

AN EVALUATION OF THE ROLE OF ACTIVE LABOUR MARKET POLICIES
ON SYRIAN REFUGEES' ACCESS TO THE LABOUR MARKET:
THE CASE OF ILO IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this thesis is to analyse the role of active labour market policies in Syrian refugees' access to the labour market in Turkey, from the perspective of the normative framework of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and ILO Turkey Office's experiences in supporting Syrian refugees' access to the labour market. Throughout the thesis, ALMPs refer to a variety of measures offered by the government and non-governmental actors to facilitate access to employment. The primary reasons for focusing on the ILO is (i) its focus both on the right to work and rights at work, (ii) its role in the development of a rights-based discourse on migration and forced displacement with its guiding documents (conventions and recommendations), and (iii) its unique tripartite structure. It is presumed that ALMP play a positive role in facilitating refugees' access to labour market and help reducing poverty and reduce social assistance dependency in the long term. From this perspective, the ALMPs implemented by the ILO in Turkey are analysed, providing an overview of the labour supply and demand aspects, programmes focusing on improving the labour market governance as well as the partnership modalities and cross-cutting challenges faced.

Keywords: Syrian refugees, International Labour Organization, Active labour market policies

ÖZ

SURİYELİ MÜLTECİLERİN İSTİHDAM PİYASASINA ERİŞİMİNDE AKTİF İSTİHDAM POLİTİKALARININ ROLÜNÜN DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ: ILO TÜRKİYE OFİSİ DENEYİMLERİ

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Bu tez ILO sözleşmeleri ve tavsiye kararlarından oluşan normatif çerçeveye ve ILO Türkiye Ofisi deneyimlerine odaklanarak Suriyeli mültecilerin işgücü piyasasına erişimini kolaylaştırmak amacıyla aktif istihdam politikalarının nasıl tasarlandığının, uygulandığının ve desteklendiğinin detaylı bir analizini sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, ILO'nun Türkiye'deki işgücü piyasası yönetişimini nasıl desteklediğine dair genel bir bakış sunmaktadır. Tezin ILO perspektifine odaklanmasının temel nedenleri arasında kurumun hem çalışma hakkı hem de çalışan hakları odaklı çalışmalar yürütmesi yer almaktadır. Ayrıca, ILO'nun hükümetler, işçi sendikaları ve işveren örgütleri arasında bir müzakere ve iş birliği platformu sunmayı amaçlayan üçlü yapısı, diğer Birleşmiş Milletler kurumları ve sivil toplum bileşenlerinden farklı olarak özgün bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Ek olarak ILO normatif çerçevesi, zorla yerinden edilmiş toplulukların ihtiyaçlarının ele alınması için hak temelli bir yaklaşım imkânı tanımaktadır. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda, sosyal politika geliştirme süreçleri ile işgücü piyasasına erişimin sağlanmasına yönelik önlemler olarak aktif istihdam politikaları arasındaki ilişkiye dikkat çekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriyeli Mülteciler, Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü, Aktif İstihdam Politikaları

to all forcibly displaced people in the pursue of a safe heaven

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

3RP	Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan
ALMP	Active Labour Market Policy
AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
DGMM	Directorate-General for Migration Management
DGILF	Directorate-General for International Labour Force
DİSKAR	Research Centre of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey
DGRCO	Directorate General for Relations with Civil Society
ESSN	Emergency Social Safety Net
EU	European Union
FRIT	Facility for Turkey
GCR	Global Compact on Refugees
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH
LFIP	Law on Law on Foreigners and International Protection
LWPF	Law on Work Permits of Foreigners
KII	Key Informant Interview
MoFLSS	Ministry of Family Labour and Social Services
MoLSS	Ministry of Labour and Social Security
MoNE	Ministry of National Education
NEET	Young People not in Employment, Education, or Training
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and

	Development
TOBB	Turkish Union of Chambers and Exchange Commodities
TRC	Turkish Red Crescent Society
TUIK	Turkish Statistical Institute
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
İŞKUR	Turkish National Employment Agency
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ILS	International Labour Conference
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Nongovernmental Organisation
IPA	Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance
PLMP	Passive Labour Market Policies
PMM	Presidency for Migration Management
SIDA	Sweden's Government Agency for Development Cooperation
SSI	Social Security Institution
SME	Small and Medium Size Enterprises
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
WFP	World Food Programme

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The thesis analyses how the active labour market policies (ALMPs) are delivered and supported for facilitating Syrian refugees' access to the labour market from the perspective of the normative framework of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and ILO experiences in Turkey. It also elaborates on different types of ALMPs implemented.

To contribute to the efforts for ensuring Syrian refugees' access to the labour market and strengthen the ALMPs serving this purpose, it outlines how the ALMPs are planned and implemented, focusing on the labour supply and demand aspects. Throughout the thesis, ALMPs refer to a variety of measures offered by the government and non-governmental actors to facilitate access to the labour market. These measures include but not limited to vocational and job counselling, vocational training courses, job matching and placement support, wage subsidies and various employment incentives. With the aim of identifying their possible shortcomings and room for improvements, this study assesses how ILO designs, delivers and supports ALMPs through analysing the types of ALMPs, by whom they are designed and delivered, the normative framework they are built on, and the challenges faced in their delivery. Correspondingly, focusing on the experiences of the ILO in Turkey, this study aims to scrutinize the role of ALMPs in promoting the access of Syrians under Temporary Protection (SuTP) to the Turkish labour market. It aims to contribute to the existing literature on ALMPs targeting displaced communities by presenting alternative implementing modalities and recommendations for the identified challenges. To serve this purpose, the thesis provides an overview of the labour market governance framework, partnership strategies, programme design process, coordination efforts and limitations faced, which emerge as essential parameters in analysing the ALMPs.

The study's primary focus is on the ALMPs delivered by the ILO due to (i) ILO's focus both on the right to work and rights at work, (ii) its shared field of interests and aspirations with the social policy discipline, and (iii) its tripartite structure, which implies equal involvement of governments, trade unions and employer organisations in policy development and implementation. In the light of the primary goal of the ALMPs', ensuring access to and retention of productive and decent job opportunities with acceptable levels of income (discussed in detail in the third chapter), these features of the ILO may improve the role of the ALMPs by strengthening the ownership among the key constituents and offering long-term perspectives. Firstly, the focus on the rights at work extends the scope of the ALMPs to the working populations in addition to the unemployed, and correspondingly supports productive work, job retention and most importantly, access to fundamental rights such as social security. Secondly, as also exemplified in the focus of the ILO's normative framework, addressing the needs of the labour markets through broader perspectives supports maintaining linkages with other social policies when addressing the obstacles in accessing the labour market. This can be exemplified by the relation between the duty of care traditionally attributed to women, child and elderly care services, and women's access to employment. These perspectives ILO intends to offer gain more importance in refugee contexts as labour market participation is considered a significant factor in facilitating integration into society and harmonisation (Konle-Seidl, 2016). The second reason is also complemented with the ILO's norm-setting role through ILO conventions and recommendations. Thirdly, It is the only UN agency with representation from governments, employers, and workers (referred to as tripartism). Maul (2007) argues that tripartism allows representation of the nongovernmental parties – unlike any other UN agency and enables discussions from a broad range of viewpoints. ILO defines tripartism as the equal and independent interaction and dialogue between its constituents including governments, employers' organisations, and trade unions, to seek solutions to common concerns. Baccaro and Mele (2012) present tripartism as 'another name for corporatism', characterising it as the structured involvement of the constituents (trade unions, employer' organisations and governments) in policy making. On the one hand, its tripartite structure is commonly accepted as a tool enabling governments and social

partners to get equally involved in policymaking, contributing to stronger ownership and sustainability. On the other hand, Standing (2008) criticises it for (a) promoting a 'national welfare capitalism' where employees are entitled to decent working conditions in return for coming to terms with employers 'right to manage' and make profits, (b) facilitating government efforts on redirecting the rise of the working class in ILO's early years. The role of the ILO defined by Polanyi (2001) backs up Standing's position; 'to equalise conditions of competition amongst the nations so that trade might be liberated without danger to standards of living'. Albeit these limitations, tripartism may play a key role in increasing awareness and cooperation between the tripartite constituents in addressing the refugees' labour market needs. Accordingly, it may allow long-term planning and contribute to the localisation efforts in delivering ALMPs. In other words, considering that integration remains largely a national competency, tripartism may also strengthen the ownership among the constituents. In Turkey's context, the key role attributed to the Provincial Employment and Vocational Training Boards (though their financial and technical shortcomings) in designing and delivering the ALMPs and addressing the refugees' labour market integration can be given as an example for the focus on localisation and increasing ownership among the social partners (ICMPD, 2019). These boards are composed of representatives from the government, trade unions, and employer organisations operating under the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR), aiming to decentralise public employment services in Turkey.

According to the 2022 figures¹ of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), almost 275 million people are in of humanitarian assistance and protection worldwide. The Syrian displaced communities constitute the second largest group with 14 million people in need, following Afghans with 24.4 million. Of these 14 million, around 3.5 million Syrian refugees have been seeking refuge in Turkey since 2011. Considering the number of refugees hosted and the protractedness of the crisis, the presence of Syrians in Turkey is regarded as a 'social shock' by Erdogan (2020). In addition, considering the education levels and the young median age (22.54) of the

¹ Global Humanitarian Overview 2022. (n.d.). Global Humanitarian Overview. Retrieved April 30, 2022, from <https://gho.unocha.org/>

Syrian refugees (detailed in the third chapter), labour market integration policies and efforts to ensure access to the labour market gain more importance. Historically, ALMPs are offered to mitigate the negative effects of the economic crisis and unemployment since the 19th century. Today, they also address wider issues such as vulnerable groups' labour market integration and access to decent jobs. In the 1960s, ALMPs are recognised as an independent part of the OECD's labour market policies and are constituting an important labour market policy tool ever since.

Universal treaties and conventions protect the right to work for all, and the United Nations' 1951 Refugee Convention recommends treatment of refugees in the same circumstances as the nationals concerning the right to engage in wage-earning employment. However, refugees face multiple employment obstacles in the host countries. Among these are the language barriers, legal constraints, lack of recognition schemes for prior learning and experiences, the burden of care duties, mobility challenges and limited or no access to employment services such as job search, placement support and career counselling (Bonoli, 2013; Dar & Tzannatos 1999; Armingeon, 2007; Breedgaard 2017; Boone & Van Ours, 2004; Svarer 2012; Kluge 2007). Unless addressed, these obstacles hinder refugees from practising their right to work. ILO programmes on forced displacement aim to support displaced communities' access to productive work opportunities that deliver a fair income and social protection. Placing the concept of decent work at the centre of its programmes, ILO defines decent work as 'productive work for all in conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity' and outlines four pillars: (a) standards and rights at work, (b) employment creation and enterprise development, (c) social protection and (d) social dialogue.² Decent work discourse illustrates a right-based approach to employment policies defining employment as a mean of ensuring human welfare. The concept of human welfare could be outlined as ensuring access to a set of rights, including livelihood, social security, health, shelter, and education. Dean (2015) argues that human welfare embraces the essence of human well-being that can be ensured through these rights.

² The concept of 'decent work' was first launched in 1999, in the Report of the Director-General to the International Labour Conference meeting in its 87th Session.

As highlighted in one of its fundamental guides, the Declaration of Philadelphia (1944)³, ILO considers access to work as a prerequisite for economic security and preventing poverty. According to the Declaration, the cycle of poverty can be broken through full employment. ILO has also started the End to Poverty Initiative⁴ as one of its tools within the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Similar to the aspirations of the ILO and its decent work agenda, Koray (2005) argues that the fundamental role of social policy is to reduce inequalities and poverty. Social policy research is concerned with understanding these social phenomena while providing answers for improvements and solutions (Becker et al., 2012). Based on these arguments ALMPs could also be defined as answers/tools to address unemployment and the corresponding poverty.

Building on these, the interrelatedness of social policy and access to decent work can be discussed further. The intersection set of efforts for (a) ensuring access to decent work and (b) adopting social policies to eradicate poverty and inequality includes various policy areas. Social security, the duty of care (including for children, the elderly and people with disabilities), gender equality, social services, and active labour market policies could be listed as examples. In parallel to the growing emphasis on fighting unemployment and underemployment, ALMPs have started to attract more attention from the social policy discipline. At this point, the welfare retrenchment trends of the late 1970s and early 1980s brought by the conservative governments in the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA) should be noted down. Pierson (1994) summarises the policies of these governments as efforts to reduce the welfare entitlements and weaken the core of the welfare state. In contrast to these efforts, social policy discipline has not lost its significances, and kept up to its critical role in the late-industrialised countries in the periphery, in which public spending expanded and new social policy tools

³ International Labour Organization (ILO). (n.d.). Declaration concerning the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organisation (DECLARATION OF PHILADELPHIA). Retrieved April 27, 2022, from http://www.ilo.ch/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:62:0::NO:62:P62_LIST_ENTRIE_ID:2453907:NO#declaration

⁴ International Labour Organization (ILO). (n.d.). Retrieved April 27, 2022, from https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/history/centenary/WCMS_480305/lang--en/index.htm

have been adopted. The most cited underlying reasons for the policy shift could be listed as changing production modes with acceleration in industrialisation, changes in the concept of family, economic crisis and mostly the high unemployment rates (Pierson, 2001; Iversen, 2001; Huber and Stephens, 2001; Bonoli 2001). To fight against unemployment, during what Levy (2010) refers to as the 'post-war golden age', governments complemented the welfare benefits for the unemployed with employment services to place them in jobs. Similarly, with the 'activation turn' of the 1990s (Nelson, 2013), the governments in developed countries increasingly exhorted to complement their passive labour market policies (PLMPs), like unemployment benefits and social assistance, with more active programmes (Clasen et al., 2016). In brief, as unemployment rose in both developed and developing countries, so did the number of passive and active labour market policies designed to ensure access to social protection while supporting employment or job retention. It also attracted more interest among the international actors. In the meeting minutes of the Committee on Employment and Social Policy of the ILO in 2003, ALMPs are highlighted as 'essential components in the fight against unemployment, underemployment, poverty and labour market exclusion in general and thus the main elements of any strategy to combat these problems' (ILO, 2003). The same note defines four objectives of the ALMPs (employment growth, security in change, equity, and poverty reduction) and highlights the need for integrating both economic and social goals.

This thesis looks into to the ALMPs delivered or supported by the ILO in Turkey to facilitate SuTP's access to the Turkish labour market. At this point, the conceptualisation challenges when studying the forcibly displaced and migrant communities should be noted down. The 1951 Convention defines a refugee as 'an individual who is unable to return to his or her country of prior residence due to a 'well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.' Although the definition may be simple, there are several complexities in its interpretation to the national legal frameworks. Crawley and Skleparis (2018) highlight this issue as;

...dominant categories fail to capture adequately the complex relationship between political, social and economic drivers of migration or their shifting significance for individuals over time and space. As such it builds upon a substantial body of academic literature demonstrating a disjuncture between conceptual and policy categories and the lived experiences of those on the move.

Similarly, in Turkey, though the Syrians meet the criteria set by the UNCHR, they are not granted refugee status. Acknowledging different terminology used in the literature while referring to the Syrians, the terms SuTP, Syrian refugees and forcibly displaced Syrians and the Syrian community is used interchangeably.

With the increasing number of forcibly displaced communities worldwide, from the Middle East to the Americas, addressing the immediate and long-term needs of the refugees has come to the fore of the international agenda. The Global Compact on Refugees (GCR), announced in 2018, the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (2016) and, the Regional Refugee Response Plan (2015) that specifically addresses the Syrian Refugees, could be given as the tools that aim to offer policy frameworks and coordinate efforts of both the governments and the nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). The involvement of the NGOs could be regarded as crucial for channelling timely support to large numbers of people in need. In addition, they play an important role in safeguarding and advocating for the refugees' access to fundamental rights (Zihnioğlu & Dalkıran, 2022). Supporting this argument, their role is summarised as mechanisms 'to balance the state's power and protect individuals from the state's power' by Francis and Fukuyama (2001). Most states that are regarded as authoritarian are able to co-exist with a diverse spectrum of NGOs with adequate legislation for regulating their scope of work (Lewis, 2013; Aras & Duman 2018). Also, in Turkey, there are a number of nongovernmental organisations addressing the needs of Syrian refugees.

Along with the international and national NGOs, ILO and United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) are given as the leading UN organisations (İçduygu, 2017) working for ensuring access to decent work opportunities for refugees, while United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), International

Organisation for Migration (IOM) also have significant portfolios addressing the issue. The UN agencies tend to coordinate efforts addressing the needs of refugees in other contexts where the governmental structures are weaker. However, as Turkey has a substantial labour market governance mechanism and legislation enabling the Syrian refugees' access to basic services is introduced relatively fast, they are positioned to complement government efforts. In addition, as the government of Turkey has a strong will to coordinate all interventions at a central level, the stakeholders, including UNHCR and ILO, work in close coordination with the line ministries or the bodies formed under the Presidency. In comparison to the UNHCR, ILO could be argued to have more experience in working in partnership with the government in terms of labour market governance due to its structure positioning the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MoLSS) as a traditional ILO partner. While there are still challenges discussed under Chapter 4, cooperation with ILO can be argued to offer more sustainability through support for ensuring compliance with the international labour standards and improving the capacities of the labour market governance institutions. Other UN agencies such as UNHCR, IOM and World Food Programme (WFP) have also taken steps to provide similar support in line with the government requests, though their expertise and experience historically lie in humanitarian and emergency responses. Considering these parameters, the underlying reasons for this thesis to focus on the ILO are as follows: (1) While the UNHCR mainly focuses on the right to work, the ILO covers both the right to work and rights at work (Garnier, 2014), contributing to the formulation of durable solutions and the efforts in ensuring refugees' access to decent work and social security. (2) ILO has more in common with the social policy discipline as both aspire to offer long-term solutions to unemployment and poverty.

1.1. Background and Significance

Being on the crossroads between Asia and Europe, Turkey has been both a transit and destination country for refugees since the 1960s (İçduygu, 2017). As the region's protracted humanitarian crises have been increasing, the number of refugees in Turkey has peaked in parallel. Today, Turkey is the largest refugee-hosting country, with more than four million refugees, of which 3,656,525 are

Syrian refugees, according to the Presidency of Migration Management of the Ministry of Interior (PMM) statistics from May 2022.⁵ As the first neighbouring country to respond formally to the influx, Turkey introduced a temporary protection regime in October 2014 granting access to basic services such as health care and education. While around two per cent of the Syrian refugees live in the camps managed by the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), the vast majority live in host communities.⁶

Due to the crisis's protracted nature, Turkey has adopted a non-encampment policy and promoted self-settlement. In parallel, it has shifted its focus from humanitarian aid to a resilience-based development. While humanitarian assistance schemes aim to covering immediate needs, the resilience-based development is defined as focusing on the longer-term perspective from the outset, strengthening the capacity of communities to cope with the crisis through recovery from the socio-economic impact of the crisis (UNDP, 2014). This approach is given due attention in ILO's Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience Recommendation (No. 205). How the recommendation defines the resilience could be summarised as the ability of a system, community, or society to resist and recover from the crisis timely and efficiently through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions. In addition, UNHCR (2005) defines it as 'a key component in any strategy aimed at avoiding or addressing protracted refugee situations, enabling agencies and refugees to find durable solutions.'

It would not be wrong to state that Turkey's shift to a long-term perspective is marked with the following three legal and institutional steps; (a) law No.6458 on Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) passed in April 2013, (b) the establishment of the Directorate-General for Migration Management (DGMM) in 2014 (that has been revised as Presidency of Migration

⁵ T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı. (n.d.). GEÇİCİ KORUMA. Retrieved May 03, 2022, from <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

⁶ T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı. (n.d.). GEÇİCİ KORUMA. Retrieved March 05, 2022, from <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

Management of the Ministry of Interior in December 2021⁷), and (c) granting Syrian refugees the legal right to obtain work permits in January 2016. These initiatives show that Turkey is no longer treating the refugee surge as a temporary consequence of the war and instead investing in solutions to increase refugee self-sufficiency.

Recognising the unique challenges both the refugees and the host communities face, a comprehensive approach with a broader perspective than the emergency assistance has been put forward in 2015, combining humanitarian assistance with development goals. Under the co-leadership of UNHCR and UNDP and by integrating the other UN agencies, public institutions, NGOs and international nongovernmental organisation (INGOs), the Regional and Resilience Plan (3RP) was developed in 2015.

Acknowledging that previous experiences in addressing forced displacement are barely relevant due to the scale and the protracted nature of the crisis, the 3RP focuses on context-specific interventions and is built on two legs; the refugee component to continue addressing the immediate needs (protection and basic needs), and the resilience component focusing on long-term solutions and building self-reliance. Resilience is a concept used in various disciplines. From a social policy perspective, it can broadly be defined as ‘the capacity of a population, system or individual to deal with adversity’ (Amery, 2019).

From this perspective, access to employment could be counted as a critical element of building resilience, and it would be reasonable to pay attention to the efforts to facilitate access to the labour market and decent work. As noted by İçduygu (2017), UNHCR and the ILO are considered the leading actors in that regard, while many more have also increased their focus and programmes. However, considering their capacities and resources, both UN agencies’ achievements have remained limited in promoting refugees’ right to work (Garnier, 2014). While, acknowledging the importance of ILO’s involvement in ensuring vulnerable groups’ access to employment and social protection, it is

⁷ Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management. (2021, December 24). ANNOUNCEMENT. Retrieved December 27, 2022, from <https://en.goc.gov.tr/announcement2>

also expostulated for offering limited solutions to the changes in the world of work (technological advancements impacting the labour-intensive production modes, the increase in the non-standard forms of work etc.) in the global transformation era (Polanyi, 2001). Standing (2010) notes that ILO has been late in updating its conventions and recommendations, for instance on the labour migration, as per today's needs. In addition, how much the vulnerable groups, including the forcibly displaced, were represented in the ILO's Governing Body is questioned. For instance, Bhatt (1994) argues that ILO represents the 10 per cent of the Indian workers, putting forward a critique on representativeness of the workers. Efforts in late 1990s to include non-governmental organisations in the governing body that was offered as solution, has not been successful (Standing, 2008). While allocated resources and the technical expertise was very limited in late 2000s (Standing, 2010), according to the Compendium of ILO's Lessons Learned, Emerging Good Practices and Policy Guidance (2020), the ILO implements a substantial number of programmes focusing on host communities' and refugees' access to decent work. Response to the Syria crisis is one of the largest programmes among these. Ozcan (2016) summarises the ILO's strategy in responding to the Syria crisis as 'a development-focused and employment-driven' one to maintain the social and economic stability of the affected populations, that include both the refugees and the hosts. In line with ILO's Guiding Principles on the Access of Refugees and Other Forcibly Displaced Persons to the Labour Markets, the role of ILO in addressing forced displacement is given as 'to protect rights at work for all categories of workers, including those forcibly displaced from their homes' (ILO, 2020a).

1.2. Research Question and Objective

The thesis analyses how the ALMPs are delivered and supported for facilitating Syrian refugees' access to the labour market from the perspective of the normative framework of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and ILO experiences in Turkey. Within this context, the main research question of this study is, 'Based on ILO perspective and experiences in Turkey, what are the shortcomings, areas for improvement and best practices in delivering ALMPs to

support Syrian refugees' access to the labour market?' With the aim of identifying their possible shortcomings and potential for improvements, it assesses how and by whom they are designed and delivered, the normative framework they are built on, and the challenges faced in their delivery. Correspondingly it aims to contribute to the existing literature by presenting alternative implementing modalities and recommendations for the identified challenges. To address the needs of the refugees, ILO in Turkey has developed a Refugee Response Programme, built on a strategy document called Programme of Support to Turkey for Syria Crisis Response. The strategy document summaries its objectives as below:

- (1) Increase the availability of a skilled, competent and productive labour supply to facilitate access to decent work for Syrian refugees and Turkish host communities
- (2) Support local economic development in specific sectors and geographic locations to stimulate job creation and entrepreneurship opportunities for Syrian refugees and Turkish host communities
- (3) Provide support to strengthen labour market governance institutions and mechanisms to assist Turkey in implementing inclusive development strategies

I have been working in the ILO's Refugee Response Programme since 2018 and in the forced displacement context since 2012, in different parts of Turkey. Working on the refugee influx from the early onset allowed me to observe changes in the government policies and the shift from humanitarian assistance to development. I have developed a good understanding of the ILO policies in the project-related technical areas including delivery of ALMPs and other ILO Decent Work Agenda components. I worked as a focal point for the South-South Triangular Cooperation (SSTC) between Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon, and Turkey in 2019 and Colombia during 2020-21. The SSTC initiative has enabled me to understand the critical role of ILO's tripartite structure in responding to forced displacement.

Building on the desk review including the analysis of the project evaluation reports of the ILO Turkey's refugee response programme's projects and my field experiences, the following topics are listed as the main considerations when analysing the role of ALMPs in access to the labour market, focusing on the ones designed and delivered by or with the support of the ILO in Turkey: (a)

programme design, (b) complementarity, (c) outreach and selection, (d) cooperation and coordination, (e) monitoring and evaluation, (f) limitations and challenges, and finally (g) recommendations. These dimensions are functional in analysing how the ALMPs' role in labour market integration of the Syrian refugees is affected by parameters grouped under them.

1.3. Methodology

This research employs qualitative research methods in the form of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with the selected participants. The qualitative research method is selected as 'it allows the researchers to investigate the meanings people and institutions attribute to their actions and interactions with others' (Neuman, 2014). As highlighted by (Barrero, 2018),

the main strength of the qualitative approach in the social sciences lies in its ability to render more accurate representations of the actual life-worlds of those who inhabit them than purely quantitative surveys and analyses can.

In-depth, semi-structured key informant interviews (KIIs) are conducted as they offer data and insight that cannot be obtained with other methods. Key informants are defined as sources of expertise on the research topic who can provide more detailed and privileged inputs than 'the ordinary people' (Payne & Payne, 2004). As Haraway (1998) and Harding (1991), this study also considers key informants' voice and positionality as essential components of social research. Taking an active part in all the steps, key informants have first-hand information on how and what type of ALMPs ILO in Turkey designs and implements interventions to facilitate refugees' access to the labour market. The available documents and evaluation reports offer only a limited perspective, not presenting the accumulated experiences and complementarity between the projects of the refugee response programme, as they focus on a specific aspect, period, or source of funds. Key informants also provide technical insights on the role of the ALMPs targeting refugees in relation to the national context, structural constraints, and ILO specific parameters.

Allais (2012) highlights that power, social policy tools, the structuring of labour markets, the organization of occupations and jobs should not be evaluated as independent interventions. Likewise, any study on the role of the ALMPs in access to the labour market, independent from the target group, is manifolded as employment is linked to the profile of the labour force, the labour supply needs of the markets in addition to the available rules, legislation, and possible structural constraints. Therefore, such study and research require thorough analysis and information on the labour force, including but not limited to their experiences and skills, education, and training levels as well as aspirations, language skills and more. Additionally, analysis of the local and macroeconomic dynamics, the anticipation of growth and shrinkage in sectors employing or offering more job prospects for the target audiences are essential parameters. Over and above these, the existing legal framework on the labour market governance and analysis of structural constraints are paramount for more sustainable and effective ALMPs. Considering the interrelatedness and complementarity between the given tiers that also shaped the structure of ILO's Refugee Response Programme as given under 1.2., key informants are selected to provide in-depth analysis for each. Semi-structured interviews are conducted with ten officers, which equals one-third of all the Refugee Response Programme staff currently working or having worked in the Refugee Response Programme since the programme's launch in 2016. As the officers selected have different responsibilities offering different perspectives on the research question, ten interviews are sufficient for a thorough analysis. The informants are selected minding a balanced representation of their expertise and gender. Of the ten informants, the years of experience in the ILO's Refugee Response Programme are as follows: (a) three over seven years, (b) four over four years, (c) two over three years and (d) one with over a year of experience. In addition to their experiences in the ILO, the respondents are selected in relation to their experiences in the design and delivery of the activation programmes in Turkey. Upon the approval of the Director of ILO in Turkey, the identified informants are reached via e-mail and phone calls. While more informants could have been interviewed, the researcher proceeded with 10 to ensure that there is a balance of representation between the identified themes presented in the analysis chapter.

The study comprises two phases; (a) desk review to develop a preliminary understanding, provide a synopsis of available literature and the ILO guiding documents, and (b) semi-structured key informant interviews with the selected experts combined with the researcher's observations. The flow of the KIIs aims to provide a chronicled overview of the programme design, implementation stages and the way forward based on the accumulated experiences, policy shifts, and most importantly, lessons learnt.

1.3.1. Limitations

The data on Syrian refugees' formal employment and work permits issued is mostly outdated. Although there is high interest and will at expert level on conducting more skills profiling and tracer studies, they are rarely available. This is the primary reason for applying a qualitative research methodology. Another constraint is the inability to conduct interviews with the immediate beneficiaries due to government policies limiting data collection and COVID-19 restrictions.

The researcher relies on her own observations and field notes when reflecting the beneficiary point of view.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis begins with an introductory chapter where the background and the significance of the study is provided, an overview of the qualitative methodological approach is presented, and the limitations faced are elaborated on. It continues with a literature review chapter on the ALMPs, covering its definitions, available typologies, and a historical overview. In this chapter, a specific focus is given to the ALMPs in the context of refugees' and migrants' labour market integration. In addition, the second chapter presents the ILO's normative and policy framework on forced displacement and refugees access to decent jobs. The following chapter (Chapter 3) lays the ground for further discussion by providing basic demographics of the target group, the binding legal frameworks and the involved actors working for the refugees, paying attention to the coordination efforts. It continues with the analysis chapter on the

ILO Turkey's refugee response programme. Finally, the conclusions complemented with policy recommendations are presented in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF ACTIVE LABOUR MARKET POLICIES

This chapter starts with defining active labour market policies, provides an overview of the available categorisations, touches upon the relation between the active and passive labour market policies and summarises the discussions over effectiveness. It continues with the history of the ALMPs, focusing on Turkey. Finally, it elaborates on the ALMPs in the migration and forced displacement contexts.

