encountered in Refugee Employment in Turkey

The participants, who are representatives of actors operating in the field of refugee employment, were secondly asked about the problems encountered in refugee employment in Turkey. Among the answers given, the working conditions of refugees, their inability to organize, social assistance mechanisms, and work permit procedures were identified as the most prominent thematic areas.

5.2.1. Work Conditions

It is declared that a real working life is not possible for refugees despite many activities for employment. According to a participant, this is because the right to work in the employment of refugees is not fully in the picture. As a matter of fact, the participant expressed his/her opinions on this subject as follows:

“We fix these trainings, but we cannot employ them. I have no idea what I'm doing right now. For example, I have been working in the field of employment for 1.5 years and could not get anyone to work because there is no serious control over the work area. Regulations are insufficient. It is out of the question for anyone to follow the work they enter in a sustainable way. That's why these people are begging, unfortunately. When they become beggars, they are discredited by society. They are isolated.” (Interview Number 1)

Among the problems mentioned, working illegally with low wages, without insurance, and in jobs with low reputation, and being unwanted are among the most cited problems.

“In other words, I'm talking about making money and being excluded and oppressed at the same time. Already at the moment, Syrians can do it without insurance. In their field research, it was observed that the employer had serious prejudices and complaints. These complaints are reflected in soft skill training, most

likely. They are not wanted, they are complained about, but they are employed anyway. This contradiction can only be resolved by the state.” (Interview Number 1)

“Employers in Turkey respond to the needs of international capital in refugee employment. And this often happens with low-skilled, precarious, and illegal forms of work.” (Interview Number 2)

It is stated that there is a serious informality in the employment of refugees:

“There is a very serious informality of refugees, not only in the sectors with which The Birlesik Metal is concerned but in all sectors in general. This situation causes them to ignore the injustice they suffer in their business lives.” (Interview Number 2)

“Because a migrant who already has health insurance can agree to work without insurance and for less money in order to find a job. While there exists such an employee and there is no supervision, an employer will hire these people rationally, of course, with a capitalistic logic.” (Interview Number 5)

“When they work unregistered, of course, they work without security. For example, that's why they were so affected during the Covid period. Because they do not have security and they could not benefit from social support. When there was so much unemployment, both Syrians and even Turks had to choose to work despite those poor working conditions.” (Interview Number 7)

“First of all, when we look at the informal sector workers, Turkish or foreign, that is, irregular migrants, our studies show us that the sectors are generally agriculture, construction, textile... All these sectors are actually sectors where irregular migrants are concentrated. The difficulties experienced by Turkish citizens during the economic recessions are definitely experienced by the immigrant groups we mentioned, and they [immigrants] continue to be so because they already have an informal business life and continue to be exploited in this way. Likewise, Syrian refugees constitute an important group within the informal economy.” (Interview Number 9)

“We can say that immigrants and refugees are the most vulnerable groups. Because they are the victims of many issues such as job losses, closure of businesses, being unregistered, suspension of work permits, not being able to benefit from social

protection, lack of knowledge on immigrants without status, and lack of personal protection information about the pandemic. Limitation of access to personal protection equipment is one of them. These are the factors that seriously affect the dimension of the social economy. They are already disadvantaged, and their situation becomes more difficult when they cannot access enough rights and services.” (Interview Number 13)

“As I said, the employer gives lower wages because s/he works informally. In most cases, the employer does not pay their wages for months and then says, ‘go and complain’. Violence, harassment, etc. The refugee does their work as they wish. Because you are already afraid to complain, you are afraid. You are not registered. You will either be unemployed or file a complaint. On the other hand, the employer employs the refugees in the jobs they want. For example, in agriculture, it would not be possible to harvest without migrant labor in Turkey during the harvest period.” (Interview Number 14)

It is declared that the motivations of the capitalist economic order are behind refugees being a disadvantaged labor group:

“Of course, the reality of the world, the existence of informal economy and the unrecorded employment... It is also the same in our country. When you look at the statistics, the biggest part belongs to the refugees, whether they are recorded or not recorded; and as you said, sometimes, it can be a political choice and includes its own policy. This choice reflects onto the regulations in this field. However, in all cases, this reality puts refugees behind.” (Interview Number 9)

