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Abstract

Drawing on data from a survey of 1,235 Syrian refugees, this article examines individual, cohort and province-level factors associated with both their labor market activities (employment, unemployment and inactivity) and occupation statuses in the Turkish labor market. In the sample, only 38.6% of Syrians are employed and 50.4% of those who are working are either in irregular, seasonal jobs or work as an unpaid family worker. We find that those who are younger, men, having a diploma higher than secondary school and those who had higher income levels before migration and have better Turkish language proficiency, on average, have higher likelihood of being employed. Moreover, self-settlement is found to decrease the probability of being unemployed and increase the chance of being out of the labor market at the same time, compared to refugees living in temporary protection camps. Women at all ages are found to have higher probability of being inactive compared to men in the same age groups. For example, at age 30, women have 50 percentage point higher probability of being inactive when other control variables are held constant at their averages. Moreover, refugees who are women, having a higher-level of education and Turkish language proficiency are found to have higher likelihood of being employed as a regular worker. We also observe that there are some cohort and province specific factors that affect both labor market activity and job status. We see that later cohorts and those living in Bursa are more advantageous. Among the border provinces, Gaziantep is found to have better prospects for the employment of refugees in regular jobs.

Keywords: refugee, asylum, economic integration, employment, participation.

JEL Classifications: E24, J01, J15, J46, J60, Z13.

1. Introduction

Unlike any other period in its history, Turkey has received a huge influx of Syrians[1] after 2011. As a result, there were about a whopping 3,7 million Syrians registered in the country as of December 2018, and most of them inhabited major cities outside protection camps which were announced to be closed before 2018 ended. That prospect leaves Syrian labor force mainly with two paths in the Turkish market: they would either be substitutes or compliments of the natives. The rapid expansion of Syrian population, especially in certain provinces[2], already created some tensions between the host society and the refugees, prompting a bitter debate about the impact of Syrians on Turks in various ways. The Turkish government, however, has always described Syrians as "guests" and underlined Islamic solidarity to evoke support from its large base of constituents towards those "temporary" neighbors. Its approach also aimed at avoiding intra-societal conflicts, labeling it not only as a testament of famed Turkish hospitality but also a religious duty to offer Syrians a safe and a caring home in Turkey. The bloody war at their homeland seems to eventually draw to a close after seven years but nearly a fifth of all Syrians have declared an intention to stay in Turkey even after the conflict is over (Syrian Barometer, 2017). Thus, there is a challenging dilemma for the Turkish government: increasing the economic integration of Syrians which will be reducing the costs of supporting them through making them less dependent on the state aid programs on the one hand and, coping with potential tensions in the society stemming from increasing competition between Syrians and natives especially in the periods of economic hardship on the other.

Turkey, like most European and OECD countries, imposes a direct employment ban for asylum seekers and refugees. It was only after February 2016 that Syrians were eligible to obtain a work permit under certain conditions. The most important barrier is that the work permit application can be only done by the employer and it has to be renewed each time if the work permit holder changes work place. Moreover, there are certain rules and limitations of the applications. For example, employers can only apply for work permits if the total number of Syrian workers in a firm is not higher than 10% of the total employees. As majority of Syrians work in the informal sector in Turkey since their arrival due to various factors such as lack of Turkish language proficiency and because of the limitations on applying for a work permit, the total number of Syrians with work permits has remained at low levels; 39,935 as of March 2018. Although working in the informal sector makes them vulnerable, a large share of informal economy in Turkey (around 40% of GDP) gives them also an opportunity to be self-sufficient until they find a job in the formal sector. Still many Syrians are either out of labor force or unemployed which adds to the burden on the government and it affects both short-run and long-run welfare of Syrians themselves. Thus, it is important to understand the profile of Syrians in Turkey and, the factors behind their economic integration in order to produce efficient policies to improve social and economic conditions of Syrians without hurting natives.

