TURKISH
CONFEDERATION OF
EMPLOYER ASSOCIATIONS



Perspectives, Expectations and Suggestions of the Turkish Business Sector on SYRIANS IN TURKEY

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PREFACE

As described by the United Nations as "the biggest humanitarian emergency of our era", the Syrian asylum-seekers issue, which stemmed from 4.5 years of civil war in Syria, became one of the most pressing matters in Turkey.

Turkey considers it a humanitarian responsibility to enforce open doors policy and meet the basic needs of asylum-seekers who fled Syria. It is assumed that there are around 2.2 million Syrians in Turkey as of November 2015 who came with a migration influx ongoing since April 2011.

As opposed to the initial expectation that it would be a short-term and temporary issue, it is now understood that Syrian asylum-seekers will be staying in Turkey rather longer or considerable number of them will continue living their lives in Turkey. In that regard, the problem must be handled with a comprehensive long-term strategy which encompasses variety of aspects such as economy, labor life, social and cultural integration, and basic services such as healthcare, education and accommodation.

Our confederation, in collaboration with Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center (HUGO), has actualized this research titled "The Perspectives, Expectations and Suggestions of the Turkish Business Sector on Syrians in Turkey" through analyzing the subject matter in terms of its economic and social dimensions and assessing business perspectives with the aim to offer suggestions to policy-makers.

This research is conducted through a field study took place in 18 economically prominent provinces of Turkey (İstanbul, İzmit, Bursa, Ankara, Konya, Kayseri, Malatya, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Adana, Kahramanmaraş, Mersin, İzmir, Antalya, Muğla, Denizli and Van), by the means of interviewing the businesspeople, the officials from chambers of industry and commerce and craftsmen associations, NGO representatives and governorate and municipality officials.

Our confederation would like to thank the esteemed academicians Assoc.Prof M. Murat Erdoğan and Dr. Cem Unver and all members of the research team Arda Akçiçek (HUGO-Hacettepe University), Aysun Yaralı (Van Yüzüncüyıl University), Bahar Özay (Bosphorus University), Berrak Yıldırım (HUGO METU), Buket Teneke (HUGO – Hacettepe University), Emirhan Erdoğan (HUGO- Bilkent University), F. Mine Gültekin (HUGO-METU-UNHCR), Gülşah İyigün (HUGO-Bilefeld University), Özden Akkıray (HUGO-Hacettepe University) and Sabır Güler (Mersin University). We hope that the Report will lead other studies in the subject and contribute to the policy development.

Kind Regards,
Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations

INTRODUCTION

In line with international law and the universal principles of human rights, by applying an "open-doors policy" and the "non-refoulement" principle, Turkey admitted Syrians who fled the conflict situation in Syria, which broke out in March 2011 under its "temporary protection" mandate. As of October 2, 2015, the total number of Syrian asylum-seekers[1] in Turkey has increased to 2,072,290 over the 4.5 years between April 2011 and November 2015. This indicates the number of currently registered Syrians, as declared by the Directorate General of Migration Management under the Turkish Ministry of Interior and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Nevertheless, it must be noted that the registration process is still ongoing, and the number of Syrians crossing the border continues to increase though less in volume. Adding unregistered asylum-seekers, it is estimated that the number of Syrians in Turkey is at least 2.2 million. Due to the dynamic process and problems encountered in registration, we have varying contemplations and statements by the institutions and persons involved. The total number of Syrians in Turkey is often estimated around 2.5 million by many commentaries.[2] This figure is also welcomed by this study; however, if we consider those who left the country in past 6 months—and that is yet to be projected in the total registered number—we assess that the approximate number of Syrians in Turkey would be around 2.2 million as of November 2015.

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[1] A person who escapes his/her country for the reasons of war or persecution by the regime is a refugee. The definition introduced by 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocole is clear and comprhensive: "owing to wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

This is a provision has precedence over any domestic legal regulations in However, since Turkey retained geographical limitation to its ratification of 1951 Convention and due to current regulations in the country, Syrians are purposefully not described as "refugee". In line with the "Temporary Protection Regulation", formal status of the Syrians are accordingly described as "those who fall under Temporary Protection" in Turkey which is one of the 4 countries retaining geographical limitation along with Congo, Madagascar and Monaco. Common way to refer Syrians is "guest". In this research we preferred to describe Syrians as asylum-seekers, which we think it would be rather be sociologically convenient.

[2] On October 22, 2015, President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan stated that "we are currently hosting 2.5 million refugees within our borders". (See: http://www.milliyet.com.tr/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-huder-temsilcilerini-ankara-yerelhaber-1027231/ accessed:27/10/15) Deputy Prime Minister responsible for coordination on Syrians, Prof. Numan Kurtulmus stated in a press brief on September 23, 2015 that number of Syrians is 2.2 million in Turkey. (See: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/30142371.asp accessed: October 3, 2015) Moreover, the Deputy Director General of the Migration Management, an official of the institution which conducts registrations, stated that number of Syrians is 2,154,826.

The Syrian crisis in Turkey, which is a direct outcome of the ongoing Syrian civil war since March 2011, seems likely to be a protracted situation with its myriad of prospects and features. Sharing a 911 km long border with Turkey, Syria becomes even more complicated day-by-day due to the continuous civil war, for which we are running out of hope for the establishment of an environment of peace in both short and medium terms. Consequently, more asylum-seekers will enter from Syria and, thereby, increase the total number of Syrians in Turkey in addition to population increase through natural means (by birth). [3] Not only is it the numbers which matter about Syrians but also the extending duration of their stay, which demonstrates a compelling shift from the notion of "short-term guest/ asylum-seeker" toward their inherent permanence. Reluctance and hesitation shown toward the "permanence of Syrians" is now being replaced by acknowledgement, as high-ranking officials in Turkey now assert it. [4] Notwithstanding this compulsory acknowledgment and the signals indicating the transition from temporary incident management toward integration, it is impossible to see common, comprehensive, strategic decision-making to that end. The Syrian question remains at the heart of political debates, and the lack of strategic decision-making may, in turn, diminish the efficacy of the institutions working the field, de-motivate them and sometimes cause a waste of time and resources.

Syrians in Turkey, as a phenomenon with all its concomitant features and dimensions, is now well beyond being merely a humanitarian drama. From this day forth, it will wholly affect the social, economic, political, cultural, security and foreign policy decisions and preferences of Turkey. The tendency toward Syrian permanence in Turkey is a compelling reason for considering integration policies for the future. Steps to be taken in this regard will not be merely administrative or legal arrangements, yet it will require attention and contributions to policy making from all parts of society, mainly from the business sector. As a matter of practicality, we do not have an abundance of options to address the Syrian presence, as their numbers have exceeded 2.2 million in our country. In that regard, all parts of society should

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[3] *A rather comprehensive analysis could be found in M. Murat Erdogan (2015) Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration, Bilgi University Press, Istanbul.*

[4] *In a press brief on September 23, 2015, the Deputy Prime Minister responsible for coordination on Syrians Prof. Numan Kurtulmus stated that: "There are provinces which host huge number asylum-seekers such as 250,000-300,000. We will increase our support as the Turkish Government. High-level healthcare service is provided. We are also working on how to better engage Syrian asylum-seekers who are able to work into our society. The majority of the mass which was thought to be temporary in the beginning seem rather destined to stay now. 2.2 million asylum-seekers possibly will stay for longer terms."*

realize that the responsibility falls upon them to deal with the integration of Syrians into the social, economic, cultural, demographic and security structures of Turkey, apart from the international relations and foreign policy dimensions to the matter.

One of the key stakeholders of the Syrian presence and permanence issue in Turkey is the Turkish business sector. The perspectives, choices, projects and policy suggestions of the business sector are of vital importance both for the current economic-financial structure in the country and for the future peace and prosperity of Turkey. Informal employment, procurement of optimal working conditions, employment areas, sectoral and regional needs and differences as well as good management of all these are quite essential not only for the economic sphere but also for effective process management in Turkey. The matter at hand has come to a phase that demands transition from "emergency support" policies to those of integration.

Moreover, we can also observe increasingly diverse economic impacts stemming from the current circumstances of Syrians in Turkey. Government spending to address the situation has exceeded 7.6 billion dollars.[5] Whereas the share of foreign resources is 418 million dollars, which amounts to 5.5% of the total, Turkey provides 95% of the funding, which is a considerable amount within the scope of Turkish economy. Apart from that, some other medium and long-term problems may possibly arise with an even greater impact. First among them is how to formulate an employment policy that covers over 2.2 million Syrians in the country. Increasing informality and unfavorable working conditions destabilize competitiveness, triggering a fear of job loss among Turkish citizens and, thereby, causing serious economic and social damage.

In collaboration with the Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations (TİSK) and Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Centre (HUGO), a team of 12 academicians under Assoc. Prof. M. Murat Erdoğan and Dr. Can Ünver has conducted this comprehensive research titled "Perspectives, Expectations and Suggestions of the Turkish Business Sector on Syrians in Turkey" in order to show business perspectives and policy suggestions

[5] *AFAD: https://www.afad.gov.tr/TR/IcerikDetay1.aspx?ID=16&IcerikID=747 (Access: 28.10.2015) In a press release dated October 16, 2015, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. F. Sinirlioglu stated that 8 billion dollars were spent only in order to afford the requirements of around 266,000 asylum-seekers residing in the camps. (MFA official website: http://www. mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-sayin-feridun-sinirlioglu_nun-basini-bilgilendirme-toplantisi_-16-ekim- 2015_-ankara.tr.mfa.)*

on the issue.[6] The involvement of TİSK in the research, as a pioneering institution, shall inspire peers in the sector toward action and may lead to even more comprehensive research being conducted and to new policy suggestions being developed on the topic of Syrians in Turkey.

This research was conducted between July and November 2015 by a very dedicated team that was determined to fulfill the claim put forward by the title of the study. The structure was devised through the knowledge and experience of an expert academic team and combined with insights from 134 opinion leaders from 18 provinces for the purpose of demonstrating the views of different regional and sectoral business units. This study, however, should not be regarded as economic analysis. The main purpose here is to delineate the perspectives, expectations, concerns and suggestions of Turkish businesses, thereby exhibiting their overall perception about this momentous issue. Nevertheless, it must be noted that the findings and assessments put forth here merely amount to a portion of reality at their best, as is the case for any study in social sciences. Therefore, it is not possible to describe the results as the "ultimate views of Turkish Business ", though it would not be mistaken to regard them as a picture depicting the common attitude.

Another key contribution of this research is the possibility that the pioneering role of TİSK may create awareness, which will motivate other institutions and sectors. The perspectives, expectations and suggestions from Turkish businesses are essential and rather valuable, as the tendency of Syrians to stay in Turkey is being reinforced day-by-day. In fact, their permanence in Turkey is certain for some circles including the academic team who produced this report. The study aims to foster serious awareness on the issue. Considering that even in November 2015 attention paid by Turkish society, politics and media on the issue is much lower than it should be, studies of this sort could be rather beneficial to raise public awareness. Therefore, our team has a high regard for TİSK's valuable and meaningful initiative.

Regarding the boundaries of this study, an important point to be emphasized is that this is not an economic analysis of Turkey. While the aim is to shed some light on the business

[6] *We preferred the concept of "business sector" in line with the characteristics of the research, features of our sources and addressees. Often, we also used merely "Turkish Business" and "Turkish Economy World" to refer the same.*

sector's approach to Turkey's severe, aggravated and multidimensional problem, we paid particular attention to their perspectives on social, political and cultural aspects rather than their economic assessments. The Syrian issue in Turkey is a far-reaching topic with many complications, which makes it impossible to be assessed through only one of the involved dimensions. Therefore, we purposefully expanded the scope of our approach and methodology beyond economics in order to obtain a complete picture of business perspectives, expectations and suggestions.

METHODOLOGY

We have deployed diverse methodological approaches within this study. Firstly, we established a general framework of Syrian's in Turkey, examined the course of the process and analyzed the current demographic data. The vital part of the study is based on semi-structured, face-to-face (in-depth) interviews conducted with 134 opinion leaders from businesses in 18 economically flourishing provinces. These are Istanbul, Izmit, Bursa, Ankara, Konya, Kayseri, Malatya, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Adana, Kahramanmaraş, Mersin, Izmir, Antalya, Muğla, Denizli and Van. In addition to the semi-structured interview with 18 items, we also noted the additional commentaries of the interviewees. Our HUGO researchers in the field produced question-based reports for each of the interviewees. Additionally, we made separate assessment notes for each of the provinces in order to delineate regional and sectoral differences. We made our best efforts to ensure sincerity and facticity of the interviews conducted. At the onset, we clearly stated that all identities would be kept anonymous and would not be shared with any person and institution. Therefore, interviewees were only subjected to question-based analyses as the names of the people and institutions were not mentioned in the text. In our analyses, we fully adhered to academic principles and methods, which can be observed in the 'Research Findings' chapter and subheadings under it.

The study was conducted with business actors and opinion leaders in 18 economically developed cities where Syrians are of particular importance. We preferred interviewing the representatives of industry, commerce and local merchant associations. We also contacted other institutions and associations involved, such as representatives of organized industry zones, tourism professionals, ministry authorities, NGO representatives, industrialists, factory managers, provincial governorate and municipal authorities.

Another dimension to the study is the assessment of the data and reports produced by national and international institutions and associations. We faced some hardships in obtaining formal and quality data, or lack thereof. The dearth of formal and reliable resources and the reluctance of institutions to share information are major setbacks to prospective strategy and policy making on the issue.

The last part of the study is dedicated to policy suggestions. These suggestions are grounded in academic findings, experiences and available data to ensure objectivity. It does not fall upon us or TİSK to decide whether or not to endorse and enforce these policy sugges-

tions, either partially or as a whole. How politicians will regard these findings is a separate issue, which is a matter of competence, vision and priority. We, hereby, present our systematic suggestions for decision-makers' kind consideration.

FEATURES OF THE INTERVIEWEES

We have conducted semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with 134 people in 18 developed provinces in Turkey under the framework of this study titled "Perspectives, Expectations and Suggestions of the Turkish Business Sector on Syrians in Turkey". In line with the aim of the study, interviews were conducted with key experts, NGO managers, local authorities, such as governors and mayors, bureaucrats and the press who may analyze the topic along with opinion leaders who have the capability to shape business and the economy in some fashion. Therefore, it can be said that the study reflects the opinion of trade, industry and artisan associations. We paid particular attention to those who have business insights of 18 provinces. Our interviewee list will not be published due to the confidentiality of the people who were contacted and for the observance of academic ethical principles. Yet, the reader may find below a table of the profession groups and interviews listed by province.

TABLE-1: OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE COMPOSITION OF INTERVIEWED PEOPLE

Interviewees by profession		Interviews by provinces	
INSTITUTION	**NUMBER**	**PROVINCE**	**NUMBER**
Chamber of Industry	37	Adana	7
Chamber of Commerce	7	Ankara	11
Tradesmen and Craftsmen	11	Antalya	9
Federation/Confederation/Union	7	Bodrum	5
Migration Management Directorate/ DEMA/Ministry of Labor and Social Security	4	Bursa	4
Business people	36	Denizli	11
Mayor/ Deputy Mayor	9	Gaziantep	4
Governor (County)	1	Hatay	4
Governor (Province)	2	İstanbul	16
University	7	İzmir	19
Press	2	Kahramanmaraş	5
NGO	6	Kayseri	7
Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR)	3	Kocaeli	6
Ministry Advisors	2	Konya	8
Total	**134**	Malatya	4
		Mersin	4
		Muğla	5
		Van	5
		Total	**134**

RESEARCH TEAM

This research was conducted by a team of 12 people between July and November 2015. The research team was largely composed of people associated with Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Centre (HUGO), which has already conducted intensive studies on Syrians in Turkey. The research was managed by the director of HUGO, Assoc. Prof. M. Murat Erdoğan who also wrote a report[7] and a book[8] named "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration" and Dr. Can Ünver who is a member of HUGO's Advisory Board and the United Nations Committee on Migrant Workers. Field research was conducted by a team of 10 people from both domestic and foreign universities between August and September 2015 with 134 senior executives of institutions and associations.

Here are the people who comprise the research team[9]:

Arda Akçiçek (HUGO- Hacettepe University), Aysun Yaralı (Van Yüzüncüyıl University), Bahar Özay (Bosphorus University), Berrak Yıldırım (HUGO- METU), Buket Teneke (HUGO- Hacettepe University), Emirhan Erdoğan (HUGO- Bilkent University), F. Mine Gültekin (HUGO- METU- UNHCR), Gülşah İyigün (HUGO- Bielefeld University), Özden Akkıray (HUGO- Hacettepe University), Sabır Güler (Mersin University).

Analysis and reporting of the study was carried out by Assoc. Prof. M. Murat Erdoğan, the director of HUGO.

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[7] *M. Murat Erdogan (2015) "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration" (available at: http://www.hugo.hacettepe.edu.tr/HUGO-REPORT-SyriansinTurkey.pdf)*

[8] *M. Murat Erdogan (2015) Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration, Bilgi University Press, Istanbul*

[9] *Listed in alphabetical order.*

CRISIS IN SYRIA AND SYRIANS IN TURKEY

Protests against the regime in Syria, which started on March 15, 2011, escalated into a serious conflict and subsequently into a civil war, causing a massive and dramatic flow of people from the country to neighboring countries. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines the Syrian humanitarian plight, which came hitherto unseen in scale, as "the greatest migration flow of recent history". As a consequence of the events in Syria, the population of which is 22.4 million, 200 thousand people have died, hundreds of thousands have been injured and around 10 million have been compelled to escape from the country or be internally displaced to "secure" regions. According to UNHCR data, which are based on the registered number of refugees, a minimum of 4.1 million Syrians have escaped Syria, whereas other sources estimate 4.5-5 million, taking the number of unregistered people into account as well. The crisis resulting from the war conditions in Syria has caused the greatest humanitarian drama since World War II. Grievingly, there is no hope for a resolution in either short or medium terms. Indicators show that the number of Syrians who escape from Syria to neighboring countries, mainly Turkey, will increase even more until a lasting peace can be established. The Syrian crisis, now well beyond being a regime problem, has been rendered into a conflict area for global and regional powers and ethnic or fundamentalist armed groups.

The Syrian crisis is not only a humanitarian incident but also a serious political issue with manifold national and international dimensions. The political aspects of the Syrian crisis often surpass the humanitarian drama. As the parties accuse one another or deem the others responsible, unfolding humanitarian suffering increases intensely. The attitudes of the regional and global actors toward the Syrian crisis have differed from what they were toward the "Arab Spring", as the world public and international institutions and organizations have failed to reach a consensus on the regime in Syria and its prospects. Moreover, the civil war environment has caused the formation of many non-state, armed groups, their consolidation and a relentless conflict among each other. As it became impossible for Syrian civilians to lead a normal life, the number of people who have escaped from the country in order to survive has increased dramatically.

Almost five years has passed since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, and Turkey remains one of its most prominent focal points, as it shares a 911 km long border with Syria. The first population influx to Turkey occurred on April 29, 2011 when 252 people came from the Cil-

vegözü Border Checkpoint in the Yayladağı District of Hatay Province, and it has continued ceaselessly over the past 4.5 years. In accordance with international law, Turkey enforced an "open doors policy", abided by the non-refoulement principle and granted "temporary protection". As Turkey's temporary protection regime is in full observance of the international protection principles, the act was well received and appreciated by the international community. Despite some occasional problems in practice, Turkey's "open-doors policy" has been maintained in principle. On the other hand, the trajectory of events has gone well beyond the initial expectations and anticipations of Turkish politicians and bureaucrats, as Turkey has encountered the severest asylum problem in its history in a very short period. According to UNHCR records, which are based on data transmitted by the Directorate General of Migration Management under the Ministry of Interior, which has been a key actor in the process and has been in charge of registrations, the number of asylum-seekers has reached 2,072,290 as of October 2, 2015. However, it must be noted that the registration process of Syrians in Turkey is yet to be concluded. Border crossings are also ongoing despite losing some momentum. Another key factor is population increase by birth. Taking all of these into account, we can deduce that the total number of Syrians in Turkey as of November 2015 is around 2.2-2.5 million, and of that, 2.1 million are registered. Yet another key point, which we must shed light on, is the serious amount of human mobility to Europe that took place between 2014 and 2015. The number of people crossing to Europe may reach 7 thousand daily. An important feature of these border crossers is that they are mostly composed of asylum-seekers who have newly arrived in Turkey. More than six hundred thousand people have crossed to Europe by sea and by land, mostly from Turkey.[10] Since these crossings are made mostly on an irregular and unregistered basis, we cannot determine how many of these crossers are composed of the Syrians who are registered in Turkey, nor can we assume that they are reflected in the records. It is often stated that the people treading the path to Europe are those who were unregistered in Turkey or the newcomers. However, these crossings, which intensified in 2015, brought further complications in determining the exact number thereof. If these crossings are mostly composed of Syrians who were registered in Turkey, then our numbers could be overestimated. Despite these developments, it seems very likely that actual number still exceeds 2 million, which does not depict a less dramatic picture. In this study, we took the number 2.2 million as the basis for our analysis regarding

[10] *UNHCR-Europe: http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria_en.pdf (accessed: 3 October 2015). See also: Dir Zeit: Bundesländer registrieren täglich 10.000 Flüchtlinge (http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2015-10/fluechtlingszahlen-fluechtlinge-bundeslaender-migration-bundesinnenministerium)*

the number of Syrians in Turkey.

