

Analysing the Socio-Economic Adjustment of Syrians under Temporary Protection: The Case of Ankara¹

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Geçici Koruma Kapsamında Bulunan Suriyelilerin Sosyoekonomik Uyumunun Analizi: Ankara Örneği²

Abstract

The socio-economic adjustment of Syrians residing in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district of Ankara is the subject of this study. The study aims to examine the factors affecting the socio-economic adjustment of Syrians under temporary protection and the impact of the economic adjustment process on the social adjustment process within the framework of a mixed research method. The findings reveal that Syrian participants' legal and economic problems in the economic adjustment process affect their social adjustment process. The study is thought to shed light on the solution to these problems by providing scientific data based on the field research findings on Syrians' socio-economic adjustment process and adjustment problems.

Keywords : Economic Adjustment, Social Adjustment, Labor Market, International Migration.

JEL Classification Codes : F020, F660, J110.

Öz

Ankara'nın Altındağ ilçesinde bulunan Ulubey, Alemdağ ve Önder mahallelerinde ikamet eden Suriyelilerin sosyo-ekonomik uyumu bu çalışmanın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmada geçici koruma kapsamında bulunan Suriyelilerin sosyo-ekonomik uyumunu etkileyen faktörler ve ekonomik uyum sürecinin sosyal uyum süreci üzerindeki etkisinin karma araştırma yöntemi çerçevesinde incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bulgular Suriyeli katılımcıların ekonomik uyum süreçlerinde karşılaştıkları yasal ve ekonomik sorunların sosyal uyum süreçlerini etkilediğini ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışmanın Suriyelilerin sosyo-ekonomik uyum süreci ve uyum sorunlarına yönelik gerçekleştirilen saha araştırması bulgularına dayalı olarak bilimsel veriler sunarak, bu sorunların çözümüne ışık tutacağı düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler : Ekonomik Uyum, Sosyal Uyum, İş Gücü Piyasası, Uluslararası Göç.

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1. Introduction

Migration is one of the most basic human rights phenomena that has been going on for centuries. By nature, man is a being that moves with the intention of improving the environment and conditions in which he lives. In this respect, the phenomenon of international migration has always had an important place among the states that are the main actors in the system. This situation also creates a susceptible area depending on recent developments. In this respect, Türkiye, which is the examination area of the study, is a valuable area in terms of migration and migrants in the context of its geopolitical and strategic importance. Due to its geographical location on the transit route between Asia and Europe, Türkiye has been one of the countries where migration mobility has been intense from the past to the present (Pusch & Wilkoszewski, 2010). Especially after the end of the Cold War in the 1980s, political and economic instability in neighbouring countries increased migration to Türkiye. The crises in the international arena following the collapse of the Soviet Union and, of course, the main conflict areas in the Balkan geography have been international examples that accelerated migration. However, the process was not limited to the 20th century. With the 2010 Arab Spring, Türkiye faced mass and irregular migration movements that it had never experienced. According to the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) data, there are 3,535,898 Syrians under temporary protection in Türkiye in 2022. While only 47,467 of the Syrian population live in temporary accommodation centres, 3,453,497 live in different cities of Türkiye outside of temporary accommodation centres (DGMM, 2023). In recent years, migration mobility from Syria has spread to all four corners of Türkiye. In this context, the migration wave and mass migration movements experienced by Türkiye have brought along debates on adjustment. This issue was initially predicted to be short-term and temporary. Still, it is long-term, contrary to expectations and has revealed the necessity of solution-oriented official policies regarding the adjustment of Syrians under temporary protection. In addition, the Syrian migration, the most critical mass migration movement that Türkiye has faced, has also drawn attention to how functional the policies implemented in the past on migration have been.

The adjustment process, which has a multidimensional structure including social, economic, social, and cultural, refers to the processes of inclusion of migrant individuals in the system existing in the country they migrate to. At the same time, this multidimensional structure constitutes a holistic view that interacts with each other. Economic adjustment is a process that covers social and legal dynamics in the host country (Battır, 2021). This process encompasses many issues, such as economic adjustment, employment, gaining economic independence, access to regular income, language skills, housing, and self-employment. At this level, ensuring a successful adjustment process for the host society and the individuals migrating to the relevant country is very important. For the host country, economic adjustment can contribute to economic growth by reducing the burden on social services, while for migrant individuals, it allows them to rebuild their lives and provide access to employment, education, and other opportunities (Üzümcü, 2020). Therefore, the economic adjustment process cannot be considered independently from the social adjustment process.

This study analyses migration policies in the context of Türkiye's position and responsibilities within the framework of the international migration phenomenon and the situation of Syrians under temporary protection in Altındağ district of Ankara. The primary motivation here is to analyse the success or deficiencies of the capital city in migration and immigration policies. In this context, the social and economic adjustment processes of Syrians under temporary protection residing in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in Ankara constitute the main framework of the study. The factors affecting the social and economic adjustment of Syrians under temporary protection in Türkiye and the impact of the economic adjustment process on the social adjustment process are among the issues to be investigated within the scope of the study. In the literature, many studies have been conducted on the adjustment processes of Syrians. These studies focus on the adjustment processes of Syrians living in different provinces such as Istanbul, Gaziantep, Kilis, etc. In this study, Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district of Ankara, which attracts attention as a clustering area for Syrians, were preferred. The field research was conducted in this region because the Syrian population is spatially concentrated and because it is an advantageous region that stands out in terms of housing, employment opportunities, and social aid. The neighbourhoods offer cheap accommodation to Syrians within the scope of urban transformation, provide easy access to work and employment due to their proximity to the Sıteler region, and stand out in social relationship networks as a clustering area of the Syrian population. These issues influenced the selection of the study subject and application area. In the study, the conceptual and theoretical framework will first be mentioned. Then, information about the methodology and method of the study will be given. Finally, the findings of the survey conducted with 384 Syrians residing in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district of Ankara and the findings of the interview study conducted with 30 Syrians will be presented.

2. Theoretical Framework

Migration is studied in many disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, geography, economics, and history. Each discipline defines migration differently, considering its field (Battır, 2021: 8). Since migration is the subject of study of different disciplines, it has not been possible to agree on a single definition of migration. According to Marshall (1999: 685), migration refers to the movement of individuals or groups beyond their symbolic, geographical, or political borders toward new living spaces. According to Lee (1969: 285), migration is the voluntary or forced departure of a person or a community from the geographical and socio-cultural environment in which they live and their permanent or semi-permanent settlement in another environment. Martin and Zurcher (2008: 3) define migration as the movement or movement of individuals from one place to another. Ballyn (2011: 6) defined migration as the act of moving temporarily or permanently from one's place of birth to another place.