5.2.2. Unionization

Another problem is stated to be both the cause and the result of the aforementioned working conditions. Accordingly, refugees are a labor community that is far from unionization:

“You also know that what we call unionization in Turkey applies to a very small minority. A privilege in quotation marks, which belongs to a small number of workers working in large workplaces or mostly in SMEs or in the municipality. It is a special case. It is not common. Also, unions probably do not consider the refugees as their

first-hand members. This is also true. For instance, because there will not be any unregistered work in the large workplaces, they cannot organize in there. We are talking about refugees here who work in a much smaller number. Of course, the busy agenda and the disorganization in the unions are also a reason for this. However, the main problem is that being a member of a union corresponds to a very low rate of 6%, even among domestic workers in our country. When we evaluate this rate, the perspective to expand from our own workers to another place is quite narrow. Therefore, how can a refugee be a member of a union when there is no faith to organize even among your local labor? Unfortunately, this is not in favor of our workers, but it is much more unfavorable for the refugees.” (Interview Number 2)

“If there is a ridiculous procedure going on, such as a work permit, normally, people will not have the opportunity to speak for their rights in their workplaces. If the employer does not pay their money, they cannot file a complaint. In the end, they had to work without a work permit for this reason. You can not have any right to speak up for your rights unless you have your own work permit. This statement confirms that they became disadvantaged in accessing other rights due to the problems they experienced in accessing the right to work.” (Interview Number 5)

“When there are many problems in the unionizing of the local labor, unfortunately, it is not time for refugees.” (Interview Number 8)

5.2.3 Social Assistance Mechanism

There are the answers criticizing the social assistance mechanism as the reason for informal work:

“A Syrian family gets a Red Crescent aid and a PTT card. But three of the children in the family also work. They work informally because their income will decrease when they work registered. Social assistance system and work permit etc. It actually compels people to do so. We are trying to direct people to registered work. But it cannot be said that we were very successful.” (Interview Number 1)

5.2.4. Work Permit Procedures

It has been declared that the work permit mechanism to which refugees are subjected in Turkey is one of the biggest problems encountered in refugee employment:

“The work permit is under my boss’s control because my boss makes the application. If I go anywhere else, my existing permit will expire. Again, the new employer has to apply for a work permit. Therefore, one’s fundamental rights and freedoms are tied to another. So this becomes something like legalized slavery ownership. The work permit is a kind of employer permit because the employer makes the application. Therefore, making a person’s work permit dependent on another person deprives her of all other rights. At the end of the process, if they have their own work permit, there will not be a discussion like this.” (Interview Number 2)

The same participant thought that the right to work is not provided to the refugees properly and expressed his/her ideas as follows:

“If you don’t solve the real problem, nothing will help. The main problem is the right-to-work issue, not giving this right to the refugee section properly. That’s why they are being exploited more than the local labor.” (Interview Number 2)

It is underlined that the systematic inequalities in the activities carried out in the employment for social cohesion field are getting deeper. Accordingly, it is a matter of fact that there is a systematic contrariety in fully employing the disadvantaged sections, especially refugees. On the one hand, the sector needs labor, while on the other hand, regulations that guarantee the rights of this labor are denied. The expressions of some participants about this are as follows:

“It is indispensable that focus shifts to employment in adaptation programs because sectors need the cheap labor. However, when it is stepped for employment and social cohesion, inequality increases. For this reason, the answer to the question, which is whether the right to work is fully provided to refugees, is skeptical. Due to the systematic inequalities combined with cultural exclusion derived from lack of education, a very serious grievement emerges. It is obvious that there is an unwillingness about the providing the right to work properly.” (Interview Number 5)

“When we look at the work permit procedure, it seems like a block to prevent Syrians from reaching the right to work. Of course, its existence is important, but refugees cannot use this right properly. I think the main motivation here is that the market wants to create cheap and insecure labor for itself. However, at the end of the day, are the refugees employed? Yes. Hence, there is an adaptation.” (Interview Number 6)