Refugee influx to Europe has opened an important chapter in EU-Turkey relations. Although it is still a draft, the EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan, which was announced on October 15, 2015, demonstrates the logic employed by Europe toward the issue.[11] The circumstances could even influence the substance of relations both medium and long-term. European policy toward Turkey regarding Syrian refugees signals an "axis shift", as stated by the International Strategic Research Organization report. In that report, which analyses the draft joint action plan between Turkey and the EU, it is noted that the logic employed by Europe to handle the refugee problem poses the risk of over-politicizing bilateral relations, although it gained renewed impetus through the refugee crisis. Analysis shows that enforcement of the action plan under current provisions could be potentially detrimental to EU values, Turkey-EU relations and the refugees themselves. Furthermore, it marks yet another essential warning regarding "visa liberalization", "opening new chapters", "financial assistance" etc.: "Opening new chapters with Turkey should not take place in exchange of cooperation in refugee crisis, but should be considered as a means to achieve more efficient cooperation through refugee crisis. Otherwise the EU's treatment of the accession negotiations as an instrument to achieve its pragmatic ends in light of realpolitik considerations will cause harm to the normative notion of Europe and its values, so as the orientalization of bilateral relations would cause harm to the accession process of Turkey to the EU, and if these two become the main motivation of cooperation, it will only result in further suffering of the migrants who were compelled to leave their country." [12]

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[11] *"EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan," European Commission, 15 Ekim 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/priorities/migration/docs/20151016-eu-revised-draft-actionplan_en.pdf (Accessed: 26 October 2015)*

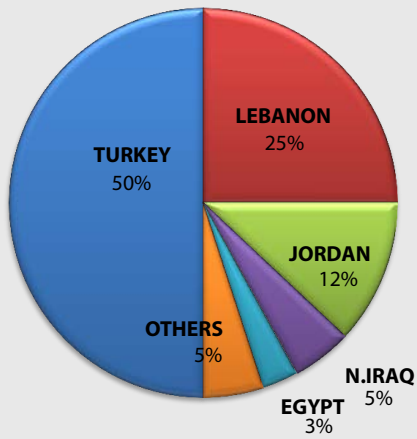
[12] *Worth mentioning in the same report: "According to the plan, the EU is offering to cooperate with its southern neighbour "in a spirit of burden sharing." That said, the plan consists of two stages: First, the EU foresees supportive mechanisms for Turkey's Syrian refugees who are being hosted as guests under the provisional protection of the Turkish government; second, the EU aims to increase its level of cooperation with Turkey to stem irregular migration. With respect to the first stage, the EU wants Turkey to better implement the law on foreigners and international protection. In addition, the EU asks Turkey to register all Syrian refugees, to provide them with access to public services and to facilitate their participation in the economy under the necessary regulations, and finally to grant them certain social rights. In terms of the second stage, the EU asks Turkey to strengthen its border and coastal security. In this regard, the plan proposes intensive cooperation in the fields of irregular migration, human trafficking and intelligence sharing between Turkey on the one hand and Bulgaria and Greece on the other. International Strategic Reasearch Organization (USAK), The refugee crisis and the risk of an "axis shift" in Turkey-EU relations, Analysis No: 29, The refugee crisis and the risk of an "axis shift" in Turkey-EU relations, p. 12*

It is clear that in every way Syrians have a very special place in Turkey. Of the number of Syrian refugees announced by the UNHCR on November 2, 2015—4,180,631—Turkey hosts 50% of them on its own. Turkey is followed by Lebanon at 25% (1,078,338), Jordan at 12% (629,627), Iraq (North) at 5% (245,585) and lastly Egypt at 3% (128,019). Apart from these neighboring countries and Egypt, all other countries including the USA, Canada and the EU host less than 200 thousand Syrians in total, which is around 4-5%.[13] However, it is now a known fact that a very dynamic process is taking place in the crossings to Europe and, thereby, raising the numbers tremendously. Considering the intensified process by mid-2015, more than 600 thousand people have arrived in Europe as announced by its formal institutions. The main concerns in Europe are whether the refugee influx will continue, what number it could reach and how to share the burden and distribute the incoming population across Europe. Since the registration process in Europe is still ongoing, it is not possible to obtain clear and detailed numbers by country yet. On the other hand, it will surely put some tension on any European country involved and disturb the balance there is. The EU is now facing an even more serious challenge than the economic crisis in Greece, which it has been dealing with recently. Syrians are not only a financial burden; they are also likely to cause social, political and cultural impacts. It will not be a surprise if it triggers far-right/racist movements and Islamophobia.

Turkey has a rather remarkable place in terms of numbers. Despite the thousands of refugees who have crossed to Europe through Turkey, the number of Syrians in other neighboring countries has decreased over the last year; whereas the numbers in Turkey have increased, accordingly. We cannot know whether the official records reflect the number of Syrians who have crossed to Europe through Turkey. Even if we assume that those who left Turkey have yet to be deleted from the registration records, the ratio of Syrians in Turkey would still be about 50% of the total number of Syrian refugees.

[13] *UNHCR: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php (access: 2 November 15)*

GRAPH-1: DISTRIBUTION OF SYRIANS REFUGEES BY COUNTRY OF ASYLUM



Demographic Features of Syrians in Turkey

An important feature of 2,072,290 registered Syrians in Turkey is that 54.2% of them are children and adolescents under the age of 18. To put it in another way, there are more than 1,123,000 Syrian children and adolescents in Turkey, even when we only use the registered number as the basis for this calculation. This tremendous number should be carefully contemplated for the integration, education and employment policies of the future.

Another aspect regarding the demographics of Syrian children in Turkey is that around 286 thousand (14%) of them are between the ages of 12-17, 433 thousand (20.2%) are between 5-11 and 415 thousand (20%) are between 0-4. Here are some important conclusions and considerations:

- Among these children and adolescents, there is a significant number of "unaccompanied" children, those who lost a single parent or those who came from utterly traumatic environments.

- An extraordinary figure—around 600-700 thousand refugee children—have become school aged. However, they are facing serious schooling problems in Turkey, particularly due to the lack of Turkish literacy.

• Despite the aforementioned figure of school aged (6-18) children, the schooling rate is 15-20%, which is a very low level. The main reason for this is the lack of school-lecture opportunities. However, it must be noted that many Syrian families that are mostly from rural backgrounds are rather reluctant to enroll girls after the age of 12 or 13. When it comes to the boys, the low level of schooling occurs because most of them are working irregularly.

• The Syrian population in Turkey increases day-by-day through new births. There are 415 thousand children in the 0-4 age range, which is quite a remarkable number. Due to the lack of data or the reluctance of officials to share those available, it is not an easy task to determine how many of these children were born in Turkey though overall numbers suffice to estimate that it should be approximately 150 to 200 thousand, considering the duration of the Syrian presence in Turkey. This number alone is a key clue in developing foresight regarding the scope of the issue and the prospects of Syrians in Turkey.

Table-2: Syrians in Turkey by Gender and Age
(Based on 2.072.290 (Total Registered Number of Refugees in 1.10.2015)

Male 50.8%	Age Groups	Female 49.2%		Total %	Total Number of Refugees
10.5	0-4	9.5		20.0	414 bin
10.3	5-11	9.9		20.2	418 bin
7.2	12-17	6.8		14.0	290 bin
21.1	18-59	21.2		42.3	897 bin
1.8	60+	1.8		3.6	74 bin

Source: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php (Date of Access: 27 October 2015) calculated by UNHCR based on the figures provide by Ministry of Interior on 1 October 2015.

Geographical Distribution of Syrians in Turkey (By Province)

As of October 26, 2015, 258,974 people (10% of the Syrians in Turkey) are residing in the camps, while a massive number (88-90%) are spread across the country.

Camps ("Accommodation Centers")

Actual and detailed numerical data regarding the camps, which are directed by AFAD, are available and shared regularly. As indicated in the table below, 258,974 people reside in 25 "accommodation centers", as they are called, in 10 provinces. However, another key point to mention is that some 500 thousand people have left the camps so far, voluntarily returning to Syria or residing out of the camps. Despite the high standards in the Turkish camps, they are rather prone to becoming isolated places after a while, not to mention the scarcity of employment opportunities. Therefore, the poorest segments of the population and those who are in need of special protection, such as the Yazidi people, are hosted in the camps.

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTS IN 25 CAMPS IN 10 PROVINCES OF TURKEY (BY CAMP-PROVINCE)
THE NUMBER OF SYRIANS IN CAMPS AS OF 26 OCTOBER 2015: 261.301

PROVINCE	TEMPORARY PROTECTION CENTER	SHELTERING TYPE	TPC POPULATION	TOTAL POPULATION
HATAY	Altınözü 1	263 Units	1.368 Syrian	14.803
	Altınözü 2	622 Tents	2.956 Syrian	
	Yayladağı 1	236 Tents 310 Units	2.611 Syrian Syrian	
	Yayladağı 2	510 Containers	3.069 Syrian	
	Apaydın	1.181 Tents	4.799 Syrian	
GAZİANTEP	İslahiye 1	1.898 Units	8.569 Syrian	52.277
	İslahiye 2	2.364 Units	11.148 Syrian	
			9.774 Iraqi	
	Karkamış	1.686 Tents	7.253 Syrian	
	Nizip 1	1.858 Tents	10.627 Syrian	
	Nizip 2	938 Containers	4.906 Syrian	
ŞANLIURFA	Ceylanpınar	4.771 Tents	20.319 Syrian	104.890
	Akçakale	5.000 Tents	28.814 Syrian	
	Harran	2.000 Containers	13.741 Syrian	
	Viranşehir	4.100 Tents	17.447 Syrian	
	Suruç	7.000 Tents	24.569 Syrian	
KİLİS	Öncüpınar	2.063 Containers	10.252 Syrian	33.651
	Elbeyli Beşiriye	3.592 Containers	23.399 Syrian	
MARDİN	Midyat	1.300 Tents	3.072 Syrian	15.740
			1.604 Syrian	
	Nusaybin	3.270 Units	2.705 Iraqi	
	Derik	2.100 Units	8.359 Iraqi	
KAHRAMANMARAŞ	Merkez	3.684 Tents	17.853 Syrian	17.853
OSMANİYE	Cevdetiye	2.012 Tents	9.160 Syrian	9.160
ADIYAMAN	Merkez	2.260 Tents	9.599 Syrian	9.599
ADANA	Sarıçam	2.162 Tents	10.598 Syrian	10.598
MALATYA	Beydağı	2.083 Containers	7.813 Syrian	7.813

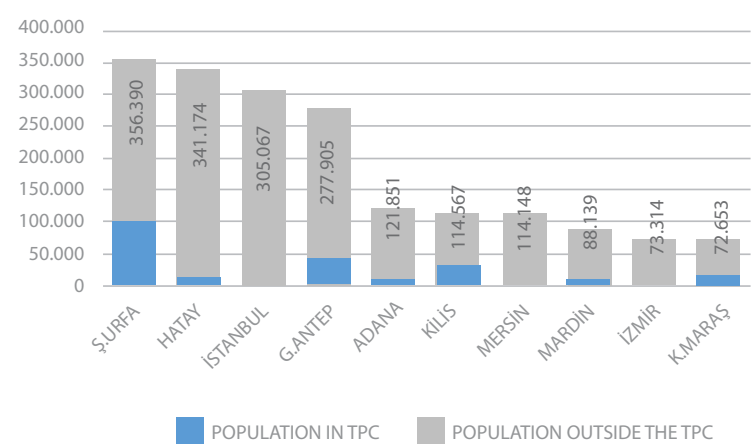
Source: AFAD- https://www.afad.gov.tr/EN/IcerikDetay1.aspx?ID=16&IcerikID=848 (Access: 23.11.2015)

Syrians outside the Camps ("Accommodation Centers")

Very few data and information are available regarding the Syrians who live outside the camps. This is caused both by public authorities' policy of "not disclosing information" and the dynamic character of the process. Some of the most structured data are outlined by the study titled "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration"[14]. HUGO research and data provided by the publication date back to February 2015 when the total number of Syrian refugees was 1,650,000. An additional 500,000 came within the past 9 months, increasing the overall number by 25%. AFAD numbers shown below calculate the total number as 2,258,076 and allow us to have a clearer view.

However, local authorities in particular have raised certain objections regarding the numbers shown in the table below. Almost all of the local authorities claim that official numbers do not reflect the truth with the actual numbers being much higher. For instance, authorities and NGO representatives in Şanlıurfa stated that the real number is not 356

Graph-2: 10 cities which host the greatest number of Syrians



Population figures outside the TPC are based on records of Syrians provided by the Directorate General of Migration Management.
Source: AFAD

[14] *M. Murat Erdoğan (2015) Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration, Bilgi University Press, İstanbul, p.39; see also M. Murat Erdoğan (2014) Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration, Hacettepe University Politics and Migration Research Center-HUGO, p.12.*

thousand but rather at least 500 thousand. Such is the case in Istanbul where the Governorate and Municipality asserted that there are not 305 thousand but at least 400. Again in Mersin, the number stated by the mayor is 300 thousand as opposed to 114. Here is a list of the 10 cities that host the greatest number of Syrians according to data provided by AFAD:

Table 4: Distribution of Syrians according to provinces
(Total number in and out of accommodation Centres)

Total Number of Syrians in Turkey

PROVINCES	REGISTRATIONS	PROVINCES	REGISTRATIONS
ADANA	121.851	K.MARAŞ	72.653
ADIYAMAN	21.727	KARABÜK	151
AFYON	1.946	KARAMAN	224
AĞRI	721	KARS	96
AKSARAY	441	KASTAMONU	356
AMASYA	59	KAYSERİ	30.270
ANKARA	42.616	KIRIKKALE	246
ANTALYA	44	KIRKLARELİ	2.077
ARDAHAN	21	KIRŞEHİR	441
ARTVİN	39	KİLİS	114.567
AYDIN	5.269	KOCAELİ	13.077
BALIKESİR	1.148	KONYA	37.159
BARTIN	10	KÜTAHYA	195
BATMAN	15.459	MALATYA	15.252
BAYBURT	22	MANİSA	3.915
BİLECİK	341	MARDİN	88.139
BİNGÖL	382	MERSİN	114.148
BİTLİS	515	MUĞLA	6.546
BOLU	429	MUŞ	580
BURDUR	3.523	NEVŞEHİR	2.914
BURSA	70.280	NİĞDE	1.819
ÇANAKKALE	2.637	ORDU	231
ÇANKIRI	126	OSMANİYE	32.110
ÇORUM	803	RİZE	326
DENİZLİ	3.856	SAKARYA	2.044
DİYARBAKIR	25.565	SAMSUN	1.982
DÜZCE	234	SİİRT	2.428
EDİRNE	6.598	SİNOP	30
ELAZIĞ	2.650	SİVAS	656
ERZİNCAN	149	Ş.URFA	356.390
ERZURUM	232	ŞIRNAK	16.396
ESKİŞEHİR	391	TEKİRDAĞ	3.394
G.ANTEP	277.905	TOKAT	308
GİRESUN	62	TRABZON	863
GÜMÜŞHANE	52	TUNCELİ	81
HAKKARİ	670	UŞAK	757
HATAY	341.174	VAN	1.302
IĞDIR	97	YALOVA	1.641
ISPARTA	2.111	YOZGAT	1.646
İSTANBUL	305.067	ZONGULDAK	130
İZMİR	73.314	**TOPLAM**	**2.258.076**

Voluntary return	172.983
Who went to third country	6.227
Others (died / have to another status/	29.662
Total	208.872
Number of the Syrian Refugees in Turkey	2.049.204

Source: Relying on the data provided by Directorate General of Migration Management, AFAD states that 2 million refugees are currently present in Turkey among the 2.2 million Syrian registrations, extracting the Syrians who returned to Syria or migrated elsewhere. However, numbers by province are not available./ M.Murat Erdoğan: Syrians in Turkey:Social Acceptance and Integration, Bilgi University Press 2015 (AFAD – Turkish Ministry of Interior-UNHCR)

As can be seen from the table, Syrian asylum-seekers are present in each of Turkey's 81 provinces. Only 12 provinces host less than 100 Syrians, 21 of them host more than 10,000 and 7 provinces host more than 100,000. The overall number of Syrians living outside the camps is 2,000,000.

Process Management and Administrative Structure regarding the Syrians in Turkey

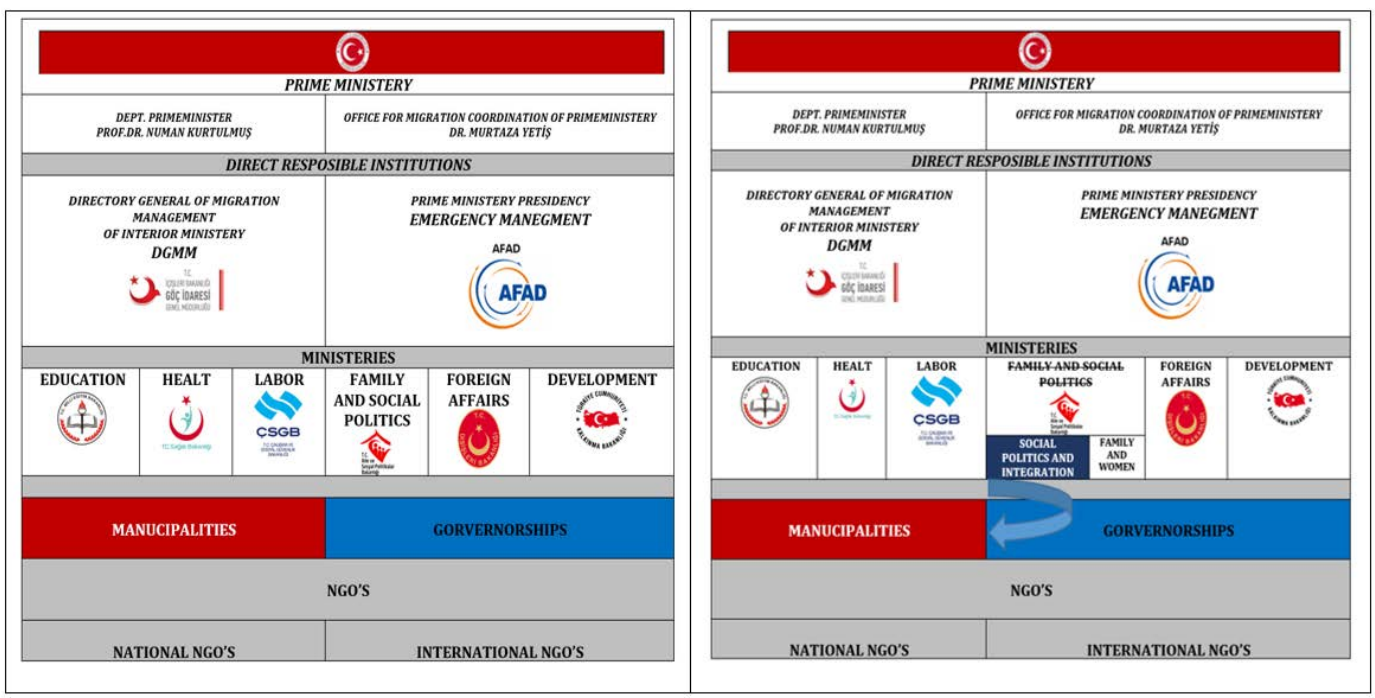
It is clear that the Syrian crisis is the most far-reaching and severest humanitarian crisis that Turkey has ever faced. Turkey's process management regarding the 2.2 million Syrians who were admitted into the country under an open doors policy and the non-refoulement principle has often caused debates and attracted criticisms. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that it could not have been an easy task to manage the biggest humanitarian crisis faced by the world since World War II. Therefore, while giving credit to valid criticisms regarding Turkey's process management, the performance of Turkey and its institutions should be appreciated. Very few countries and societies in the world, if any, could have handled the situation right away. That 2.2 million people have been living in almost every province in Turkey of their choosing without being subject to a settlement program and that the process has run smoothly more or less is a major success. The politicized nature of the issue, apart from being a humanitarian one, makes things even more complicated. The dynamic character of the event, the continuous entries and exits and the natural increase of population has created new problematic aspects within the management process. Compared to Europe, which rejected groups of 10-15 thousand due to concerns regarding public reaction and possible hardships in process management, we can say that Turkey has been quite successful in managing the process that involves 2.2 million people.