It is impossible to focus on a single point about the causes of the phenomenon of migration, which has been a part of the lives of individuals from the past to the present. It is healthier to make evaluations of the causes of migration by considering the conditions and

socioeconomic and sociocultural structure of the period (Battır, 2021). Factors affecting a person's migration decision can be analysed through macro, micro, and intermediate factors. Factors independent of the individual, such as war, persecution, dictatorships, development of the country of origin, and environmental changes, constitute macro factors. Factors closely related to the individual but not entirely under the control of the individual, such as social networks, the ethnic group or religious communities to which the individual belongs, and communication technology, constitute intermediate factors. Factors that determine personal characteristics and behaviours, such as age, gender, health, education, religion, and language, constitute micro factors and are effective in individuals' migration decisions (Castelli, 2018: 3-7). In migration movements from Syria to Türkiye, it is seen that the determining factor is based on compulsory reasons such as war and conflict.

Adjustment involves including migrant individuals into the existing system of the country they migrate to in social, economic, and cultural dimensions (Güllüpinar, 2019). Several different definitions draw attention to various aspects of the concept of adjustment. Indeed, Ager and Strang (2008) addressed the adjustment issue by emphasising the importance of social connections in facilitating the inclusion of migrant individuals in host societies. In this sense, Ager and Strang (2008) draw a specific framework for adjustment and analyse adjustment in terms of social relations and ties. Again, according to Ager and Strang, there are four crucial points for adjustment. These are (2008: 166): i) access to employment, health, education, and housing, ii) practices related to citizenship and rights, iii) social connection with the community, and iv) language, culture, and environment that affect the relevant structural barriers. Garcés-Masareñas and Penninx (2016) emphasised different aspects of adjustment by addressing adjustment in depth. Garcés-Masareñas and Penninx (2016) addressed the issue in the context of religious and cultural belonging. They emphasised the importance of the religious and cultural identities of migrant individuals in shaping their adjustment experiences. Erdoğan (2020), on the other hand, approaches the concept of adjustment from the perspective of border protection and security. Therefore, understanding the different dimensions and factors affecting adjustment can help policymakers and society to create more inclusive and equitable societies that facilitate the inclusion and well-being of migrants. Adjustment involves integrating migrants into the existing system of the country of origin in social, economic, and cultural dimensions.

On the other hand, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) states that adjustment is a two-way strategy: the adjustment of migrants into the country of origin in all respects and the tolerance of the receiving society towards the newcomers. In addition, UNHCR draws attention to three specific dimensions of adjustment. Firstly, adjustment is a legal process that grants various rights to migrants. Secondly, adjustment refers to the ability of economically mobile individuals to access sustainable livelihoods and thus contribute to the economic life of the host country. Thirdly, adjustment is a social and cultural process that refers to the adjustment of migrant individuals into the society they migrate to, the culture of coexistence, and their participation in social life in the host country without being subjected to discrimination or exploitation (UNHCR, 2013: 14-15).

In this context, considering all components of adjustment, innovative and solution-oriented policies should be implemented to adjust individuals migrating to Türkiye, and weak areas in terms of adjustment should be strengthened. In this sense, scientific studies on adjustment are critical in making the problems visible and shedding light on the solution of these problems. The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) provides data on migrant adjustment in 56 countries. There are eight policy areas for multidimensional analysis. These policy areas include access to citizenship, anti-discrimination, education, health, labour market mobility, family reunification, permanent residence, and political participation. The policy areas developed by MIPEX allow for comparing adjustment policies across countries and the development of adjustment policies. Regarding migration intensity, Türkiye's migrant labour mobility policy score in 2020 is 22, and Türkiye ranks 51st among 56 MIPEX countries (MIPEX, 2020). Labour market mobility policies affect the development of educational and professional skills, language learning, and social acceptance of migrants. In addition, well-developed labour market mobility policies help society to break the perception of competition and threat against migrants. In addition to this theoretical background, field studies are also critical. These studies reveal the nature of the relationship between migrant individuals and the host society in terms of economic and social adjustment. Therefore, various factors, including legal status, cultural differences, and economic conditions, can shape the integration process of migrants. Policies and social attitudes towards migrants can also play an essential role in shaping these relationships. In his study on international migration and the labour market, Bauder (2006) found that labour supply and competition increase in countries where migrants are concentrated. Stating that migrant labour is exploited here, Bauder drew attention to a fragmented labour market in countries with high migrant mobility. A fragmented labour market is based on division and hierarchy in employment. In a study by Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2007) on the economic integration of migrants, it is pointed out that migrants face many legal obstacles in their access to the labour market in the countries they migrate to. The same authors made some policy recommendations for adapting migrant groups to the labour market, such as preventing informal employment, expanding vocational training, and creating new professional job mobility that they can access. In another study, Cheung and Phillimore (2014) examined the role of social capital in facilitating employment and labour market integration for migrants in the UK. A significant relationship was found between social capital and employment outcomes for migrants. However, Delgado Wise (2013) pointed out that the working and living conditions of migrants make them the most vulnerable class, especially during global crises that intensify migration. The segmented nature of migrant labour also contributes to the growth of precarious labour markets worldwide. These studies highlight the complex challenges migrants face in accessing the labour market and integrating into the host society. They suggest various policy interventions and social factors to facilitate economic and social adjustment and see migrants as an economic opportunity (Üzümcü, 2020).

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terms of economic and social adjustment. Therefore, various factors, including legal status, cultural differences, and economic conditions, can shape the adjustment process of migrants. Policies and social attitudes towards migrants can also play an essential role in shaping these relationships. In his study on international migration and the labour market, Bauder (2006) found that labour supply and competition increase in countries where migrants are concentrated. Stating that migrant labour is exploited here, Bauder drew attention to a fragmented labour market in countries with high migrant mobility. A fragmented labour market is based on division and hierarchy in employment. In a study by Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2007) on the economic adjustment of migrants, it is pointed out that migrants face many legal obstacles in their access to the labour market in the countries they migrate to. The same authors made some policy recommendations for adjusting migrant groups to the labour market, such as preventing informal employment, expanding vocational training, and creating new professional job mobility that they can access. In another study, Cheung and Phillimore (2014) examined the role of social capital in facilitating employment and labour market adjustment for migrants in the UK. A significant relationship was found between social capital and employment outcomes for migrants. However, Delgado Wise (2013) pointed out that the working and living conditions of migrants make them the most vulnerable class, especially during global crises that intensify migration. The segmented nature of migrant labour also contributes to the growth of precarious labour markets worldwide. These studies highlight the complex challenges migrants face in accessing the labour market and adjusting to the host society. They suggest various policy interventions and social factors for economic and social adjustment.

In a study conducted by Damette and Fromentin (2013) on the interaction between migration and the labour market in 14 Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, it was concluded that migrants increase wages in the short run in the countries where they migrate, while in the long run, no results were found on the negative impact of migration movements on unemployment except for Anglo Saxon countries and in their qualitative study on the entrepreneurship of migrants, Shneikat and Alrawadieh (2019) emphasised that the entrepreneurial activities of individuals migrating to Türkiye help them to integrate into the socio-economic fabric of the country of origin. The findings of these authors reveal that the desire of migrant individuals to survive and gain independence affects their motivation to engage in entrepreneurship.