Although there are a few studies about the effect of Syrians on the natives' labor market outcomes, there is no study about their economic integration in the country which is mainly due to the lack of data about Syrians. Our study aims to contribute to the literature about the economic integration of refugees in a developing country context analyzing the case of Syrians in Turkey. We analyze a recent and unique micro-level data which provides us a rich set of individual-level characteristics

[1]Syrians in Turkey are not officially classified as refugees because Turkey's 1961 amendment to the Geneva Convention signed back in 1951 resulted in only Europeans being considered formally as refugees. Therefore, Syrians are called "Syrians under temporary protection status". Irrespective of this official definition, Syrians, however, are called refugees in the international literature. Therefore, we will either use the term 'refugee' or 'Syrians' when we talk about the Syrians in Turkey.

[2]Total share of registered Syrians in Turkey was 4.47% in December 2018 (DG of Migration Management Statistics, 2018) and, Kilis province is the extreme case with an 87.4% share of Syrians among the total population.

(demographic, education, economic etc.) together with a rich set of fixed effects on the province of destination, cohort, type of residence (in or out of temporary protection camps).

The structure of the paper is as follows: Section II briefly presents the literature on the economic integration of refugees (and migrants); Section III describes the data. Econometric model and the methodology together with the empirical findings are presented in the Section IV; and, Section V concludes.

2. Literature Review

Achieving or improving economic integration of refugees is a crucial policy target for host countries' governments in various ways. Firstly, their economic integration makes them less dependent on social transfers and increases their tax contributions, especially if they are employed in the formal sector. Secondly, employment of refugees increases aggregate demand in a country, which contributes to a higher level of output in ceteris paribus. Last but not the least, it contributes to the well being of refugees as they will become self-sufficient which may increase their happiness, productivity, health and social integration in the host society. All these positive effects of refugees' economic integration make it an important issue to analyze, as findings would help construct effective policies. As Blom (2004:3-4) puts forward plainly, economic integration "opens a path toward self-assurance and independence; psychologically it strengthens feelings of mastery and self-respect; and socially it increases contact with the majority population". In their recent study, Clemens, Huang and Graham (2018:8) argue that complementary policies such as "helping refugees integrate into the labor market, with a focus on supporting women and the most vulnerable groups" can reduce or remove the costs and even might increase benefits to host workers. Therefore, understanding the factors that impede or foster the integration of refugees in various dimensions has remained to be an important research topic and policy concern for years around the world.

Before discussing the literature about integration of refugees, one first needs to define it. According to the UNHCR (2011), local integration is listed as one of the three durable solutions[3] of refugee problem. In the same official document, local integration of refugees is defined as a gradual process of three interrelated dimensions; namely legal, economic and socio-cultural. Economic dimension of refugee integration is defined as follows: "refugees gradually become less dependent on aid from the country of asylum or on humanitarian assistance and become increasingly self-reliant to support themselves and contribute to the local economy" (UNHCR, 2011:35). Kuhlman (1991:3) argues that becoming independent of external aid cannot be seen a dimension of integration for the self-settled refugees as they must be anyway virtually self-sufficient or otherwise would not be survived compared to the refugees living in organized settlements. Nevertheless, building upon the UNHCR definition of integration, Wijbrandi (1986: 17-18) argued that integration of refugees should be measured not only by the income-generation activities of refugees but also by their socio-economic position in the host country compared to that of the native population. As Kuhlman (1991) also criticizes, this kind of a measure could only be used in societies where there are equal opportunities. In other words, if there is already income inequality (by ethnicity, gender and religion) in a society then comparing the income level of refugees with the majority group in the local population is not a proper way of measuring their level of economic integration. In this paper, the definition of economic integration is borrowed from Kuhlman (1991:19), which proposes it to be defined using the following criteria:

> '(1) Adequate participation in the economy; (2) an income which allows an acceptable standard of living; (3) access equal to that of the host population to those goods and services

[3] According to UNHCR, the other durable solutions are voluntary repatriation and resettlement.

to which access is not determined solely by income levels; (4) the impact of refugees on the host society having been such that, on balance, the position of the various socio-economic categories within the indigenous population with respect to criteria (1), (2) and (3) has not deteriorated.'

