

ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE PROGRAMS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM

THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES: THE CASE STUDY OF VOCATIONAL
EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMMES IN TURKEY

LIUDMYLA YILDIRIM

117605036

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Gülay Uğur Göksel

ISTANBUL 2021

**MÜLTECİLERİN EKONOMİK ENTEGRASYONU: TÜRKİYE'DEKİ EĞİTİM VE ÖĞRETİM
PROGRAMLARININ VAKA ÇALIŞMASI**

LIUDMYLA YILDIRIM

117605036

Tez Danışmanı : Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Gülay Uğur Göksel (İmza)
.....İstanbul Bilgi..... Üniversitesi

Jüri Üyeleri Doç. Dr. Fulya Memişoğlu (İmza)
.....Yıldız Teknik..... Üniversitesi

Jüri Üyesi: Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya (İmza)
.....İstanbul Bilgi..... Üniversitesi

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih :18/02/2021.....

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı:130.....

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Suriyeli mülteciler
- 2) Mesleki eğitim
- 3) Ekonomik entegrasyon
- 4) Projeler
- 5) Programlar

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) Syrian refugees
- 2) Vocational education
- 3) Economic integration
- 4) Projects
- 5) Programmes

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>TABLE OF CONTENTS</u>	<u>iii</u>
<u>LIST OF TABLES</u>	<u>iv</u>
<u>TABLE OF FIGURES</u>	<u>v</u>
<u>TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS</u>	<u>vi</u>
<u>ABSTRACT</u>	<u>viii</u>
<u>ÖZET</u>	<u>ix</u>
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>CHAPTER 1:</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>ECONOMIC THEORIES OF MIGRATION: LITERATURE REVIEW</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>CHAPTER 2:</u>	<u>31</u>
<u>GLOBAL AGENDA ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES</u>	<u>31</u>
<u>CHAPTER 3:</u>	<u>53</u>
<u>REFUGEE CRISIS IN TURKEY FROM THE HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY APPROACH</u>	<u>53</u>
<u>CHAPTER 4:</u>	<u>77</u>
<u>IMPLEMENTATION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES AND PROJECTS IN TURKEY: ANALYSIS, EVALUATION, COMPARISON</u>	<u>77</u>
<u>CONCLUSIONS</u>	<u>112</u>
<u>REFERENCES</u>	<u>118</u>

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table 1: Geography of Syrian Refugees in Turkey.....</u>	<u>74</u>
<u>Table 2: EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey projects.....</u>	<u>92</u>

TABLE OF FIGURES

<u>Figure 1 The Structure of Financial Aids on Vocational Education for Refugees.....</u>	<u>33</u>
<u>Figure 2: Educational attainment among Syrian refugees. ILO, 2021</u>	
<u>Figure 2: Educational attainment among Syrian refugees. ILO, 2021.....</u>	<u>64</u>
<u>Figure 3Amount of children born among Syrian refugees in Turkey between 2016 – 2019. World Bank, 2020.....</u>	<u>67</u>
<u>Figure 4: Gender proportion of Syrian refugee population in Turkey age 18 – 69. ILO, 2018....</u>	<u>69</u>
<u>Figure 5: Amount of illiterate refugees. UNDP, 2017.....</u>	<u>71</u>
<u>Figure 6: Syrian refugees vs Turkish natives working hours. ILO, 2018.....</u>	<u>72</u>
<u>Figure 7: Project on supporting employment and VET for Syrian refugees and host communities by İŞKUR. GIZ, 2019.....</u>	<u>89</u>

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALMP	– Active Labour Market Programmes
ASAM	– Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants BMZ - German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CCTE	– Conditional Cash Transfers for Education
CPSR	– Certificate Program for Syrian Refugees CW – Concern Worldwide
DAAD	– German Academic Exchange Service
DGMM	– Directorate General of Migration Management ESSN – Emergency Social Safety Net EU – European Union
EUTF	– European Union Trust Fund
EUTF	– European Union Trust Fund
FCI	– Finn Church Aid
FRIT	– EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey
FRiT	– Facility for Refugees in Turkey
GIZ	– Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
HAC	– Humanitarian Action for Children
ICRC	– International Committee of the Red Cross
ILO	– International Labour Organization
IOM	– International Organization for Migration
IPA	– Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
ISMEK	– İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Merkezi KfW – Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau
LFIP	– Law on Foreigners and International Protection MDG – Millennium Development Goals
MIPEX	– Migrant Integration Policy Index
MoFLSS	– Turkish Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services

MoLSS – Ministry of Labour and Social Security
MoNE – the Ministry of National Education
NGO – Non-governmental organization
OECD – Organization for Economic Co-operation and
Development
SDG – Sustainable Development Goals
SuTP – Syrian under Temporary Protection
TVET – Technical and Vocational Education and
Training
TRC – Turkish Red Crescent
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
UNEVOC-UNESCO – International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education
and Training of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR – United Nations high Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund
UNW – United Nations Women
VET – Vocational Education and Training
WB – World Bank
WFP – World Food Programme
YÖK – Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu (Turkish Higher Education Council)

ABSTRACT

Economic integration of the Syrian refugees failed despite all financial and human resources contributed to their professional education. The reasons for that are related to the poor human capital they have and the governmental irrational policy demotivating refugees to be legally employed. Simultaneously, the international organizations and governments co-operating with the NGOs do not make enough monitoring and advocacy over the amount of actually officially employed refugees who completed vocational education and training. The complication of VET programmes and projects are caused by often conservative Syrian societal approach when women are not encouraged to work. As a result, there is high percentage of underutilized and/or unemployable labour force, which in better case return to informal employment. The task of the paper is not only to identify and explain the main reasons why this is happening, but also to offer certain basic solutions that could pay attention of the local NGOs to advocate.

Key words: Syrian refugees, vocational education, economic integration, self-sustainability, TVET projects and programmes.

ÖZET

Suriyeli mültecilerin ekonomik entegrasyonu, tüm mali ve insan kaynaklarının mesleki eğitimlerine katkıda bulunmasına rağmen başarısız oldu. Bunun nedenleri, sahip oldukları zayıf insan kaynakları ve mültecilerin yasal olarak istihdam edilme motivasyonunu düşüren hükümetin mantıksız politikaları ile ilgilidir. Aynı zamanda, STK'larla işbirliği yapan uluslararası kuruluşlar ve hükümetler, mesleki eğitim ve öğretimi tamamlayan fiilen resmi olarak istihdam edilen mültecilerin miktarı konusunda yeterli izleme ve aktif destek yapmamaktadır. Mesleki eğitim programlarının ve projelerinin komplikasyonu genellikle kadınların çalışmaya teşvik edilmediği muhafazakar Suriyeli toplumunun yaklaşımından kaynaklanmaktadır. Bunların sonucu olarak, az kullanılan ve / veya işsiz işgücünün yüksek yüzdesinin olması ve en iyi durumda da bu işgücünün yasa dışı istihdama dönmesidir. Makalenin görevi sadece bunun ana nedenlerini belirlemek ve açıklamak değil, aynı zamanda yerel STK'ların dikkatini çekebilecek bazı temel çözümler sunmaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Suriyeli mülteciler, mesleki eğitim, ekonomik entegrasyon, kendi kendine sürdürülebilirlik, mesleki eğitim ve yeterlilik projeleri ve programları

INTRODUCTION

As long as we know humankind, migration has been an essential part of its life. An attempts to explain the laws of migration in a universal concept did not stand critical expertise of the opponents, who looked at the cause of migration from different angles. Every theory has own right point because it explains different aspects of such a multipolar and complicated phenomenon as migration. Migration, however, has broad sphere of expertise, which includes the reasons why people leave their places of stay, how and where they migrate, and what happens to them after. The post-migration situation which people face in the hosting country shows clearly if the country is willing to receive certain amount of immigrants and from which countries. This is one of the ways to show the diplomatic and political relations between the countries according to their open-or close- border policy. Among others, the central reason of the level of hospitality lays in estimated human capital of the migrant representatives. In other words, the countries are making sort of filtering of the human capital, giving preferences to those migrants and refugees who can share their knowledge and skills in return. The higher human capital of the migrant/refugee, the more opportunities for formal employment he/she can get, and the more labour service benefits the hosting country can receive. According to Bela Balassa (1961), “The theory of economic integration can be regarded as a part of international economics, but it also enlarges the field of international trade theory by exploring the impact of a fusion of national markets on growth and examining the need for the coordination of economic policies in a union (p. 3). That is why, the theoretical frame of my research includes the human capital theory.

The idea of the human capital theory is that those refugees who have higher human capital (professional knowledge and skills) have broader opportunities for economic integration in the hosting country. Labour market has low tolerance for low human capital, offering low wages,

involvement in informal and vulnerable employment and even violation of labour rights. The solution for this is increasing labour competitiveness of the individuals via making human capital investments, such as professional and on-the-jobs trainings, language courses, etc.

Voluntary migration in its majority is not as much hardly to accept as the forced one by those who make this migration. Mostly, while migrating voluntarily for different purposes the migrants already have certain human, financial or any other resources that they are planning to use in a foreign country. Forced migration does not give this benefit, because in many cases refugees do not have time and conditions to think and plan their future in the country of destination. Armed conflicts and natural disasters at some point already traumatize people who leave their country of origin and save themselves. Sometimes, their knowledge and skills are not enough to become self-sustainable people who would have same rights as the native ones. On the other hand, refugees, as the majority of voluntary migrants, try to stick to their small communities and groups of a comfort zone, limiting integration into the hosting society.

Turkish refugee crisis case is one of the most prominent examples on how massive inflow of the refugees with contrasting level of human capital can shift internal labour market balance. Since the beginning of war in Syria and creation of numerous funds aiming to help refugees with humanitarian aid, education, medical and social care, etc. Syrian refugees still find it hard to get integrated in Turkey. A special concern is about their participation in formal economy and education, because these two elements are the most essential parts of self-sustainable living. For that reason, my research interest is focused on why Syrian refugees living in Turkey have low level of economic integration. As an example, vocational and technical education (VET) programmes and projects offer educational services without high demands to the human capital at start. The

governmental and non-governmental institutions and organizations offer VET for Syrian refugees, which can help them find the job and get integrated into the Turkish economy.

the refugee's economic integration stands on two pillars: 1) human capital investment based on adequate estimation of the professional education outcomes; 2) proper governmental support reflected in refugees-tolerable policy on working residence permit, taxes, social security premium, etc. In the first case, the human capital investment does not merely depend on the quality of professional education programmes, but also on the human capital at start they are counted on and active participation of target groups. Human capital at start means education level/literacy of Syrian refugees, their age and gender, which can help programme designers to put an adequate prognosis on the success of VET programmes. In the second case, the formal economic participation should not be loss-making and time-consuming neither for Syrian employee nor for Turkish employer. For employers, formal employment of refugees, especially those ones who have problems with legal stay in Turkey requires more time and financial efforts than if they were hiring Turkish natives. Considering the special status and condition of the refugees, which differs them from other immigrants aiming to get work permit, it puts them in unequal conditions and complicates their involvement in labour market. Social resilience which Syrian refugees have met in Turkey is another argument showing discriminative character of Turkish labour market. According to Suat Kınıklıoğlu (2020), "Turkish society has shown great resilience in absorbing a total number of refugees that now equals the size of Croatia's population, constituting almost five percent of Turkey's population" (p. 1). Thus, despite the donations aimed to sustain economic integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey, there is certain ineffectiveness in refugees integration policy, which does not imply the necessary effect on their involvement in formal economic sector.

Despite the fact that some of the refugees are not eager to get into the labour market since they see Turkey as transition zone to migrate for Europe, the majority group is considered to stay in Turkey permanently. This group of refugees can get social protection guarantees granted by Turkish labour law only by completing work permit procedure and involve into the labour market. The European Union openly declared that they prefer not to let Syrian refugees in. As a compromise to the situation with the refugee crisis issue and keep refugees in Turkey, the EU and the Turkish government made an agreement in 2016. This deal at the end would keep Syrian refugees in Turkey in return for financial aid from the EU and other international donors.

The implementation mechanisms for this agreement included several global frameworks such as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs), The Global Compact on Refugees, the Global Jobs Pact, and The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Actions. The world's largest agencies, including the UN, the World Bank, European Commission, etc. designed VET programmes and projects that became focus of my analysis. These organizations along with other stakeholders, including Turkish government and non-governmental organizations have implemented the VET agendas for Syria refugees. According to the paper "EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey", updated on March 31, 2020: "The EU Facility has a total budget of €6 billion for humanitarian and development actions: €3 billion for 2016-2017 and €3 billion for 2018-2019". The implementing partners in the area of education and socio-economic support in Turkey include UNICEF, the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MoNE), Expertise France, and International Centre for Migration Policy Development. The total amount for those projects together counts (by total and committed amount) is 136.358.356€ (EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, 2020). Among them, 30.000.000€ has been committed to VET (Executor Expertise France, NET payment made to project is 5.887.479€) (EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, 2020). Those implementing partners

distribute the financial contributions among the institutions and organizations who facilitate and coordinate those vocational trainings and projects for refugees. For example, in the portfolio of project Labour-Int on Social Integration of Syrian Refugees Through VET it is mentioned that “At the end of project activities the aforementioned 1 million 652 thousand Syrian refugees will be effected positively due to the project activities” (Atar, 2019). However, it is quite a blurred definition of the positive effects on refugees, especially in the part of reproduction of VET models and curriculum. Thus, our task is to answer the question **why despite all grants and financial contributions into the programs on integration of refugees into the labour market there is still relatively low involvement of them in formal employment?**

In my analysis, there are three indicators of the project/programme success:

- a) geography and target groups of the programmes and projects;
- b) activities and additional support the offer (jobs consultations, legal help, etc.);
- c) monitoring of the programmes’ and projects’ success outcomes according to the amount/percentage of VET courses participants who got officially employed.

For getting objective conclusions, this paper required the **in-desk research method**, collect and check available data (statistics, data on projects, financial support from the official reports, etc.) (Voutira, Dona, 2007, p. 164). It allows making general explanations on why the donations into vocational education for refugees does not bring expected outcome. to the paper explains the general matters of the international assistance and Turkish cooperation.

While checking the demographic, legal and employment data related to refugees in Turkey (which is limited and can be considered as relative since there is no coherent or updated numbers), it becomes clear that there are **several reasons why aids aimed help resolve problem with economic integration is not effective**. Those reasons can be divided into three groups: 1)

incoherence between the proposed VET program and actual labour market demands; 2) weak cooperation of institutions conducting VET with the local employers; 3) lack of legal and financial subsidies for those refugees who apply for official work permit. In this paper, there are three main aspect answering the research question. First, the thesis will discover the core problems of the VET programs and projects approaching official data and statistics. Second, it will give a feedback to the actions of Turkish government towards Syrian refugees from the perspective of issues that depend specifically on the Turkish internal policy. Third, the paper will give several recommendations on what measures could if not solve, than at least improve formal labour force participation of Syrian refugees in Turkey and make them more integrated in Turkish economy.

CHAPTER 1:

ECONOMIC THEORIES OF MIGRATION: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Migration has always played an important role in the formation of the population and, accordingly, in the labour market and economy. The fundamental changes in the nature and direction of migration occurred in the second half of the 19th century. Mostly, it was due to the revolutionary changes in life and labour conditions of people living in the most developed European and the New World countries, where rapid development of industry, transport and communications occurred. The construction of factories, railways, and the mass production with labour division has changed the nature of labour and the territorial scope of its use. Millions of people were cut off from their usual place of stay and were forced to migrate in search for better living conditions.

Initially, the so-called countries of traditional immigration (Australia, Canada, and the United States) emerged as the most prominent destination places for the European migrants. In the post-war period the quantity and geographical composition of migrants changed: instead of Europe, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America became the dominant source of migrants in the world. As for Europe, it now became the place of destination for many migrants and refugees. Since the 1970s and 1980s, the countries of southern Europe such as Portugal, Spain and Italy, which for many decades supplied migrants to the northern Europe and America, have begun to host migrants and refugees from Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe (Massey, Arango, Hugo, 1993, p. 431). In these changing conditions of destination and profile of migrants, the question about the theoretical understanding of the concept of migration has become more prevalent. Until now, there is no unified, coherent and covering all aspects theory of migration, which is quite natural

considering the multidimensional character of migration. The existing theories were developed mainly separated from each other and they are rather fragmented, describing narrow parts from the general picture. Nevertheless, this analysis can be the starting point in the understanding the processes of migration (voluntary or involuntary) and its impact on labour markets.

The theoretical approach to the explanation of migration in general and forced migration specifically can be divided into three levels which differ by the angle of focus, whether it is economy, culture, ecology, psychology, survival, etc. The scholars employed micro, mezzo and macro levels for analysis of theories of international migration. These theories puts emphasis on individual and group/mass-migration/displacement, its preconditions and peculiarities of migration policies. While micro and mezzo theories are mostly explaining the phenomena of individual/smaller groups voluntary migration, macro theories are most relevant to the involuntary displacement of large groups, i.e. refugees and as a result of a non-consolidated/weak state.

Economic theories of migration characterize not only the reasons and conditions for migration, but also integration into the host community and society. In the context of *forced migration caused by natural disaster or armed conflict*, I would put the importance of integration above the reasons for migration because they are already obvious. Further destiny of the refugees and asylum seekers, especially their ability to get self-sustainable economically is the key issue to focus on. How does economic integration of refugees happen, who is designing and modeling it, and how does it progress – those explanations I search in economic theories of migration. The case of Syrian refugee crisis proves that improper approach to refugees' integration programmes and projects design leads to failure of their economic integration. When Syrian refugees inflow to Turkey has been increasing since the war in Syria started, it became harder to cope with the consequences of their vulnerability and need for help. Economic issues related to low level of

formal employment among refugees on the background of Turkish internal economic crisis over the last three years require evaluation of the economic integration theories. The reason for such an importance is that theory is essential not only to explain why refugees are not getting involved in formal economy but also to find the solution to it. As a case, I believe that it is better to analyze programmes and projects on professional education for refugees.

The focus of this thesis is on the analysis of the programmes on economic integration of Syrian refugees via vocational education and what does it imply in the context of human capital theory. To answer the main research question, I revised several most outstanding theories interpreting labour migration and further economic integration. These are push-pull factors model, neoclassical, synthetic, dual market, world system and the human capital theories. While giving those theories practical usage in analysis of the refugees' economic integration programmes and projects, I considered human capital theory approach as the most relevant and useful one. I consider that programmes aiming increase legal employment of Syrian refugees in Turkey indicate necessity to improve their human capital and make refugees be employable and compatible on the labour market. Vocational education as one of the actions to achieve the goal I consider as an investment, which governments make to turn human capital self-sustainable. By doing such investments, the state later can receive feedbacks or contributions to its economy from legalized labour force. Thus, considering the emphasis of global refugees' economic integration agendas and programmes on improved quality of human capital, I also focused on the human capital theory as a fundamental basis of research.

It is crucial to emphasize that every analyzed theory explains migration only from certain angle. None of them fully discovers and solves the whole spectrum of reasons why majority of refugees are not officially employed. Certain elements can change from country to country

considering internal politico-economic dynamics, but the overall tendency cause refugee crisis is relevant to the whole world. By choosing one theory, I do not exclude others, but only interpret it from the position which lays closest to the object of our research. Indeed, it is necessary to give a clear understanding on why in the context of my critical analysis of vocational education programmes and project for refugees I refer to human capital concept most. To make my choice objective, I make correlation between other economic integration theories and explain why they do not fit into my research focus. For this purpose, in this chapter, I will approach the most prominent economic theories of migration and address their ability to analyze vocational education for Syrian refugees living in Turkey.

Push-Pull Factors Model

One of the most prominent classical economic *theories/models of migration is a push/pull factors model*, created in the 1960s by Everett S. Lee in his article: “A Theory of Migration.” Important to admit Lee’s reference to Ernest George Ravenstein’s article “The Laws of Migration” – an earlier attempt to establish general patterns of development of migration processes based on the empirical approach. Ravenstein defined seven laws of migration¹ with the special attention to gender aspects, which was quite an innovation at that time (Ravenstein, 1885, pp. 167 – 235). In Lee’s migration theory, on each territory there are different factors operating migration, such as holding, attracting and pushing (Lee, 1966, p. 53). They determine the arrival and departure of individuals or groups of people along with the additional factors that affect this process. Fair to say that Lee was one of the first academicians to structure the factors influencing migration processes. Those can be pushing factors related to economy (unemployment, low income, high

¹ While studying migration data on the USA and other countries, Ravenstein has increased the number of laws of migration by eleven.

taxes), social and political climate (poverty, discrimination, restrictions on human rights and freedoms, war), unfavourable natural and climatic conditions, etc. The pulling factors attracting migrants/refugees can be high economic development, high wages, the safety of the country, access to free competition on the labour market (including the informal sector, which is especially important for involuntary migrants, means refugees), etc.

The changeable character of these push/pull factors he describes as a part of a *counter stream* concept (Lee, 1966, p. 55), when I observe migration back to the country of origin. Lee considers migration as a decision that cannot be fully rational. Neither it is always a willing choice of a person to migrate. However, Lee observed some certain geographical streams (or routes) of migration, which may cause the opposite flow of migrants. Thus, he sees migration in two conditional categories: stream, which is migration from the origin place and counter-stream, which is return back. The correlation or ratio between these two categories Lee determined as efficiency of a stream. Consequently, the higher negative factor in the place of origin (natural disaster, economic crisis, war, etc.) – the higher efficiency of the stream, and lower efficiency of the counter-stream. Normally, stream and counter-stream is more intense between socially and economically different points of origin and destination. Between similar ones migration flows are weaker.

In the context of counter flow interpretation of migration, Lee refers to the example of Italian immigrants in the U.S who preferred to work in the U.S. and earn enough to provide themselves more comfortable life in Italy instead of staying in the USA on permanent conditions. On the opposite, and I agree with this part in regards to forced migration, “the efficiency of the stream (ratio of the stream to counter stream or the net redistribution of the population affected by the opposite flows) is high if the major factors in the development of a migration stream were

minus factors at the origin” (Lee, 1966, p. 55). I may refer this to the situations when non-voluntary migration occurs, such as political repressions, genocide, armed conflict, famine, etc. In practice, the largest forced migration flows are coming from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, and Somalia.

In the context of Lee’s theoretical contributions, important to emphasize that along with the push-pull factors, some “intervening obstacles” (Lee, 1966, p. 50) affect migration processes. They occur more with the increasing distance between territories and can be restrictors of migration flows. Intermediate factors include transport costs, legal regulations and policy, availability of information about the intended destination place, etc. Despite Lee’s theory dedicates a lot of attention to econometric characteristics of migration and stages of peoples’ life cycle (level of education, age, family status, etc.), fair to estimate this analysis skeptically when speaking about the refugees. The weak part of the theory is that Lee is focused on the economic factors of migration and ignores non-economic ones. For example, when consider Turkish case and the factors which brought refugees here, the only one pulling factor is higher rate of safety than in Syria. The other factors that could explain failure of economic integration programmes do not fit the rest of the pulling factors to be considered while describing the nature of refugees’ economic integration. Turkey has developing economy, which in the last few years transformed into the decreasing economy with further crisis. Considering willingness of many refugees to go further to the developed Western countries, I consider Turkish economic condition and reputation as particularly anti-pulling factor. Turkish native employers do not have motivation to hire Syrian refugees, which is following the political position of the Turkish government. That is why, in the situation with Turkey, I consider push/pull theory as not fully justifiable to examine refugees’ economic integration.

Neoclassical Migration Theory

The *neoclassical migration theory* by Milton Friedman proceeds from the presence of free competition. The theory was originally developed to explain labour migration in the process of economic development. The neoclassical economy characterizes migration processes on macro and micro levels. In terms of macro level, there is impact of debates between the institutionalists and neoclassicists regarding the organization of economic theory. Milton Friedman in his essay “The Methodology of Positive Economics” argued that predictive ability is more beneficial than descriptive realism when it comes to testing economic theory (Friedman, 1953, p. 30). In his article, Friedman defined three main aspects of international labour migration. First, the difference of wages between the countries can cause international labour migration. Second, labour market is the most important mechanism for generating and regulating the international labour migration and its amount of flows and intensity. Third, partly, the governments of the sending and hosting countries can influence migration flows by national policy regulations. They include taxes, procedures and conditions for receiving status of stay, work permit, etc.