Turkey's administrative structure mechanism in terms of process management was quite complex and dynamic. A myriad of public institutions along with national and international NGOs and international institutions, mainly the UN, were involved in the process in order to address the wide variety of requirements. A very simplified form of the multifarious structure in Turkey composed of multiple actors can be found in the graph below. The Directorate General of Migration Management under the Ministry of Interior and Disaster and Emergency Management Authority under the Prime Ministry has a particularly important place within this structure. A deputy prime minister was in charge of the coordination of these aforementioned institutions. The incumbent of that position, Besir Atalay (2011-2014), was succeeded by Numan Kurtulmus who has been in charge since August 29, 2015.

In July 2015, the Migration Office was established under the Prime Ministry. Before that, by a Prime Ministry Circular dated September 20, 2012, a Coordinator Governorate was situated in Gaziantep in order to deal with all matters related to the Syrian refugees.

Among the public institutions, the main state body in terms of process management is the Directorate General of Migration Management, which was established by the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, Law No. 6458 from April 11, 2013 under the Ministry of Interior. Through its head office and provincial offices across the country, it has become a focal point for all activities related to migration management. Along with the Directorate General, the AFAD chairmanship under the Prime Ministry has been a key institution that works intensely on Syrians and facilitates coordination. We also observed that the Ministries of Health, of Education, of Family and Social Policies, of Labor and of Social Security are all directly involved in the process. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Development have occupied crucial roles in the process. The works and operations of governorates/district governorates and municipalities are worth mentioning within the hierarchical setting.

Graph-3: Process Management Chart Relating to the Syrians in Turkey



There were certain occasions in which public institutions lacked coordination and cooperation among themselves concerning Syrians in Turkey. The major cause for that was the

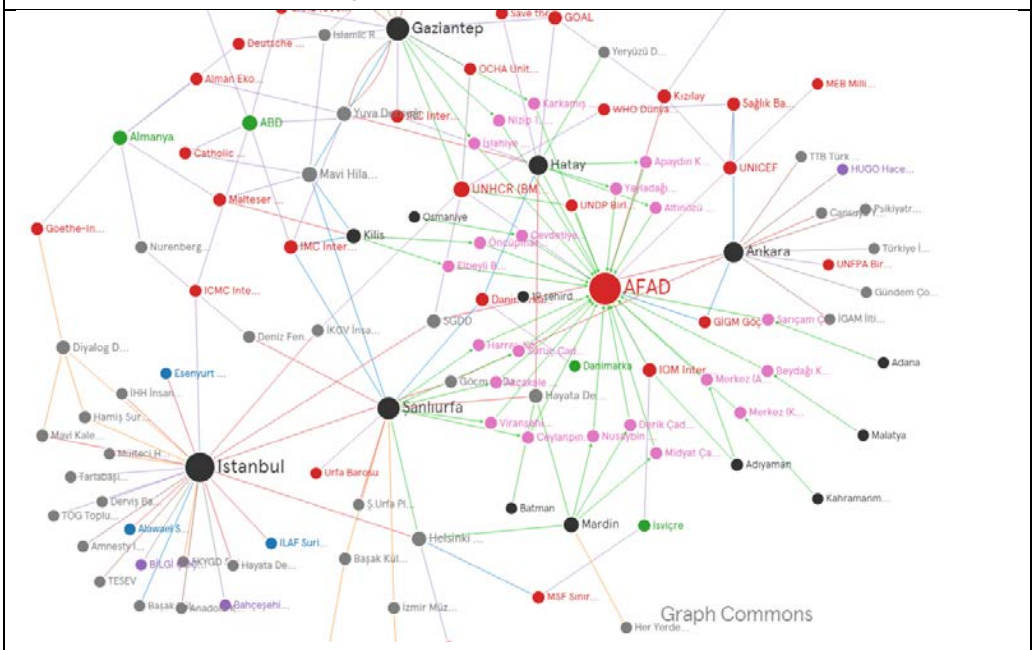
dynamic nature and scope of the crisis. The vital political importance of the crisis, mainly in terms of foreign policy, makes it even harder to lay out clear, strategic decision making in process management. Therefore, a new administrative structure was needed to respond to new issues at hand. Although it is expected to become the key actor on the issue, the action capability of the Directorate General of Migration Management will be significantly restricted when the 'integration' phase eventually begins, putting the whole process at risk of securitization. The Ministry of Interior is rather prone to securitizing events of mass migration, as their practices have often hindered integration in many cases across the world, including the case of Turkish migrants in Europe. Administrative harmonization could better be achieved by means of an entirely new administrative organization, considering Turkey's centralized administrative structure. Thereupon, we propose a reconfiguration of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies into two separate bodies: the Ministry of Family and Women as well as the Ministry of Social Policies and Integration.

The Syrian issue is of natural concern for many UN organizations, mainly UNHCR, and other international institutions. The UNDP, UNICEF, UNFPA, WHO, OCHA, WFP, IOM, World Bank and ILO have all been actively involved in the process. The continuous role of UN institutions in regulating and supervising the process for refugees and contributing to fund-raising efforts is valuable and essential. We cannot say that Turkey has efficiently cooperated with UN institutions during the past 4.5 years. The instinct to run the process with national institutions and a central authority is largely the result of security concerns. Moreover, low levels of financial assistance from international institutions have hampered their involvement in the process. On the other hand, cooperation with international institutions and NGOs has been a very beneficial experience for Turkey and has contributed to the adoption of a rather refugee-based approach toward the issue. The subsequent development of cooperation mechanisms is as important as financial assistance thereof.

National and international NGOs have also played a vital role in the management of this crisis, which has involved a population almost the size of a country. An environment should be created in which NGOs of good will and constructive nature could best operate. There are plenty of NGOs and a handful of research agencies working on Syrians. A major contribution came from Melih Cılga who produced the graph below under the striking title "An Interactive Web Map of NGO's working on Syrian Refugees| NGOs Filled the Absence of State". [15]

[15] *See: Melih Cılga: http://dagmedya.net/2015/10/30/suriyeli-multeciler-icin-calisan-stklarin-interaktif-ag-haritasidevletin-boslugunu-stklar-doldurdu/ (Access: 02.11.2015)*

GRAPH-4: Interactive Web Map of NGOs



Source: Melih Cılga: http://dagmedya.net/2015/10/30/suriyeli-multeciler-icin-cal-isan-stklarin-interaktif-ag-haritasidevletin-boslugunu-stklar-doldurdu/ (Access: 02.11.2015)

The ones who contributed the most but were accredited the least in process management are local governments. Legal and administrative regulations are required to facilitate the contributions from local governments. If the integration of Syrians is to be, equal attention must be paid to "local integration" initiatives, roles and the cooperation of local governments and NGOs vis-à-vis macro-scale measures and centralized administrative mechanisms.

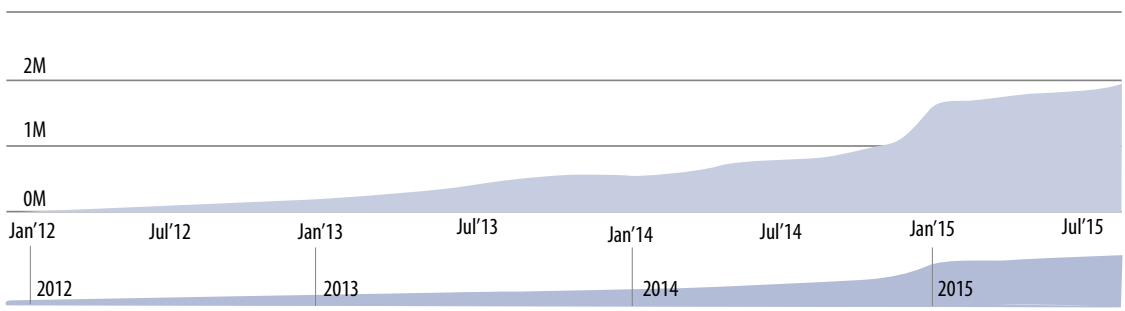
Structure and Importance of Registration in terms of Process Management and Common Issues

One of the most serious problems regarding Syrians in Turkey exists in the area of registration, as the enormous scale of human mobility that has been encountered is a major setback to the registrations. On some occasions, 100,000 entries were made in just a day. For instance, 195,000 people were admitted to enter from Kobane in a mere 3 days. On the other hand, the initial setback in registrations is not only related to technical shortcomings or the major scope of the crisis but also directly stems from the initial expectations and foreign policy considerations regarding the Syrian crisis. That the Syrian crisis would become a

protracted situation and that over 2 million Syrians would escape to Turkey was not expected.[16] Therefore, no significant registrations were made during first 2 years. The anticipation that Syrians would return within days or weeks caused registration to be considered less of a priority. Local authorities and organizations like AFAD and the Red Crescent engaged in partial registration activities at the border regions where entries took place, mainly for the purpose of combating exploitation and organizing an even distribution of humanitarian aid. It took a long time for these efforts to transform into sound and coordinated registrations. Yet another misfortune here is that these events coincided with the early phases of the formation of the Directorate General of Migration Management and its field offices, which took over the duties of the former branch offices for foreigners under law enforcement.

During the first 20 months following April 2011 when Syrian entries began, no centralized and formal registration activities were undertaken, which is evident in the data provided by the Directorate General of Migration Management. This can also be clearly observed in relevant UNHCR information, which was retrieved from same Directorate General. The registration process clearly accelerated during the past 2 years after the UNHCR purchased mobile registration units (vehicles that are equipped for registration purposes) and transferred them to Turkish authorities.

GRAPH-5: REGISTERED SYRIAN REFUGEES BY DATE



[16] *In July 2012, when the number of asylum-seekers was only 45,000, Ahmet Davutoglu, then the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that "red line for us is 100,000; if more is to come then we may consider establishing a buffer zone" Only two months later, in September 2012, the number exceeded 133,000 and increased incrementally afterwards. (See: Fikret Bila quoting Davutoglu: "We are to intoduce measures against terrorism or massive refugee influx. If refugee number reaches 100.000, we may need to host them in Syrian territory"*

http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Yazar.aspx?aType=YazarDetay&ArticleID=1574003&AuthorID=61&b=Bolgede%20yuzyilin%20tasfiyesi%20yasaniyor&a=Fikret%20Bila)

On January 1, 2013, a mere 176,992 Syrians were registered in Turkey. If we then go over registrations on a semi-annual basis: it was 406 thousand in July 2013; 549 thousand in January 2014; 800 thousand in July 2014; 1.552 million in January 2015; and finally reached 2,072,000 as of October 2015.

Registrations entail a "biometric registration" system, which includes fingerprints and photographs as the identification data, and are conducted through a software program called POL-NET, which was replaced by GOC-NET after the Directorate General of Migration Management took over. In accordance with article 22 of Regulation No.6883 on Temporary Protection of 22/10/2014, those who complete the registration process shall be issued a "Temporary Protection Identification Document" and Foreigner Identification Number pursuant to Law No. 5490 on Population Services of 25/4/2006.[17]

Syrians are registered under two separate categories: foreigners and those who fall under temporary protection. The former refers to regular entries from a border gate with a passport. These are regarded as "foreigners" who have access to a "residence permit" and a "work permit" under the provisions of the Law on Foreigners. Around 80 thousand out of 2 million total Syrians in Turkey are of this group. The majority of Syrians are those who made irregular entry into Turkey and are, thereby, given "temporary protection status" within the framework of the relevant bodies of law. [18]

Provisional clause 1 of the Temporary Protection Regulation introduced a specific regulation related to Syrians:

> *"The citizens of the Syrian Arab Republic, stateless persons and refugees who have arrived at or crossed our borders coming from Syrian Arab Republic as part of a mass influx or individually for temporary protection purposes due to the events that have taken place in Syrian Arab Republic since 28 April 2011 shall be covered under temporary protection, even if they have filed an application for international protection. Individual applications for international protection shall not be processed during the implementation of temporary protection." (Provisional Clause 1)*

[17] *Directorate General of Migration Management: Temporary Protection Foreign Identification Number http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/temporary-protection-foreign-identification-number_914_1015_8903_icerik (access: 29.10.2015)*

[18] *http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2014/10/20141022-15-1.pdf*

As can be clearly derived from the regulation, although the Council of Ministers is authorized in this regard, Syrians under temporary protection do not have access to a residence permit and a concomitant work permit and are obstructed in their application for international protection.

Biometric registration of Syrians outside the camps has become increasingly difficult, as Syrians have dispersed all across the country. In order to promote registration, authorities have tried to establish a system in which certain public services, i.e. free healthcare, pharmacy and emergency aid, are made available only for those who are registered. Despite the benefits of this system, there are still some issues to be resolved, such as the lack of facticity in registration information. Here are some basic issues with registration:

- There are difficulties in reaching out to Syrians outside the camps.

- Apart from the biometric identification, all data is based on personal statements. Undocumented registrations may entail incorrect information from time to time.

- There are people who have registered themselves more than once in order to increase their share of aid. Although a centralized registration system helps eliminate these cases, the amount of exploitation is still considerable.

- Before the centralized registration system was in effect, different methods and programs had been implemented in different regions, which caused discrepancies in the relevant data.

- Another key issue regarding registration is that there are people who purposefully avoid being registered. Several reasons for this are: first, temporary protection status prevents Syrians from applying to a third country, which is a particular concern for those who are qualified and envisage a future outside Turkey. Second, there are some mobility concerns, as applicants are obliged to reside in the place where registration took place. Third, there is the concern that registration with Turkish authorities could be regarded as a problem on part by Syrian Regime. It is possible to raise other issues as well, but the heart of it is the fact that no reliable and centralized registrations were conducted during the first two years.

• Another aspect that is to be highlighted is related to the details of registration, which is a difficulty factor in migration management as well. There should be mandatory items in registration information regarding a person's profession, level of education, etc., whereas we often see responses like "unspecified", "no information" or "unknown". A well-conducted registration, though, is an inevitable part of process management.

• Another issue with registrations is un-cancelled registrations after people irregularly depart to a third country. This causes uncertainty regarding the people who have crossed to Europe by sea and by land in 2015 in particular. Most of those who cross over to Europe are composed of people who have newly arrived or were not registered in Turkey, yet the ratio of those who were registered and whether or not their registrations were cancelled is unknown. There are good reasons to suspect that at least some of the 2.2 million registered Syrians left as some 600 thousand people have crossed to Europe through Turkey.[19] On the other hand, we must also consider that this number is not composed of Syrians exclusively.

International Humanitarian and Financial Burden Sharing and Turkey

The Turkish state and Turkish society have made extraordinary efforts and endured immense humanitarian and financial burden in the case of Syrian refugees. In addition to Turkey's admitting over 2.2 million Syrians in 4.5 years, it has also had to absorb more than 7.6 billion dollars in expenses for them[20]. This extraordinary cost, less than 5% of which is being compensated by foreign aid, has been absorbed almost altogether by domestic resources. Turkey spent 7.5 billion dollars on Syrians from April 2011 to October 2015, which equals approximately 138 million dollars per month and 4.6 million dollars per day. Turkey has provided more than 9 million ambulatory care services and more than 250 thousand surgical operations in 4.5 years. These services' costs alone pose an extraordinary cost. With this aforementioned assistance, in 2014 Turkey became the third most generous country in the world in terms of providing humanitarian aid; and, when calculated in terms of income per capita, it has become the first by far.

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[19] *UNHCR-Europe: http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria_en.pdf (Retrieved : 3 Ekim 2015) See also: Dir Zeit: Bundesländer registrieren täglich 10.000 Flüchtlinge (http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2015-10/fluechtlingszahlen-fluechtlinge-bundeslaender-migration-bundesinnenministerium)*

[20] *The head of AFAD Dr. Fuat Oktay has declared the cost as 7,6 billion.*

Since the advent of the crisis, the UNHCR has strived to gain the support of the global public, yet its efforts have not attracted much-needed attention. "The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan" (3RP), developed by the UNHCR specifically for the Syrian crisis, is the basis of the UNHCR's efforts to draw the global public's attention. In fact, "3RP" points to an imperative that has emerged after the prolongation of the crisis, which is the lessening of hope about the establishment of peace in Syria in the near future, thus the high probability that the Syrians' stay in their destination countries has become permanent. Since the UNHCR's "emergency management" approach has fallen short of producing working results with 3RP, the institution has needed to come up with a new approach/strategy, including "integration" [21]. Nevertheless, the UNHCR's calls, as part of 3RP in 2014 and 2015, have remained unreciprocated. In 2014, the UNHCR received 2.2 billion dollars, which was 61% of the 3.7 billion dollars that it called for. By September 24, 2015, it had only received 41% of the 4.5 billion dollars that it requested[22]. Within the 3RP framework, Turkey has become the country in the region that has benefitted the least from UNHCR financial aid. Turkey's relatively better economic conditions were the justification for this decision. For instance, Turkey only received 36% (177 million dollars) of the UNHCR's call for 497 million dollars for the Syrians in Turkey.

What should be emphasized here is that more important than foreign financial aid is the international cooperation and culture of collaborative work that could support Turkey's capacity to tackle this crisis.. In this regard, just as the resources that do not arrive to Turkey or that are not preferred for certain reasons, levels of cooperation remain at their lowest. There is another significant problem regarding international cooperation and financial support. Monetary assistance particularly coming from the EU, other states and international institutions impose extreme technicalities and complexities and are not useful in emergency situations. It is incomprehensible why Turkey is met with distrust by international institutions and organizations, while it is a country that spends 4.6 million dollars of its own resources everyday and has spent 7.5 billion dollars in total for the handling of the crisis thus far. There is no doubt that every assisting institution and state would like its aid to be spent by the right authorities and for the right causes. However, when this concern is exaggerated, it reduces the level of cooperation if not obstructing it altogether.

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[21] *3RP – The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan : http://www.3rpsyriacriss.org*

[22] *UNHCR: Syria Regional Refugee Response. http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php# (retrieved October 3rd 2015)*

Being the greatest humanitarian crisis since the Second World War, the Syrian crisis has brought about profound disappointment in terms of humanitarian and fiscal burden sharing. In developed states with high welfare rates, the number of Syrians only amounts to approximately 4% of the overall number of Syrian refugees. The attitude of developed states can be summarized as "Open the eastern borders to the full extent, but shut down your western borders tightly". Since the end of 2014 and mid-2015, the EU's policy on Syrians' flow toward Europe seems to have evolved in a direction that can be summed up as "Turkey is a nice cheap hotel for Syrians, we shall give financial aid to Turkey, so that they stay there and do not come to our land". This approach reveals how Turkey and other regional states are left alone regarding humanitarian and financial burden sharing in the first place. Nevertheless, this experience, unraveling as a lack of solidarity with the Syrians, might induce states that neighbor future crises to be more cautious. Within this scope, the 1951 Geneva Convention and an "open-door policy" in particular should be re-evaluated according to present circumstances. With new adjustments to the aforementioned convention and policies, efforts should be made to increase cooperation, to prevent leaving neighboring states alone to deal with regional problems and to coordinate balanced burden sharing. Turkey can lead this process since it is sheltering the largest number of refugees in the world as of 2014; and, it has experience on the issue of being a perpetual transit country.