This paper focuses on the first criterion and analyzes the labor market activities of Syrian refugees in Turkey using a recent micro-level data. There are already studies about the employability of refugees both in developed and developing countries. Before summarizing those studies, one should note that migrants and refugees are considered two distinct groups in the analysis of integration in host communities because the latter has been argued to have both pre-migration stressors such as traumas they experience until their arrival to the asylum centers and, post-migration stressors such as insecurity of the asylum procedure that might hamper their socio-economic integration (Richmond, 1998; Phillimore, 2011; Ryan et al. 2008; Beiser, 2006; Jorden et al., 2009; Laban et al. 2004; Takeda, 2000) Thus, we can say that refugees are not only having higher likelihood of unemployment compared to native population in host communities but also to immigrants which is why there is argued to be a "refugee gap" (Connor, 2010) in the labor market as it is coined in the literature.

Economic integration of refugees[4] as a crucial part of the overall integration process is extensively studied in the developed country contexts. The early literature extensively focuses on the Indochinese refugees in the United States, Canada or Australia (see, for example, Strand, 1989; Rumbaut, 1991; Montgomery, 1991; Viviani et al., 1992 among others.). It is only after the 2000s that we start to observe an increasing interest in the analysis of refugee integration for the recently arrived refugee groups. For example, Bloch (2008) analyzes a survey data of 400 refugees in the UK and argues that employment initiatives of refugees should not only focus on capacity-building but also deal with structural barriers in the UK labor market such as discrimination or restrictive policies in addition to personal barriers of refugees themselves such as trauma, stress and so on. She finds that there is a very low level of economic activity rate of refugees and those who are in the labor market are employed in jobs that are either not appropriate to their skill levels or have no career development options. Analyzing the effect of post-migration stressors on the mental health and socio-economic integration of refugees in the Netherlands, Bakker et al. (2013) discusses that the length of stay in asylum accommodation and additional insecurity due to different types of resident status impede the economic integration of refugees. De Vroome and Van Tubergen (2010) also show that length of stay in asylum centers negatively affect human capital which in return impedes labor market integration of refugees in the Netherlands. However, in the Australian context, the time spent in detention camps are found to be not correlated with the employment status of Bosnian, Afghan and Iraqi refugees. In the literature, we also see differences in the economic integration levels of refugees given their socio-demographic backgrounds. Women refugees, for example, are argued to have comparably lower levels of labor market participation. (Montgomery, 1996; Potocky-Tripodi, 2001; Dumper, 2002; Bloch, 2008) This difference is not only stemming from the differences in educational levels by gender. Childcare, housework, cultural norms are listed among main barriers for labor market participation of refugee women. (Matsuoka and Sorenson, 1999; Hobfoll, 2001) Proficiency in the language of the host country is an important factor that increases the likelihood of employability of refugees. (Waxman, 2001) Lack of language proficiency is also a reason for them working in jobs that are not in line with their educational levels (Ryan et al., 2008; Bloch, 2008). In addition to these supply-side factors on the level of economic integration, demand-side characteristics of the hosting country's labor market such as unemployment rate in different

[4] Although the quality of occupations is another important dimension of the integration process, this discussion is out of scope of this paper.

industries, other macroeconomic factors, degree of ethnic and gender discrimination in the job market and so forth are argued to be equally important. (Blom, 2004; Kazemipur and Halli, 2001)

According the 2017 Global Trends Report of UNHCR, 85% of the world's refugees were hosted by developing countries. Nevertheless, compared to the studies about the refugee integration in developed countries, the developing country context are scarcely studied and the ones in the literature depict a poorer refugee profile especially in developing countries with severely limited capacities in providing them. (Kulhman, 1991) What we also learn from the limited research on the situations of especially urban refugees in both Africa and Middle East is that although in large numbers they are mostly "purposefully isolated or kept in highly precarious legal and economic conditions so that the refugees feel vulnerable and adopt invisibility as a survival mechanism" (Al-Sharmani, 2003: 8). Saying all that, we see that there is an increasing interest in the issue of refugee livelihoods and their economic integration in 2000s which coincides with "the failure of UNHCR to provide effective solutions for the numerous protracted refugee situations in which refugees have been in exile for at least five years" (Omata, 2017: 3) which is, of course, related with the declining interest of international donors in financing the essential needs of prolonged refugee populations (Crisp, 2003; Jamal, 2000; Omata, 2017) As economic self-reliance is seen as an important durable solution for the refugee problem (UNHCR 2005), the research about the livelihoods and integration of refugees in developing countries gained importance.