International migration is a critical issue for Türkiye as it is an important destination and transit country for migrants. Türkiye is currently hosting individuals migrating mainly from Syria. For this reason, there are many migration studies in the field. Academic studies on the adjustment of migrants are related to mass migration from Syria to Türkiye and other countries. Kaypak and Bimay (2016) examined the economic, social, and cultural effects of Syrians living in Batman. In the study, it was observed that Syrians have limited job opportunities. The concentration of the Syrian population in Batman has increased informal employment in low-paid and unskilled jobs. In addition, this situation has made it difficult for local people to compete with Syrian labour. As a result, local people react against them. In the interview study conducted by Lordođlu and Aslan (2018) with Syrian children and

their families in three provinces (Istanbul, Şanlıurfa, and Mardin) where Syrians are densely populated, it was stated that Syrian children between the ages of 6-14 had to work in unfavourable working conditions in jobs that are not suitable for their age due to economic difficulties.

The primary focus of literature studies is to see the pattern and impact of migration. In the 21st century, problems such as socioeconomic inequalities, war, conflict, and human rights violations have increased international migration mobility. Migrant individuals, who are the most vulnerable group to struggle, have ultimately turned into an army of labourers who can work cheaply. Paksoy et al. (2015), in a field study conducted with local people on the economic, social, and commercial effects of the Syrian population living in Kilis on Kilis, concluded that Syrians are employed unregistered in Kilis with meagre wages, which makes it difficult for local people to be used in the labour market. Another study was conducted by Aygül (2018) among different immigrant groups living in Isparta. The study examined the economic adjustment process and discussed conditions such as education level, job skills, and language level. In the study, it is stated that migrant groups with low skills take part in employment by accepting to work in heavy and dangerous jobs with low wages and precarious work. In the same study, the fact that migrants must work to survive has caused them to become the precariat of the labour market. Koç et al. (2018) addressed the employment problems of the Syrian population in Türkiye. The study includes recommendations for creating the necessary infrastructure for the employment of Syrians. Şahankaya Adar (2018) draws attention to the fact that as the exploitation of the labour of migrant individuals increases, wages, job security, and working conditions deteriorate. The labour force has become precarious, and the Syrian population, whose number has been steadily growing in Türkiye since 2010, has been defined as the new precariat of the Turkish labour market.

3. Research Methodology

The social and economic adjustment of Syrians under temporary protection is a critical issue that requires continuous attention and support from host countries, international organisations, and civil society. Therefore, this research analyses the adjustment processes of Syrians under temporary protection, considering social and economic adjustment indicators. In this context, a face-to-face survey was conducted with 384 Syrians residing in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district of Ankara, and an interview study was conducted with 30 Syrians.

In the application part of the study, the limitation of space and sampling is focused on Ankara. Ankara was defined as the population, and Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district, where Syrians live in Ankara, were defined as the sub-universe. The population of the study was limited to Syrians over the age of 18 residing in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district of Ankara, who migrated to Türkiye compulsorily since 2011. Before the population and sampling process, data such as the number, age, and gender distribution of Syrians according to the districts of

Ankara were obtained from Ankara DGMM. Using this data, the districts and neighbourhoods in Ankara where the Syrian population is concentrated were identified, and the study sample was determined. According to DGMM data, 101,858 Syrians resided in Ankara under temporary protection in 2021. In 2021, 47,247 Syrians resided in Altındağ district of Ankara, and Altındağ district of Ankara is the district where the highest number of Syrians reside in Ankara with 47,247 Syrians. Therefore, by comparing the number of Syrians living in the districts of Ankara, it has been determined that the Syrian population is mainly concentrated in the Altındağ district of Ankara, and in the Altındağ district, they are primarily concentrated in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods. Based on these data, the study's sample size was determined as 384 with an acceptable margin of error of ± 5 and a confidence interval of 95%. Limiting factors such as time, cost, and ease of access to data by the researchers were also decisive in determining the study sample in this way.

Considering the multidimensional structure of the migration issue based on the individual, a 'mixed research method' in which quantitative and qualitative research methods are used together was preferred in the study. The mixed research method uses quantitative and qualitative data sets together in the research, and the results obtained are blended and interpreted. This method combines quantitative statistical data with qualitative data supported by personal experiences and life stories. Thus, the problems and hypotheses of the study are approached from both sides (Creswell, 2021: 2). Therefore, this study aims to support the scientific results put forward with the data obtained from the quantitative survey study with the data obtained because of the qualitative interview study, which helps to reveal the experiences of real life from different aspects. Quantitative and qualitative data can be obtained simultaneously or sequentially using the mixed research method. In the axis of the purpose and basic problems of the study, the 'sequential explanatory design' method, which Creswell (2003) stated is among the designs of mixed method research, was preferred. Within the sequential explanatory design method framework, quantitative survey data were first obtained, and qualitative interview data were obtained to enrich the quantitative data. After the quantitative and qualitative data were obtained, they were combined in related sections and presented in the study.

Questionnaires and interview techniques were used as data collection methods in the study. The study, the survey with 384 Syrians aged 18 and over residing in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district of Ankara, and the interview study with 30 Syrians were carried out by the researcher himself and with the help of an Arabic interpreter between 01.12.2021/01.06.2022, 3 days a week, for approximately six months. In the study, survey data were obtained using the snowball sampling method. The snowball sampling method is not based on probability (Altunışık et al., 2022). This method, known as snowball sampling or chain sampling, is used when the universe is quite large and it is not easy to reach the units that make up the universe. Firstly, individuals who are thought to have information about the universe are reached, and other participants are reached with the guidance of these individuals. The study continues to grow in this way (Creswell, 2003).

Academic studies, doctoral theses, reports, and data prepared by public and private organisations were used to prepare the questions in the questionnaire form. The questionnaire includes questions on the participants' demographic characteristics, socioeconomic status, migration processes, and socio-economic adjustment processes. Each participant was informed before the survey and interview study was carried out, and their permission was obtained by stating that the study was within the knowledge of official institutions. In the questionnaire form, a scale was used only in the questions aiming to measure the participants' satisfaction with social services, education, and health services in Türkiye. The reliability Cronbach Alpha coefficient was analysed for the questions measuring the social satisfaction levels of the participants. In Likert-type scales, the Cronbach Alpha coefficient is used to question the relationship and consistency of the items with each other. If the Cronbach Alpha coefficient has a value in the range of 0.40-0.60, it indicates low reliability; if it is in the range of 0.60-0.80, it indicates a highly reliable level; and if it is in the range of 0.80-1.00, it indicates that the scale items have high reliability (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). The Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient for the question statements in the social satisfaction scale related to the study was calculated as 0.69. Hair et al. (2009) state that the social satisfaction scale is reliable.

In addition, the qualitative interview technique was used to investigate and reflect on the migration experiences, daily lives, fears, security concerns, future expectations, socio-economic conditions, and difficulties faced by Syrians in detail. Qualitative research technique is a technique that aims to objectively explain the life of individuals and the experiences of the social world, without any statistical calculation, directly reflecting the opinion of the individuals participating in the research (Creswell, 2021). Thirty Syrian participants residing in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district of Ankara were asked 14 open-ended questions in the semi-structured interview form. Some participants were interviewed at their workplaces, and some at their homes. Each interview form took approximately 1 hour to answer to collect detailed information on the migration experiences of Syrian participants, their daily lives, fears and security concerns, future expectations, socio-economic adjustment processes, and the problems they face. The necessary permission was obtained from Ankara Provincial Directorate General of Migration Management to carry out the survey and interview study in the region. In addition, a certificate of approval that the questions in the questionnaire are by ethical rules was obtained from the Kırıkkale University Social and Human Sciences Ethics Committee.