Later in the same article, Friedman notes that criticism of economic theory in its orthodox form² is unjustified, since “it assumes markets to be perfect, the competition to be pure, and commodities, labour and capital to be homogenous” (Friedman, 1953, p. 31). As Everett Lee, Friedman emphasizes intermediate factors of migration, such as expenses on transportation, accommodation, the search of a job, learning language and culture, psychological costs of breaking old contacts and establishing new ones, etc. I partly agree with neoclassicists that the migrants with a higher level of education get more benefits from labour migration than the ones with the lower level. However, the theory is suitable for analysis of regular migrant workers, not refugees.

² Later on June 29, 1966, Friedman put on a tape record noting that “The validity of a theory depends upon whether its implications are refuted, not upon the reality or unreality of its assumptions”.

When it comes to forced migration with all its consequences, often refugees have difficulties in finding a job abroad that would suit their professional qualification. As a result, some circumstances such as limited demands of the labour market, specific requirements to job candidates, the necessity of language proficiency etc. demand investment into new qualifications and competencies. Refugees have less options to escape to the countries with higher wage proposals: they firstly choose neighbor countries. For example, Syrian refugees escaped firstly to Turkey and Jordan – countries nearby with lower economic standards than the majority of the European countries. In addition, the mass inflow of immobile lower quality labour force (refugees) which is not demanded by the local labour market creates sort of a labour vacuum. In this situation, neither market is not able to regulate the stream of labour force nor the labour force is able to flow to another market.

Hence, for several reasons, Friedman's theory is not relevant for the analysis of how vocational education influences refugees' economic integration. His theory is based on the analysis of the pure market, whilst in Turkish case there is large disbalance between the labour demand and labour proposal. The disadvantage of Friedman's theory is that the labour market a-priori cannot be perfect and it takes time to balance labour demand. In this part, I would agree with Massey about the practical impossibility of creating such a global economic equilibrium that would totally eliminate migration.

Synthetic Migration Theory

In terms of micro-level, international migration is understood as a form of investment in human capital. In the voluntary type of migration, individuals choose the new place of destination

according to his/her qualifications, and additional investments they need to make. Douglas Massey has formulated and described *a synthetic, or network, migration theory* as a result of globalization and growth of migration flows. In the context of forced migration economy, I tend to approach this theory critically since here an indicator for analyzing the intensity of social network building is remittances (money transfer). Massey, however, has developed a rational pattern in interpersonal relations of migrants individually and in groups, which concludes in a large social network. In his article “Economic Development and International Migration in Comparative Perspective”, Massey considers the wrong statement that migrants move in response to differences in the economic development of the country. As evidence, Massey refers to his analysis of the intercontinental migration to the U.S. in 1846 – 1924, a time of European industrialization. According to him, Great Britain was “the first country to develop economically”, yet the country which “sent by far the largest number of immigrants abroad” (Massey, 1989, p. 386). Opposing to Friedman’s idea that no wage gap – no migration, Massey gives a strong argument about the cyclical nature of economic growth, which a-priori makes additional conditions for migration.

In the article “Theories of International Migration: Review and Appraisal”, Massey et.al. in the context of labour migration note that developed countries are managing selective policy in regards to equal access to social security, education, and participation in financial operations (Massey, 1993, p. 439). Simultaneously, Massey emphasizes that “international migration and local employment are not mutually exclusive possibilities” (Massey, Arango, Hugo, et al., 1993, p. 439). The role of the governmental policy in this part should not be underestimated in terms of creating legal, economic, social and educational conditions for accumulation of human capital

World System Theory

The *world system theory* by Immanuel Wallerstein considers migration in the context of the world-system paradigm. The world (or a specific country) is divided between the periphery, semi-periphery and the centre (Wallerstein, 1995, p. 632). As a result of the historical expansion of capitalism, the structures of the periphery are changing, peasants are losing their land, and the cities are developing. In his work “The Modern World-System and Evolution”, Wallerstein notes that “the creation of such commodity chains is what permits us to describe the axial division of labour as a core/periphery phenomenon in which unequal exchange is a major mechanism of surplus transfer and concentration” (Wallerstein, 1995, p. 635). Thus, the globalization accelerates migration processes, and emerging global cities create demand for immigrant labour. Wallerstein believes that along with the economic penetration into the periphery, a non-capitalist society is forming a mobile population that is prone to migration abroad. The author has quite a critical idea on the behavioral paths of the capitalist centres. He combines the economic and political capability of several monopolists that use its resources for keeping the power and for “endless accumulation of capital” (Wallerstein, 1995, p. 635). The reason why this system succeeds is that “strong states in the core can work to ensure that states in the periphery do not become strong enough to interfere with the process of the worldwide accumulation of capital” (Wallerstein, 1995, p. 635). Driven by the desire for higher profits and wealth, the owners and managers of the capitalist companies entered the territory of the poor countries, which are located on the periphery of the world economy, with the purpose to find land, raw materials, labour and the new consumer markets.

Douglas Massey et. all in his “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal” have structured Wallerstein’s theory and gave it a certain explanation frame. As a part of the world system theory, Massey noted that migration is a natural result of some dislocations and breaks that occur in the process of economic development (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 445). Since

capitalism has been spreading throughout Western Europe, North America, Oceania and Japan, an increasing part of the globe and growing population were included in the world market economy. Since land, raw materials and labour in peripheral regions come under the influence and control of the markets, the flow of migration (internal and external one) increases.

Along with the other theorists trying to make a formula for international migration, Wallerstein notes several theoretical clauses explaining labour force mobility. First, in order to achieve higher profit, the capitalists strive to mechanize their production and use industrial resources. Consolidation of the land leads to the destruction of the traditional tenure, which is based on inheritance and common use rights. The mechanization of work leads to depreciation of human labour, thus, the surplus of labour occurs. This is the main factor causing labour force mobility.

In general, Wallerstein tends to be quite critical about the capitalist approach to world system order in terms of the fairness of the distribution of goods, services, and capital accumulation between rich and poor countries. In his book, he de-facto declares monopolization of the world capital by rich minority. The key element for manipulation in this monopoly is labour, or, if to be clearer, the value of human labour. The wage proposal (payroll offer) creates labour market based on the concept of individualism, personal profit, which leads to social changes. These changes drive the geographic mobility of the labour force in developing countries. Some people move to the cities, which leads to the urbanization of developing countries, someone moves abroad because globalization creates material and cultural ties with those regions having a high rate of capital. The foreign investments stimulating economic globalization come from several world's largest cities. Massey et. all (1993) names those cities in the USA (New York, Chicago, Miami, Los Angeles),

Europe (Frankfurt, Milan, London and Paris), and the Pacific region (Osaka, Tokyo and Sydney) (p. 447). The structural characteristics of those cities create high demand for immigrant labour.

The investments and globalization are going along with the creation of transport and communication infrastructure. In general, the international labour movement corresponds to the international movement of goods and capital in the opposite direction. The process of economic globalization creates cultural ties between the main capitalist countries and those developing countries which are adjacent to them. The global economy is governed by a relatively small number of urban centres, which are the focal points of banking and financial systems, corporate management, professional services and high-tech producing.

Some of Wallerstein's ideas are directly opposite to the neoclassic theory, but also they lack flexibility of the theoretical arguments and thus, omit important details. Massey et. al. while analyzing Wallerstein's theory has concluded six hypotheses (Massey, et al., 1993, pp. 447 – 448). of the world-system theory in accordance with its understanding of international migration and the expansion of the global market:

1. The international migration comes from the structure of the global economy and dynamics of market creation. Minimal wages and the difference in employment between the countries have almost no relation to international migration.
2. International migration is related to the globalization of the market economy. The ways in which government regulates migration lay in the regulation of foreign investment activity and control over “the international flows of capital and goods” (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 448).
3. The refugee movements are caused by the political and military intervention of the capitalist countries which they conduct in order to protect their own investments abroad

and support foreign governments in their quest to expand the global market. Those refugee movements are directed to concrete core countries “constituting another form of international migration” (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 448).

4. International migration is caused by capitalist market formation in developing countries. The flow of the global economy into peripheral regions creates international movement.
5. International migration is especially typical for former metropolises of the colonial powers and their colonies. The “cultural, linguistic, administrative, financial, transport and communication links were established” (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 447) a long time ago and allowed development of free competition, which led to the formation of the specific transnational markets and cultural systems.
6. “The international flow of labour work follows the international flow of capital and goods, but in the opposite direction” (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 447) The capitalist investments cause changes that form a mobile population in peripheral countries. Simultaneously, established strong cultural and material ties between them and the core countries lead to transnational movements.

The World systems theory is suitable for analysis of the process of migration itself, but it fails to explain integration processes which occur in the hosting countries. Mere criticism of the capitalist approach of some rich hegemony creates impression that whatever efforts international refugee agenda suggests will be in vain until several rich countries will not become interested in it. This idea has geopolitical character not relevant to the analysis of programmes designed to make relatively local – country effect on refugees economic integration. In other words, it is exaggeration to declare that the success of refugees’ economic integration directly depends on the economic

ambitions and interests of the several strongest countries. On the contrary, economically developed countries are highly interested in decrease of the refugees flow because they destabilize internal social and economic conjecture. They are ready to invest into their education and on-the-job trainings to make them employable and self-sustainable.

Dual Market Theory

The *dual market theory* (Michael J. Piore, etc.) has been developed as a response to neoclassical postulate on price equilibrium and migration and declares segmentation of labour market into the primary (highly paid) and secondary (lowly paid) sectors. Michael J. Piore in his work “A Theory of Labour Market Stratification” noted that immigration in countries of origin is caused by a constant demand for immigrant labour (Piore, 1972, p. 19), but in many cases, it is related to secondary market sector. Migration from the origin country is caused by such factors as low wages and high unemployment. The hosting countries (which mostly have developed economic structure) have a need in foreign labour, which is often cheaper and occupies the least popular among the native citizens’ vacancies. In the article “Fragments of a “Sociological” Theory of Wages” Piore linked the demand for immigrant labour with four fundamental characteristics of modern industrial society: structural inflation, motivational problems, economic dualism and demography of labour force. Wage reflects not only supply and demand conditions but also reflects status, prestige and social qualities (Piore, 1973, p. 384). Several components of this theory, particularly economic dualism when double-standards for the refugees and natives take place, and motivational decrease partly due to unequal labour evaluation fit into the labour force participation of refugees.

Piore believes that wages reflect the social status of an individual. Interesting to put a pattern here with Piore's approach of "social mobility" (Piore, 1972, p. 7), when people tend to be more connected with the ones with similar occupation or at least social level. Refugees also tend to stick to their small communities with people sharing same conditions, values and challenges. However, it is unlikely to be related with the core explanation of success rate of vocational and technical education programmes for refugees. In the context of VET programmes failure, Piore's theses I consider as consequences, not origins of some miscalculations of the government and international organizations regulating labour market. In other words, the dual market theory does not state why exactly segmentation of labour market splits large social groups where vulnerable categories such as refugees are discriminated.

If an employer is trying to involve in his production low-skilled labour force, he is obliged to keep certain links between social status and remuneration. According to Piore, "Each job in the sequence is filled by promotion from the job directly below it. [...]. These lines of progression, or seniority districts, are very often negotiated with a trade union" (Piore, 1972, p. 23). If wages at the lowest level of social hierarchy increase, there will be pressure to increase wages at other levels as well. Considering this theory, I can assume that the involvement of local workers in the labour market in the time of labour shortages by increasing their wages is an expensive and unprofitable solution for employers. Irregular workers consisting of migrants and refugees are not protected by the labour law and thus, trade unions and employers can easily use it for keeping low wage proposal. As a result, the employers are searching for cheaper solutions, such as involvement of migrants/refugees who would be working for lower wages. From Piore's theory I conclude that professional education will not necessarily open new job opportunities – vice versa, it can waste time, when at the end individual returns to primary low-rank position.

Michael L. Wachter is criticizing the dual labour market theory and its neglect of the promotion ladder. He notes that the professional hierarchy is important for the motivation of employees because they work not only for financial profit but also for gaining and maintaining certain social status. According to Michael Wachter, “The key to an understanding of the role of “sociological” forces in wage determination lies [...] in an appreciation of the nature of on-the-job training and its significance in the development of job skills” (Piore, 1973, p. 377). Severe problems with motivation occur at the lower levels of the professional hierarchy because the employees do not have a high social status that they could maintain. At this point, another question occurs: what is the core reason that makes higher social status be unreachable? In Piore’s vision, this problem has natural character and cannot be eliminated. There will always be lower levels of the professional hierarchy, which he also distinguished as a “street corner (Piore, 1968, p. 8)”. According to him, low-income people “cannot afford to abandon steady, albeit low-income, job to try primary employment which provides no guarantee of success” (Piore, 1968, p. 11). In this context of status competition, the duality of the market economy the labour market creates demand for those workers who see lower professional level exclusively as a resource for their financial income, without any ambitions for increasing their social status or prestige. They agree to work in vulnerable conditions, for lower wages and with minimal chance to further career development. This idea goes along with the human capital theory, emphasizing that lack of professional competency decreases chances for decent employment and wage, which in turn decreases opportunities and motivation for further professional competition for better job.

Considering the stratification and mobility chains presented by Piore, I conclude that the most attractive options are migrant workers and refugees, because mostly they strive for the goal of simple earning money for specific purposes (improving living conditions in their households/

building a house/ paying for education/ obtaining first necessity things, etc.). Due to the difference in living conditions in developed and developing countries, the salary of migrant workers or refugees by local standards is sufficient, even though they understand that their status abroad is low. Piore notes that in the labour-intensive secondary sector, workers have precarious jobs and can be fired at any time with the little or zero cost for the employer (Wachter, 1974, p, 638). Also, sometimes employers can hire not reliable workers (thieves), and such employees accept the job “knowing that they can steal the difference between the wage and the market rate” (Wachter, 1968, p. 7). These people do not see themselves as a part of the host society, and society itself is willing to exclude them from their social mobility.

The weak side of Piore’s theory is in his consideration of exclusively pulling factors and neglect of the pushing ones (related to demographic transformation in developing countries, armed conflicts, etc.). It occupies only dual relations between the labour and capital, which extends to the workforce as a segmented labour market structure. The dual market theorists create a vision of a certain vacuum in which migrants/refugees occur in the hosting labour market without offering any solution. Indeed, low wages, unstable conditions and absent/limited social mobility in the secondary sector make it unattractive to natives. The natives, in turn, prefer to work in the primary, capital-intensive sector with higher wages, social security premium and perspectives in career development. However, the theory does not consider the efforts of the international partners and local governments on making employment procedures more inclusive, specifically via vocational and technical education. Fair to say that vocational education projects and programmes do not offer high career perspectives with promotion and high income, but it offers legal employment and fair wage proposal, professional network and social protection services.

Human Capital Theory

The development of the *human capital theory* was in line with the neoclassical trend. In the 1960s, the famous American economists Theodore Shultz (“Investment in Human Capital”) and Gary Becker (“Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis With Special Reference to Education”) have defined the concept of human capital theory, which has become an improved version of the earlier theory on human resources by Adam Smith. In the perspective of Shultz and Becker, human capital is the most valuable resource, even more important than natural resources or accumulated wealth, hence, it is a cornerstone of economic growth and efficiency. According to Shultz: “By investing in themselves, people can enlarge the range of choice available to them. It is one way free men can enhance their welfare” (Shultz, 1961, p. 2). In recent years, it has become a common belief that the effectiveness of the economy of modern states largely depends on how much money it invests in its people. The ideas of human capital theory at some point have the closest pattern with the problem of refugees education because it includes the factor of labour work and on-the-job training as active catalysts for positive economic influence (Shultz, 1961, p. 9).

Important to admit that for the countries with the capitalist form of organization and hosting a lot of migrants and refugees the human capital theory integration approach is crossing with the refugees surplus theory. In the refugees surplus theory the surplus of refugees consists of the marginalized groups who have low human capital and thus, are not of any interest to the labour market. In other words, the surplus refugees/migrant workers who cannot find place in a decent job are being exploited as a surplus force who has no better alternatives (Rajaram, 2018, p. 628).

The human capital theory studies the process of qualitative improvement of human resources, forming one of the central elements of modern labour supply analysis. Gary Becker

notes that “education and training are helpful in coping with changing technologies and advancing productivity in the manufacturing and service sectors. [...] more rapidly progressing industries do attract better-educated workers and provide better training on the job” (Becker, 1994, p. 25). He offers a single analytical framework to explain such seemingly disparate phenomena as the contribution of education to economic growth, demand for educational and medical services, age dynamics of earnings, the wage gap between men and women, etc. The concepts and methods of economic analysis have begun to be used in such social institutions and phenomena as education, health care, migration, marriage and family, crime, racial discrimination, etc.

An argumentative vision of Theodore Shultz in the context of economic development was the promotion of education and its role in consequences on the labour market. In other words, the investment of funds into education has the same natural consequences as an investment in technological development, and it defines the level of quality of the labour force. As a result of allocations for improving the labour force and increasing of production, Shultz defined human capital as everything that is a source of future material and non-material incomes. Any asset – tangible or human – is able to generate a stream of future income.

However, Shultz is quite critical about the way that poorer countries are able to absorb the capital from outside. This underestimated aspect leads to the situation when formally there are inflows into improvement but in practice no improvement as such happening. The strongest argument he mentioned is that “the new capital [...] as a rule goes into the formation of structures, equipment and something also into inventories, [...], not for investment into men. Consequently, human capabilities [...] become limiting factors in economic growth (Shultz, 1961, p. 7). Objectively, this factor is important when analyzing the capital from outside not only for poor

countries but also the states with an extremely high inflow of refugees and which need funding for adapting them to new realities.

Gary Becker was the first to perform a statistical calculation of the economic efficiency of education. One of the chapters of Becker's book "Human Capital", "Age, Earnings, Wealth and Human Capital" is dedicated to empirical research on various implications of human capital investments in different age and its turnover within the employment rate (Becker, 1994, p. 229).

Becker made a paradigm of the wealth profile of people of different age starting from the 19th century and until nowadays. He concluded that, in opposition to the present time, two hundred years ago people were getting high wealth profile in their 20s due to high mortality rate and lower working skills (Becker, 1994, p. 239). Hence, further investments in training and education have shifted the peak of wealth profile to the age of 40 (Becker, 1994, p. 240). Considering this aspect, I can assume that it is correlated to the wealth profile of migrants and refugees, moreover, in the case of last, their peak can shift further if they start professional re-qualification in the hosting country.

Both Shultz and Becker declare that investments into the human capital are not just increasing income of the individual, but also lead to increased productivity. For example, education develops not only professional knowledge and skills, but also entrepreneurial talents; it reduces resistance to innovation and simplifies the perception of change. Becker's theoretical significance is that in the chapter "Investment in Human Capital: Rates of Return" he introduced the distinction between special and general investments into the human capital (Becker, 1994, p. 60). For example, special training provides employees with knowledge and skills that can be used not only in the company where they obtained this qualification but also in other companies where similar positions are required. While striving for professional development, some employees may

indirectly pay for their education via agreeing for lower salary during the training period as they will obtain benefits in the future.

The efficiency of the use of human capital in production largely depends on the social environment factors (Becker, 1994, p. 137), which among other aspects include forced migration, refugees crisis and all consequent from these issues. In order to make a structured understanding of the link between human capital and refugees, I will specify the key characteristics typical for human capital. First, human capital is inalienable and it is an “illiquid asset” (Becker, 1994, p. 91). If an individual has unused material resources at its disposal, he can borrow them for some company, take a loan secured by these material values, or just keep them until a suitable moment occurs. In terms of intellectual and skills abilities, it is impossible to establish relations like that. Second, human capital cannot be kept in the stock. It exists only in the present time and can be considered as lost during the time when it was not used. For a non-professional individual, the cost of education is a part of the implicit costs of his/her current activity (Becker, 1994, p. 119). According to Becker: “Measured earnings after the investment period only represent total returns, while during the period it is a hybrid of returns and production costs” (Becker, 1994, p. 119). Third, intellectual resources and skills are dual-used, which means that individuals use them not only in production but also in everyday life that goes beyond working time. Becker in his article “A Theory of the Allocation of Time” refers to the idea that “the allocation and efficiency of non-working time may not be more important to economic welfare than that of working time” (Becker, 1965, p. 493). Interesting to admit that in broader academic circles his idea about non-working time was perceived critically. In Becker’s understanding, non-working time cannot be considered as completely free, because a vast part of it is devoted to household activities and/or education (Becker, 1965, pp. 503 – 504).

It is crucial to emphasize the approaches of the human capital theory and arguments on the importance of human capital investment as a way to make migrants/refugees self-sustainable, mobile and easily adaptive to new market demands. The central question of this research is why the efforts on refugees' economic integration did not show significant results. Thus, the answers I search are how the programmes and projects are linked to real situation with Syrian refugees, what professional skills and education do they have, and whether professional education they get in Turkey helps them to get employed. These three components I consider are human capital and its quality. The theory will help to prove the idea that improved quality of human capital leads to decreased amount of unemployed refugees.

Conclusions

Thus, the scientific positions of the theorists of international migration serve to understand the causes and factors for the past and present processes of international migration. The study of theoretical approaches helps to understand the patterns and consequences of migration, make forecasts and pursue a more balanced and rational migration policy. Migration theories were created to understand the impact of migration processes on populations and labour markets. However, the attempts to identify the key factors of migration began to be undertaken later, mostly by economists. They believe that the migration flows (at least when speaking about voluntary migration) are determined by the differences in wages and living standards. Migration is primarily an element of the functioning of the labour market as well as the form of human capital accumulation. The proposed hypotheses have different implications for the development of migration policy.

The phenomenon of migration is implied into our lives deeper than one can imagine. A shift in economy, politics, social life, etc. immediately causes reaction in the form of migration. Forced migration is the best example that can be interpreted from the position of every theory. I preferred to focus on economic integration of refugees as a pillar for their further well-being and sustainable development of the hosting country. Depending on which theoretical model to support, the politicians and governors can regulate national and international migration by adjusting life standards and working conditions. In my review, I aimed to select a one-case theory, which would be the central element indicating refugees' economic integration policy.

In this chapter, I emphasized the idea that people and the quality of their human capital strongly affect producing on the labour market and sustainable development of the economy. Consideration of the quality of human capital the refugees have helps understand what kind and dosage of investment would be necessary to increase it and make refugees employable. Without considering it is highly possible to fail any migration program. Investment in human capital, the adaptation of migrants/refugees to real conditions they face and balancing the difference between their knowledge and knowledge required by hosting country minimizes the risk of their involvement in the informal economy. This is a win-win condition for both migrants/refugees and the hosting countries that can potentially solve a large piece of social and economic challenges that they are facing despite international humanitarian inflows. Theoretically, the human capital approach is able to make positive change in refugees' well-being via making them self-sustainable individuals. However, it requires precise definition of the problems that refugees and natives face, creation of the road map for solutions and evaluation of resources that can be used to implement those solutions. In the next chapter, I will analyze how human capital theory is reflected in the

global agenda on refugees' economic integration and what international actors are leading the refugees' economic integration policy.

CHAPTER 2:

GLOBAL AGENDA ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR SYRIAN REFUGEES

Introduction

The diverse and overcrowded social environment creates a certain chaotic order of interaction between its elements, which is hard to put on the organized self-sustainable system. When this environment has minimal disbalance, represented by a lower level of unemployment, a lower amount of vulnerable groups, etc., it does not dramatically affect the general socio-economic context. It means that here non-vulnerable groups are able to support vulnerable ones without large damage for their own well-being. However, when the disbalance between vulnerable and non-vulnerable groups is big and the last group does not have enough capacity to compensate this difference, it damages the entire socio-economic environment. That is why the non-vulnerable groups always work on 1) creating and improving conditions when the environment is stable; and 2) decreasing amount of vulnerable groups via increasing their socio-economic capacity. These strategic goals have multiple ways, which include social and medical care, humanitarian aid, economic integrations, education, etc.