“Even more, it becomes an instrument in the context of reducing the sensibility. When their limits are decreased relatively, these regulations also work in order to make the processes somehow easier for individuals in sensitive situations. However, how close one gets to the right to work is a mystery. Moreover, the solution to this problem is not positive, unfortunately. This is not in favor of them.” (Interview Number 9)

“One of the biggest obstacles for refugees to work legally is the work permit procedure. Another consequence of this is that refugees cannot access union rights. This arrangement hollows out the refugee's right to work and renders it passive. On the other hand, as a result of this obstacle, informality is widespread. However, one of the reasons for informality is that this way of working suits the market. In addition, the fact that the state does not create an effective control mechanism for this situation, which is very common in refugee employment, facilitates the work of the market.” (Interview Number 14)

5.3. Solutions Suggested to Overcome Obstacles to Refugee Employment in Turkey

The participants, who are representatives of actors operating in the field of refugee employment, were thirdly asked about the solutions to overcome the obstacles to refugee employment in Turkey.

Among the answers given are that countries do not have to meet every demand of the international economic system, and it is important for Turkey to be careful in this regard. Accordingly, each nation-state will be able to overcome this problem by determining its own employment program according to its own conditions.

“On the one hand, there are nation-states that also have their own interests. As soon as the nation-state considers its own interests, the immigrant is already completely excluded. It's very different, it's a puzzle, it's a lot of actors, it has dimensions. International actors, sectoral issues, etc. Unfortunately, when you look at it, the donor is working with neoliberal rationality. The state allowed it. On the field, you emerge with your own motivation and character. However, state officials do not allow this at all.” (Interview Number 1)

It is claimed that the incentives for registered employment are an important solution tool:

“Informal employment is something that has been going on for a very long time. It can be resolved with the government's involvement in the issue. It can be solved by encouraging registered work here. It is also important to be able to work in a reputable manner after finding a job. (Interview Number 1)

It is underlined that in addition to encouraging registered employment, encouraging unionization is also an important solution tool:

“It would be much better if the unions or confederations in the textile or construction industries should turn to the refugee area because it's really vital for them. On the one hand, there is a competitive situation among the members. This disrupts the atmosphere of peace at work. The textile business line, as we said, is segmented, that is, with chains. In a textile workshop in Zeytinburnu, where migrant workers work informally, there is a possibility that a Turk will be unemployed. This business going through a legal status and regulation would actually be a great advantage for the textile union. It would be a huge advantage for them and their members. Are they struggling? I don't know... I don't think so. However, informality in these lines of business is especially beneficial for everyone. You employ a refugee informally instead of two or even three Turkish workers. You pay little money, and you are not reported on this. Everything that compels the employer is lost in informality for the unregistered refugee.” (Interview Number 2)

“This perspective should be broader. This is the first. Second, people would still avoid unions if there were unions and freedom across the country, or the work permit procedure was unproblematic, or people worked legally. (Despite the fact that the political atmosphere is not suitable for this.) Third, there will be technical issues.

There will be problems in all these processes due to not recognizing professional qualifications, not providing language education, or even not providing vocational qualifications. In short, all the activities carried out for the employment of refugees are problematic. It is like workers do not have sense. It is even weak in local labor. Union membership requires minimal awareness. We are an unsuccessful country in providing this infrastructure.” (Interview Number 2)

“Our other work is going to be about the unions. If there are some unions that are protecting the rights of the refugees very well, and we perform well in this context, we will evaluate them. We are going to make suggestions to the unions to make them included in this issue. As we know, we lag far behind in this regard. Maybe we don't even move forward. Yet, we are trying to remove the obstacles against the organization of refugees in their working lives.” (Interview Number 9)

It is suggested that international organizations are more sensitive to regulations and practices regarding the employment of refugees:

“The organization called the International Labor Organization is an organization that operates the social dialogue mechanism even in its own structure and has very well established this with workers, employers, and governments. In fact, we could say that it has been a more worker-oriented international organization since 1919. Therefore, it has to resist the activities in question in the field of employment with neoliberal policies that harm the workers. Contrarily, they do not struggle with the forfeiture of refugees in the field of employment while they can. Thus, I am a little bit mad at international organizations.” (Interview Number 4)

It is suggested that refugees do not benefit from the scope of the right to work indiscriminately:

“The right to work is a fundamental right and freedom. It is a constitutional right. When we consider that in terms of human rights, it should be provided to people in every category equally.” (Interview Number 6)

It is maintained that the work permit procedure, to which Syrian refugees are subjected, is against the employee and has parts that conflict with the right to work:

“So, we think that there should not be an obligation to acquire a work permit. If a person lives here for eight years, it should be assumed that s/he is working here.