4. Participants

In this section, the implications of the methodological results of the study will be discussed. The demographic findings of the study are important. This is because demographic data reveals the employment area of the people included in the research and details on socio-economic adjustment such as language proficiency and income level. At the same time, the findings on demographic characteristics are discussed first to evaluate the cross-relationships between the other parts of the study and the results given under the title of demographic characteristics. Firstly, the proportion of female participants in the survey is

19%, while the number of male participants is 81%. In the interview study, 20 male participants and 10 female. This shows that men are more active in the process in terms of the labour force. In previous studies, it has been pointed out that Syrian women's participation in the labour market is limited due to factors such as not knowing the native language of the country they migrated to, having children and family elders to care for and take care of at home, and the lack of women's work culture in Syria (Buz, 2006; Kaypak & Bimay, 2016; Bakioglu, 2018).

Table: 1
Demographic Characteristics of Participants

	N	%
Gender		
Female	73	19,0
Male	311	81,0
Age		
18-27 years	96	25,0
28-38 years	174	45,3
39-49 years	95	24,7
50 years and above	19	4,9
Education Level		
No literacy	79	20,6
Primary school graduate	118	30,7
Secondary school graduate	122	31,8
High school graduate	49	12,8
University graduate	16	4,2
Marital Status		
Married	246	64,1
Single	138	35,9
Number of People in the Family		
1-4 people	146	38,0
5-8 people	229	59,6
Nine people and above	9	2,3

When the age groups are analysed, participants over 50 have the lowest rate with 4.9%. This rate is highest in the 28-38 age group with 45.3%. While conducting surveys and interviews in the field, it is noteworthy that young people are more involved in employment among the participants. In the family, children, usually young, contribute to the household income by working rather than elders such as father and mother. If the household income is insufficient to cover the expenses, family elders such as fathers must work in such cases. The fact that the sectors in which Syrians work in Ankara and the jobs they do require more energy and strength, the ability of young people to adapt quickly to harsh conditions in the labour market, and their more developed language skills make it easier for young Syrians to gain a place in the labour market.

Another critical issue is the education level of the participants. 62.3% of the participants are primary and secondary school graduates. This level of education is thought-provoking. The participants' rate of high school and university graduates is 16%. Similarly, 20 of the 30 participants in the interview study are primary and secondary school graduates, while six are illiterate. This situation points to a fundamental problem at the educational level in terms of a qualified labour force in the context of educated international migration. Another issue in education is that after migrating to Türkiye, these people prefer to work instead of going to school due to economic opportunities. The 19-year-old Syrian female

participant in the interview study stated that she could not go to school due to the war and had to work. The 20-year-old Syrian male participant said he could not attend school and had to work many jobs. On the other hand, the interview study's findings show that the participants' education level was limited to primary or secondary school before they migrated to Türkiye. Therefore, it is noteworthy that the Syrian population residing in the addressed neighbourhoods has a low level of education. In terms of family structure, 64.1% of the participants are married. When the number of household members is analysed, it is seen that 59.9% of them live in the range of 5-8 people. This number shows the average number of people living in the household as 5.05.

5. Findings

Employment and access to the labour force are among the most researched economic adjustment issues. Access to employment and the labour force shapes many behaviours, such as gaining economic independence, planning, language skills, self-confidence, and social interaction (Ager & Strang, 2008). In this respect, economic and social adjustment processes are affected by each other, and the interaction of migrant individuals with society will increase. This will accelerate the social and economic adjustment process between migrants and the people of that country. On the other hand, being unable to find a job as an immigrant and thus unable to take part in employment can lead to isolation from society, anxiety about the future, and an inability to self-realise (Aygül, 2018: 206). For example, in studies conducted in the UK and Australia, language insufficiency, lack of human capital, low education level, and total labour force are prominent factors preventing migrants from accessing employment (Wooden, 1991; Bloch, 2008). It is similar to the studies conducted in Türkiye. Low education level, total labour force, language insufficiency, and lack of human capital constitute the main problem areas in Türkiye (Aygül, 2018; Harunoğulları, 2018; Bakioğlu, 2018; Geyik-Yıldırım, 2020; Şahankaya-Adar, 2020). However, the situation is slightly different for the Syrians residing in the region addressed in this study because the Syrian population primarily resides in this region, and even if they are not involved in employment, their interactions in their daily lives are mainly with other Syrians.

The participants' jobs and occupations within the research scope are given in Table 2. When Table 2 is examined, it is seen that 19.5% of the participants are not working in any job, while 80.5% are actively working. Of the 309 participants working here, 55 are employed in different jobs. Therefore, the participants have various jobs and occupations in Ankara. Due to the diversity of the jobs and professions of the Syrian participants, the jobs and occupations of the participants were classified using the ISCO-08 code list, which is the International Occupational Classification System used by the SSI and İŞKUR. The distribution of working participants according to the occupations in the ISCO-08 code list: i) 24.2% in the office and furniture stores manufacturing sector, ii) 12.8% in the food sector, iii) 12.5% in the construction sector, iv) 7.6% in the garment sector and v) 2.9% in the agriculture sector. In addition, there are shops such as grocery stores, butchers, spice shops, barbers, hairdressers, Syrian food and beverages, restaurants and dessert shops, and Syrian merchants that meet the needs of the Syrian population living in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and

Önder neighbourhoods. This situation shows that all the products used by Syrians in Syria are sold in the region (Savrat & Sat, 2019: 298).

Table: 2
Working Status of Participants and Sectors in Which They Employ

	N	%
Are you working now?		
Yes	309	80,5
No	75	19,5
SUM	384	100
Sectors in which they Employ		
Office and furniture stores manufacturing	93	24,2
Food	49	12,8
Construction	48	12,5
Garment	29	7,6
Agriculture	11	2,9
Junkman	11	2,9
Scrap Collector	10	2,6
Metal material and machine production	9	2,3
Barber	7	1,8
Cleaning staff	7	1,8
Translator	5	1,3
Goods transport worker	3	0,8
Tradesmen (silversmith)	3	0,8
Tradesmen (jeweller)	3	0,8
Teacher	3	0,8
Auto maintenance repairer	2	0,5
Car wash worker	2	0,5
Automotive body worker	2	0,5
Patient care worker	2	0,5
Electrical mechanic	2	0,5
Glass balcony systems installer	2	0,5
Real estate agent	1	0,3
Tradesmen (white goods spotters)	1	0,3
Tradesmen (hardware)	1	0,3
Tradesmen (barber)	1	0,3
Tradesmen (glassware)	1	0,3
Repair worker	1	0,3
SUM	309	80,5