Education, whether it is school, university, some training or course, is one of the longest, but reliable ways to decrease the gap between vulnerable and non-vulnerable groups. Important to admit that periodically labour market tends to change the requirements to the content and quality of human capital. Important to remember three components of human capital: “early ability (whether acquired or innate); qualifications and knowledge acquired through formal education; and skills, competencies and expertise acquired through training on the job” (Blundell, Dearden, Meghir, 1999, p. 2). Automatization and digitalization of working processes challenges old

approaches, knowledge and skills. Educational programmes if they tend to improve the quality of human capital are supposed to consider it and restructure its agenda up to the new conditions.

One of the elements of this diverse and complicated educational system is vocational education and training (VET). Vocational education and training creates alternative educational tools for young and adult people and helps them improve professional curriculum, means human capital. According to UNESCO's researcher Madhu Singh (n. d.), "VET comprises formal, non-formal and informal learning for the world of work." Its socio-economic impact has been put onto the priorities list of global programmes such as 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDG), Global Compact on Refugees, the Global Jobs Pact (ILO), and Beijing +20 as a whole-including gender-oriented framework. These programmes are the basis of all further measures and efforts aimed to help vulnerable groups of people become self-reliant. International organizations created those programmes and simultaneously became its managers, distributing finances according to the priority needs they defined collectively. Several international organizations involved in operating the policy on refugees I included in this chapter. They belong to the UN (UNHCR, UNEVOC-UNESCO, UNDP, UNW, UNICEF, IOM) and non-UN (Expertise France, the World Bank, ILO, Concern Worldwide, and the Red Cross) consortiums. Economic integration of refugees containing professional education component is one of the key priorities of all global programmes. It gives us a message of their understanding that the only way to make refugees self-sustainable is to improve their human capital capacity and, consequently, employability.

In this case study, the emphasis is on economic integration programmes and projects created for Syrian refugees globally and how do they fit into the concept of vocational education for refugees in Turkey. On the Figure 1 there is hierarchical approach of the global team working of refugee crisis solution. The general umbrella covers global entities which create framework of

the global policy and agenda based on the intergovernmental dialogues and agreements. After that, the world's largest financial institutions approve budgeting and financing of the global agenda implementation working with international organizations and the governments of concrete countries. The financial resources they distribute are going on implementation of concrete programmes and projects accountable to donors and international entities. International organizations have the right to give address help, to grant sponsorship to concrete projects of own or organized by third partner. Understanding of this international system allows clearly see the effectiveness of partners involved.

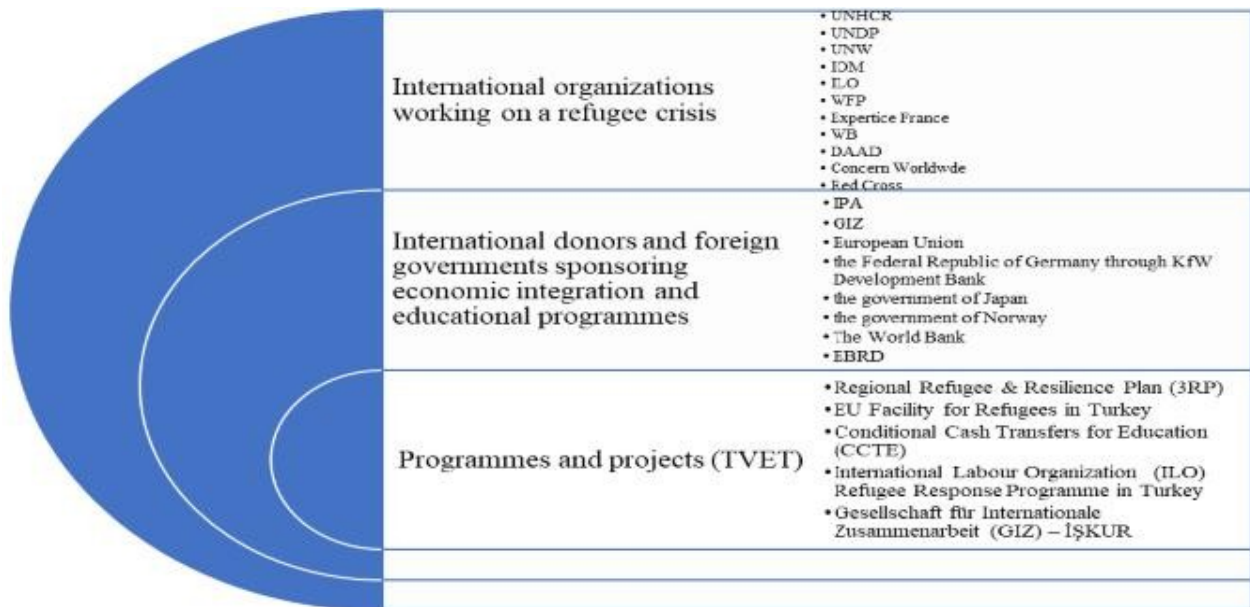


Figure 1 The Structure of Financial Aids on Vocational Education for Refugees

Thus, the focus of this chapter's analysis is on international programmes and organizations which set up a global sustainable development framework, and vocational education as a part of their economic integration agenda.

Global Refugee Economic Integration Framework and the Place of Vocational Education

To evaluate the effectiveness of refugees' integration policy, it is crucial to understand the mechanism which lays behind that and how does it reflect on the quality of programme implementation. Being realistic, I should admit that none of the programmes can fully solve the problem of unemployment among Syrian refugees living in Turkey, because there is always independent variable (human factor, global economic conjecture, etc.) affecting it. However, the proper approach would allow maximizing the effect of human capital improvement among those refugees who are potentially able to get professionally trained and become employable.

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Actions

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action is a commitment signed in 1995 by 189 countries in Beijing, China. The initial global goal of this document is the promotion and establishment of gender equality around the globe as a vital component of a democratic society. Until now, Beijing +20 is the central guideline for struggle with gender inequality, including discrimination among Syrian female refugees. In fact, the Platform became one of the instruments focusing global society on the problem when international society while fighting with poverty and violence omits gender component. Since Beijing +20 has been adopted, the further international commitments necessarily emphasized gender inclusivity of actions in all spheres of life, especially in education, economy and social protection. According to the Article 4.5 of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Actions (UNW, 1995), it calls to “eliminate gender disparities in education and ensure equal access to all levels of education and vocational training for the vulnerable persons” (p. 10). In 2015, the UN Women initiated a “Global Leaders’ Meeting on

Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Commitment to Action" (UN Women, 2015), which became an updated version of the 1995 document, but included more recommendations on social protection and the refugee crisis.

The United Nations Women put a special emphasis on improved quality of women's human capital via increased access to different forms of education. Vocational education is figuring over the document as a necessary action to encourage women and young girls to fast learning and involve them in formal employment. "Increasing women's participation in media and ICTs at all levels of decision-making requires the continued provision of formal and technical vocational education and training (TVET), including in the areas of management and leadership" (United Nations Women, 1995, p. 40) became one of the key goals.

Along with the Global Jobs Pact, Beijing Declaration affected positions specified in the Global jobs Pact by ILO, SDGs Agenda and later in Global Compact on Refugees. For example, in all three documents, the economic empowerment of women through human capital investment is given similarly. TVET is figuring in education, economy and sustainable livelihood sections as one of the most effective mechanisms of human capital improvement. Apparently, from programme to programme whatever target groups it focuses on the vision remains the same for almost 30 years. That is why, if to narrow down to the programmes on refugees' economic integration to separate agencies or consortiums, the repetition of the messages they gave in global commitments 10 – 20 years ago. They were all created by the same organizations and countries, represent actual problems that were not solved by now and share financial responsibilities attached to their commitments.

The Global Jobs Pact (Adopted by ILO)

Adopted in 2009, the Pact is a continuation of the ILOs international commitments (such as Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization) and a new edition Decent Work Agenda. The Decent Work Agenda has been adopted in 1999 by ILO as a guideline for fighting with unemployment, poverty and social inequality. Within the ten years, gap between the two documents global political, economic and security conjecture has changed, especially after the global economic crisis which occurred in 2008. Until now, the Pact is now of the world's best examples of the recommendations on the measures to be done in the improvement of human capital.

By using those two documents as the focal point, ILO verified indicators in each of the components of the employment and social protection sphere. If to search on the ILOSTAT, its indicators always correlate between labour force participation, employment rate, wages gap and gender disaggregation (ILO, n. d.). In the Global Jobs Pact (ILO, 2009), one of the targets is “implementing vocational and entrepreneurial skills programmes for paid and self-employment” (p. 5). The emphasis on the improvement of human capital and the creation of the self-sustainable labour force declared by ILO are present in other international documents.

In the part on Decent Work and Economic Growth from the Millennium Development Goals (SDG), which has been transformed into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) by the United Nations, statements are largely duplicating the Global Jobs Pact's goal to “provide vocational and technical training and entrepreneurial skills development especially for unemployed youth” (ILO Global Jobs Pact, 2009, p. 10). Clearly, both documents show long-term strategic vision, which covers 10-15 years and can be improved with the occurrence of new

problems (for example, digitalization and programming development for distant education and office work, etc.).

Transforming Our world: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs)

Since the UN General Assembly agreement of 2012, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) has become an updated alternative version of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). In order to understand the change of approaches between the MDG and SDG, I approached the publication in the Economist (2015), where it says that MDG was focused on development, whilst SDG's priority is sustainable development. Also, in contrast to Millennium Development Goals, which practiced a single approach to problems, the Sustainable Development Goals' approach is to search complex and interrelated solutions because the problems they solve are also interrelated. SDGs are focusing on the means of implementation or resource mobilization. Along with capacity building and development of technologies, the approach to global challenges solutions looks promising.

The Fourth Goal of the Sustainable Development Goals is Quality Education (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2012). Several articles of it are dedicated to economic empowerment since education has a broad meaning and is closely connected with human capital and employability. The fourth Goal is a part which emphasizes the necessity of human capital investments via education and training of vulnerable groups. Several articles directly refer to vocational education matter. According to the Goal 4 Article 4 of the SDGs (2012), "By 2030 substantially increase the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship." Consequently, the smaller programmes and agendas of separate agencies (UNDP, UNHCR, IOM, UNEVOC, and

UNICEF) addressing the negative consequences of forced migration refer to the need of professional education and on-the-job trainings.

The SDG's Eighth Goal is about Decent Work and Economic Growth (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2012). As I specified already, the SDGs are practising a cross-sectional approach to the solution of global challenges. In Article 6, Goal 8, one of the targets is to “substantially reduce the proportion of youth not in employment, education or training ” (SDGs, 2012). Thus, from the messages given in Goals 4 and 8, there is an emphasis on strengthening educational and professional capacity in order to increase employability and economic development. In other words, the SDGs promote investment in human capital as the solution for minimizing disbalance in the socio-economic environment.

The Global Compact on Refugees

Developed in 2018 by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Global Compact on Refugees strongly reminds the Sustainable Development Goals doctrine. Continuing SDG's approach, the Compact makes cross-connection between education, employment and local integration. According to the Chapter 3.4 of the Compact (Local Integration) of the UN General Assembly (2018), “The capacity of State institutions, local communities and civil society will be strengthened to support the local integration process (e.g. to address documentation issues; facilitate language and vocational training, including for women and girls) (p. 19)”. The programme puts emphasis on gender component, which gets problematic when the programme is being implemented on the country level. It is crucial to admit the importance of the shift towards the idea of women's empowerment since the majority of Syrian refugees reside in countries beyond liberal gender policy (Turkey, Jordan, etc.).

Vocational education is a measure mostly oriented on young people. The logic behind it is that youth is more mobile and eager to learn. For example, in Chapter 2, a lot of messages appeal to improving youth's human capital and necessity to invest into children to raise them as self-reliant people: "Depending on the context, additional support could be contributed to expanding educational facilities (including for early childhood development, and technical or vocational training) and teaching capacities" (UNHCR, 2018, p. 13)." One of the strongest statements of the Compact is the emphasis on language learning, which is crucial in the case of Turkey. Unfortunately, language problem among Syrian refugees is one of the least monitored issues in Turkey, but in the end, it fails some efforts of the state to legalize their employment.

An uncontrolled number of Syrian refugees with the excellent knowledge of some foreign languages (English, German, French, etc.) that could help them to find a decent official job are not proficient in Turkish. This phenomenon is one of the least represented in concrete numbers since the knowledge of the language should be also disaggregated by levels. The UNHCR office understands it and thus, they included as one-by-one or parallel language learning activities as recommended measures: "Resources and expertise could be contributed to support: [...] strengthening of these [working] skills and qualifications through specific training programmes, including language and vocational training (UNHCR, 2018, p. 14)." Currently, the Global Compact on Refugees is one of the strongest strategic frameworks on a complex solution for the refugee crisis. It has narrower, but more specific recommendations on long-term steps to be done in order to secure the refugees' integration.

As a continuation of it, on December 17th and 18th, 2019, a Global Refugee Forum was conducted. The Forum gathered over 3000 prominent people including governors, ministers, experts in the migration field, etc. and the Outcome has been presented. What is significant about

this event is that it demonstrated two important messages. First, the global community made a strong political statement that the refugee crisis is one of the challenges that require enhanced financial and political collaboration. Second, the Outcome document of this Forum contains synthesis of innovative approaches, including technological development (digitalization where possible), the involvement of eco-friendly, energy-saving and environmentally safe tools. According to the Outcomes of the Global Refugee Forum (2019), “States, multilateral development banks, bilateral development finance corporations and the private sector also made important financial commitments that will facilitate greater refugee inclusion and essential support to host communities” (p. 8). Creation of inter-sectional commitment platform where every sphere is working for the common goal of refugees’ integration is a strong political message informally signaling governmental willingness to continue common work.

International Entities Working with Refugees and Their Roles

The United Nations Agencies

The general umbrella covering the entire process of creation and implementation of TVET activities includes international organizations, which create proposals, recommendations and programmes on the elimination of the refugee crisis. In this chapter, I refer to eleven largest and most prominent organizations-representatives, whose visibility in work with forced migration is the highest. In this list, I would start from the entities-partners of the Common Chapter to the strategic plans, which include UNHCR, UNICEF, UNDP and UNW. Those institutions work both as partners and competitors in terms of involving funds to their field projects and programmes, and they are the largest implementing partners for those programmes.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is one of the largest entities whose educational strategy includes education for all ages and as a part of emergency response exercises. There are two recent important achievements of the UNHCR regarding education and economic integration of refugees. First, it was the creation of the framework Global Compact on Refugees in 2018, where one of the key objectives is to increase self-reliance among refugees. Second, it is newly released Refugee Education Strategy 2030, which aims to create “improved access to TVET opportunities both at secondary and tertiary level as well as a lifelong learning viable option plays a fundamental role in this process” (Finn Church Aid, GIZ, ILO, and UNHCR, 2020). A large weak element of this activity, however, the absence of Turkey in the list of countries involved in the programme. The agenda contains joined exercises plan for Ethiopia, Jordan, Kenya, Uganda and Sudan (UNHCR, 2019). Comparing to all those countries, including another Syrian neighbor Jordan, which is hosting officially 661.390 refugees (Operational Portal: Refugee Situations, 2020), Turkey needs to be included most. I do not underestimate contributions done by the international agencies to Turkey as assistance measures to give refugees job opportunities. However, when I consider the occupied amount of refugees by projects, compare it to their general amount and correlate with the intellectual and skills capital the refugees have, there is clear underestimation of the problem of unemployability.

Among the creators of the Refugee Education Strategy 2030, GIZ has become one of the largest implementing partners of Turkey in terms of educating Syrian refugees. For example, between 2017 – 2019 GIZ launched a project “TVET and Employment Promotion for Syrian Refugees and Host Communities in Turkey” (GFA Consulting Group, 2020). The donor for the project was Germany (the Federal German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), which contributed to “208,911 euro” (GFA Consulting Group, 2020). GIZ aims to provide

refugees with Turkish language courses, vocational and entrepreneurship trainings and other professional skills development.

In general, I can critically look at some large initiatives like framework Global Compact on Refugees. Without involving and prioritizing Turkey as the country having a yearly increasing economic crisis and hosting the largest amount of refugees, the programme cannot be seen as a guidebook. Especially when Turkish legislative and executive bodies need help in regulating law and socio-economic policy, especially when specifying that its human capital among Syrian refugees is weaker than in some other countries. Without complex actions with Turkey joining all programme stages, the concept of the action on global refugee inclusivity in vocational and technical education and economy is not valid. I may agree that in general, the UNHCR as an initiator aims to gather common efforts of its key partners on TVET actions for refugees, which are International Labour Organization (ILO), the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), Finn Church Aid (FCI), and Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ).

In 2019, these partners joined the Global Refugee Forum and TVET for Impact Roundtable, focusing on the country approach to TVET implementation plans with the active participation of the private sector and NGOs. A certain shift comes out from the rhetoric of studies to be conducted by the UNHCR monitoring teams, where the focus is mainly on an evident and inclusive approach to the education of refugees. By evident I mean based on concrete country-based situations and numbers, including the indicators I specified earlier as milestones for successful economic integration (education level, age and gender). The weak side of the work of UNHCR in this issue is that they started creating the more suitable format of work relatively recently, in 2018 – 2019, whereas serious refugee crisis occurred in 2015 – 2016.

Another actor directly involved in TVET programming is the **International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education (UNEVOC)**. It is UNESCO's branch created specifically to promote increased opportunities for socio-economic development, personal empowerment and productive work via projects and programmes offered by its Centers. In Turkey, the UNEVOC Center is a part of the Turkish Ministry of National Education (MoNE), and its target groups include refugees, regular migrants and Turkish natives. UNESCO's agenda appeals largely to the teachers' staff, its amount and quality, which is vital to consider while calculating expected outcomes. According to UNICEF (2018) "Teachers' salaries are the most expensive part of any education bill and Turkey needs 80,000 teachers to teach all current refugees". In 2018 UNESCO-UNEVOC launched a Project for Vocational and Technical Education and the Labor Market Services for Syrian Refugees in Turkey and Host Communities. They equipped ten schools in Gaziantep, Bursa and Ankara with computers and other supplies for TVET classes. An important part was educating the teachers who were in charge of vocational trainings, and they have learned the specifics of work with the refugees and the periods of their adaptation to the host community (Turkish Ministry of National Education, 2018, p. 74). The further activities are part of the Turkish national action plan, which I will analyze in the country level part.

The **United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)** and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in all cases on technical and vocational education take the role as implementing partners, which distribute the financial and humanitarian contributions of donors among their local partners (governmental institutions, NGOs, consortiums) or in rarer cases provide direct address help. International Labour Organization is one of the strongest information agents and economic integration studies developer, leading several large projects on vocational education and on-the-job skills training, educational programmes on entrepreneurship and

workplace mentorship. UNDP is closely working with the European Union and the United States in order to involve finances into the local livelihoods and make them adequately serve both refugees and natives. Geographically, their projects are getting implemented in the south-eastern Turkish provinces hosting the largest amount of Syrian refugees: Kilis, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, and Gaziantep.

United Nations Women (UNW) is one of the few entities giving much importance to underexplored and underestimated factors affecting the quality of professional education of Syrian female refugees and their comparably low involvement in the formal economic sector. In the system of collaboration between the UN agencies, it is crucial to admit that they all compete between each other in terms of receiving finances for field projects. The UNW is one of the newest agencies, but they have already inserted gender-oriented component in many Turkish national, regional and global programmes and projects. Supporting the thesis that the human capital would give more profit if human capital investment is valid for both men and women, I consider studies of UNW on gender discrimination as one of the key elements in our research. For example, according to UNW (n. d.), “Only 15% of women work in income-generating jobs” (United Nations Women, 2020). Considering the fact that almost a half of adult Syrian refugees are female (Chapter 2), I conclude that in total refugees are still critically far from the self-reliant condition.

It could be the reason for discussion what role **United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)** can play in providing vocational and technical education for Syrian refugees living in Turkey. However, it should be recognized that there are unbreakable parallels between the family condition (including child care) and labour force participation (LFP), which constantly affect each other (UNICEF, 2013, P. 15). Especially this is an urgent issue for women because they are more involved in child care and less integrated into the economy. When I revise the Turkish case, it

becomes clear that social care provision is limited with one Labour Law 4857 Sayılı İş Kanunu (2003). This law is not enough to set up regulations and fairly manageable balance between child care and female LFP.

It is important to emphasize that archaic legal organization of the labour and child care regulations along with the strongly dominant traditionalism and patriarchy lead to lesser involvement of women (Turkish natives and refugees) in LFP and, in our case, in TVET. Consequently, in most cases, women are preferred to work on a part-time job or be responsible for unpaid household work, whereas in some European countries (Iceland, Denmark and Austria) the percentage of women age 25 – 54 involved in the formal economic sector is 2,5 times higher than in Turkey and their child care right are well-protected (World Economic Forum, 2020, pp. 35 – 38). On the other hand, lack of childcare services opted for working female Syrian refugees make them search for alternatives to child care services among relatives or quit working.

UNICEF is considered as an entity working for the protection of children and promotion of family values that create conditions for children to grow up in physically, socially and mentally healthy conditions. One of the key elements of the creation of such conditions lays in the well-being and self-reliance of their parents. In the situation, when parents for different reasons are not able to provide home care for their children while working creates numerous risks and dangers. When parents are in a sharp need and unable to receive help from the government, they are not able to give education for their children, thus, a lot of children are used to work and their human capital is poor for the labour market.

When speaking about the refugees, the task of the UNICEF is to provide them with proper conditions particularly to be involved in the educational process and gain enough of skills and knowledge to get high education and/or be formally employed. According to the UNICEF Annual

Report (2018): “The number of Syrian refugee children included in formal education reached 645,140 as of December 2018, representing an increase of 5.7% by comparison with the 2017-18 school year and a 31% increase from 2016-17 school year” (p. 6). However, “about 400,000 Syrian refugee children, particularly adolescents, are still out of school” (UNICEF, 2018, p. 6). According to UNICEF (2019), “In 2019, UNICEF is appealing for the US \$239.4 million to meet the needs of Syrian children in Turkey under the Humanitarian Action for Children (HAC)”. Those children and adolescents who are not enrolled in education are under the threat to continue the legacy of those adult refugees who are illiterate or have no educational degree. In long term, this post-war generation of refugees will not be able to get enrolled into decent formal employment and will require more and more government funds to maintain their life. Referring to the level of education among Syrian refugees living in Turkey, this approach is strong evidence on how child care and education affect the long-term quality of the human capital. Raising the working capacity of refugees since childhood is crucial, because vast part of them will never be able to come back to Syria and will stay in Turkey.

International Organization for Migration (IOM) is closely co-working with the Turkish government in addressing the negative consequences of the refugee crisis with the geographical emphasis on Gaziantep, Hatay and Şanlıurfa. The myriad of their projects occupy all specter of integration types starting from kitchen hub for Turkish and Syrian and finishing with the mental health of refugees living post-conflict traumas. IOM is practicing the creation of several large programmes such as Community Centres, Shelter, Municipal Migrant Information and Coordination Centres (IOM, 2019) giving services on formal and informal education Turkish language courses and skills trainings. According to IOM (2019), in May-June 2018 “3,588 people benefited from education courses for children” (p. 2). During the same period of time, “The centre

provided counselling, social cohesion activities, job placements, education and information sessions to 4,569 migrants” (IOM, 2019, p. 3). In addition, they provide psychological and legal support in order to give refugees the opportunity to cope with uncomfortable feelings and fear in the host community and discreet them their rights and paths to legal employment. One of the projects launched by IOM Turkey is Gaziantep Ensar Community Centre, which aims to provide Syrian refugees with vocational and professional skills trainings.

Non-UN International Agencies

Expertise France is a French agency aimed to design and implement international projects for technical cooperation all over the world. One of the key objectives of this platform is the development and protection of human capital, specifically via socio-professional integration. According to Expertise France (n. d.), “the human capital and social development” activities “are based on two units: 1) education, vocational training and employment; and 2) social protection and decent work (Expertise France, n. d.). As it comes out from their publications and reports on their work done globally, their agenda is quite strong in terms of the amount of finances distributed among forty ongoing projects and global geography of sixty countries (Expertise France, n. d.).