2.1. Definition and Types of Active Labour Market Policies

Active labour market policies are a part of a broader system of labour market governance and unemployment support. In broad terms, they are used to improve the labour market outcomes both for the demand and the supply aspects. The World Bank summarises the ALMPs as ‘policies to actively support unemployed workers in finding and keeping a job or improve access to better opportunities for underemployed workers’ (Romero & Kuddo, 2019). The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) puts forward the role of the ALMPs as ‘enhancing labour market mobility and adjustment, facilitating the redeployment of workers to productive activities, and generally enabling people to seize new job opportunities as they arise’ (OECD, 1994a). The ILO defines it as ‘a tool for confronting the shortage of decent jobs and coping with unemployment and underemployment’ (ILO, 2003). The definition of the ILO differs from the others with its reference to underemployment. The organisation defines underemployment as ‘underutilization of the productive capacity of the employed, including those which arise from a deficient national or local economic system’ (ILO,1999). The study takes note of the alternative employment situations in which persons are willing and available to engage in.

The AMLPs' definition, design, administration, and categories may vary across countries. Still, the available literature on the ALMPs doesn't differ much in defining their core objectives and focus more on the different typologies. Many researchers broadly define ALMPs as 'determinants of activation measures' and refer to them as policies that remove obstacles to employment and typically reinforce the link between social protection and work-life (Barbier, 2008; Bonoli, 2013, Huber & Stephens, 2015; Nelson, 2013). Fossati (2018) proposes a dichotomy of 'enabling policies' (that we can also refer to as investments in the labour supply) and 'demanding policies' (that we can be exemplified with incentive schemes) based on a literature review (King, 1995; Torfing, 1999; Eichhorns and Konle-Seidl, 2008; Bonoli, 2013; Nelson, 2013). Dingeldey (2007) refers to the same typology as workfare vs enabling approaches. Fossati puts the ideological differences as the main differentiating characteristic: While the first group dates back to the 1950s social-democratic Sweden, the latter emerges in the 1980s liberal countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States. Although rooted back to social democratic regimes, ALMPs have been embraced by liberal and conservative politicians and liberal economists thanks to their market enabling aspects. Armingeon (2007) summarises ALMPs acceptance by contrasting ideologies as a 'one size fits all' feature. Regardless, it should be noted that different ideologies usually implement different sorts of ALMPs. While social democratic and progressive governments tend to support the provision of public employment services, they are less keen on wage subsidies. The scenario goes the other way around for the liberal governments. The enabling policies respect the collective responsibility principles between the social partners, governments, trade unions and employer organisations. In contrast, the demanding policies consider the individuals solely responsible for their own needs. In the latter case, the social partners are merely involved in the design and delivery of ALMPs, and poverty is regarded as an 'individual behaviour' rather than a consequence of limited job opportunities and social inequality (Esping-Andersen, 1990).

On the one hand, it could be argued that this results from the lack of social dialogue and the weakened role of the trade unions, leading to the weaker representation of and heavier responsibility for the populations. While on the

other, the question of whether trade unions are indeed concerned about the ALMPs (whose main target group is unemployed or informally employed) remains. Rueda (2005) argues that, as their membership base consists of the employed groups, trade unions do not have much incentive to advocate for expanding the ALMPs.

Shannon (2019) pursues a similar classification grouping them under 'neoliberal and human-capital activation (also referred to as work-first approach) orientations'. She argues, as also highlighted by (Bengtsson, Porte, & Jacobsson, 2017), with the financial crisis and tighter public budgets, governments tend to adopt a neoliberal approach to social protection rather than investing in human capital.

Van Berkel and Moller (2002) refer to them as active and passive social policies and offer a unique typology highlighting the interrelations between income protection measures (passive policies) and the promotion of participation (active policies). Their typology comprises two categories: (1) autonomy optimists (provision of means to cover basic needs only and relying on people's willingness). This category requires states to adopt a basic/citizens' income policy. (2) welfare independence optimist (activation regarded as a culture of dependency and therefore reproducing exclusion rather than curing it). This category foresees complete abolishment of the welfare benefits and relies on the unregulated free market. Taking human investment and incentive-based approaches as a starting point and highlighting the need to depart from this dichotomy, Bonoli (2010) proposes four types of ALMPs, (1) incentive reinforcement (in work benefits, time limits, benefit reductions), (2) employment assistance (placement services, job subsidies, counselling), (3), occupation (non-employment related programmes, job-creation schemes in the public sector) and, (4) human capital investment (education and vocational training). He gives the objective of the third one as 'keeping the jobless people busy' through job creation and work experience programmes in the public and non-profit sectors. While acknowledging the income generation role of these programmes, they are criticised for the depreciation of voluntary work.

There are also a considerable number of definitions focusing on the more practical aspects. Dar and Tzannatos (1999) define two roles for the ALMPs: (1) avoiding skills mismatch through proper job matching while paying attention to supply-demand balance, and (2) supporting (re)integration of vulnerable groups to the labour markets. Bredgaard (2017) offers a three-level categorisation: (1) supply-side approach targeting jobseekers through education, training, job search support and benefits sections, (2) the job matching approach targeting job seekers as well as employers through job placement, job fairs, wage subsidies, 'work experience programmes' and, (3) demand-side approach targeting only the employers through quota regulations, anti-discrimination regulations, campaigns and persuasion. Armingeon (2007) categorises ALMPs combining the intervention types and the target groups; (a) public employment services and administration, (b) labour market training, (c) youth measures, (d) measures for the disabled, and (e) subsidised employment. He further classifies subsidised employment as (a) subsidies to private-sector employers to encourage them to hire unemployed workers, (b) as assistance to unemployed persons starting their own business, and (c) as direct job creation in the public sector. Focusing on the Danish experience Svarer (2012) uses the following activation types; (a) employment with a wage subsidy, (b) work practice, (c) counselling and training and (d) adult training.

Boone and Van Ours (2004) list (a) public employment services, (b) labour market training, and (c) subsidised employment as the main ALMP categories.

Kluve (2007) puts forward the following as categories adopted across Europe; (a) training programmes as investments to human capital, (b) incentives for the private sector (wage subsidies, grants), (c) direct employment programmes in the public sectors, (d) services and sanctions for monitoring and counselling, job search assistance and 'and corresponding sanctions in case of non-compliance'. In 2016, he summarised these categories as follows: (a) job search assistance, (b) (labour market) training, (c) private sector employment incentives, and (d) public sector employment. In analysing the ALMPs in the European Union (EU) and Turkey, Uşen (2007) uses two main categories: programmes targeting the unemployed and special measures for the target

groups. He uses the following sub-categories for the first; (a) counselling, job matching, and job placement, (b) vocational training, (c) incentives for the private sector, and (d) job creation. As for the latter, he lists the following risk groups; (a) youth, (b) people with disabilities, (c) women, (d) the elderly, and (e) migrants.

ILO proposes the following categories in the Committee on Employment and Social Policy notes (2003); (a) policies and programmes for job matching (public and private employment services, job search assistance, identifying open positions and skills profiling) (b), policies and programmes for enhancing skills and capacities of the individuals (upskilling, reskilling and skills development programmes), (c) reducing labour supply (early retirement), (d) job creation (public works, enterprise creation and self-employment, (e) support for disadvantaged groups (employment subsidies for target groups). Finally, the services provided in Turkey by İŞKUR are listed as below in the relevant legislation⁸: (a) Job and Career Counselling, (b) Job placement support (covering job placement support for vulnerable groups), (c) Delivery of a number of unemployment allowance schemes (such as unemployment allowance, short-term unemployment allowances, job loss indemnity allowance), (d) Support for vocational training courses, (e) Implementation of on-the-job training programmes, (f) Implementation of public work programmes, (g) Support for entrepreneurship programme, (h) Accreditation of private employment agencies, (i) Delivery maternity allowances, (j) Support for employment abroad, (k) Conducting periodic labour market assessments.

The design and delivery of the ALMPs are closely linked with the passive labour market policies (PLMPs). PLMPs aim to decrease the impact of unemployment and economic limitations on the unemployed in the short term, avoiding poverty and social marginalization (Ayhan, 2019). Despite their critical role in continuous access to social protection, they are widely regarded as costly and criticised for 'incentivizing' unemployment. The evidence also showed that countries focusing more on ALMPs while reducing their PLMPs expenditure did not automatically

⁸ T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Mevzuat Bilgi Sistemi. (2003, July 5). Türkiye iş kurumu ile ilgili bazı düzenlemeler hakkında kanun. Retrieved March 05, 2022, from <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/mevzuat?MevzuatNo=4904&MevzuatTur=1&MevzuatTertip=5>

improve their labour market performance (ILO, 2018; Knotz, 2018; Kluge et al., 2007). This finding suggests that active and passive policies should be evaluated in complementarity in a broader social protection system. In relation to PLMPs, ALMPs are also defined as tools for activating the working-age PLMP beneficiaries to facilitate their return to the labour market. As discussed by Daguerre (2007), this definition bears the risk of portraying the unemployed as passive by choice and may reproduce the social exclusion problems instead of offering a solution.

The ALMPs are also criticised for imposing individual responsibility for permanent employability. Güllüpinar & Gökalp (2014) define the ALMPs as unrealistic tools, deepening the class difference and contributing to what Marxist theoreticians call a 'reserved army of labour' that equip themselves with desirable skills. According to van Oorschot (2006), ALMPs reconcile investment in the labour market integration without extending the passive policies to the vulnerable groups, such as the refugees, who are generally perceived as less deserving. Armingeon (2007) underlines that shifting unemployment support from passive to active measures tends to lower the time spent as unemployment, and presumably the unemployment rates based on a literature review (Pontusson 2005; Bradley & Stephens 2006; Franzese & Hays 2006). Reflecting on these concerns to some extent, ILO (2003) puts forward the following comparison:

Passive policies correspond to social transfers that are not conditional upon joining a training or work programme, though they usually include job search provisions that are increasingly enforced, and which correspond to an active element in passive policies. To the contrary, active policies are contingent upon participation in such programmes in order to enhance labour market (re)integration.

To summarise, ALMPs focus could be given as increasing employability and facilitating access to employment (albeit limitations), while PLMPs focus on reducing unemployment's negative impact, such as poverty and exclusion. Although there are different approaches to both ALMPs and the PLMPs, they should be evaluated as complementary employment policies rather than alternatives to one another.

As there are different definitions and typologies available for the ALMPs, there are also varying approaches to their efficacy and the goal. They have been the subject of interest as early as the 1930s, and there is a vast amount of research analysing the efficiency and the impact of ALMPs. Among these, one of the most salient critique is the need to develop evaluation tools to measure the effectiveness, appropriateness, and impact of the ALMPs (Kluve, 2006; Fay, 2006; Martin & Grubb, 2001). From a conceptual standpoint, employability is difficult to measure empirically since there is no standard definition, and it often requires data on technical, cognitive, and non-cognitive skills. According to Brunello (2012), the difficulty in developing such tools results from 'the lack of randomness in selection into training and that assignment to training is correlated with the unobserved individual ability'. Kluve (2010) argues that there is little consensus on whether active programs reduce unemployment or raise the number of employed workers. To address this shortcoming, he conducts a meta-analysis on the effectiveness of active labour market programmes. Kluve's study (2010) argues that traditional training programs (vocational and technical training, on-the-job training) have a modest likelihood of positively impacting post-program employment rates. He gives one of the possible reasons for the lower impact as the respective institutions' inability to update and revise the training programmes to correspond to the changing skills requirements of the labour markets. In Turkey, the convictions of the regional sector representatives, such as chambers of commerce and industry, as to outdated curricula of the lifelong learning modules back this hypothesis up. Moreover, the cooperation protocol⁹ between the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and Turkish Union of Chambers and Exchange Commodities (TOBB) 'to integrate vocational education with the real sector' hints that the public authorities are aware of this shortcoming and looking for ways to increase the effectiveness of the training programmes. While acknowledging these inadequacies, the ALMPs role in empowering refugee women should be noted. The field observations and the researcher's informal discussions with Syrian women indicate that, such training courses increase women's awareness on labour force participation and criticality of women's generating their own income. These findings are also

⁹ T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı. (2021, March). Mesleki ve Teknik Genel Müdürlüğü İle TOBB Ekonomi ve Teknoloji Üniversitesi Arasında İş Birliği Protokolü. retrieved, April 25,2022; from; https://mtegm.meb.gov.tr/upload/meb_protokol/2021_0331_331_tobb-etu-protokol.pdf

backed up in report by CARE's (2020) Women's Economic Empowerment in Protracted Crisis report.

Contrasting with Kluge's work, the study by Boone and Ours (2004), focusing on 20 OECD countries¹⁰ between 1985 and 1999, finds that financial resources spared for labour market training have the highest impact both on the unemployment rate and the unemployment themselves, compared to public employment services and job placement support. However, they also note that in the case when a training program returns an unemployed individual to work faster at the expense of delaying another unemployed worker's job placement, it is get challenging to argue their efficiency. The work of Huitfeldt (1996) finds no correlation between ALMPs, including training and transition to work. Günaydin and Yıldız (2014) refer to another study focusing on 20 OECD countries¹¹ from 1998 to 2008, showing that ALMPs tend to reduce unemployment somewhat: ALMPs' spending increased 1% and caused unemployment rates to fall by 0.11 per cent. Still, the study by Nie and Struby (2011) points specifically to two types of ALMPs, finding them 'particularly effective': 'training programs that equip unemployed workers with skills in demand and job-search assistance that matches unemployed workers with employers.' Kluge and Schmidt (2002) also suggest that job placement support can be helpful while employer incentives are more preferred than the public sector programs, and training support can be more functional in improving the labour market prospects of unemployed workers.

Various other research (Fossati et al., 2020b; Liechti et al., 2017) regard participation in the ALMPs as a positive signal, especially for the job seekers that are 'most distant' from the labour markets and less employable. Focusing on the Nordic experiences, Nekby (2008) points out a consensus in the literature evaluating the ALMPs: They are accepted as efficient tools for reducing the negative impact of unemployment and its duration while increasing

¹⁰ Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States

¹¹ Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States, United Kingdom,

employment chances, especially employment for vulnerable groups (youth and immigrant populations). The research by Butschek and Walter (2014) analyses the role of wage subsidies for the groups they define as 'hard to place' and notes positive effects as it makes the target groups more employable due to reduced costs.

As discussed, ALMPs encompass a variety of tools with different objectives and levels of interactions with each other and with the PLMPs. They may be regarded as different recipes by the governments to address unemployment and corresponding poverty, depending on the context and the socio-economic conditions they are implemented in and their target groups. To better understand these parameters, the chapter continues with a historical overview of the ALMPs.

2.2. A Historical Overview of the Active Labour Market Programmes

The active labour market policies began to emerge following World War II. As in the case of the social welfare states Sweden is often referenced when analysing the origins of the ALMPs, which were seen as a central element of the social democratic strategy. The Rehn-Meidner model from the Swedish social democratic trade union movement in 1951 is commonly accepted as the first active labour market policy measure. The model aimed at fighting income inequality. As noted by Toft (2003), most of the literature agrees on the success of the Rehn-Meidner model as its original intentions match the corresponding political action and implementation. Italy's attempts to invest in upskilling of the low-skilled workers in the southern region during the 1950s emerge as one of the first ALMP instances. These efforts led to the recognition of ALMPs as an independent part of the OECD's labour market policies in the 1960s. They are commonly used in responding to the labour supply shortage of the EU in the 1960s with policies encouraging workers' mobility. A known instance is the countries with strong industries in the EU (among which are Germany, France, and Austria) and the United States encouraging temporary labour migration to fill the vacancies rejected by the local labour force and reducing upward pressure on wages (Castles, 2010).

The programmes implemented for integrating the guest workers from Turkey and Southern Europe into the EU labour market could be given as other examples of the ALMPs targeting the guest workers. These programmes are commonly accepted as the benchmarks of 'regulated labour migration' (Maroufi, 2017). In the same article, Maroufi points to common motives of mobility between the labour migrants of the 1960s and the refugees as the escape from oppressive regimes. While they were seeking to improving their prospects, living, and working conditions, the right-based approach in the ALMPs targeting these workers was relatively weak, especially in the early years. Workers were obliged to work for a certain employer and/or in a defined occupation, with highly restricted welfare entitlements. For instance, they were not allowed family reunification (some countries implemented a rotation system to avoid it) and were at risk of deportation if they broke their contractual terms. The long working hours and the accommodation conditions provided to them were below acceptable standards. With the economic downturn resulting from the oil crisis of 1973, the recruitment of migrant workers had stopped. However, migration through family reunification had continued for the migrants who did not return to their home countries, where unemployment and economic instability persisted. Castle (2010) marks the early 1980s as the time when the European states met the asylum-seekers. With the end of the cold war in the early 1990s, Germany received a high number of asylum-seekers from the former Yugoslavian states, which triggered the 'politicization of asylum and immigration'.

During the 1990s, in contrast to the policies implemented until then, strategies targeting skilled workforce gained importance. The underlying reasons for this policy could be given as changes in the mode of production requiring less human power and more technological investments and the new global division of labour, where the labour-intensive productions take place in the Global South and the knowledge as well as technology is produced in the North. Fröbel (1979) also points out 'transnational decentralisation of the production'. Correspondingly, he highlights the 'growth of active labour armies' in the underdeveloped and increased unemployment. However, the continued need for the arts and craft professions as well as the blue-collar work should be noted down. What Sassen (1988) pointed out in the late 1980s is still valid today:

Certain sectors still need large low-skilled labour force as construction workers, cleaning and care personnel, and other occupations that locals are not keen on taking.

Bonoli (2013) puts forward the entry of women into the labour market as the phenomena that ALMPs responded to in the 1980s and the 1990s, in addition to ensuring income equality, addressing labour supply shortage, and access to skills development in line with technological advancement. As the need for 'brute force' provided by men declined, their role as the sole breadwinner was challenged, with women participating more in the labour market (mostly for jobs traditionally attributed to women as such domestic and care work). In addition to Bonoli (2013), Anderson (2007) and Cox (2006) also notes the expansion of what Castle calls 'gendered and racialized labour'. Scarbrough (2000) references changing employment relations (part-time work, short-term employment) and growing acceptance for 'divorce and single parenthood', and increasing labour migration, referring to the phenomena as a 'growing number of outsiders'. In addition to the recognised ties between the activation policies, the economic parameters, demographics, and the political regimes, it is legitimate to refer to the strong relationship between the social changes (in lifestyle, perception of family etc.) and the development of activation policies, based on the instances provided by Bonoli (2013) and Scarbrough (2000).

The unemployment rising beyond the average in the EU and the world has shifted the focus to ALMPs, seeking long-term solutions to unemployment. ALMPs have been adopted to fight high unemployment resulting from the recession of the early 1990s, affecting much of the Western world. They continued to receive attention following the 2008 global recession that had a worldwide impact. The global recession that flamed in 2008, has also impacted the migrant workers. According to the OECD (2011), the unemployment level of foreign-born workers in the OECD countries almost doubled the unemployed native-born workers in the following years of crisis: In the EU15¹², the average increase was calculated as 3.4 percentage points, twice that for the native-born.

¹² The EU15 comprised the following 15 countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom.

Today, as the volume of forced displacement and the protractedness of the root causes increase, ALMPs targeting the forcibly displaced also gain more importance. While the available literature and data are still limited, they highlight the importance of accessibility of ALMPs for the refugees, as labour market integration is key in building resilience and social cohesion. As discussed under Section 2.5 that provides an overview of the ALMPs in the context of refugees' and migrants' labour market integration, the refugees face more challenges in accessing formal employment, underemployment and informality hinders access to social protection. Correspondingly, the risk of precarity increases, amplifying marginalisation, extreme poverty, and negative coping strategies. Acknowledging the interrelatedness of such risks, the available literature also focuses on differentials such as gender (Aldén and Hammarstedt, 2014), the country of origin (Lundbord & Skedinger, 2016), and migration routes. There are also studies (Ager & Strang, 2008; Fossati & Liechti, 2020) analysing the demand aspect regarding refugees' labour market integration allowing the design of better informed ALMPs.

The AMLPs were designed to reduce the adverse outcomes of the economic crisis and the corresponding unemployment in the 19th century. Today they address wider issues such as vulnerable groups' labour market integration and access to decent jobs. It would be misleading to consider that ALMPs have failed to offer a sustainable solution to structural employment issues as they keep haunting humanity in the following centuries as well. Instead, it should be noted that in the absence of well-planned reforms and evidence-based economic and social policies, ALMPS are condemned to offer limited cures to structural unemployment, underemployment and informality that are among the strongest drivers of poverty and equality.

2.3. An Overview of the Active Labour Market Programmes in Turkey

With the increasing attention on the activation policies in the aftermath of the World War II, Turkey has also started paying attention to public employment services and active labour market policies. Employment services date back to as early as the 1940s, focusing initially on job placements at home and abroad

(such as Germany). However, it was not until the late 1990s and onwards that they gained more attention and popularity, although earlier references were available in the national policy and strategy documents. While measures against unemployment are mentioned in all, the fifth development plan¹³ (1985-89) is among the first policy papers with more concrete references to the ALMPs (training programmes, support to entrepreneurship and incentives for employers). The succeeding development plan¹⁴ (1990-94) pays due attention to the skills development programmes, specifically the vocational training programmes, entrepreneurship programmes and support for small to medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). The last development plan of the 1990s¹⁵ (1996-2000) stands out with its reference to the need for upskilling and reskilling programmes and a more flexible labour force. When these development plans are analysed from a comparative perspective, the accumulation of experiences is rarely seen. As Eser and Terzi (2008) point out, most policies are vaguely defined, emphasised measures in a preceding plan are not mentioned in the sequent one.

Although employment policies take the relevant articles of the Turkish Constitution as a base (for instance, article No.19 on the right to work), most of the legislation is developed in line with the EU acquis and the European Employment Strategy, which was developed for 'creation of more and better jobs throughout the EU.'¹⁶ . From its establishment in 1946 until 2003, İŞKUR operated in a vague policy framework in the absence of a profound legislation

¹³ T.C. Baş Bakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı. (1974). Beşinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1985-1989. Retrieved April 05, 2022, https://fka.gov.tr/sharepoint/userfiles/Icerik_Dosya_Ekleri/Kalkinma_Planlari/V.%20Be%C5%9F%20Y%C4%B1l%C4%B1k%20Kalk%C4%B1nma%20Plan%C4%B1%201985-1989.pdf

¹⁴ T.C. Baş Bakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı. (1989). Altıncı Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1990 - 1994. Retrieved April 05, 2022, https://fka.gov.tr/sharepoint/userfiles/Icerik_Dosya_Ekleri/Kalkinma_Planlari/VI.%20Be%C5%9F%20Y%C4%B1l%C4%B1k%20Kalk%C4%B1nma%20Plan%C4%B1%201990-1994.pdf

¹⁵ T.C. Baş Bakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı. (1995). Yedinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı 1996 - 2000. Retrieved April 05, 2022, https://fka.gov.tr/sharepoint/userfiles/Icerik_Dosya_Ekleri/Kalkinma_Planlari/VI.%20Be%C5%9F%20Y%C4%B1l%C4%B1k%20Kalk%C4%B1nma%20Plan%C4%B1%201990-1994.pdf

¹⁶ Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion - European Commission. (n.d.). European employment strategy. Retrieved April 06, 2022, from <https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=101&langId=en>

defining its scope and area of work. The harmonisation steps that were kicked off with Turkey's recognition as a candidate state to the EU in the Helsinki Summit in 1999 initiated the formation of current legislation for İŞKUR, with the adaptation of Turkish Labour Act No. 4857 and Act No. 4904 on the Turkish Employment Agency. Act No.4904 determines İŞKUR's functions and bodies and regulates staff status and compensation. The timing of the EU harmonisation coincides with the slowly increasing focus in the EU on the labour market integration and refugee policies (Maroufi, 2017). In line with these developments, the ninth development plan¹⁷ (2007-13) sets increasing employment as one of the five main objectives¹⁸ and mandates İŞKUR for the development of a national employment strategy with references to increasing employability through skills development, vocational education, job and career counselling and guidance services. It also defines people with disabilities, youth, and women as the primary target groups (Article 234). The plan continues with defining the İŞKUR's role in delivering ALMPs in the next article (235), referencing the EU's financial support.

The support provided by the EU through Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) plays a key role in the systematisation of the ALMPs and the capacity building of İŞKUR. Through IPA, EUR 40 million has been allocated to implement ALMPs targeting the most vulnerable unemployed groups (Kenar, 2003). In addition to the IPA schemes, through various partnerships for women's access to the labour market, youth employment and for refugee's and migrants labour market integration, İŞKUR has mobilised funds from other EU instruments (such as the Facility for Turkey) as well as international actors such as the World Bank, Sweden's Government Agency for Development Cooperation (SIDA), and various UN Agencies. Among these agencies the added-value of ILO in relation to its cooperation with İŞKUR could be given as its norm-setting role. The ILO Convention No.88 on employment services played

¹⁷ T.R. Prime Ministry State Planning Organization. (2006). Ninth Development Plan 2007 – 2013. Retrieved, April 25,2022; from, https://sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Ninth_Development_Plan_2007-2013.pdf17

¹⁸ The other four objectives are as follows, (i) increasing competitiveness, (ii) strengthening human development and social solidarity, (iii) ensuring regional development and (iv) increasing quality and effectiveness in public services.

a key role in the structure of İŞKUR. In addition, though not ratified by Turkey, the traces of the ILO Convention No.181 concerning private employment agencies could also be observed. In all relevant policy documents, ILO draws attention to the importance of involving social partners in delivering ALMPs and public employment services. İŞKUR's governance structure is also built on the social dialogue principle, representing a good practice: social partners, academia, and the public authority representatives sit in its highest decision-making authority, the general assembly, and the tripartism principle is also reflected in this board¹⁹.

As discussed under the preceding title, initially focused on unemployment assurance, today, İŞKUR delivers a variety of AMLPs and other services. However, as noted by Bölükbaşı and Ertugal (2013), systematic deployment of ALMPs has only begun with the restructuring of the public employment services in line with the pre-accession process.

2.4. Active Labour Market Programmes in the Context of Refugees' and Migrants' Labour Market Integration

As the number of forcibly displaced people and human mobility increases, integration and the resettlement of refugees take more space in the governments' agenda and become a topic of intense policy debate. The discussions mostly pertain to refugees' access to social assistance, housing, education, and the labour market integration, which bears critical importance for accelerating the integration process and reducing social assistance dependency. Correspondingly, the need for more knowledge and resources are also increasing. Although there is diversified academic literature on the integration of the regular migrant groups, research focusing on the refugees is still limited. The available literature on refugees (Brücker et al. (2016), Chiswick and Miller (1994), Cortes (2004), Constant and Zimmermann (2005), Jaeger (2006), Aydemir (2011), Dustmann et al. (2016), Fasani et al. (2018) and Ruiz and Vargas-Silva (2018)) points to the fact that refugee groups encounter more

¹⁹ İŞKUR. (n.d.). Türkiye İş Kurumu Yönetim Kurulu. Retrieved April 10 2022, from, <https://www.iskur.gov.tr/kurumsal-bilgi/organizasyon/yonetim-kurulu/>

obstacles in accessing labour market and therefore require more policy interventions. The OECD report on migration (2015) also highlights the need for more data and analysis by referencing empirical evidence. The report points out that it takes refugees significantly more time to adapt to the labour markets (six years in comparison to family migrants and 15 years in comparison to labour migrants and natives to reach a 70% employment rate).

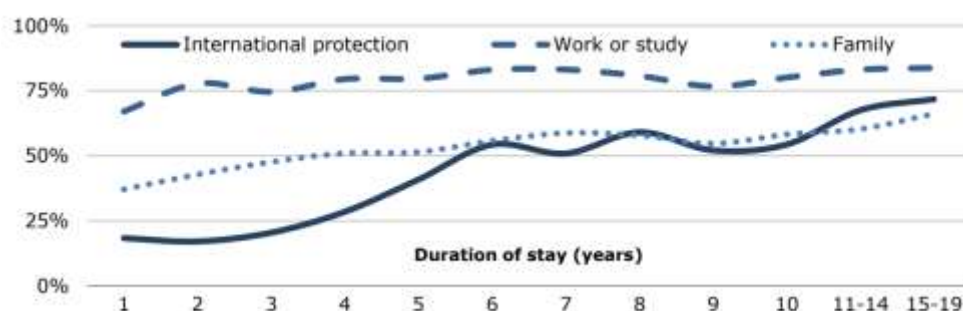


Figure 1. Employment rate by immigrant categories and duration of stay in European OECD countries, 2008 (OECD, 2008)²⁰

Similarly, based on analysis from the survey on the new refugees conducted by the Office for National Statistics of the UK between 2005 and 2009, Cebulla, Daniel and Zurawan (2011) found that the rate of employed refugees was 34 per cent in the 8th month for arrival and increased to 49 per cent in the 21st months. Still, their labour force participation remained below the UK average of 80 per cent. The study by Aldén and Hammarstedt (2014) reveals that only 10 to 20 per cent of male refugees and even fewer females (less than 10 per cent) were employed one year after arrival to Sweden. The figures reach 60 per cent for males and around 50 per cent for females even in the twelfth year of arrival.