Five participants who participated in the interview study need to be fixed. The other 25 participants work different jobs, such as construction, daily work, furniture, cleaning, and scrap collection. In addition, detailed information was obtained about the process of finding a job and the jobs they worked after migrating to Türkiye;

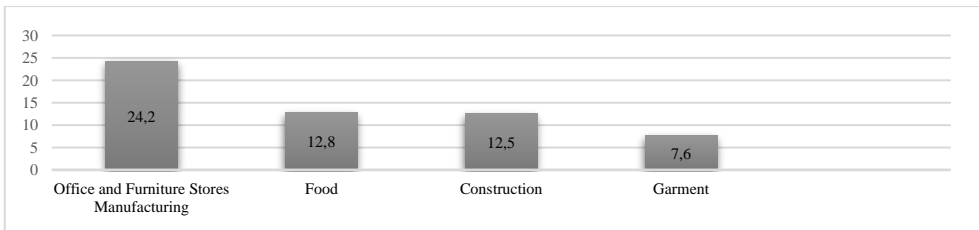
- “When I first came to Ankara, I was working at a construction site, and when the boss did not pay me, I started working at another construction site...” (Participant 4).
- “I earn money by collecting scrap. I collect the scrap I find in the garbage and sell it. I earn around 2,000 TL per month. With the money I earn, I pay the house rent, buy food, and spend it on house expenses, but most of the time, the money I earn is not enough...” (Participant 9).
- “I used to work as a driver in Syria. Now, if I can find a job, I work in Ankara in daily jobs. Sometimes, I work in agriculture. I earn 150 TL per day. I plant crops, do hoeing, and load bales. One day, I fell while loading goods on a truck and broke my leg. I could not work for a month until I recovered...” (Participant 15).

- "If there is work, I work in the field for 100 TL daily. Working long hours in the summer heat is very difficult..." (Participant 12).
- "When I first came to Ankara, I worked in a vegetable shop, carrying crates of vegetables and earning a daily wage. I am collecting scrap..." (Participant 11).
- "I have worked in many different jobs in Ankara. I used to work in an auto repair shop for 50 TL per week. Later, I started carrying carboys of water to houses, earning 15 TL daily. I currently work for a hairdresser and have started learning about this job..." (Participant 3).

Another situation is the sectors where Syrian participants are mainly employed. These are; i) 24.2% in the office and furniture stores manufacturing sector, ii) 12.8% in the food sector, iii) 12.5% in the construction sector, and iv) 7.6% in the garment sector (Graph 1). These four sectors constitute 57% of the Syrian respondents. In addition, another sector where Syrians can easily find a job in Ankara is manufacturing offices and furniture stores. As a result, it is noteworthy that Syrian migrants live in neighbourhoods close to offices and furniture stores concentrated in the Sitaler district of Ankara.

When the participants' employment status by gender is analysed, 64% (48) of the 73 female participants are unemployed. On the other hand, 36% (27) of the 311 male participants were not employed. Five of the ten female participants in the interview study needed to be fixed. According to the research findings, the participation of Syrian women participants in employment could be much higher. It is seen that 25 female Syrian participants who participated in employment are primarily employed in the ready-to-wear, agriculture, and food sectors as cleaners, patient care staff, agricultural workers, cooks, hairdressers, and tailors.

Graph: 1
Distribution of Participants According to the Sectors They Employ (Top 4 Sectors)

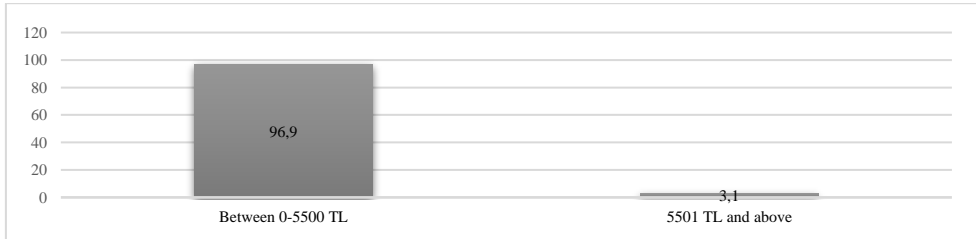


When the findings regarding the channels used by the participants in a job search are analysed, it is seen that the participants are directly involved in the job search process. According to 67.2% of the respondents, this rate shows they seek a job. In addition, 25.5% of them search for a job through relatives and acquaintances and 3.1% through media such as newspapers and the Internet. The lowest rate is İŞKUR, with 1.6%. In addition to getting a job, another situation is leaving a job. Most respondents (87.2%) do not have a work permit. Similarly, a significant portion of the participants in the interview study do not have

a work permit. This issue points to an unregistered situation in labour and employment. Another problem is in question for employers. It can be said that employers tend to employ Syrians, who are concentrated in the region and do not have work permits, according to the wages and working conditions they determine.

Income is undeniably the linchpin of business life. This is particularly true for the majority of Syrian migrants, who often migrate as families. The presence of numerous families in the household accentuates the significance of stable and regular income. The income earned must be not just substantial, but also consistent. The presence of economically self-sufficient migrants undoubtedly bolsters the economic adjustment process. The research, conducted when the minimum wage was 5500 TL, categorizes the income status of the participants into two groups: 0-5500 TL and 5501 TL and above.

Graph: 2
Distribution of Participants' Income According to Minimum Wage Ranges



On the other hand, 96.9% of the participants have an income between 0-5500 TL, with only 3.1% earning 5501 TL and above. The continuity of this income is a pressing issue, as only 25% (96) have a regular monthly income. When grouping the income levels of the participants, those without a regular monthly income were included in the 0-5500 TL range. The monthly income level of the participants ranges from a minimum of 0 TL to a maximum of 7000 TL, with an average of 2262 TL. The fact that this average income is below the minimum wage at that time suggests that some employers are paying below the legal minimum. This issue is a key indicator of problem areas in the labour market and working conditions.

When Table 3, which includes the income levels of the participants by gender, is analysed, it is seen that all of the female participants have an income level of minimum wage and below. All participants with income levels above the minimum wage are male. According to the research findings, there are differences between the gender of the participants and their income levels. Syrian women participants have limited participation in employment and do not have regular income. Considering that having a sustainable and regular income is very important for the success of economic adjustment, it is seen that Syrian women participants constitute a more disadvantaged group.

Table 3
Income Levels of Participants by Gender

Income Level	Female		Male	
	N	%	N	%
Between 0-5500 TL	73	19,6	299	80,4
5501 TL and above	0	0	12	100,0

In addition, as can be seen in Table 4, when the findings regarding the number of people working in the households of the participants are analysed, 55.2% (212 people) of the participants have only one person working. The rate of two people working in the household is 38.5% (148 people). The rate of three people working in the household is 6.3% (24 people). In addition, the monthly income level of 96.3% of the participants is below the minimum wage and this wage level. However, despite this rate, the rate of those who stated that only one person works in the household is 55.2%. The findings regarding the income status of the participants according to the number of people working in the household are thought-provoking. This structure, where the minimum wage is paid and less than one person in the family works, exposes people to poverty. Here, 75% of the participants with an income of 5501 TL and above the minimum wage level have three people working in the family. The rate of two people working in the family is 25%. Only one person works in 54.6 % of those with an income between 0-5500 TL, minimum wage, and below.