The World Bank (WB) is one of the several largest international structures which is operating with global data in almost all spheres of life, implements and makes control over the implementation of the large projects prioritized by the UN and Sustainable Development Goals. Important to admit that the WB is one of the largest creditors in the world, for example, in 2017 it “has approved a \$60 million credit to support a second phase of the Enhanced Vocational Education and Training Project in Nepal” (World Bank, 2020). This is one of the international agencies which has been playing a crucial role in financing actions aimed to minimize the negative consequences of the refugee crisis that occurred in the world and specifically in Turkey. One of

the reasons for that is that the WB has been working on the active promotion of TVET and on-the-job trainings before the armed conflict in Syria occurred. Since the early 2000s, they were focused on global elimination of unemployment and economic development, including the area of conflict zones (Mali, Kenya, Afghanistan, etc.). The approach they have been using to Syrian refugees crisis is similar but updated with new aspects, including empowered gender component, inclusivity of disadvantaged groups of people and technological innovations. However, the scale of the forced migration crisis is different due to the number of people who escaped from Syria.

International Labour Organization (ILO) is one of the world's oldest organizations addressing the refugee crisis since the end of WWI. According to ILO (n. d.), "Its work in this area is grounded in the ILO Guiding Principles on the Access of Refugees and Other Forcibly Displaced Persons to the Labour Market (2016) and the "Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience Recommendation, 2017 (No. 205)". Those two documents are central elements of the framework for action that was created and which is closely connected with the financial and humanitarian assistance frameworks of the World Bank and the United Nations branches. Important to note that ILO was one of the most active and prominent actors on supporting refugees' access to decent work since 2013. Comparing to the UN, which is more politicized and overburdened with bureaucratic and procedural agendas, ILO is more mobile and it has a narrower role in refugee crisis issue. This institution is one of the few which closely co-works between international political, economic agencies, national governmental stakeholders and NGOs which are dealing with the economy and labour market. ILO is able to promote on the national level initiatives regulating wages, working time, working conditions of employees; and give recommendations on migrant and refugees policy on formal employment, etc. According to International Labour Organization (2018), "Improvement of the employability of Syrians and

members of host communities through skills development and recognition, vocational and technical training and local economic development” (p. 6). Along with the UNHCR, UNDP and UNW, ILO in their new agenda prioritizes social protection and economic integration of Syrian refugees with the strongly promoted gender component pushing from Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and Beijing Platform +20.

Despite **Concern Worldwide (CW)** is mostly focused on internally displaced people (IDPs), the refugee crisis made a correction in their agenda and now their largest refugee programmes are in Lebanon and Turkey. In Turkey in 2016, this organization helped more than 20,000 children, parents, and teachers with education programs that provided safe learning spaces, quality learning materials, training, transportation to schools, psychosocial support, and community engagement campaigns” (Concern Worldwide, 2019). In total, around “77.000 refugees” (Concern Worldwide, 2019) received help in different forms, including assistance in employment, vocational and on-the-job trainings and schooling for children of refugees (so the parents were able to work).

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is actively involved in activities helping Syrian refugees to get humanitarian aid and get integrated into the hosting society. However, it creates a dual impression from the results of its work in Turkey. From one side, it demonstrates an active partnership with the international community about strong resilience to all kinds of conflicts, humanitarian disasters and poverty. From the other side, apparently, there is a problem with public accountability of ICRC and public access to some of its data. For example, the last ICRC Annual Report on Turkey has been released in 2013 (ICRC, 2020) and has been removed from public access.

In any case, the contribution of ICRC should not be underestimated. In their Access to education Strategy 2018 – 2020, ICRC’s third objective is “Consolidate support to members of affected communities and the International Red Cross Red Crescent Movement through the development of vocational or professional skills” (ICRC, 2018, p. 10). The entity prioritizes the involvement of financial resources to providing vocational education trainings for the refugees. TVET as an indicator, target for financial contributions and as an activity is specified in its Strategy, where outcomes results were not summarized and published yet due to COVID-2019.

Despite the pandemic, ICRC is actively working on developing new activities as a continuation of the Strategy 2018 – 2020. In August 2020, the under-secretary-general of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Xavier Castellanos paid a visit to Turkey in order to discuss future projects supporting livelihoods for Syrian refugees living in Turkey (Red Cross, 2020).

Conclusions

The general global framework for addressing poverty has not been dramatically changed over the last twenty years. The largest programmes such as 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDG), Global Compact on Refugees, the Global Jobs Pact (ILO), and Beijing +20 complement each other and create a common strategic vision for solving humanity’s urgent needs. Their thesis on the importance of inclusive professional education and on-the-job training is precise as a long-term strategy. Including these postulates and the global instability caused by armed conflicts, pandemic and ecological catastrophes, it is possible to expect any significant shift at least in the next five-ten years and only if the programme implementation will carry on in normal regime.

The global programmes' framework which was created before the Syrian war was done according to the calculations and assumptions made at the time when the refugee crisis did not shift socio-economic balance that much. For example, ten years ago Turkey did not host the largest amount of refugees in the world and its economy was growing. Would be irrelevant to say that priorities or problems have changed, but the formulation of the problem had been broadened. By that, I mean that over the last seven-eight years inclusive education and economic integration terms put an accent on the refugees (mostly from Syria) and emphasized the importance of female human capital which is often underestimated.

The global strategic frameworks guided international UN and non-UN entities in programmes from their area of expertise. I verified six UN agencies (UNHCR, UNEVOC-UNESCO, UNDP, UNW, UNICEF, IOM) and five non-UN agencies (Expertise France, the World Bank, ILO, Concern Worldwide, and the Red Cross) that are focused on their field programmes on the economic integration of Syrian refugees. These entities have competencies, which are often crossing and interrelating each other, and which are coming out from the global strategic frameworks on forced migration and sustainable development. UNHCR, UNDP, UNICEF and UNW belong to the so-called Common chapter entities. Thus, some elements of their programmes regarding refugees' involvement in the formal economy, investment in their human capital with emphasis on women and girls as a vulnerable category are repeating. The goals and visions of all large programmes occupy a long period, which is correlating according to the quality of programme implementation on the country level. The milestone of often failed targets lays not in large international, but in small internal measures that have lack of pragmatism and underestimated independent variables (human factor, economical dynamics, political climate, etc.). However, I need to understand how the resources of international organizations working with refugees are

being used on the country level and how their large programmes are being adapted and implemented in Turkey. It is necessary to go down to Turkish national institutions and NGOs working with Syrian refugees and making projects on vocational education and training.

CHAPTER 3:
REFUGEE CRISIS IN TURKEY FROM THE HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY
APPROACH

Introduction

Today the world has largest number of refugees since the Second World war. The problem of forced migration is tightly related to armed conflicts and poverty: in most cases, the armed conflicts occur in the poorest countries. Therefore, the world community faces a double challenge: to eradicate poverty and to find diplomatic solutions to conflicts. Unfortunately, diplomatic efforts are often in vain: it takes many years to achieve a light agreement between the opposite sides and often even this does not bring peace and development to the region. Consequently, the refugee crisis does not occupy a short period of time – it is a long-lasting process which often transforms into the permanent condition when refugees settle abroad and stay there till the rest of their life.

The complications about the refugees is that they come to the hosting country as an option to survive despite all their possible resources are low or absent. It differs them from the other forms of migration, when an individual has opportunity to estimate his finances, human capital, approximate period of they in the hosting country, etc. Additional problems the refugees have include psychological traumas from war, fear of the natives' hostility and judgement, inability to communicate due to the language barrier and unawareness about the new community of destination and the time of moving. The task of the hosting government, whether they accept it or not, is to figure out how refugees and native will learn to exist peacefully in terms of social life, politics, education, health care, human rights and economy. I may refer to at least two basic documents globally defining the status, rights and freedoms of refugees and obligating the hosting government

to give certain aids to asylum seekers. They are The Geneva Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees and the Governance of the Global Refugee Regime.

The Geneva Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees forbids any discrimination regarding the refugees in all aspects. Employment conditions and wage proposal principle are one of the key elements of economic integration. The problem in this document, however, is that it suggests to grant refugees with certain benefits for three years only in order to protect the national labour market as well. According to the document, “Restrictive measures imposed on aliens or the employment of aliens for the protection of the national labour market shall not be applied to a refugee who was already exempt from them at the date of entry into force of this Convention for the Contracting State concerned, or who fulfils one of the following conditions: (a) He has completed three years’ residence in the country...” (The Geneva Convention and Protocol, 1967, p. 22).

The Global Refugee Regime has been set up as a bridge between the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) offices and the governments of the states hosting refugees. It aimed to set up the norms for regulating and controlling the situation with refugees and protecting their rights on the hosting territory. These norms are related to every country whether it is only five refugees like in Haiti, Singapore and Grenada or 3,579,531 like in Turkey (The World Bank, 2020). However, the Global Regime does not have mandatory character: its recommendations are often perceived by the governments as optional. The government of the individual state is in charge of providing migration policy on its territory and defining in which way to secure the rights of refugees and own natives. Economic activity is one of the most fragile issues in this system because it requires certain efforts not only from the hosting government but also from refugees and their motivation to get integrated.

When I observe the statements of the officials, international donors' representatives, their asserts about inclusive education and professional opportunities within the development programmes discourse, I can conclude a high influence of the human capital theory ideas. The international programme discourse maintains promotion of education (including TVET) as financial investment yielding further returns to the individual in the form of income/salary and the state in the form of taxes, increased employment and economic growth. The latest statement on this regard and in the context of Turkey-EU agreement from November 2016 appeared on the website of the European Commission on December 17th, 2020. As a commitment to fund the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, which among all covers professional education and employment of Syrian refugees, this support shows optimistic expectations from the socio-economic integration programmes. According to the statement of the EU Commissioner for Neighborhood and Enlargement Oliver Varhelyi (European Commission, 2020), “*The signature of the last eight contracts under the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey confirms the European Union's delivers on its pledges. In total, €6 billion in support to refugees and host communities in Turkey have been fully contracted since 2016*”. Thus, the human capital theory is an optimal model for neoliberal management and governance of state education, which promoted education (including TVET) as the most sufficient instrument for economic growth.

In this chapter, I introduce the situational analysis of the economic integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey from three perspectives. First, I describe the Turkish political rhetoric in terms of the refugee crisis solution. Second, I analyze the human capital resource of Syrian refugees residing in Turkey by three indicators: education, age, and gender. These indicators are based on the works of the theorists of human capital in 20th century. Third, I combine the facts on the refugee policy, and available data on the quality of human capital to see how policy towards refugees is

affecting their ability to integrate into economy. To understand the nature of the *problem why financial contributions into the refugees' economic integration programmes, specifically for vocational education, does not result into inclusivity of the labour market*, I specified four reasons. They include **ineffective programme planning, particular illiteracy and poor education among refugees, discriminating and exclusive character of labour market, and disproportional settlement of the refugees between regions.**

Situational Background for Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Since 2011, Syria has become the origin country of the world's largest amount of refugees. When Syrians began to escape from their country, their first destinations were neighboring Lebanon and Turkey. As known, Turkey is sharing the longest common border with Syria extending for almost 823 km from the southeast. Since the majority of dramatic conflict events in Syria were happening in its northern and Western parts and considering that Turkey has an exit to the Western countries through the Aegean sea to Greece and further, the refugees were mostly coming there. According to the International Labour organization (2020), "Turkey is hosting the largest amount of refugees in the world for the seventh year in a row [...] close to 3.6 million, come from Syria". The USA has accepted only around 10.000 Syrian refugees (Turkish Heritage Organization, n. d.). Since the beginning, the irregular migration of Syrian refugees to Europe via Turkish routes has caused much disturbance and uncomfortable situations to the European Union.

It has become more radical after serious escalation of the conflict in Syria and row of the terrorist attacks in Europe in 2015-2016 conducted by ISIS, further raising the danger of new terrorist attacks and, consequently, the general antipathy of the large part of European population towards Muslims associated with Islamic extremism. Thus, the European Council decided to create

limited or stop this refugee inflow with the help of Turkey, which at that time was still hoping to get closer economic and political collaboration with the European Union. Thus, on March 19th 2016 the European Council has succeeded in signing an agreement with Turkey, by which all irregular asylum seekers and migrants coming from Turkey to the Greek islands (read the EU countries) and whose application has been denied/inadmissible have to be returned to Turkey.

This agreement meant that EU would pay Turkey to keep the refugees within its borders and not let them come to the EU, which is partly enhanced in the Joint Action Plan and a Voluntary Humanitarian Admission Scheme with Turkey from December 5, 2017. According to Omar Kadkoy (2017), “The total number of Syrians who have been resettled in Europe under the one-on-one program is 8,698 so far” by 2017. As for the rest few millions of refugees who stayed in Turkey the EU delivered “3 billion euros in the form of humanitarian and non-humanitarian assistance under the Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRiT)” (Kadkoy, 2017). Interesting to admit that despite already donated finances and developed programmes on reducing the negative consequences of the refugee inflow to Turkey, there are continuing debates on the governmental level about the appropriacy of some expenditures, supported by theses inserting mistrust and criticism towards Syrian refugees. As an example, Ümit Özdağ, a parliamentary from the İYİ Party, is known as an academician specializing on ethnic problems in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. His basic thesis on Syrian refugees is: “These refugees were injected into the country for political purposes. Since they damage social fabric and threaten national security, they should return to their countries immediately” (Yüksek, F. S., Euronews, 2019). The Republican People’s party (CHP) Mersin Deputy Alpay Antmen shared radical idea about the unnecessary financial expenditures on Syrian refugees particularly the financial operations are corrupted. On this regard, he prepared a research paper to the Turkish National Assembly, stating that “the Syrian refugees have spent 40 billion dollars from public resources so far [...] they are not transparent, parliamentary control cannot be provided and the ruling

party has not fulfilled its accountability” (Yüksek, F. S., Euronews, 2019). Thus, the Turkish political elite is skeptical towards the appropriacy of a large humanitarian aid to Syrian refugees and it affects the social climate in the country and, consequently, on the labour market.

Often, cold political and diplomatic relationships between Turkey and European Union countries regarding other issues (Syrian war, Greek-Cyprus dilemma, relationships with Russia, the military campaign against the Kurds, participation in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, violation of human rights and freedoms, etc.) undoubtedly affect the process of cooperation in terms of the refugee crisis and undermines trust between the partners. In August 2019 the President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan stated that as of June 2019, only “\$2.45 billion” were disbursed (Mehmet, 2019). The response for blaming from Turkish president has appeared at the beginning of September on a press-conference in Brussels when the President of the European commission Ursula von der Leyen said that “the numbers have to be clarified” (Mehmet, 2019), meaning that several differences in numbers received by Turkey may create speculations and discussions around the issue.

Thus, comparing to other countries in the world, there is a big amount of humanitarian aid on the refugees. Financial part plays one of the central roles since maintaining refugee camps, providing people with humanitarian support and assisting in adaptation in the hosting country is an expensive process in terms of time and finances. According to the Republic of Turkey Ombudsman Institution (2018), The “Financial Aid Program for Refugees in Turkey” grant agreement, totaling 500 million euros, was signed between the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey and the Ministry of National Education on October 3, 2016 to finance all types of education expenses” (p. 81). While analyzing the further aspects of humanitarian assistance for Syrian refugees in Turkey, it is crucial to understand the background of target groups. An objective awareness of the situation and curriculum of the people to whom the programmes have been

created helps conclude with the real picture on what should be put into those vocational education programmes, in what way they would occupy target groups with different educational and professional curriculum, considering gender, cultural aspects, etc.

In July 2019 the Turkish government has launched a widespread revision of the residence permits or any other documents proving legal stay and registration of the Syrian refugees in Turkey. Turkish Minister of Interior Affairs Süleyman Soylu in several interviews said that unregistered Syrians shall by no means be deported (Günaydın, 2019). The deportations were conducted in the bus and metro stations, markets, neighborhoods, some working places, etc. By the results of the deportation and as a result of the high amount of irregular persons or persons carrying fake documents, the Turkish authorities deported to Idlib (declared as a voluntary deport) by different sources “more than 315,000 Syrians” (Amnesty International, 2019, p, 5). Same time Turkey is carrying on the campaign against Kurdish-led forces in the Northern-East of Syria, which was started after the withdrawal of American militaries from Syria.

On September 24, 2019, the President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan had a speech on the 74th United Nations General Assembly where he declared that Turkey is alone trying to identify DAESH terrorists and their supporters who use Turkey as a transit zone to travel between Syria, Iraq and the West. It undermines the safety of the country and comfort of its people, thus, Turkey, according to Erdogan, has no other way than put on a strict control migration of refugees and deport from the country anyone who is suspended in connections with terrorism ([Presidency](#) of the Republic of Turkey, 2019). Simultaneously, Turkey is still struggling with the Kurdish militaries suspected in the creation of the separatist and terrorist consortium between PKK, YPG and PYD.

Specifically, in 2018 Turkey has launched a ground and air military campaign “Operation Olive Branch” in Northern Syrian city Afrin – an Kurdish-controlled enclave. After that the

Turkish Minister of Internal Affairs Suleyman Soylu made a statement about the return of 291.790 Syrian refugees to return back to Syrian northern region which will be free of Kurds [original language]: “İçişleri Bakanı Süleyman Soylu, Türkiye'nin Suriye'nin kuzeyindeki bölgelerde düzenlediği Fırat Kalkanı ve Zeytin Dalı askeri harekâtlarını takiben toplam 291 bin 790 Suriyelinin ülkelerine geri döndüğünü açıkladı” [the Turkish Minister of Internal Affairs Suleyman Soylu said that 291 thousand 790 Syrians returned to their home country following the operations of Euphrates Shield and Olive Branch, which Turkey organized in the North of Syria] (Deutsche Welle Türkçe, 2018). the consequences of such a turn worth of separate analysis and calculations, including the fact that the refugees should return to homeland when they feel safe there.

In 2020, the Refugees are one of the first who lost income when the Covid-2019 crisis and further curfew occurred. According to the Turkish Red Crescent Organization “Kızılay” (2020), which has published a report on the consequences of Covid-2019 to those Syrian refugees involved into the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) programme, “69% of households reported a loss of employment due to Covid – 2019” (p. 5). On the contrary, “19% of refugees-respondents indicated that they are employed” (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2020, p. 8). In many cases, those refugees who lost their jobs during the Covid-2019 pandemic were the only ones who were employed in their families and brought income. As a result, the Turkish government faces the situation where the debt of Syrian refugees who remained without other income alternatives is constantly increasing. In this situation, and when I analyze the top-priorities for the refugees in the moment of continuing spread of Covid-2020 (food, rent and bills, hygiene supplies, healthcare, etc.), I see that education, in general, takes one of the last places (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2020, p. 8). From this I can conclude two main things: a) immediate response should be done in order to cover/compensate the income loss of refugees in a short term in order to

decrease their debts and secure access to healthcare and education; 2) professional trainings and vocational education programmes should be restored and transformed/reformed. The last means not only online access to education or revised studying programmes, but it should become a platform of cooperation between different sectors to employ refugees in shortest terms, even on flexible conditions.

Important to emphasize that the Covid-2019 damaged jobs, insurances and incomes of the Turkish citizens as Ill, and any humanitarian, educational, healthcare access assistance should be provided for all. Hence, the Turkish case is hard to compare with the tendencies in the rest of the world by its scope. It has already been struggling with the challenge of unemployment among the refugees, and now the burden on the government and international partners has increased since many people are in urgent financial need.

Human Capital Approach to Refugees' Problem

It is wrong to think of human capital as exclusively about the theory which includes one component, whether it is the level of education or presence of certain professional skills. It also includes the part of human capital investments, which aim first to teach individuals of certain work, provide them with certain conditions, and only after that observe their working results. *Human capital investment*³ combines several components that add and affect each other and the outcome of human work – production. Human capital investment, however, is a time-consuming process, which requires gradual and patient approach. Human nature implies independent factors that affect

³ In the context of vocational education and other types of on-the-job trainings, according to OECD Center for Educational Research and Innovation (1998), and the Institute for Fiscal Studies (1999), human capital investment means “to undertake or finance more education or training. Human capital investments involve an initial cost (tuition and training course fees, forgone earnings while at school and reduced wages and productivity during the training period) which the individual or firm hopes to gain a return on in the future” (p. 2).

learning productivity, starting from genetical peculiarities and finishing extraordinary pandemic situation. Human capital investment, as any other type of investment, can be risky and prediction of its feedback may seem blurred. On the other hand, this is the only one way to link refugees to formal Turkish labour market. In this regard, I consider as strong an argument by Donald Johnston (OECD, 1998), that “It is vital to know more about how investments of time and money in human capital yield social and economic benefits, and what types of human capital investment yield the greatest returns” (p. 3). Johnston’s vision on human capital investment and the ways of this investment is reflected on the international agenda on educating refugees. According to Doğu Şimşek and Metin Çobatır (2016), “Responses must evolve from a mainly humanitarian approach to a resilience-based framework that bridges the divide between short-term humanitarian and longer-term development responses” (p. 15). Human capital forms employability of the individual, and it can be increased via formal, informal and non-formal education. When formal education is weak, absent or not completed, the alternatives allow compensate certain skills via special training programmes. They have narrower character and are related to certain disciplines (IT, design, technical school, arts, etc.).

Human capital investment for Syrian refugees in Turkey has several types, and one of them is vocational education. Vocational education programmes and projects are instruments that the government uses to increase human capital in technical sector. Professional education of refugees is not a human capital itself – it is an investment, that in perspective will accumulate human capital in the form of skilled individual contributing to producing and economic growth. The quality of human capital, hence, depends on the proper dosage and form of human capital investments, which in the context of vocational education I consider as international, national and non-governmental programmes and projects. The Human Capital Theory theorists (Shultz (1961), Becker (1994),

Massey (1993), Wallerstein (1995), Friedman (1953), Piore (1973), etc.) claim that labour market outcomes are majorly affected by different forms of productive and market-required skills and competences of people. In other words, the success of the economy depends on the quality of labour force, which includes level and quality of education, knowledge of the language, health condition, working experience, vocational, technical and social skills. To correlate this theory to the economic outcomes of the refugee crisis that occurred in Turkey between 2014 and until now, I need to estimate educational and professional curriculum (human capital) of the refugees by the next criteria: 1) presence/absence of education; 2) age; and 3) gender.

Presence/Absence of Education

While analyzing the profile on education proficiency I should note that the information I receive cannot be measured in actual numbers, and the separate numbers from the mass media I cannot consider as representative. Important to note that the refugees escaping to Turkey are mostly coming from the Northern Syrian traditional and quite conservative regions. This fact is important because from the perspective of human capital theory it defines that there is a vast number of uneducated people (especially women), who could be potential labour force involved into the formal economy but who will not use this opportunity due to social and cultural reasons. Unfortunately, in some conservative families, women are getting limited education and no support in their professional achievements: they are expected to be married and raise children at home, that is why a lot of female refugees staying in Turkey for 7-8 years can barely speak in the Turkish language (Çolakoğlu, 2018, p. 12). Another crucial factor is that for most of the Syrian refugees Europe, America and Canada are more attractive countries of destination because they are associated with the better economic level and higher living standards. On the other hand, the European Union also builds a policy for hosting the refugees having specific professional and

educational curriculum. According to professor Murat Erdogan (2019), between 2014 and 2016 the educational level of 700.000 Syrian refugees who left Turkey and drifted to Europe was higher than the educational level of the majority of refugees who stayed in Turkey (p .8). As the result, it can cause an outflow of high-quality labour from Turkey, which certainly reflects on the process of involvement of Syrian refugees into the formal labour market and education, and consequently on the economic condition of Turkey in short and long terms.