If they have temporary protection status, this should also bring a work permit with it. The work permit issue is not in accordance with the essence of the right. That is making it difficult for the refugees to live or have a place in society. “(Interview Number 8)

It is suggested that refugees can be integrated into the capitalist competitive environment. A participant's statement on this matter is quite striking:

“After all, we are in a capitalist mechanism, even if it is a humanitarian field like the refugee field. Competition is inevitable in almost every issue related to refugees, especially in employment.” (Interview Number 7)

It is also one of the issues stated that the state should focus on employment programs that include employers:

“Comprehensive programs should be created for employers, who are among the main actors of the employment issue. The main determinant of these programs should be the public institutions as the most competent organizations.” (Interview Number 14)

It is claimed that the issue related to refugee employment would be dealt with holistically to be resolved:

“In a situation where there is unemployment, you will combine them with the sectors, they will compete with the Turks, let's say those who speak Turkish, and you will employ them... The problem we call holistic...” (Interview Number 8)

“As the number [of refugees] increased and the need for services in different thematic areas increased, the state institutions responsible for providing that service also tried to determine their positions and take the necessary administrative or legal steps holistically.” (Interview Number 10)

It is stated that employment is the most important step in terms of social cohesion, and it should be spread with the activities. A participant also adds that this situation should be enlarged in scale for social order. S/he expressed his/her ideas as follows:

“Integration is multidimensional, of course. Yet, it is one of the first and most important steps toward access to employment. Actually, it is a big field that is needed to be successful. Maybe, the social cohesion of that society should be ensured very

locally. It will be done culturally with little groups. However, employment really needs to be enlarged because it is important to enlarge the social cohesion scale.” (Interview Number 12)

5.4. The Role of Actors in Solving the Employment Problems of the Refugees (central government, local governments, international organizations, NGOs, employers, and society)

The participants, who are representatives of actors operating in the field of refugee employment, were fourth asked about the role of the actors in the field of refugee employment. This question was answered by identifying the "determining actor" in the field. The answers by the participants, in general, pointed to the central government's determination and coordination role. While some of the participants drew attention to the intermediary function of non-governmental organizations between the state and the beneficiaries, few participants claimed that the main determining actor was international donor organizations.

5.4.1. The Role of the State

It is observed that the central authority mostly meant in the answers given that the state is the determining actor in solving the problems related to refugee employment.

It is stated that social cohesion is a set of policies determined by public institutions:

“Social cohesion is implemented as a set of policies. The owner of the policy is mostly the state. For example, the Provincial Immigration Administration does this in the refugee area. Recently, it started to teach social cohesion and integration lessons to approximately 2.5 million refugees. Yes, a social cohesion training, organized by the Provincial Immigration, with a trainer and an interpreter, and with refugees according to its scope, has started through common public education centers.” (Interview Number 1)

A participant declared that they cannot go out of the area determined by the state in the social cohesion activities implemented within their own structure. S/he stated the following about this issue:

“We conduct the trainings we provide in accordance with the certificates of the Ministry of National Education and by following the modules there. We do not have the luxury of going beyond the ministry's directive in vocational training.” (Interview Number 1)

Constraints regarding the area determined by the state were further expressed as follows.