Existing data reveals the striking failure of international cooperation and burden sharing. Other than the five region states, the overall number of Syrians admitted by other countries has remained at a fairly low level despite the dramatic increase in the numbers in 2015. Up until the beginning of 2015, the number of Syrians in Europe remained below 5% of the total number of Syrians who fled their country. According to UNHCR data, from April 2011 to August 2015, the number of Syrians who applied for asylum to EU member states, Switzerland and Norway was 441,246 (137,947 of them applied in 2014) [23]. Yet another noteworthy development is that in the last year, a significant number of people from Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Iraq and the Balkan states have joined Syrian refugees, who still comprise the largest group, on their way to Europe. By October 2015, the number of refugees who had arrived in Europe exceeded 700 thousand. Germany is a special case of this[24]. According to German Refugees Department (BAMF) data, the number of refugees who made it

[23] *UNHCR: http://data.unhcr.ord/syrianrefugees/asylum.php (retrieved: October 3rd, 2015)*

[24] UNHCR-Europe:http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/syria¬_en.pdf(retrieved: October 3rd,2015)

to Germany during the period January-September 2015 reached upwards of 577 thousand. By the end of 2015, this number is expected to increase to 800 thousand[25]. As a country receiving more than 10 thousand refugees everyday, Germany's strategy toward handling the crisis is subject to serious dispute. A substantial part of this dispute is related to the fact that Germany and to a certain degree Sweden have become target countries, and other EU member states avoid burden sharing. In fact, some of the EU member states have adopted an attitude that will lead to serious crises. For example, Greece, Austria and Hungary direct the refugees (coming in buses and trains) toward Germany, mostly without registering them, which has created a serious diplomatic crises[26].

As shown in Table 5, EU member states are facing an unprecedented flow of refugees.

TABLE - 5: SYRIANS IN THE EU MEMBER STATES AND REFUGEES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES
(OCTOBER 2015)

COUNTRY	NUMBER	COUNTRY	NUMBER
GERMANY	577.000	MALTA	980
HUNGARY	143.000	CYPRUS	977
AUSTURIA	53.000	ROMANIA	945
SWEDEN	44.500	CZEHCH REPUB.	805
FRANCE	40.000	LUXEMBURG	727
ITALY	39.000	PORTUGAL	616
BELGIUM	22.500	LETONIA	181
FINLAND	18.000	LİTVANIA	152
BRITAIN	19.000	ESTONIA	144
HOLLAND	17.000	SLOVENIA	125
BULGARIA	10.000	CROATIA	120
DENMARK	7.000	SLOVAKIA	72
SPAIN	6.600		
POLAND	5.422		
IRELAND	2.000		

[25] *See: Die Welt: Die Welt: Bundesländer registrieren täglich 10.000 Flüchtlinge (http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2015-10/fluechtlingszahlen-fluechtlinge-bundeslaender-migration-bundesinnenministerium)*

[26] *Deutsche Welle: German Police Goes to Slovenia (http://www.dw.com/tr/alman-polisi-slovenya-yol-cusu/a-18807726))*

The UNHCR states that among these refugees, the number of the Syrians is 512 thousand, which is more than 60% of all refugees. The second largest group consists of Balkan state citizens. This group attempts to benefit from the "admittance" opportunity created by the Syrians. While Germany has admitted approximately 600 refugees, it is followed by Hungary with 143 thousand, Austria with 53 thousand, Sweden with 44 thousand, Italy with 39 thousand, Belgium with 22 thousand, Britain with 19 thousand, Finland with 18 thousand and Bulgaria with 10 thousand refugees. Additionally, Denmark has admitted 7 thousand, Spain 6 thousand and Poland 5 thousand. The other 12 EU member states seem to provide shelter to less than 1000 refugees. At this point, it should be stressed that the number of the refugees in Hungary is regarded as a "deposit" number. The fact that burden sharing within the EU is uneven also stems from the EU's lack of a common policy toward refugees.

THE IMPACT OF SYRIANS IN TURKEY ON THE TURKISH BUSINESS WORLD, ECONOMY AND EMPLOYMENT

Since April 2011, the number of Syrians fleeing from persecution and war in their home country has exceeded 2.2 million. According to official data, the number of registered refugees is 2 million 72 thousand. Authorities on the issue state that when the number of unregistered refugees is added to the aforementioned number, the result increases to 2.2 million[27]. However, this number is increasing because of continuous albeit slowing border crossings as well as a natural increase by birth. Since in the last year more than 500 thousand people have crossed to Europe through Turkey, the exact number of Syrians in Turkey is hard to define. In case the ones transiting to Europe are registered Syrians, then the number 2.2 million is questionable. Although the exact number of the refugees is important for it is extraordinary, whatever the number is, evaluations and predictions on the issue will not change.

Syrians in Turkey have various impacts on the Turkish economy. One impact is related to the expenses that Turkey makes for Syrians from its capital budget. According to recent statements, Turkey spent more than 7.6 million dollars on Syrians from April 2011 to October 2015. Although the details of the services, regional share, spending strategy and components are unknown, the amount itself comprises a large share of Turkey's budget. Divided into the number of days Syrians have been in Turkey, 7.6 billion dollars equals 4.6 million dollars spent everyday. This expense consists of healthcare, medication, accommodation centers as well as urgent clothing, nutrition and sheltering needs.

According AFAD data, in the period spanning from 2011 to 2015, Turkey's total expenses for Syrians exceeded 7,158,250,458 US dollars, which approximately corresponds to 20 billion TL. The total foreign financial aid—417 million dollars–is roughly 5% of the total aforementioned expense. Of this foreign aid, 328 million dollars (78.6%) came from UN institutions, 20 million dollars came the Red Cross, 14 million came from NGOs and the remaining 52 million came from "other" countries. The financial support received from 7 European states is merely 1.5 million dollars. Both as individual states and as parts of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, Islamic countries have been indifferent toward the crisis and this attitude has had financial consequences. Saudi Arabia has only provided 50 million dollars to Turkey since the onset of the crisis. Other than this, there has been no support on

[27] *According to AFAD, the number of refugees in and out of camps is 2,258,076. See: Table-3*

behalf of Saudi Arabia. This matter should be evaluated in relation to Turkey's medium and long-term foreign policy plans. The details of Turkey's expenses are also attention grabbing. Accordingly, the Ministry of Interior has been allocated 4.5 billion TL in the 2016 budget. Nevertheless, the amount spent for Syrians has already surpassed this share. The Religious Affairs Administration's 2016 budget share of 6.4 billion TL has also almost been exceeded by the amount spent for Syrians. A closer look at the budget shows that 2015 budget appropriations and spending for certain institutions from 2011-2015 amounts to 1.5 billion TL. The ministry level and other governmental bodies' expenses for Syrians are shown in the table below. However, 2015 budget figures and the spending of certain ministries and public bodies in the 2011-2015 period reveals a mere 1.5 billion TL of the claimed 19.8 billion TL (6.8 billion dollars) of expenses for Syrians; and, other resources have not been disclosed. Similar to the lack of information on the resources of the expenses for services provided to refugees, expense items are insufficiently explained. [28]

[28] *The Foreign Affairs Minister Feridun Sinirlioğlu has stated that within the 417 million dollars of aid by the international community, the EU's part (togetrher with the civil society organizations' aid) remained at the level of 170 million dollars. Official Website of the Ministry of Interior: http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-sayin-feridun-sinirlioglu_nun-basini-bilgilendirme-toplantisi_-16-ekim-2015_-ankara.tr.mfa*

TABLE-6: RESOURCES FOR THE EXPENSES FOR SYRIANS IN TURKEY[29]		
EXPENSES OF THE MINISTIRES AND OTHER PUBLIC BODIES IN TURKEY		
2015 Budget Appropriations		
Ministry of Finance	1,136,983,000	2015
Undersecretariat for Treasury	71,292,000	2015
Ministry of Education	46,243,000	2015
Ministry of Defense	32,102,000	2015
Ministry of Labor and Social Security	30,725,000	2015
Subtotal	1,315,000,000	2015
2011-2015 Expenditures		
Min. of Transport, Maritime Affairs & Communication	21,689,000	2011-2015
Ministry of Family and Social Policy	18,400,000	2011-2015
Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock	14,793,000	2011-2015
Security General Directorate	12,174,000	2011-2015
Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs	11,973,000	2011-2015
Public Hospitals Institution	9,876,000	2011-2015
Ministry of Interior	9,443,000	2011-2015
Ministry of Justice	8,029,000	2011-2015
Public Health Institution	7,643,000	2011-2015
Ministry of Youth and Sports	7,275,000	2011-2015
Gendarmerie General Command	7,089,000	2011-2015
Ministry of Health	3,706,000	2011-2015
Directorate of Religious Affairs	3,447,000	2011-2015
Ministry of Science, Industry and Technology	3,327,000	2011-2015
Ministry of Culture and Tourism	2,691,000	2011-2015
AFAD Presidency	2,573,000	2011-2015
Subtotal	140,000,000	2011-2015
Total	1,451,000,000	2011-2015

[29] *Hürriyet Newspaper, October 29 2015, AFAD resources. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/turkiye-2011den-bu-yana-2-1-milyon-suriyeli-multeciye-8-milyar-dolar-harcadi-40007235 (retrieved: 29.10.2015).*

Table-7: RESOURCES OF THE EXPENDITURES MADE FOR SYRIANS IN TURKEY IN THE PERIOD APRIL 2011-OCTOBER 2015 [30]		
EXPENDITURE RESOURCE	USD	TL (1 USD= 2,9 TL)
DOMESTIC RESOURCES		
TURKISH REPUBLIC	6,458,428,396	18.728 MILLION TL
NGO EXPENDITURES	294,955,947	852 MILLION TL
Turkish Local Governments, Turkish Religious Foundation and Red Crescent	77,380,170	224 MILLION TL
SUBTOTAL (TURKEY RESOURCES)	6,830,764,513	19.804 MILLION TL
FOREIGN RESOURCES		
Donations of UN Institutions (UNHCR, UNICEF, IOM, WFP, UNFP)	328,389,702	954 MILLION TL
European States, International NGOs and Other States	89,096,268	258 MILLION TL
SUBTOTAL (FOREIGN RESOURCES)	417,485,970	1.210 MILLION TL
TOTAL	7,158,250,458	20.758 MILLION TL

Regulations on Syrians' Right to Work in Turkey

The main subject to be discussed within the framework of this research is Syrians' economic and concomitant social impacts in Turkey: primarily, unemployment, employment, informal economy and so on. It is clear that this issue should be evaluated with a political-economy lens.[31] As mentioned before, this is not economic or financial analysis research. Within this framework, the Turkish business world's opinions, expectations and suggestions are being analyzed. In other words, this research evaluates their perceptions. Certain essential data should be helpful in defining the scope of the research.

A primary aspect of Syrians' impact on the Turkish economy is the regulation on their right to work and its relevant implications. This issue is extremely delicate not only economically and financially but also socially. As is known, foreigners' rights to work in Turkey are defined by the "Law on Foreigners' Work Permit". However, the notion of "foreigners"

[30] *AFAD Disaster Report for Syria/ Analysis of Current Situation regarding Syrians in Turkey, October 2015 . https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/IcerikDetay1.aspx?IcerikID=747&ID=16 – (Retriev: 28.10.2015).*

[31] *A recent study on 2011-2013 data. See: Lordoğlu, Levent- Arslan, Mustafa (2015) Beş Sınır Kenti ve İşgücü Piyasalarında Değişim: 2011-2014, Göç Dergisi, Cilt: 2, Sayı: 2, sf. 249 – 267.*

within the scope of the law includes less than 3% of the Syrians in Turkey. There are serious differences regarding the right to work among the Syrians who entered Turkey with passports (meaning legal/official entry) and the ones who do not hold official documents (meaning irregular/illegal/unregistered entry). After April 2011, for the 80 thousand Syrians who came with passports, the process of getting a residence permit and, subsequently, a work permit have been made easier. Nevertheless, the ones who entered Turkey without passports or through "irregular/illegal" ways face severe challenges in getting residence and work permits. In March 2013, within the framework of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security's project, the foreigners of Syrian origin who came to Turkey and received a residence permit from police offices were granted work permits as well. These permits are finalized after evaluations in relation to "vacant areas", and those who are deemed "suitable" are granted the right to work. The applications are evaluated firstly within the scope of the Law on Foreigners' Work Permit and the relevant regulations; then, suitable applications are assessed by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. The aforementioned conditions of "suitability", when compared to other foreigners, are not taken into consideration. Syrians can obtain work permits without being subject to suitability criteria. Accordingly, employers who would like to recruit Syrians who hold at least a 6 months residence permit (granted by police offices) can apply according to official procedure and principles.[32] On the Ministry of Labor and Social Security's official website, the regulations on the matter are stated as:

"Employers who would like to hire the Syrian citizens who fled their country due to domestic conflict can apply to our Ministry for work permits in line with the official procedure and principles that are indicated on our website. The Syrian citizens in the name of whom work permit applications will be made should have at least 6 months of standing residence permit granted by Police Offices." [33]

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[32] *The then Minister of Family and Social Policies, Fatma Şahin, made a statement on January 31, 2013 that " Our siblings who do not live in the refugee camps naturally want to work and participate in the economic life in order to maintain their lives. Our employers are very satisfied with how efficiently the Syrians work. Consequently, we would like to complete the legal background of work permit regulations and make sure that they work in the organized industry. The aspect concerning to the Ministry of Interior is sorted out. The aspects relating to the Ministry of Labor will be finalized within this week." See: http://www.zaman.com.tr/ekonomi_suriyelilierin-oturma-izni-tamam-calisma-izni-de-tamamlanmak-uzere_2047829.html (retrieved: June 30, 2014)*

[33] *The official website of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security: http://www.csgb.gov.tr/csgbPortal/yabacilar.portal?page=sss (retrieved: October 3, 2015)*

However, the Syrians mentioned constitute roughly 3% (80 thousand) of the entire Syrian population in Turkey. The rest, meaning more than 95% of Syrians in Turkey, do not hold any rights; and if they work, they could face sanctions. Their legal status is "temporary protection" under the scope of the Temporary Protection Regulation. In the Ministry's statement, it clarified that Syrians with temporary protection status' work permit applications would be rejected:

"Nonetheless, work permit applications made by Syrian citizens with Temporary Protection Identity Document or Identity Card or other foreigners are not accepted."[34]

On October 8, 2014, during a press conference for the presentation of the Medium-Term Program of 2015-2017 organized by accompanying ministers and senior economy bureaucrats, the then Minister of Labor and Social Security, Faruk Çelik, stated that a new comprehensive study on the right to work was being carried out. Çelik stated that it was expected that a secondary statute be declared for the employment of Syrians: "In accordance with this new regulation, our Syrian guests will be provided with identity cards. Their employment in vacant jobs will be realized to a certain extent. They will have been granted the opportunity to work". [35]

The secondary statute that the minister pointed out has been partially implemented by the "Temporary Protection Regulation" that came into effect on October 22, 2014. Here, it is stated that the ministerial cabinet is in charge of designating the regulation that will be prepared by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security by taking the Ministry of Interior's opinion. This is arranged by the 29th clause of the Temporary Protection Regulation under the title "Access Services to Labor Market". Accordingly, the ones who hold a temporary protection identity document can apply to the Ministry of Labor and Social Security in order to work for certain sectors, business lines and geographical areas (cities, counties and villages) that will be designated by the ministerial cabinet. It is stated that the work permits of those with temporary protection *"will not last longer than the period of the temporary protection itself"*. The regulation indicates that "*when the temporary protection expires, so will the work permit granted in this context"*.[36] Still, since October 22, 2014 (the time the

[34] *Ibid*

[35] *Radikal: October 8, 2014: "Çalışma Bakanı: Suriyelilere kimlik verilecek" (Minister of Labor and Social Security: Syrians will be granted identity cards.) http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/calisma_bakani_suriyelilere_kimlik_verilecek-1217583 (Retrieved: October 3, 2015)*

[36] *Temporary Protection Regulation: http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2014/10/20141022-15-1.pdf*

regulation came into effect), legal arrangements for Syrians' entry into the workforce have not been implemented (partially due to the election process).[37] As the occasion of October 2015 requires, it is forbidden to hire Syrians "under temporary protection" and relevant applications are rejected.

Since Syrians with temporary protection status cannot get work permits, the permits granted consist only of the Syrians with residency permits and "foreigner" statuses. The number of these Syrians with the aforementioned permits is quite low. The figures declared by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security indicate that the number of Syrians with work permits is merely 3,856. The largest sector occupied by these Syrians is the service sector with 2,328 workers, which is 63.1% of the total Syrian population in the workforce. It is indicated by the ministry that since 2011, 6 thousand Syrians—most of whom are company partners—have been provided with work permits so that they can begin a business in manufacturing and commerce. [38]

Ministry officials point out that Syrians' applications are evaluated in parallel with changes in industry-specific and economic conjuncture, just as other foreigners' applications are treated. Within the framework of this research, during the interviews with the ministry, it was observed that officials are meticulously following the process, analyzing work permit applications and monitoring impact analysis as well as the truthfulness of the companies established. Furthermore, Syrians with "foreigner" status who entered Turkey in a "regular" way can be relegated to "temporary protection" status if they misstate their business or if their businesses lose their efficiency. Officials emphasize that the informal economy is "the most expensive" unemployment, and the fight against it is important in the sense that the ministry can deal with risks related to occupational health and safety, misapplication of work permits, losses in tax and insurance premiums and imbalanced competition. It is also emphasized that Syrians should be guided toward the sectors and regions in which they contribute to the Turkish economy the most.

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[37] Open Society Foundation's study "From the Waiting Room to Living Room" states that the ministry has prepared a " Law Draft on Employment of Foreigners", yet it came to a halt due to the elections. See: http://www.aciktoplumvakfi.org.tr/medya/02062015beklemeodasi.pdf (retrieved: October 3, 2015)

[38] 6 Thousand Syrians have been granted work permit in five years, Hurriyet, September 26, 2015. See: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/30165957.asp (retrieved: October 3, 2015)

TABLE-8: DISTRIBUTION OF WORK PERMITS FOR FOREIGNERS OF SYRIAN ORIGIN IN YEARS AND SECTORS					
	2011	2012	2013	2014	Sector
Total			3	12	15
Agriculture			3	12	15
Industry	20	69	257	834	1,180
Construction	5	10	31	117	163
Services	80	152	506	1.590	2,328
Total	105	231	797	2.553	3,686
Resource: Ministry of Labor and Social Security					

Especially labor-intensive sectors like manufacturing can be promoted for it can contribute to all parties, and the choice of the region is also vital. In other words, regional differentiation of various sectors should be taken into consideration. Another issue is that it is unknown to what extent Syrians would like to work, meaning how intense involuntary unemployment will be is not definite yet. Whether employees who hire or want to hire low-cost labor will change their demands or not after Syrians obtain work permits is also important.

Regulation on the right to work is the most disputed issue because of its impact on real life situations. Similar to other parts of the world, local communities worry the most when there are migration flows, increasing the supply of labor in the labor market, changing the dynamics of the labor market, supplying low-cost labor, decreasing wages and possibly losing jobs. This issue carries significance for refugees as well. They would like to participate in business life and achieve the life standards they desire, after spending some time in the destination country. Syrians as well as employers in certain regions frequently voice their demands for the provision of working opportunities. However, each and every regulation on the issue disturbs those who are anxious about losing their jobs or facing unfair competition. More importantly, there is an “exploitation” aspect of the issue at hand. Since, some

employers perceive the existence of Syrians as an advantage for recruiting "low-cost labor". It is frequently claimed that shortages of personnel in certain sectors are compensated by low wage positions provided to Syrians, which is advantageous to employers. Our field observations corroborate these claims. Some Turkish employees have Syrians do their jobs by establishing a new type of "subcontracting", particularly in the construction sector. TÜIK's data declared on March 8, 2014 also necessitate a re-evaluation of the issue of Syrians' participation in the business world. Accordingly, three states, Gaziantep, Adıyaman and Kilis, are the ones that enlarge the labor market, hire workers, decrease unemployment the most and have the largest number of Syrian refugees.[39] This indicates a serious impact on consumption and production stemming from the existence of Syrians. This development has been reiterated in World Bank reports as well.[40] Nonetheless, economists emphasize that the downward trend in unemployment will be short-term, and unemployment rates will increase as a result of the Syrian population.

The fact that more than 2.2 million Syrians in Turkey work illegally is both widely known and crucial.[41] It is estimated that at least 300 thousand of these 2.2 million refugees work. Unfortunately, this includes a fairly high number that qualifies as "child labor". What is more, among Syrians the chances for being hired is higher for the ones under 18 than for adults; this is especially the case in border regions.