As evident from the figures above, from the country of origin to the insecure process of obtaining legal status, specific data on refugees are essential for supporting labour market integration. Differences in these parameters are essential for designing ALMPs that achieve labour market integration. For instance, refugees' entry to the labour markets compared to family and labour migrants takes more time, as their primary motive for mobility is not employment

²⁰ Eurostat Labour force survey (2008) ad-hoc module on the labour market situation of migrants and their immediate descendants.

but mostly the security risks (OECD, 2014a). The scarcity of quantitative and qualitative data could result from the irregularity of the flows, predominant participation in the informal economy and governments' reluctance to share available data. In addition, another limitation could be the focus of the available studies. The lack of analysis on the policy tools hinders developing evidence-based policies, especially for the forcibly displaced people who require well-coordinated, comprehensive, and targeted policy responses. As Fossati & Liechti (2020) highlight, the available studies pay attention to individual behaviours or merely to the institutions for analysing labour market integration, and therefore little is known on the efficacy of ALMPs for refugees.

Among the few available pieces of literature, the research by Ager & Strang (2008) and by Fossati & Liechti (2020) focus on the employers' preferences and participation in the ALMPs. Combining employers' evaluations of specific ALMPs with their perceptions towards refugees in Austria, Germany, and Sweden, they argue that ALMPs success in facilitating access to formal employment is positively correlated with the employers' attitudes. In other words, they define the positive attitudes of employers as a prerequisite for the ALMPs to have positive outcomes. In contrast to employers with positive attitudes, those with pre-existing negative attitudes don't acknowledge the role of the ALMPs. Drawing attention to the work of Fiske et al. (2018), Fossati & Liechti (2020) note the correlation between the employers' negative attitude with the pre-existence of prejudice as 'commonly indexed by measures of antipathy, such as social distance stereotypes'. The fear of negative customer reaction and possible influence of the negative attributions to refugees by the mainstream media is also worth noting down. In response to negative attitudes and prejudices, the focus on and the resources allocated for social cohesion interventions (as standalone programmes or complementary to the ALMPs as in the case of the ILO's Refugee Response Programmes would be justifiable. Fisker et al. (2018), also state the following, exemplifying the existence of biases towards the refugees even in the developed countries:

More equal countries have essentially two stereotypic groups: citizens of all kinds, who deserve the social welfare state, seeming both warm and competent,

plus interlopers who do not deserve social welfare, seeming neither warm nor competent (refugees, Roma, nomads).

The study by Lundbord & Skedinger (2016) highlights the fact that forced displacements take place primarily from less developed countries to 'high-tech' ones, which points to the need for the refugees to access ALMPs (for instance, upskilling courses) to avoid a 'protracted integration process'. In contrast to these countries' focus on high-tech sectors, the majority of the ALMPs for refugees focus on the occupations requiring low skill sets and blue-collar jobs that are difficult to fill or have high turnover rates. This paradox is also supported by Brücker et al (2014) and Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006). They state that the focus on skills development is because refugees are either low qualified or ready to accept low-skilled jobs due to the urgent need for earning an income, though they are skilled or high skilled. Based on a randomised controlled trial, Battisti et al. (2019) evaluate whether Germany's job search assistance programme improves the labour market integration. They propose that such support is more beneficial for refugees with less education and are not legally recognised. They may face 'relatively high matching frictions' and be discarded by the employers due to (perceived) employment costs, such as the work permit fees in Turkey.

Although refugees' participation in the ALMPs and their employment outcomes differ due to a number of parameters (education attainments, language skills, prior learning and experiences, socio-economic dynamics of the host countries, the legislation allowing access to the labour markets, working conditions, traditional gender roles and more), women's access to ALMPs and levels of integration to the labour market presents themselves lower than that of men. As highlighted by Hillman and Koca (2021), they usually have lower education attainment and face more difficulties starting from the early stages of mobility to the labour market integration. The weak labour market integration of women has been underlined in various research (Fendel 2019, Kalkum et al. 2019, Pallmann et al. 2019, Pfeffer-Hoffmann 2018, Worbs and Baraulina 2017). Studies (Gebel, 2012, Blau, 2016) also point to the same patterns in the countries of origin. It wouldn't be wrong to conclude that these parameters point to the need for more gender-sensitive labour market integration policies and

ALMPs. This is evident in the case of Sweden, where refugee women do better in the 12th year of arrival (UNHCR, 2013) as they have better access to social policy measures such as child and elderly care and paternal leave benefits.

An increasing number of studies emphasise the challenges of integrating refugee communities into the labour market. The available literature agrees on the most encountered obstacles. These could be listed as; (a) language barriers, (b) lack of recognition of the prior learning and work experiences, (c) lack of experience in the host country, (d) uncertainty brought by lengthy legal procedures and the risk of refoulement, (e) negative stereotypes and discrimination, (f) limited or no access to employment services and information on job search channels. The list could be extended with more context-specific barriers. The primary goal of the ALMPs is to address these challenges and ensure a smooth transition to the labour markets.

As seen in the available literature detailed above, ALMPs implemented since the early 1950s encompass a variety of tools with different objectives and levels of interactions with each other and with the PLMPs. They are adopted in variety of contexts including but not limited to integration of guestworkers, addressing skills mismatch, fighting against youth unemployment, increasing women's labour force participation or refugees' access to the labour markets. While their definitions and categorisation may vary, we can argue that there is a consensus on their purposes that could be summarised as policy tools for removing or reducing the obstacles to employment and corresponding poverty while consolidating the link between social protection and work. For achieving the latter, as discussed above, active and passive measures should be considered in complementarity as parts of a broader social protection scheme. This approach may alleviate the sources of criticism for positioning ALMPs as a pre-condition for accessing PLMP coverage. The increasing number of ALMPs targeting the forcibly displaced should also be noted. While there is still limited literature and analysis, we can argue that there is general consensus among the policy makers on the importance of accessibility of ALMPs for the refugees, as labour market integration is the key element of self-resilience.

In order to allow a more informed analysis of the ALMPs implemented by the ILO in Turkey targeting the Syrian refugees, the following chapter provides an overview of socio-economic parameters, the legal framework in Turkey, as well as a synopsis of the involved actors, and proceeds to the analysis chapter.

2.5. ILO's Normative and Policy Frameworks on Forced Displacement in Relation to the Active Labour Market Policies

For centuries, forced displacement has stemmed from a tangled combination of socio-economic and political events constituting a threat to the well-being of many, even after leaving the country. Income generation and difficulty in sustaining livelihoods are among the most prominent challenges. Refugees are susceptible to a reduced number of available jobs and increased informality, especially if the host countries' socio-economic situations are not stable. Along with other actors, ILO has addressed these challenges and maintained a focus on the refugees and the forcibly displaced since its establishment, within the frame of protecting the workers' rights. The ILO constitution²¹ refers to these rights without any geographical limitation: 'Protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own.' In addition, all its conventions and recommendations cover the forcibly displaced unless there is a specified reservation of the member states. The following conventions and recommendations are directly correlated with the refugees and ensuring their access to decent job opportunities; (i) the Migration for Employment Convention (C97), (ii) the Migrant Workers Convention (C143) and (iii) the Convention on Equality of treatment of social security (C118). In addition to these, the subsequent deserves attention due to the principles outlined respectively for access to lifelong education and training as well as the right to social security; (i) Human Resources Development Recommendation (R195), (ii) Social Protection Floors Recommendation, 2012 (R202), Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention (C102).

²¹ ILO. (n.d.). ILO Constitution. Retrieved March 05, 2022, from https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=1000:62:0::NO:62:P62_LIST_ENTRIE_ID:2453907:NO

In parallel to the increasing volume of forced displacement and the fact that most refugees are hosted in developing countries, more efforts have focused on building resilience. According to UNHCR Global Trends 2020 (UNHCR, 2020), 85% of the world's refugees are in developing countries, while the median time spent in these host countries is ten years (UNHCR, 2019). Recognising the challenges developing countries face in meeting their development goals and addressing the needs of the refugees, the development-led approach to forced displacement has gained more importance. In line with these developments, the humanitarian-development nexus has increasingly become a topic of interest (Chandler 2014; Eade and Vaux 2007; Hilhorst 2018). Based on the most recent literature, the concept could be outlined as the complementarity between humanitarian assistance and development support with a multi-layer and multi-actor approach (Lie,2020; Strand, 2020; Zetter, 2020). Following the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016, the UN Secretary-General António Guterres called attention to the role of conflict prevention and referred to conflicts as 'the biggest obstacle to human development'²². Correspondingly, the concept of triple nexus; the humanitarian-development and peace nexus has emerged. The triple nexus is considered a platform connecting humanitarian aid to long-term development while also paying attention to crisis management, peacebuilding, and security (Zetter, 2020). While the international community welcomes it for addressing the root causes, it is criticised for its securitised paradigm. The risk of involving the armed forces instead of peacebuilding actors is noted (Tronc et al., 2019; Barakat & Milton, 2020). In addition, the shift to humanitarian-development nexus is expostulated for moving away from the public welfare model in consistency with the neoliberal ideology (Rickie, 2021).

The increased resource mobilisation efforts and the number of staff working on the forced displacement indicate to shifts in the ILO's work and focus, in parallel to the discourse changes detailed above. The Jobs for Peace and Resilience Flagship Programmes²³ and Partnership for Improving Prospects for Forcibly

²² United Nations. (n.d.). One Humanity, Shared Responsibility: Report of the Secretary-General for the World Humanitarian Summit. Retrieved March 05, 2022, from, <https://sgreport.worldhumanitariansummit.org/>

²³ ILO. (n.d.). ILO's Flagship Programmes: Introduction to the ILO's programme on Jobs for Peace and Resilience. Retrieved March 05, 2022, from, <https://www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/how-the-ilo->

Displaced Persons and Host Communities (PROSPECTS)²⁴ could be given as the outcomes of this new approach. Along with the international labour standards and universal human rights principles, the humanitarian-development-peace nexus is given due importance in the frameworks on forced displacement. Reflecting these frameworks, Recommendation No. 71 on Employment (Transition from War to Peace) was revised and replaced with Recommendation No.205 on Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience (R205) in 2017. Its aim is given as guiding the member states in measures for employment creation and decent work for recovery, peace and resilience. Compared to the previous policy tools, R205 broadens its scope in line with the global trends addressing what is referred as the root causes. As complementary tools, a resolution inviting constituents to take action and develop a strategy for action, including recommendations for implementation, has been published. Developments around the R205 are preceded by the Guiding Principles on the Access of Refugees and Other Forcibly Displaced Persons to the Labour Market (July 2016), as a result of negotiations between the tripartite constituents for facilitating forcibly displaced persons' and the host communities' access to the labour market and addressing the decent work deficits. Guiding principles (34 in total) are summarised as voluntary, non-binding principles that take their basis from the international labour standards and universal human rights and built on the accumulated experiences from the field (ILO, 2016a). They are composed of 5 pillars: (a) governance frameworks on access to labour markets, (b) economic and employment policies for inclusive labour markets, (c) labour rights and equality of opportunity and treatment, (d) partnership, coordination, and coherence, (e) voluntary repatriation and reintegration of returnees.

[works/WCMS_495276/lang--en/index.htm#:~:text=The%20Jobs%20for%20Peace%20and,Peace%20and%20Resilience%20Recommendation%20\(No.](https://www.ilo.org/global/programmes-and-projects/prospects/lang-en/index.htm#:~:text=The%20Jobs%20for%20Peace%20and,Peace%20and%20Resilience%20Recommendation%20(No.)

²⁴ ILO. (n.d.) Partnership for improving prospects for forcibly displaced persons and host communities (PROSPECTS). Retrieved March 05, 2022, from, <https://www.ilo.org/global/programmes-and-projects/prospects/lang-en/index.htm>

Complementing the normative framework presented above and the Regional Refugee Response Plan (2015), the Global Compact on Refugees (2018), and the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (2016)²⁵ provide important policy frameworks. Succinctly, the New York Declaration is a set of pledges for refugees and migrants regarding the goals set in the GCR and a Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration.²⁶ These frameworks are built on accumulated experiences and seek to provide a coherent framework and support partnership among the involved actors. Although not directly correlated with the forcibly displaced people and refugees, ILO's future of work initiative and the Global Commission on the Future for Work report (ILO, 2019), ILO Centenary Declaration and ILO Global Call to Action for a Human-centred Recovery should be noted, as refugees are also equally impacted by technological advancements and digitalisation, demographic shifts, climate change and globalisation.

The UN 2030 Agenda and its Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) are also policy frameworks offering tools for addressing the refugees. The UN 2030 Agenda (2015) comprises 17 SDGs with 169 targets to be achieved by 2030. These goals aim to eradicate poverty and hunger, ensure all people's enjoyment of fundamental human rights, and gender equality while safeguarding the planet and its natural resources.²⁷ While offering an integrated and robust framework addressing global social justice and equality challenges, they are also regarded as 'a potential countermovement to the pursuit of a more flexible global market' (Carton, 2020). Polanyi (2001) uses the countermovement to define capitalism, outlining it as the antagonistic forces of commodification on the one hand, and the self-protective reaction of societal actors against the inevitable negative social and environmental consequences of commodification on the other (Carton, 2020).

²⁵ UN Refugees and Migrants. (n.d.). New York Declaration. Retrieved March 05, 2022, from, <https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/declaration>

²⁶ IOM, UN Migration. (n.d.). Global Compact for Migration. Retrieved March 05, 2022, from, <https://www.iom.int/global-compact-migration>

²⁷ UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (n.d.). Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Retrieved March 05, 2022, from, <https://sdgs.un.org/2030agenda>

While ILO's normative framework offers protection to the workers in the signatory countries, they remain limited to regulating the working conditions of the workers hired by the companies in signatory countries, which move their productions to countries with weaker normative frameworks and inspection mechanisms. ILO's normative framework remains limited to addressing the international division of labour brought by globalisation. Backing up this shortcoming, Standing (2008) summarises ILO's roles as 'conducive to the persistence of several variants of capitalism, the intention being to limit labour-based competition so that systems based on different legal origins could co-exist'. In addition, not having any sanction power over the member states limits ILO's influence.

Along with its normative and policy framework though its shortcomings, ILO has built a large development cooperation portfolio focusing on forced displacement globally, in Africa, the Arab States, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and Central Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean. In response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis, ILO has developed a strategy that is summarized as a 'development and employment driven' document (ILO, 2018) targeting Syrian refugees and the host communities in Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, and Turkey. While there are differences in their scope and activities, programmes in each country address the labour market governance needs and offer various activation programmes.

CHAPTER 3

SYRIAN REFUGEES IN TURKEY: AN OVERVIEW OF THE BASICS

This chapter focuses on the country-specific dynamics on the Syrian refugees as the role ALMPs play in accessing the labour market is affected by the legal framework as well as the refugees' socio-economic profiles. The chapter begins with an overview of the demographics and socio-economic profiles of the Syrian refugees and continues with discussing the Syrian refugees' labour market participation. It pays due attention to the Emergency Social Safety Net Programme (ESSN) and its influence on the labour force participation. Then, it provides an overview of the available legal framework for Syrian refugees in Turkey and presents an analysis of the involved actors is presented, emphasising the livelihood interventions.

3.1. An overview of Turkey's Social and Economic Outlook

International Monetary Fund (IMF) categorises Turkey as an emerging market economy.²⁸ Turkey has been experiencing fluctuations in its standard of living over decades due to the global economic crisis as well as national economic and political setbacks. Turkey experienced a brisk development trend from 2002 to 2017, propelling it to the upper echelons of the middle-income status. Regardless, as reform momentum has been relatively slow over the last decade, efforts to strengthen the economy through credit expansions and a demand stimulus declined, aggravating internal and external vulnerabilities (World Bank, 2018). The COVID-19 pandemic has further amplified these income and labour inequities. Its geographical inequities significantly impacted groups with higher economic vulnerabilities, such as the refugees and women, exacerbating pre-existing gender imbalances. These adverse developments

²⁸ International Monetary Fund. (n.d.). WORLD ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL SURVEYS World Economic Outlook Database. Retrieved May 06, 2022, from, <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/weo-database/2022/April/select-countries?grp=2903&sg=All-countries/Emerging-market-and-developing-economies/Emerging-and-developing-Europe>

have resulted in persistent poverty and marginalisation, with limited social policy tools addressing their adverse impacts. Buğra (2020) notes that poverty has always been high in modern Turkey, while public social assistance schemes are relatively recent. Backing up Buğra's statement, a study run by Öztürk (2020) points to an inverse proportion between social expenditures and income inequality. From a policy development point of view, Turkey has been defined by the government's use of exclusionary identity politics to polarize civil society and isolate the opposition (Buğra, 2007).

The informality, low female participation and poor working conditions are the most prevalent characteristic of Turkey's economy. According to the economic growth note of the OECD for 2021, gross domestic product (GDP) per capita is 46 per cent, and productivity is 30 per cent lower than the OECD's best performers. The same report notes the higher inequalities in Turkey compared to advanced OECD economies. According to the OECD calculations for 2021, the poorest 20 per cent in Turkey earn only 6.1 per cent of total income. According to the Research Centre of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey's (DİSKAR) figures for the first quarter of 2022, the overall formal and full-time employment remained at 32.5 per cent, while female labour force participation is given as 18.1 per cent. Based on the same datasets, the same figures were announced as 46.6 per cent and 29.5 by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), respectively. DİSKAR reports give the youth unemployment rate as 41 per cent.

The poverty and marginalisation have worsened with the refugee influx of the last decade. The available studies are focusing on the social cohesion point to a substantially negative perception of the Syrian refugees among the Turkish public opinion, which depends on the polarisation (Erdogan & Uyan-Semerci, 2018). The same study highlights that the anti-immigrant sentiment is mainly considered a threat to Turkish residents' economic well-being and way of life.

3.2. Syrian Refugees in Numbers and the Geographical Distribution

The 21st century witnessed a drastic change in the forced displacement contexts. Due to the volume, complexity, and protracted nature of the crisis, forced displacement is no longer a temporary phenomenon. According to the UNHCR figures, the number of forcibly displaced people has exceeded 80 million by the end of 2020, which equals one per cent of the world’s population. As the number of forcibly displaced people and their duration of stay in the host countries increase, the need for data and statistics becomes more prevalent, especially for evidence-based policy development.

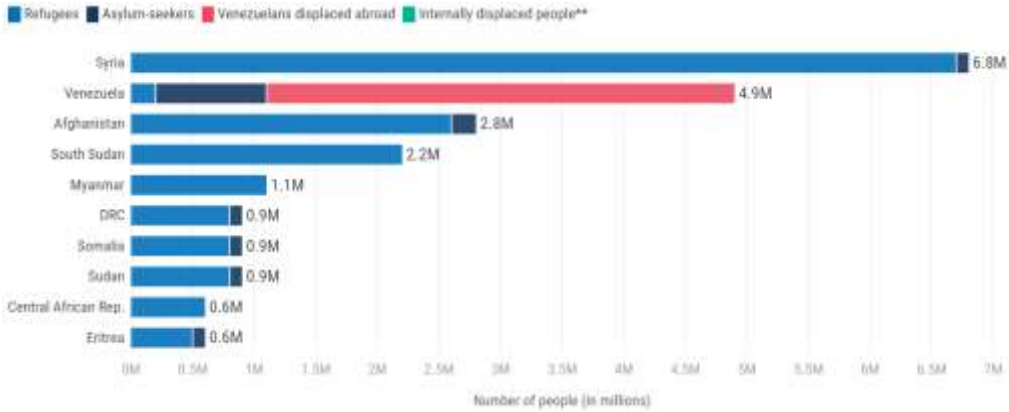


Figure 2. The forcibly displaced populations worldwide, excluding the 5.7 M Palestinian refugees under the UNRWA mandate, (UNHCR, 2022)²⁹

As seen in above, Syrians constitute almost half of the refugee population worldwide, with almost seven million. Half of Syria’s pre-war population has been displaced and sought asylum in more than 130 countries. However, of the seven million, circa 5.5 million Syrian refugees live in neighbouring countries. According to the operational data portal of the UNHCR,³⁰ 65.7 per cent are hosted in Turkey, followed by Lebanon (14.7 per cent), Jordan (11.8 per cent), Iraq (4.5 per cent), Egypt (2.5 per cent) and various North African countries (0.8

²⁹ UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency. (n.d.). UNHCR Global Trends - Forced displacement in 2020. Retrieved May 05, 2022, from, <https://www.unhcr.org/flagship-reports/globaltrends/>

³⁰ Operational Data Portal. (n.d.). Situation Syria Regional Refugee Response. Retrieved May 05, 2022, from, <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>

per cent). When it comes to the EU, the total number of Syrian refugees hosted counts to around 1 million, with 59 per cent hosted in Germany followed by Sweden with 11 per cent. Austria, Greece, the Netherlands, and France each host between 2 and 5 per cent of the population in Europe, while the rest of the countries accommodate less than 2 per cent.³¹

Sharing almost a thousand-kilometre-long border with Syria, Turkey has been impacted by the crisis in Syria the most. The first group of refugees to Turkey dates to April 2011, precisely to 29 April 2011, when 252 Syrians arrived in Turkey. The flow has continued to increase to date, though with less density since 2017. As seen in figure 3 below, the number of Syrians refugees was 1.519,286 in 2014, 2.503,549 in 2015, 2.834,441 in 2016, 3.426,786 in 2017, 3.623,192 in 2018, 3.576.370,62 in 2019, and 3.734,879 as April 2022. of Syrian refugees constitute a heterogeneous community regarding ethnicity, religion, gender, generation, and social class (Şimşek, 2018).

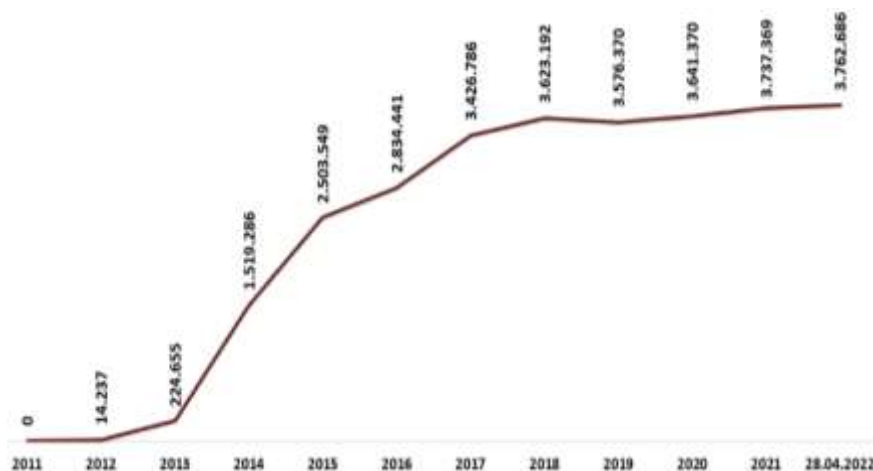


Figure 3. number of Syrian refugees (Syrians under temporary protection) by year (PMM, April 2022)³²

³¹ UNHCR Cyprus. (n.d.). Syria Refugee Crisis – Globally, in Europe and in Cyprus . Retrieved May 05, 2022, from, <https://www.unhcr.org/cy/2021/03/18/syria-refugee-crisis-globally-in-europe-and-in-cyprus-meet-some-syrian-refugees-in-cyprus>

³² Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management. (2021, December 24). Temporary Protection. Retrieved April 20, 2022, from, <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection27>

In addition to the 3.7 million Syrian refugees with temporary protection status, around 201 thousand Syrians received Turkish citizenship³³. Another 100 thousand were given residency permits³⁴ (that is given to foreigners with valid passports and meeting the requirements as per Law No 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection) according to the statements of the Minister of Interior and the President of Turkey, respectively. Confirming these figures, the total number of Syrians in Turkey corresponds to almost 5 per cent of the total population, while it is 6.2 per cent among the young people (15-24), constituting a significant portion of the country's demographics.

As given in the first chapter, Turkey has adopted a non-encampment policy. While the available research focuses on the legal framework and institutional arrangements, there is limited literature exploring the reasons for non-encampment. Addressing this shortcoming, Turner (2015) highlights the importance of counting in the labour market and the economic concerns in shaping of the government policies. Similar to the cases of Lebanon and Jordan (Janmyr, 2016; Lenner & Turner, 2019), the non-encampment policy could be argued to serve to the Government of Turkey's labour market goals. Offering a critical political economy analysis, Turner (2015) defines non-encampment as 'a tool through which states spatially segregate those refugees, of certain socio-economic classes, whom they deem surplus to labour market requirements.' In the case of mutual interest between the political and the economic elites, refugees settling in the urban areas where industries require manual labour, non-encampment serves to increasing the labour supply while reducing the labour costs. These cases are also presented as instances of how states can become the agents for expansion of capitalism (Musacchio & Lazzarini, 2014; Kannankulam & Georgi, 2014). It could be argued that statements by leading political figures of the governing party exemplifies the presented arguments: While responding to the questions of Turkey's refugee policy, Mehmet Özhaseki

³³ Diken. (2022, May 10). Soylu: Vatandaşlık alan Suriyeli sayısı 200 bin 950. Retrieved May 10, 2022, from, <https://www.diken.com.tr/soylu-vatandaslik-alan-suriyeli-sayisi-200-bin-950/>

³⁴ Diken. (2019, Dec 10). Erdoğan: 110 bin Suriyeliye vatandaşlık verdik, bu sayı artacak. Retrieved May 05, 2022, from, <https://www.diken.com.tr/erdogan-110-bin-suriyeliye-vatandaslik-verdik-bu-sayi-artacak/>

said refugees were keeping the industries alive while Yasin Aktay, stated that if Syrians were to return, Turkey's economy would collapse³⁵

As a result of the non-encampment policy, only around 50.6 thousand³⁶ Syrians are residing in the camps located in Adana (Sarıçam), Hatay (Atlınoz, Yayladağı, Apaydın), Kahramanmaraş (Merkez), Kilis (Elbeyli) and Osmaniye (Cevdetiye). The rest of the population is concentered respectively in Istanbul (542.606), Gaziantep (462.897), Hatay (433.124), Şanlıurfa (430.003), Adana (256.468), Mersin (242.935), Bursa (184.363), İzmir (149.839), Konya (123.627) and Kilis (107.214).

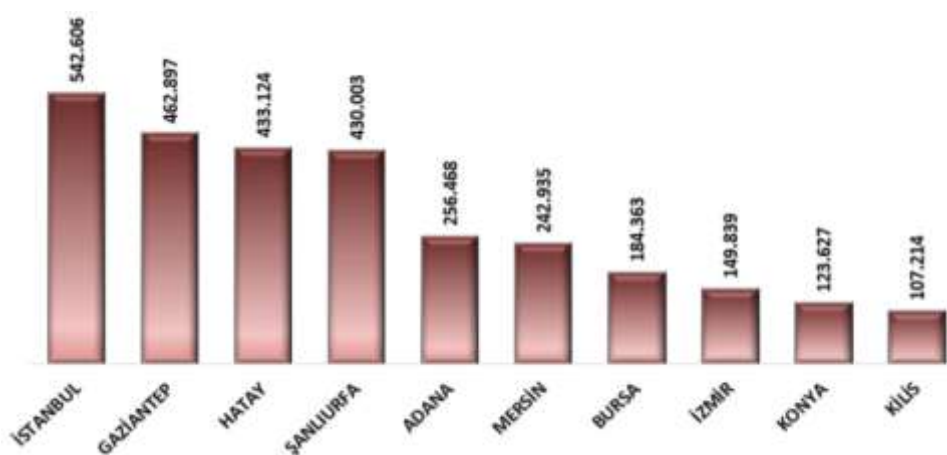


Figure 4. Distribution of Syrians under Temporary Protection by top 10 provinces (PMM, May, 2022)³⁷

However, the official figures seem to differ from the actual number of residents. For instance, according to the figures shared by the Mayor of Istanbul, Ekrem İmamoğlu, there is estimated to be 1.6 million refugees and migrants in Istanbul,

³⁵ Cumhuriyet. (2021, July 27). AKP'li Özhaseki'den 'mülteci' açıklaması: Sanayiye onlar ayakta tutuyor; gönderemezsiniz. Retrieved April 05, 2022, from, <https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/akpli-ozhasekiden-multeci-aciklamasi-sanayiye-onlar-ayakta-tutuyor-gonderemezsiniz-1855656>

³⁶ Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management. (2022, May 26). Temporary Protection. Retrieved May 05, 2022, from, <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection27>

³⁷ Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management. (2022, May 26). Temporary Protection. Retrieved May 05, 2022, from, <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection27>

with Syrians constituting the overwhelming majority.³⁸ Although welcomed by the policymakers and the practitioners, the non-encampment policy is also described as a pragmatic choice of the governments. LeBaron (2015) argues that non-encampment and labour market integration of the refugees are government tools establishing a suitable environment for informality and exploitation. Complementing this standpoint, Turner (2015), points to the common interests of the economic elites and the governments which may result in deregulated labour market.

3.3. Age and Gender Distribution

According to the Syrians Barometer Study by Erdoğan (2020), the median age for the Syrian refugees in Turkey is 22.54, while it is 31,7 for Turkey's population. The Syrian population is relatively young, with 14 per cent below the age of 5 and 47 per cent below 18 (Çavlin, 2020). This corresponds to almost two million children at compulsory education age. According to the 3RP's Turkey Chapter for 2021-2022, around 35.8 per cent of Syrian school-aged children are still out of school despite significant progress. In the same report, the higher education enrolment rate is given as low as 6.67 per cent (3.37 per cent more than the world average of refugee enrolment in higher education). Limited access to higher education drastically lowers the chances of becoming high-skilled. In comparison to Syria's demographics before the conflict (in 2010), the population in Turkey is younger with more children (UN's Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017), pointing to the critical role of ensuring access to the labour market and education services. Various arguments are listed for reasons why such as elder populations' reluctance to mobility due to possible anxiety for a new culture or increasing birth rates due to limited access to family planning services. In addition, as noted by Adalı and Türkyılmaz (2020), fertility rates are hard to estimate in the absence of available data.