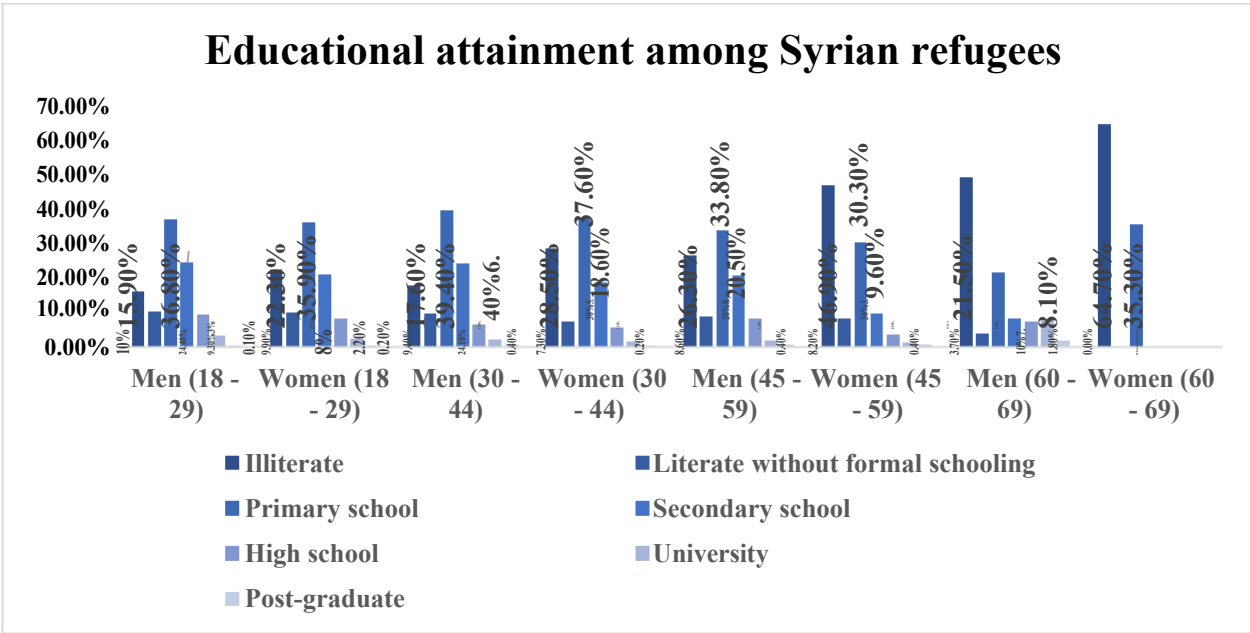


Figure 2: Educational attainment among Syrian refugees. ILO, 2021

According to ILO, the educational attainment of Syrian refugees is mostly limited with secondary or high school, the least educational levels are university and post-graduate studies. Less than a quarter of refugees age 18-29 are involved in or graduated from university (women less than men) (Figure 2). According to these calculations, I see that educational attainment, should be explored and considered in the integration and sustainable development programmes. It is crucial for estimation of what knowledge and skills could be expected from the refugees and their

ability to absorb new knowledge. Almost a quarter of young people of working age are illiterate, thus, I can doubt the positive results from the vocational and technical education when it requires literacy skills. For this target group, the professional education courses should start from teaching at least basic reading and writing, not only working skills. This aspect can also explain the reasons why many refugees cannot obtain any information about their rights and duties, social benefits and legal procedures that they should complete in order to receive them.

The amount of refugees who got university degree (means did not withdraw from university) shows lower compatibility on the labour market comparing to Turkish natives. This fact does not show that they are less educated, but they apparently have problems with employment in Turkey according to their university degree. There is a category of young people who got university degree in Syria, who are intellectual and ambitious, but in war they lost their documents. Another problem is when their degree is not recognized by Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu (YÖK) (Turkish Higher Education Council) and re-attestation process is complicated. This group, however, is learning fast, motivated to get accreditation in Turkey and able to show high working productivity. Some of those refugees create numerous small non-governmental organizations mostly in the cities with largest population of Syrian refugees (Table 1: Geography of Syrian Refugees in Turkey).

While well-educated refugees are more available for learning new skills and discovering job options, a concern grown about less educated and uneducated older population. According to ILO (2019), the difference between illiterate men and women age 45 – 59 is 20.6% (Figure 2). This age is fragile for two reasons. First, it is early to retire: men are normally get retired at the age of 60, women – at the age of 58 (OECD, 2017). Second, it is relatively late to study, especially having family traditional outlook and family responsibilities: most of the people prefer to wait

until retirement. As a result, refugees who have to wait until they reach retirement age remain unemployable and totally depend on the governmental help and support of working family members. This group does not occupy merely uneducated or poorly educated refugees: people with high educational attainment and solid professional experience does not interest employers. there are few reasons for that: a) preference of younger workers; b) preference of Turkish natives because they do not need professional accreditation and work permit; c) language learning difficulties. For the country hosting largest amount of refugees in the world and having economic diminishing, this percentage of difference between illiterate men and women is very high. In conditions when every third refugee graduated only from primary school (Figure 2) is a big obstacle for the economy integration programmes aimed to increase professional capacity. These aspect crucially should be considered while making programmes and calculations on expected outcomes.

Age

Age is one of the least considered but one of the most crucial aspects characterizing population capacity in terms of ability to learn, quickly adapt to new conditions on the labour market and show working productivity. The Turkish Statistical Institute TurkStat (2018) and Household Labour Force Survey (2017) in their general data show that over “two million of Syrian refugees are of active working age between 15 and 64 years old. The second largest proportion of Syrian refugees in Turkey reaches age 0 – 14 (TurkStat, 2018). However, his group is always increasing due to relatively high birth rate among refugees. According to the official statistics from the Turkish Ministry of Health (2019), there is growing tendency of childbirth among Syrian refugees residing in Turkey (Figure 3). This fact I can consider from two positions. First, children from an early age are getting easier assimilated to the host community in all aspects, which means

that they will grow up as Turkish citizens and in long term their human resource can be useful for Turkey. Second, in the relatively short term they are supposed to receive a full package of humanitarian and socio-economic support, enabling them to receive supplies of first necessity and decent education. Only in this case the refugees’ children can become compatible on the labour market in the future and defend their labour rights. Considering the number of children-refugees, including those who are not able to attend school and/or learn Turkish language or who are not literate, the solution of this problem requires many efforts, otherwise, it will grow into a long-term problem. A relatively high amount of Syrian refugees age 24 – 34 (Erdogan, 2019, p. 12), who have higher chances to get involved in the formal labour market in case of having necessary skills. This age period (plus/minus 5 years) is the most occupied target group by vocational, technical, on-job, etc. education programmes and projects.

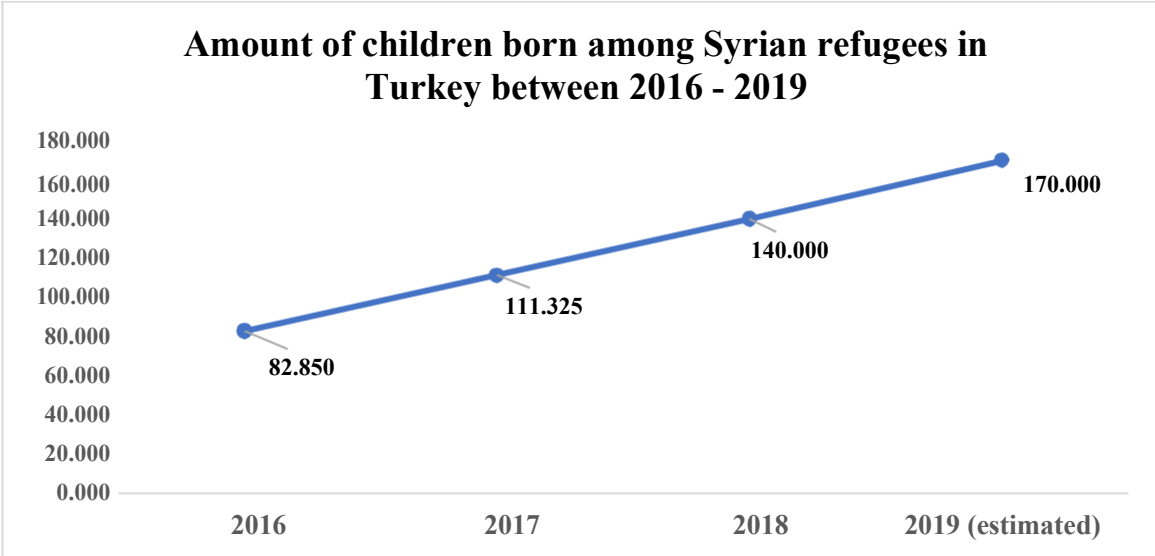


Figure 3 Amount of children born among Syrian refugees in Turkey between 2016 – 2019. World Bank, 2020

However, here I should make a retrospect to the issue of amount or literate young people and categorization on school/university degree. Regarding women, the issue is even more delicate:

among the refugees girls are normally getting married and having first child between ages 18 and 26. Traditionally, they position their role rather as a housewife raising children, rarer as a regular worker. Often, even when young girls are attending university and Turkish language courses, the family may offer them an arranged marriage, which they mostly accept. Thus, further attendance of school is having formal character, when after graduation girls are doing household work and do not get into the formal labour market. However, the focus of vocational education programmes should fall also on those girls and women who are willing to get into the formal economic sector and demonstrate flexible learning abilities.

Gender

The gender component is a vital element in creating a general picture of available human resources among refugees. The correlation between male (54.1%) and female (45.8%) (IOM, 2019, p. 8) population among the Syrian refugees living in Turkey proves that gender-inclusive character of economic integration is vital for both men and women. According to the data collected from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2018), and International Labour Organization (2018), the proportion of refugee population in Turkey age 18 – 69 (working age) by gender has such dynamics (Figure 4):

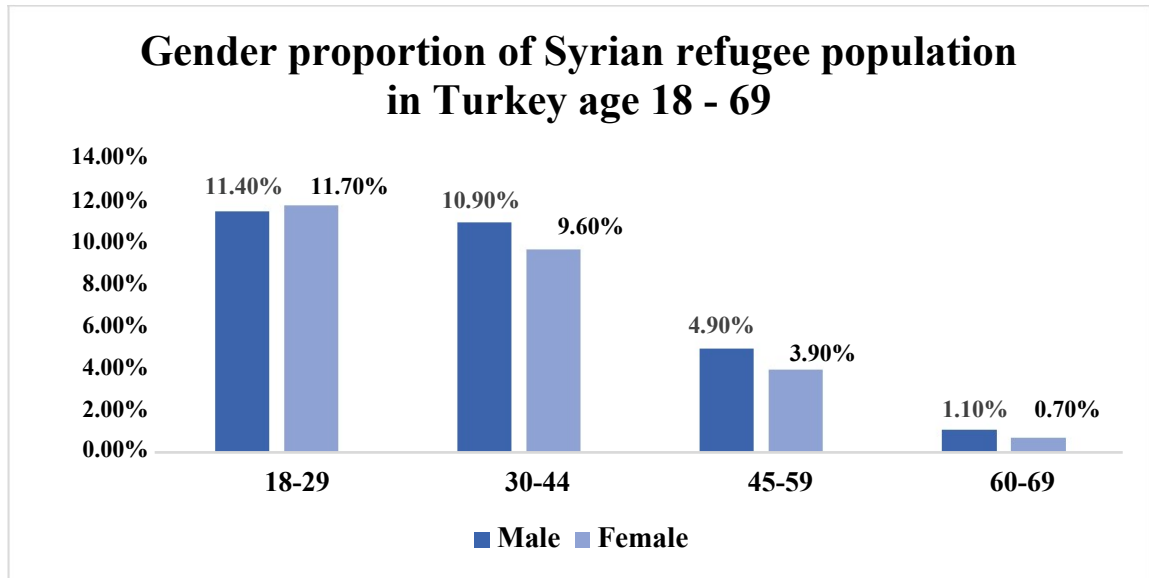


Figure 4: Gender proportion of Syrian refugee population in Turkey age 18 – 69. ILO, 2018

As it comes from the Figure 4, the amount of male and female refugees is approximately same, the difference percentage is minimal, which means that weak emphasis on female labour force participation means vast loss of human capital. Gender inclusivity will give positive dynamics by increased formal employment when I consider the labour potential and capacity of men and women equally. Despite Syria in its majority remains a quite traditional and conservative country in terms of liberation of the rights of women, in Turkey among the refugees I observe many stories showing that in new challenges and conditions women are the ones who drive the progress. For example, the latest project on vocational and on-the-job trainings launched by the International Organization for Migration occupies specifically female Syrian refugees in the South-Easter region of Turkey) (Çolakoğlu, 2018, p. 6) Especially their contributions I observe in the agriculture sector, where Syrian women create entire labour communities and successfully combine household work and their regular jobs, often showing optimizing and innovative approach to cultivating vegetables and fruits.

Among all, economy, is a central indicator that I use to understand to what extent the migrants/refugees are getting integrated into the host community. The reason why I define the economy as a central element is because by economic integration in broad meaning I understand not only employment, but also access to social protection services, professional education, access to social networking and, consequently, cultural and political activities. All these parts are vital elements for the implementation of human rights of the refugees and all people who appeared in difficult conditions.

General Critical Aspects of the Economic Integration Programmes'

One of the key instruments on addressing the refugee crisis are emergency relief and sustainable development programs, which are established and sponsored by the global intergovernmental institutions and national funds. Over the last decade, the refugee crisis which has been happening in Venezuela, Somalia, Mali, Syria and other conflict zones has been marked as one of the priorities in all international doctrines and programs. The colossal funds that were given for the de-escalation of conflicts and humanitarian support decreased the negative consequences of the events comparing to how would it be without those financial inflows. Those resources did not cope with the challenges related to refugee crisis due to three main reasons:

1. Ineffective planning of refugee crisis programs in terms of occupancy estimation (means how many people it will reach in realistic numbers). For example, one of the reasons why the vocational education programmes cannot reach many refugees and thus, complete its goals is about the limited awareness-raising instruments. For example, if I approach the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey infographic on protection in 2017 – 2018 (2019), I see that only “660.649 individuals” (p. 2) were occupied by awareness-raising campaign dedicated to the promotion of public knowledge on rights, assistance,

entitlements and services, including those giving on-job, vocational and language trainings. It is quite a humble amount comparing to few-million more people waiting for humanitarian, legal and socio-economic support. Not all people who receive information about how they can use governmental and international support to stay legally and be legally employed in Turkey will actually use this knowledge. However, the more refugees will receive access and trust to information, the more actively they will get involved in programme implementation.

2. Illiteracy and poor education among a relatively big number of refugees. Sadly, around 33.3% of Syrian refugees residing in Turkey are illiterate (UNDP et al., 2017, p. 83). This number should be seen in comparison with the numbers on illiterate refugees residing in Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan, where illiteracy among refugees is met twice less (UNDP et al., 2017, p. 83):

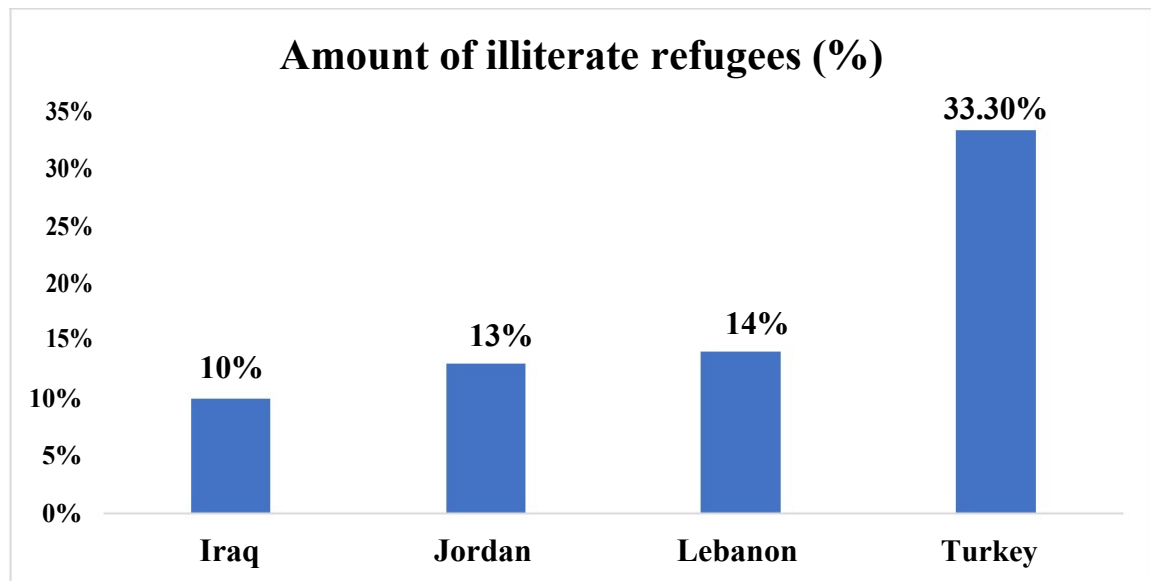


Figure 5: Amount of illiterate refugees. UNDP, 2017

This factor means that the programmes on vocational education and on-the-job trainings are not able to reach a maximum effect. Some people are not able to perceive the knowledge and

skills with the methods used by those programmes. Illiteracy does not remove any chance to be employed in general (some sectors do not require knowledge of literacy), but it rapidly decreases a chance to be employed in the formal and non-vulnerable sector, learn and defend own labour rights and get social protection benefits from the government.

3. Uneven calculation of working time and revenue between the refugees and natives. According to the International Labour Organization (2017), there is such a tendency in the unequal distribution of working hours between Syrian refugees and Turkish natives (Figure 6). It means that due to involvement in vulnerable employment, staying in Turkey irregularly or having weak/absent professional curriculum (or any form of recognized proof of educational and professional proficiency) Syrian refugees tend to be exploited by their employers and overwork.

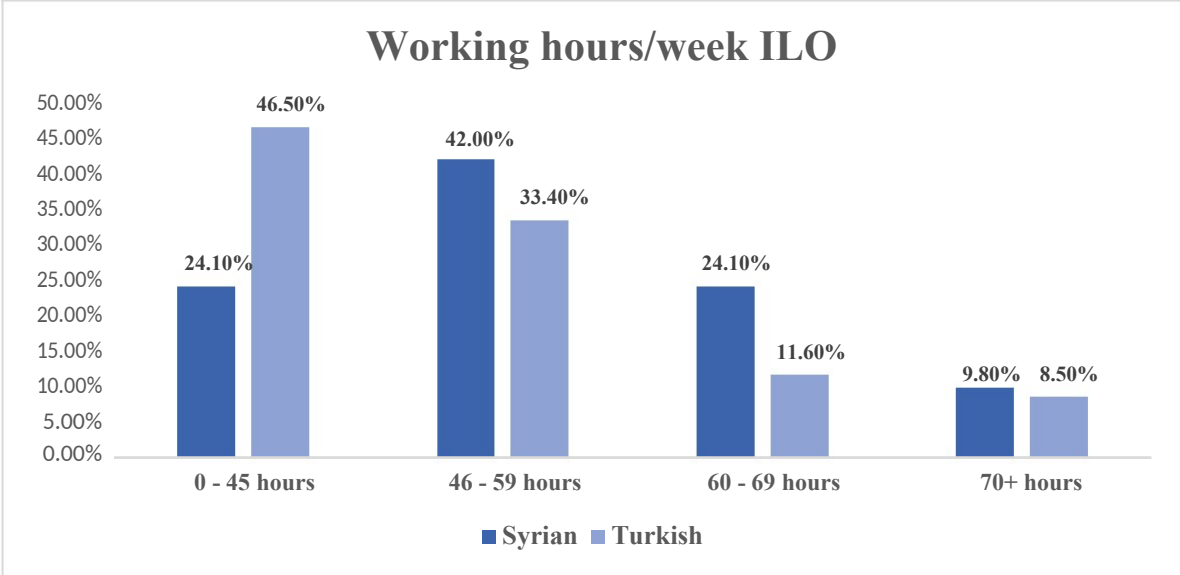


Figure 6: Syrian refugees vs Turkish natives working hours. ILO, 2018

International Labour Organization has published some wage gap data from 2017, which clearly shown to what extent Syrian refugees, especially women are being pushed out from their right for decent work. For example, in 2017 male Syrian refugees had

average wage TRY1,337, which was 5% below the minimal wage officially applicable in 2017 in Turkey (ILO, 2017). Syrian women earned less than that – on average their wage was TRY1,083 (ILO, 2017). By combining the numbers I can see that the work of female Syrian refugees was estimated 20% less than same work of male Syrian refugees, and 25% less than official minimal wage in Turkey. It is crucial to admit that the wage disproportion is hard to control in the informal labour market. Frequently, employers may use the argument that it is always possible to find replacement and/or worker who would take less payment. Additionally, overtime, unregulated working schedule without any compensation (Figure 6) lead to exhaustion of labour and decrease of its quality. For vulnerable groups having problems with getting work permit and less alternative options, this exploitative approach becomes a typical example. As a result, in such conditions to afford a language and qualification courses becomes physically and mentally difficult. Besides, there is no guarantee that after education courses a refugee will not have to return to informal market on same low wage.

4. Disproportional settlement of the refugees, which leads to uneven overburdening of some regions. For example, if I check the mapping of Syrian refugees residing in Turkey updated at the beginning of October 2020, I will see the next dynamics (UNHCR, 2020):

Registered Syrian Refugees	Region/City
1 - 2.500	East and Northern East of Turkey
2.501 - 10.000	Central Turkey, Antalya, Trabzon, Çanakkale, Isparta, Bolu

10.001 - 50.000	Şırnak, Batman, Diyarbakır, Adıyaman, Malatya, Nevşehir, Afyon, Denizli, Muğla, Tekirdag
50.001 - 100.000	Mardin, Ankara, Kocaeli, Kahramanmaraş
100.000 - 300.000	Kilis, Adana, Mersin, Konya, Bursa, İzmir
300.000 +	Hatay, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Osmaniye, İstanbul

Table 1: Geography of Syrian Refugees in Turkey

This uneven settlement is overburdening some regions, causing a higher rate of unemployment of informal employment, increases competition between the refugees and Turkish natives per working place and creates problems for local authorities on the municipal level. According to Murat Erdogan (2019): “As of August 2019, of the more than 3.6 million Syrians, only 1.8% (67,000) stay in one of the 7 refugee camps” (p. 7). In the beginning, the refugees relying on the fast ending of the war tent less to get assimilated to Turkey and many of them are staying in the camps. The reasons for skepticism about any perspective of future return back to Syria deserves another research, here I should only mention that fewer people are staying in the refugee camps. According to estimations made by Murat Erdoğan (2019), by 2020 “the number of those [refugees] living in camps will decrease to less than 1%” (p. 7). When making such estimations, I should refer to the situation with Covid-2019 which occurred in the world and affected implementation of the refugees’ integration plans.

These factors create another crucial problem – absence or lack of social security and healthcare services. There is no data on the cases of injuries at working place of Syrian refugees, how many exactly dies due to traumas at work and lack of medical care. According to the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (2018), officially in 2016, 63 Syrian refugees tragically died at their workplace, in 2017 this amount was 49. By now, including the

situation with COVID-2019, I cannot observe any information on how many refugees were injured or died at working place. Sometimes, the non-governmental sector compensated refugees access to healthcare, but still it is rather related to officially registered asylum seekers. Thus, informal and vulnerable employment has myriad of consequences violating labour and human right of refugees.

Conclusions

Thus, the creation of socio-economic programmes on reducing unemployment among refugees should include a properly collected and analyzed data-out. What I call vocational and technical education, language schools and on-the-job trainings for adults, in general, is a human capital investment, which aims to enlarge the amount of employable refugees and involve them in capitalist market relations. The outcome of the human capital investment is proportional to adequate estimation of available human capital, quality and quantity of human capital investment. In order to complete the general picture on what human capital do the Syrian refugees have, I applied three criteria: educational attainment, age and gender.

In terms of education, the biggest problem lays in relatively high rate of illiteracy and absence of educational degree among refugees of a young age. They are first target group considered for human capital investment with the fast returning result. Speaking about age, the majority of Syrian refugees are young people of working age, but which inherited certain cultural and traditional peculiarities. Again, traditional approach and lack of education leads to increased impact of human factor on the process of refugees' economic integration abroad. This human factor includes gender-discriminative approach, which is another important issue to consider while estimating refugees' human capital. In conservative society, where women are not allowed, not

recommended or strongly discouraged to receive proper education, work, and/or attend professional training classes it is irrelevant to expect adequate programme inclusivity. Complex addressing of those challenges requires fast and effective response, which is responsibility of international and national institutions protecting people's rights. However, important to remember that even fastest response will make a shift in longer term.

To evaluate the quality of international community work over the refugee crisis elimination, in the next chapter I should make a review of concrete agendas they propose. Those agendas and vision of the solution include 1. several largest TVET programmes; 2. Several biggest projects on vocational education; 3. Target groups and results of these projects. Despite many of them were created, agreed and implemented with the participation of Turkey, I decided to dedicate to Turkish implementing role separate part. The reason is that it is important to understand in which concretely conditions and Turkey has faced current challenges with controlling the consequences of unemployment among refugees.