In places where the Syrian population is dense, and there is a decrease in wages where Syrian refugees work and an increase in the number of locals losing their jobs, strained re-

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[39] "Gaziantep, Adıyaman and Kilis have become bread and butter", Anadolu Ajansı, March 8th 2014. See: http://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ekonomi/298239--gaziantep-adiyaman-ve-kilis-ekmek-kapisi-oldu (retrieved: October 3, 2015)

[40] World Bank Group (August 2015) The Impact of Syrians Refugees on the Turkish Labor Market, by Ximena V. Del Carpio Mathis Wagner, Policy Research Working Paper 7402, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2015/08/24946337/impact-syrians-refugees-turkish-labor-market (Retrieved: October 4, 2015)

[41] The former Minister of Family and Social Policy, AKP Gaziantep Mayor, Fatma Şahin stated during an interview when she was a candidate on February 2, 2014 that " 140 thousands Syrians are very beneficial to the factories in Gaziantep" and these words sparked furious debate. See: Hürriyet, 2 Şubat 2014. http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/25716877.asp Gaziantep haber: "İlaç değil zehir-zıkkım oldular", 5 Şubat 2014 http://www.gaziantephaberler.com/-ilac-degil-zehir-zikkim-oldular-haberi-29981.html; M.Bora Zor: Yanılıyorsunuz Sayın Bakan, Edep Haber, http://edephaber.com/mobil/yazi/38/yaniliyorsunuz-sayin-sahin (retrieved: October 4, 2015)

lations come to the fore. This is not only the case for the business market but also for small retailers and craftsman. Complaints by locals who believe that Syrians create an "informal economy", that they do not pay taxes and that the locals are being abused are on the rise. During 2014, especially in July, perilous and striking developments occurred in Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş and Adana. Demonstrations took place, and people attacked Syrians' shops and vehicles.

The study "Beş Sınır Kenti ve İşgücü Püyasalarında Değişim: 2011-2014" (Five Border Cities and the Change in the Labor Market: 2011-2014) on Syrians' impact on the labor market gives serious warnings. The authors expect that considering the level of unemployment in Southeastern Anatolia, which is higher than in other regions, Syrians' involvement in the labor market will make circumstances all the more fragile. Also, this has the potential to cause disputes among Syrians themselves. The authors specifically point out that *"present wage and working conditions might escalate in the face of informal economy"*. [42] The table below presents the numeral version of the aforementioned fragility.

TABLE-9: FIVE BORDER CITIES WITH SYRIA: UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AND THE RATIO OF SYRIANS IN LOCAL POPULATION

YEAR	GAZİANTEP	HATAY	KİLİS	MARDİN	ŞANLIURFA	TURKEY
2010	13,4	13,9	10,1	9,1	12,7	10,9
2011	14,4	12,7	12,6	12,3	8,0	9,8
2012	11,2	11,4	10,4	20,9	6,2	9,7
2013	6,9	12,2	7,7	20,6	16,3	9,2
						9,9
Resource: Lordoğlu, Levent- Arslan, Mustafa (2015) Beş Sınır Kenti ve İşgücü Piyasalarında Değişim: 2011-2014, Göç Dergisi, Cilt: 2, Sayı: 2, sf. 249 – 267.						
Population (2015)	1.889.466	1.519.836	128.781	788.996	1.845.667	77.695.904
Syrian Population (roughly 2015)	310.000	250.000	110.000	95.000	530.000	2.100.000
Syrians' Ratio in the City Population %	16,4	16,4	85,9	12,0	28,7	2,57

Resource: TUİK + Lordoğlu - Arslan (2015) – Erdoğan (2015)

[42] *Lordoğlu, Levent- Arslan, Mustafa (2015) Beş Sınır Kenti ve İşgücü Piyasalarında Değişim: 2011-2014, Göç Dergisi, Cilt: 2, Sayı: 2, sf. 249 – 267.*

Syrian Refugees within the Framework of Turkey's International Obligations Regarding Employment

All the international conventions that Turkey is party to closely relate to the decisions and regulations on Syrians in Turkey. There is no doubt that ILO conventions and other international agreements on "migrant labor" have binding decrees for Turkey.

ILO Conventions [43]

Turkey has been an official member of the International Labor Organization (ILO) since 1927 when it was invited. Turkey has ratified the ILO's 56 conventions, including the fundamental 8th. In the case of Syrian refugees' regular and legal employment in Turkey, the obligations resultant from the conventions should be taken into consideration. For instance, Convention 111 involves principles on the "prohibition of discrimination in work life", and it has been prepared to avoid discrimination for various reasons against the labor force. Another example is Convention 182 on "The Prohibition And Immediate Action For The Elimination Of The Worst Forms Of Child Labor". By ratifying the ILO's conventions, Turkey committed to organizing its regulations on work life in parallel with ILO principles. If/when Syrian citizens shift to "migrant labor" status, these commitments will apply to their situation.

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families[44]

In 2004, Turkey ratified this convention prepared by the UN for member states' signing and ratification. It is important to Turkey since it has laborers working abroad, and there are migrant laborers living and working in Turkey. This convention also brings additional obligations to Turkey, if/when Syrians have migrant labor status. In this case, regulations in Turkey will have to go through certain changes.

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[43] *ILO Conventions Ratified by Turkey. See. http://www.ilo.org/ankara/conventions-ratified-by-turkey/lang--tr/index.htm*

[44] *The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families: See: http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/tum-gocmen-iscilerin-ve-aile-fertlerinin-haklarin-in-korunmasina-dair-uluslararasi-sozlesme_340_341_639*

The World Bank's and the ILO's Reports on Syrians' Right to Work in Turkey and Their Participation in Turkey's Economy

The impact of the flow of Syrians on Turkey's economy and labor market has been part of the World Bank's and ILO's field of research. In the World Bank's August 2015 report (prepared by drawing on AFAD and the Ministry of Interior's data) entitled "The Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Turkish Labor Market"[45], there are important notes:

• In the cities where Syrians live, they enlarge the informal economy by not holding work permits. On the other hand, there is an increase in the employment of Turkish citizens. In this context, the employment of refugees has encouraged the employment of skilled labor.

• Mostly, the recruitment of Syrian refugees occurs as low-cost labor and has obstructed the employment of the women's workforce that is hired informally. This impact has no age dimension. The assumption that Syrians with higher levels of education have better chances of employment has not been confirmed. As long as there is no regulation on work permits, the level of education does not have any importance.

• Increased demand for necessities due to Syrian refugees' needs has triggered an economic boom and increased employment, at least at the regional level. In the same vein, services provided to refugees as well as non-governmental aid organizations' activities have helped create an employment increase.

• With the arrival of Syrians, the informal workforce (seasonal, short-term, guest workers) has shifted to other regions from the places where they had been regularly hired before. In a place where 10 refugees settle down, an average of 2.5 people from the local workforce immigrate to other regions. The refugees are mostly employed instead of women; therefore, women are undergoing intra-state mobility.

• Syrian refugees are relatively low paid, and this has created an increase in participation

[45] *World Bank Group (August 2015) The Impact of Syrians Refugees on the Turkish Labor Market, by Ximena V. Del Carpio Mathis Wagner, Policy Research Working Paper 7402, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2015/08/24946337/impact-syrians-refugees-turkish-labor-market (retrieved: October 4, 2015)*

in the formal economy. Overall, it is claimed that there has been an average increase of 100 TL in the monthly salaries of the Turkish workforce However, this is only applies to unskilled labor. In the informal economy, the increase in monthly income is very low.

• Conclusions: The situation of Syrians' employment, its impact on the Turkish economy and whether or not they will permanently stay in Turkey will only be understood after changes in the regulations on legal status and work permits are made and, most importantly, after accurate and credible information is gathered on the aforementioned group of people. Refugees are mostly employed informally in agriculture, and this causes the previously employed Turkish labor force to face unemployment and a decrease in wages. Also, young women who lost their informal jobs to refugees increasingly gravitate toward education.

The ILO has also analyzed Syrian refugees and the present conditions in the Turkish labor market in its various studies.[46] Below are the attention-drawing notes:

- (Similar to the World Bank's reports) Data is either non-existent or very limited in order to understand the genuine impact of Syrian refugees. Therefore, a full-fledged socioeconomic evaluation is hard to achieve.

- According to AFAD's data, more than half of the Syrians living and working in Turkey are attempting to sustain their lives with less than 250 dollars per month. This amount falls short of the minimum wage.

- There is very limited credible information on the working conditions of Syrians participating in informal economy. Shortages in social security emerge as a factor disrupting social harmony.

- Increasing competition for down-market jobs among the Syrian and Turkish workforces leads to even more wage decreases.

- Child labor has always been an issue that Turkey fights against. It ratified the ILO convention on the prohibition of the worst kinds of child labor and has developed mecha-

[46] *The ILO's Response to the Syria Crisis (2015), http://www.ilo.org/pardev/information-resources/publications/WCMS_357159/lang--en/index.htm (retrieved: October 4, 2015).*

nisms to avoid it. Thanks to these efforts, in 2006, Turkey was nominated as a successful case. However, decay in the previous circumstances has occurred after the flow of Syrians.

According to the ILO, Turkey should take these measures:

✓ An employment strategy should be designed in accordance with the conditions of Syrians as well as the dynamics of the welfare and livelihood among the refugees and local populations.

✓ With this aim in mind, there should be reform measures developed for the labor market.

✓ Strategies and policies on the issue should be harmonious with national level strategies.

✓ Social parties should take part in the process as well:

o Social dialogue should be strengthened

o Social parties should be involved in defining the qualifications of the labor force, accreditation of diplomas and certificates and the development of the employability of the labor force.

o The rights of Syrian refugees and all the developments regarding them should be made known to refugees themselves and the local population in an appropriate and efficient way. Currently, non-existent communication channels between refugees and local populations should be materialized.

Certain Issues to be Primarily Taken into Consideration with Respect to International Law and Rights

• As emphasized by international institutions, such as the World Bank and ILO, as well as research institutions in Turkey, such as HUGO, the "temporary protection" status of Syrians obstructs their harmonization in society, economy, education and work life.

• The issue becomes all the more complicated because:

- Syrians cannot receive the residence permits needed to join the workforce since they did not enter Turkey with passports

- Employers prefer the informal economy

- Law 4817 and the secondary statute have made the procedures on work permits even more complex

As a result, only 6 thousand of the 2.2 million refugees have been able to get work permits. Even though this situation does not legitimate informal and illegal work, it paves the way for it.

• There are some qualified professionals among Syrians. These people should be allowed to participate in the work life so that they can contribute to the Turkish economy and play important social roles in the harmonization process.

• Work permits to be given under the scope of Law 4817 will shift Syrians' status to "migrant labor", which will bring different obligations to Turkey. It is known that this is why the notions of "temporary protection" and "guest" are used insistently. However, temporary protection status has not seemed to prevent current and future problems as well as the disadvantages of the informal economy. Therefore, new directives should be designated in parallel with international norms and national regulations. Also, public authorities and social parties should evaluate these directives.

• It is widely known that entry into the workforce and professional qualifications have a positive correlation. Taking this as a departure point, the Turkish Labor Institution should prepare vocational training measures along with contributions from social parties, the business world, public bodies and scholars. EU member states and the international community should be encouraged to provide financial aid to this vocational training initiative.

• Turkish education comes first regarding employment-targeted education measures. Public Education Centers provide free Turkish education, and this opportunity should be extended. Vocational Schools of Higher Education that work under the auspices of universities can also take part in this process.

• On-the-job training should be executed in the context of Syrian refugees.

• İŞKUR and other related authorities should have special services for Syrians and practices should be initiated to guide refugees toward vacant jobs. Since Syrians have more

mobility then unemployed Turks, their allocation to places where there are vacant jobs would not be much of a problem.

• Serious measures should be taken to prevent informal employment and child labor.

• An inventory should be created to map out in which fields Syrians can be employed so that employment measures will work better. Industry-specific and regional features as well as scientific studies on how needs and existing potential can be synthesized should be taken into consideration.

• In order to finance incentives for employment, foreign aid should be attracted in order not to exhaust domestic resources

Syrians' Economic Activities and Their Impact in Turkey

There is partial information on Syrians' economic activities in Turkey after April 2011. The majority of Syrians carry out economic activities with secret partnerships, so their businesses remain informal. According to the Ministry of Economy's "List of Firms Working with Foreign Capital in Turkey", as of June 2015, the number of Syrian firms is 2,827.[47] Accordingly, more than 60% of the Syrian firms (1,709 of them) registered with the chambers of commerce and industry operate in Istanbul. This is followed by Gaziantep with 471 businesses (16.6%) and Hatay with 250 businesses (8.8%). There are 70 active Syrian firms in Kilis, 56 in Şanlıurfa and 22 in Kahramanmaraş. Syrian firms mainly work in wholesale trade (978 firms), tinkers (606 firms) and construction (288 firms). There are many more Syrian entrepreneurs carrying on activities in Turkey. According to a Dünya Newspaper article on September 3, 2015, there are more than 10 thousand Syrians firms, including informal ones, working with Turkish partners to overcome legal procedures.[48] This news piece draws attention to the developments in Gaziantep, Mersin, Kahramanmaraş and Bursa. It is stated that the economic potential is promising, yet regulations obstruct this potential.

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[47] *Ministry of Economy, official website: http://www.ekonomi.gov.tr/portal/content/conn/UCM/path/Contribution%20Folders/web/Yat%C4%B1r%C4%B1m/Uluslararas%C4%B1%20Yat%C4%B1r%C4%B1mlar/Uluslararas%C4%B1%20Do%C4%9Frudan%20Yat%C4%B1r%C4%B1m%20B%C3%BClten%20ve%20%C4%Bostatistikleri.html (retrieved: October 3,2015)*

[48] *Dünya Newspaper: The number of Syrian Firms exceeded 10 thousand (Handan Sema Ceylan), http://www.dunya.com/dis-iliskiler/suriyeli-firma-sayisi-10-bini-asti-273623h.htm (Erişim: 03.10.2015)*

"Gaziantep Common Mind Platform"[49] indicates in its report that members of the city's economic life have a clear stance with regard to the encouragement of Syrian investments and the removal of their work permit obstructions.[50] In the report, it is emphasized that Syrians are not just consumers; and their impact on the economy should be viewed from a cost-opportunity perspective. As Dünya Newspaper heralded, there is a fairly radical suggestion in the platform's report. The Gaziantep Common Mind Platform suggests that Syrians who are registered and have been in Turkey for at least 6 months should be allowed to work without any official regulations or procedures. This, it is believed, will solve the problems of Syrian employment to a great extent. Another eye-catching analysis concerns Bursa. Accordingly, Syrians came to Bursa and started 100 informal textile factories in order to carry on textile, weaving and ready-to-wear production in Halep. However, there is no official record of this information. According to data received from the Ministry of Economy's General Directorate of Incentive Practices and Foreign Capital, as of June 2015, there are 13 firms operating with Syrian capital. Dünya Newspaper claims that the ones who began the textile factories completely moved their market in Syria to Bursa and export their products to Arab countries like Libya, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco.[51]

Employment of Syrian Refugees and Industry-Specific Differences

There are serious differences between different regions and industries with regard to the impact of Syrians in Turkey. For instance, the tourism industry prefers to remain distant from Syrians, whereas the agriculture, animal husbandry, construction, manufacturing and textile sectors demand a Syrian workforce. In certain cities, especially border cities, there is a revival of economic life. The problem is informality and concomitant troubles with competition, uneven employment and losses in tax and insurance premiums. Gaziantep is the city most affected by the crisis both positively and negatively. The Gaziantep Common Mind Platform published a report entitled *"The Problems Encountered due to Syrian Guests and Solution Suggestions"* and there are four important issues emphasized in the report. These

[49] Gaziantep Common Mind Platform includes: Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce, Gaziantep University, Gaziantep Stock Exchange, Hasan Kalyoncu University, Exporters Union of Southeastern Anatolia, Gaziantep Union of Chambers of Merchants and Craftsman, Gaziantep Organized Industry Region, Gaziantep City Council, December 25 Small Industry Site Construction Cooperative, The Union of Turkish Architects and Engineers Gaziantep Branch (Architects, Construction Engineers, Electronic Engineers, Mechanical Engineers, Gaziantep Association of Construction Contractors and Zirve University.

,[50] Gaziantep City Council (http://www.gaziantepkentkonseyi.org.tr/haberdetay.aspx?hid=433&id=382)

[51] Dünya Newspaper: The number of Syrian Firms exceeded 10 thousand (Handan Sema Ceylan), http://www.dunya.com/dis-iliskiler/suriyeli-firma-sayisi-10-bini-asti-273623h.htm (Erişim: 03.10.2015)

are "security", *"public health"*, *"economy"* and "education". There are striking suggestions the economy section. Here, it is stated that *"Trade between Turkey and Syria continues despite the political and economic problems in Turkey-Syria relations due to the developments in Syria. The main reason for this continuation is that fact that economic life and commerce are still active in Syria. Hence, Gaziantep's exports to Syria increased from 133 million dollars in 2010 to 278 million dollars in 2013. The primary reason for this increase is the humanitarian aid sent to Syria from Gaziantep."* It is also underlined that *"Syrian refugees should be part of the business life."* In the report, the question *"How can the government, local authorities, NGOs and local people meet the needs of refugees in a sustainable and manageable way, if Syrians are granted work permit?"* is brought forward. The report indicates that if this problem is not solved, serious socioeconomic problems are likely to emerge. According to the report, 10% of Syrians have joined the workforce. In Gaziantep, this ratio is even higher. From time to time employers informally hire Syrians for conscientious reasons as well as labor force needs. Informality brings about low-cost labor and insecure working conditions for Syrian workers. Among the fastest growing cities in Turkey, Gaziantep can provide employment for refugees in agriculture, textile, construction and manufacturing sectors. Within this scope, without disturbing work life peace, a way of employing Syrians should be developed.

This strategy requires keeping their foreigner status and allowing temporary work permits; and it is very likely to significantly relieve Syrians' problems of health and education. It is also believed that temporary work permits will help prevent informal economy. There is a tangible suggestion for legal regulations: "Temporary work permit practice will include our state's covering the social security expenses of refugees. This temporary permit should end with the finalization of the war in Syria. A system should be developed to avoid refugees' demands for acquired rights when they return to their country; and it has to be prepared in parallel with international law." For the Gaziantep Common Mind Platform, this will help resolve current employment problems.