“Of course, there are limits set by a policymaker. There are [also] limits set by society itself. However, the limits set by the policymaker also determine the society's [limits]. That's why public institutions have the ultimate say in social cohesion. We are just actors acting within that boundary.” (Interview Number 1)

“There is a cake. Targets are set between these institutions to share this cake somehow. And suddenly, people trying to do humanitarian work can find themselves in neoliberal competition. Even though the most authoritative public institutions in the field determine the limits of this competition, at the end of the day, a suitable ground for competition is being prepared.” (Interview Number 4)

“Turkey, as an objective reality, is a much more developed national market economy than Syria. Now, these people have to be operational in it. In our country, these people have to be shaped according to our market economy. The key role here is, of course, the public authority.” (Interview Number 8)

It has been emphasized that the state has been a political tool of the modern-capitalist economic order from the very beginning. Some participants' statements on this matter are quite striking:

“After all, we are in a capitalist mechanism, even if it is a humanitarian field like the refugee field. Competition is inevitable in almost every issue related to refugees, especially in employment.” (Interview Number 8)

“In our country, these people have to be shaped according to our market economy. The key role here is, of course, the public authority.” (Interview Number 8)

“The number of Syrians has increased, the issue has evolved thematically, and the socioeconomic cluster has grown... In 2016, the General Directorate of International Labor Force was established under the Ministry of Labor. This is a very important breaking point, strategically and historically. As the number [of refugees] increased and the need for services in different thematic areas increased, the state institutions responsible for providing that service also tried to determine their positions and take the necessary administrative or legal steps.” (Interview Number 9)

“I think that the mobility in public institutions stems from the desire to create such a large network in response to the question of how we can provide access to employment for the refugee population of developing countries. Although we continued to talk about migration in the context of governance in general, as the volume increased, we started to discuss thematic areas. Meaning that employment is evolving into an issue that is becoming increasingly important in these areas of discussion, is directly centralized, and is still at the heart of all discussions today.” (Interview Number 9)

The same participant emphasized that this network is about the inclusion of refugees in the world labor markets and that countries such as Turkey are added to this network as well as advanced capitalist states:

“A network about the inclusion of refugees in the labor market. It's called the Independent Network of Labor Market Integration Experts. They chose the countries that were members of the European Union at that time and added Bosnia-Herzegovina, Turkey, and Norway alongside these countries. We prepared country reports. We shared these reports with public institutions. The public institutions have benefited greatly from this global lens in its social cohesion policy towards refugees.” (Interview Number 9)

It is also stated that the central authority has become the most decisive actor in the employment of refugees with the establishment of an institution that concerns all practices across the country:

“The number of Syrians has increased, the issue has evolved thematically, and the socioeconomic cluster has grown... In 2016, the General Directorate of International Labor Force was established under the Ministry of Labor. This is a very important breaking point, strategically and historically.” (Interview Number 9)

It is pointed out that social cohesion is gaining more importance leading to an increased role for public institution actors in social cohesion through employment:

“Of course, social cohesion has also come to the fore. In fact, the role that local actors, especially municipalities, can play in this regard is the biggest. In fact, it is not possible to achieve this without public institutions.” (Interview Number 10)

It is stated that one of the most important pillars of social cohesion is employment and that the most important role in its execution belongs to the state in terms of creating communication between two communities.

“And of course, the most important step of integration and cohesion is employment. What the state can do in this area is decisive.” (Interview Number 11)

“The most important indicator of social cohesion and acceptance is access to livelihood. Only under this condition, it is possible to be included in social life, and for this, the state is the most responsible actor in the communication between the local communities and the refugees. (Interview Number 14)

5.4.2. The Role of NGOs

The participants, who drew attention to the decisiveness of NGOs in programs related to the employment of refugees, mentioned the functions of NGOs, especially in coordination and providing linkage between the field and the state.

A participant stated that non-governmental organizations support the state as a reinforcing force in terms of carrying out social cohesion policies. The participant also underlined that these non-governmental organizations act with liberal rationality in their activities:

“In other words, all social cohesion programs have started to be designed with a much more neoliberal rationality in order to provide employment to refugees, in order to provide a new profession.” (Interview Number 5)

On the other hand, it is underlined that civil society functions as a kind of mediator between the market and refugees, while it was stated that the state regulates the employment of refugees according to the preferences of employers and sectoral needs when it comes to social cohesion:

“That's where we try to integrate the refugee... So your role is a kind of negotiator, mediator. There is a purpose, yes, employment... These refugees really need to be able to work in a sustainable way, at least in a decent job, to earn a living.” (Interview Number 5)

Participants emphasized the NGOs' ability to create platforms that bring employers and refugees together to establish links.