CHAPTER 4:
IMPLEMENTATION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMMES AND
PROJECTS IN TURKEY: ANALYSIS, EVALUATION, COMPARISON

Introduction

While speaking about vocational education as a form of human capital investment important to note that the outcome of such investment will decrease the disbalance between vulnerable and non-vulnerable social groups. However, my research case is about Syrian refugees – people who mostly have average or less than average education level and, thus, poor human capital. As it comes from the global agenda (SDGs, Global Jobs Pact, Global Compact on Refugees, Beijing +20), international community is ready to support politically and financially national programmes on human capital investment to challenge unemployment and poverty. Despite most of those programmes were adopted before the refugee crisis occurred as we face it now, the current economic challenges remained same and they prove the importance of inclusion of refugees into their programmes. It is crucial to understand that international agenda is only primary political commitment, which governments-partners should convert into their national plans for action and implement them.

Turkish government, like the rest of the governments in developing countries, sees VET sector as an important part of the national development strategy. At some point, vocational education and on-the-jobs training can help decrease unemployment and secure skills improvement of employees. However, it is one of the elements of solution, but not the entire solution of economic problems. In some academic ideas, the role of vocational education programmes addressing unemployment is exaggerated. According to Adrian Ziderman (2006), “There is little evidence across countries of a positive correlation between the size of STVE

provision on the one hand, and between such measures of economic success as the level of economic development, GDP growth or economic competitiveness, on the other” (P. 352). Turkey became partner and adopted several programmes supporting economic integration of Syrian refugees via providing them vocational education and on-the-jobs training. They include EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, International Labour Organization (ILO) Refugee Response Programme in Turkey, 3RP Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan, HOPES Project – Certificate Program for Syrian Refugees (CPSR), Conditional Cash Transfers for Education (CCTE), and GIZ-İŞKUR programme. There are several Turkish state bodies giving policy regulations and distributing finances among the local recipients, including NGOs and municipalities. On the whole national level, vocational education for Syrian refugees is the competency of: the Ministry of National Education (MoNE), General Directorate of Vocational and Technical Education, the National Council for Education, Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), Türkiye İş kurumu (İşkur), Public Education Centers, migration centers and ISMEK (İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Hayat Boyu Öğrenme Merkezi), and Provincial Employment and Vocational Education Boards.

When the hierarchy of responsible partners from the global top (UN, WB, ILO, EU) to local bottom (NGOs) is strictly followed, and the international commitments are done, the state receives unlimited internal instruments to implement its commitment. By national and municipal policy, economic planning, adoption of the national programmes and laws, etc. the government creates positive or negative socio-economic climate for human capital investment locally. According to OECD (n. d.): “All social expenditure which is aimed at the improvement of the beneficiaries’ prospect of finding gainful employment or to otherwise increase their earnings capacity” is called Active Labour Market Programmes (ALMP). Thus, in this chapter, I attempt to

make analysis on the example of concrete projects and programmes that involve international entities accredited in Turkey and having Turkish government as their partners. I will also compare the approaches of international and local non-governmental organizations in their work with refugees and give key points about why they are not effective enough. I will try to look at the issue from the angle of intensity of employable and unemployable human capital in local labour market and how does it shift programme implementation.

There is a vast amount of entities involved in refugees economic integration, which provides Syrian refugees with education in different forms and conditions. According to Alan Makovsky (2019), “As of October 2016, the Government of Turkey announced that it had contributed over USD 12 billion in support of Syrians in Turkey since the beginning of the crisis” (p. 5). However, the main question remains why they having such a convincing capital are not able to enclose the amount of economically integrated refugees to the number that would be enough for them to self-sustain.

The answer for this question I searched in three aspects: 1) what VET projects and programmes have been done; 2) critical analysis of VET programmes and projects and 3) evaluation of VET actions done by international organizations and NGOs. The reason why these three aspects are important is because economic integration does not mean simply improvement of human capital of Syrian refugees. The main goal is make Syrian refugees part of the formal economy, and the government can offer certain assistance for those refugees who are willing to get officially employed.

TVET Largest Programmes and Projects in Turkey

Delegation of the European Union to Turkey

Since the very beginning, the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey has become a form of partnership between Turkey and European Union. It is aiming to link the membership requirements of the EU and Turkish internal and external policy in the spheres of trade, diplomacy, political climate, and intersectoral network. A strengthened intersectoral network and cooperation between the public authorities, private sector, political parties, NGOs, etc. is a part of human rights and democracy-building agenda that EU prioritizes for Turkey. Consequently, the refugee crisis activated co-work between the Turkish authorities and the Delegation in terms of defending human rights of Syrian refugees. The largest implementing partners are the World Bank, İŞKUR, and Turkish Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (MoFLSS). Financial contributions mostly come from the EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey complex programme and Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA)⁴.

Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), European Union Trust Fund (EUTF) and EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT) are the largest donor for programmes responding the refugee crisis in Turkey. The largest amount of projects receiving donations from them are about education and livelihoods (or economic integration). Vocational education and on-the-jobs trainings are projects led in the part on livelihoods and promote improvement of refugees' human capital to enhance their employability. Important to specify that these projects are split between several activities, thus, I do not read the project's budget as it is dedicated merely to VET.

4 Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) is a financial instrument for supporting EU's programmes in the countries-candidates for Membership. To get membership in the EU, Turkey has to implement several conditions for democratic changes and economic development. IPA is aiming to finance programmes and projects in five sectors that would help achieve this mission. Strengthening human capital is one of IPA's key priorities.

Often, majority of budgets go on two other activities that can potentially help refugees with employment. First, it is support of small business developed by some Syrian refugees via giving them grants. Second, it is improvement of governmental employment systems based on İŞKUR and Active Labour Market Programmes.

From the projects under the EU programmes, there are several significant miscalculations that partly answer the question on why the unemployment/ informal employment among refugees is so high. It is worth to pay attention at the geography of the Livelihoods projects that include specifically providing of vocational education and combine it with the geography of registered refugees in Turkey (Chapter 2, Table 1). Thus, the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey created a large multifunctional programme European Union Facility for Refugees in Turkey, which is totally accountable to IPA and the EU.

EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT)

FRIT is one of the largest programmes for humanitarian and development actions launched between 2015 – 2016 until the present time as a response to the refugee crisis which occurred in the European Union and Turkey. According to their publications on projects that they have sponsored in 2016 – 2017, the Facility granted (in net payments)⁵ “2.672.597.150 euros including disbursements under projects implemented by the EUTF, but not yet charged to the EU budget” (EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, 2020, p. 9). Between 2018 – 2019 they delivered “1.162.337.865 euros” (EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, 2020, p. 9). The total amount of projects they have sponsored in 2016 – 2019 is 114. Among them, according to our estimations, ten large projects were dedicated specifically to vocational education and training programs for Syrian refugees under the socio-economic support and education priority area. The funding

5 NET payment is the actual amount of money which the beneficiary received minus taxes and deductions.

instruments used in this action include Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) Support Measure 2016 and 2019, the World Bank (WB), Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GiZ), European Union Trust Fund (EUTF), and Humanitarian Implementation Plan (HIP) Turkey 2016. Considering the information published by the European Commission, on donations and their distributors in Turkey for TVET, I can conclude the next implementing partners list:

1. The World Bank (4 TVET programmes, 2 of them had no financing, 2 received in total 54.500.000 euro);
2. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1 TVET programme, received in total 40.405.174 euro);
3. Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) (1 TVET programme, received in total 32.800.000 euro);
4. Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GiZ) (1 TVET programme, received in total 18.207.812 euro);
5. International Labour Organization (ILO) (1 TVET programme, received in total 11.255.018 euro);
6. Expertise France (1 TVET programme, received in total 5.887.479 euro);
7. Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) (1 TVET programme, 5.256.502 euro in total);
8. United Nations Woman (UNW) (1 TVET programme for women and girls, received in total 4.744.300 euro);
9. Concern Worldwide (1 TVET, received in total 2.988.941 euro).

In 2020, the European Commission has approved eight additional projects under the FRIT programme. Among them, two projects will be dedicated to the strengthening of refugees’

economic integration under the financing of Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW). One of the aims is “increasing refugees' access to inclusive and quality technical and vocational education and training (TVET) for people under temporary and international protection, and for Turkish adolescents (European Commission, 2020).

International Labour Organization (ILO) Refugee Response Programme in Turkey

ILO's refugee support programmes and projects are one of the most prominent examples on the transformation from first aid humanitarian type of support to sustainable development promotion. The program aims to promote access to decent work among the refugees in Turkey via increasing their employability and labour productivity. Currently, there are three ongoing projects on sustainable development of communities with the high amount of refugee inflow that occupy refugees under international protection and Syrians under temporary protection:

1. Decent work opportunities for refugees and host communities in Turkey (donor: U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Population, Refugee and Migration). The project targets refugees locating in Istanbul, Ankara, Gaziantep, Adana, Mersin, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Kahramanmaraş, Ordu, Izmir, Denizli, Konya, Bursa, and Eskişehir and will finish in 2021.

2. Promoting decent work for Syrians under temporary protection and Turkish citizens (donor: the Federal Republic of Germany through KfW Development Bank). The target groups are located in Istanbul, Ankara, Gaziantep, Adana, Mersin, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Izmir, Konya, and Bursa. The project will carry on until 2022.

3. Job creation and entrepreneurship opportunities for Syrians under temporary protection and host communities in Turkey (donor: European Union). The project will continue until 2021 and will occupy approximately 12.600 Syrian refugees (ILO, 2020, n. p.). locating in Istanbul, Ankara, Gaziantep, Adana, Mersin, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Izmir, Konya, and Bursa.

Thus, ten Turkish provinces with the largest amount of Syrian refugees receive regular international support and financing for the involvement of Syrian refugees in the formal labour market. Important to note that between 2016 and until 2020+ there are in total nine projects, targeting different groups of refugees. It is important to remark two significant examples of ILO's inclusive approach to programming which has a strong gender component. First, it is a project conducted in Gaziantep in 2018 – 2019 and called “Strengthening the resilience of Syrian women and girls and host communities in Turkey”. The government of Japan and the European Union have sponsored the pilot project that involved 3280 Syrian women and girls (ILO, 2020) willing to get professional skills and get employed legally. They participated in local market-oriented vocational training courses and entrepreneurship schools, received mentor support on empowerment and increase of self-confidence. Second, in 2017 – 2018 the government of Japan donated finances for creation of the Women-only centre (ILO, 2020) in the city of Gaziantep. The project had two implementing partners which are Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) and UN Women and received wide support from the Gaziantep metropolitan municipality. It is one of the most innovative and complex approaches to solving the problem of unemployment and lack of knowledge about employment opportunities and labour rights among women and young girls. The centre provides mentorship, legal support, support in language learning for Syrian women, also gives a range of trainings on market skills, vocational and technical courses, etc.

Conditional Cash Transfers for Education (CCTE)

Conditional Cash Transfers for Education (CCTE) is the largest education-focused humanitarian programme, which Turkey has been successfully operating since 2003, before the revolution in Syria. After the massive inflow of refugees, the programme has been transformed

from the humanitarian aid on education for poor families to the one for vulnerable groups and refugees. The programme is on the charge of the social platform called the Good Practice which is facilitating actions in needs that support global objectives of the Global Compact on Refugees. The Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) is a framework for international collaboration addressing the problems of forced migration by financing projects and programmes on the support of the host communities in leading decent lives of refugees.

The donors maintaining CCTE include the European Union, the United States of America and Norway. The executive partners include Turkish Red Crescent (TRC), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and Turkish governmental assistance such as the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (MoFSP). According to the UNHCR (2019), by September 2019 the cash payments of 100-250TL per month per child were delivered to "517, 877 beneficiary children (50 per cent girls and 50 per cent boys)" (p. 9).

3RP Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan

The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan 3RP has been majorly developed by UNHCR and UNICEF and consists of the two components, which are being implemented: 1) humanitarian assistance and protection, and 2) strengthening of the national actors' capacities. The last component is a long-term reaction on the educational and economic needs of the refugees and thus, according to its agenda, is closely collaborating with Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) (UNHCR, UNICEF, 2017, p. 4) and the Turkish government. 3RP is constantly working with the host communities in order to increase their hosting capacity and accept the refugees with a minimal negative effect on the lives of local natives. The Livelihood Sector of the programme covers the promotion of formal employment and sustainable wage among Syrian refugees, giving emphasis to young people and women.

The outcomes of 3RP in terms of vocational education for Syrian refugees in Turkey is that having a good vocational training planning it covered a relatively small amount of young refugees. Between 2017 and 2018, according to the UNHCR 3RP Programme (2018), 16.250 young people age were enrolled in non-formal TVET (p. 44). Among them, only approximately half of the participants (8.470 persons) benefitted/used opportunity to be employed (p. 44). The budget delivered for TVET activities and for additional help to those refugees who benefitted from TVET (work permits, passports, etc.) in 2017 – 2018 estimates \$15.611.000 (UNHCR 3RP, 2018, p. 44). In other words, from the total amount of money delivered for their TVET, including post-training support, only a bit more than half of refugees actually used this opportunity. In 2019 Report, “forty-four thousand refugees got support to get short- or long-term employment, which is 61% of target (3RP, 2020, p. 3). The two most productive examples of programme implementation are:

- 1) created by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality International Training Centre, which still receives help from 3RP and gives TVET for Syrian refugees and local natives;
- 2) Migration Department in Gaziantep, providing language courses (including Arabic language classes for Syrian children born in Turkey), TVET, and within the created SADA Centre provides Syrian and Turkish women with childcare services.

HOPES Project – Certificate Program for Syrian Refugees (CPSR)

Certificate Program for Syrian Refugees (CPSR) was launched in 2018 as a part of the HOPES project. The HOPES project launched between 2016 and 2019 was funded by the European Union’s Regional Trust Fund “Madad”. The project aims to create an educational platform for young adults in communities addressing socio-economic and educational needs of refugees in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Northern Iran. Among other learning options such as the creation of CV and Cover Letter, preparation for job interviews, conflict resolution at the

workplace, financial management, marketing, computer programming, etc., there was a large focus on vocational trainings and on-the-job trainings. The programme implementing partners include British Council, Nuffic, German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and Campus France. In 2017 under the umbrella of HOPES ten projects for Syrian refugees were organized in Turkey. In 2018, as a continuation of the EU Trust Fund practice, three more projects were launched. As a result of two years of work with young refugees, 32 projects were launched and 36.683 persons from 5 countries participated (EURTF “Madad”, 2019). However, as for the proportion of young refugees each of the country-project participants hosting the amount is humble. Mostly, the project was created for educated and skilled refugees, in many cases with knowledge of English and/or learning capacity (including technical supplies like the computer for online-lessons). During the courses, the refugees-participants were able to pass English proficiency tests like IELTS, which apparently gave them the opportunity to continue education in Western countries.

Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) – İŞKUR

In 2016, Türkiye İş kurumu (İşkur) adopted a new document called Active Labour Market Services Regulation under the patronage of International Labour Organization. In collaboration with the Ministry of the National Education (MoNE), vocational and on-the jobs-trainings were provided on the basis of Turkish Public Education centres and Vocational Training centres. Along with that, German governmental agency Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) between 2016 – 2019 have been executing a project called “Supporting employment and vocational training for Syrian refugees and host communities” on training for the İŞKUR staff, including workshops on giving vocational education for Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens (GIZ, 2016). A Syrian/Turkish NGO Risk for Professional Development was a stakeholder helping with technical issues and applications of target groups. As a result, “A total of 140 employees from

IŞKUR have received training [...] or have engaged in exchange formats with German institutions. Most trained members of staff are job and vocational counselors who provide guidance to more than 1,000 job seekers every month” (GIZ, 2019). One of the elements which differs this project from the rest is that IŞKUR organized several job fairs and career days for Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens in order to introduce them employment options in their community.

Basically, GIZ took care of the complex work on refugees’ economic integration starting from training the staff who will be teaching and finishing with supervision during the employment process after VET. Moreover, the project involved non-governmental organizations, the biggest among them is Syrian/Turkish NGO Risk for Professional Development. However, even granted coherent programme on vocational education and economic integration does not provide expected results. To compare, according to GIZ (2019), “trained members of staff are job and vocational counselors who provide guidance to more than 1,000 job seekers every month”. At the same time, when I check the project results not in terms of how many people got training but how many refugees were employed at the end, this number is smaller than the actual amount of staff training those refugees and Turkish natives (Figure 7):

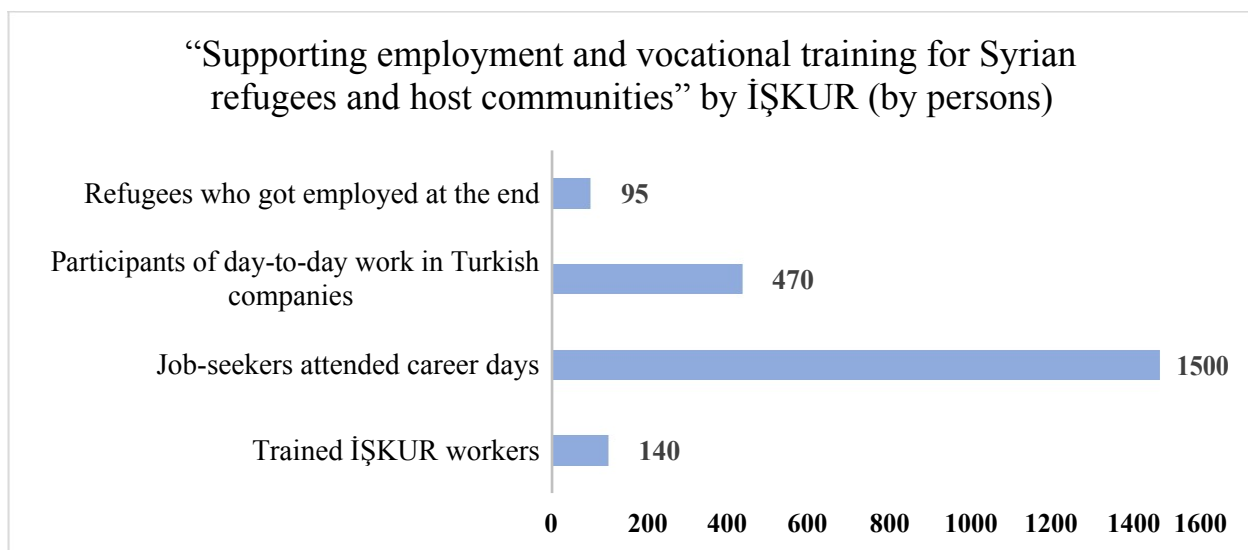


Figure 7: Project on supporting employment and VET for Syrian refugees and host communities by İŞKUR. GIZ, 2019

Another reason of why I tend to be critical about the programme coverage is that it has been going for almost three years, which is a long period for one project. It would be objectively to speak about the wasted investment in human capital, when amount of investment is disproportionally big comparing the amount of target groups to which those investments were made. Thus, the outcome when trained staff for vocational education courses is overweighting the target groups it was supposed to educate seems quite humble.

Common Analysis of TVET and Refugee Economic Integration Programmes

It is obvious from the international entities and their refugee crisis response programmes that vocational education plays one of the key roles in terms of economic integration. The provinces with the highest proportion of Syrian refugees are focal target locations: Hatay, Gaziantep, Urfa, and Istanbul. The financial contributions to economic integration and TVET as its part are large, but the outcomes are not always justifiable. In terms of global goals, all

programmes give a common message that refugees are supposed to have sustainable financial self-reliance, specifically via improving their human capital. The problem is that when it comes to the vertical distribution of financial and human resources from the highest rank institutions to small local entities and individuals, it is obvious that the occupancy of target groups is low. There are few reasons for that. First, it can happen when the refugees' human capital at start is too low to continue studying within the programmes offered and sponsored. Second, the VET schools are not vocal enough to let the refugees know about them and join the courses. Third, there is no monitoring over the quality of teaching staff and organization of the practicing lessons. Investment in human capital via education requires investment of human capital in educators. In other words, refugees may require different learning approaches and teaching methods, thus, the staff training them should know it and use properly.

The executing bodies in between the donor and beneficiary such as international organizations, governmental bodies, educational experts, etc. require good payment for their managing services. Even employment and selection of experts in certain field is burdened by procedures and operational bureaucracy but does not guarantee transparency of work without a nepotism. There is no monitoring over the justifiability of the operational expenses and visible proposals over the ways it could be optimized via shortened expenses, digitalized procedures and financially justifiable staff policy. An additional serious problem that actually contradicts purposes of economic integration programmes including TVET is that part of the refugees are not willing to use opportunities they are offered. It occupies different reasons from the uncomfortable feeling of stay in Turkey to cultural peculiarities when women and girls, for example, are not encouraged to work, especially in a long-term perspective. Thus, the design of programmes should go in parallel with the quality and counter-demands of human capital they are dealing with.

Living and Working Together: Integrating SuTPs to Turkish	Addressing Vulnerabilities of Refugees and Host Communities in Five	Social and Economic Cohesion through	Employment Support Project for Syrians Under Temporary	Name of the Project
Adana, Bursa, Gaziantep, Hatay, Istanbul, Izmir, Kayseri, Kilis, Konya, Mardin,	Adana, Ankara, Gaziantep, Hatay, Istanbul, Izmir, Kahramanmaraş, Kayseri, Kilis, Kocaeli,	Adana, Bursa, Gaziantep, Hatay, Istanbul, Kilis, Mersin, Sanliurfa	Adana, Gaziantep, Istanbul, Şanlıurfa	Location
Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing	Status
EUR 15.000.000	EUR 32,399,356	EUR 50.000.000	EUR 50.000.000	Funding
FRIT1 - EUTF	FRIT-EUTF	FRIT1 - IPA	FRIT1 - IPA	Donor
P	N/P	N/P	P	Language classes
P	N/A	N/P	P	Certification of Participants
P	N/A	P	P	Provided Information on Work Permit
P	N/P	N/P	P	Participants Registered with
N/A	N/P	N/P	P	Monitoring of Actually Employed Participants
P	N/P	N/P	N/P	Advocacy Actions

adrefugees
 settlement
 2016
 outcomessendinfranspore
 ds,the
 andprojectinforjoridrefugees
 com
 bure
 th
 e

Improving the Employment Prospects for the Syrian Refugees and Host Communities	Strengthening the Resilience of Syrian Women and Girls and Host	Job Creation and Entrepreneurship Opportunities for Syrians Under
Adana, Ankara, Bursa, Gaziantep, Hatay, Istanbul, Izmir, Kahramanmaraş, Kayseri, Kilis, Kocaeli, Konya, Şanlıurfa	Ankara, Gaziantep, Istanbul, Izmir, Kilis, Şanlıurfa	Adana, Ankara, Bursa, Gaziantep, Hatay, Istanbul, Konya, Mersin, Şanlıurfa
Ongoing	Ongoing	Ongoing
EUR 30.000.000	EUR 5,529,078	EUR 11.610.000
FRIT2 - IPA	FRIT-EUTF	FRIT1 - EUTF
N/P	N/P	N/P
N/A	N/A	P
N/A	P	P
N/P	N/P	N/P
N/P	N/P	N/P
N/P	P	P

N/A - not available

P - Provided

N/P - Not-Provided

Table 2: EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey projects

There are several core problems which are typical for every programme or project working for the refugees' economic integration.

The **first** and most common reason is that the linkage between VET and labour market remains weak, and the government did not succeed in strengthening it. Before inviting people to participate in vocational training, the entity providing it should offer a concrete roadmap on how the gained knowledge can be used in practice, introduce participants to certain companies who

would be interested in hiring skilled refugee. As it comes from the results of the “Supporting employment and vocational training for Syrian refugees and host communities” by İŞKUR, EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey, HOPES, etc., the outcome indicator is defined by the amount of refugees participated in vocational training. Their further destiny, whether they migrated, got formally or informally employed, or got married and stay at home (for women and girls) is rarely monitored.