Syrians' impact on the regional economy is versatile. On one hand, there is a revival in the economy and exports as well as an increase in employment rates; on the other hand, there is increasing inflation due rising rents and housing prices. Most of the people who lost their jobs recently believe that this is because Syrians are employed as low-cost labor. A report prepared by ORSAM and TESEV states *"Risks and opportunities are intertwined in the case of Syrians' impact on economy. It is fair to say that both at nation and local levels,*

they have made certain contributions to economy". [52] It is also vital to discuss the implications of the 7.6 billion dollars spent on Syrians within the scope of the national economy. As the ORSAM-TESEV report draws attention as well, the major problem is Syrians' informal and low-cost employment in agriculture, industry and small-scale businesses. The resultant problems are unfair competition among employers and the long run disruption of the labor market. The ORSAM-TESEV report also points to the fact that in Gaziantep and Kahramanmaraş, there is serious demand for additional labor. During the interviews with the business world conducted for the preparation of the report, it was understood that the local population does not want to work as agriculture or manufacture laborers, so there is a need for additional workforce in these sectors. Therefore, Syrians do not steal jobs from locals; on the contrary, they meet the deficit for unskilled labor. One of the most serious problems regarding Syrians' employment is their informal recruitment and the subsequent problems of low wages and potential long run disruptions in the labor market. In any case, it is fair to say that Syrians contribute to the economy in various ways. Turkey's aid for Syrians living in camps and in Syria mostly comes from local firms. Firms in border cities also prepare aid materials

TABLE-10: PERCEPTIONS ON SYRIANS' EMPLOYMENT

STATEMENT: "Which option best explains your opinion on Syrians' employment?"	In the Region (Adana, Gaziantep, Hatay, Mardin, Şanlıurfa)	Outside the Region (other provinces)
Absolutely should not be allowed to work.	44.0	48.0
Should be allowed to be working for certain sectors for a limited time period.	35.7	28.3
Should be allowed to work for all sectors for a limited time period.	14.1	13.1
Should be allowed work in all sectors with permanent work permit.	2.1	6.1
Should be allowed to work for certain sectors with permanent work permit.	4.1	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0

[52] *See.: ORSAM-TESEV (2015) The Impact of Syrian Refugees on Turkey, Prepared by: Oytun Orhan- Sabiha Senyücel Gündoğar, s. 17-19. (http://www.tesev.org.tr/assets/publications/file/09012015104258.pdf)*

provided by the international community. This is an opportunity for firms working in the food and textile sectors. By way of this, production has increased and exports (weakened by the advent of the civil war in Syria) have grown. However, from a macroeconomic perspective, Syrians' negative impact on the national budget and unemployment statistics is being monitored. Just like expenditures made out of the national budget, rising unemployment is also a serious concern. The rate of unemployment has reached double digits numbers. It is possible that incoming Syrians play a part in this rising trend.[53]

Turkish People's Approach toward The Right to Work

Except for the tourism sector and despite the positive attitudes of business people, Turkish society does not have a fairly optimistic approach toward Syrians' right to work. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat Erdoğan's nationwide study, conducted with a sample of 1,501 people, reveals that the proposition "Syrians are stealing our jobs" receives 56.1% support. The ones who disagree are 30.5%. Unsurprisingly, the number of people who agree with the statement increases in border cities (68.9%).[54] To the question *"Which option explains your opinion on Syrians employment the best?"* 47.4% of the people gave *"negative"* answers. Local society leans toward the preparations for Syrians to work *"in certain sectors and for a limited amount of time"*. Only 5.4% demand that Syrians should be able to work in any sector they want with no time restrictions. There is an eye-catching relation between border cities and others. In border cities, the answer "work permits should not be provided" receives 44% support, while in other cities support for this answer rises to 48%. However, the proposition "working for every sector with no time limitation" receives 2.1% support in borders cities and 6.1% support in other cities.

Policy makers cannot easily ignore what this table presents. However, reality does not have a single dimension and policy makers should create a synthesis. In a country like Turkey, where the unemployment rate is rather high, the establishment of new employment areas is not an easy task and cannot be properly achieved without earning public support. If policies that are well analyzed and designated in cooperation with the business world and other related parties are not developed soon enough, various disadvantages are likely to emerge in the future.

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[53] *ORSAM-TESEV (2015) The Impact of Syrian Refugees on Turkey, Prepared by: Oytun Orhan- Sabiha Senyücel Gündoğar, s. 17-19. (http://www.tesev.org.tr/assets/publications/file/09012015104258.pdf)*

[54] *Erdoğan, M.M. (2015) Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler: Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum, (Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration) İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, s. 80.*

SURVEY OUTCOMES

The research is implemented in 18 provinces of Turkey through interviews conducted with opinion leaders who direct the economy. This research aims to gather opinions, suggestions, expectations and concerns of the Turkish business community regarding the occasion that will have an effect on almost all spheres of Turkey rather than conducting economic-financial analyses. Because the research does not contain economic analysis, the aim is to review the social, political, cultural and other thoughts of the attendees regarding the topic. Therefore, the purpose is to reflect the perceptions of the business community with regard to the Syrians in Turkey. The findings of the interviews, which are conducted in 18 provinces of Turkey with 134 people, including senior business people, tradesmen, chambers of commerce, chambers of industry and employers of diverse sectors, are evaluated under the below-mentioned titles.

→ Expectations with Regard to the Future and Permanence of Syrians in Turkey

Discussion about the permanency or temporariness of Syrians in Turkey—who started entering the country in April 2011 and whose numbers reached 2.2 million by October 2015 —has transformed into a situation that stresses the option of 'permanency'. The first period after the emergence of the crisis was shaped by the belief that was also stated by the government: that the regime in Syria would fall and that the Syrians in Turkey would return to their home country. This belief was reflected by the policy for Syrians in Turkey. Furthermore, this approach put the topic of refugees in a secondary position, whereas the destiny of the Syrian regime was the major topic for Turkey. However, after 2014, the refugee crises reached a different stage and its characteristics changed especially because of the rise of ISIS as a significant actor. International actors who had strict policies toward the Syrian regime changed their attitude toward Bashar Assad due to ISIS. 'The primary enemy' became ISIS and the actors who had traditional alliances with Syria, such as Russia and Iran, became quite supportive of the Assad regime, and announced that he was the 'red line' for their Syria policies. This atmosphere also significantly affected the perception of Syrians in Turkey, which was that 'they will return when the regime falls'. All equations have been recalculated with the end of the hope that peace and harmony would be established in Syria in the near future, with the existence of Syrians in Turkey for over four years and with the strengthening of regional powers' support for the Syrian regime due to altering priorities.

It was confirmed through the research that the business community, which follows the developments within Turkey, the region and the world, has no hesitation with regard to the permanency of Syrian refugees in Turkey. The expectations of Turkish business people regarding Syrians returning to their home country in either the short or medium term is exceptional. In other words, Turkish business people believe that the permanency of Syrians in Turkey has become an indivisible part of their existence in Turkey. It is essential to assert herein that the viewpoint of Turkish business people is that even if Syrians leave Turkey, their destination will be Europe rather than their home country. At this point, it should be mentioned that the mobility toward Europe during the period of this research had a significant impact on that view.

→ Opinions with Regard to the Process Management

The representatives of Turkish business people had built an opinion that the process of the acceptance of Syrians in Turkey and the following time period could have been managed much better. The perception that "a serious registration system was not conducted and the case has gotten out of control" has a significant place within the opinion regarding the not well-managed process. The people who criticize the management of the process draw attention to the inconveniences for accession of the rights to work and education. A significant number of owners of these criticisms stated that Syrians should be moved to "buffer zones".

The people who appreciate the management process of the crisis emphasized the fact that Turkey was left alone and had a lack of options, and they mentioned the magnitude and humanitarian reasoning of the occasion. This group stated, "We shall not be unfair to the managers of the process. The people could not be left to die while there was a humanitarian plight". Furthermore, they underlined that despite the fact that it is challenging to handle over two million people within 4 years, the government managed the crisis and did not let any conflicts happen.

→ General Situation of Employment in Turkey and the Opinions with Regard to the Potential Demand for Employment by Syrian Refugees

Regarding a general view of employment in Turkey, it is the 'skilled workforce' that has the most serious criticisms. This problem, which is called 'skill-match' in the literature, is among the topics that were most emphasized. The people who drive the economic sphere

state that they face problems of 'unprofessionalism' despite unemployment in Turkey. They emphasize that they cannot find well-trained and convenient workers to employ. Business people indicate that there are plenty of university graduates who have no experience. They accordingly advise that the Turkish educational system be restructured by taking the needs of the labor market and the economy into account. The 'unplanned' expansion of university education over the last 20 years and families' push for their children to apply to departments that train them as white-collar workers rather than vocational training programs has paved the way for problems with regard to the surplus of white-collar workers and absence of vocational training.

Business people, who emphasize the importance of vocational schools, underlined the need for labor in the inter- and manufacturing phases. In fact, development in the economy and job creation processes will accelerate when those needs are supplied. Business people think of unemployment in Turkey as 'Unemployment exists in Turkey but in fact employers have trouble finding skilled work-force.' They also explain that in reality they are unable to find skilled workers among the registered unemployment lists of İSKUR (Turkish Employment Association) and lack applications to their vacancy announcements with the words of 'There is no unemployment in Turkey but the existence of the unqualified and laziness in addition to dislike about occupations'. They also emphasize the need for transforming unemployed workers into skilled workers, in other words, training a suitably qualified labor force.

Turkish business people disagree regionally and sectorally with regard to the additional labor supply by Syrian refugees. However, attention is given to the urgency of the right-to-work regulations. It is frequently stated that the informal economy, which is constructed because of the lack of regulations, created unfair competition for the firms that act according to the law. Turkish business people state that Syrians may contribute to the economy in the specific sectors and regions within the real framework of the economy, yet they are concerned about the possible risk of the intensification of unqualified workforce.

Turkish business people also expressed that in general the Syrian refugee labor force consists of unqualified workers who have the potential to supply the demand for labor in agriculture and livestock as well as manufacturing and industrial sectors, which do not require qualifications. Some of the employers regard this as a positive situation, which would increase the capacities of the enterprises as well as the competition between firms and cities.

The perception of business people with regard to the employment demands of Syrians, independently of all other considerations, commonly reflects the reality that it is a natural humanitarian dimension and a part of sustaining their lives. In this regard, business people state that the recruitment of Syrians is significant in holding security risks at a minimum by drawing attention to the possibility of the occurrence of illegal activities that would be the last resort for Syrian refugees who are not allowed to work legally. In this context, integration to the economy is perceived as a primary condition for social harmonization. The statements reserving warnings regarding security risks, which could stem from unemployment and a lack of education, are asserted.

→ Opinions with Regard to the Effects of Informal Employment of Syrian Refugees on the Economy

Informal economic activities are one of the chronic problems of the Turkish economy, especially in the agriculture, livestock and manufacturing sectors. Informal work, which destroys economic stability, increases unlawful profit, negatively affects lawfully run firms and, above all, damages the state that cannot control taxes and insurance, is a matter that should be competed against in all aspects. It is well known that the victims of the informal economy are, in fact, the workers themselves. These people, who work without insurance, registration and assurance, confront serious problems related to occupational health and safety as well as payment of wages, fully and on time.

The informal economy and employment is one of the valid issues for foreigners in Turkey as well. Foreign workers in Turkey can only be employed in accordance with law no. 4817, and they have to be granted work permission by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. It is forbidden to employ workers informally and without permission. In 2015, Provincial Labor Offices imposed fines of 835 TL to informal employees and of 8,381 TL to the employers of informal foreigners. Moreover, the informally employed foreigners were deported. Furthermore, the Provincial Offices of the Social Security Institution imposed a fine, which is double the amount of the minimum wage, to the firms that employ foreigners informally. Legal actions are initiated against firms that employ foreigners who are not registered by the Social Security Institution by the Provincial Labor Offices.[55] Despite the fact that the Minis-

[55] *Suriyeli Çalıştırana Ağır Ceza, (Severe penalty for employing Syrians) 24.05.2015Hürriyet, 24.505.2015, http://www.millet.com.tr/suriyeli-calistirana-agir-ceza-yazisi-1267816, (Access on October 4, 2015)*

try of Labor and Social Security conducts controls and imposes fine, the topic is complicated with regard to Syrians. Syrians are not provided the opportunity for work permits due to the fact that their work permissions are not regulated by secondary legislation. Syrians are also not granted the right to work legally since they are accepted with 'temporary protection' status except for a small group of 80 thousand people, and a legal-administrative regulation is not provided to rearrange their status. Nevertheless, it is known that hundreds of thousands of Syrians have been working irregularly, especially in border cities. Besides that, child labor is also common in significant sectors (especially in textile and agriculture). Despite the existence of laws forbidding informal employment and the deportation of informally employed foreigners, the 'deportation' provision can rarely be implemented. The informal economy and illegal-informal employment pave the way for problems for both Syrians and the employers of Syrians.

Taking the parties of informal employment into account, the situation, which aggrieves both parties, creates unfair competition between small and un-institutionalized firms and highly institutionalized firms. Some of the business people claimed that the nonexistence of work permits for Syrian refugees worsened the state of their actual suffering. They emphasized that the nonexistence of work permits has no effect on Syrians' current irregular employment status; however, suffering could be relieved if their work permits are granted. The demand for legislative regulations for preventing informal employment was urged within the scope of the interviews conducted during this research. This demand was raised particularly by institutionalized firms, which do not utilize informal employment. It was frequently stated that in addition to legal-administrative regulations, reductions on 'tax' and 'premium' are needed for the prevention of informality in the economy.

→ Opinions with Regard to the Employment Policy Toward Syrians in Turkey

Turkish business people propose realist and functional models –except for the sensitivity in tourist regions- in the sense of employment of Syrians in Turkey. In this context, the Turkish state is urged to take action to make significant regulations, prevent informal employment and manage the process well. In some regions, the high rate of unemployment in Turkey is highlighted. Taking account of this unemployment, hesitations with regard to possible problems during the absorption of Syrian refugees are remarked and business people give the topics of 'registration and control', 'legal background' and 'vocational trainings' prominence. Some business people perceive the employment of Syrians as a 'resettle-

ment' policy tool. In other words, the demand that 'Syrians should be directed to the needed regions and sectors so that the distribution of Syrians should be located in a reasonable ground' is stated repeatedly. Business people, who underlined the need for qualified labor for each term and sector, reiterated the problem that they want to employ skilled people among Syrians, yet they cannot implement this due to the lack of legal background. They believe that the permission granted to Syrians to work in fair market and competition conditions would contribute to the Turkish economy. However, they also draw attention to the fact that through legislation, the advantages of the current informal employment of Syrian refugees would be lifted and the attraction of Syrian refugees as employees would diminish as their average cost for employers would be the same as that of Turkish employees. In this regard, they expect encouragement from the Turkish state. Almost all interviewees underlined the fact that while creating employment opportunities for Syrian refugees, local populations and Turkish employees should not be neglected, and permission for Syrians to work should utilize quotas that would not affect the peaceful environment of the work.

This research observed that divergent concerns, apart from the general cautious optimism of Turkish business people, are raised by touristic provinces and regions, such as Antalya, Muğla, Aydın, Izmir and Istanbul. Representatives of the sector, who emphasized that the tourism sector is the sphere of 'esthetics, peace and trusteeship', state that Syrians should be kept apart from these cities, otherwise a serious loss of tourism volume would be brought to the agenda. They also indicated that this situation would negatively affect the current status of employment and, thereby, reactions toward Syrians would increase incrementally.

The business people underlined their demand that an employment sphere for Syrians is to be created under the guidance of the Turkish state. The business people stated that they prioritize the existence of the Turkish state as an investor, trainer and regulator within the process. Another demand of business people from the Turkish state is to re-regulate the additional cost of employing Syrians under the statue of 'foreigner' and to promote incentive policies.

Turkish business people frequently state that the essence of the problem with regard to the market is the lack of qualifications and professionalism. Therefore, it should always be kept in mind that Syrians generally represent unqualified workers, except for a small amount of qualified workers, and they should be provided intensified vocational trainings.

Syrians should also be relocated to the sectors that would not harm local workers, following the comprehensive sector-region analysis. In this context, there is a general consensus that the agriculture and livestock sectors along with manufacturing and construction would be suitable for the employment of Syrians particularly as seasonal workers. The tourism sector, which inherently prefers to employ people who have vocational and language training, has reasonable concerns and denials -due to the aforementioned reasons- regarding the employment of Syrians.

The most concrete suggestion concerning the employment of Syrians in Turkey was proposed by the livestock sector. Experts on the subject declare that Turkish people do not prefer to be shepherds in Turkey, so there is a gap in the sector despite the fact that there are 44 million sheep and goats as well as 14 million cattle in Turkey. Experts propose that a plan [56] for the potential employment of about 100 thousand people, including Syrians, can be formulated and the Central Union of Turkish Agricultural Credit Cooperatives can create initiatives for providing 'vocational training'. The same experts also state that the food and manufacturing sectors are also attractive spheres for the employment of Syrians.

Turkish business people show significant sensitivity to the fact that Turkish people should not lose their jobs due to the integration of Syrians into the economy. They also have concerns about job loss, the informal economy and the lack of fair competition, which will cause social, economic and political problems, and it might eventually reach the point of xenophobia within the Turkish community and attacks against Syrians.

→ Opinions with regard to the Social Harmonization of Syrians in Turkey

The approach toward the possible contribution of Syrians to the Turkish community is rarely observed among Turkish business people. In fact, opinions and approaches are about problems and the reduction of problems rather than contributions.

There is remarkable pessimism with regard to the harmonization of Syrians to the Turkish community beyond the 'sharing the same neighborhood and religion'. The size, uncontrolled nature, rural identity and illiteracy of the Syrian population in Turkey creates serious concerns.

[56] *Experts clarified that there is a need for a shepherd for 400 small cattle therefore only for the 44 million small cattle, the need is 110 thousand shepherds.*

Turkish business people emphasize the same concept regarding Syrians, namely 'differences' rather than 'sharing the same neighborhood and religion', and they have serious social and security concerns about Syrians. Taking research conducted by Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Murat Erdoğan titled "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration" into account, a large segment of Turkish society emphasizes cultural differences between them and Syrians despite sharing the same region, the religion and even the same sect.[57] The sensitivity of Turkish society does not have to be revealed with concrete examples. The existence of Syrians in Turkey is also a political issue, which leads to the aforementioned sensitivity. The prominent factor is a perception that should be considered by policy-makers. The generally negative image stems from history, from the attitude toward Arabs during the First World War, the perception of 'Syria supporting terrorism' in the 1980s and 1990s and the reactions of some people–as an opposition stance- about Turkey's Syria policy during the past five years.

Turkish business people have a significantly lower level of expectations from Syrians in the sense of contributing to Turkish society, as in the case of migrants who came from the Balkans. The perception of 'The negative effects would be much yet I do not think that they will have contribution at all' is significantly common among business people. This negativity contains 'security' concerns in it.

In this context, the educational gap and the importance of Turkish language courses is alerted. It can be inferred that the demands of Turkish business people are 'minimalist' and of 'decreasing the damage to the minimum'. One of the businessmen declared his opinions with a dramatic analogy: 'we warned them about the heat of the stove and we suggested not touching it... However they did not listen, they touched; our hands had burnt! Now they say there is nothing to do and hands are burnt; let's heal it together. On top of that, they make mistakes even curing it and again they do not ask or listen us.'

Almost all segments of Turkish business people, apart from the ones who say 'we don't want them, they must go!' mentioned the importance of education in general and of vocational trainings in particular with regard to the integration of Syrians into the Turkish economy. According to the Turkish business people who underlined the importance of vocational training mobilization in order to prevent an increase in the lack of qualifications

[57] *M. Murat Erdoğan (2015) Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration, Bilgi University Press, İstanbul.*

and professionalism, the first step begins with the state preparing regulations on the issue. The representatives of the sectors state that they have concerns about the worsening of the informal economy, unfair competition and unemployment because without the legal work permits and plans rooted in regional and sector analyses, Syrians will be the 'victims' of abusers who are eager to profit in the short-term. In other words, according to the Turkish business people, the integration of Syrians into the Turkish economy can only be achieved through legal regulations, language and vocational trainings.

→ Opinions with Regard to Security Concerns

It was observed during the interviews conducted with Turkish business people that 90% of the participants have security concerns related to the existence of Syrians. In fact, despite the fact that these concerns are not in line with current reality, the perception regarding security issues and the concerns linked to this perception is widely held. These security concerns are declared below:

- Concerns that Syrians would create judiciary problems—a part of their poorness and the feeling of being a stranger—such as robbery, pickpocketing, ganging and burglary for Turkish society.

- Concerns about terrorist attacks that may happen in the near future, which stems from the 'uncontrolled' arrival of Syrians who are assumed agents of the Regime (El Moharabat), militants of ISIS or other radical organizations.

- Concerns about the Syrian youth population, which might have radical tendencies.

- Concerns regarding possible xenophobic and racist reactions of Turkish society toward Syrians.

- Concerns that unemployment and hunger may lead people to prostitution and, thereby, the possible formation of new mafias.

- Concerns about the increase of cultural differences and conflicts between Syrians and Turkish society.

• Concerns that Syrians may be persuaded and used by some political, religious or underground organizations in Turkey.