“We also aim to establish an online platform in order to link their value chains to each other, to add the businesses that are expected to be established to the international market in some way, to establish an online platform to fund them, and to build a platform where they can at least attract and meet investors, although not large ones. The Ministry of Industry and Technology is our beneficiary institution as a public institution rather than a partner.” (Interview Number 7)

“Cooperation is what Turkey and perhaps all modern states need. If it did, maybe Germany did. There is an attempt to overcome the coordination issue, there is a need for improvement. We are the last link in the last chain. Who are we? We are NGOs.” (Interview Number 8)

“We are actually collaborating with public institutions, non-governmental organizations, chambers, and private companies on vocational training.” (Interview Number 9)

“We, as the closest civil society organization to the state, even more, a civil society organization of the state, organize many courses. We also collect data from these people about what jobs they have worked in before, both in their home country and in Turkey, and in which sector and in which positions they want to work. We meet with people from the sector to see where the gap is. Afterward, according to gaps, we organize vocational education in order to develop their capacity.” (Interview Number 11)

It is also argued that the other purpose of employment programs, which the state implements in coordination with civil society for the continuation of the market system, is to end poverty. A participant made the following statement on this subject:

“Poverty is not something desired in society. Refugee poverty is also not desirable for the system. Actions are being taken to remedy this. We are trying to

support public institutions in this regard in the fields we are in.” (Interview Number 13)

5.4.3. The Role of Other Actors

In the answers given regarding the determinant actor in solving the problems related to refugee employment, international donor organizations come to the fore as the other actor apart from the state and NGOs.

Conjunctionally, it is emphasized by some participants that the state is the most decisive actor in social cohesion activities but that the most important motivation behind it is international donors:

“Donors abroad say, like Nasreddin Hodja, whoever pays blows the whistle...” (interview number 3)

As can be seen, although there are many actors in the field regarding the employment of refugees, the main actors are the state and the civil society that supports it within the line determined by the state. Actors other than these two, on the other hand, have more of an outside intervention role in the Turkish setting and in the context of the Syrians. However, there is an intersection of all actors in terms of taking care of the needs of the market.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis aims to analyze the contribution to social cohesion and social integration through the employment of Syrians in Turkey. It elaborates on the criteria that are most taken into account in the employment programs and the actors who are most decisive in the field and tries to establish a connection between these two main themes. To this end, in-depth information was collected via semi-structured interviews, and then the narratives were analyzed. Accordingly, it is concluded that the activities carried out for the employment of Syrians are mostly based on the needs of the market, and the state is the most decisive actor in the field to meet this need. Therefore, the programs for the employment of Syrians were designed as a parameter in the realization of social cohesion. The study offers a perspective on the institutional and personal experiences of actors operating in the field for the employment of Syrian refugees.

6.1. Implications of the Study

In-depth information collected from the narratives reveals the following analyses:

Firstly, having a modern-capitalist formation, the state is the most decisive actor in refugee employment in Turkey. It can be argued that the motivation of the state here is to protect the social order. Social cohesion and social integration through the employment of refugees emerge as a requirement for that social order. The state produces policies in order to make this order more favorable for capital or the market as a consequence of its capitalist nature. Even though some arrangements are made in favor of non-dominant segments in the policy-making process, this is in order to appease their objections to the mechanism. The modern-capitalist state, as a political entity based on the social dominance of capital, draws its strength from class contradictions and instrumentalizes the continuation of the order of contradiction.

However, the fact that the state is the most decisive actor in the politics of social cohesion does not mean that it is alone in this field. The state tries to ensure social cohesion in cooperation with civil society. Since civil society emerges inherently in the capitalist market order and is a functional actor in the realization of policies thanks to its mobility in the field, it is in coordination with the state. Therefore, the activities of non-governmental organizations in the field of social cohesion generally coincide with the policy of the state. In the activities carried out for social cohesion, this cooperation is needed in line with the needs of the market as well. At its simplest, civil society mediates the supply of labor needed by the market. It supports the state in creating the necessary environment for competition in the national and global markets. This is a result of the state being the most decisive actor in putting the social cohesion instrument into action. In other words, especially in social cohesion, civil society emerges for the state, not against the state.