According to the PMM data from December 2021, 46.21 per cent (1.726,805) of the Syrian refugees are women, while 53.79 per cent (2.009,994) are men. As

³⁸ Sözcü. (2021, July 27). İmamoğlu: 1.6 milyon ile İstanbul dünyanın en yüksek mülteci nüfusuna sahip. Retrieved March 03, 2022, from, <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2021/gundem/imamoğlu-1-6-milyon-ile-istanbul-dunyanin-en-yuksek-multeci-nufusuna-sahip-6559707/>

seen below, the percentage of women and men among the Syrian refugees doesn't significantly differ, with the expectation of 19-24 and 25-29 age groups. However, there is a significant gap between their labour force participation, which is to be discussed separately.

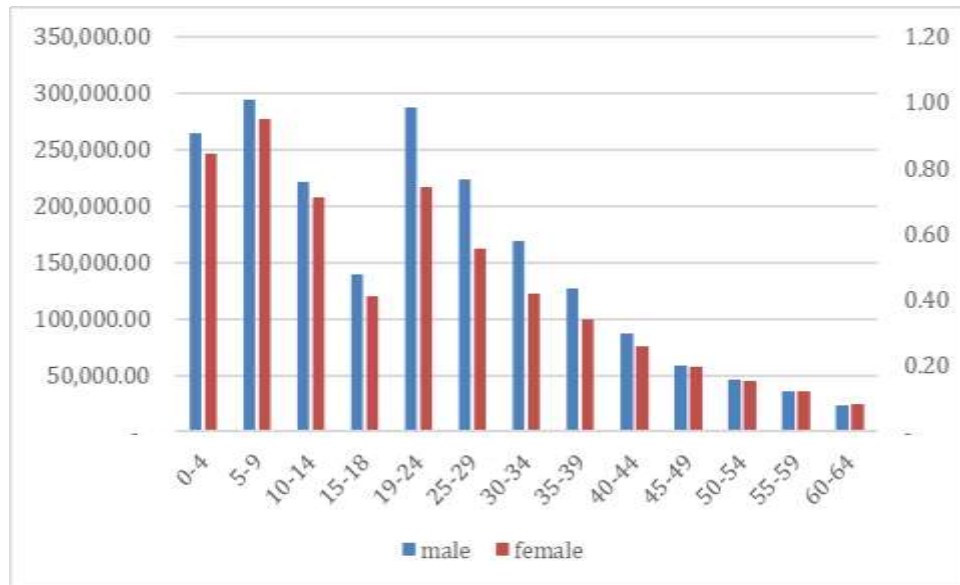


Figure 5. Age and gender distribution of the Syrians (PMM, December 2021) ³⁹

The mass influx of displaced Syrians to Turkey presents a major challenge. Given the rate of the young population, the importance of ensuring access to social policies, primarily to education and the labour market, increases.

3.4. An Overview of the Education Policy and the Educational Attainment

Turkey's education policy has evolved in parallel to the shift from temporariness to long term integration. During the first years of their arrival, the Syrian children continued their formal education in temporary education centres (TEC), where the Syrian education curricula reviewed and edited by the Turkish authorities was delivered in relatively poor physical conditions by volunteer teachers (a term coined to reference these facilitators) for whom having a teaching or pedagogical qualification was not a prerequisite. These centres were supported

³⁹ T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı. (2022, May 26). Geçici Koruma. Retrieved December 12, 2021, from, <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

by non-governmental organisations to improve the infrastructure, ensure access to stationery, and cover the utility costs. Unutulmaz (2018) defines this period as the 'laissez-faire' period. To respond to the increasing concerns on the quality and the content of education and taking the LFIP as a basis, MoNE issued a circular (2014/21) allowing access to public education and bringing strict control over the temporary protection centres. Until 2018, Syrian students were allowed to choose between TECs or the public education centres. Following a transition period where TECs remained open until 2018, MoNE put efforts in fully integrating the Syrian children into the education system. According to the 3RP's Turkey Chapter report for 2020-21, as of the beginning of the 2020-21 academic year, around 768,000 Syrian were enrolled in Turkish public schools. The total number of Syrians enrolled in tertiary education is given as 33,000 in the same report. According to the MoNE figures from October 2021, the schooling rate among the primary school-aged is 75 per cent, secondary school-aged is 81.17 per cent, and the high school-aged is given as 43 per cent⁴⁰. Although schooling rates are increasing, the quality of education refugees receive, and obstacles (such as language barrier and possible discrimination) require rigorous research and analysis. The Livelihoods Survey prepared jointly by the Turkish Red Crescent, and World Food Programme in Turkey (2019) presents findings on the educational attainments of the Syrian refugees, as well. According to the report (which roughly include data on 2.4 million people from 19 provinces), around 40 per cent of the respondents reported primary school as the highest education received, and 38 per cent reported having a high school diploma or a higher degree. 99.5 per cent of those with a diploma had obtained their degree in the country of origin. Finally, 21 per cent reported having no formal education, half of whom were illiterate. Interestingly, report notes higher education levels in the households with female heads, with 20 per cent of these having a high school or university diploma.

⁴⁰ T.C. Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Genel Müdürlüğü Göç Ve Acil Durumlarda Daire Başkanlığı. (2021, Oct). 2021-2022 Eğitim-Öğretim Yılı Verileri. Retrieved January 05, 2022, from, http://hbogm.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2021_11/05171729_ekim3.pdf

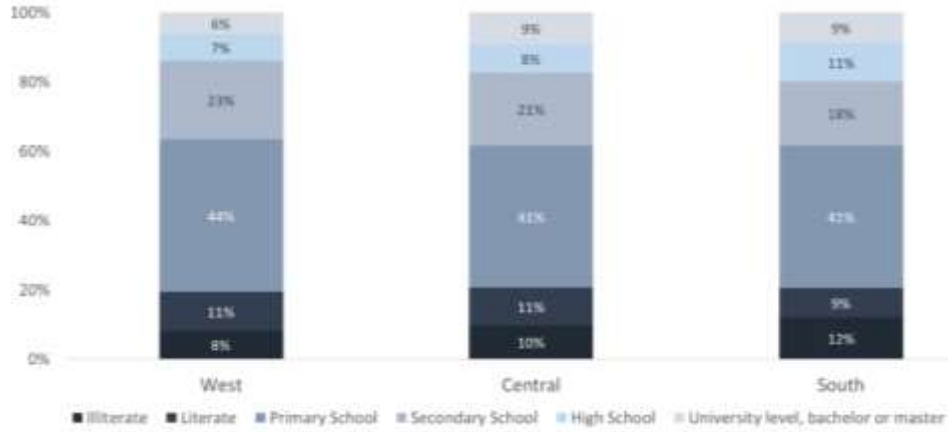


Figure 6. Highest education level obtained, by region⁴¹ Source: (Livelihoods Survey Findings, 2019)

When these figures are compared to the finding of the Skills Profiling Report by the IOM (2019) focusing on the refugees resettling to Germany, Portugal and the United Kingdom from Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, a similar trend is observed in the secondary education levels. According to the study (with a sample size of 1,018 Syrian refugees), 86 per cent indicated to have at least primary education while 38 per cent secondary education or above and 9 per cent reported having no education.

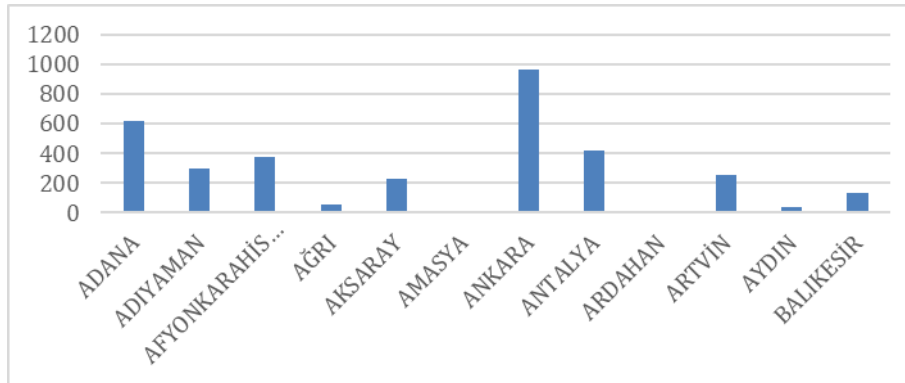


Figure 7. Provinces with the highest number of university students (TUIK, 2021)⁴²

⁴¹ Regions are categorized as West, Central and South in the given study.

⁴² Yükseköğretim Bilgi Yönetim Sistemi. (n.d.). Yükseköğretime Geçiş İstatistikleri. Retrieved January 05, 2022, from, <https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/>

In addition to compulsory education, Syrian refugees have also access to higher education if they complete or have accreditation for the 12 years of basic education and meet the academic and language requirements. The students who have started their higher education in Syria can apply for recognition of their pre-existing credits. According to the Council of Higher Education statistics for the 2020-2021 academic year, 47.482 Syrian university students were registered in 186 universities in Turkey. İstanbul (10325), Eskisehir (3920)⁴³, Gaziantep (2610), and Şanlıurfa (2104) host the largest number of registered students. However, the available data does not provide any information regarding the legal status of these students.

According to the calculation presented by Caro (2020), the educational attainments of the Syrians are relatively low, with only 5.6 per cent indicating their level of education as high school or higher education. As Syrian refugees constitute a young population with the majority below 35, proportional participation in the labour market is expected with an increasing trend over the years. The same reports point to a group with the most significant difference: 31,8 per cent of the Syrian refugees have an education level lower than the primary education, while it is 14,9 per cent for the host communities.

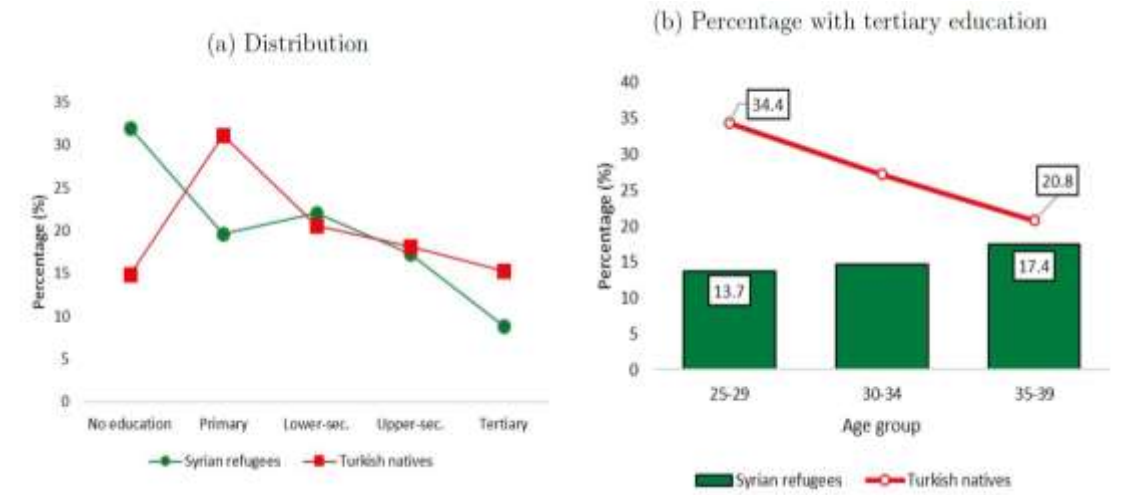


Figure 8. Education Attainments of the Syrian Refugees (Caro, 2020)

⁴³ Estimated to be high as the figures include the open university registrations.

The Livelihoods Survey (Turkish Red Crescent Society (TRC) & WFP, 2019) indicates an inverse proportion between the education levels and the employment. According to the report, the university graduate Syrian refugees had the highest unemployment rate with 24 per cent, while the unemployment rate was the lowest among the primary and secondary education graduates.

3.5. An Overview of the Labour Market Participation of the Syrian Refugees

Scarcity of and difficulty in accessing formal employment opportunities are among the most critical obstacles for labour market participation of the forcibly displaced people. Most of the refugee-hosting countries lack a comprehensive framework for enabling access to formal employment. As in the case of the literature on the ALMPs targeting refugee populations, the available studies and analyses on the labour market outcomes and participation of refugees are also limited. As Preston et al. (2020) highlight in a recent study, little is known about the refugees' access to the labour market in low- or middle-income countries compared to high-income countries. This might result from irregular and higher numbers of flows to the low- or middle-income countries and lack of institutional admission regulations as in the developed countries.

Data on the labour market status of the Syrian refugees in Turkey is also scarce. The refugees' labour market participation is commonly perceived as the reason for increased unemployment among the locals and the cut downs in the wages, evoking political concerns. Although these concerns resulting from the complex economic implications are understandable, the evidence does not support them in most cases (Clemens et al., 2018). Whitaker (2002) also points to a lack of evidence on whether the refugees have adverse employment outcomes on the vulnerable host communities. Regardless, these concerns still limit the available analysis to avoid a possible public reaction.

The available data is produced through running analyses on nationwide surveys, such as Turkey Demographic and Health Survey and Turkish Household Labour Force Survey. According to PMM figures, half of the 3.7

million Syrian refugees in Turkey are of working age. Of these, around 930.000 participate in the labour market, representing 2.8 per cent of the employed citizens of Turkey (Caro, 2020). According to the figures announced by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, the number of work permits issued to Syrians (including the temporary protection holders and the ones with residence permits) was 132,497 as of the end of 2019⁴⁴. Taking into account the total number of work permits issued, more than 95 per cent of the Syrians in Turkey is estimated to work informally. A similar finding is also available in the Livelihoods Survey Findings (2019), which identified that of the 84 per cent of the households with a working member, only 3 per cent had a work permit. According to the ILO (2020b), the sectors Syrian refugees are employed the most could be listed as follows; garment (31.1 per cent), trade and hospitality (17.7 per cent), other manufacturing (17.1 per cent), construction (13.2 per cent), agriculture (7.8 per cent) and others (13.1 per cent). Figure 9 below shows that men constitute the largest employed group, while women’s labour force participation is dramatically lower with 12%.

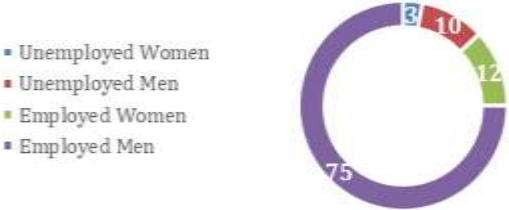


Figure 9. The labour market participation rates of the Syrian Refugees in Turkey (ILO, 2020b)

A number of reasons could be listed for women’s low labour force participation, such as the traditional gender roles positioning men as the household’s breadwinner, unpaid care work (including but not limited to childcare and elderly care), and the household chores. Backing up these obstacles, in an assessment conducted by UN Women and Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) in 2018, 38 per cent of the Syrian women reported not seeking employment actively due to childcare responsibilities, 20 per cent

⁴⁴ Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan. (n.d.). Turkey Country Chapter 2021-2022. Retrieved March 05, 2022, from, https://www.unhcr.org/tr/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2021/03/3RP-Turkey-Country-Chapter-2021-2022_EN-opt.pdf

reported not getting permission/approval of the male household heads, while 11 per cent indicated care responsibilities for the elderly and disabled household members, and 9 per cent gave the reason as the household chores. In addition, the available livelihood interventions are less accessible to women (Care, 2020). A remarkable amount of the available programmes focuses on traditionally female fields such as hair dressing and tailoring. These courses may support women's social cohesion and income generation through informal home-run businesses; however, they also reproduce gender norms, don't contribute to women's presence in the public sphere, including the labour market, and fail to provide any social protection coverage. There is also a significant gender gap in terms of wages: While the average monthly wage of Syrian men was TRY 1.337 in 2017, it was TRY 1.083 for women, and the overall gender wage gap in Turkey was reported as 15 per cent for 2020⁴⁵ (ILO, 2020b).

The statistics on the labour force participation of the young Syrian population is also significant. According to the available figures from 2019, the rate of young people not in employment, education, or training (NEET) among the Syrian refugees was 70,9 per cent for women and 26 per cent for men (ILO, 2021a). Caro (2020) points to the correlation between the low schooling rate and the labour market participation of young men by presenting the employment rate of 15-year-olds as 66,1 per cent. According to the ILO report (2021) mentioned above, most of the NEET groups among the refugees and host communities didn't participate in the labour force since leaving education, while the employed ones faced long working hours, irregular working conditions, and low wages. The study by Dayıoğlu et al. (2021) that focuses on child labour among the Syrian refugees also presents valuable findings on the young refugees' labour force participation. Using the Turkey Demographic and Health Survey's dataset from 2018, the study reports the employment rate for the 15–17-year-olds as 48 per cent. The fact that the employment rate for the same group in 2009 was 29 per cent exemplifies the effect of forced displacement and disruptions in access to education. The early entry to the labour market risks becoming unskilled labour, resulting in reduced chances for formal employment and limiting refugees' changes for positive contributions to the local economy.

⁴⁵ The minimum wage in Turkey was TRY 1.404 in 2017.

ILO (2020b) also analyses the refugees' labour force participation through total hours worked per week. While 21.1 per cent of the Syrian refugees' working hours are within the legal limit (45), 42 per cent works between 46-59 hours, 24 per cent between 60-69 and 9.8 per cent work between 70-99 hours, which equals 14 hours of work six days a week.

The majority of the refugees worldwide, especially in underdeveloped and developing countries, do not have access to the labour markets, increasing their vulnerabilities and obliging them to informal jobs with precarious working conditions and no social security coverage. Although Syrian refugees in Turkey have the right to work (albeit limitations detailed in the following section), the majority is employed informally with poor working conditions and low wages. Corresponding to these conditions, the analysis run by Demirci and Kirdar (2021) points to high turnover rates and layoffs among the Syrian refugees. In Turkey, together with the long-standing structural problems of high informality and unemployment, the ESSN, detailed in the section below, is considered one of the impediments to formal employment.

3.5.1. Emergency Social Safety Net and Transition to Formal Employment

The ESSN programme was launched to provide unconditional cash assistance to the most vulnerable refugee households identified through a set of eligibility criteria.⁴⁶ Starting from 2012, WFP, in cooperation with TRC, assisted in-camp beneficiaries through e-vouchers covering food expenditures. Syrian refugees residing in 11 camps had received monthly assistance of TRY 50 (the equivalent of 18 US Dollars). In 2014, the programme was extended to 21 camps assisting 220.000 Syrians. The seeds of the ESSN programme were planted in 2015 with the expansion of the in-camp support initially to 50.000 Syrian refugees residing in urban settings. The ESSN was launched in 2016, providing monthly assistance through multi-purpose cash transfers allowing the beneficiaries to plan their expenditures. The assistance amount was transferred to the ESSN Card (an equivalent of any debit card) used in any shop. To date, it

⁴⁶ IFRC. (n.d.). Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN). Retrieved March 05, 2022; <https://www.ifrc.org/emergency-social-safety-net-essn>

stands as the largest humanitarian assistance programme reaching out to more than 1.5 million refugees. Given the volume of the influx, predictions have assumed that 80 per cent of the refugees would apply to programme while ESSN should focus only on the most vulnerable 40 per cent (WFP, 2017). A set of criteria focusing on the demographics was developed to identify the most vulnerable. Although WFP presents a critical approach to using demographics as the basis, the need for rapid scaling-up is provided as a justification. According to the eligibility criteria, the following households are able to receive assistance; (a) single parents, (b) single parents with at least one child under 18, (c) elderly above 60 with no other adults in the household, (d) families with members with disabilities (conditional to an official disability report of over 40 per cent), (e) families with four or more children, (d) families with high number of dependants (children, elder and people with disabilities). The ESSN programme was built in parallel to the national social assistance mechanisms. The applications are received by the Ministry of Family and Social Services and evaluated by the Board of Trustees of Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations. As the crisis in Syria remains unsolved, and the Syrian refugees' probability of staying in Turkey increases, the relation/dilemma between benefitting from the ESSN programme and participating in the labour market formally attracts increasing focus.

On the one hand, it is argued that having working-age household members does not necessarily mean easy access to formal employment due to high informality and unemployment rates as well as bureaucratic challenges in obtaining a work permit. On the other hand, as households with a formally employed beneficiary are cut from the assistance scheme, the ESSN is criticised for disincentivising formal employment. According to the ESSN Monthly Report for November 2021 (TRC, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent (IFRC), 2021) the number of working age ESSN beneficiaries constitute almost one third of the total beneficiaries with 564,251.

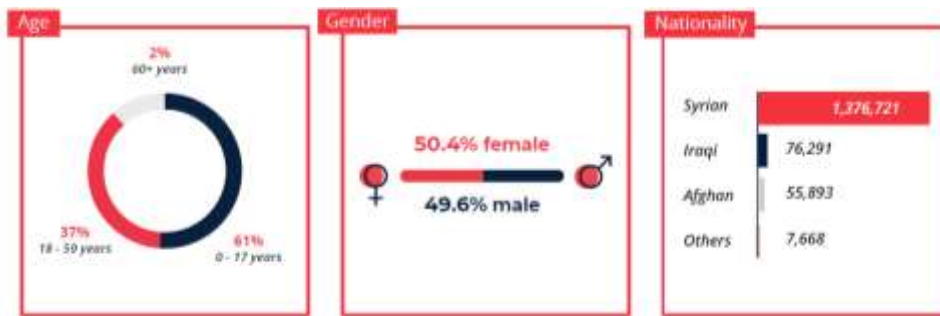


Figure 10. Age, Gender and Nationality Breakdown of the ESN Beneficiaries (the ESN Monthly Report for November 2021 (TRC, IFRC, 2021))

The transition from the social assistance schemes has already been on the agenda of the involved actors for around five years. The Exit Strategy from the ESN Programme (2018) by Facility for Turkey (FRIT) Office of the Presidency of Turkey, the Livelihoods Survey Findings (2019) by TRC and WFP, the Livelihood Transition of the ESN (2020) by TRC and the Output Paper (2021) of the Task Team on Referral and Transition to Livelihoods Opportunities could be listed as the outcomes of the existing efforts. The strategy document (2018) by the FRIT Office provides an overview of the challenges faced in the supply side (such as the limited job creation, increasing unemployment, and economic recession) that hinders transitions while pointing to the need for building a skilled labour supply. Overall, it presents a five-year projection on the labour supply and demand, based on İŞKUR's labour market surveys, calls for more funds to increase the refugees' employability and improve referrals of identified ESN beneficiaries to these programmes with a 'multidimensional intervention plan'. The Livelihood Survey Findings (2019) provide an overview of the educational attainments and training received since the arrival to Turkey, Turkish proficiency levels and employment status and sectoral distribution based on the declaration of the respondents. The report highlights the need for accessible public employment services and more evidence-based, well-targeted programming. The Technical Analysis Report (TRC & IFRC, 2019) also provides a projection for identifying beneficiaries that can be referred to training programmes and aims to contribute to the development of a better targeting scheme. The report also provides details on the phased transition that foresees a conditional cash assistance period before graduation while highlighting the risks that needs to be addressed. Among these risks, the limited employment

opportunities in some provinces and the limitations in targeting resulting from the lack of details on the skills and competencies (available data consist mostly of demographics) are listed. In addition to these, the most prominent challenge is given as the limitation in sharing the data on the ESSN beneficiaries with other livelihoods actors due to data privacy regulations, leaving the TRC as the only actor with the outreach capacity. Finally, the report by the Transition Task Team aims to provide consolidated recommendations. It notes the critical role of (a) easing work permit regulations, (b) ensuring the engagement of the private sector entities, (c) integrating existing livelihoods programmes into the graduation efforts and, (d) the need for sound profiling for more effective skills-building and improved access to public employment services. It pays due attention to addressing existing barriers resulting from structural problems and the need for additional efforts to ensure women's employment access.

Although ESSN's positive contribution to reducing the negative impacts of poverty among the Syrian refugees is commonly agreed on, its drawbacks should also be noted. According to Çetinoğlu and Yilmaz (2021), it is built on the wrong assumption of a regulated labour market delivering a decent wage and a housing market with affordable shelter. They also note the need for complementing graduation efforts with improved labour market and housing regulations.

As outlined below, the labour force participation of the Syrian refugees is rather low. The majority suffer from poor working conditions with no social protection. In addition to the prevalent informality and high unemployment rates, ESSN stands out as one of the reasons for low formal employment among Syrian refugees. While the importance of the ESSN for the most vulnerable is noted, the available assessments and analysis point to a growing need for active labour market policies for facilitating a smooth transition of the working-age ESSN beneficiaries to increase their labour market participation.

3.6. Legal Status of the Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Turkey is a signatory to two major international legal documents that bear critical importance in its migration policies: The 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. These instruments were ratified in 1961 and 1968, respectively. The 1967 Protocol expands the 1951 Convention's scope of application by repealing its geographical and time restrictions. These restrictions initially limited the Convention to people from Europe who became refugees due to events that occurred before January 1951. However, Turkey maintained its geographical limitation to the Convention, stating that only those from Europe could attain refugee status.

More than a decade ago, Turkey became the largest refugee-hosting country globally. Starting from 2012, around 20.000 arrived in Turkey each month, benefitting from the open-door policy. At the beginning, the Syrian refugees were called as guests with no legal rights and were placed in 23 camps located in the Southern and South-eastern provinces (Adana, Adıyaman, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kahramanmaraş, Kilis, Malatya, Mardin, Osmaniye and Şanlıurfa). However, as the flow continued (with a decreasing trend), the Government of Turkey needed to develop a framework for regulating the stay of the Syrian refugees and their access to basic services. As a first step, Turkey has adopted Law no 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection⁴⁷ (LFIP) in 2013, taking the EU's migration and asylum law as a basis. Until then, the Regulation on the Procedures and the Principles Related to Population Movements and Aliens Arriving in Turkey (No. 94/6169) was the only legal reference that offered a limited scope.

LFIP defines three types of international protection status: (a) Refugee status to those with a European country of origin as per the 1951 Convention, (b) conditional refugee status to those with non-European countries yet conform to the refugee definition on the 1951 Convention, and (c) subsidiary protection status for those who are not eligible for the refuge or conditional refugee status

⁴⁷ Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management. (n.d.). Temporary Protection in Law on Foreigners and International Protection. Retrieved February 05, 2022, <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection-in-law-on-foreigners-and-international-protection>

yet face the same risks and threats. In addition to these statuses, Turkey has adopted a temporary protection regime that only covers Syrian nationals and stateless people from Syria. In Article 91 of LFIP, temporary protection is defined as follows:

‘Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection.’⁴⁸

Although it gives a unique status to Syrians in Turkey, temporary protection was not a new concept. It was developed by UNHCR as a framework for host countries addressing mass movements of people ‘on a prima facie basis’ with the aim of ensuring protection during the period when the convention might be suspended pending the determination of the cause of the displacement (Edwards, 2012). It allowed the states to deliver humanitarian assistance as per their obligations while avoiding the provision of refugee status.

In Turkey, Temporary Protection Regulation was published in the framework of Article 91 by the decision of the Council of Ministers in October 2014. It provides a legal stay in Turkey and allows access to services, including education, social assistance, psychological support, and access to the labour market. However, this status is not valid in countries other than Turkey, limiting the refugees’ mobility (Çavlin, 2020). While the temporary protection regime is welcomed as a progressive step, it is also regarded as a reflection of the global trend on reduced protection offered to refugees globally (Landau and Achiume, 2017). With the aim of regulating applications and other procedures, DGMM (Presidency of Migration Management (PMM) as of October 2021) was established under the Ministry of Interior on the basis of LFIP. The applications are processed through PMM branches available in all provinces following the pre-registration by the Foreigners’ Police Department. The applicants are expected to submit any available documentation and information on their identities when registering. In the absence of any documentation, the application

⁴⁸ Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management. (n.d.). Temporary Protection in Turkey. Retrieved February 05, 2022, <https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection-in-turkey#:~:text=%E2%80%9CTemporary%20protection%20may%20be%20provided,seeking%20immediate%20and%20temporary%20protection.%E2%80%9D>

is processed based on the testimony of the application. While allowing access to basic services, the temporary protection regime imposes limitations, as well. Although it doesn't entirely prohibit the citizenship possibilities and permanent residency status, it limits their possibility (Rygiel, et al., 2016). In the same article Rygiel et al., criticise the temporary protection regime for increasing Syrians 'insecurity, destitution, and exploitation'. These restrictions aggravate their integration prospects severely. More importantly, it prevents regular employment as work permits of the temporary protection holders are required to be renewed annually. Article 5 explains the limit in duration as follows:

...taking into consideration the situation in the business market, developments in the labour life, sectorial and economic conjuncture changes regarding employment, according to the duration of residence permit of the foreigner and the duration of the service contract or the work, to work in a certain workplace or enterprise and in a certain job.⁴⁹

In addition to the short-term issuance of the permits, the fact that it is the employers who are required to apply for work permits of the employees bares the risk of exploitation as employees depend on the employers for formal employment.