Except for the large projects “Employment Support Project for Syrians Under Temporary Protection and Host Communities” and “Living and Working Together: Integrating SuTPs to Turkish Economies in Turkey”, the other ones do not have monitoring mechanism on the outcomes after the vocational training is completed (Table 2). As a result, the project outcome such as giving vocational skills to certain amount of people has place to be, but whether it is used is uncertain. The maximum what all largest projects offer is consultancy over the work permit procedures and sometimes following on how many VET participants were registered in İŞKUR.

Second reason is about lack of programming competency, which would step by step evaluate current human capital in a certain region and according to this evaluation use suitable approach. For example, as I specified before, there is a high level of illiteracy among certain groups of Syrian refugees (Figure 1, Chapter 2). Even basic literacy among refugees does not mean their knowledge of the Turkish language and high ability to learn. In this part, it would be fair to admit that despite the programmes offer language lessons, foreigners learn it slow and hard. Especially while speaking about adults having families and informal jobs, their learning is not fast and productive.

Human capital investment is not about merely professional education – it should include flexible state policy giving certain benefits for those refugees who attempt to be formally

employed. The programmes whether is in ILO, UN or MoNE only sometimes give consultancies and assistance for refugees' employment after they complete vocational education courses. Even with that, the government does not offer a condition that those refugees who completed VET, received certificate and decided to apply for job can have some benefits in terms of taxes, social premium payment or at least simplified work permit procedure. Simply, it is a deficit for encouragement of human capital, which can give the target groups feeling that the government is interested in making them employable. As evidence, it is logical to approach the report of the world's largest monitoring tools measuring the level of integration of migrants and refugees Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). It consists of fifty eight policy indicators measuring level of migrants/refugees integration and defines whether the hosting country takes enough of actions to support implementation of their integration policy. By the labour market mobility indicator Turkey takes 48th position, being classified as "slightly unfavorable" towards the migrants workers and refugees (MIPEX, 2020). This position in the rate is understandable due to the inflow of refugees and Turkey's internal problems.

Third, apparently, there is overestimated expectations from programmes in the short term. This idea comes out of the fact that from 100% of TVET target auditory there will always be a certain percentage of refugees who will not use this opportunity and return to informal employment. The reason is not necessarily they are not interested in the formal employment, which of course takes a certain place since the human factor always takes place. Looking through the EU and UN projects, it is clear that they are more oriented on young people: even target groups they all specify are people between 16 – 35 years old. Important to say in advance that same issue happens with Turkish projects, which is practical to analyze along with the work of NGOs. Along with that, it is important to analyze the state policy, where legal employment has a high cost.

Without consideration of the state policy on employment of refugees and dialogue on this issue with the local employers (if they are ready/interested to take the responsibility), the expected outcomes seem too abstract.

Fourth, disproportional settlement of refugees around Turkey and overburdening of south-eastern region. It is crucial fact to include because overburdening is an excessive proposal of unqualified labour force. To look deeper into this argument, it is important to combine the settlement of Syrian refugees in Turkey (Chapter 1, Table 1) and EU largest projects (Chapter 4, Table 2), where I notice two significant issues.

The first issue to see is that areas with smaller amount of refugees do not receive proper support. The UN, ILO, WB, EU and GIZ put their focus on locations where refugee inflow is the largest - between 50.000 – 300.000+ of Syrian refugees. Consequently, the areas with the largest amount of refugees receive most of funding for projects on vocational education and economic integration in general. There is also high concentration of the civil society organizations providing vocational education in one places and lack/absence of them in others. For example, if to look on the geography of the European Union Facility for Refugees in Turkey, ILO Refugee Response Programme, partly 3RP, and the majority of NGOs, it becomes clear that they all occupy same locations except for the GIZ-İŞKUR and several smaller VET schools based on Public Education Centres available in many more cities. This population incoherence may neglect certain achievements in vocational education. Even if well-organized, prepared and implemented vocational education programme will improve refugees' human capital and make them employable, the market will absorb only certain amount of labour force, leaving the rest in informal sector.

The second issue, which partly continues our previous statement, is the actual condition of labour market. Except for Istanbul, Adana, Bursa and Izmir, the local markets are not big enough to accept so many foreigners. As a result, the labour cost is decreasing, employers start speculations over the working conditions and increase their requirements. Mostly, on this background, human capital investment does not seem reliable enough to solve the problem which lays in the plane of state policy.

In general for the last couple of years Turkish unemployment rate increased according to Anadolu Agency (2020) Trading Economics (2020), and Statista (2020). With small, fluctuations up and down, in 2017, and more rapidly in 2019 Turkish unemployment rate increased to 14.8% (Statista, 2020). When some community having negative economic fluctuations and certain unemployment rate is getting overburdened with the mass inflow of vulnerable groups (refugees), the market is getting too much of underutilized labour force. The amount of competitors per one working place is increasing, and individuals with weaker human capital are usually not getting hired or get into informal vulnerable employment. Consequently, it complicated the chances of refugees to get officially employed even after participation in certain vocational education courses.

To apply for any job position, a refugee should receive a Turkish ID card, which would prove his/her legal stay in Turkey. The Commission from the Migration Office (Göç İdaresi) can take up to 90 days to assess the application (Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, n. d.). In Turkish labour procedure system, employer willing to hire migrant or refugee is supposed to lodge work permit by applying to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security (MoLSS). Another important moment in this system is that a refugee can officially work only by place of registration. In other words, if by any chance a refugee has been registered in one city, but could not get hired there and decided to move to another city, than before applying for work permit he/she should change place of

registration. To change place of registration, a potential employee should apply to the Provincial Directorate of Migration Management and show his job contract. This condition makes employer get into certain risk with vouching for a foreigner whose documents he should wait to be done. It creates additional complications for both employer and potential employee, whose limited geographical job options decrease employment mobility.

Evaluating Effectiveness of Vocational Education and Employment: Non-Governmental Organizations vs International Entities

Separately, important to admit the advocacy work of Delegation of the EU in Turkey, which in 2013 inspired Turkey to adopt a Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP). In this document, Article 81(3) states that non-governmental organizations have the right to provide counseling services to the international protection applicants and status holders (LFIP, 2013, p. 31). At this point, the Turkish government has the right to accredit local NGOs representatives and scholars with consultancy services according to its own requirements (LFIP, 2013, p. 46). In general, the Law accredits non-governmental organizations to create projects independently and in collaboration with the Directorate General and the field ministries, which would work in favor of refugee crisis solving. Several non-governmental organizations succeed in receiving financial support (including private donations from regular citizens) for vocational education and training projects for Syrian refugees. Important to note that in some way the non-governmental organizations seem more inclusive and enclosed to the local community than international organizations. This is quite an expected situation considering the nature of organizations, the scale of expectations, and tradition of approaches to project implementation.

Nature of Organizations: NGOs vs. the UN

In terms of the nature of organizations, NGOs are less bureaucratic, thus, they work faster. The UN operationalization procedures take much time, and the internal competition between the agencies of the Common Chapter (UNHCR, UNW, UNICEF and UNFPA) focus them on programme design rather than implementation. The thesis about the UN reformation has been raised and a Resolution on reforms was agreed in 2018. The reform has been extended globally for few years, again, taking time for change of offices, redesigning project management and knowledge management systems, auditing of the country offices work, etc.

Regarding accountability, the UN, EU, ILO or other international institutions often focus on technical formalities due to their internal bureaucracy, accountability to the world's largest donors, standardized expectations from the learning outcomes, excluding cultural climate they work in. Non-governmental organizations are also accountable to their donors, but the finances they are operating are times smaller. Considering that NGOs are relatively small organizations with simple hierarchy and ability to use flexibility in their work, they are less bureaucratic and doctrine-oriented.

The Scale of Work and Specialization: NGOs vs. the UN Agencies

The scale of expectations between the international organizations and NGOs as well as their level of responsibility are very different. Civil society organizations mostly work in one community, rarer – in several ones, which makes their impact local rather than national. As an example, I would like to name several NGOs in Istanbul providing vocational education for Syrian refugees. They are: Refugee Rights Turkey, Mülteci Derneği, Istanbul Municipality Lifelong Learning Centres (ISMEK), Small Projects Istanbul, and Hayata Destek İnsani Yardım Derneği. Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (SGDD-ASAM) is located only in

Istanbul and Adana. As a result, it covers much smaller amount of target groups than it could cover if NGOs created consortiums or common platforms for action. In addition, Turkish civil society does not have strong impact on the state policy making. Advocacy initiatives are mostly offered by the UN and EU (Living and Working Together: Integrating SuTPs to Turkish Economies in Turkey, Job Creation and Entrepreneurship Opportunities for Syrians Under Temporary Protection and Host Communities in Turkey, Strengthening the Resilience of Syrian Women and Girls and Host Communities in Iraq, Jordan and Turkey, etc.). NGOs mostly have narrow profile of specialization because their capacity is more limited. The government and international organizations are supposed to solve complex problems touching the entire country or region. That is why, when analyzing the work of international organizations, it is crucial to remember that their capacity has also some limits and solutions require reform of the human capital management.

Methods of Work: NGOs vs. the UN

Speaking about the tradition of approaches, NGOs are more accessible and open-minded to people than international organizations. Often, non-governmental organizations create more effective visibility on local level, making feeling of trust and reliability. They are hiring refugees, actively involve local and Syrian volunteers, often show improvising approach to work such as informal meetings with refugees, inviting local employers as host lecturers, etc. For example, becoming a volunteer in any NGO is an easy thing which does not require from the candidate good curriculum. In opposition, international organizations require professional CV, making account in their system, following strict selective process and approval of volunteer. Again, it is time consuming and young refugees basically have low chance to be involved. The approaches and instruments used by NGOs rapidly increase local network of refugees, fasten their integration and chances to get employed.

One of the good examples of complex work with the Syrian refugees in Turkey is YUVA, located in Hatay, Nizip, Gaziantep, and Kirkhay. The NGO has developed a YUVA Association Vocational Education Program, which includes Turkish language learning courses, vocational and skills education based on the local labour market requirements and in co-work with the local employers. YUVA has also created a Vocational Formation Development Training Programme for educating trainers working with Syrian refugees. Important to note that the structure and variety of activities allows involvement in education people of different educational level and age.

Turkish Employment Policy for Migrant Workers and Refugees

The Quality of the Turkish Government

Beyond the Geneva Convention and Global Compact on Refugees, Turkey is authorized to provide internal policy regulating formal employment of the Syrian refugees. It is up to the hosting country to decide in which way secure refugees' economic integration and protect their labour rights. The Turkish government is maneuvering between their commitments with the international partners, interests of employers (private sector), interests of Turkish natives, and migrant workers and refugees. Indeed, keeping balance between all of these subjects is hard, especially in the conditions of global pandemic, economic crisis and low-quality human capital the government often deals with. On the international arena, Turkey is positioning itself as the cuddle of Islam, and one of the strong political messages on that regard was turning Hagia Sofia into the mosque. In practice, such claims require strong economic activity, which Turkey does not have so far. The fall of the Turkish lira in 2018, 2019 and 2020 shows that Turkish economy is not stable, it is damaged by international challenges and Turkish inadequate internal economic policy. Instead of investing into technological development and producing, the government invested in construction (airports,

mosques, etc.), which at the end did not bring any profit from investment. Conflicts with the European Union and the United States, close partnership with Russia, which led to economic sanctions against the Turkish government affected Turkish international image. Apparently, the Turkish government has sense that their approach to economic management was not justifiable, especially after the Minister of Finance and Treasury Berat Albayrak resigned from his position and the Turkish President Recep Tayip Erdogan offered the European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen to accept Turkey to the European Union and renew warm diplomatic relationship: “The European Union has the upper position in Turkish partner agenda, and Turkey sees its future place in Europe” (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2021). The Turkish government has conservative ruling approach full of corruption and nepotism, emphasizing religion instead of improved education, technological development and protection of human rights. this conservatism, focus on the Ottoman traditionalism and lack of creativity reflects on the effectiveness of coping with the refugee crisis. For example, the İŞKUR does not have highly-qualified progressive staff that would be more opened and involved in refugees’ economic integration. İŞKUR does not have close partnership with the liberal NGOs whose ideas could complement İŞKUR’s financial and institutional resources. Such partnership could improve integration policy towards the vulnerable groups, not only refugees, specifically in the sphere of VET services. Weak hosting country never can become stronger with the large inflow of migrants and refugees: vice versa, it becomes weaker and poorer, because its own human capital is low.

Turkish Labour Policy Towards Migrants and Refugees

Turkish labour policy often leads to situation when for the refugees being legally employed does not bring financial profit. This situation is not only about Syrian refugees, because

Turkey is hosting refugees from other countries as well. According to the organization called Refugee Solidarity Network (2018), out of all amount of non-Syrian refugees in Turkey, “about 44% are from Afghanistan, 42% are from Iraq, and 10% are from Iran. The remainder are from other countries around the world”. Here participation in a good-quality vocational trainings is not a final factor that would define whether certified participants will want to get into the formal market and the employers will accept them.

Turkish social security and taxes policy and the interests of the labour market play one of the key roles in defining employment chances of those refugees who completed vocational trainings. Since the programmes and projects mainly do not monitor further employment destinies of the VET alumni, thus, there is low political pressure on the Turkish government to create proper integration climate. In Turkey, the universal insurance Act 5510 regulates social premium contributions provided by the employee, employer and the government for all legally employed persons whether they are natives, migrant workers or refugees. Many companies calculate their staff’s social premium contributions and send them to the government, automatically cutting workers’ wages. As evidence, it is rational to pay attention to social security contributions that the workers pay according to the Deloitte – one of the famous assurance companies. The data presented by the Deloitte wage calculation (Deloitte. Maaş Hesaplama, 2020) shows that the actual net) salary would decrease every next month until the end of the year. As a case, I will take an average calculation of the net salary according to the Deloitte. Maaş Hesaplama (2021) based on the standard minimal wage published by the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services for 2021. For 2021, the gross minimal wage will be 3.577 Turkish lira per month, among which net (clear) wage will reach 2.825 Turkish lira per month (Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services, 2020).

Using Gary Becker's approach, and considering the demography of Syrian refugees, when the majority of them consists of young people age 16 - 35 (Chapter 3, Figure 3), and assuming that an average Syrian family has 2-3 children and wives responsible only for household, I made income calculation. The most popular websites among foreigners to search job are the Glassdoor (2020) and Indeed.com (2020). The vocational jobs the companies offer on these websites are not necessarily mean formal employment and its average wage is 4000 Turkish lira per month (Glassdoor, Indeed.com, 2020). Hence, from the gross salary 4000 Turkish lira net salary for an average young vocational job worker is 2.860 Turkish lira per month (Deloitte, 2020). Daily expenses, accommodation, transportation, food, etc. make it hard to survive with such income and impossible to save. High taxation of the incomes of refugees having families to take care of is one of the strongest arguments why they are not interested in being formally employed. In this context, the problem is not in the vocational education programmes but in the policy the government makes towards immigrants and refugees so they have no interest in formal employment even having good professional skills.

Considering general rules for the residence permit application process for migrants and asylum seekers, it is crucial to admit that Turkish system is not practical and time-consuming. The professional competence of the immigrant office workers in provinces beyond Istanbul and Ankara is low. Often they are not able to give necessary information for the applicant, guide him to the necessary organization and suggest solution of some of the documents are missing. If any refugee of immigrant is moving from one province to another, except for the application to the immigrant office from start this person needs to re-register in the population office and again pay tax for at least one year of stay in Turkey (even if last time he/she paid few month ago). If an immigrant who has just received a residence permit and found a job in another city, the system will not

automatically update this information about him. The entire application process will start from scratch, taking up to 90 days. That's is why, a lot of immigrants only renew their national documents in legal representations (consulates, embassies), but remain illegal for not dealing with this bureaucracy. It is obvious that purchase and usage of the unified programme tracking migrants' and refugees' information from the immigrant, population and the tax offices (and the HES code) and automatically updating it in the system would make the migration work more organized.

As for the immigrants. For the refugees preparation of employment application (çalışma izni) documents, payment to the Immigrant Office, translation of the documents consumes time and finances. For example, according to the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (n. d.), in 2020 the cost of 1 year work permit in Turkey cost 932.90 Turkish lira. In 2021, the cost will increase to 1.017 Turkish lira (Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (n. d.). From year to year, the government requires higher payment for extension of the work permit, and every year the migrant worker or refugee working legally needs to apply for visa extension. By these measures, the government does not encourage legalization of stay in Turkey. Objectively, a lot of migrants and refugees will stay here irregularly,

From the data it becomes obvious that for the low-income workers payment of social premium contributions and taxes becomes financially burdening and unprofitable. They can learn Turkish language, participate in vocational trainings sponsored by the WB or EU, but remain in informal employment. For the majority of Syrian refugees and their families, the actual income amount and survival in the current situation is more important than social security and retirement wage package, especially in conditions when Turkey is in economic crisis and the prices are increasing. For the private sector, the low-rank workers are not worth of time, efforts and

investments because they have unemployed Turkish natives. Governmental subsidization of the officially employed refugees and minimized taxation with the condition that instead the refugees accumulate certain capital on the bank account they own could insert them trust to the government.

The Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) Exit Strategy

The Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) is one of the central humanitarian contributors of financial aids from the European Union to Turkey addressing the needs of Syrian refugees. Since 2015, the stakeholders rolled out over eighty projects and programmes, which by total amount of money delivered and distributed among the refugees makes it the European Union largest ever humanitarian programme. According to ESSN (2019), since 2016 the EU and its Member States delivered “€1.725 billion under the Facility for Refugees in Turkey”.

The programme contains five goals related to meeting basic needs of refugees by granting them with address financial help in cash or special debit card every month. The ESSN unites several large organizations-executive partners such as World food Programme (WFP), Turkish Red Crescent (TRC), and as a partner involves Turkish governmental support with the help of the Ministry of Interior’s Directorates General for Migration Management (DGMM), and the Government of Turkey Disaster and Emergency Presidency (AFAD). One of the objectives of ESSN is promotion of integration of refugees into social protection benefits, including providing conditions for adults to work and reduce child labour.

The ESSN has been going in line with the FRIT to develop humanitarian aids and set up a road map for the refugees’ sustainable development. After that, the Turkish government decided to develop an Exit Strategy from the ESSN Programme focusing on developing professional development of Syrian refugees and making them less used to social assistance. Considering the human capital of Syrian refugees, condition of the Turkish economy and increased unemployment

even among Turkish natives it becomes clear that this Strategy puts refugees under the threat of hard survival. In conditions of the developing economy when unemployment decreases there is logic in revision of the cash social help when official income of the family is enough to cover basic needs. However, the government develops Strategy without adequate consideration of this fact.

The document gives several criteria under which refugees will keep getting cash help (Office of the Presidency of Turkey, 2018, p. 7). However, the document was prepared using official governmental statistics and prognosis on economic growth, which in real life has no place to be. The data on vocational jobs they listed is blurred because Turkish economy itself is half informal as well as an actual amount of employees (Office of the Presidency of Turkey, 2018, p. 22). Considering the fact that many refugees are unemployable and do not belong to any of the criteria for receiving address help, they will be beyond any income at all. Investment in zero human capital will hardly bring or won't bring any results, thus, without clarified regulations of Strategy the cut of payments will not stimulate employment. In this context, an adequate estimation of human capital based on realistic prognosis over what effect the Strategy will cause can prevent increase of people living beyond hunger.

Employment and Vocational Education of Syrian Refugees: A Comparative Case of Germany

To be objective in my conclusions, I analyzed the refugee situation in Europe on the case of Germany– the country hosting most of the refugees in the EU. First, important to admit that the problem of uneven geographical distribution of Syrian refugees is the problem not only in Turkey but in the rest of the countries as well. I approached period between 2014 and 2016, when the inflow of Syrian refugees was the highest and before the EU and Turkey signed their refugee

agreement. In the European Commission and the OECD Working Paper (2016) it says that “In 2014, 80% of the 1.8 million refugees residing in the EU were living in just four EU member States (Germany, the United Kingdom, Sweden and France)” (p. 9). These countries have own system of labour market access for the refugees. As in Turkish case, the main starting point for economic integration is language learning.

It is crucial to admit that majorly refugees have quite a long periods of professional inactivity. It makes their labour return harder and less productive until they get used to work again. As a result, “the employment outcomes of the refugees improve over time, as they integrate more into the labour market and society, but it takes them up to 20 years to catch up with the native-born” (EC, OECD, 2016, p. 21). This prognosis, however, is related to those refugees who are involved in formal economy. The majority of the refugees in Germany, as in Turkey, return to an informal employment. The answer why this is happening even in conditions of the proper human capital investment has Karl Marx’s population surplus theory. When there is high surplus of labour force, sometimes even higher human capital is not enough to compete on the labour market (Marx, 1951, p. 127 – 128). In the capitalist economy, which prevails in the world, including Germany and Turkey, different marginal groups occur, divided by nationality, class, social status, gender, etc. Refugees in the capitalist societies are also marginalized groups, they have lower skills comparing to the Turkish and German natives, their cultural and mental organization differs, especially from the Western liberal societies. However, German refugees’ hosting approach differs from the Turkish one.

Like in Turkey İŞKUR, in Germany the Federal Employment Agency (BA) is in charge of employment distribution among the refugees. However, German government along with the human capital development approaches refugees as a surplus population. Consequently, they tend

to filter what kind of refugees would find their place in Germany, and which ones should be deported to other places. According to Prem Kumar Rajaram (2018), “Capitalism is not, of course, a simple mode of economic exchange: its relations of exchange are mediated by social values and hierarchies, leading to the marginalization of some as ‘surplus’ populations who have difficulty in valorizing their labour” (p. 628).

BA has got different working structure than Turkish İŞKUR because it is based in the Integration Act, created specifically for refugees in Germany. For example, in Germany the minimal waiting period for labour market access is three month since adopted law in 2014 (OECD, 2017, p. 44), while in Turkey it takes up to 90 days. Also, if the refugee has a job offer even in the community other than he/she is currently registered in, the BA is making a labour market test. The BA is trying to check the human capital of refugees and employ them considering work conditions and wage standards. This service is available for those refugees who stay in Germany between 3 and 15 month and who are employable. Consequently, in other cases it is harder to get legally employed, thus, the refugees have to wait for job offers in the queue. However, not all employment procedures in Germany have been simplified. Similarly to İŞKUR, BA is the buffer between the employer and employee, thus, it slows the employment process because the BA is supposed to approve refugee’s employment request.

Comparing to Turkey, German human capital investment via vocational education programmes and employment approaches insert more trust for employers. For example, those refugees who are involved in vocational education schools/courses receive a “toleration status for three years” (OECD, 2017, p. 21). It means that even if the Federal Employment Agency denies an asylum claim, a refugee still has right for legal stay and employment without a threat of deportation. If right after the completion of vocational training a refugee is getting officially

employed, he can automatically extend his residence permit to two years. In case he/she did not get employed immediately, there is six reserved month to find an official job. It is a strong motivation for the VET participants to complete the courses, because there is a trustable and active cooperation between the German government and the private sector. So far, there is no available data on how many refugees received residence permit by being involved in VET or employed after completion of VET courses. Germany, as Turkey, is not able to keep a track on the actual success of the VET programmes and further employment of the refugees. However, Germany has well-organized professional education policy, transparent and well-structured work of the governmental institutions giving clear algorithm for the refugees willing to get legally employed and remain in Germany. As a result, according to MIPEX Labour Market Mobility Index, Germany takes 5th place (comparing to Turkish 48th) (MIPEX, 2020). This index shows German concern not only towards economy and employment, but also towards protection of labour and human rights of legally staying Syrian refugees.

Conclusions

The global agenda on reducing poverty and granting equal labour rights for all found its continuation in profile programmes and projects aiming to promote refugees' economic integration in certain field. Vocational education is one of the traditional ways to give broader target auditory certain professional skills that can be practically used on the labour market and which are always required by employers. However, when it comes to the outcomes not by amount of educated, but by amount of formally employed people, the result is not as positive as it was expected. There are no doubts in necessity of the large financial contributions and organizational efforts aiming to give the refugees vocational skills that would make them employable in Turkey. However, there are additional factors that make it hard.