When we review the literature, we observe that educational qualifications of refugees in developed economies are better and their employment experience is stronger compared to the ones in the developing countries. (see, for example, Kuhlman, 1991; Charlaff et al., 2004; Kirk, 2004) More importantly than the personal qualifications of refugees, many African host countries are having a completely different macroeconomic and labor market conditions compared to developed countries. For example, for the majority main employer is the public sector where refugees are banned to work or in some other countries refugees have been strictly forbidden to work in the formal labor market. (Kibreab, 1996) These important differences make these two groups totally different cases as the latter group of refugees have lower chances of both employability and economic integration given their personal skill sets. Besides, developing countries have lower labor demand and higher unemployment rate on average compared to the developed countries which also affect the economic integration of refugees. Thus, findings in the studies about the economic integration of refugees depend on origin and host country socio-economic conditions and, refugee characteristics. Hansen (1990) analyzes the integration of Angolan refugees in Zambia according to their settlement status (the self-settled vs. scheme-settled according to his own words). He concludes that refugees who are scheme-settled are on average younger, better educated and wealthier than self-settled ones although the latter is found to have higher levels of self-reliance with respect to food and more integrated into the host society. Kibreab (1996: 174) studies the situation of Eritrean refugees in Sudan where they are only allowed to work in the transportation sector, he reports that about 25% of the trucks are owned by the refugees and if they are given better chances to take part in the economic and social life then their presence "would have been one of the positive forces that could countervail the progressive economic decline in the country". Al-Sharmani (2003; 2004) analyzes the livelihoods of Somalian refugees in Egypt and argue that cultural and linguistic differences together with the government's refugee policies resulted in isolation of them from the society. Grabska (2005) studies the Sudanese refugees in Egypt concluded that the marginalization of refugees is constructed by restrictive refugee policies of the government, negative attitudes of the native society towards refugees and the refugees having low motivation to try to get integrated to the host society. Nashwan and Mencutek-Sahin (2019) analyze the labor market participation of Syrian refugees in Jordan using qualitative empirical methods and they argue that there exists a refugee gap in the Jordan labor market and attitudes toward gender and refugees are among the main drivers of this gap. Moreover, a general finding about the

refugees in developing or low-income countries is that those living in camps have lower probability of employment than those living in urban centers (Khawaja, 2003; Hanafi and Long, 2010). As refugees have very limited work opportunities in developing countries, those who are actively working are generally employed in the informal market with bad working conditions and insecurity (Petrini, 2014; Kayaoglu, 2019).

This paper aims to contribute to the literature about the economic integration of refugees in a developing country context through analyzing a recent survey data about Syrian refugees in Turkey. The following sections describe the data and empirical findings.

3. Data

Syrian Barometer 2017[5] is a rich dataset in the sense that it includes various demographic, economic, spatial information about Syrians in Turkey in addition to their aspirations and perceptions. Table 1 below presents the sample size and its distribution across provinces. Total sample size is 1,235 and 348 of respondents in the data live in the temporary protection camps in six provinces. Although the data have been collected in detail about 1,235 individuals, there is information about 7,591 household members' demographics, educational attainment and labor market status.

Table 1. Sample Size in Each Province

	Camps		Outside Camps				Total	
			Border provinces		Other provinces			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Şanlıurfa	136	39.1	125	20	-	-	261	21.1
Hatay	38	10.9	155	24.8	-	-	193	15.6
İstanbul	-	-	-	-	170	64.6	170	13.8
Gaziantep	43	12.4	120	19.2	-	-	163	13.2
Adana	27	7.8	82	13.1	-	-	109	8.8
Mardin	68	19.5	35	5.6	-	-	103	8.3
Kilis	36	10.3	41	6.6	-	-	77	6.2
Mersin	-	-	66	10.6	-	-	66	5.3
İzmir	-	-	-	-	52	19.8	52	4.2
Bursa	-	-	-	-	41	15.6	41	3.3

As it can be seen from Table 2, the average household size is 5.3 and 73.8% of them has a household size larger than the Turkish average which is 3.4 according to TUIK (2017). Higher family size means higher cost of living and therefore the family structure and dependency ratio is important to understand their economic struggle. Table 3 shows that gender is almost in evenly distributed for Syrians in camps although there are 14.4 percentage points more males than females outside camps. Having larger number of male Syrians could mean higher income generation but one first needs to check their age distribution, education level and labor market status.