3.7. Legal Framework on Access the Labour Market

Turkey introduced the Law on Work Permits of Foreigners (LWPF) in 2003 as a part of the EU harmonisation steps. However, the LWPF didn't include any provisions on the Syrian refugees' right to work while the international protection applicants, conditional refugees, and the holders of the subsidiary protection status were covered. In January 2016, Turkey issued the Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners under Temporary Protection, outlining Syrian refugees' access to the labour market. On the one and, UNHCR welcomed this development noting that for the first time, a refugee group of this size was granted the right to access the labour market (İçduygu, 2017). It was also welcomed for preventing unfair competition, extreme low wages and poor working conditions while stimulating the local economy (Bidingger, 2015). While

⁴⁹ Official Gazette no. 4817, 27 Feb 2003. By- Law On The Work Permit For Foreigners. Retrieved February 05, 2022, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---ilo_aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms_127497.pdf

on the other hand, it is criticised for serving to prevent mobility towards the EU in return of financial support, easing the visa regulations and revitalising the accession (Zetter, Ruaudel, 2016). At this point, the EU-Turkey deal worth noting down. During the summit held in November 2015, the EU commission included Turkey in the group of 'safe countries of origin' (Heck & Hess, 2017) albeit criticism from human rights organisations and other civil society actors for not referring to the pending cases against Turkey in the European Court of Justice, the increasing risk of refoulement, and the absence of an efficient status determination process. The political turmoil in the aftermath of the July 2015 coup attempt has also raised concerns. Regardless, due to mutual political and economic interest the agreement proceeded. EU-Turkey Deal expected Turkey to strengthen its border control to prevent irregular movements and improve the basic living standards of the Syrians in Turkey for reducing the socio-economic reasons of mobility towards the EU. In return, the EU would support these efforts financially allocating EUR 3 billion through a newly devised instrument called the Facility for Turkey and move the pending negotiations on full membership forward while accelerating on visa liberation process. The cooperation was further strengthened with the EU-Turkey Statement in 2016 amid stronger criticism. The statement serves to facilitate deportation of Syrian refugees who arrived in the Greek islands through Turkey with the exemption of single mothers with children, people with disabilities or chronic illnesses. In the 7th year of the EU-Turkey deal, it the only progress achieved was the reduced number of people crossing the borders.

As per the LFIP, people employed in seasonal agriculture and livestock are exempted from the work permits though they are still required to apply for the exemption. In addition, Syrian refugees are not allowed the undertake the following professions, managers/directors of private hospitals, caregivers at health clinics, dentists, pharmacists, veterinarians, public notaries, lawyers, security guards at a private or public institution, tourist guides, customs consultants, fishermen, divers, sea captains, seamen or similar jobs within territorial waters. Should they want to be employed in health and education sectors, they are allowed to apply for a preliminary permission. After completing their registration procedures and receiving their temporary protection ID cards,

Syrian refugees become eligible for work permits six months later. Today, this condition is rarely an issue in the twelfth year of arrival. The documents needed to apply for a work permit are as follows; (a) the temporary protection ID card (starting with 99), (b) photograph of the applicant; (c) a co-signed labour contract, (d) the e-Government password of the employer; and (e) complementary documents as per request.⁵⁰ Another condition is that the application must be submitted in and for the registered province. In the case where the refugees find a job in another city, they should apply to the Provincial PMM offices with an employment contract and together with their employer. The employer then can apply for a work permit under the condition that the Syrian refugees employed don't exceed the 10 per cent of the citizens employed. This condition could be waived if the employer cannot fill the open positions through İŞKUR's job placement support on a given period. Once applied, the issuance of a work permit can take up to three months.⁵¹ This is believed to be due to the length of security clearance processes, whereas in various meetings, officials from the Directorate-General for International Labour Force (DGILF) of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MoLSS) reported the reasons as incomplete or wrong applications, which endorses the critical role of the support provided by non-governmental actors. In addition to salaried employment, the Syrian refugees are also allowed to start their businesses. According to the figures from 2019, 10.000 Syrian-owned enterprises contributed to the creation of 100.000 new jobs,⁵² while job creation in Turkey remains a structural challenge. They are operational mainly in the wholesale and retail sector (45%) followed by manufacturing (14%) and food and beverages (10%) (UNDP, 2019). However, formalisation among the Syrian enterprises is rather low. While it may result in unfair competition with the local enterprises with tax obligations, it also hinders Syrian-owned ones' access to finance and securing loans.

⁵⁰ UNHCR Turkey. (n.d.). Livelihoods and Economic Inclusion Programmes . Retrieved February 05, 2022, <https://help.unhcr.org/turkey/information-for-syrians/livelihoods/>

⁵¹ based on the testimonies of the employers

⁵² TRT World. (2019, May 14). Syrians have had a positive impact on the Turkish economy. Retrieved February 05, 2022, https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/syrians-have-had-a-positive-impact-on-the-turkish-economy-26640/amp?_twitter_impression=true

As in most legal frameworks, a restrictive approach to the right to work is also observed in Turkey (Zetter, Ruadel, 2016). Although the steps elaborated above reflect international standards, implementation flows remain, resulting in persistent informality and limited access to rights and exploitation. In addition, the need for redesigning the ESSN in a way to incentivize formal employment should be noted down while acknowledging that it requires a similar reform in Turkey's social assistance schemes for which the available funds are presumably low.

3.8. Mapping of the Actors: An overview of the involved Actors

In parallel to the increase in the number of forcibly displaced, the number of registered NGOs in Turkey working with refugees has witnessed a rapid increase (Mackreath and Sagnic, 2017), while the existing ones have started running operations targeting refugees. Although many actors, including scholars and governments, discuss NGOs' role in international aid and development cooperation, its definition is contested. The term NGO was initially used for defining non-uninational organizations (Gounelle, 1996). Following the the UN Charter's acceptance of the term NGOs, they were understood as international organizations, whereas national fractions were indicated with a specific attribute such as 'national NGO' (Martens, 2002). The available literature does not necessarily indicate any distinction between national and international organisations and uses non-governmental organisations for various civil society actors. (Mawlawski, 1993). This study considers the organisations with the five characteristics defined by Salamon and Anheier (1992) as non-governmental organisations. Referred characteristics are as follows:

...organizations (they have an institutional presence and structure), private (they are institutionally separate from the state), not profit distributing (they do not return profits to their managers or to a set of 'owners'), self-governing (they are fundamentally in control of their own affairs), and voluntary (membership in them is not legally required and they attract some level of voluntary contribution of time or money).

Considering the strong presence of the United Nations (UN) agencies and the thesis' focus on the ILO, it is worth noting the differing characteristics of the UN

agencies as intergovernmental organisations (IGOs). While two or more citizens could establish NGOs, the IGOs requires states' involvement and are established by a treaty or other agreements that act as charters creating the group. The UN and its agencies are the most known IGOs. Still, the UN itself also refers to itself as an international organisation⁵³. Therefore, the study uses these terms interchangeably.

In responding to the refugee influx, all these actors have taken up different responsibilities and cooperated at different levels. In the early years of the Syria crisis, NGOs started their operations focusing on cross-border assistance, first by informal groups in Syria and by 2012 with the involvement of international organisations (Els et al., 2016). As the number of actors and the types of interventions have diversified, coordination efforts gained importance in parallel. These efforts, which require specialised human resources and funding, was led by various NGOs until the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) was established in Turkey in 2013. As the initial interventions were focused on covering the immediate needs in Syria, the NGOs have placed themselves in South-eastern Turkey to coordinate their cross-border operations. With the increased number of Syrian refugees in Turkey and the increasing focus on supporting resilience building, coordination structures have also been established within Turkey.

As Geiger and Pécoud (2014) discuss, non-governmental organisations have gradually gained more significance in the migration management context since the end of the Cold War. According to the figures announced by the Ministry of the Interior, the Directorate General for Relations with Civil Society (DGRCO), there are 132⁵⁴ non-governmental organisations with headquarters abroad with authorisation to work in Turkey. Of these, roughly 30 run direct or indirect interventions (in-country or cross-border) targeting displaced Syrians. It should be noted that the DGRCO does not differentiate faith-based organisations from others in the published list. Additionally, actors such as IFRC, due to its unique

⁵³ United Nations. (n.d.). About Us. Retrieved October 28, 2021, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us>

⁵⁴ T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı, Sivil Toplumla İlişkiler Genel Müdürlüğü. (n.d.). Yabancı STK'lara İlişkin İstatistikler. Retrieved October 28, 2021, <https://www.siviltoplum.gov.tr/yabanci-stklara-iliskin-istatistikler>

status as auxiliaries⁵⁵ and the German Development Agency (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH, known as GIZ) , as it is a development agency, are not listed. Non-governmental organisations at the national level are estimated to be around 122.000⁵⁶, according to the DGRCO figures. More than 50 NGOs are working with the Syrian refugees, as reported by the Müşterek Project⁵⁷. Parallel to the sector working groups chaired by the UN agencies⁵⁸, the services provided by the NGOs could be grouped as follows, basic needs, protection, food security and agriculture, education, health, and livelihoods.

In addition to the government institutions and the NGOs, almost all UN entities in Turkey work with Syrian refugees, directly or indirectly. The first response to the Syria crisis by the UN was the Regional Response Plan prepared by the UNHCR 'to address the needs for protection and assistance of refugees fleeing from the Syrian Arab Republic into Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and Iraq' (UN, 2012). Focused on covering the immediate humanitarian needs, the regional plan was built on three objectives that could be summarised as: (i) ensuring safe pathways for Syrians to neighbouring safe countries, (ii) covering the basic needs of the displaced, (iii) preparing a contingency plan for the mass influx. Following the regional response programme, the international community, with the co-leadership of UNHCR and UNDP, has adopted a new strategy to address the issues confronting countries that are hosting Syrian refugees. The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) was introduced in 2015, combining humanitarian needs with long-term development goals. The 3RP pays due attention to building resilience and defines it as 'the ability of individuals, households, communities, and societies to withstand shocks and stresses,

⁵⁵ IFRC. (n.d.). The auxiliary role. Retrieved October 28, 2021, <https://www.ifrc.org/auxiliary-role>

⁵⁶ T.C. İçişleri Bakanlığı Sivil Toplumla İlişkiler Genel Müdürlüğü. (n.d.). Derneklerin Faaliyet Alanlarına Göre Dağılımı. Retrieved October 28, 2021, <https://www.siviltoplum.gov.tr/derneklerin-faaliyet-alanlarına-göre-dağılımı>

⁵⁷ Bir İZ Derneği Müşterek Proje Ofisi. (n.d.). Online Harita | Müşterek Proje. Retrieved October 28, 2021, <http://www.musterekproje.org/online-harita/>

⁵⁸ Inter-Agency Coordination Turkey. (n.d.). Turkey Inter-Agency Information Hub. Retrieved October 28, 2021, <http://www.refugeeinfoturkey.org/>

recover from such stresses, and work with national and local government institutions to achieve transformational change for sustainability'.⁵⁹ It is built on two components: (i) the refugee component addressing the humanitarian needs and (ii) the resilience component with a long-term focus. The role of the Global Compact on Refugees⁶⁰ (GCR), affirmed by the UN General Assembly in 2018, should also be noted. The GCR advocates for a responsibility-sharing principle among the states while addressing the large refugee movements. It aims to introduce a comprehensive framework as an operational tool to strengthen coordination efforts (Kale, Erdoğan, 2019).

The volume of urban refugees, particularly in metropolitan areas, has also strained municipal services, from waste management to public transportation and housing. Therefore, municipalities have mobilised resources to respond to Syrian refugees' immediate needs in addition to the UN Agencies and NGOs. Brandt and Earle (2018) highlight that the local authorities play a key role in coordination and better-targeted delivery of the services. Although they operate in a vague policy framework that doesn't attain them a clear role, they were obliged to broaden their conventional responsibilities and extend their services to cover education, employment services, shelter provision other services. In cooperation with international actors, they have also started focusing on social cohesion through cultural activities and provide skills development programmes, including Turkish language courses.

As detailed above actors involved in delivering services to Syrian refugees are quite diverse, resulting from the influx's scale and complexity. While existing coordination efforts are welcomed, improvements required to increase the efficacy of the services should be noted down.

⁵⁹ 3RPSyria. (n.d.). An introduction to The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP). Retrieved January 28, 2022, https://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/3RP_brochure_jun2021.pdf

⁶⁰ The Global Compact on Refugees Digital platform. (n.d.). The Global Compact on Refugees. Retrieved January 28, 2022, <https://globalcompactrefugees.org/article/global-compact-refugees>

CHAPTER 4

ILO'S REFUGEE RESPONSE PROGRAMME IN TURKEY

Building on the literature review, the normative and the contextual frameworks, and the country-specific dynamics given above, this chapter presents the analysis of the ALMPs implemented and supported by the ILO in Turkey. The analysis is built on the inputs provided by the key informants and the researcher's field experiences. In addition, the findings are complemented by the literature and policy review including the evaluation reports of the project implemented under the Refugee Response Programme.

4.1. Structure of the Analysis

This chapter is shaped by the literature and policy review that includes the evaluation reports published in the ILO's global evaluation platform,⁶¹ the researcher's experiences and most prominently, the inputs provided by the key informants presented in Table 1 below⁶². The respondents are selected in relation to their experiences on the ALMPs, the duration of their involvement in the Refugee Response Programme, and to reflect the balance between the themes of analysis, including the labour supply, the demands and the labour market governance aspects. Of the ten informants, the years of experience in the ILO's Refugee Response Programme are as follows: (a) three over seven, (b) four over four, (c) two over three and (d) one with over two years of experience. Gender balanced is ensured through involving five females and five male key informants. To provide a sample reflecting the number of the managerial and expert level officials, three managerial and seven technical level informants are selected. The interviews took place between December 2021

⁶¹ ILO. (n.d.). i-eval Discovery. Retrieved March 10, 2022, <https://www.ilo.org/ievaldiscovery/#aau58cu>

⁶² The sources of the quotes provided in the analysis as per the key informants given below are not provided to protect the identity of the key informants and abide by the confidentiality principle.

and February 2022. Upon the approval of the Director, the informants were reached via e-mail and phone calls.

Table 1. Data collection through semi-structured interviews with key informants

Key Informants	Selection Criterion 1: Area of Expertise	Selection Criterion 2: Position in the Refugee Response Programme	Data Collection Period (month)
KI1	the labour supply, the labour market governance, partnerships	Mid-level Manager	January'22
KI2	coordination, the labour supply aspect, outreach strategies, partnership	Expert	December'21
KI3	coordination, normative framework, the demand aspect	Mid-level Manager	January'22
KI4	outreach strategies, coordination, the demand aspect	Expert	February'22
KI5	normative framework, coordination, partnership	Senior Manager	January'22
KI6	the demand aspect, partnerships	Expert	January'22
KI7	the labour market governance, coordination	Expert	December'21
KI8	the labour market governance, the demand aspect, outreach strategies	Expert	January'22
KI9	the labour supply aspect, outreach strategies, partnership	Expert	January'22
KI10	the labour supply aspect, outreach strategies, partnerships	Expert	January'22

When analysing how the ALMPs are designed, delivered and supported for facilitating refugees' access to the labour market, four analysis sections; (i) the labour supply aspect, (ii) the demand aspect, (iii) the labour market governance aspect and (iv) cross-cutting challenges and limitations, are identified in line with the initial findings of the literature review. The literature review presented in the second chapter revealed the necessity for analysing each theme separately while underlining their interrelatedness and complementarity. This approach enabled the researcher to identify how ALMPs are designed, challenges faced and areas for improvement for easier access to the labour market. The labour supply aspect analyses the ALMP measures addressing the needs of the individuals such as vocational training or job counselling, while the demand aspect focuses on the measures designed to provide support at enterprise level, such as the wage-subsidies. Within the labour market governance section, the needs of the public institutions involved in the labour market governance and the identified needs for revisions or improvements in the legislation are elaborated. Finally, the cross-cutting challenges affecting on three themes are discussed in a separate section in 4.2.2.4.

4.2. ILO's Refugee Response Programme in Turkey

ILO has been active in Turkey for decades working mainly on women's labour force participation, youth employment, strengthening social dialogue, and eliminating worst forms of child labour. Its interventions targeting refugees have started with Syrian refugees in 2015, coinciding with the development of the 3RP, which is described as follows:

a strategic, coordination, planning, advocacy, fundraising, and programming platform for humanitarian and development partners to respond to the Syria crisis, comprising one regional plan, with five standalone country chapters covering Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt.⁶³

Prior to its refugee response programme, which is funded by different government donors (Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, the

⁶³ 3RPSyria. (n.d.). In Response to Syria Crisis Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan. Retrieved March 10, 2022, <https://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/>

European Union and the German Development Bank) and carried out in cooperation with a variety of partners, ILO implemented a small-scale project focused on Gaziantep, Kilis and Şanlıurfa, utilising its Regular Budget Supplementary Account,⁶⁴ which can be summarised as ILO's own resources raised through voluntary contributions. These funding scheme could be defined as un-earmarked core funding provided by the governments that the organisations can decide how and where to use. In both humanitarian and development contexts, they play a critical role in enabling early responses and underpinning resource mobilisation efforts. Therefore, they are also commonly referred to as seed funds. Three of the key informants presented the aim of the seed-funded pilot as exploring project intervention modalities while understanding the needs of the Syrian refugees and the local actors in responding to the crisis. As a first step, a skills profiling assessment was conducted to map the skills of the refugees that were mainly residing in camps and correspondingly identify the potential employment opportunities. Skills profiling studies can be summarised as identification tools for analysing the skills required for the available jobs, the existing skills sets and the experiences of the targeted groups as well as the skills gaps. Such studies are conducted to meet the information deficit on the target groups, serves as a critical basis for planning ALMPs. However, it was not possible to conduct a skills profiling study as intended. A key informant summarised the underlying reasons as below;

'Due to data collection limitations, the data we have collected served as a situation analysis rather than a full-fledged skills profiling assessment.'

Still, the study focusing on the in-camp refugees revealed that in contrast to the assumption of being part of an agricultural society, the refugees were mainly public servants residing in urban settings of Syria, with low education levels (mostly primary school graduates) and limited skills. These findings still bare critical importance as even today, in the 12th year of the Syrian refugees' arrival, there is still no structured information on the skills profiles of the refugees, resulting in deepened skills mismatch and underemployment.

⁶⁴ ILO. (n.d.) Regular Budget Supplementary Account. Retrieved March 10, 2022.

Building on the experience gained through the project given above, the ILO Office for Turkey, in cooperation with its social partners, developed a five-year (2017-2021) programme of support aimed at 'strengthening the labour market and business development environment through the stimulation of decent work opportunities, inclusive socio-economic growth and the reinforcement of governance systems and structures.'⁶⁵ In line with its area of expertise and the international labour standards, a Refugee Response Programme was built on the principle of ensuring access to decent work for all, both for host communities and the refugees. The Refugee Response Programme has three integrated pillars that could be summarised as (a) investing in a skilled and competent labour supply, (b) stimulating job creation and entrepreneurship opportunities, and (c) strengthening labour market governance institutions and mechanisms. When the underlying reasons for a three-pillared strategy were asked, most informants (7) referenced the ILO's Guiding Principles on the Access of Refugees and Other Forcibly Displaced Persons to the Labour Markets, which the Turkey Office has provided input. The thesis interprets these references as a positive indication of the normative frameworks' influence at the field level, as connections between similar advocacy tools, strategy documents, and the implementation of ALMPs is challenging to maintain. Considering that the main issue refugees face is not lack of jobs, but lack of formal jobs with working conditions respecting the labour law and wages sufficient for pursuing a decent life, paying due attention to promoting the normative framework is essential.

4.2.1. The Implementation Approach and Partnerships

Due to its tripartite approach, ILO closely cooperates with its social partners also within the Refugee Response Programme. The MoLSS, its directorates including DGILF and Directorate General of Labour, MoNE, İŞKUR, Social Security Institution (SSI) and PMM are among the key government partners. The Government of Turkey's high level of engagement presents unique opportunities to help refugees access decent work in Turkey. On the other hand, the inclination to centralise power challenges the international organisations'

⁶⁵ Taken from the Programme of Support Document

autonomy. The line ministries' quest for centralisation risks timely delivery and reflection of the experience the international organisations bring.

In addition to the public authorities, ILO considers trade unions and employer organisations as critical partners. Overall, both organisation groups' contact and communication with the refugees is limited though they have few Syrian members. Although Turkey's labour market has accommodated migrant workers since the 1990s, the unions and employer organisations haven't had a policy or strategy for integrating them. While these shortcomings are also related to the structural constraints and the negative political discourse, especially for the trade unions, starting from the confederation level to the branches, it is high time to develop strategies to integrate refugee and migrant workers. Such strategies are essential for (i) preventing negative public opinion that deepens the risk of discrimination and marginalisation, (ii) fighting against informality that both the host and refugee workers suffer from, (iii) preventing exploitation and risk of forced labour. At this point, considering the added value of adopting a Marxian class theory, which defines an individual's position within a class hierarchy by their involvement in the production process rather than ethnicity or nationality, would offer solutions. However, taking the current political discourse, the study doesn't expect a change in the short-term. In comparison to the trade unions, employer organisations, Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Craftsmen (TESK) to be more specific, has achieved relatively more in integrating refugee owned enterprises. The analysis has shown that ILO continues to make considerable endeavours to involve these social partners in the refugee response programmes. The South-South and Triangular Cooperation (SSTC) initiatives detailed under 4.2.2.3., serve as a good platform for bringing social partners from different regions together and promoting their involvement.

Presence in the field, in other words, having staff in the provinces where ALMPs are organised, emerges as another important parameter. While other UN Agencies such as UNHCR and IOM have field offices in different regions (predominantly in Gaziantep, Urfa and İstanbul) with dedicated field staff for monitoring, ILO relies on its implementing partners and regular monitoring visits, indicating a relatively weaker organisation at the field level, while all key

informants have highlighted the importance of a strong field presence. One key informant outlined the criticality as below;

‘Field presence is quite essential for better analysis of the needs and the structural constraints as they may deviate or have a varying impact in different regions’

As complemented with the KIIs, a well-founded field structure is critical for more informed delivery of the ALMPs. Likewise, designing tailor-made interventions responding to the local dynamics is more efficient. In addition, a strong field presence allows more robust communication with the beneficiaries increasing accountability to the affected populations. In the early years of the Refugee Response Programme, chambers of industries and the chambers of merchants and artisans, along with local nongovernmental organisations (fewer in comparison to the chambers), have constituted most of the ILO’s implementing partners, especially for skills development and job placement interventions. Based on the data collected, the underlying reasons for cooperating with chambers could be summarised as their ability to identify the labour market needs and open positions at the sectoral level and the capacity for job placement through their membership base, comprising small and medium-size enterprises (SMEs). However, chambers’ efficiency is mostly evaluated as remaining below expectations due to several constraints. While structural limitations impacting their efficiency are discussed throughout the thesis, the other prominent reasons that affects all the partnership modalities could be listed as follows:

- the obligation to use the official MoNE lifelong learning curricula for the vocational training courses, which is considered outdated and criticised for not offering the skills required in the labour market,
- lengthy work permit processes and its bureaucratic hurdles,
- the prevalent informality and,
- the ESSN assistance disincentivizing the refugees to work formally.

In addition to the listed external factors, ILO’s reporting requirements also challenge the partners with limited experience in reporting standards and

financial management of international funds. Furthermore, job placement expectations of the ILO arise as another internal challenge. Within a short implementation duration, the partners are expected to complete the delivery of training courses and support the successful trainees with job placement. While job placement (or retention) is the goal of all ALMPs, allocating sufficient time for the training and job matching and placement support without compromising the quality is essential for ensuring sustainable outcomes. For instance, at least three months should be allocated for the work permit application process. Finally, having limited time to provide capacity building support to the local implementing partners and increase their familiarity with the international resource management is another issue ILO can address.

As given above, ILO implements ALMPs through its implementing partners. While composed of chambers and local NGOs at the initial stages, ILO's partnership portfolio has diversified over time through cooperation with municipalities, private employment agencies, and cooperatives as social enterprises.

While sustainability has been a significant challenge with any implementing partner, according to the key informants, the local authorities have offered more sustainability and continued services by allocating in kind or cash contributions. What is meant by sustainability is the continuation of the services (at least to a certain extent) following the end of ILO's technical and financial support.

At this point, it is worth noting the municipalities' role in addressing the refugees' needs. In addition to the support coordinated by the Government of Turkey at the national level through a comprehensive legal framework, local authorities have also put forward efforts as the large influx has an immediate impact on their services. In the absence of a policy framework attaining them a clear role and allocating financial resources that count refugees as service recipients, municipalities were obliged to broaden their conventional responsibilities and extend their services to cover education, employment services, shelter provision, and other needs. Many of these municipalities have put forward innovative solutions to accommodate refugees by offering Turkish language

courses, various support programmes and enabling some Syrian refugees to operate their own businesses. In terms of cooperation established with municipalities, the partnerships established with Adana and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipalities are listed as good examples by the respondents for the following reasons. In the case of Adana Metropolitan Municipality (ABB), the involving support for cooperatives in the partnership and ABB's land allocation to the cooperatives for agricultural production stand out as a good practice as cooperatives are gaining more attention, especially in ensuring women's access to employment. When it comes to the partnership with İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IBB) the support provided to private employment agencies (detailed under 4.2.1.2) within the scope localisation of employment services stand out. These two examples are detailed further in the two following sub-sections.

4.2.1.1. Cooperation with Municipalities and the Cooperatives

The cooperation with Adana Metropolitan Municipality focused on agricultural production and supporting women cooperatives. While ILO has provided necessary technical, financial and equipment support for the delivery of vocational training courses in several fields and guided the establishment of the Meryem Women Cooperative⁶⁶, ABB has allocated farmlands and promoted the cooperative in its relevant procurement process. Two years after completing the implementation agreement between the ILO and ABB, the cooperative continues to operate successfully. At this point, the underlying reasons for the growing focus on the cooperatives should be elaborated. While the ALMPs motivated by 'welfare not development concerns' are criticised for offering temporary or part-time employment to women (Mehra, 1997), the cooperatives are seen as alternative modalities for engaging women in economically productive work and generating income. Their criticality increases in contexts where traditional gender roles restrict women's labour force participation, as in the case of Syrian women, as cooperatives allow more flexible working hours and increase ownership through their democratic governance. ILO's work

⁶⁶ Meryem Women Cooperative. (n.d.). Who Are We. Retrieved March 10, 2022, <http://meryemcoop.com/en/kurumsal/who-are-we>

around the cooperatives is summarised as ‘an alternative for re-balancing the economic, social as well as environmental challenges while ensuring access to decent work’ (ILO, 2021b). A key informant presented ILO’s perspective as follows,

‘positioning refugees as active agents, cooperatives work for refugees, with refugees’.

While offering income generation and flexible working hours, which is an added value for people with the duty of care, they also support social cohesion and integration through democratic management schemes, responsibility-sharing and through contributing to increasing self-confidence among vulnerable groups.

Nevertheless, cooperatives also face challenges in ensuring sustainability or making access to them difficult. Lack of awareness of cooperatives and how they function could be listed as one of the obstacles. While the number of cooperatives in what we may call non-traditional sectors (such as information technologies⁶⁷ or consultancy and research⁶⁸) are increasing, awareness among the fragile groups is somewhat limited. As a result, as in the case of Sada Women Cooperative, they can be established under the technical guidance of international actors. Sada was established as the first cooperative with refugee partners in 2019, in Gaziantep, through joint efforts of the ILO, UN Women and ASAM. Sada is involved in what we may call the traditional sectors, producing home textile products and foods and beverages. Although Sada, founded by Turkish, Syrian and Afghan women, accomplished a lot in a short time and was shortlisted by the Paris Peace Forum among the ten exemplary initiatives⁶⁹, they have struggled to sustain themselves once the external funding support has ended. Such financial struggles are listed as common issue women

⁶⁷ Albatros Bilişim Kooperatifi Girişimi. (n.d.). Bilişim İçin Dayanışma. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://albatroskoop.com/>

⁶⁸ Genç İşçi Kooperatif. (n.d.). Birlikten Kuvvet Doğar. Retrieved March 10, 2022, respectively from <https://gencisi.org/> and Yerküre Yerel Çalışma Kooperatifi. (n.d.). Hakkımızda. Retrieved March 10, 2022, respectively from <https://gencisi.org/>

⁶⁹ ILO. (n.d.). SADA Women’s Cooperative among top 10 projects at Paris Peace Forum!. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, https://www.ilo.org/ankara/news/WCMS_730932/lang--en/index.htm

cooperatives face by Özdemir (2013). Therefore, ILO experts working on the cooperatives highlighted the importance of grassroots and ongoing initiatives. A key informant summarised their importance as below;

'For any organisation or initiative aspiring to strengthen cooperatives, the ideal scenario would be to support existing cooperative initiatives or provide capacity-building support to the established ones, in conducting market assessments, e-commerce, and financial management to ensure sustainability and business continuity.

As also mentioned by Hatipoğlu (2021), by doing so, these social business models can support women's economic and social empowerment.

4.2.1.2. Cooperation with Municipalities and Private Employment Agencies

Another example of successful cooperation with local authorities is listed as the cooperation with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Key informants outlined the scope of the cooperation between the ILO and IBB as ensuring access to decent work opportunities through skills development, strengthening the delivery of employment services and building capacities of the women cooperatives. By most of the informants (8), the cooperation is defined as a good practice for two outstanding features; (a) extending the services provided by the private employment agencies (PEAs) beyond sub-contracting and temporary employment relations and (b) supporting the localisation of employment services.

The ILO Convention No.181 on private employment agencies⁷⁰ defined them as 'enterprises or persons, independent of the public authorities, which provide one or more of the following labour market services:

- support for applying for jobs and job matching;
- services for employing workers to make them available to a third party (referred to as sub-contracting) and,
- other services such as the provision of information, that do not aim to match specific employment offers and applications.

⁷⁰ The C181 is not ratified by Turkey.