Secondly, social cohesion as a class instrument is used for non-dominant social segments to adapt to capitalist market conditions. It is very important to integrate a part of the world population described as cheap labor, such as refugees, into the global market economy, starting from the national scale. Therefore, its class characteristic requires that social cohesion tries to adapt the labor segments to market conditions in its activities related to working life. With this political tool, the state integrates social segments into the labor market in favor of capital. Here, policymakers and practitioners characterize employment as social responsibility in order to calm the tension that may arise between segments. In order not to escalate the competition between labor groups, more disadvantaged groups, such as refugees, are joined to the less qualified workforce. As a matter of fact, this aspect of social cohesion is also valid in the context of Turkey.

Thirdly, despite the tendency of social cohesion to perpetuate these whole market conditions, its employment dimension may distort this setup. The irony of harmony of non-compliance can be challenged by the freedom of organization, which is an extension of the right to work. When evaluated in the context of the right to work, employment has a strong position against social cohesion because it makes it possible for an organized worker to collectively resist the capitalist class. However, organizational status is not the case in every employment situation. This study shows

that the collective organization rate of refugees in Turkey is very low or almost non-existent.

Access to employment without the scope of the right to work, of course, puts the labor segments in a more disadvantageous position. However, the possibility of being unemployed is considered a greater barrier for a worker to enjoy all aspects of the right to work, for example, the union dimension. For this reason, an increase in the employment of the segments may be against social cohesion. This also applies to the refugee groups, whose disadvantages are multiplied by employment. However, "employment" can be a strategic step for unionism, which can still be described as the strongest movement in the world in terms of the working class, to become widespread starting in our country. The figure given here regarding the number of organized workers in the world is quite striking: Among the world population of 6 billion, those employed are close to 3 billion. Among the 3 billion employees, one out of every 20 is currently a union member. With over 165 million members, the trade union movement is the largest social movement in the world. (Özüğurlu, 2007).

Fourthly, in the employment of Syrians, the irony of social cohesion re-enters in favor of the state. The fact that they are more disadvantaged in social life also makes refugees more disadvantaged in terms of accessing the right to work. This, of course, weakens the ability of employment to challenge the social order. Although the emphasis on employment in social cohesion activities in our country will strengthen employment against the social mechanism, the situation of refugees in their working lives is not suitable for this outcome. This segment is becoming more vulnerable due to the processes in their working lives, and their potential to resist inequalities is almost gone. This segment is deprived of the right to lead a life worthy of human dignity at the expense of being able to work. Bauman's statement that "in order to receive in capitalism, you have to give more" is very meaningful in this respect (Bauman, 1992).

Furthermore, Syrians in our country work in unskilled jobs, at meager wages and in precarious conditions, under which even the local laborers do not want to work. These processes experienced by refugees, who have already started their working lives in a disadvantaged position, deepen the violations they suffer in terms of human rights. The fact that refugees, a significant part of whom keep the informal sector alive by

working unregistered, do not have the right and freedom to organize, prevents them from resisting social contradictions. Therefore, social cohesion, once again, perpetuates the inequalities between classes and intervenes in the employment of refugees. In other words, capitalism still receives the greatest benefit from social rights (Omay, 2009). And the employment of refugees takes place in line with the needs of the market, and the irony of social cohesion is re-emerging in favor of the state.

Lastly, in line with this study conducted in the context of Turkey, it can be said that capitalism continues to erode social rights, such as employment, and it is not noticed that many rights are slipping away from the hands of the working class. The reason for this is that some of the social rights are effectively rendered dysfunctional, some of them are made available for full integration into the system, and some of them are abandoned voluntarily (Omay, 2009). The fact that the state does not intervene in these working patterns, which the capital in our country deems worthy of the refugees, or when it does, it intervenes in favor of the employer, is an important example of this situation. Social cohesion continues to function for the market in the employment of more disadvantaged segments in social life, such as refugees, and the potential of refugee labor to resist systemic contradictions is disabled. The modern-capitalist state does what is expected of it in accordance with its historicity. However, starting from the organized groups in Turkey, the fact that the unions do not give due importance to refugee labor also works to the benefit of the market.