Turkish business people emphasized that some of these concerns have no reflection in reality and are mostly about perception. However, concerns that such a 'traumatized' mass population, who fled from war and have no occupation, profession or future, will have the potential to radicalize and commit crimes are quite common within Turkish society. In this context, initiatives should be implemented to narrow the divide between reality and negative perceptions. Certainly even only studies on the topic of beggars will diminish society's anxiety, distrust and concerns. The most convenient precaution is continuous and regular information sharing, such as crime rates, by security units. It can be stated that the people who believe that 'Syrians came, robbery increased and we cannot sleep with the doors opened anymore' share the common perception. To what extent this perception jibes with reality can only be provided through healthy information-sharing mechanisms. In this regard, the aim should not be about making Syrians look good, rather it should be about sharing what is happening in reality. Besides that, it should be noted that there is a possibility of an increase in young Syrian groups with judicial cases. [58]

→ Opinions with Regard to the Conferral of 'Citizenship' to Syrians

Turkish society showed a significantly negative response to the question of 'Should Syrians in Turkey be conferred citizenship in case of their permanency?' within the research of 'Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration'.[59] The research shows that while support for the conferral of citizenship to Syrians is 7.7%, indeed 84.5% of attendees rejected the idea. Turkish business people perceive the topic imperturbably and with pragmatism. Despite the negative and emotional reactions, such as 'we must choose', 'not all of them', 'with the reservation for right to elect and be elected', 'they should prove themselves', 'if we confer, there is no end for it', 'only to the university graduates', 'they should be deported after employment of them as guests', etc., the rate of people with a pragmatic attitude, such as

[58] *The number of Syrian refugees among the foreigners in the prisons in Turkey is increasing. By September 2015, the rate reached 40%. This situation, as a natural process, will be increasing day by day. It is necessary to take into account the possible concerns with regard to this situation.*

[59] *M. Murat Erdoğan (2015) Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration, Bilgi University Press, İstanbul. s.147.*

'If they will be permanent, it is necessary to confer citizenship to them in order to integrate them', is also high (around 40%). In this context, a gradual and extended citizenship procedure over time like the one in Europe is proposed and it is argued that Syrians can easily be managed throughout the process.

→ What Can Business People Do with Regard to Syrians in Turkey?

The expectation of the representatives of people from the business world is to initiate vocational training courses for Syrians and to prevent informal employment to secure fair competition rules. However, the business world remarked that the decision-making process should be in accordance with the strategic decisions of the state. During the process of creating new regulations regarding the business sector, strategic choices, planning and implementation should take the Turkish business world's opinions into account and should also actively involve them in the process. In fact, the economic environment believes that the solution requires political decisions, and they can only support the process of strategic planni ng and policymaking after the first political step is taken. Otherwise, they are not able to do anything.

→ What is the Business World Doing with Regard to Syrians in Turkey, Have they been asked their opinions?

The Syrian crisis went beyond a regional crisis, however its effect on the border region is very substantial. In this context, in the cities, such as Gaziantep, Hatay, Kahramanmaraş and Şanlıurfa, which directly and multi-dimensionally observe the existence of the Syrian crisis in their daily lives, industrial, commerce, merchant and trade associations have been conducting significant research. The research is generally citywide, and there is some research that is conducted through the platforms constituted by cities of the region. The research's aim is to draw Ankara's (public authorities') attention to the social, economical, executive and administrative problems within the scope of Syrians in the city or the region. The need for regulation on the work permits of Syrians is frequently articulated in this research. The short-term 'profits' from the informal economy and the non-applicability of labor rights would damage the region and the country in middle and long-terms with social tension that is, and will be caused, by them. Almost all segments in the region complain about 'Ankara's lack of an integrated approach to the problems in the locals, Ankara's decisions-making process in the center regardless of the locals'. Additionally, all the reviews whether conducted

in the provisional or regional context underline the security and employment dimensions of the issue. The serious, regional unrest is seen in all the research. The Gaziantep Common Sense Platform's report from May 2014 emphasizes the security and economic effects together with health and education priorities. The platform's report includes the statement 'Despite the problems that are experienced, inhabitants of Gaziantep made many sacrifices with the conscious of a humanitarian duty. The main expectation is structure of new, comprehensive and middle term plans and the implementation of these plans' and they have the determination and suggestions with regard to the 4 priority spheres. It is striking that the 'security' issue is the first priority. In the same report, 'coordination and cooperation', a lack of which is felt, are discussed, and cooperation between local initiatives like trade associations, municipalities, NGOs and state representatives is demanded. In the report, the need for middle and long-term strategies is underlined and stated as 'Short-middle and long term strategies should be improved and implemented with all the problems and suggestions on the table. If this extraordinary situation that is confronted would be managed with daily plans or precautions, our country and the region would be alone with the consequences that led problems to happen including the post-war term. We, as the people and institutions who live within the events and confront with the problems, hope that our suggestions would be taken into account' and they express their wish to be taken seriously. [60]

The attention of Turkish business people to the topic remains at the regional and even provisional level, which only includes the cities that confront the topic on a daily basis. It is clear that this research is of great importance. All research is sent to Ankara, the Presidency, the Prime Ministry and all related ministries, yet there are also complaints that the reports are not attracting the attention of political authorities and bureaucrats. In fact, this situation is related to the effectiveness, capacities and authorizations of local authorities. This process might be conductive for the strengthening of local authorities as well as the activation of local integration processes.

Turkish business people, especially the ones in the border region, wait for central politicians and bureaucrats in Ankara, who are the main decision-makers on the topic, to take strategic decisions immediately. In this context, the topics for the future of Syrians and the scope of the regulation on labor rights of Syrians are beyond the region and the cities and thereby informality in the economy would continue to disturb the stability.

[60] *The findings and the suggestions of the Gaziantep Common Sense Platform with regard to the topic of 'working life' are mentioned the related section of this research.*

Some regional institutions and organizations in the field of real economy have conducted remarkable research; however, the higher influential unions of Turkish business sector, which have a significant place in the business world, lack attention to the topic. The main reason for that is the weak linkages between politicians, business people and even academicians as well as the indifference of politicians to suggestions, which would come from the actual parties to the issue, generally due to other priorities. Nevertheless, Syrians refugees are a special issue in Turkey since the Syrian crisis remains on the agenda with its political dimensions in addition to its humanitarian dimension.

It is very well known that the process of macro decision-making is generally government centric (Ankara centric). In this regard, the contributions of non-state institutions and organizations are received limitedly during the policy-making processes. This situation is the most serious problem of all in Turkey. It is well known that the linkages between politics and the business world, politics and science and research institutions are not strong enough. This situation is also conspicuously valid for the topic of Syrians, which is the most serious humanitarian crisis in Turkish history.

The 134 interviewees of this research who are—a significant amount—in decision-maker positions in the 18 provinces related to the economy declared that they were not approached by anyone about their opinions either personally or institutionally. On the contrary, they complained that their opinions were totally ignored.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY SUGGESTIONS

This research titled 'Perspectives, Expectations and Suggestions of the Turkish business sector on Syrians in Turkey' was conducted by the Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center (HUGO) and TİSK is a study on the general perceptions of the representatives of the Turkish business and economy world on the topic of Syrians in Turkey, the multi-dimensional effects of which is expected to be felt in the middle and long-terms. In this context, it should be mentioned that this study is not an economic-financial analysis. The study is composed of a general framework, which examines the different dimensions of the topic of Syria and Syrians and analysis of the 134 interviews that were conducted in 18 economically well-developed cities in Turkey with the opinion leaders of these cities' economies. Undoubtedly, despite its general context, this should be described as prior research with its own limitations. In this research, we tried to take a realistic and comprehensive photograph of the perceptions of the Turkish business world on the topic of Syrians in Turkey. The opinions that are expressed in this study do not represent one person or institution but rather general approaches. We tried to tried to represent all views within an academic framework, which was accomplished by the intensive work of a 12-person team in 5 months. This research is also supported by the experience and accumulation of studies that the same team had previously conducted.

The main titles of research findings and the policy suggestions are mentioned below. However, the issue that should be discussed in the beginning is the common-basic opinion of the opinion leaders of the Turkish business world who participated in interviews in 18 cities and of the research team: according to this, the issue of Syrians in Turkey is now beyond the context of 'temporariness' and the method of 'emergency management policies'. The end of a four-year long crisis has completely erased all the expectations—regardless of the choices—in connection to Syrians returning to their country. In this context, the necessity and essentiality of social, economic and political integration policies should be remarked. The idea, which underlines the time, is of the essence of social, economic and political integration policies and is also shared by a large number of Turkish business people. In fact, it is a very well known fact that the more time that is lost today the more it will cost the country in the future in addition to other possibly serious problems. The concerns together with the argument 'If integration-harmonization policies–such as Turkish language courses and employment opportunities—is put into action, they will remain in Turkey and never go back' that has been dominant for the last 3-4 years, and even now within certain communities, has

been losing its meaning day-by-day. This is because whichever development happens in Syria in short and medium-terms, Syrians—except for an insignificant number—will not be able to return to their home country, partially due to the essence of mass movements. Everyone just accepted the fact that the establishment of a peaceful and restful environment in Syria will not be possible for the forthcoming 10 years. Another important issue is that a probable decrease in the number of Syrians in Turkey is not expected even if some of them cross to Europe since entries to Turkey from Syria, which still be in a state of war with an insecure environment, is still valid even if the number decreases from time to time. Furthermore, the population of Syrians in Turkey, which has already reached the size of a small European country, is increasing by natural ways. Around 150-200 thousand Syrian babies were born in Turkey within the last four years. More important is the continuous efforts of millions to flee from Syria and other unstable countries. The statements of '...number of Syrians will be accepted' that was declared by Western European countries, and created many conflicts[61] within the countries, increase the motivation of these 'traumatized' masses and create mobility to reach Europe through Turkey. However, Turkey would never only function as a 'bridge' regarding this topic. As a typical transit country, Turkey will host a large part of the migrants, considering that only 10-15% of them can successfully go to a third country. Therefore, regardless of the developments, in order to have a peaceful future and a less conflicted environment, Turkey should admit the existence of Syrians and start social and economic integration policies in addition to being aware of the risk of turning into a transit country. For this, strategic determination and administrative-legal regulations need to take place in the political sphere.

It is not an exaggeration to state that the Syrians in Turkey crisis, which will last for the forthcoming decades, is not given enough attention and understanding from the Turkish political sphere, society, media and academia. The business world is the exception of this situation. In fact, the sphere that is directly affected by this crisis is the business and economy world. This research, in a sense, reflects the sensibility of the economy world toward the crisis.

The question of 'Why is the topic of Syrians in Turkey so important and what should be taken into account with regard to the future of Turkey? can be answered with the following data:

[61] *Deutsche Welle: Kardeş Partiiden Merkel'e Eleştiri (Criticism from Sister Party to Merkel)(http://www.dw.com/tr/karde%C5%9F-partiden-merkele-ele%C5%9Ftiri/a-18696652) Erişim: 02.11.2015.*

• In 4.5 years (April 2011 - October 2015), over 2.2 million Syrians came to Turkey. This number is 2.8% of Turkey's population of 77,695,904 people, according to TUIK. It is exceptional and extraordinary to accept this amount of people within such a time period. The number of migrants, except for Syrians, that Turkey has accepted since 1923 until now is 2 million people.[62] The migrants were composed of people who came from the Balkans and Caucuses, could speak Turkish and had Turkish ancestors and, most importantly, they were resettled in accordance with administrative-legal regulations like the Settlement Law. This process contributed to Turkey significantly. Migration cannot be called good or bad in and of itself, rather the management of migration is what matters. What happened regarding the issue of Syrians has no similarity with what has occurred in the Republic's 90-year history. The number of Syrians, who came within 4.5 years and who can move as they wish and settle anywhere they would like, is now over 2.2 million. There are rare positive issues with regard to the social harmonization of this population, which does not speak Turkish and has a generally lower education level than Turkish society. It is unknown to which point the crossings from the Turkish border will be in the next months and years.

• Security concerns with regard to the Syrians in Turkey should never be neglected. Possible security problems created by members of the Assad regime, ISIS or other terrorists groups should be taken seriously.

• The other security concern is related to ordinary crime. Although there is a reasonable table concerning ordinary crimes, it has the potential to increase quickly. Currently, the rate of Syrians among foreigners in prisons is 40%. In the near future, this number—naturally—will reach higher rates. Syrians' lack of education and occupation will contribute to the increase of this number.

• Over 54% of Syrians in Turkey, which means at least 1 million 200 thousand people, is composed of children and youth under 18 years old. Around 450 thousand children are under the age of 4, of whom 150 thousand were born in Turkey. These children carry the risk of being stateless.

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[62] *M.Murat Erdoğan-Ayhan Kaya (Ed) (2015) Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihi: 14. Yüzyıldan 21. Yüzyıla Anadoluya Göçler, (Turkish Migration History: Migtaion to Turkey from 14. to 21th Century) Bilgi Üniv. Yayınları, İstanbul.*

• Syrians in Turkey have educational problems. Among Syrian children and young people under 18 years old, who are more than 1.2 million in number, 600 thousand of them are school-aged. However, only a small portion of them have access to education. Some children among them have not attended school for 4 years and some for 3, 2 or 1 year. It is not difficult to imagine the possible consequences of this situation. The education that they receive is in Arabic and in accordance with Syrian curriculum. The quality of the education can be questioned.

• The integration of the young Syrian population, who are over 700 thousand in number, into the education system, Turkish society and economy needs serious study and financial capacity.

• Syrians in Turkey have a serious status problem due to the attitude of Turkey regarding international conventions and the related legal and secondary regulations. Syrians in Turkey can be divided into two sections. The first section covers around 80 thousand people. If Syrians came to Turkey regularly with their passports, they can easily be granted a 'residence permit' and accordingly a 'work permit'. This group has rights like any other 'foreigner' to apply for work permits and international protection and to be employed within the scope of law no. 4817. However, this group only represents about 4% of the total Syrian population in Turkey. The real essence of Syrians' status problem stems from the temporary protection regulation. According to the regulation, the scope of which corresponds to 95% of the Syrians in Turkey, those who irregularly come to Turkey are classified under the temporary protection regulation with the principle of non-refoulement. Moreover, under this system, the crisis is expected to end. Since the duration of this process is not declared in the law and the regulation and as the crisis is protracted, the status problem becomes much more visible. Temporary 1. article of the Temporary Protection Regulation, which directly refers to Syrians, fails to solve the status problem of 2.2 million people. A new regulation regarding the status of Syrians is urgently needed. By October 2015, according to Turkish legislation, 2.1 million Syrians are under the status of 'temporary protection', which is an unsustainable situation, especially during integration dialogues. In 2011-2015, while the number of Syrians who entered the country regularly with their passports reached 80 thousand, the number of work permits granted to them was only 6 thousand. Therefore, enforcing the provisions of the Temporary Protection Regulation will greatly contribute to the solution of the Syrian employment problem. Regarding the status problem, legal regulation and reform of the

secondary legislation should be reorganized in accordance with current developments.

• The informal economy and employment are intensively observed due to the fact that Syrians in Turkey who are under 'temporary protection' have no right to work and there are no regulations regarding this topic. Intensified mobility of seasonal workers especially is observed in the construction, manufacturing and textile sectors. Furthermore, the issue of 'child labor', on which Turkey spent a great deal to remove, is being re-added to the agenda. The informal economy is destroying the stability of the competitive system, blocking the implementation of working norms and deactivating the state's control mechanisms. The informal economy is also increasing in a manner that paves the way for social unrest and conflicts. The number of people who have lost or might lose their jobs due to cheap labor supplied by Syrians and the unrest among them has been increasing.

• Malfunction during the registration process will have negative effects on forthcoming studies. The entire registration system should be reviewed and the qualifications of Syrians should be listed in detail. After conducting a review, by making sector and regional analyses on Turkey, we can establish new potential spheres and gaps in open firms. In other words, a comprehensive- integrated plan would create employment opportunities for Syrians in Turkey. Without such opportunities the potential to destabilize the Turkish economy and even Turkish social structure exists.

• We could not find complete, sound data regarding Syrians in Turkey. The tendency of state institutions to not share data makes analysis related to the topic more difficult. In this context, while concerns, such as 'security' and 'not sharing the personal data', could be understood regarding the stance of institutions, it is incomprehensible why information sharing is not applied regarding the most serious humanitarian crisis in Turkish history. If Turkish public authorities have reliable and sound information, they should share basic information while reserving the privacy of personal data, thereby encouraging experts, scholars and diverse sectors to study the topic. The country could also publish detailed statistics related to Syrians in Turkey just as the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees of Germany does.[63] Reliable and sound information sharing by

[63] *See: Federal Office for Migration and Refugees of Germany, September Report: : http://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Statistik/Asyl/201509-statistik-anlage-asyl-geschaeftsbericht.pdf;jsessionid=6254F24772530F3431B63BFA6D79E036.1_cid359?__blob=publicationFile*

public authorities is an immutable part of integration policies. The problem is now beyond the boundaries that might be overcome by only bureaucrats and politicians. The blockage of the right to access information is a serious mistake regarding the future. It is hard to understand the non-information sharing attitude of the Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, which has been the direct respondent of the topic for the past 4.5 years. However, the same Directorate General shares regular data with UNHCR because of international treaties' obligations. Therefore, it is not possible to express why information is not directly and regularly shared with the public. This attitude restricts contributions about the process.

Expectations and suggestions of Turkish Business World

✓ Turkish business people state that a large amount of the Syrian population in Turkey is permanent, therefore developing policies related to issue is of great importance.

✓ The Turkish business world discussed the necessity of the state making strategic decisions and sharing them with Turkish society.

✓ Expectations regarding Syrians' direct contributions to Turkish society in the short-term are low. The people who believe that Syrians will contribute positively state this on the condition that they receive vocational training as well as sector and regional referrals. However, the 'problem' part of the topic prevails, and general efforts are directed toward the 'minimization of problems'

✓ The Turkish business world appreciates the performance of state institutions regarding the largest humanitarian crisis in the world but also states that the registration and settlement processes could be much more sound and controlled, and the implementation of the legal-administrative regulations could be faster. Thus, they generally think that the process was not well managed.

✓ Representatives of the Turkish business world, while declaring the need for state macro regulations, underline that the entire process is not only the state's duty. In this context, they attach importance to the support and cooperation of NGOs and IOs.

✓ Turkish business people made remarks about the importance of the unemployment issue in Turkey. They name an unqualified workforce as the underlying reason for unemployment. They believe that our educational system only provides diplomas but not professions, and if we can train a qualified labor force, then production will increase. Accordingly, unemployment will decrease.

✓ Turkish business people discussed the need for sectoral and regional analysis for the employment of Syrians. They complained about uncertainty regarding working rights. They stated that in the industrial and manufacturing sectors, there is a constant need for qualified workers, but they cannot employ Syrians because of current legislation. They

also clarified that there is a need for unqualified labor, for instance, for cotton farming, green housing and fruit growing. These spheres have become alive again because of Syrian labor. However, we should mention that especially in the south and eastern parts of Turkey, Syrians work in the construction and agriculture sectors informally and irregularly, therefore they run the risk of abuse.

✓ One of the most concrete suggestions related to Syrians' employment in Turkey came from the livestock sector regarding the need for shepherds for the 44 million small cattle in the country. In this regard, the food and production sectors are increasingly attractive day-by-day.

✓ The informal economy and the existence of Syrians in it, has become a serious problem for medium and large-sized firms. The firms that employ workers in line with legal regulations are being affected by the unfair competition created by the informal economy. Moreover, this situation has affected the stability of interregional relations. For instance, the merchants and industrial firm owners of Denizli declared that they cannot compete with Gaziantep anymore, which is their traditional competition, since Gaziantep has a low cost opportunity because of Syrian employment. Therefore, the informal economy maltreats the state, the firms that have legal action and the employees who work with the possibility of abuse. The efforts of *'Profiting over Syrians'* brought the issue of child labor, which was almost eliminated in Turkey, to the agenda again. Informal economic activities are one of the major problems of the Turkish economy. Informal employment, which destabilizes economic balance, increases unfair competition, aggrieves the firms that act in accordance with the laws and affects the budget of the state negatively because of the nonpayment of taxes and insurance premiums, should by all terms be addressed. Some of the sufferers of the informal economy are the employees themselves. In fact, according to legislation, the illegal employment of foreigners in Turkey is charged with hefty fines and sanctions. Under law no. 4817, all foreign employees in Turkey must get permission to work, which is granted by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security. In 2015, Provincial Labor Offices imposed fines of 835 TL to informal employees and of 8,381 TL to the employers of informal foreigners. However, hesitation regarding the implementation of these fines and conducting controls is remarkable. Especially in the local sphere, public authorities underlined that the need for Syrians to work beyond the necessities of food and blankets is reasonable and even necessary.

✓ Representatives of the Turkish business world stated that the employment of qualified and unqualified Syrians, in accordance with regional and sector analysis, could be provided after the establishment of a legal background. In this context, issues, such as the stability of competition and locals' job assurance, are mentioned frequently. In other words, Turkish business people showed great sensitivity to the fact that Turkish people should not lose their jobs, and they underlined the possible social and political unrest that could result due to the loss of jobs. In this regard, the tourism sector prevails in its resistance to the employment, and even the appearance, of Syrians. According to tourism representatives, since their sector is composed of the notions of 'peace and esthetics', the sector could be damaged because of Syrians. The sector, which already experiences difficulties, cannot handle an additional problem like this.