The practice of PEAs, put in effect in October 2016 with the Regulation on PEAs as complementary to flexible working provisions introduced by Law No 9715, is a controversial issue in Turkey as its scope is boxed up in temporary employment relations due to its profitability. They are criticised for paving the way for more flexibility and more precarity. Pointing to the socio-political aspect of the labour markets, Juliawan (2010), criticises these agencies for ignoring the workers' need for socially and politically acceptable outcomes from the employment relations and commodifying the labour force. The private employment agencies are also criticised for reducing labour costs at the expense of access to social protection. In the context of migration, PEAs emerge as organisers of labour migration as in the case of Uzbekistan (Musaev, 2021). Attesting to the narrow scope of work described above, one of the key informants reported that although ILO has taken the initiative to activate leading private employment agencies in supporting vulnerable groups' access to the labour market, there was almost no interest. However, the thesis argues that as in the case of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipalities' Regional Employment Offices (REOs), which are accredited private employment agencies, PEAs can be instrumental in localising employment services (job and vocational counselling, job placement and matching etc.) and offering a solution to the workload of the İŞKUR. While they are legally defined as private employment agencies, IBB summarises them as parts of an economic and social project addressing the unemployment problem in Istanbul by bringing job seekers and employers together.⁷¹ Another reason for the thesis to consider REOs a good example is that they extend ALMPs falling under their scope to the refugee communities though the increasing negative political reaction. In brief, the legislation allowing delivery of employment services by non-state actors can be utilised for non-profit purposes and be utilised in facilitating Syrian refugees' access the labour market. There are also other good practices of PEAs complementing the position the thesis puts forward, such as the efforts of United Work Reintegration and Placement Services (known as United Work⁷²) in providing employment services to the refugees. It also presents a unique case, as it was

⁷¹ Bölgesel İstihdam Ofisi. (n.d.). Hakkımızda. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://bio.ibb.istanbul/about-us>

⁷² United Work. (n.d.). Anasayfa. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://unitedwork.com.tr/tr/>

established with funding from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a non-profit organisation aiming to support Syrian refugees' labour market integration. To be able to deliver employment agencies as per the Turkish law, they received accreditation from İŞKUR and became an accredited private employment agency. In contrast to the traditional PEAs, their financing is not based on jobseeker or employer fees but on development funds.

The data collected and the field experiences point out the heavy caseload of the job and vocational counsellors of İŞKUR compared to the European standards, making it challenging to provide effective counselling and monitoring services or even access to these services impossible for many. It is also plausible to conclude that the capacity of İŞKUR is stretched out parallel to the high unemployment and increasing NEET rates. A youth employment assessment of the ILO (2021a) complements this finding: most NEETs (among the refugees and the hosts) do not participate in skills development offered or guided by İŞKUR. They are not registered with İSKUR because they do not consider it effective. In addition, It is also observed that hosts and refugees assume İŞKUR to cover unskilled, blue-collar jobs. Acknowledging the challenges arising from the structural constraints and the critiques, as in the case of REOs in İstanbul, this study asserts that private employment agencies that are not-for-profit can add value in addressing unemployment, ensuring a better fit between the activation programmes and the beneficiaries, and facilitating access to the labour market. It also puts forward that localisation of employment services may offer solutions to skills mismatch, support for the school to work transition and facilitate access to employment, especially for youth and women.

4.2.2. The ALMP Measures of the Refugee Response Programme

As also mentioned in 1.2., the refugee response programme is built on three integrated pillars focusing on the labour supply, demand aspect and the labour market governance dynamics. Reflecting the data collected through KIIs and the researcher's own inputs, the three sections below provide a detailed analysis of the ALMPs following the categorisation of the refugee response programme. In addition, the cross-cutting challenges are discussed in another section.

In addition to the ALMPs, ILO in Turkey also implements programmes that may not directly fall under the ALMP category but are positioned as complementary. Among these complementary programmes the Basic Labour Market Skills Training, the Workplace Adaptation Programme stand out as the most substantial interventions. Although they have different approaches and target different groups, their aim could be summarised as facilitating access to employment and supporting job retention while increasing awareness on the core labour rights, contributing to a peaceful working environment and building rapport among the workers. These programmes also contribute to social cohesion, whose importance is increasing in parallel to the escalating polarisation.

4.2.2.1. The Labour Supply Aspect

The ALMPs of the first pillar focus on building a skilled labour supply and consist of the follow programmes;

- Turkish language courses,
- vocational training courses (including upskilling and reskilling programmes),
- work-based learning programmes such as on-the-job training schemes,
- support for recognition of prior learning,
- job and vocational counselling services, and,
- programmes for increasing basic labour market skills and facilitating access to core labour rights and support workplace adaptation.

When evaluation reports (ILO Evaluation, 2019a; ILO Evaluation, 2019b; ILO Evaluation, 2015) are analysed, it is seen that the vocational training courses, preceded by the Turkish language courses (mostly in A1 and A2 levels), constituted a significant part of the Refugee Response Programme in its early years to address the language barrier. A phase out trend is seen in the implementation of the vocational training programmes in later years, or they are complemented with work-based learning schemes. The key informants listed the limited and outdated curricula of the lifelong learning system as one of the

primary reasons why. Available in the online platform for public education⁷³, there are almost 4000 training modules available covering a large variety of sectors. At the beginning it is seen that, ILO guided its implementing partners to follow the lifelong learning curricula or take it as the minimum basis. The thesis assumes that the underlying reasons for this approach is to support refugees' access to a nationally recognised certification and to avoid building a parallel system to the national training schemes. However, key informants reported that, to address the negative feedback from the implementing partners and the low job placement rates, especially in the industry and manufacturing sectors, more flexibility was offered to the implementing partners to offer their own curricula. While researcher would expect ILO to put more efforts on improving the national curricula instead of offering more flexibility to the partners, it is plausible to conclude that the lengthy revision processes would not have been possible within the short project implementation durations.

In terms of the quality of the training offered by the implementing partners, the Education Foundation of the Bursa Chamber of Commerce and Industry⁷⁴ and Training Centre of the Gaziantep Chamber of Industry⁷⁵ are given as good practices by three key informants, for offering vocational training content that meets the sectors' skills expectations with up-to-date equipment. However, though the curricula and the training materials are sufficient for adequately investing in skills development, issues such as the language barriers, the difficulty in outreach and short implementation cycles create challenges to the employment prospects for refugees. An implementation cycle could be defined as the period during which the partners are expected to (a) identify sectors that offer job potentials for the target groups, (b) reach out to right beneficiaries with more suitable skills and experiences through outreach campaigns, (c) deliver a thorough vocational training and equip them with basic language skills and (d)

⁷³ E-Yaygın MEB. (n.d.). Kurs Programları. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://e-yaygin.meb.gov.tr/pagePrograms.aspx>

⁷⁴ BUTGEM - Bursa Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Eğitim Vakfı. (n.d.). Anasayfa. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://www.butgem.org.tr/index.php>

⁷⁵ Gaziantep Chamber Of Industry Vocational Training Center. (n.d.). Current Trainings. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://www.gsomem.com.tr/en/index.html>

facilitate job placement including the work permit processes. These cross-cutting challenges are discussed under 4.3.2.4. in detail.

In addition to skills development through vocational training courses, ILO has also invested in job retention through reskilling and upskilling. In cooperation with Kodluyoruz Association,⁷⁶ an upskilling course on artificial intelligence in the customer services call was piloted. Offering training on fundamental artificial intelligence skills to keep their skills up to date with technological advancement, a key informant defined it as a unique case for focusing on employed groups and serving as an unemployment prevention measure. The same informant also noted that due to COVID-19's impact on employment, an impact assessment on the job retention rates was not possible though planned. Such interventions focusing on working groups align with the entitlement to lifelong learning principle, which ILO defines as below:

A lifelong learning entitlement (LLLE) means that every citizen has an entitlement to learning opportunities enshrined in law or in their country's constitution, and those opportunities can be accessed at any time in their life. While few countries have managed to develop and implement such a mature system, many recognize its value and have stated their aim to do so. (ILO & UNESCO, 2019)

The researcher notes this investment as an example of the activation turn of the welfare states as reskilling or upskilling supports help remaining active in the labour market and correspondingly reducing the need for passive measures in the case of unemployment.

As given above, work-based learning schemes are introduced to complement the vocational training courses and to address their shortcomings. A key informant noted that, to avoid parallel systems to the national programmes, whose sustainability depends on external funding, ILO has taken İŞKUR's on-the-job training (OJT) programmes as a basis for its programming. Researcher considers this input as an alignment to ILO's tripartism that emphasise complementary actions to the governments' and other social partners' efforts.

⁷⁶ Kodluyoruz. (n.d.). Anasayfa. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://www.kodluyoruz.org/>

Before further analysis of the work-based learning opportunities, it is worth focusing on the OJT programmes in Turkey.

The OJT programmes were launched in 2013 in parallel to the EU harmonisation process to support the İŞKUR registered unemployed through work experience and theoretical training. A daily cash allowance (the equivalent of net minimum wage for the unemployed with no unemployment insurance) complemented with insurance for occupational accidents and professional diseases, general health insurance premium and childcare top-ups for women in the industry sector was provided to the beneficiaries. Following the OJT, as per the agreement with İŞKUR, the enterprises were legally expected to hire at least 50 per cent of OJT trainees for a period not less than the 60 days and for at least twice longer than the OJT period, defined as a 'compulsory employment period'. The OJTs were implemented in Turkey until late 2021. The available literature on the OJT programmes (Servet, 2017; Özdemir & Yigit, 2018; Çafıođlu, 2021; Geyik & Altındađ, 2019; Kasapođlu & Murat, 2018) points to the following shortcomings;

- resulting in cheap and precarious labour with no social protection and right to severance funding the OJT from the unemployment fund,
- failing to fit the purpose of the fund, limited monitoring and inspection mechanisms to determine misuse,
- the lack of data on the sustainability after the compulsory employment duration.

In addition to these, failure to ensure sustainable employment led to negative impacts on mental health and well-being, especially among the young. At this point, it is worthy to note the strong correlation between mental health and unemployment as highlighted in the Youth & COVID-19 Report of the ILO (2020c). What could be noted as an indication of acknowledgement of these obstacles, İŞKUR suspended its OJT programmes in October 2021 for a reform process. The revised OJT scheme and the regulations have been announced in

the official gazette on 8 April 2022.⁷⁷ According to the updates, (a) expected employment commitment was raised to at least 70 per cent of the OJT trainees, (b) personnel requirement sought in workplaces has been increased from 2 to 5 people, (c) quotas for OJT beneficiaries in proportion with the total number of employees in the workplaces are introduced, (d) compulsory employment period has been raised to at least 120 days and for at least three times the actual training days, (f) beneficiaries will be able to benefit from the OJT up to three times. While these reforms are positive, to what degree they offer solutions to limitations listed are questionable.

In line with its principle to follow the national schemes and cooperate with the social partners, ILO's work-based learning programme was initially designed to be implemented in cooperation with İŞKUR and to contribute to the efforts of integrating refugees into the OJT programme through the World Bank support. However, ILO proceeded with its own work-based learning (WBL) schemes for several reasons. The thesis assumes that the pressure on ILO to start implementing fast to meet the set targets within the project duration to be an obstacle. Here, too, the short project cycles emerge as an obstacle. A short cycle refers to the complete implementation period, from planning to the reporting phases. In addition, contradicting with the national schemes that required employment for the 50 per cent of the OJT beneficiaries, İŞKUR proposed to implement a 20 per cent quota for the Syrian refugees, which ILO considered to be too low. The thesis points to the two challenges that other ALMP modalities also encounter: (a) the short project durations and the high indicators pressuring for faster implementation, and (b) the limited capacity of the public institutions in responding to needs of the newly emerging fragile, unemployment groups. The latter point could be argued to highlight the potential relief localisation of employment services may offer.

As mentioned above, key informants highlighted ILO's approach to adopting İŞKUR's OJT scheme to avoid competing systems. However, they also noted several modifications introduced to improve concerns around access to social

⁷⁷ Official Gazette no. 4817, 2003, 27 Feb. Aktif İşgücü Hizmetlerinin Yürütülmesine İlişkin Usul Ve Esaslar Hakkında Yönetmelik. Retrieved February 05, 2022, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/--protrav/---ilo_aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms_127497.pdf

protection and job retention. As a result, a scheme that principally follows İŞKUR's logic has been developed. As training at workplaces⁷⁸ is only possible through İŞKUR, the WBL scheme requires firms to employ the WBL beneficiaries formally. To incentivise the participating enterprises, the programme covers the work permit expenses and the social security premium costs through ILO's transition of formality programme (KİGEP), which is detailed under 4.2.2.2. While the social protection coverage through formal employment is the first variation from İŞKUR's OJT programmes, it also exemplifies a good complementarity between two types of ALMPs: training and employer incentives.

Another variation is the unconditional top-up for women, without sector limitation. While this is generally regarded as a positive improvement, a key informant noted that absence of any analysis specific to Turkey, on the impact of larger amounts of incentives or longer incentive durations on increasing women's access to the labour market, as a shortcoming. Finally, WBL complements the on-the-job training with off-the-job training opportunities that are composed of technical and soft skills introduced under a continuous training scheme. The researcher notes off-the-job training support as a good practice for realising entitlement to lifelong learning. According to the key informant inputs, the assessment of the pilot WBL implementation covering 200 beneficiaries has demonstrated 60 per cent job sustainability. Following the donor standards, the assessment focused on short-to-medium-term sustainability defined with 40 labour days of the employment starting from the end of the incentive scheme. While the WBL scheme offers skills development opportunities and facilitates access to employment, the researcher notes the fact that the risk of exploitation as cheap labour persists. When asked whether there were any preventive measures, a key informant noted regular monitoring visits and delivery of ILO's Workplace Adaptation Programme (WAP), which provides training on core labour rights and how to report violations, of the ILO as compulsory training. While such measures may improve working conditions during the partnership

⁷⁸ Here, the case of apprenticeship education should be noted. The apprenticeship is a part of formal education in Turkey, providing high-school equivalent diploma to the graduates. Therefore it is not considered as an ALMP leaving the OJT as the unique workbased training tool.

with the ILO, ensuring sustainability remains a challenge due to structural constraints; predominantly, informality and limited labour inspections.

In addition to the skills development programmes detailed above, support for recognition of prior learning is also provided as a part of the ALMPs directly investing in the labour supply. While most of the efforts in this context focus on the recognition of formal education, the evaluation reports (ILO Evaluation, 2019a) and the key informant inputs point to ILO's principal focus on the recognition of prior experiences and skills through access to the national vocational qualification. The certification process is coordinated by the Vocational Qualifications Authority (VQA) of MoLSS, which was established in 2006 as part of the EU harmonisation process to strengthen the linkage between education, training, and employment. To extend these services to the refugees and the vulnerable host communities, ILO purchases services from certified accreditation bodies (certified by the VQA) to facilitate access to certification and covers all the expenses. While the key informants define the ideal scenario as complementing all vocational training interventions with access to VQA certification, especially the hazardous and very hazardous occupation categories where certification is compulsory, due to short implementation cycles, it has only been implemented where possible, and referrals are made when faced with time limitations. One key informant marked synergies created with Mahir Eller Project⁷⁹ as successful cooperation within this context. Financed by the EU and implemented by the Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB) and Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), the Mahir Eller Project summaries its goal as increasing the employability of Syrian refugees and the host communities through the certification of existing vocational skills.

As discussed in the second chapter, guidance services constitute one of the most common ALMP measures. They can be instrumental at different stages of the labour integration process. Three key informants also noted that delivering job and counselling services as the first step of any ALMP interventions can

⁷⁹ Mahir eller Projesi. (n.d.). Anasayfa. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://www.mahirellerprojesi.com/en/AnaSayfa?src=main>

increase effectiveness through better matching and more informed referrals. However, as discussed in the second chapter and exemplified through informant inputs, the thesis argue that their efficiency relies on the balance between the employment agencies' labour supply networks, in other words, the pool of jobseekers, and the capacity to identify and be informed of vacancies and job prospects. The criticality of this balance is exemplified by one of the key informants. As the unskilled labour force constitutes the majority of the Syrian refugees, when referred to United Work, job placement rates remained relatively low, as the United Work database was composed of high-skilled jobs even though it is a PEA established to provide employment services to the refugees. At this point the thesis highlights the need for analysing these outcomes by considering the fact that small and medium-sized enterprises employ 99%⁸⁰ of the labour force in Turkey, and they tend to lack the capacity or awareness of cooperating with an employment agency other than İŞKUR. Therefore, as argued above, the localisation of employment services and having them accessible to both employers and job seekers may offer the potential for sustainable solutions.

When discussing the accessibility of the guidance services for the refugees, the efforts of the TRC Community Centres could also be noted. In parallel to the increasing discussions around ensuring ESSN beneficiaries' access to livelihoods opportunities and increasing prospects for graduation from the social assistance schemes, TRC has started investing in increasing its capacity in the livelihoods sector. As a part of these efforts, certified job and vocational counsellors were placed in the community centres delivering employment services. However, while these community centres have solid outreach capacity and high recognition among the refugees, TRC's being a humanitarian aid agency raises questions about the sustainability of the employment services.

Complementary activation programmes such as the Basic Labour Market Training (BLMS) and the Workplace Adaptation Programme are also given place in the analysis. While the goals of both programmes are given as contributing to labour market integration and social cohesion, key informants

⁸⁰ Based on TUIK data

offered a distinction between their target groups. The BLMS focuses on the early entrants and job seekers, aiming to equip them with information on (a) public employment services, (b) work culture in Turkey, (c) basics of the Turkish labour law and fundamental rights, and (d) the basics of the soft skills such as stress management, self-recognition and job-seeking techniques. WAP targets the workers and aims to provide basic information on the core labour rights and how to report possible violations. It also includes sessions on gender equality. WAP entails a pairing system (called *ahbaplık*, translating to strong friendship both in Turkish and Arabic) to encourage peer-level dialogue and eliminate prejudices at the grassroots. This feature could be listed both as an innovative approach and a good practice. The thesis notes the importance of peer learning as it enables interaction at an equal level of communication, not leading to any form of superiority, as might be the case in mentorship schemes. According to three of the informants, WAP has been mainly carried out in the textile sector as it comprises high refugee labour. Concentration on the textile sector is also due to the cooperation with brands like Inditex and H&M, with extensive supply chains in Turkey. This cooperation could be given as good example of a public private partnership, where private sector entities take responsibility in workers' access to training. Based on the analysis and the literature review, the thesis argues that programmes aiming to increase access to core labour rights and workplace adaptation of the hosts and the refugees should ideally be delivered by or in partnership with the trade unions. However, the unions' lack of interest and buy-in challenges it and makes the sustainability of similar interventions confined to the availability of external resources.

4.2.2.2. The Demand Aspect

With a focus on job creation, enterprise development and formalisation, the ALMPs grouped under second pillar of the Programme of Support addresses the needs at the enterprise level.

Complementing the critical role of the SMEs noted above, key informants referenced concentrated efforts on the SMEs as they have constituted, according to TUIK figures, over 99 per cent of all enterprises and 70 per cent of

the total employment in the last two years.⁸¹ Therefore, their role in labour market integration and access to formal employment bears critical importance. Based on the key informant inputs, the steps followed in delivery of ALMPs focusing on the demand aspect could be summarised as follows;

- labour market analysis for assessing the job creation potential at sectoral and local levels, identifying the needs and the local market dynamics,
- delivery of entrepreneurship and capacity building support for new entrepreneurs and existing enterprises,
- providing formalisation support and incentives to SMEs for job creation and retention, and,
- guidance support for the available capacity building services.

The Refugee Response Programme has utilised local economic development analysis followed by value chain analysis as a first step. Their aim is noted as supporting job placement where the labour needs are more acute. A key informant outlined the scope of local economic development analysis as developing community-based decent work opportunities in provinces and districts most impacted by the refugee crisis. These analyses are followed by value chain analysis, which are summarised as assessments for identifying value chains with more potential for integrating the target groups. The same informant detailed the role of the value chain analysis as contributing to the value chain development strategies with practical action points, exploring the existing business linkages and employment opportunities. Another key informant noted the added value of both assessment tools as their focus on the overall ecosystem of the local economies and the selected value chains.

Once the sectoral and regional focuses are identified, the following interventions are designed that aim to support the sustainability of the enterprises and job creation through entrepreneurship: (a) provision of entrepreneurship training and grant programmes, (b) support for existing enterprises through business

⁸¹ TÜİK Kurumsal. (2021, Oct 28). Küçük ve Orta Büyüklükteki Girişim İstatistikleri, 2020. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Kucuk-ve-Orta-Buyuklukteki-Girisim-Istatistikleri-2020-41129> and TÜİK Kurumsal. (2020, Dec 28). Küçük ve Orta Büyüklükteki Girişim İstatistikleri, 2019. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, 2019 figures <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Kucuk-ve-Orta-Buyuklukteki-Girisim-Istatistikleri-2019-37548> (2020 and 2019 figures respectively)

development services, (c) facilitating formalisation and job retention through incentive schemes. According to the calculations based on TUIK Household Survey results, self-employed Syrian refugees constitute 10.6 per cent⁸² of all employed Syrians in Turkey. Sak et al. (2018) list diaspora networks, family support, and, most importantly, previous experience in entrepreneurship as the primary reasons for the relatively high self-employment. In addition to these parameters, barriers to formal employment and heavy working condition and long working hours should be noted as additional reasons why. When forced to flee their homes, refugees may not always be able to transfer their finances while they can carry their skills on entrepreneurship and sector-specific experience (Kaymaz & Kadkoy, 2016). The entrepreneurship is considered as an alternative model, as noted by a key informant, for they support income-generation through self-employment and offers job creation potential. Therefore, the number of actors delivering entrepreneurship support is also high. As they take less time, delivering entrepreneurship training and providing start-up grants are more achievable within the project implementation cycles, in comparison to job placement and ensuring sustainability in full-time employment, at least in the absence of wage subsidies or employment incentives. At the initial years of the Refugee Response Programme, ILO also provided grant programmes and entrepreneurship training following Small and Medium Enterprises Development Organization (KOSGEB) and the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TUBITAK) curricula. The key informants noted the shift in the focus for supporting the established ones for ensuring sustainability. One of the key informants noted that access to TUBITAK grants is rather challenging for the refugees due to application requirements. Considering that the Syrian entrepreneurs are mostly grocery store owners, hairdressers, or similar enterprises (INGEV, 2019), they require more and longer support in access to finance. The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV) study shows that Syrians established more than 10,000 companies in Turkey (TEPAV, 2018). Two key informants indicate that the numbers are higher, possibly reaching 20.000. The research assumes that one of the underlying reasons for the relatively high numbers of Syrian business owners could be the difficulties they face in integrating and adapting to the Turkish labour market. As a result,

⁸² Average value for 2018, 2019 and 2020.

Syrians are more likely to start their own business to generate income through selling or trading products mostly demanded by Syrian customers. This assumption is backed up by the researcher's field observations, which demonstrated the concentration of Syrian-owned SMEs in neighbourhoods where Syrians reside. According to the TEPAV (2018) report, they employ around seven people, of whom 60 per cent are Syrians. Data also shows that Syrian entrepreneurs provide a living for 7 per cent of the Syrians in Turkey. Considering the average Syrian household size (6), 250,000 Syrians indirectly benefit from refugee-driven companies' employment advantages. However, Syrian owned enterprises face multiple difficulties. Based on the key informant inputs, literature review and field experiences, the researcher lists the following issues as the most prominent ones;

- business advisory support,
- access to finance,
- establishing connections with Turkish counterparts,
- integrating with the local supply chains,
- reaching up-to-date market information,
- operating in a Turkish business context, and
- limited formalisation and productivity.

The impact assessment conducted by the ILO (2020d) as a part of the transition to the formalisation programme also revealed the SMEs' need for capacity building support and financial incentives, complementing the findings above. While ILO addresses these issues through interventions detailed in this section, key informants reported difficulties in reaching out to the refugee-owned enterprises. The limited field presence of the ILO and the short project durations are assumed to negatively affect the outreach efforts for reaching out to these enterprises. As chambers, which traditionally provide advisory services to SMEs, remain limited in reaching out to the refugee owned SMEs, NGOs such as the Syrian International Business Association⁸³ have emerged to fill these gaps. The contribution of the social networks of the Syrian refugees is also

⁸³ SIBA TURK. (n.d.). About SIBA Turkey. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://siba.org.tr/en/>

noted as a helpful outreach tool. In addition, the researcher draws attention to the potentially positive contribution of role models among the Syrian communities who have successfully established sustainable enterprises. The last two efforts have been favoured in the evaluation reports (ILO Evaluation, 2019a; ILO Evaluation, 2019b), as well.

As a part of the interventions focusing on the demand aspect, mentorship support and various training courses are also mentioned by the informants. The scope and the aim of the training courses are given as (a) improving their digital literacy, which gained paramount importance for the survival of SMEs from a large variety of sectors, (b) increasing their productivity with a particular focus on the workers' productivity through decent working conditions, (c) crisis management and risk management capacities for business continuity and (d) capacity building on service delivery as well as adaptiveness for changing market dynamics, and new demand and consumer profiles. While these skills are essential for all enterprises, key informants reported difficulties in convincing refugee-owned enterprises run by families to participate in these courses. The thesis proposes that, to address such shortcomings, ILO may offer incentives to cover possible income loss during the time spared for the training as refugee-owned enterprises' primary goal can be to generate income for covering the basic daily needs, making sparing time for long-term investments a challenge.

ILO also offers capacity-building support through its globally recognised tools such as Sustaining Competitive and Responsible Enterprises (SCORE) Programme. SCORE aims to improve productivity and working conditions of the SMEs in national and global supply chains. SCORE has been implemented extensively in the textile sector in cooperation with international brands with supply chains in Turkey. While the SCORE programme is noted as an added value, unless the enterprises invest in it financially and with human resources, which the ILO covers in the initial phases, it is challenging to keep productivity high.

The informal economy comprises more than 90 per cent of SMEs and the global labour force worldwide. According to the World Employment and Social Outlook

Report (ILO, 2021c), more than 61 per cent of the world's employed population make a living in the informal economy, while two billion people live in conflict-affected situations. Referencing these data, key informants provided details on how ILO has designed formalisation support for SMEs cooperating with municipal police departments. A key informant summarised the scope of cooperation as follows: the identified Syrian-owned enterprises with no tax certificates and accredited licences are provided with guidance in obtaining necessary documentation and supported with financial incentives to cover the relevant costs. The aim of these efforts is given as preventing punitive actions and contributing to fair competitiveness between formal and informal enterprises. While these incentives and guidance schemes fight informality, their sustainability in the long run is debatable. Unless long-term guidance is provided, the formalised companies like to face difficulties in accessing to finance and information and remain at risk of ending up in various tax delinquencies such as social security payments.

When the working-age refugee population and their labour force participation rates are compared to the total number of work permits issued (detailed under 3.4.), results indicate an informality rate of over 90 per cent. Advocacy efforts at the policy level in fighting informality might offer solutions. The reduction in informal employment is recognised as part of the Sustainable Development Goals (Target 8.3). ILO Recommendation No. 204 on the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy, The 2002 ILC Resolution and Conclusions on Decent Work and Informal Economy (ILO, 2002) also offer an integrated approach to fight informality. However, the research questions their influence due to the current political environment leaving limited space for the efforts of non-governmental actors, including the UN agencies.

Addressing informality in parallel to policy frameworks given above, Transition to Formalisation (KİGEP) Programme constitutes another element of the ALMPs delivered by the ILO in Turkey. The objective of the programme could be summarised as increasing formal employment among the refugees and the host communities through the incentives provided to employers (ILO, 2020d). ILO has been implementing KİGEP in coordination with SSI for three years. Since

2019, around 17.000 people (50 per cent Syrian refugees, 50 per cent host community members) have been formally employed through KIGEP, entailing 2452 enterprises.⁸⁴ According to the Impact Analysis of the KIGEP (ILO, 2020d), 85 per cent of Syrian workers benefiting from KIGEP, started working formally for the first time. The report also reveals that each TRY 1 spent yielded TRY 5,31 in national income and TRY 1,98 TRY in SSI premium income within approximately one year of programme implementation. Moreover, KIGEP's positive contribution to social cohesion among the workers is noted in the report: 41 per cent of Turkish workers indicated that after starting to work with Syrians, their opinion about working together changed for the better. A key informant provided an alternative interpretation of these achievements:

'While it has a substantial impact, compared to the overall rate of informality in Turkey, 17.000 formalised employees still remain as a spit in the ocean.'

The same informant pointed to the need for complementing such efforts at the macro level and increasing Turkey's labour inspection capacity. Likewise, two other key informants also point to possible sustainability issues when the external funds are not available and the government resources being unlikely to self-fund the programme. While KIGEP has substantial positive achievement, the researcher argues that continuous wage subsidy and incentive programmes bare the risk of resulting in an incentive dependency (or expectation) which could be compared to the critiques on long-term social assistance beneficiaries.

4.2.2.3. The Labour Market Governance Aspect

Focusing on improving and strengthening the labour market governance, ILO supports and implements complementary programmes that facilitates and contribute to the implementation of the ALMPs. These interventions are grouped under the third pillar of the POS. Based on the inputs from three key informants, these interventions' aim could be outlined as complementing ALMPs through strengthening government ownership, addressing structural constraints such as informality to the extent possible, and contributing to the accessibility of the core labour rights. ILO provides targeted support to labour market governance

⁸⁴ The figure covers first half of the March 2022

institutions including compliance and monitoring mechanisms. It also supports the development of pathways for labour market integration of refugees in line with economic, sectoral, and regional priorities. Two of the key informants point to a significant communication and coordination gap between the labour market governance institutions and their systems. One instance exemplifies the possible consequences of such shortcomings. When a work permit application has become successful, and the permit is granted, an employer, especially the SMEs with limited human resources capacity, may automatically assume that she/he has completed the formal employment process. However, following the issuance of the work permit, registration to SSI is compulsory for formal employment. Otherwise results in gaps in social security coverage for the employee and possible SSI premium debt for the employer. From another perspective, employers who are not aware of the work permit regulations may register an employee without a work permit to the SSI system without any notification. In line with this shortcoming, a key informant noted the following;

‘the lack of warning on the renewal requirements as another outcome of the insufficient communication problems. These shortcomings are likely to result in fines for both employers and employees, risking their livelihoods.’