Table 4
Income Levels of the Participants According to the Number of People Working in the Household

Income Level	Only One People Working		Two People Working		Three People Working	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Between 0-5500 TL	203	54,6	145	39,0	24	6,5
5501 TL and above	0	0	3	25,0	9	75,0

An important factor affecting the adjustment processes of migrants is their legal status in the country of origin. While legal status offers important opportunities for social and economic adjustment, it also brings obstacles. The 1951 Geneva Convention is the first international document that contains detailed information on the legal status of refugees and defines refugees. In the years following the Geneva Convention, many international instruments on refugee rights were published. Although international conventions guarantee the socio-economic rights of refugees, it is observed that refugees face some restrictions on access to the labour force and employment in the countries they migrate to. Economic regulations for access to the labour force and employment in the countries where refugees seek asylum are very important for a successful social and economic adjustment process.

When the findings on the work permit status of the participants are analysed, it is seen that a significant majority of the participants, 87.2%, do not have a work permit. Although foreigners under temporary protection status can obtain work permits in Türkiye according to the laws and regulations, the prevalence of unregistered employment in Türkiye and the existence of legal restrictions such as quotas in securing work permits make it easier

for Syrians to take part in jobs in unregistered sectors under unfavourable working conditions. According to Ministry of Labor and Social Security data, only 168,103 foreigners were granted work permits in 2021. Of this number, 91,500 were Syrian nationals (ÇSGB, 2022). In addition, Syrians who benefit from Social Cohesion Assistance (ESSN) are not inclined to obtain a work permit due to their concern that this assistance will be cut off when they get a work permit.

When the distribution of the participants according to how they entered Türkiye is analysed, 82.8% of them entered Türkiye illegally. On the other hand, 17.2% entered Türkiye legally. All 30 participants in the interview study stated that they entered Türkiye illegally. The participants who participated in the interview study and entered Türkiye illegally stated that they contacted human traffickers and crossed the border with the foreign currency they paid to human traffickers. It is noteworthy that the foreign currency paid to human traffickers varies according to year. While the Syrian participants who came to Türkiye illegally from Syria between 2011-2014, when the war started, stated that they paid between \$100 and \$200 per person to human smugglers, the participants who came in 2015 and later years indicated that they paid \$300 and more per person to human smugglers.

When the findings regarding the opinions of the participants on whether the wages paid to Syrians working in similar jobs in the labour market and local people are the same or not are examined, it is seen that a significant majority of the participants, 96.9%, think that the wages paid to Syrians working in similar jobs in the labour market and local people are not the same. The low level of education and inexperience of migrants force them to work under precarious, harsh conditions and low wages in the country of asylum. These conditions isolate migrants from the social and communal life in the country of asylum, forcing them to live in poorly maintained slums far from the city centre and to struggle with poverty (Aygül, 2018: 181).

When the findings regarding the insured employment status of the participants are analysed, it is seen that 67.7% of the participants work without insurance. At this point, it is seen that a significant majority of Syrian participants are employed in the labour market without insurance and are precarious. When the findings regarding the problems faced by the participants in working life are examined, it is seen that 53.5% of the participants experience difficult working conditions, 41.6% experience low wages, 9.7% experience discrimination, and 5.3% experience language problems. It is seen that difficult working conditions and low wages are the most critical problem areas the participants face in their working lives. When the findings regarding the problems faced by the participants in Ankara, the city where they live, are examined, it is seen that 53.8% of the participants experience economic problems, 19.1% discrimination, 14.1% housing problems, and 12.8% language problems. According to the research findings, it is noteworthy that the participants experience economic problems in their city.

When the findings regarding the working conditions of the Syrian participants in the interview study are examined, it is seen that they face problems such as difficult working

conditions, low wages, and not being paid for their labour. The 18-year-old Syrian female participant who participated in the interview study and worked in seasonal agricultural work expressed the difficulty of working conditions and the fact that the wage for their labour was not paid after work as follows;

- “We worked with my sisters in the orange orchard in Adana. It was tough to work in hot weather. We went early in the morning and worked until late. We were told that we would be paid daily. But our wages were not paid, we could not reach the boss after the work ended, and he did not answer our calls. We also worked in a cucumber factory in Antalya in the summer. We worked from 7.00 a.m. until 8.00 p.m. We earned 1500 TL per month. We worked without insurance. Many Syrians were working in the same factory. We worked there for three months in the summer and saved money, then returned to Ankara...” (Participant 10).

The 44-year-old male Syrian participant in the interview study, who works in the white goods repair business, expressed the working conditions as follows;

- “There is not always work. They call me when there is a repair job. I work for 100 TL per day. I wish my job was regular. The money I earn is very little. I pay 500 TL rent with the money I earn...” (Participant 13).

The 35-year-old male Syrian participant in the interview study, who works as a tailor, expressed the problems he encountered in the labour market as follows;

- “I also work as a tailor in Ankara. I did not have any difficulty finding a job, but the wage paid is quite low. My money is insufficient to cover our expenses...” (Participant 1).

In the migration process from Syria to Türkiye, social networks such as family, kinship, and acquaintances come to the fore. Migration networks play an important role, especially in the continuity of irregular migration movements. The factors that cause the spatial clustering of Syrians in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district are the social relationship networks established by Syrians. They have formed migration networks through the communication they have established among themselves. These migration networks have continued to function from 2011, when the civil war started in Syria, until today. Social relationship networks and migration networks are a determining factor in the preference of Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district of Ankara by Syrians. Since the number of Syrians living in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district is relatively high, the participants in the interview study stated that they do not meet with their Turkish neighbours much and spend more time with their Syrian acquaintances and neighbours living in the same neighbourhood. The fact that Syrians living in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods have similar social, economic, and cultural values, as well as the kinship and social relationship networks they have formed among themselves, may cause them to feel like they are in Syria.

When the reasons why the participants preferred Ankara as their city of residence are analysed, 42.6% of the participants stated that they preferred Ankara because of the high number of job opportunities, 33.7% because they have relatives and acquaintances in Ankara, 22% because it is the city where Syrians are concentrated, and 1.5% because the house rents are cheap. In addition, many of the Syrian participants in the interview study had working and living experiences in different cities of Türkiye before coming to Ankara. The migration networks established with the guidance of acquaintances such as family, relatives, and friends have been very effective in the process of coming to Ankara and settling in Ankara. In addition, a significant majority of the Syrians who settled in Ankara are Syrians from Aleppo, where the war was intense. Before the war, Aleppo was one of the cosmopolitan cities with a dense population in Syria. During the migration process from Aleppo to Türkiye, it is seen that the migration movements in the form of sequential migration and the influence of Syrians on each other because of the migration networks they established with each other are determinants in the preference of Syrians for Ankara.