Table 4 presents the age distribution of household members in the sample while education attainment levels are provided in Table 5. More than half of the Syrian population in the sample is under the age 25 which is in line with the official statistics of the Ministry of Interior (registered Syrian population below age 25 in Turkey is 62.7% of the total Syrian population as of December 2018, according to the DG Migration Management Statistics). On the one hand, 40.5% of total household members in

[5] The data are collected by ANAR Research. Interviewers were Syrians who were either university students or graduates. Syrians who live outside temporary protection camps have received the questionnaire during May 1-July 1, 2017 period while those who were living in camps are interviewed between 26 June and 3 July, 2017. All questionnaires were completed face-to-face method. Boosted sampling method has been followed and average household size of Syrians is chosen to be 6 in determining the sample size.

the overall sample (7,591 person) is below the age of 17 and this rate is 50.4% for Syrians inside camps. On the other hand, 60.8% of them living outside the camps are in the working age although this rate is 47.9% for those living in the camps. This young population, however, on average, seems to have a very low level of education especially compared to native population. 18.5% of household members are illiterate though this ratio increases to 19.7% for those living outside the camps. Total number of Syrians in the sample with an educational attainment below high school is 78% and only 7.7% of them have a university degree or more. Thus, there is a very young but lowly-educated Syrian population in Turkey which can be expected to have important economic difficulties especially if we also consider the role of language barrier, trauma they experienced when fleeing their homes, low education levels, so on and so forth.

Table 2. Household size (for Syrians living out of camps)

How many people lives in this house?		
Size	**Frequency**	**%**
1	42	4.8
2	78	8.8
3	112	12.6
4	136	15.3
5	168	19.0
6	122	13.8
7	76	8.6
8	61	6.9
9	32	3.6
10	23	2.6
11	15	1.7
12	9	1.0
13	2	0.2
14	1	0.1
15	3	0.3
16	2	0.2
17	3	0.3
18	1	0.1
20	1	0.1
Total	**887**	**100**
Average household size	**5.3**	

Table 3. Gender Distribution of Syrians

Gender of Household Members						
	Inside Camps		**Outside Camps**		**Total**	
	#	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**
Female	956	48.3	2400	42.8	3356	44.2
Male	1023	51.7	3212	57.2	4235	55.8
Total	**1979**	**100**	**5612**	**100**	**7591**	**100**

Table 4. Age of Household Members

Age	**Inside Camps**		**Outside Camps**		**Total**	
	#	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**
0-5	366	18.5	740	13.2	1106	14.6
6-11	333	16.8	710	12.7	1043	13.7
12-17	299	15.1	626	11.2	925	12.2
18-24	258	13.0	878	15.6	1136	15.0
25-34	269	13.6	1107	19.7	1376	18.1
35-44	226	11.4	685	12.2	911	12.0
45-54	142	7.2	481	8.6	623	8.2
55-64	53	2.7	265	4.7	318	4.2
65 and above	33	1.7	120	2.1	153	2.0

Total	**1979**	**100**	**5612**	**100**	**7591**	**100**

Table 6 presents the labor market status of household members who are aged above 11 and, it seems that 58.3% of Syrian refugees, including both inside and outside the camps, are in the Turkish labor force. That said, Syrians living outside the camps are employed by 18.5 percentage points more compared to those in camps. Interestingly, schooling is lower for Syrians living outside the camps as percentage of students inside camps is 21.3% although this number decreases to 8.8% for those living outside. Table 7 shows the distribution of Syrians above age of 11 across different occupation categories. Among all the employed, only 40.7% works in regular paid jobs while 49.3% work as seasonal or irregular (daily) jobs without regular wage income. Moreover, in the sample, only 7.8% are employers and only 1% work as self-employed.