In addition to these issues, the thesis also points to need for improving capacities of the labour governance institutions regarding the legal status and rights of different refugee groups. To bridge these gaps, several key informants noted ILO efforts on bringing relevant actors together to identify the shortcomings of the regulations and reform the work permit system. In addition, a number of capacity building training programmes are delivered to the field staff of the labour market governance institutions. The role of SSI inspections is noted as another important instrument in fighting informality. Therefore, ILO cooperates with the SSI and supports its technical capacity in the provision of guidance to the employers on the formal employment procedures and punitive measures. KÍGEP, detailed above, is noted as complementary to the inspectors’ efforts in this regard, incentivising employers for formal employment. As discussed under 4.3.2.2., while around 17.000 have been formally employed through KÍGEP since 2019, the researcher questions whether the funds allocated to incentives targeting employers is the most effective approach.

Whether investing funds allocated for KIGEP to the capacity building of the SSI (through improving their logistical capacity, for instance) or launching a nationwide campaign to fight informality would achieve higher results remain a question. Even done so, the thesis argues that as donors favour direct investments in people, such incentives schemes are likely to continue regardless of the risk of contributing to an employer incentive dependency as noted above. Moreover, how much the government policy favours the fight against informality remain as a question.

In addition to support for formalisation, efforts to improve access to justice have been incorporated into the labour market governance efforts. According to the summary provided by a key informant, through a protocol with the Justice Academy,⁸⁵ capacity-building support on the topics of labour migration, fundamental human rights and formal employment of refugees are provided to the judges covering labour court cases. In addition, an exchange of knowledge and experience among judges and SSI inspectors has been facilitated. This cooperation is noted as a good practice by several key informants and in one of the project evaluations reports (ILO Evaluation, 2019b). Another intervention to ensure coordination between the labour market governance institutions has been given as efforts on strengthening the Provincial Employment and Vocational Training Boards. While these bodies have a strategic role in aligning education, training, and employment policies at the provincial level with the participation of social partners, key informants consider their efficiency as limited. While key informants also noted their reluctance to focus on the refugees, the thesis acknowledges their critical role in labour market integration. The other significant input from the key informants on the labour market governance is on the potential of the Economic and Social Council in Turkey. To strengthen the social dialogue, the Council was established in 1995 and gained legal status in 2010 as a part of the constitutional reforms. As an advisory body, its role and responsibilities are defined as designing economic and social

⁸⁵ Justice Academy is an educational body of Ministry of Justice that gives formation training and capacity support training to all Judges in Turkey. Türkiye Adalet Akademisi. (2019, Oct 02). Tarihçe. Retrieved March 11, 2022, from, <https://www.taa.gov.tr/sayfa/tarihce>

policies and development plans complemented with annual strategies.⁸⁶ Although Council's advisory role was further reinforced in 2018 with a decree-law⁸⁷, it has not been conveyed since 2009. Considering the need for a comprehensive migration policy covering a wide range of policy areas, from access to education to labour market integration, the research argues that the Council has the potential to serve as an efficient platform for bringing all the social partners together. This would also increase the ownership in the public sector both at the national and field levels. However, the thesis doesn't not foresee any activation prospects, unless a radical policy shift occurs.

Finally, to strengthen the social dialogue within the labour market governance institutions, the ILO Turkey Office has implemented SSTC tool. South-South cooperation refers to development cooperation between developing countries in the Global South⁸⁸. Within this context, two SSTC initiatives (1) between Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey and (2) between Turkey and Columbia have been organised where counterparts from respective countries shared their experiences in responding to the large refugee influxes. The key informants regarded the SSTC initiatives as innovative and successful tools, especially for involving trade unions and employer organisations. Such initiatives also help the social partner to comprehend the fact that forced displacement is a global phenomenon, solution to which requires involvement of all actors.

4.2.2.4. Cross-Cutting Challenges and Limitations

The data collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews, desk reviews, project evaluation reports and the analysis of the researcher based on the field observations point to three significant cross-cutting challenges in labour market

⁸⁶ T.C. Başbakanlık Kanunlar ve Kararlar Genel Müdürlüğü. (2000, June 26) Ekonomik ve Sosyal Konseyin Kuruluşu, Çalışma Esas ve Yöntemleri Hakkında Kanun Tasarısı ve Plan ve Bütçe Komisyonu Raporu (1/714). Retrieved March 11, 2022, from, <https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/sirasayi/donem21/yil01/ss640m.htm>

⁸⁷ Official Gazette no. 31803, (2001, April 11). Ekonomik Ve Sosyal Konseyin Kuruluşu, Çalışma Esas Ve Yöntemleri Hakkında Kanun. Retrieved March 11, 2022, from, <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.4641.pdf>

⁸⁸ ILO. (n.d.). South-South and triangular cooperation. Retrieved March 10, 2022, from, <https://www.ilo.org/pardev/south-south/lang--en/index.htm>

integration. These are (a) the language barrier, (b) challenges in ensuring a better match between the skills of the refugees and the labour market needs through outreach efforts (the issue of underemployment) and (c) limited coordination between the 3RP partners and with the public institutions.

The majority of the key informants listed improving language skills as refugees' first need. The available literature also points to language skills' importance in access to the labour market. According to Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen (2016), ALMPs targeting refugees and migrants increase earnings by 47 per cent in the ten-year follow-up period, and the benefits of the programme stemmed from gearing the content towards immigrants' special needs such as language education. Focusing on France, Lochmann et al. (2019) also report the positive effects of a language support on the labour force participation of migrant groups and the refugees. Arendt et al. (2021) report similar effects of the language training in Denmark on immigrants' earnings. Finally, Lundboard and Skedinger's (2016) qualitative study presents that, employers are less satisfied with the job performance of the refugees due to poor language skills. While Garrido and Codó, (2017) argue the opposite, claiming that language skills don't play a key role in increasing employability, except in the non-government work and tourism sector, the key informants and the field experiences also underpin the importance of language skills. Language is considered key in easier access to the labour market. In addition, the thesis defines it as a vital necessity for ensuring occupational health and safety and access to justice mechanisms. While there is a consensus on the importance of the Turkish language skills, multiple key informants note the inadequacy of the national capacities in teaching Turkish as a second language. As a result, even the A2 or B2 certificate holders fail to demonstrate sufficient language skills.

Along with the language barrier, outreach and matching efforts are listed as another challenge in implementing and supporting delivery of ALMPs. These processes refer to communicating information on the ALMPs to all potential beneficiaries and to the general public and applying selection criteria to ensure a match between the skills, aspirations, and experiences of the beneficiary and the ALMPs. As a process of several steps, it requires sufficient time allocation

that is given as 3-4 month at the minimum by two key informants. The thesis argues that the short project cycles and the high project indicators are listed as fundamental reasons why the required time is rarely allocated. By high indicators, targets set for ensuring a large number of beneficiaries' access to the ALMPs in a limited time is meant. While development interventions require a long implementation period (given as 4 to 5 years by multiple informants), the implementations are mostly planned annually or biannually. Therefore, starting from what is positioned as the ideal first step of ALMPs, the time required for outreach followed by the job and vocational counselling or skills profiling is reduced to a minimum, mostly leading to underemployment. Also, a key informant noted the following;

‘the limited time spared for widespread calls targeting large audiences results in identifying the beneficiaries from a closed group, composed of previous beneficiaries of the partners and their social networks.’

This is likely to cause poor matching between the prior experiences of the beneficiary and the ALMPs, leading to a skills mismatch. Correspondingly, chances for employment can be argued to reduce. The time pressure and the high indicators do not allow for eliminating unfit candidates or referring them to better suited ALMPs that may be delivered by other stakeholders. The situation cascades with the donors' expectations for reaching out to 'the most vulnerable among the vulnerable' as summarised by one of the respondents. These shortcomings also result in an unpurposed income generation through attending vocational training courses irrelevant to each other for the daily allowance payments. Key informants point to what they call 'professional trainees' who consider allowances received through ALMP attendance as a source of income, not a tool or strategy for income generation support. To address these challenges, ILO cooperates with partners who already have a pool of beneficiaries whose skills are assessed to the extent possible. In addition, partners with a good overview of the labour shortages are given priority. The need for lobby and advocacy efforts on longer implementation schemes for the development interventions should also be noted. To address the issue of professional trainees, two informants mentioned ILO and UNDP's joint initiative for harmonisation efforts among the 3RP partners under the Technical Sub-

Group on Stipends and Financial Support in Livelihoods Programmes. Although the sub-group is still in its early stages, the different cash assistance schemes that may incline the beneficiaries to choose not the most suitable ALMPs but the ones with higher allowance have already been identified as an obstacle. In addition, cooperation with the private employment agencies (such as Regional Employment Offices and the United work) comes forward as possible solutions for improving outreach. However, the thesis put forwards regular skills profiling and referral mechanisms coordinated by the public authorities and their field branches, such as PMM and DGILF of MoLSS as the most efficient and clear-cut solution. Complementing this position, the key informants also noted that the government could benefit from ILO's technical capacity and expertise in skills profiling and skills mismatch analysis methodologies more efficiently.

Finally, most key informants point to the importance of building interventions on the accumulated experiences and in complementarity with each other. In the absence of up-to-date data and analysis detailed in the preceding chapters, experience-sharing can be as efficient tool as baseline studies and need assessments. The thesis argues that the complementarity between the ALMPs supported by different actors may also offer solutions to short project cycles and outreach limitations. These considerations of can be interpreted as denoting the importance of coordination and knowledge sharing platforms within the ILO, between 3RP partners, and most notably with the public institutions. However, despite the multi-layered and sector-specific coordination mechanisms detailed under 3.7., and the funds allocated specifically for coordination efforts, they are deemed insufficient by the key informants. While there is strong coordination with the public institutions and the line ministries, the researcher puts forwards an ideal scenario where the referred coordination mechanisms are co-chaired with the line ministries, and ALMPs are designed parallel to the national policies.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The thesis aims to elaborate on how ALMPs are designed, delivered, and supported to facilitate Syrian refugees' access to the labour market, focusing on the normative framework offered by the ILO and its experience in Turkey. It provides an analysis of the ALMP measures implemented and supported by the ILO, focusing on the labour supply and demand aspects. It also presents an overview of how ILO supports the labour market governance in Turkey. The thesis centres upon the ILO perspective as the organization simultaneously focuses on the right to work and rights at work. In addition, ILO's tripartite structure that aims to serve as a platform of discussion and cooperation between the governments, trade unions and the employer organisations presents a unique case among the other partners. Finally, the normative framework allows a right-based approach to addressing the needs of the forcibly displaced communities. In its analysis, the thesis pays attention to the relation between social policy development and the ALMPs as measures for ensuring access to the labour market.

The research utilises qualitative research methods in the form of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with the selected ILO officials in Turkey and the researcher's own experiences and field observations. The key informants are identified to ensure a balanced representation of their expertise and gender. The qualitative research is complemented with a literature review for a grounded analysis of the ALMPs and analysis of the evaluation reports of the projects within ILO's Refugee Response Programme in Turkey.

In its twelfth year, Syria's ensuing conflicts remain one of the largest, most protracted, and complex humanitarian emergencies. According to the UNHCR's

global trends for 2020⁸⁹, almost seven million Syrian refugees have fled Syria since 2011. Displaced Syrians constitute almost seven per cent of the world's displaced population. The effects of the ongoing conflict are increasingly spilling over into the economic and social spheres of the host countries that had challenging socio-economic conditions already before the Syria crisis. Turkey had already been suffering from high informality, low female participation, poor working conditions and deteriorating underemployment before the refugee influx. Turkey's GDP stands 30 per cent lower than the OECD's best performers. The OECD calculations for 2021 also point out that the poorest 20 per cent in Turkey earn only 6.1 per cent of total income. According to DİSKAR figures for the first quarter of 2022, the overall formal and full-time employment is 32.5 per cent, while female labour force participation is as low as 18.1 per cent. Likewise, youth unemployment has also worsened by 41 per cent over the years. As a result, the arrival of the refugees led to stalled economic activity, further loss of income, increased informality, worsened working conditions, and limited access to social protection.

Today, Turkey stands as the largest refugee hosting country with almost 5 million refugees, of which 3.5 million are Syrian refugees. Turkey has introduced a temporary protection regime and consequently allowed refugee access to the labour market, though with conditionality. On the one hand, temporary protection is favoured as a progressive step, while it is criticised for the reduced protection it offers. In the mid 2020s, the political discourse has extensively focused on the return scenarios with the accelerated political tension due to the approaching parliamentary and presidential elections in 2023. However, as highlighted by UNHCR (2021), grave concerns about the possibility of return persist. As the conflicts in Syria continue, questions around contamination with explosive remnants of war, potential human rights violations and abuses, and destruction and damage to homes and infrastructure remain unsolved. While there are efforts to address these issues in Syria in line with the concept of the triple nexus (the humanitarian-development and peace nexus), it is still too early

⁸⁹ UNHCR The UN Refugee Agency. (n.d.). Global Trends Forced Displacement In 2020. Retrieved May 03, 2022, from, <https://www.unhcr.org/flagship-reports/globaltrends/#:~:text=During%202020%2C%20several%20crises,within%20and%20beyond%20countries%20borders>

to build policies on the return predictions. Consequently, the possibility of returns is likely to remain limited, increasing the need for long-term policy development beyond temporary protection. However, the uncertainties in the official government policy reduce the possibility of long—term policy development. In addition, irregular flows of the Afghani refugees from the Eastern borders, which point to a possible increase in the number of the forcibly displaced in Turkey, should be given due attention.

According to the analysis run by the ILO of the 3.5 million Syrian refugees, almost one million participate in the labour market (ILO,2020b). The median age for the Syrian refugees in Turkey is estimated to be 22.54 (Erdoğan, 2020). Given the rate of young population and the labour force participation rates, the importance of ensuring access to social policies, primarily to education and the labour market, increases. With an eye to (i) polarisation in society, (ii) increasing anti-immigrant sentiments, and (iii) the risk of marginalisation and poverty, the importance of such policies, including the ALMPs, increases. In the context of policy development, the thesis notes the gravity of positioning the Syrian refugees as active agents of policy making to avoid the formation of an underclass in Turkey. It recommends challenging their politically active position and will to engage in a structured dialogue.

Since the early 1950s, ALMPs with varying objectives and levels of interaction with one another and the PLMPs have been implemented. They are put in practice to address labour market challenges, including but not limited to integration of the guest workers, addressing skills mismatches, combating youth unemployment, and expanding women's labour force participation. Many ALMPs have also been designed and delivered, addressing the refugees' needs. While there are a variety of definitions and categorisations, this study assumes a consensus on their purpose. It puts forward the following summary: ALMPs are policy tools for removing or reducing the obstacles to employment and corresponding poverty while consolidating the link between social protection and work. The thesis also notes the critiques, which argue that ALMPs are encumbering the individuals with the responsibility of increasing their employability. It also acknowledges the increasing need and pressure to expand

social policy measures in parallel to the increasing number of people at risk or in fragile situations. Correspondingly, it highlights the criticality of sharing the burden between the governments, employers, and the labour force. From a social policy perspective, it also argues the need to strengthen the link between social protection, ALMPs and access to employment, in parallel to the high unemployment and informality. Due to their fragility, access to ALMPs in such complementarity becomes more critical when working with refugees. In the absence of such complementarity, precarity increases, amplifying marginalisation, extreme poverty, and negative coping strategies. The normative framework of the ILO on access to decent work, social protection, human development and the forcibly displaced can be instrumental in addressing these challenges if they are reflected in the relevant policy measures. While ILO's normative framework is reflected in the ALMPs implemented by the ILO, their influence on the labour market is debatable. One of the underlying reasons could be the limited consensus among the ILO's constituents for adopting these normative frameworks (Maul, 2007) that also applies to Turkey. Correspondingly, questions around whether ILO is able to keep up with the globalisation and changing dynamics in the world of work increase. As noted by Bacarro and Mele (2012), to increase ownership and acceptance of the organisations' norms, ILO needs to take further steps. ILO may strengthen its participatory approach by enabling the representation of civil society organisations and NGOs to address the needs of groups that are not represented by the traditional social partners, such as the refugees. Alternatively, it may pay more attention and focus on strengthening the capacity of its social partners to represent the fragile groups and advocate for their needs.

From the implementation point of view, the findings demonstrate that, over the long run, a project-based approach to the delivery of ALMPs doesn't offer the most sustainable results due to short implementation cycles and limited coordination between the involved actors, including the donor community. The donors, government partnerships and their relations with the host countries are of paramount importance, as demonstrated in the case of the EU-Turkey deal. They play a key role in shaping the public perception, which plays a critical role

in the facilitation of labour market integration of the refugees. Based on this finding, the thesis recommends the enhancement of funding schemes for the development programmes and projects, such as facilitating access to the labour markets. In addition, ILO in Turkey may consider focusing on certain age cohorts and sectors as a possible solution to the listed shortcomings.

The thesis findings also indicate that the role of the ALMPs in Syrian refugees' access to the labour market is two-folded. On the one hand, when a set of ALMPS is implemented in complementarity, they can positively contribute to the refugees' access to the labour market through increasing familiarity, facilitating first entry through incentives and supporting skills development. From this perspective, the labour force refugees bring can be considered an added value supporting competitiveness for the host countries and enticing the global firms (Betts & Collier, 2015; Zetter & Ruaudel, 2018). Correspondingly, ALMPs can be considered tools for reconstituting development and facilitating labour market integration. Based on this finding, the thesis recommends reinforcing complementarity and conditionality between the ALMPs. For instance, the provision of wage subsidiaries or employment incentives could be conditional upon the targeted employees' access to ALMPs focusing on skills development and programmes for increasing access to core labour rights. By doing so, complementary could also be ensured.

On the other hand, the role of the ALMPs cannot be evaluated independently from the structural constraints. ALMPs may fail to facilitate access to formal jobs and instead reproduce precarity, where there is high informality and limited labour inspections. While there is an overall acknowledgement of the informality in Turkey, estimating its size in precise terms is nearly difficult. The study positions informality, also called the 'hidden employment' by Tunalı (2003), as the prominent challenge refugees face. Informality worsens the working conditions and increases the risk of forced labour. As an example of the risk of forced labour, the researcher notes observed cases where the temporary protection cards or the work permit cards, which are the only legal documentation refugees can obtain, are taken by the employers, prohibiting refugees' mobility. While the employers elucidate this as a documentation

strategy for the labour inspections, the perception among the refugees contradicts it. In other words, the thesis argues that the problem refugees face is not the lack of jobs but the lack of formal jobs which offer decent working conditions and decent wages. While the existing legal framework allows for formal employment, the execution of the law remains limited, resulting in contradictions between the law and its implementation.

The thesis also notes the importance of ownership at the public authority level to ensure refugees' access to decent jobs and fight informality. Otherwise, bears the risk of inefficient use of development funds with limited sustainability. Correspondingly, the thesis recommends strengthening social dialogue platforms to address these structural constraints. It proposes activating the Economic and Social Council in Turkey and invigorating the Provincial Employment and Vocational Training Boards that can catalyse improvements at local and national levels. This would be in line with ILO's tripartism principle. In addition, labour inspection mechanisms' capacity should be strengthened in the fight against informality. Finally, referencing the return discourse mentioned above, the thesis proposes the development of a social security policy where the SSI premiums of the refugee workers could be transferred to the country of origin or be paid to workers themselves in the case of a return, if, and when the safety and security concerns are alleviated. This would serve as an incentive to formal work for the refugees.

The study also acknowledges the municipalities' positive role in facilitating refugees' access to the labour markets through ALMPs. Although there is a lack of clear policy frameworks attaining their roles and allocating financial resources accordingly, they have been instrumental in addressing the needs, along with the NGOs, international organisations, and the Government of Turkey. Many of the municipalities have put forward efforts to accommodate refugees by offering a range of services from language courses to social support programmes and supporting some Syrian refugees to operate their own businesses. Given the municipalities' capacity to present contextual knowledge, execute local-context specific programs and the understanding of the needs of persons of concern, municipalities could be regarded as ideal actors in addressing the needs of the

refugees. As in the case of İstanbul and Adana Metropolitan Municipalities, they can also successfully deliver ALMPs and support income generation. Building on these, the thesis recommends the development of more funding schemes that might be conditional on the measurable integration efforts by the respective municipality.

The thesis also pays attention to supporting women's labour market participation through ALMPs. The findings show that Syrian women also suffer from traditional gender roles and unpaid family work. This finding is complemented by the report of UN Women and ASAM, which indicate that 8 per cent of the Syrian women reported not seeking employment actively due to childcare responsibilities, 20 per cent reported not getting permission/approval of the male household heads, and 11 per cent indicated care responsibilities for the elderly and disabled household member. The ALMPs offered to women mostly fail to increase their access to the labour market: they focus on traditionally female occupations such as hairdressing and tailoring, which mostly support their income generation informally, at home run businesses. While these efforts contribute to their integration into society and develop basic familiarity with the labour market, the thesis recommends planning ALMPs targeting formal and regular employment. Most importantly, it highlights the need for increasing access to childcare services.

The criticality of ensuring pathways for graduation from social assistance schemes to formal employment is also noted. ESSN stands out as one of the reasons for limited formal employment among Syrian refugees and the prevalent informality and high unemployment rates. While the ESSN plays a key role in covering the basic needs of the most vulnerable, the thesis point to the increasing need for activation strategies not only for facilitating access to employment but also for fighting informality.

In conclusion, the thesis considers the ALMPs' role in facilitating Syrian refugees' access to the labour markets to be positive. It also notes that the normative and policy framework ILO offers have the potential for contributing to long-term planning and offers a framework for building social policies for fighting

poverty, underemployment, and adverse outcomes of unemployment. While analysing how ALMPs are designed, delivered and supported by the ILO in Turkey, the study offers recommendations to address the shortcomings detailed in the analysis chapter.

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APPENDICES

A. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDELINES AND QUESTIONS

1. Key Informant Interview Guidelines:

Thank you for taking the time to participate in this study.

As you know, this is Gizem, and I am conducting a research that aims to provide a critical evaluation of the effects of ALMPs on Syrian refugees' access to the labour market, focusing on the experiences of the ILO in Turkey

- State the purpose of the KII and provide information on the permission of the ILO Office for Turkey
- Provide details on the duration of the interview
- Ask for permission to record
- Ask informants if they have any questions, inquiry or comments before the start of the KII

2. The purpose of the KII is as follows:

- Analyse the role of active labour market policies in Syrian refugees' access to the labour market
- Identify underlying reasons for selected intervention modalities
- Identify the level of complementarity between the ALPMS
- Evaluate the coordination among the involved actors
- Identify best practices and lessons learnt and recommendations

3. Question:

Programme Design

1. What strategy does the ILO Office for Turkey adopt in ensuring refugees access to the labour market?
2. Have you conducted any needs assessment or baseline studies?

3. What kind of ALMPs do you implement?

Complementarity

4. Could you briefly describe the other programmes that are not ALMPs but complement them?
5. What is the level of complementarity between the ALMPs implemented?

Outreach and Selection

6. How do you reach out to the potential beneficiaries? What are the selection criteria?
7. Do you use any skills profiling tool for referral to services?

Cooperation and Coordination

8. While implementing your interventions, which coordination mechanism or networks do you rely on? Which implementing partners do you work with and why?
9. Is there a structured coordination mechanism with other actors, especially the NGOs and UN Agencies? How does the system work?
10. Focusing on the ALMPs, how the coordination with the public institutions is ensured? Is there any added value of the ILO?
11. Focusing on ALMPs, how the coordination with employer organisations and trade unions is ensured?

Monitoring and Evaluation

12. Do you have any monitoring and evaluation strategies?
13. Do you run any tracer (or other) studies to evaluate the effectiveness?
If yes, how reliable they are?
If not, what prevents such studies?

Limitations and Challenges

14. What are the prominent challenges you face when delivering ALMPs?
15. How do you define sustainability and ensure the sustainability of the effects of the ALPMs?

Recommendations & Way Forward

16. What would you suggest increasing the effectiveness of ALMPs?
17. Since the beginning of the programmes in 2015, how do you think the intervention modalities have evolved and why?
18. Would you change the intervention modalities adopted in 2015? If yes, how and why?

B. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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01 ARALIK 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç. Dr. Ayşe İdil AYBARS

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Gizem Karşlı VAROL'un "Suriyeli Mültecilerin İstihdam Piyasasına Erişiminde Aktif İstihdam Politikalarının Rolünün Değerlendirilmesi: ILO Türkiye Ofisi Deneyimleri" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve 497-ODTU-2021 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkanı

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez ILO sözleşmeleri ve tavsiye kararlarından oluşan normatif çerçeveye ve ILO Türkiye Ofisi'nin deneyimlerine odaklanarak Suriyeli mültecilerin işgücü piyasasına erişimini kolaylaştırmak için aktif istihdam politikalarının nasıl tasarlandığının, sunulduğunun ve desteklendiğinin detaylı bir analizini sunmayı amaçlamakta, işgücü arz ve talep dengelerine odaklanarak ILO tarafından uygulanan ve desteklenen aktif işgücü politikalarının, nasıl planlandığı ve uygulandığına ilişkin bir analiz sunulmaktadır. Ayrıca, ILO'nun Türkiye'deki işgücü piyasası yönetişimine ilişkin sağladığı desteklere dair genel bir analize yer verilmektedir. Tezin ILO perspektifine odaklanmasının temel nedenleri arasında kurumun hem çalışma hakkı hem de çalışan hakları odaklı çalışmalar yürütmesidir. Ayrıca, ILO'nun hükümetler, işçi sendikaları ve işveren örgütleri arasında bir müzakere ve iş birliği platformu görevi görmeyi amaçlayan üçlü yapısı, diğer Birleşmiş Milletler kurumları ve sivil toplum bileşenlerinden farklı olarak özgün bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Son olarak, ILO'nun tavsiye kararları ve sözleşmelerinden oluşan normatif çerçeve, göçmenler ve zorla yerinden edilmiş toplulukların ihtiyaçlarının ele alınması için hak temelli bir yaklaşım imkânı sunmaktadır. Tez ortaya koyduğu analizlerde, sosyal politika geliştirme süreçleri ile işgücü piyasasına erişimin sağlanmasına yönelik önlemler olan aktif istihdam politikaları arasındaki ilişki üzerinde özellikle durmaktadır.

Yüzyıllar boyunca, zorla yerinden edilme, ülkelerini terk ettikten sonra bile birçok mülteci ve göçmenin refahı için bir tehdit oluşturan karmaşık sosyo-ekonomik ve siyasi olaylar bileşiminden kaynaklı gelmiştir. Hayatlarını idame ettirebilmek ve temel ihtiyaçlarını karşılayabilmek için mültecilerin istihdama katılma ve geçim kaynaklarını sürdürmekte karşılaştığı güçlükler en belirgin zorluklar arasında yer almaktadır. Ev sahibi ülkelerdeki istikrarsız sosyo-ekonomik dengeler ve yaygın yapısal problemlerle karşı karşıya olmasının bir sonucu olarak, mültecilerin insana yakışır işlere erişimleri zorlaşır, mülteciler zorla çalıştırılma ve kayıt dışı ekonomiye karşı daha korunmasız hale düşme riskini taşır. ILO'nun bir parçası olduğu Birleşmiş Milletler ve diğer sivil toplum bileşenleri bu sorunlara karşı, tedbir ve önleyici mekanizmalar üzerine

çalışmalar yürütmektedir. Bu çalışmalar kapsamında ILO Türkiye Ofisi zorla yerinden edilenler ve diğer hassas grupların temel çalışma haklarına erişimi ve bu hakların korunması noktasında hak temelli çalışmalar yürütmektedir. Bu noktada baz alınan temel yaklaşım ILO Anayasası'nda, herhangi bir coğrafi sınırlama olmaksızın şöyle tanımlanmaktadır: "Kendi ülkeleri dışındaki ülkelerde istihdam edilen işçilerin çıkarlarının korunması". Ayrıca, tüm ILO sözleşme ve tavsiye kararları, üye devletlerin belirli bir çekincesi olmadıkça, zorla yerinden edilenleri de kapsamaktadır. Aşağıda sıralanan sözleşme ve tavsiyeler, mültecilerle doğrudan ilişkilidir ve mültecilerin insana yakışır iş fırsatlarına erişimlerini destekler niteliktedir;

- İstihdam Amaçlı Göç Sözleşmesi (C97),
- Göçmen İşçiler Sözleşmesi (C143),
- Sosyal Güvenlikte Eşitlik Sözleşmesi (C118).

Bunlara ek olarak, yaşam boyu eğitim ve öğretime erişim ve sosyal güvenlik hakkı için sırasıyla belirtilen ilkeler nedeniyle müteakip;

- İnsan Kaynaklarını Geliştirme Tavsiye Kararı (R195),
- 2012 tarihli Sosyal Koruma Tabanları Tavsiye Kararı (R202) ve
- Sosyal Güvenlik (Asgari Standartlar) Sözleşmesi de (C102) dikkate değerdir.

Yukarıda özetlenen ILO'nun zorunlu göç ile alakalı normatif çerçevesi, aşağıda verilen küresel ölçekte kabul görmüş politika belgeleriyle de desteklenmektedir;

- Bölgesel Mülteci Müdahale Planı (2015),
- Mültecilere İlişkin Küresel İlkeler Sözleşmesi (2018),
- Mülteciler ve Göçmenlere İlişkin New York Deklarasyonu (2016).