In this chapter, there are three main parts: 1) presented largest VET programmes and projects conducted in Turkey; 2) presented common analysis of them and 3) concluded the effectiveness of VET projects and programmes in comparison between international entities and NGOs. Presenting of the common analysis of VET projects and programmes verified four main reasons why the actual outcomes did not maintain expected ones. First, there is weak linkage between VET developers and employers. In other words, sometimes it is a one-side cooperation, when the offer of labour force does not find proposal from employers. The miscalculation of projects is that they specify as goal economic integration via vocational education, but do not follow their target groups until they get formally employed. As a result, part of the participants do not get employed or go to the informal sector. Second reason is underdeveloped programme competency in terms of human capital evaluation and encouragement. That would help to select complex learning methods starting from language and finishing with practical lessons. The materials should be simple and understandable, possibly different from the ones given to Turkish natives considering the social and moral pressure the refugees face.

Third reason lays in over expected outcomes in a short term. It means that the programme results sometimes seem too ambitious if to evaluate human capital of certain groups of refugees at start. VET programmes should be designed considering situation on the Turkish labour market on national, regional and local levels, and the governmental policy on employment refugees. That would help clearly evaluate what advocacy proposals they could promote to easy the procedure of refugees' employment. Fourth reason is disbalance of settlement of refugees, which leads to socio-economic overburdening of south-eastern region and several other largest cities. Labour market is not able to absorb so much workforce even when its human capital increased.

In conditions when international community and state government is not able to cope with unemployment among refugees, civil society organizations accumulate own resources locally and act in parallel. They have different instruments, occupancy and sometimes methods of work than larger entities. However, despite their local character, Turkish NGOs providing vocational education for Syrian refugees contribute to reduce of the four reasons causing low results from VET.

CONCLUSIONS

The global problem of refugees is one of the most difficult issues facing the world. One of the most prominent examples is the upcoming 10th anniversary of the war in Syria and, consequently, the Syrian refugee crisis. Still the question occurs why global largest organizations having unlimited financial and human resources, access to the tools of global power and impact cannot manage unemployment and poverty of the refugees. There are myriads of reports, discussions, conferences held, proposals discussed and missions conducted, but at the end for the regular citizens the situation remains unchanged. In this situation better to look from the two angles: 1) effectiveness of the organizations and governments in charge of managing the refugee crisis, and 2) the specifics of the refugees' psychological, cultural, and educational attainments. To understand the best ways to solve refugee's economic problems it is crucial to know the background and peculiarities of those people. For example, the majority of refugees coming from the North of Syria are more conservative and less educated than Syrian from the South. Despite women and girls contain almost a half of refugees' population, the majority of them have never been and potentially may never be involved in labour market. This underutilized labour force decreases income level to the households and thus, decreases life standards. This situation is especially sharp when the birth rate among refugees is high, but educational proficiency much lower than of the Turkish natives. The examples on how different social factors affect each other and what consequences it can bring can be largely continued.

However, the focus of my research is not on the refugees but on the hosting government and international organizations who took the responsibility over taking care of the asylum seekers. The reason of my critical approach is that the global organizations took a credit of trust from the public by promising that they will find the way to help involuntarily displaced people since 2011.

Huge resources were involved in search of solution, meetings, designing humanitarian and educational programmes, regulating international law to secure rights of the refugees, etc. However, the outcomes of all these works look humble, there is still high rate of unemployment among Syrian refugees, a lot of children do not attend school, and the situation in Syria is still dangerous. A special concern turns around the refugees' economic integration as a central element for them to become socially integrated and become self-sustainable people.

As a case, the focus on Turkey as a country where amount of refugees is higher than in other hosting countries was vital. The part of economic integration is vocational education since it is the most accessible area offering the largest amount of jobs to apply. In general, Turkey offers vocational education to own citizens as another opportunity to gain new skills and become legally employed. After the refugee crisis occurred, the Public Education Centres, immigrant offices and local NGOs joined international initiatives and created projects specifically for providing VET for Syrian refugees. According to my observations, the labour surplus in highly concentrated refugees territories cannot be solved merely by vocational education trainings. The human capital theory gives an explanation of the main reasons why the labour surplus of the refugees will go back to the informal employment sector.

Comparing to the Turkish natives, the human capital of Syrian refugees is not compatible enough on the labour market, and a lot of people remain unemployable. Vocational education centres, even after completion of VET do not have monitoring mechanism on the employment rate of people who attended courses. Language barrier and gender discrimination are among the main milestones on why the occupancy of VET programmes is low. Programmes and projects adapted specifically for Syrian women are being conducted in Istanbul, Gaziantep and Ankara, while the rest of the communities do not involve women in VET so actively. Vocational education schools

rarely co-operate with the local employers who could hire the refugees-VET participants. Simultaneously, professional education consumes time and certain finances, but without certainty about further legal employment and visa subsidization for many refugees this human capital investment does not seem justifiable.

Important to note that the Turkish governmental policy is another variable slowing the positive shift in the refugees' employment. Turkish political tradition formed as a result of AK party's rule created economic crisis and loss of Turkish international political image as a democratic country. There is no well-structured co-operation between the governmental, non-governmental and private sectors – the main branches which are able to help refugees get economically integrated. A large damage for this co-operation brought campaigns on deportation of Syrian refugees that the Turkish government conducted. For the employers, it is a clear signal that hiring a refugee is not reliable, because during the process of work permit application etc. this person can be deported from the country. The work permit procedure, high taxes in conditions of wage and working time discrimination, high societal judgment of the refugees are among additional factors why they are not in the formal employment.

Turkey needs to create a clear mechanism of keeping on track those refugees who volunteered to participate in on-the-jobs training and interested in formal employment. This mechanism should insert trust to the employers such as if they hire refugees the government will tolerate visa and work permit problems and give at least 6 – 9 month. Considering the situation with vocational education of Syrian refugees in Turkey, their human capital at start, and the governmental refugee policy, several political **strategic recommendations** are necessary.

I. Access to vocational education:

- Improve VET programmes public relations strategy, to make information about VET courses more accessible to vulnerable groups.
- Make an emphasis on Turkish language learning as a part of entire vocational education agenda, create language learning programme with the content specifically adapted to professional work.
- Create more vocational education courses specifically for women and girls so that due to sensitive Syrian culture more female participants would receive professional education.
- Offer at least minimal child care and when possible transportation services for children of those mothers who attend vocational education classes.

II. Work of the governmental institutions:

- Adopt a policy of tolerance towards those refugees who are currently involved in vocational education course and whose visa/residence permit is expiring by automatically prolonging their visa/residence permit in the migration office online system.
- For those refugees who completed VET and applied for official job, but still waiting for the results, or whose job applications were declined to give up to 9 month of a buffer time to get formally employed without deportation.
- Those refugees who completed VET and got employed should automatically receive up to 3 years work permit even if their previous residence permit/visa has been expired or any documents were lost.
- Family members of the first rank (spouse and children) should automatically receive residence permit for at least three years if father or mother or both of them are officially employed.

- Tax subsidiary policy is required to decrease tax burden on refugees. Instead of that, it is necessary to create a reserve fund for those refugees who completed accredited vocational education courses and have been officially employed. This reserve will be a part of a strategy supporting self-sustainability of Syrian refugees residing in Turkey. 5% of the official salary should be delivered on a saving family bank account of refugees. The accumulated money will become a guarantee of a safe stay in Turkey in case of a job loss, sickness/death of a working family member, or some other emergency situation.
- Ensure state monitoring of the success of vocational education programmes by counting not only the amount of participants but also the amount of refugees who have been officially employed after.
- Encourage private sector to employ refugees via offering small marketing services and other bonuses that would motivate employers to collaborate, etc.
- Develop liberal transparent approach of co-operation with the non-governmental and private sectors.
- Empower control over the wage and working time gaps between the Turkish natives and refugees.

III. Work of the Non-Governmental Organizations:

- In co-work with the trade unions to strengthen advocacy initiatives to make work permit bureaucracy fast, effective and reliable.
- Provide monitoring and programme initiatives reflecting real professional needs of the labour market and develop necessary skills among the refugees to become employable.
- Broaden target groups by working not only with young people but also with older refugees who are interested in getting employed.

The work of the international organizations needs to be improved, however, the UN is already on the stage of reformation and it is early to comment the result. The international community delivers recourses to develop smart policy on the national level and make comfortable living of the refugees and natives as much as possible. Disagreements between the Turkish government, the EU and the USA affect quality of relationships and national-level decision making. As a result, considering the global economic fall due to COVID-19, vocational education will not largely increase refugees' employability in the nearest years.

REFERENCES

- Açıkgöz, Ö. (2012). *Vocational education and training in Turkey*. The Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Education. Ankara.
- Ahmadzadeh, H., Çorabatır, M., Husseini, J., Hashem, L., Whby, S. (2014). Ensuring quality education for young refugees from Syria. Mapping Exercise on quality education for young refugees from Syria (12 – 25 years). <https://www.unhcr.org/584698257.pdf>
- Amnesty International. (2019). *Sent to a war zone: Turkey's irregular deportations of Syrian refugees*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/eur44/1102/2019/en/#:~:text=This%20report%20reveals%20that%2C%20contrary,the%20world's%20most%20dangerous%20countries.>
- Amnesty International. (2019, October 25). Turkey: Syrians irregularly deported into war ahead of anticipated “safe zone.” <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/10/turkey-syrians-irregularly-deported-into-war-ahead-of-anticipated-safe-zone/>
- Beamont, P. (2019, October 25). Turkey accused of using threats and deception to deport Syrian refugees. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/oct/25/turkey-accused-of-using-threats-and-deception-to-deport-syrian-refugees>
- Balassa, B. (1961). *The theory of economic integration*. New York. NY: Richard D. Irwin Inc.
- Becker, G. S. (1994). *Human capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis with special reference to education* (3rd edition). The University of Chicago Press.
- Betts, A., Milner, J. (2019). *Governance of the global refugee regime*. World Refugee Council Research Paper No. 13. <https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/documents/WRC%20Research%20Paper%20No.13.pdf>
- Blundell, R., Dearden, L., Meghir, C., Sianesi, B. (1999). Human capital investment: The returns from education and training to the individual, the firm and the economy. *Fiscal Studies*, 20(1), 1 – 23.
- Caro, L. P. (2020). *Syrian refugees in the Turkish labour market*. International Labour Organization. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---ilo-ankara/documents/publication/wcms_738602.pdf
- Çolakoğlu, M. H. (2018). Immigrant women’s outdoor training and impact on their children’s education. *Journal of Research in Informal Environments*, 3(1), 1 – 18.
- Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey. (2018, June 21). Syrian workers in Turkey. <http://disk.org.tr/2018/06/syrian-workers-in-turkey/>

- Delegation of the EU in Turkey. Social and economic cohesion through vocational education
- Deloitte. Maaş Hesaplama. (2020). <https://www.verginet.net/dtt/MaasHesaplama.aspx>
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). (2019). Supporting employment and vocational training for Syrian refugees and host communities. <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/40559.html>
- Deutsche Welle Türkçe. (2018, December 22). Soylu: 291 bin Suriyeli eri döndü. <https://www.dw.com/tr/soylu-291-bin-suriyeli-geri-d%C3%B6nd%C3%BC/a-46840889>
- Emergency Social Safety Net. (2019). *Questions and Answers*. file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/Questions_and_answers_Support_for_refugees_in_Turkey_through_the_Emergency_Social_Safety_Net.pdf
- Erdoğan, M. (2019). *Syrian Barometer: A framework for achieving social cohesion with Syrians in Turkey*. Ankara: Orion Kitabevi.
- Erdoğan, M. (2019). *Syrian refugees in Turkey*. Ankara: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Turkey.
- Erdoğan, M. (2019). *Syrian refugees in Turkey*. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. <https://www.kas.de/documents/283907/7339115/Syrian+Refugees+in+Turkey.pdf/5d3d4091-e56d-3c42-2a9c-4e7f5d98706f?version=1.0&t=1571303379232>
- EU Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis, the “Madad Fund”. (2019). Projects Contracted. https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/20.08.2018_madad_fund_signed_contracts.pdf
- European Commission, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2016). How are refugees faring on the labour market in Europe? A first evaluation based on the 2014 EU Labour Force Survey ad hoc module. <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/87a8f92d-9aa8-11e6-868c-01aa75ed71a1>
- European Commission, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2016). *How are refugees faring on the labour market in Europe? A first evaluation based on the 2014 EU Labour force Survey and hoc module*. Working Paper 2016. [file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/KE-01-16-824-EN-N%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/USER/Downloads/KE-01-16-824-EN-N%20(1).pdf)
- European Commission. (2020). *EU Facility for Refugees in Turkey: List of projects committed/decided, contracted, disbursed*. https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/facility_table.pdf
- Freeman, G. P. (1995). Modes of immigration politics in liberal democratic states. *The International Migration Review*, 29(4), 881 – 902.

- Geneva Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 31 January 1967, <https://cms.emergency.unhcr.org/documents/11982/55726/Convention+relating+to+the+Status+of+Refugees+%28signed+28+July+1951%2C+entered+into+force+22+April+1954%29+189+UNTS+150+and+Protocol+relating+to+the+Status+of+Refugees+%28signed+31+January+1967%2C+entered+into+force+4+October+1967%29+606+UNTS+267/0bf3248a-cfa8-4a60-864d-65cdfece1d47>
- GFA Consulting Group. (2020). Employment Promotion for Syrian refugees and host communities. https://www.gfa-group.de/projects/Employment_promotion_for_Syrian_refugees_and_host_communities_3884445.html
- Günaydın, E. (2019, July 27). Süleyman Soylu: Bu yıl 80 bin kaçak göçmeni sınır dışı edeceğiz. Euronews. <https://tr.euronews.com/2019/07/23/suleyman-soylu-bu-yil-80-bin-kacak-gocmeni-sinir-disi-edecegiz>
- Hetzl, R. L. (2007). The contributions of Milton Friedman to Economics. *Economic Quarterly*, 93(1), 1–30.
- Higher and Further Education opportunities and perspectives for Syrians HOPES. (2019). European Union Regional Trust Fund “MADAD”. <http://www.hopes-madad.org/>
<https://www.avrupa.info.tr/en/project/social-and-economic-cohesion-through-vocational-education-7382>
- International Committee of the Red Cross. (2018). *Access to education: Strategy 2018 – 2020*. <https://www.icrc.org/en/document/access-education-strategy>
- International Labour Organization. (2009). *Recovering from the crisis: A global jobs pact*. Geneva, Switzerland.
- International Labour Organization. (2018). *Supporting resilient labour markets to drive inclusive economic growth and decent work for all: A summary of emerging lessons learned from ILO Syrian crisis interventions in Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon in 2013 – 2017*. <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/5a4362367.pdf>
- International Labour Organization. (2020). Decent work results statistical dashboard. <https://www.ilo.org/IRDashboard/#azfoxn0>
- International Organization for Migration. (2019). *Refugee response operations*. Country Office Turkey. https://turkey.iom.int/sites/default/files/sitreps/RR_OnePager_MAY-JULY19_EN_BC.pdf
- Kadkoy, O. (2017, September 7). Why the voluntary humanitarian admission scheme? Daily Sabah. <https://www.dailysabah.com/op-ed/2017/09/07/why-the-voluntary-humanitarian-admission-scheme>

- Keyman, M., Sazak, O. (2014). Turkey as a “humanitarian state”. *Project on the Middle East and the Arab Spring*. Istanbul: Sabanci University.
- Kımkıhoğlu, S. (2020). Syrian refugees in Turkey: Changing attitudes and fortunes. *SWP Comment, No. 5. The Centre for Applied Turkey Studies*. Law on Foreigners and International Protection. Public Law No. 6458 (2013). https://www.unhcr.org/tr/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2017/04/LoFIP_ENG_DGMM_revised-2017.pdf
- Lee, E. S. (1966). A theory of migration. *Demography*, 3(1), 47 – 57.
- Makovsky, A. (2019, March 13). Turkey’s refugee dilemma: Tiptoeing towards integration. *Center for American Progress*. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/03/13/467183/turkeys-refugee-dilemma/>
- Marx, K. (1951). *Theories of surplus value*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G. (1993). Theories of international migration: A reviewal and appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 19(3), 431 – 466.
- Mehmet, F. H. (2019, September 10). EU: Sum paid for refugees in Turkey must be clarified. Anadolu Agency. <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/europe/eu-sum-paid-for-refugees-in-turkey-must-be-clarified/1578213>
- Migrant integration Policy Index. (2020). <https://www.mipex.eu/>
- Office of the Presidency of Turkey. (2018). *Exit Strategy from the ESSN Program*. <https://ailevecalisma.gov.tr/media/3725/essn-exit-strategy-1.pdf>
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). 2018. UNHCR Statistics: The World in Numbers. <http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview>.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (1998). *Human capital investment: An international comparison*. France: OECD Publications.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (1998). *Human capital investment: An international comparison*. France, Paris: Centre for Educational Research and Innovation.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2017). *Finding their way: Labour market integration if refugees in Germany*. OECD Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2017). Finding their way: Labour market integration of refugees in Germany. International Migration Division Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs. <https://www.oecd.org/els/mig/Finding-their-Way-Germany.pdf>

- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2017). Pensions at a glance 2017. https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/pensions-at-a-glance-2017_pension_glance-2017-en
- Özer, M. (2018). The 2023 education vision and new goals in vocational and technical education. *Journal of Higher Education and Science*, 8(3), 425 – 435.
- Özer, M. (2019). Background of problems in vocational education and training and its road map to solution in Turkey's education vision 2023. *Journal of Higher Education and Science*, 9(1), 1 – 11.
- Piore, M. J. (1968). *Public and private responsibilities in on-the-job training of disadvantaged workers*. Massachusetts institute of technology.
- Piore, M. J. (1972). *Notes for a theory of labour market stratification*. Massachusetts institute of technology.
- Pisonero-Hernandez, A. (2020, December 17). EU signs final contracts under the €6 billion budget of the Facility for Refugees in Turkey. *European Commission*. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_20_2487
- Presidence of the Republic of turkey. (2019, September 20th). President Erdogan to visit the U. S. Press Release. <https://tccb.gov.tr/en/speeches-statements/558/109685/president-erdogan-to-visit-the-u-s->
- Rajaram, P. K. (2018). Refugees as surplus population: Race, migration, and capitalist value regimes. *New Political Economy*, 23(5), 1 – 13.
- Ravenstein, E. G. (1985). The laws of migration. *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48(2), 167 – 235.
- Refugee Solidarity Network. (2018). *Where do refugees in Turkey come from?* <https://refugeesolidaritynetwork.org/about-refugees-in-turkey/>
- Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan in Response to the Syria Crisis. (2020). *2019 Annual Report*. file:///C:/Users/USER/Desktop/B%C4%B1lg%C4%B1%20Internsh%C4%B1p/master/3%20RP%20annual_report.pdf
- Republic of Turkey Ministry of Family, Labour, and Social Services. (2003). Turkish Labour Law 4857 Sayılı İş Kanunu. <https://www.ailevecalisma.gov.tr/tr-tr/ss/calisma-genel-mudurlugu/is-kanunu/>
- Republic of Turkey the Ombudsman Institution. (2018). *Syrians in Turkey: Special Rreport*. https://www.ombudsman.gov.tr/syrians/special_report.pdf

- Roberson, K. (2018). *Refugee education data and statistics*. UNHCR. <http://www.oecd.org/education/school/3C-KRoberson.pdf>
- Schultz, T. W. (1961). Investment in human capital. *The American Economic Review*, 51(1), 1 – 17.
- Şimşek, D., Çorabatır, M. (2016). Challenges and opportunities of refugee integration in Turkey. Ankara: Research Centre on Asylum and Migration.
- Singh, M. (2015). *Global perspectives on recognizing non-formal and informal learning: Why recognition matters*. Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.
- Statista. (2020). Turkish unemployment rate from 1999 to 2020. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/263708/unemployment-rate-in-turkey/>
- The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women. (1995). *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*. The Fourth World Conference on Women. https://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/pdfs/Beijing_Declaration_and_Platform_for_Action.pdf
- The World Bank Group. (2020). *The human capital index 2020 update: Human capital in the time of COVID-2019*. Washington, DC: The World Bank Publications.
- TurkeyStatistical Institute (TurkStat). (2018). Statistic data portal. <https://www.tuik.gov.tr/Home/Index>
- Turkish Heritage Organization. (n. d.). Turkey's role in the refugee crisis. <https://www.turkheritage.org/en/publications/factsheets/humanitarian-aid/turkeys-role-in-the-refugee-crisis-2493>
- Turkish Ministry of National Education. (2018). Outlook of vocational and technical education in Turkey. *Series of education analysis and assessment reports, No.1*. [https://unevoc.unesco.org/network/up/TURKEY_MoNE-
_Outlook_of_Vocational_and_Technical_Education_in_Turkey-
_Series_of_Education_Analysis_and_Assessment_Reports_No_1_November_2018.pdf](https://unevoc.unesco.org/network/up/TURKEY_MoNE-
_Outlook_of_Vocational_and_Technical_Education_in_Turkey-
_Series_of_Education_Analysis_and_Assessment_Reports_No_1_November_2018.pdf)
- Turkish Red Crescent Society. (2020). *Impact of COVID-2019 on refugee populations benefitting from the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) programme*. <https://media.ifrc.org/ifrc/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2020/05/Impact-of-COVID-19-on-Refugee-Populations-Benefitting-from-ESSN-Programme.pdf>
- Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı. (2021). “Brexit ile artan belirsizlik Türkiye’nin Avrupa ailesinde hak ettiği yeri almasıyla giderilecektir.” <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/123539/-brexit-ile-artan-belirsizlik-turkiye-nin-avrupa-ailesinde-hak-ettigi-yeri-almasiyla-giderilecektir-#>
- UNICEF. (2017). *Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) 2017 – 2018*.

- United Nations Children's Fund. (2013). UNICEF annual report: Turkey. https://www.unicef.org/about/annualreport/files/Turkey_COAR_2013.pdf
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2018). Syrian teachers improve their teaching skills in Turkey. UNICEF. <https://www.unicef.org/turkey/en/stories/syrian-teachers-improve-their-teaching-skills-turkey-0>
- United Nations Children's Fund. (2019). Humanitarian action for children (HAC). <https://www.unicef.org/turkey/en/humanitarian-action-children-hac>
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2012). Transforming Our world: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDGs). <https://sdgs.un.org/sites/default/files/publications/21252030%20Agenda%20for%20Sustainable%20Development%20web.pdf>
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (2020). World social report 2020: Inequality in a rapidly changing world. <https://www.un.org/development/desa/dspd/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2020/02/World-Social-Report2020-FullReport.pdf>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Finn church Aid, GIZ, International Labour Organization. (2020). Inclusion of refugees in TVET programmes and their transition to the world of work. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/77833>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2018). *3RP regional refugee and resilience plan 2018 – 2019 in response to the Syria crisis: 2018 Progress report*. <https://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/3RP-2018%20Progress%20Report%20-%20Jan-June-2018.pdf>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2018). The Global Compact on Refugees. General Assembly Official Records. Seventy-Third Session Supplement No. 12. https://www.unhcr.org/gcr/GCR_English.pdf
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2020). Operational Portal: Refugee Situation. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2020). Refugee data finder. <https://www.unhcr.org/refugee-statistics/download/?url=hV7q>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (October 2020). *Registered Syrians in Jordan*. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/36>
- Voutira, E., Dona, G. (2007). Refugee research methodologies: Consolidation and transformation of a field. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 20 (2), 163 – 171.
- Wachter, M. L. (1974). Primary and secondary labor markets: A critique of the dual approach. *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, No. 3, 637 – 693.

- Wallerstein, E. (1976). *The modern world system: Capitalist agriculture and the origins of the European world-economy in the sixteenth century*. New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Wallerstein, E. (1995). The modern world system and evolution. *Journal of World Systems Research*, 1(19), 628 – 638.
- Walter, A. (1968). *The brain drain*. New York: Macmillan.
- World Economic Forum. (2020). *Global gender gap report 2020*. Geneva, WEF.
- Yüksek, F. S. (2019, September 13). Türkiye’de siyaseti kuşatan sorun: Suriyeli göçmenler. Euronews. <https://tr.euronews.com/2019/09/13/turkiye-de-siyaseti-kusatan-sorun-suriyeli-gocmenler-siyasi-partilerin-tutumu-akp-mhp-chp>
- Ziderman, A. (1997). National programmes in technical and vocational education: Economic and education relationships. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, 49(3), 351 – 366.