When the distribution of the participants according to their level of speaking and understanding Turkish is analysed, 42.2% of the participants speak and understand Turkish at a moderate level, 25% at a good level, and 20.9% at a very low level. The rate of those who cannot speak and understand Turkish at all among the participants is quite low at 2.3%.

An independent samples t-test was conducted to measure the participants' speaking and understanding of Turkish according to gender. The results revealed that the participants' speaking and knowledge of Turkish differed statistically significantly according to gender. It is seen that the level of speaking and understanding Turkish of male participants ($M = 3.3$, $SD = .91$) is considerably higher than the level of speaking and understanding Turkish of female participants ($M = 2.6$, $SD = .85$) $t(382) = -5.79$, $p = .00$. Based on the observations made in the field, it is thought that this difference may be due to the limited participation of female participants in employment, their social interactions being limited to the neighbourhoods where they live and the lack of suitable environments where they can improve their language proficiency.

One-way ANOVA was conducted to determine the mean difference between the participants' level of speaking and understanding of Turkish and the channels of finding a job in Türkiye. According to the results, one-way ANOVA revealed that there was a statistically significant difference between the participants' Turkish speaking and comprehension levels and the channels of finding a job ($F(3, 350) = [5.33]$, $p = .01$). Accordingly, participants who used newspapers or the internet to find a job ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 1$; $p = .01$, 95% C.I. = [3.45, 4.72]) were able to speak or understand Turkish better than participants who found a job through friends or relatives ($M = 3.35$, $SD = .88$; $p = .01$, 95% C.I. = [3.17, 3.52]).

When the distribution of the participants according to their level of satisfaction with social services in Türkiye is analysed, it is seen that a significant portion of the participants, 63%, are satisfied with social services in Türkiye. 10.7% of the participants stated they were

delighted with social services in Türkiye, 14.8% were undecided, and 11.2% were unsatisfied. When the distribution of the participants according to their level of satisfaction with educational services in Türkiye is analysed, it is seen that 50% of the participants are satisfied with educational services in Türkiye. It is seen that 14.8% of the participants are delighted with education services in Türkiye, 24% are undecided, and 11.2% are unsatisfied. When the distribution of the participants according to their level of satisfaction with health services in Türkiye is analysed, it is seen that 55.7% of the participants are satisfied with health services in Türkiye, while 35.2% are delighted with health services in Türkiye. It is seen that Syrian participants have high satisfaction levels with education, health, and social services in Türkiye.

The t-test for independent samples was conducted to analyse whether the satisfaction levels of the respondents with social services, education, and health services in Türkiye differ according to their marital status. According to the results of the analysis, the mean satisfaction level of married individuals with social services ($M = 3.8$, $SD = .74$) is higher than the mean satisfaction level of single individuals with social services ($M = 3.5$, $SD = .9$) $t(382) = 2.29$, $p = .02$. Similarly, the mean satisfaction level of married individuals with educational services ($M = 3.75$, $SD = .8$) is higher than the mean satisfaction level of single individuals with educational services ($M = 3.5$, $SD = .8$) is higher than the mean of single individuals' satisfaction with education services ($M = 3.75$, $SD = .8$) $t(382) = 2.24$, $p = .02$. It is thought that these results may be because married individuals are more satisfied with social services and education services than single individuals due to the aid received from the Red Crescent per capita and the presence of children benefiting from education services in the households of married individuals. No difference was observed in health services according to marital status $t(382) = 0.32$, $p = .07$.

The t-test for independent samples was conducted to analyse whether the satisfaction levels of the participants with social services, education, and health services in Türkiye differed according to whether they would like to be Turkish citizens. The participants who stated that they would like to be a Turkish citizen if possible, the mean of their satisfaction with social services in Türkiye ($M = 3.8$, $SD = .7$) $t(382) = 4.25$, $p = .00$., the mean of their satisfaction with educational services ($M = 3.74$, $SD = .8$) $t(382) = 3.99$, $p = .00$. and the mean of their satisfaction with health services ($M = 4.26$, $SD = .7$) $t(382) = 3.20$, $p = .00$. It is seen that the mean of satisfaction with social services ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.07$), the mean of satisfaction with education services ($M = 3.15$, $SD = .8$) and the mean of satisfaction with health services ($M = 3.87$, $SD = .8$) are significantly higher than the mean of satisfaction with social services ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.07$).

The t-test for independent samples was conducted to analyse whether the satisfaction levels of the participants with social services, education, and health services in Türkiye differed according to whether they received aid in Türkiye or not. According to the results of the analyses, there is a significant difference between the satisfaction levels of the participants with social services and health services in Türkiye regarding whether they receive aid. The mean of the participants' satisfaction with social services ($M = 3.96$, $SD =$

.6), $t(382) = 3.58$, $p = .00$. and the mean of their satisfaction with health services ($M = 4.35$, $SD = .7$), $t(382) = 2.01$, $p = .04$. The mean satisfaction with social services ($M = 3.66$, $SD = .8$) and the mean satisfaction with health services ($M = 4.18$, $SD = .7$) were significantly higher than the mean satisfaction with social services ($M = 3.66$, $SD = .8$).

When the distribution of the participants according to whether they want to return to their country when the war ends or not is analysed, it is seen that a significant majority of the participants, 71.4%, do not want to return to their country when the war ends, while a minimal number, 28.6%, want to return to their country when the war ends. The findings obtained from the interview study reveal that Syrians' reluctance to return to their country is influenced by the fact that they do not have a house to shelter in when they return, they do not have a job to work, and there is no healthy environment in Syria where they can continue their lives.

In conclusion, it is seen that Syrians living in Ankara face many problems in their social and economic adjustment processes. In addition, it can be said that Syrians' adjustment processes have improved as they have become permanent, parallel to the prolongation of their stay in Türkiye. In addition, the findings reveal that the economic adjustment process is effective in the social adjustment process. In this sense, mechanisms should be established to include Syrians living under temporary protection in Türkiye in the decision-making process by defining them not as guests but as people who will continue to live here. In this sense, adjustment policies must be functionalised and implemented to solve existing problems. It should not be forgotten that not implementing and ignoring adjustment policies will pose a greater risk (Erdoğan, 2019: 26).

6. Conclusion

Since 2011, foreign migration movements experienced at a compulsory and mass level have paved the way for countries to face many problems regarding their effects and consequences. In this study, external migration movements, which have a multifaceted structure including economic, social, social, cultural, and political, are analysed in terms of their social and economic dimensions. In this study, the mass and forced external migration movements from Syria to Türkiye are examined in the context of Syrians residing in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods in the Altındağ district of Ankara. The aim is to explore the socio-economic adjustment processes and adjustment problems experienced by Syrians under temporary protection after the forced migration process using quantitative and qualitative research methods. For this purpose, a survey was conducted with 384 Syrians residing in Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods, and an interview study was conducted with 30 Syrians. The results of the field research were subjected to statistical analyses, and determinations were made regarding the socio-economic adjustment processes of Syrian participants. Despite its limited scope, the location of the study in the capital emphasises the central focus of the problem.