Table 5. Education Level of Household Members*

	Inside Camps		**Outside Camps**		**Total**	
	#	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**
Illiterate	241	14.9	959	19.7	1200	18.5
Literate without Diploma	277	17.2	491	10.1	768	11.8
Primary School	479	29.6	1338	27.5	1817	28.0
Secondary School	303	18.8	975	20.0	1278	19.7
High School	177	11.0	532	10.9	709	10.9
Vocational College	59	3.7	154	3.2	213	3.3
Bachelor Degree	76	4.7	387	7.9	463	7.1
Master's/PhD	1	0.1	36	0.7	37	0.6
Total	**1613**	**100**	**4872**	**100**	**6485**	**100**

*These numbers are for respondents above 5 years old.

Table 6. Labor Market Status of Household Members*

	Inside Camps		**Outside Camps**		**Total**	
	#	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**
Employed	314	24.5	1788	43.0	2102	38.6
House wife	303	23.7	1033	24.8	1336	24.5
Unemployed	319	24.9	755	18.1	1074	19.7
Student	273	21.3	365	8.8	638	11.7
Disables or elderly	57	4.5	185	4.4	242	4.4
Retired	5	0.4	36	0.9	41	0.8
No answer	9	0.7	-	-	9	0.2
Total	**1280**	**100**	**4162**	**100**	**5442**	**100**

*For individuals above 11 years old as it is the minimum age of respondents who currently work.

Table 7. Occupation type of household members*

	Inside Camps		**Outside Camps**		**Total**	
	#	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**
Irregular laborer	120	38,2	785	43,9	905	43,1
Regular laborer	151	48,1	705	39,4	856	40,7
Employer	1	0,3	163	9,1	164	7,8
Seasonal worker	23	7,3	108	6,1	131	6,2
Unpaid family worker	15	4,8	9	0,5	24	1,1
Self-employed	3	1,0	18	1,0	21	1,0
No answer	1	0,3	-	-	1	0,1
Total	314	100	1788	100	2102	100

*For respondents who are aged above 11 and declared to work in any type of income earning job.

4. Empirical Analysis

We begin our empirical analysis by estimating the following equation to understand if there are differences in labor market outcomes of Syrians living in temporary protection camps and self-settled Syrians, controlling for various individual factors together with cohort and province fixed effects.

$$y_{ip} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 SyriansOutsideCamps_i + X_{ip}\boldsymbol{\gamma} + \eta_p\boldsymbol{\theta} + c_i\boldsymbol{\Omega} + \varepsilon_{ip} \quad (1)$$

where y_{ip} is the labor market outcome labor market status (employed, unemployed and inactive) in the first model and, type of occupation (regular or casual work) in the second model, for individual i residing in province p. $SyriansOutsideCamps_{ip}$ is a dummy variable which equals to 1 if the individual lives outside the temporary protection camps and zero otherwise; X_{ip} is a vector for a set of individual control variables (age, gender, education, years since migration, proficiency in Turkish, economic profile in Syria); c_i stands for cohort fixed effects; η_p is province level fixed effects that captures any province-specific time-independent unobservable effects on the labor market outcomes at the time of survey and, finally, ε_{ip} is the idiosyncratic error term. Standard errors are robust to the heteroscedasticity in all estimations. This model explains us the effect of residing in a refugee camp on the level of economic integration when various other factors are held constant.

Table 8 presents the regression results of equation (1). It shows that living outside the protection camps has two impacts on Syrians; it increases the probability of being inactive in the labor market while it decreases the probability of being unemployed by 5.5% when we control for other individual-level factors, cohort- and region-level fixed effects.[6] Other individual characteristics also yield interesting findings. For example, we see that older Syrians have lower chances of finding a job (probability of unemployment increases while probability of employment decreases remarkably) and higher probability of leaving the labor market when they live outside camps. We also find that female Syrians compared with males have 37% higher probability of being inactive which is partly because of having lower probability of both being employed and unemployed. It is also interesting that marriage seems to decrease the probability of being unemployed compared to single people. This could be due to higher responsibilities and thus higher pressure to find a job. Furthermore, we see the positive role of higher education in economic integration of Syrians. It is found that education below high school does not have an effect on job finding but it is rather the diploma of and above high school degree that matters. Syrians with above high school diploma have 9.3% lower probability of being unemployed compared to the ones without any diploma when other covariates are held constant. The same group has 12% higher chance of being employed and 17.2% less probability of being inactive in the labor market.