The systemic inequality on which the modern-capitalist state is built deepens as the disadvantage of some social segments increases, as is the case with refugees. This is true even in the field of the right and freedom to work, which has the potential to turn the social order upside down and whose history is in line with it. However, the existence of organized groups that can oppose the "state-market-social cohesion" bloc, which empty the content of this right and render it almost meaningless, is nevertheless important. Because it is possible to seek a system based on social values, and workers and unions can play a complementary role in achieving this goal (Kalaycıoğlu, Rittersberger & Çelik, 2008).

6.2. Limits of the Study

Although the most important actors in the field are included, and administrative diversity is taken care of, the limited number of participants may be a criticism to be directed to this research. Moreover, the fact that no refugees who are employees were included among the interviewed actors, and their opinions were not taken in terms of employment, can be another justifiable criticism. In the same direction, meeting with only one union representative can also be considered among the limitations of this study.

6.3. Recommendations for Future Studies

Including more employers in the interviews conducted for this study from the sectors where refugees are most employed in Turkey (e.g., agriculture, animal husbandry, shepherds, blacksmithing, furniture making, and shoemaking) may help to analyze the results of this thesis better. The addition of working and non-working refugees to the interview series can also broaden the perspective of this study on the employment of refugees.

This thesis, which is focused on Syrian refugees and is the thought of contributing to social cohesion through employment, can also be an inspiration for other refugee groups living in Turkey.

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APPENDICIES

A. Appendix 1

The Content of the Interviews

1. Could you tell us about the institution/organization you work with and your activities regarding refugees?
2. Could you tell us about the vocational trainings for refugee youth in your institution?
3. What is taken into account when organizing the said programs? Refugee needs, industry or international donors?
4. What are the obstacles faced in solving the employment problems of refugees?
5. What could be the solutions to the obstacles encountered in solving the employment problems of refugees? What responsibilities do stakeholders have in this regard?
6. What is the role of the central government in solving the employment problems of refugees?
7. What is the role of local governments in solving the employment problems of refugees?
8. What is the role of international organizations in solving the employment problems of refugees?
9. What is the role of NGOs in solving the employment problems of refugees?
10. What is the role of employers and society in solving the employment problems of refugees?
11. How do refugees deal with these problems?
12. What is the role of technology in solving the employment problems of refugees? What examples of good practice are there?
13. Could you tell us about the studies and activities you carry out on the integration of refugees into Turkish society?
14. In your opinion, how can we understand whether the activities carried out for the integration of refugees into Turkish society are successful or not? What are the prerequisites/requirements for these activities to be successful?
15. Is there any ethical standard application in the creation of activities and services for the integration of refugees into Turkish society?

16. To what extent do the following ethical standards overlap with your existing compliance services – economic employment courses and services, etc.?



B. Appendix 2

Participant Table

	Variant
Number of participants	22
Age Range (years)	30-45
Sex distribution	
Female	14
Male	8
Institutions	
Public Institution	4 (5)
National Governmental Organization	4 (4)
Inter Governmental Organization	1 (4)
United Nations Agency	3 (7)
Union	1 (1)
Social Enterprise	1 (1)
Place of Living (2 cities in total)	
Ankara	14
İstanbul	8
Legal status	
Citizen	21
Foreign	1
Employment sector	
Public	5
Private	17

C. Appendix 3

Interview Numbering Table (actor-oriented)

Interview	Insttution					
	Public Instution	NGO	IGO	UN Agency	Union	Social Enterprise
1		X				
2					X	
3	X					
4	X					
5		X				
6	X					
7			X			
8						X
9				X		
10	X					
11		X				
12		X				
13				X		
14				X		

D. Appendix 4

Ethical Committee Approval of Istanbul Bilgi University

ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY THE ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in Research on Humans)

Başvuru Sahibi/Applicant: Gülay Uğur Göksel

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: Mültecilerin Entegrasyonu ve Mesleki Eğitimlerinde Teknolojinin Rolü"

Proje No / Project Number:

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret /Application Rejected Reddin Gerekçesi /Reason for Rejection:	

Değerlendirme Tarihi /Date of Evaluation: 27.04.2020

Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

Üye / Committee Member

Üye/Committee Member

Üye/Committee Member

Üye/Committee Member