It can be said that the adjustment processes of Syrian participants in Türkiye have improved as they have become permanent in Türkiye, parallel with the prolongation of their stay. The findings of the research also support this. According to the research findings, the participants were reluctant to return to their countries. It is seen that the factors determining their tendency to return to their countries consist of socio-economic factors such as whether they have a place to shelter when they return, whether they have a job to work when they return, security, and war concerns. Therefore, as adjustment increases, the tendency of the Syrian population to return to their country decreases. At this point, it can be said that the return issue has turned into a vicious circle.

According to the research findings, a significant portion of the participants speak and understand Turkish well. It has been determined that factors such as gender, employment status, and the channels used in job search are effective on the level of speaking and understanding Turkish. It is seen that language is the most important condition for both social and economic inclusion. The language factor comes to the fore as a factor that facilitates and, at the same time, complicates the economic and social adjustment process. Similarly, Cheung and Phillimore (2014) concluded that the language proficiency of migrants living in the UK is a factor that significantly affects access to employment.

The study results show that a significant portion of the participants are satisfied with health services, social services, and education services in Türkiye. Satisfaction with health services is higher than satisfaction with education and social services. On the other hand, factors such as marital status, obtaining Turkish citizenship, and receiving aid were found to significantly affect the satisfaction levels of the participants with social services, health services, and education services in Türkiye.

According to the research findings, female participants' economic and social adjustment processes progressed more slowly than male participants. It is seen that the participation of female participants in employment is quite limited compared to male participants. In addition, female participants also experience various problems in accessing regular and sustainable income. In addition, it is observed that the level of speaking and understanding Turkish by female participants is considerably lower than that of male participants. Therefore, there is a need for policies that will accelerate and improve the socio-economic adjustment processes of Syrian women independently from men.

According to the research findings, the problems faced by the participants in their working lives stem from their legal status. Participants face certain legal restrictions when obtaining a work permit, especially when accessing formal employment. For the economic and social adjustment process to be successful, it is essential to regulate the functioning of the legal procedure for obtaining a work permit in line with the needs. Similarly, Ager and Strang (2008), in their study on the case of the UK, emphasise that for the success of social adjustment, asylum seekers should be given the right to work legally.

In the economic adjustment process for the Syrian population in Türkiye, legal barriers should be removed, and solution-oriented policies should be implemented. Although the legal process is not functionally adapted to the increasing Syrian population, control and internal audits should be evaluated at the level of the neighbourhood and local points. Apart from the cities where Syrians are registered under temporary protection, legal arrangements can be made to enable them to access registered employment to the regional needs of other cities. In addition, legal opportunities such as removing travel restrictions in access to work permits and registered employment, accessible information on obtaining a work permit, easing the quota application, and facilitating legal procedures for Syrian entrepreneurs who want to start their businesses can be provided.

The findings that draw attention in the context of this environment and social area, which constitute the examination area of the study, can be handled under several headings.

Firstly, the adjacent neighbourhoods are a region that attracts attention as an agglomeration area for the Syrian population. It is called 'Little Aleppo' due to this agglomeration. The high number of Syrians in these neighbourhoods and the fact that it is a region where the Syrian population with similar social and economic conditions live stands out as a factor that facilitates the social adjustment process in terms of spatial belonging. It is seen that this situation causes the participants to feel like they are in Syria in the neighbourhoods where they live and facilitates their adjustment to social life. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the participants do not encounter many problems in their relations with the local people; their attitudes towards them are positive, but their social ties with them are limited. In this respect, realising projects that will increase social interaction between the Syrian population and the local people may contribute to the mutual acceleration of the adjustment process. In addition, the concentration of the Syrian population in a particular region may lead to the ghettoisation of the region and pave the way for the emergence of various security problems. For this reason, measures can be taken to prevent new migration movements towards the areas where the Syrian population is concentrated. Projects can be implemented to encourage the Syrian population in the current region to disperse to the different areas and establish a life.

Secondly, the sectors where Syrian participants are primarily employed in Ankara are: i) 24.2% in the office and furniture stores manufacturing sector, ii) 12.8% in the food sector, iii) 12.5% in the construction sector, and iv) 7.6% in the garment sector. These four sectors account for 57% of the Syrian respondents. A vital sector where Syrians can easily find a job in Ankara is the office and furniture stores manufacturing sector. Office and furniture stores are concentrated in the Sitaler district of Ankara. Ulubey, Alemdağ, and Önder neighbourhoods, which constitute the study area, are the neighbourhoods close to the Sitaler region and are preferred as living spaces by the Syrian population due to the ease of access to work and employment. On the other hand, studies (Paksoy et al., 2015; Aygül, 2018; Bakioğlu, 2018; Harunoğulları, 2018) point out that the economic adjustment processes of the Syrian population and their access to work and employment differ according to the regional needs of the city they live in. Considering the labour market structure of

Ankara, it is seen that the 'Office and Furniture Stores Manufacturing sector, the 'Metal Products Industry and the Machinery and Equipment sectors come to the forefront, and there is a need for a qualified labour force in these sectors. In this framework, considering Ankara's regional labour market structure, a labour force can be created by providing vocational training for the Syrian population. Using the Syrian labour force in the sectors in need by expanding vocational training courses sectorally can prevent the expansion of unregistered employment. In addition, the training and practices can facilitate the economic adjustment processes of the Syrian population by enabling them to access regular, sustainable income and employment. At this point, to meet the need for qualified personnel in the relevant sectors at the local and regional levels, policymakers should not ignore the issue of evaluating the Syrian population in the labour market and the work on vocational training.

Thirdly, the fact that the most critical problem areas faced by the participants in their social lives in the region where they live are due to economic inadequacies reveals that the economic adjustment process is decisive in the success of the social adjustment process. It is seen that the participants face many different problem areas in their working lives, such as long daily working hours, non-payment of overtime wages, regular non-payment of the salaries they deserve, differentiation of wages and working conditions paid to the local population and Syrians doing similar jobs, employment of Syrian participants without insurance and work permit, reluctant behaviour of employers and Syrians in obtaining work permits, and problems experienced by Syrian women in accessing employment. It is seen that these problem areas come to the forefront as factors that complicate the social adjustment processes as well as the economic adjustment processes of Syrian participants. At this point, it is urgently necessary to improve the economic conditions of the Syrian population, ensure their access to basic needs, and implement practices that include solutions to the legal obstacles encountered in the economic adjustment process.

In general, the study emphasises that the difficulties faced by Syrians under temporary protection should be addressed to ensure economic and social adjustment. The study's findings reveal that the problems Syrian participants face in the economic adjustment process also affect the social dimension of adjustment. The lack of sustainable policies in Türkiye regarding the adjustment of the Syrian population, especially in education, shelter, and employment, raises questions about the course of the adjustment process in the future. Uncertainties on the subject reveal the urgent need to implement innovative and solution-oriented policies for the adjustment of Syrians under temporary protection in Türkiye, the need to strengthen weak areas in terms of adjustment, and the importance of sustainable adjustment policies. In this sense, studies on adjustment are critical in making the problems visible and shedding light on the solution of these problems.

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