Moreover, months since migration seems to play a dismal role in economic integration as it has a very small association with decrease in unemployment and no statistically significant effect on employment.[7] We also controlled for the incomes of Syrians before migrating to Turkey because it might be a good proxy for their previous labor market experiences and wealth that could help them to survive better during job search or even establishing their own businesses in Turkey. As expected, we found a statistically significant role of the previous income level on economic integration of Syrians as it decreases the probability of being unemployed while it increases the chance of being employed in ceteris paribus. Language proficiency is an important factor that had a huge focus in the integration literature. Table 1 shows that our findings confirm the literature; higher Turkish

[6] Table 1A in the Appendix presents the results only for the sample of Syrians living outside camps.

[7] Table 2A and Table 3A in the Appendix presents the regression results of Equation 1 for two different samples according to the time spent in Turkey. Table 2A shows results for Syrians who were in Turkey for less than 48 months and, Table 2B presents results for Syrians who were in Turkey for more than and equal to 48 months.

proficiency means lower risk of being unemployed and higher chance of finding a job for Syrians in Turkey. Cohort and province-level fixed effects are also included in the empirical model to control for time-independent specific characteristics that might belong to each cohort of refugees. Moreover, each province that is covered in the data may also have different time-invariant labor market conditions which are captured by province-level fixed effects.

Table 8. Labor Market Status of Syrians in Turkey
(Marginal Effects from Multinomial Logit Regressions)

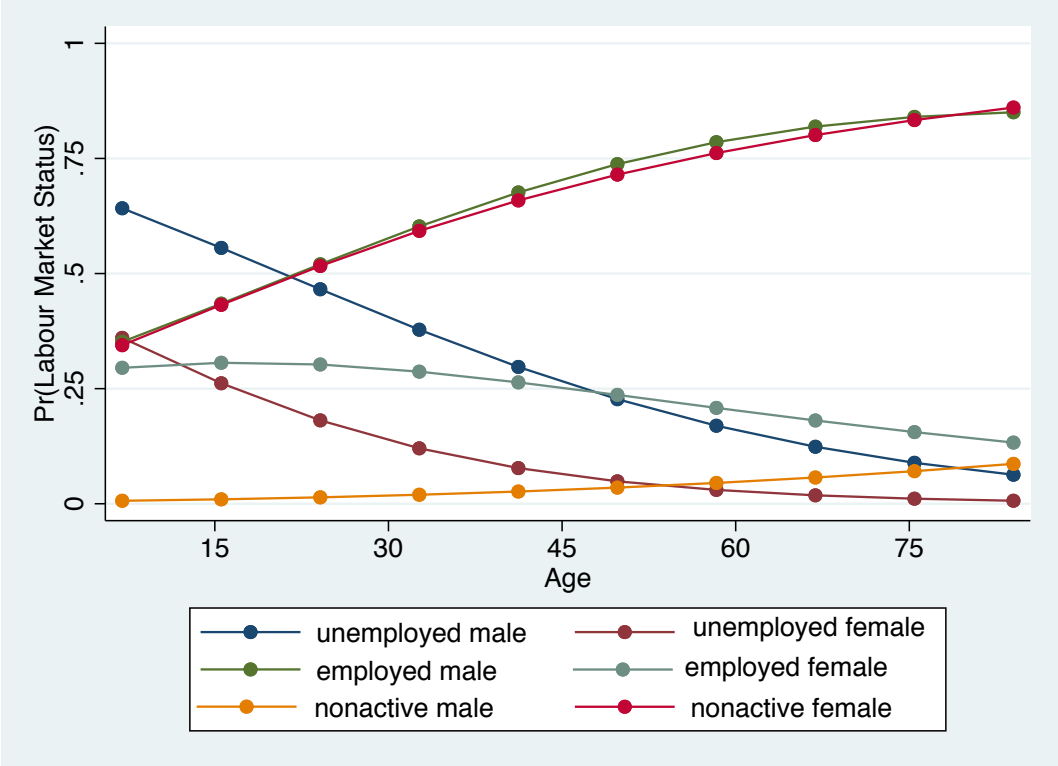
	Pr(Unemployed)	Pr(Employed)	Pr(Inactive)
Age (Reference Category= 18-24)			
25-34	.057	-.029	-.028
35-44	.101**	-.060	-.041
45-54	.160***	-.221***	.061*
55-64	.246***	-.449***	.202***
≥65	.274***	-.644***	.370***
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	-.166***	-.203***	.370***
Marital Status (Reference Category: Single)			
Married	-.086**	.071	.015
Other	-.019	.024	-.005
Education Level (Ref. Category: No diploma)			
Below High School	-.006	.023	-.017
High School	.004	.120***	-.124***
Above High School	-.093**	.266***	-.172***
Months since migration	-.006*	.003	.003
Income in Syria	-.022*	.038**	-.016
Turkish Proficiency	-.046***	.027**	.017**
Living out of temporary protection camps	-.055**	.018	.037*
Cohort FE			
2012	-.031	-.004	.035
2013	-.180*	.062	.117*
2014	-.225*	.128	.097
2015	-.214	.065	.149
2016	-.313	.091	.221
2017	-.335	.131	.203
Province level FE (Ref. Category: Adana)			
Gaziantep	.012	-.003	-.009
Hatay	-.022	-.044	.066*
Kilis	-.051	.051	-.000
Mardin	.059	-.024	-.034
Mersin	-.129	.534**	-.404
İstanbul	-.058	.024	.034
İzmir	.176***	-.257***	.081*
Şanlıurfa	.075*	-.025	-.050
# of Obs.	1,186	1,186	1,186
Pseudo-R^2	0.382	0.382	0.382