Özetle, New York Deklarasyonu, Küresel Mülteci Kompaktı ve Güvenli ve Düzenli Göçe İlişkin Küresel İlkeler Sözleşmesi mülteci ve göçmenlere yönelik bir dizi taahhüt ve politika çerçevesinden oluşmaktadır. Farklı bölgelerdeki zorla yerinden edilmiş gruplarla çalışma deneyimleri üzerine inşa edilmiş bu belgeler,

tutarlı bir politika geliştirilmesi ve uygulanmasına destek olmayı ve ilgili aktörler arasında ortaklık ve iş birliğini desteklemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Zorla yerinden edilmiş grupların temel ve acil karşılanması gereken ihtiyaçları ile doğrudan bağlantılı olmasa da, bu gruplar da istihdam piyasalarını yakından ilgilendiren teknolojik dönüşümler, dijitalleşme, demografik değişimler, iklim değişikliği ve küreselleşmeden de eşit şekilde etkilendiğinden, ILO'nun çalışma yaşamının geleceği bağlamındaki inisiyatifleri ve Çalışma Yaşamının Geleceği Küresel Komisyonu Raporu (ILO, 2019), ILO Yüzüncü Yıl Deklarasyonu ve ILO İnsan Odaklı İyileşme için Küresel Eylem Çağrısı da odaklanılması gereken politika çerçeveleri arasında verilebilir.

Ek olarak, Birleşmiş Milletler 2030 Gündemi ve Sürdürülebilir Kalkınma Hedefleri, mültecilere yönelik araçlar sunan bir politika çerçevesi olarak not düşülebilir. BM 2030 Gündemi (2015), 2030 yılına kadar ulaşılması amaçlanan 169 alt maddeden oluşan 17 sürdürülebilir kalkınma hedefinden oluşmaktadır. Bu hedefler, gezegenin ve doğal kaynakların korunması gerekliliğini savunurken, yoksulluğun ve açlığın ortadan kaldırmasını, tüm insanların temel insan haklarından yararlanmasını ve cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanmasını amaçlamaktadır. Bu politika araçları, küresel sosyal adalet ve eşitlik sorunlarını ele alan bütünlük ve kapsamlı bir çerçeve sunarken, aynı zamanda “daha esnek bir küresel pazar arayışına karşı potansiyel bir karşı hareket” olarak da nitelendirildiği not düşülmelidir (Carton, 2020). Bu bağlamda Polanyi (2001), bir yanda metalaştırmanın antagonistik güçleri, diğer yanda toplumsal aktörlerin metalaştırmanın kaçınılmaz olumsuz sosyal ve çevresel sonuçlarına karşı kendini koruyucu tepkisi olarak özetlenen ‘karşı hareket’ terimini, kapitalizmi tanımlamak için kullanır (Carton, 2020).

ILO sözleşmeleri ve tavsiye kararları, onaylandıkları ve kabul gördükleri ülkelerdeki tüm işçilere koruma sağlanması yönünde bir yasal zemin önerirken, menşei bu ülkeler olan ancak, üretim süreçlerini çalışma hakları bakımından daha zayıf normatif çerçevelere ve denetim mekanizmalarına sahip az gelişmiş ve gelişmekte olan ülkelere taşıyan şirketlerin faaliyetleri ve uyguladıkları çalışma koşullarının düzenlenmesi konusunda sınırlı kalmaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle, ILO'nun normatif çerçevesi, küreselleşmenin getirdiği uluslararası iş

bölümünü ele almakla sınırlı kaldığı yönünde eleştirilmektedir. Bu limitlere değinen, Standing (2008), ILO'nun çalışma hayatına ilişkin normatif çerçevesini "kapitalizmin çeşitli varyantlarının varlığını sürdürmesine yardımcı olmak, farklı meşru kökenlere dayalı sistemlerin bir arada var olabilmesi için emek temelli rekabeti sınırlamak" şeklinde özetlemektedir. Üye ülkeler üzerinde herhangi bir yaptırım gücünün olmamasının ILO'nun etkisini sınırlandıran bir unsur olduğu da not düşülmelidir.

ILO normatif çerçevesi ve politika belgeleri, yukarıda belirtilen eksikliklerine rağmen, küresel ölçekte, Afrika, Arap ülkeleri, Asya ve Pasifik, Avrupa ve Orta Asya ve Latin Amerika ve Karayipler'de zorla yerinden edilen gruplara yönelik kapsamlı bir kalkınma iş birliği portföyü sunmaktadır. Bu deneyimlere paralel olarak ILO, Suriye Mülteci Krizine yanıt olarak, hem Suriyeli mültecilerin hem de ev sahibi toplulukların ihtiyaçlarına yönelik, Ürdün, Lübnan, Irak, Mısır ve Türkiye'yi kapsayan 'kalkınma ve istihdam odaklı' bir strateji belgesi (ILO, 2018) ortaya koymuştur. Kapsam ve faaliyetlerinde farklılıklar olsa da her ülkedeki programlar işgücü piyasası yönetim ihtiyaçlarını ele almakta ve çeşitli aktivasyon programları sunmaktadır.

ILO Türkiye Ofisi 2016 yılından bu yana, mülteciler ve hassas ev sahibi grupların insana yakışır çalışma koşullarında geçinmelerine destek vermek amacıyla Mülteci Destek Programı'nı yürütmektedir. Bu program, Bölgesel Mülteci ve Dayanıklılık Planı'nın (3RP) Türkiye'ye ilişkin hedeflerine katkıda bulunmakta olup, aşağıda listelenen üç temel bileşen üzerinden uygulanmaktadır;

- Emek arzının beceri geliştirme ve dönüştürme ihtiyaçlarına yönelik eğitim faaliyetleri ile iş ve meslek danışmanlığı, işe yerleştirme destekleri ve haklara erişim noktasında tamamlayıcı programların sunulması,
- İşgücü piyasasının ihtiyaçlarına yönelik faaliyetler ile kayıtlı işlerinin sayısını artırılması, işletmelerin kayıtlılığa geçişinin desteklenmesi, girişimcilik faaliyetlerinin yürütülmesi ve desteklenmesi ile istihdam teşviklerinin sağlanması,

- İnsana yakışır işlerin sağlanması amacıyla, kurumlar arası koordinasyon ve hizmet sunumunun desteklenmesi ve adil ve etkin işgücü piyasası yönetişiminin güçlendirilmesi.

Suriyeli mültecilerin istihdam piyasasına erişimlerinin desteklenmesi noktasında ILO'nun Türkiye özelinde biriken deneyimlerine odaklanan bu araştırma, Türkiye Ofisi'nde görev yapan uzmanlar ile yarı yapılandırılmış, derinlemesine görüşmeler ile araştırmacının kendi deneyimleri ve saha gözlemlerinden oluşan nitel araştırma yöntemlerini kullanmaktadır. Araştırmaya katkı sağlayan katılımcılar, uzmanlık alanlarının dengeli temsili ve cinsiyet eşitliğinin sağlanması dikkate alınarak belirlenmiştir. Gerçekleştirilen bu nitel araştırma, aktif istihdam politikalarının ILO'nun Türkiye'deki deneyimleri üzerinden yürütülen analizleri detaylı bir literatür taraması üzerine kurgulamış, ILO mülteci destek programının bağımsız değerlendirme raporlarıyla da bulguları desteklemiştir.

On ikinci yılında, Suriye'de halen devam eden çatışmalar, tarihin en büyük, en uzun süren ve karmaşık acil ve afet durumlardan biri olmaya devam etmektedir. UNHCR'nin 2020 küresel trendleri raporuna göre, 2011'den bu yana yaklaşık yedi milyon Suriyeli mülteci ülkelerini terk etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Zorla yerlerinden edilmiş Suriyeliler, dünyadaki zorla yerinden edilmiş nüfusun yaklaşık yüzde 7'sini oluşturmaktadır. Sürmekte olan çatışmanın etkileri, Suriye krizi başlamadan önce zaten zorlu sosyo-ekonomik koşullarla mücadele etmek zorunda kalan ev sahibi ülkelerin ekonomik ve sosyal parametrelerini daha karmaşık ve zorlu bir hale getirdiği söylenebilir. Türkiye, sayıları giderek artan mültecilere ev sahipliği yapmaya başlamadan önce de yüksek kayıt dışılık, kadınların istihdama katılım oranlarının düşüklüğü, sorunlu çalışma koşulları ve eksik istihdamdan gibi yapısal sorunlarla mücadele etmekteydi. Örneğin, Türkiye'nin gayri safi yurtiçi hasıla oranı OECD'nin en iyi performans gösteren ülkelerinden yüzde 30 daha düşük seyretmektedir. Ek olarak, OECD'nin 2021 hesaplamaları Türkiye'deki en yoksul yüzde 20'lik kesimin toplam gelirin yalnızca yüzde 6,1'ini kazandığına işaret etmektedir. Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Araştırma Merkezi tarafından yayınlanan 2022 yılının ilk çeyreğine ilişkin rakamlara göre, toplam kayıtlı ve tam zamanlı istihdam yüzde 32,5, kadınların

işgücüne katılım oranı ise yüzde 18,1 gibi düşük bir seviyededir. Aynı şekilde genç işsizliği de yıllar içinde yüzde 41'e yükselmiştir. Tüm bu olumsuz dengeler, mültecilerin gelişile ekonomik faaliyetlerin yavaşlamasına, kayıt dışılığın artmasına, çalışma koşullarının kötüleşmesine yol açmış, yüksek kayıt dışı çalışma pratiğine paralel olarak hali hazırda sorunlu olan sosyal korumaya erişim daha da sıkıntılı bir hal almıştır.

Bugün Türkiye, 3,5 milyonu Suriyeli olmak üzere yaklaşık 5 milyon mülteci ile en fazla mülteciye ev sahipliği yapan ülke konumunda bulunmaktadır. Türkiye, geçici koruma politikası uygulamaya başlamış, akabinde, süren kısıtlarına rağmen, Suriyeli mültecilerin işgücü piyasasına erişimlerine yönelik yasal düzenlemeleri yürürlüğe koymuştur. Bir yandan, geçici koruma ilerici ve olumlu bir adım olarak kabul görürken, krizin on ikinci yılında gelecek güvencesi verememesi ve kayıt dışı istihdamı perçinleme riski doğuran istihdama erişim kısıtları nedeniyle de eleştirilmektedir. 2023 yılındaki yaklaşan genel seçim ve cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimleri nedeniyle artan siyasi gerilimle birlikte, özellikle 2022'nin ilk yarısında siyasi söylemin, 2023 geri dönüş senaryolarına yoğun bir şekilde odaklandığı görülmektedir. Ancak, UNHCR (2021) tarafından vurgulandığı gibi, geri dönüş olasılığına ilişkin ciddi endişeler devam etmektedir. Suriye'deki çatışmalar devam ederken, hayatı risk teşkil eden mayınlar gibi patlayıcı savaş kalıntılarının temizlenmemiş olması, insan hakları ihlalleri ve suiistimallerinin gerçekleşmesine dair ciddi riskler, farklı etnik ve/veya dini gruplar arasında devam eden gerginlikler ve çatışmaların alevlenme olasılığı, evlerin ve altyapının yıkılması veya ciddi zarar görmesi nedeniyle barınmaya ve diğer temel gereksinimlere erişim noktasında yaşanabilecek sıkıntılar halen çözülmemiş vaziyettedir. Tüm bunlara bağlı olarak, geri dönüş olasılığının sınırlı kalması muhtemel olup, önümüzdeki bu tablo geçici korumanın kapsamının revize edilip, uzun vadeli politika geliştirme ihtiyacını artırmaktadır. Ancak siyasi belirsizlikler nedeniyle, bu yönde politika geliştirme süreçlerinin işletilmesi ve uygulanmasına ilişkin olasılıkların azaldığı söylenebilir. Bu uzun vadeli politika ihtiyacı ele alınırken, Türkiye'deki zorla yerinden edilenlerin sayısında olası bir artışa işaret eden Doğu sınırlarından düzensiz Afgan mülteci akışları da hesaba katılmalıdır.

ILO tarafından yapılan 3,5 milyon Suriyeli mülteciye ilişkin analize göre, Suriyeli mültecilerin yaklaşık bir milyonu işgücü piyasasına katılmaktadır (ILO,2020b). Ancak resmi çalışma izni rakamları göz önüne alındığında mültecilerin yüzde 95'nin kayıt dışı çalıştığı anlaşılmaktadır. Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilerin ortalama yaşının 22,54 olduğu tahmin edilmektedir (Erdoğan, 2020). Genç nüfus oranı ve işgücüne katılım oranları dikkate alındığında, başta eğitime ve işgücü piyasasına entegrasyon alanlarında olmak üzere sosyal politikalara erişimin sağlanmasının önemi artmaktadır. Toplumdaki kutuplaşma ve göçmen karşıtlığının artması, marjinalleşme ve yoksulluk riski göz önüne alındığında, aktivasyon programlarının da bir parçası olduğu bu politikaların önemi artmaktadır. Bu araştırma, Türkiye'de bir alt sınıf oluşumuna ilişkin risklerin önüne geçilebilmesi adına politika geliştirme süreçlerinde Suriyeli mültecilerinin de aktif aktörler olarak konumlandırmanın önemine dikkat çekmektedir. Hedef kitlenin siyasi farkındalıkları da dikkate alındığında, yapılandırılmış diyaloglar aracılığıyla süreçlere katılımlarının sağlanmasının hem sosyal uyuma katkı sağlayacağını hem de alt sınıf riskine dair bir önlem olacağını altı çizilmektedir.

Aktif istihdam politikaları, 1950'lerden bu yana hem kendi aralarında hem de pasif istihdam politikalarıyla etkileşim ve tamamlayıcı nitelikte uygulanmaya gelmiştir. Almanya örneğinde görüldüğü gibi misafir işçilerin entegrasyonu, beceri uyumsuzluklarının ele alınması, genç işsizlikle mücadele ve kadınların işgücüne katılımının artırılması gibi birçok alanda karşı karşıya kalınan işgücü piyasasına erişim sorunlarına çözüm üretilmesine hizmet etmişlerdir. Yıllar içinde, mültecilerin istihdama erişimde karşılaştıkları problemleri ele alan birçok aktif istihdam politikası da tasarlanmış ve uygulamaya konmuştur. Literatürde çok çeşitli tanım ve sınıflandırmalar olsa da bu çalışma aktif istihdam politikalarının amaçları konusunda bir fikir birliği olduğunu varsaymakta ve şöyle bir tanım öne sürmektedir: Aktif istihdam politikaları, sosyal koruma ve çalışma arasındaki bağı pekiştirirken işsizliğin ve buna bağlı yoksulluğun önündeki engelleri ortadan kaldırmaya veya azaltmaya yönelik politika araçlarıdır. Bu çalışma, bireylere aktivasyon programları aracılığıyla istihdam edilebilirliklerini artırma sorumluluğu yüklediğine dair eleştirilere de dikkat çekmektedir. Ayrıca, bu çalışma mültecilerin de aralarında bulunduğu risk altındaki kırılgan grupların

sayısındaki artışa paralel olarak sosyal politika önlemlerini genişletmek için artan ihtiyacı not düşmektedir. Bu ihtiyaçların karşılanması için hükümetler, işverenler ve ihtiyaç sahibi gruplar arasında adil bir sorumluluk paylaşımının gerekliliğinin de altı çizilmektedir. Sosyal politika açısından bakıldığında, yüksek işsizlik ve kayıt dışılığa paralel olarak sosyal koruma, aktif istihdam politikaları ve istihdama erişim arasındaki bağın güçlendirilmesi gerektiği de savunulmaktadır. Mültecilerle çalışırken kırılganlıkları nedeniyle, aktif istihdam politikalarına erişim ve bu politikaların birbirini tamamlar nitelikte uygulanması daha kritik hale gelmektedir. Böyle bir tamamlayıcılığın olmaması durumunda, güvencesizlik artmakta, bu da marjinalleşmenin, aşırı yoksulluğun ve çocuk işçiliği gibi olumsuz başa çıkma stratejilerinin artmasına yol açmaktadır. ILO'nun insana yakışır işlere, sosyal korumaya, insani gelişime ve zorla yerinden edilenlere ilişkin normatif çerçevesi, ilgili politika önlemlerine yansıtıldığı takdirde, bu zorlukların giderilmesinde etkili rol oynayabilir. ILO normatif çerçevesinin, yine ILO tarafından desteklenen ve uygulanan mültecilere yönelik aktif istihdam politikalarına uygulanmalarına yansıtıldığı gözlenmiş olsa da bunların işgücü piyasasındaki etkileri tartışmalıdır. Bunun altında yatan nedenlerden biri, Türkiye için de geçerli olan bu normatif çerçevelerin benimsenmesi konusunda ILO'nun bileşenleri arasındaki sınırlı fikir birliği olarak belirtilebilir. Buna paralel olarak, ILO'nun küreselleşmeye ve iş dünyasında değişen dinamiklere ayak uydurup uyduramadığına dair sorular da artmaktadır. Bacarro ve Mele (2012) tarafından belirtildiği gibi, örgüt normlarının sahiplenilmesini ve kabulünü artırmak için ILO'nun daha fazla adım atması gerekmektedir. ILO, mülteciler gibi geleneksel sosyal ortaklar tarafından temsil edilmeyen grupların ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ILO yönetim mekanizmalarında temsil edilmesini sağlayarak katılımcı yaklaşımını güçlendirebilir. Alternatif olarak, kırılgan grupları temsil etme ve ihtiyaçlarını savunma konusunda sosyal ortaklarının kapasitesini güçlendirmeye daha fazla odaklanabilir.

Aktif istihdam politikalarının uygulanma süreçleri incelediğinde, proje bazlı kısa uygulama döngülerinin ve donörlerin de dahil olduğu paydaşlar arasındaki sınırlı koordinasyonun aktivasyon programlarıyla uzun vadeli ve etkisi sürdürülebilir sonuçlar elde edilmesinin önünde engel teşkil eden dengeler arasında yer aldığı

görülmektedir. AB-Türkiye Anlaşması'nın mültecilere yönelik politikaları şekillendirmekteki etkisinde de görüldüğü üzere, donör konumunda yer alan ülkeler ile ev sahibi ülkeler arasındaki ilişkiler ve dengeler politika yapım süreçlerinde önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Bu tür anlaşmalar, mültecilerin işgücü piyasasına entegrasyonunu etkileyen faktörler arasında yer alan kamuoyu algısının şekillenmesinde de kilit rol oynamaktadırlar. Bu bulgulara dayanarak, işgücü piyasalarına erişimin kolaylaştırılması gibi kalkınma politikalarının desteklenmesine yönelik finansal mekanizmaların yeniden gözden geçirilmesi ve daha sürdürülebilir sonuçlar elde edilmesine imkân sağlayacak revizyonların gerçekleştirilmesi önerilmektedir. Bu değişiklikler arasında, uzun vadeli uygulama süreçleri ve altyapı desteğine imkân veren kaynakların ayrılması verilebilir. Bunların mümkün olmadığı süreçlerde ise ILO Türkiye Ofisi ve benzer kurumlar belirli yaş gruplarına ve sektörlere odaklanmayı düşünebilir.

Araştırma bulguları, Suriyeli mültecilerin işgücü piyasasına erişiminde aktif istihdam politikalarının rolünün iki yönlü olduğunu göstermektedir. Bir yandan, aktivasyon programları birbirini tamamlayacak şekilde planlanıp uygulandığında hem beceri geliştirme araçlarına erişimi desteklemekte hem de kayıtlı istihdama erişime olumlu katkıda bulunabilmektedir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında mültecilerin getirdikleri işgücü, ev sahibi ülkeler için rekabet gücünü destekleyen ve küresel firmaları cezbeden bir katma değer olarak değerlendirilebilir (Betts & Collier, 2015; Zetter & Ruaudel, 2018). Buna uygun olarak, aktif istihdam politikaları, kalkınmayı destekleyen ve işgücü piyasası entegrasyonunu kolaylaştıran araçlar olarak düşünülebilir. Bu bulgulara dayanarak aktif istihdam politikaları arasındaki tamamlayıcılığın ve koşulluluğun güçlendirilmesi önerilmektedir. Örneğin, işverenlerin maaş ve diğer istihdam teşviklerinin yararlanması, çalışanların beceri geliştirmeye veya dönüştürmeye odaklanmış aktif istihdam politikaları erişimine imkân sağlanması koşuluna bağlanabilir.

Öte yandan, aktif istihdam politikalarının istihdama erişimdeki rolünü yapısal sorunlarından bağımsız olarak değerlendirmek gerçekçi değildir. Aktivasyon programları kayıt dışı çalışma pratiğinin yüksek, iş müfettişleri tarafından yürütülen denetimlerin sınırlı olduğu durumlarda kayıtlı işlere erişimi zorlaştırır ve güvencesizlik yeniden üretilir. Türkiye'de kayıt dışı ekonominin varlığı genel

olarak kabul edilmiş olsa dahi, kayıt dışılığın hangi boyutlara ulaştığının kesin olarak hesaplanabilmesi mümkün görünmemektedir. Bu çalışma, Tunalı (2003) tarafından “gizli istihdam” olarak da adlandırılan kayıt dışılığı mültecilerin karşılaştığı en önemli zorluk olarak nitelendirmektedir. Kayıt dışılık çalışma koşullarını kötüleştirmekte ve zorla çalıştırma riskini artırmaktadır. Araştırmacı saha gözlemlerine dayanarak, zorla çalıştırma riskine ilişkin, mültecilerin elde edebilecekleri tek yasal belge olan geçici koruma kartlarının veya çalışma izni kartlarının işverenler tarafından alındığı ve mülteci işçilerin başka yerlerde çalışmasının kısıtlandığı vakaları not düşmektedir. İşverenler bunu denetimler için bir dokümantasyon stratejisi olarak açıklarken, her ne kadar çalışma izinleri sadece iznin alındığı işyerinde geçerli olsa da mülteciler arasındaki algı bununla çelişmektedir. Özetle bu çalışma, mültecilerin karşılaştığı temel sorunun işsizlik değil, insana yakışır çalışma koşulları ve ücretler sunan kayıtlı istihdama erişememe olduğunu savunmaktadır. Mevcut yasal çerçeve kayıtlı istihdama izin verirken, yasanın uygulanması sınırlı kalmakta, bu da yasa ile uygulanışı arasında çelişkilere yol açmaktadır.

Tezde ayrıca, hem mültecilerin insana yakışır işlere erişimini sağlamak hem de kayıt dışılıkla mücadele etmek için kamu kurumlarının konuyu sahiplenmesi ve çözüm önerilerinin üretilmesinde öncü rol olmalarının önemine dikkat çekilmektedir. Kamu kurumlarının bu süreçlerde aktif rol almaması, yapılan yatırımların sürdürülebilirliğini ile etkisini sınırlandırıp, ayrılan kaynakların daha verimsiz kullanılması riskini doğurur. Buna paralel olarak, tezde, bahsi geçen yapısal sorunların çözüme kavuşturulabilmesi için sosyal diyalog platformlarının güçlendirilmesi önerilmektedir. Türkiye’de Ekonomik ve Sosyal Konsey’in etkinleştirilmesi ve yerel düzeyde de iyileştirmelere yardımcı olabilecek İl İstihdam ve Mesleki Eğitim Kurullarının daha işlevsel hale getirilmesi politika önerileri olarak not düşülmüştür. Bu öneriler, ILO’nun üçlü yapı ilkesinin savunduğu değerlerle de paralellik göstermektedir. Ek olarak, kayıt dışılıkla mücadelede işgücü denetim mekanizmalarının kapasitesi güçlendirilmelidir. Yukarıda bahsedilen geri dönüş söyleminden hareketle, tezde, Suriye’deki güvenlik endişelerinin ortadan kalkması koşuluyla, olası geri dönüş planlarının bir parçası olarak, mülteci işçilerin SGK primlerinin kendi ülkelerine aktarılabileceği veya işçilerin kendilerine ödenebileceği bir sosyal güvenlik

politikasının geliştirilmesi önerilmektedir. Bunun, mültecilerin kayıtlı istihdama ilişkin çalışması için bir teşvik görevi de göreceği düşünülmektedir.

Çalışma, belediyelerin aktif istihdam politikaları aracılığıyla mültecilerin işgücü piyasalarına erişimini kolaylaştırmadaki olumlu rolünü de dikkat çekmektedir. Mültecilere yönelik politikalar yürütmelerine ve onların temel ihtiyaçlarının karşılanmasına dair yönlendirici bir mevzuatın eksikliğine ve sınırları içindeki mülteci nüfusa oranla bir kamu bütçesine erişimlerinin olmamasına rağmen, belediyeler, en az sivil toplum örgütleri ve Birleşmiş Milletler kurumları kadar yoğun destek programları uygulamaktadır. Belediyeler, dil kursları ve sosyal destek programları gibi çeşitli hizmetler sunup, Suriyeli mültecilerin kendi işlerini kurmalarını destekleyen programlar yürütmekte, hem ihtiyaç sahibi ev sahibi grupların hem de mültecilerin barındırma sorunlarına çözüm üretebilmek için çaba sarf etmektedir. Belediyeler, yerel sosyo-ekonomik dinamiklere ilişkin bilgi birikimleri, ihtiyaçların tespiti ve giderilmesine yönelik kapasiteleri ve yine bölgelerindeki sosyal ve kültürel dinamiklere olan hakimiyetleri nedeniyle, hem bölgelerindeki ihtiyaç sahibi ev sahibi gruplara hem de mültecilere yönelik destek programlarının yürütülmesinde ideal aktörler olarak nitelendirilmektedir. ILO Türkiye Ofisi'nin İstanbul ve Adana Büyükşehir Belediyeleri'yle yaptığı iş birliklerinden edindiği tecrübelerde de görüldüğü üzere, yerel yönetimler, aktif istihdam politikalarının uygulanmasında ve hedef grupların gelir getirici faaliyetlere erişiminde önemli rol oynamaktadır. Bu bulgulardan hareketle, belediyelerin ölçülebilir uyum ve entegrasyon çabalarına paralellik gösterecek şekilde daha fazla finans kaynağına erişimlerinin sağlanması ve kaynak geliştirme politikalarının geliştirilmesi önerilmektedir.

Tezde ayrıca aktif istihdam politikaları aracılığıyla kadınların işgücü piyasasına katılımının desteklenmesine de dikkat çekilmektedir. Bulgular, Suriyeli kadınların da geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinden ve ücretsiz aile işçiliğinden mustarip olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu bulgu,

Birleşmiş Milletler Cinsiyet Eşitliği ve Kadınların Güçlendirilmesi Kurumu ve Sığınmacılar ve Göçmenlerle Dayanışma Derneği tarafından hazırlanan kadın istihdamı raporunu verileriyle de desteklenmektedir. Rapora göre;

- Suriyeli kadınların yüzde 8'inin çocuk bakımı sorumlulukları,
- yüzde 20'sinin erkek hane reislerinden izin/onay alamaması,
- yüzde 11'inin yaşlı ve engelli hane halkı üyelerine bakma sorumlulukları aktif olarak iş aramadığını belirtmektedir.

Bu çalışma, kadınlara yönelik aktif istihdam politikalarının, geleneksel olarak kadın meslekleri olarak tabir edilen kuaförlük, terziilik gibi çoğunlukla kayıt dışı olarak hane içinde gelir getirici işlere odaklandıkları yönünde bir eleştiri sunmaktadır. Bu nedenlerden kaynaklı olarak, kadınların kayıtlı olarak işgücü piyasasına erişimlerinin artırılmasında hedeflenen başarı yakalanamamaktadır. Her ne kadar istihdamı desteklemek noktasında zayıf kalsalar dahi, bahsi geçen aktif istihdam politikalarının kadınların sosyal uyum süreçlerine katkıda bulunduğu, işgücü piyasasına ve istihdama katılıma dair temel bir farkındalık geliştirmelerine destek olduğu not düşülmektedir. Kadın istihdamının desteklenmesi noktasında tez, işveren ve kamu kurumlarının da sorumluluk aldığı bir bağlamda kayıtlı istihdama yönelik aktivasyon programlarının uygulanması gerektiğinin altını çizmektedir. Ek olarak, çocuk bakım hizmetlerine erişimin artırılmasına yönelik sosyal politikalar geliştirilmesinin ve gerekli alt yapının sağlanmasının altı önemle çizilmektedir. Son olarak tez sosyal yardım programlarından kayıtlı istihdama geçişini destekleyen politikaların geliştirilmesi ve uygulanması gerekliliğine dikkat çekmektedir. ESSN (Emergency Social Safety Net) olarak bilinen, sosyal uyum yardımı, yaygın kayıt dışılık ve yüksek işsizlik oranlarının yanı sıra Suriyeli mülteciler arasında sınırlı kayıtlı istihdamın nedenlerinden biri olarak öne çıkmaktadır. ESSN, en yoksul hedef kitlelerin temel ihtiyaçlarının karşılanmasında kilit bir rol oynasa dahi, tezde, yalnızca istihdama erişimi kolaylaştırmak için değil aynı zamanda kayıt dışılıkla mücadele için de sosyal yardım sistemlerinden çıkıp, ihtiyaç sahibi grupların kendi gelirlerini el edebilir konuma gelebilmeleri adına aktivasyon stratejilerinin geliştirilmesi gerektiğini not düşmektedir.

Sonuç olarak bu çalışma, Suriyeli mültecilerin işgücü piyasalarına erişiminin desteklenmesi noktasında aktif istihdam politikalarının olumlu bir rol oynadığı savını ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca, ILO sözleşme ve tavsiye kararlarının sunduğu normatif çerçevenin uzun vadeli politika geliştirme süreçlerine olumlu

katkı sunacağı not düşölüp, ILO'nun, yoksulluk, eksik istihdam ve işsizliđin olumsuz sonuçlarıyla mücadele için sosyal politikalar oluşturmaya yönelik bir çerçeve sunduđu belirtilmektedir. Bu tez, ILO Türkiye Ofisi tarafından desteklenen Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik aktif istihdam politikalarının nasıl tasarlandığı, uygulandığı ve desteklendiđine ilişkin detaylı bir analiz sunup, bu analizlerin ortaya koyduđu sorunlarının çözümüne ilişkin politika önerileri sunmaktadır.

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