✓ Turkish business people's approach toward the integration of Turkish society is clear. They mentioned the urgent necessity of the integration of Syrian children into the education system and their taking Turkish language classes.

✓ Turkish business people are divided in two in the sense that some emphasize expressions like 'neighborhood and religion brotherhood' regarding the integration of Syrians in Turkey, while others stress the same negative expressions as Turkish society. These expressions have been affected by the political stance of these people.

✓ Turkish business people underline the need for transparent information sharing with Turkish society regarding the resources and spheres of expenses that are allocated for Syrians in Turkey. Parallel to this, a functional fund management system is suggested.

✓ Turkish business people also share the perception that Syrians in Turkey could create security problems. More than that, informality and, accordingly, a loss of local people's jobs could create further security problems.

✓ Cautious reactions to the question *'Should Syrians in Turkey be conferred citizenship in case of their permanency?'* attracted attention. *'Gradual citizenship', 'partial citizenship', 'citizenship to deserving'* etc. were the most common responses. However, some business people stated that this issue would be an obligation in the long-term.

✓ Turkish business people mostly complain that their needs and opinions are not taken

into account and Ankara, who determines the policies and draws the scope of implementation, has other priorities for the policymaking process. Turkish business people believe that the preparation of a legal background would produce quick and rooted solutions, but feel that they are not consulted and that state authorities do not take their reports and papers seriously.

The main arguments in this research, which are the expectations and suggestions of Turkish business people regarding Syrians in Turkey, were related to the need for the implementation of urgent integration policies.

Mentioned below are highlighted issues for comprehensive integration policies:

- Syrians in Turkey is a political crisis as well as a humanitarian one. Turkey's policy for the past four years regarding this issue was related to the Syrian regime whose withdrawal was perceived as the solution to this crisis. However, due to altered international conjecture and circumstances, this crisis is no longer expected to have a short-term solution. Thus, we should concentrate on Syrians in Turkey with regard to Syrian crisis. Political parties in Turkey should also approach this issue reasonably with a solution-oriented method rather than with accusations.

- A new study on registration, including previous registrations, should be implemented in order to establish reliable and detailed data. This new type should also be designed as a kind of 'qualification' study, thereby preparing the groundwork for the integration of over 2 million Syrians into the Turkish social system, education and economy.

- The data held by public authorities should also be made available for scholars and experts. The crisis is tremendous, and in this sense policy suggestions should be accepted, as it is now beyond being a problem that can be solved by state-bureaucrat centric approaches.

- We should face the reality of the Syrians in Turkey issue and pass comprehensive integration policies since it is certain that they will stay permanently. For this, strategic decisions should be made at the highest level. Because of the lack of a common strategic decision, all the efforts and studies conducted by institutions cannot be integrated and efficient.

- Despite the fact that different state agencies conduct serious analyses regarding the future of Syrians in Turkey, politics and the state have shown diffidence to the problem, which is an attitude shared by the public. The heart of the issue, defined in official language as the voluntary repatriation of Syrians, is a product of this approach. Another striking example of this approach is observed in conceptualization. Authorities from the government or state agencies have avoided using the term 'integration'. Rather, they prefer to use 'harmonization' and 'adaptation'. At this point, this aim is rooted in the rejection of Syrians' 'permanency', discouraging others to come and reducing possible reactions from Turkish society.

- Although legal-administrative regulations were initiated a short time ago, they do not have the capacity to manage a crisis of this scope and should be revised. In this context, 'integration law' should be placed on the agenda.

- It is clear that there is a need for a new structure to deal with Syrians because of the centralized administrative structure of Turkey. The process is still led by the Deputy Prime Ministry, the Prime Ministry Migration Coordination Center, the Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management and AFAD together with the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Labor and Social Security and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. Municipalities and governorship-district governorships should be added to the list. This process cannot be led by the Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management anymore, which applies a security-based approach as a result of its essence, and by AFAD, which conducts emergency management. At this point, the need for ministry coordination is clear. In this regard, the reconstruction of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies into the Ministry of Family and Women and the Ministry of Interior could contribute to better coordination.

- The Syrian flow to Turkey continues. In this context, the probability of the repetition of new migration flows is high. 3 to 5 million Syrians are expected to leave their country if the opportunity arises, and the addressee of forthcoming migration flows would again be Turkey. It is essential to create a realistic foreign policy ground for the preparations regarding this topic and the establishment of peace and stability in Syria.

- The Syrian population in Turkey is increasing, especially by natural means. The number of newborn babies in camps, which host only 10-11% of Syrians in Turkey, is over 60

thousand. The population of Syrians in Turkey aged 0-4 is over 415 thousand. Unfortunately, public institutions are not sharing detailed data about them. However, if we make a calculation using current data, taking into account the low number of entries last year, it can be estimated that the number of newborn Syrian babies in Turkey in the past 4.5 years is around 200 thousand. In this regard, new legal problems may arise.

- We should expect another issue when the permanency of Syrians is made official. In the future, 'family reunification", including the spouses, children and parents of Syrians in Turkey, will come to the agenda. This issue shows that the number of Syrians in Turkey may exceed 3 million in the forthcoming years.

- Turkey has been the largest refugee hosting country since 2014. Thus, the restructuring of international regulations, including the Geneva Convention, in the international arena and in accordance with current, world conditions should be demanded. For the sake of an 'open door policy', 'non-refoulement principle', 'readmission' and 'refugee' and functioning international cooperation, Turkey should conduct a campaign and an additional regulation should be restructured with a name like the 'Istanbul Convention Regarding Refugees'. Turkey should also suggest hosting a Headquarter of the UNHCR, which is an important UN body, in Turkey (e.g. Istanbul).

- Turkey and the EU should enhance common refugee, migrant and integration policies. For this common policy, '28+1' meetings should be arranged, and the decisions, including short, middle and long-term developments, should not be issued to Turkey. Rather, they should be made together with Turkey. The protection of Turkish land and sea borders, which takes security risks into account, is of the utmost importance. Although Turkey has prevented 50 thousand people from crossing to Europe in the last year, 600 thousand crossings illustrate control and coordination problems. The image of Turkey as using the situation as a weapon could possibility harm Turkey in middle and long-terms. We should be cautious regarding this. It is clear that Europe cannot survive this issue regardless of Turkey's support and efforts. However, Turkey-EU cooperation cannot be established with either direct or indirect threats about refugees. This kind of threat approach is not sustainable, and Turkey should be careful about transforming from a negotiating country into an addressee country regarding EU 'border policies'. In this context, as is indicated in the USAK report, the opening of a new chapter with the EU should not be in response to cooperation with the refugee crisis, rather it should

come up as a tool for effective cooperation. Otherwise, the instrumentalization of the negotiation process by the EU for realpolitik purposes will damage the normative notion of Europe and Europeans norms. The orientalization of bilateral relations will damage the EU membership process of Turkey, and the combination of the first two tendencies as the main motivations will make the refugees suffer more. [64]

- In addition to Syrians who would like to reach Europe through Turkey and other countries, Afghans, Pakistanis, Iranians and Iraqis have also added to this flow day-by-day. It is not just about Syrians anymore; therefore, policies should be structured in accordance with this situation. According to information provided by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in addition to the 2.2 million Syrians, there are currently 300 thousand Iraqi and 50 thousand Afghan asylum seekers residing in Turkey. When other countries' citizens are added to this number, by November 2014 there were at least 400 thousand asylum seekers residing in Turkey. This number is extraordinarily high, and the need for structuring administrative and legal regulations should be prepared regarding this large number.

- Serious handicaps, which are the result of Turkey's position as a 'bridge' toward Europe, should also be given attention. It is impossible for Turkey to remain only a transit country, as it is both a transit and a destination country not only for Syrians but also for all the nationals of the region. However, the people who 'succeeded' in arriving in Europe prepared the groundwork for transforming Turkey into a transit country. As is the case for each transit country, apart from the 10-15 % of people who arrived at their destinations, the rest will remain in Turkey. Therefore, we should remove the image of Turkey as a transit country and work for intense cooperation with the EU not only for their interests but also for Turkey's. However, the EU's idea of cooperation separates Turkey-EU relations apart from a membership perspective. We should notice and object to the EU's 'border country' strategy, which is implemented with Middle Eastern countries and aims to lessen the EU's security concerns.

- The 'readmission agreements', which are planned for the EU and Turkey, should be reviewed under current circumstances. Besides the functionality of the agreement, its association with the visa exemption of Turkish citizens is meaningless and incorrect. These

[64] *International Strategic Research Organization (USAK) , Refugee Crisis and the Risk for Axis Shift in Turkey-Eu Relations, p. 12. Analyse No: 29*

two topics should be separated from one another, and the risks that result from the re-admission agreements should be re-reviewed on a realistic basis. The remarks from the EU for the past 6 months and the issues reflected to the Joint Action Plan reveal the projections for the EU's financial assistance to Turkey for its struggles with the current situation and for intensive cooperation with Turkey to stop the flow of refugees to Europe. In this intensive cooperation, we conjecture that those who cross through Turkey—except for those who were already granted refugee status on political opinion grounds—would be deported back to Turkey. However, all the victims of this crisis are 'refugees', which can be verified by the related article of the UN Convention, so we cannot make any differentiation here. Furthermore, it is not only Turkey's problem even though Turkey has devotedly undertaken economic, social, financial and security risks for 4. 5 years. In this regard, we need reasonable and realistic negotiations for fair burden sharing.

- Despite the granted status of 'people under temporary protection', the most important problem for refugees in Turkey is the 'guests' approach, which only grants a 'lack of status' status. For this problem's solution, the provisions of the Temporary Protection Regulation should be enforced and the results of the implementations should be monitored. Policies should be based on this experience.

- Syrians who are under temporary protection cannot apply for work, and their departure to third countries requires permission. This situation brings about the abuse of refugees and informal economic activity, which this study underlined. This situation casts a shadow on all of Turkey's efforts until now, increases instability in the Turkish economy and destabilizes market competition, which challenges our international treaty obligations and should immediately be re-regulated.

- The percentage of children and youth who are under 18 comprises over 54% of Syrians in Turkey. In other words, there are over 1.2 million Syrian children and youth in Turkey. The 600-700 thousand school aged children should be the most important part of the total population. Unfortunately, the rate of schooling among these children is 15%. This number should be increased. However, Turkey's capacity to create Arabic-medium education is not realistic in middle and long-terms. In this regard, we are obliged to provide them Turkish language education and to integrate them into the Turkish educational system.

- The rate of professionals among Syrians in Turkey is quite low. Although it is unknown whether strict research with current data is being conducted or not, there are 35 thousand university graduates among Syrians in Turkey. The number, which is quite low in relation to the total 2.2 million, reveals the seriousness of the situation with regard to the education and qualifications of Syrians in Turkey. We should prioritize the existence of the few qualified Syrians who try to go to other countries since legislation in Turkey does not provide a future for them. However, this group has a 'bridge' role of vital importance to the integration of the rest of the 2.2 million into the Turkish system. We should take urgent measures to encourage these role models to stay in Turkey.

- Academicians among qualified Syrians must have a special place. Since registrations are based on personal statements and revealing professions is not obligatory during registrations, it is difficult to make an assessment. Yet, it is estimated that the number of Syrian academicians who previously worked at universities as instructors is over one thousand. We should urgently confirm the details of Syrian academicians, and universities in Turkey should provide opportunities for this group. After conducting a sound inventory analysis, they should be classified according to their professions and qualifications and granted work permits through a special encouragement system, whereby the CHE (Council for Higher Education), could create a pool of CV's, and contribute to the integration process by bridging Syrians to Turkish society.

- Turkish society should be regularly informed about the process. We should prevent the prejudices of Turkish society—if they exist—by removing the appearance of 'beggars, etc.' of Syrians in Turkey. The harmonization process cannot succeed without Turkish society's support.

- The issue of Syrians in Turkey is not only a humanitarian topic but also a political one. In this regard, the differentiation of political groups and actors of pro-government and opposition groups are observed. Nevertheless, we should not ignore that Syrians in Turkey is a humanitarian issue regardless of the political dimension, which is the root of the crisis.

- We should quicken the employment process in accordance with sector and regional analyses, which would not harm local people. Otherwise, the problems that arise from the current situation will not only affect the Turkish economy but also the structure of

society. Topics, such as the informal economy, lack of insurance, child labor and lack of implementation of work rights, should be highlighted because of Turkey's humanitarian and international responsibility.

- One of the institutions most affected by the process is the municipalities in big cities. Municipalities, which have problems because of current legislation, should be given more resources and capacities. Most importantly, they should be given the power to make decisions. Municipalities should be financially supported in relation to the number of Syrian refugees that they host.

- The general integration process of Syrians in Turkey requires a more comprehensive process, study and, most importantly, determination. However, this need is mostly felt at the local level, and local problems could create the base for a serious social crisis. In this context, we should conduct comprehensive studies with regard to 'local integration' issues. Cooperation with regional municipalities' unions and especially with the Union of Municipalities of Turkey is of vital importance. Policies should be determined in accordance with the voice, need, concern and suggestions of locals. Local integration is the primary step for the struggle with this crisis.

- The level of social acceptance in Turkish society toward the Syrians in Turkey is quite high despite all of the concerns, complaints and objections. However, the stability of this acceptance is questionable, as reactions in society against refugees could increase. If local people experience obstacles regarding their access to public services, such as health services, if the cost of living increases and if some events beyond the security perception occur, the acceptance process could easily reverse to rejection, even attacks. In this context, the regulation of the labor market and the prevention of the informal economy prevail since the people with job insecurity may react negatively toward Syrians. The description of labor rights based on specific structure would not only affect economic topics like competition, economic loss and taxes but also the social sphere. Society may react negatively to granting employment to Syrians, yet reactions and unrest that could stem from informal employment would be much harder to control.

- The current registration system for Syrians should be renewed, and Syrians' education, qualifications and professions should be revealed. After that, Syrians may be provided employment in open positions vis-à-vis sector and regional analyses. The social and eco-

nomic-financial implications of the process can only be controlled via these conditions.

- We should establish intensive contact with all international institutions and entities, including the EU, and inform them of the issue's humanitarian dimension since capacity and financial support should be provided to Turkey. Regarding this topic, all cooperation is very important. We should be able to share the tremendous social, political and economic burden that we have with the world.

- Intense communications must be established with all international institutions beginning with the EU and while drawing attention over to the humanitarian aspect of the issue considerable financial and capacity support for Turkey must be ensured. Any sort of cooperation in this field should be considered with importance. The unprecedented burden shouldered by the Turkish State, society and economy should be explained to the world.

- Turkey should be granted initiative regarding the allocation of financial resources that come from international institutions, especially the EU and UN. It is impossible for Turkey, which spends 4-5 million TL per day for Syrians, to use supports like IPA, which has quite problematic processes. Turkey should be granted leeway for fast and effective implementations. Turkey should stay open to international cooperation, yet have less strict model for the bureaucratic management of funds. In this regard, cooperation between central authorities and municipalities is of utmost importance. [65]

- The Western world, especially the EU, has failed when it comes to the Syrian crisis. Their indifference to humanitarian and financial burden sharing is unacceptable. However, we should also mention the ignorance and indifference of Islamic countries. That Syrian society is almost entirely Muslim and that these countries also neighbor Syria makes their indifference unjustifiable. At this point, Turkey has the right to warn the Islamic world regarding this issue due to its financial, social, political and security burdens. [66]

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[65] *For the evaluation of Minister of Foreign Affairs F. Sinirlioğlu, October 16, 2015, please see: (http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-sayin-feridun-sinirlioglu_nun-basini-bilgilendirme-toplantisi_-16-ekim-2015_-ankara.tr.mfa) (Accessed on 25 October 2015)*

[66] *By October 2015, among all the international support toward Turkey, the financial support from Saudi Arabia was 50 million USD, which was used for purchasing containers for camps via an NGO.*

- For all of its criticisms regarding Syrians, Turkey is right. Today, the approach of 'We give Turkey money and Turkey keeps them all inside' is not humanitarian. European countries have been indifferent to the topic for four years. The EU's policies, which support Turkey's construction of camps and keeping Syrians in Turkey, as a result of the irregular migration toward Europe, is unethical and incorrect. It is disturbing that the EU's fears have removed its sensitivity.

- Considering the scope and sphere of the issue, Turkey needs a common sense, cooperative policy development process. For that, public institutions should share the data that they have, encourage researchers to study the topic and include municipalities and Turkish civil society in the process.

While conducting this research, we were haunted by a businessman's analogy between Syrians who struggle to reach Western Europe and Loggerhead Sea turtles who try to reach the sea before they die. The responsibility falls upon all of us to ensure that actions are committed in accordance with a human-based, rights-based approach and with respect to each and every human being. Every asylum-seeker is undergoing a great ordeal that is worthy of serious consideration. The world is facing one of the biggest humanitarian crises since World War II, and Turkey is facing most of the damage. It hosts the largest amount of refugees across the world. Within its borders, there are over 2,200,000 refugees, of whom 2,072,000 are registered. In that regard, we strongly appreciate the huge success of Turkish society and the state thus far and duly emphasize the courage and prudence of those who have been working day and night to achieve this. Their efforts should not be minimized. The support of society should be gained, and the country's capacity should be taken into consideration during the policymaking process. Life may be more than we bargained for, but all we have to do is create opportunities for a reasonable resolution. What we lack most is a strategic determination and vision that is considerate of the severity and sensitivity of the matter. Turkey has the capability to overcome this crisis so long as we keep in mind that a day lost now will cost years in future; and, to that end, the relevant bodies of society, particularly the business sector, academic institutions and civil society should be included in policymaking mechanisms.

APPENDIX

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW FORM

BASIC INFORMATION	
HUGO INTERVIEWER	
PROVINCE	
DATE	
INTERVIEW TYPE	*FACE-TO-FACE *PHONE *SKYPE *OTHER .....
PLACE OF INTERVIEW	
APPROVAL FOR RECORDING	* APPROVED-RECORDED * NOT APPROVED - NOT RECORDED
NAME-SURNAME	
PROVINCE OF ACTIVITY	
OCCUPATION-POSITION-TITLE	
SECTOR (IF INDUSTRIALIST OR MERCHANT)	
INTERVIEWEE ALLOWED US TO DISCLOSE IDENTITY	*ALLOWED *NOT ALLOWED
INTERVIEWEE SHARED OPINION	* OF THE PRIVATE PERSON * ON BEHALF OF THE LEGAL PERSON

SEMI-STRUCTURED INQUIRIES

1. What are your general opinions and expectations regarding Syrian asylum-seekers whose number in Turkey exceeds 2 million?
2. What is your expectation about the permanence of Syrians?
3. What would be the impact (positive-negative) of Syrians on Turkish society?
4. Do you think that the process was well managed? If not, in what sense there were mistakes?
5. How are the employment circumstances of Turkey in general and in your sector?
6. Considering employment circumstances in Turkey, how do you assess possible employment demand by Syrian asylum-seekers?
7. What is the impact of Syrian asylum-seekers on the informal economy?
8. Should Syrians be provided with employment opportunities?

a. (if the answer is yes) What should the conditions of work be?

b. (if the answer is no) Why? What is the risk?

9. In which sectors and areas would the employment of Syrians be rather efficient?
10. What is the most pressing problem in terms of the integration of Syrians into Turkish society and what are their major advantages?
11. What should be done for the integration of Syrians into Turkish society?
12. What should be done for the integration of Syrians into the economy?
13. Do you think that Syrians would cause security problems in Turkey?
14. Should Syrians be conferred citizenship if they become permanent in Turkey?
15. What may civil society and mainly the business sector do for Syrians in Turkey?
16. Has your institution done anything for Syrians in Turkey? Or, do you have any action plans for future?
17. Have your institution's ideas and opinions been consulted up until today?
18. Do you have further comments on Syrians in Turkey?

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ABBREVIATIONS

EU : The European Union
USA : United States of America
AFAD : Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Authority
BM : The United Nations
BMMYK: United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees
HUGO : Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center
IDMC : The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IOM : International Organization for Migration
IŞİD : Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
NGO : Non-Governmental Organization
TİSK : Turkish Confederation of Employer Associations
TÜİK : Turkish Statistical Institute