Notes: *p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01. All standard errors are heteroscedasticity robust.

Findings, on the one hand, show that 2013 and 2014 cohorts are the best ones in terms of lower probability of unemployment when we control for other factors. This could be related to the macro-

economic conditions in Turkey specific to those years. In terms of province-level fixed effects[8], on the other hand, we find that İzmir has the worst conditions in terms of economic integration; Syrians who live in İzmir have higher probability of being unemployed, lower probability of being employed and higher risk of being inactive. Moreover, Mersin is found to have 53.4% higher probability to provide employment compared to Adana. Living in Şanlıurfa, however, increases the probability of unemployment by 7.5% for Syrians compared to those living in Adana.

Figure 1. Probability of labor market status by age and gender



Using the results presented in the Table 8, the association between age, gender and labor market status of refugees are presented in the Figure 1, keeping other covariates constant at their means. It clearly shows that men have always higher probability of being employed compared to women irrespective of age. However, men also have higher probability of unemployment than women in all age groups. This is especially due to higher probability of women not participating the labor market than men especially as they get older. Thus, those women who decided to be active in the labor market are having better prospects to be employed with a higher chance. Moreover, there is a huge gap between men and women in terms of their probability of being inactive in the labor market. For example, at age 30, women have 50 percentage point higher probability of being inactive when other control variables are held constant at their averages.

In addition to understanding the labor market status of Syrians, we also analyze in what kind of jobs Syrians work if they are employed. So, we run a multinomial logit model using equation 1 where dependent variable has three categories; namely those who have a regular job, a casual work and self-employed/employer[9]. Results are presented in Table 9. It is found that Syrians who are older have lower chance of working in a casual job and higher probability of being self-employed. Gender,

[8] Syrians who live in Bursa are excluded from the data because all of the Syrian respondents were employed. Bursa also provides better job prospects for Syrian refugees. Table 9 shows that the likelihood of working in regular jobs is higher in Bursa compared to all other provinces in the data.

[9] There are only few number of employer in the data and therefore they are merged with the category of self-employed.

however, does seem to affect the chance of working in a regular job as women are found to have 12.4% higher likelihood of working in a regular job. Education is also an important indicator of either working in a regular or casual work. Above high school diploma, for example, increases the chance of being employed in a regular job by 37.8% and it decreases the probability of working in a casual job by almost 40% with respect to Syrians without a diploma, when keeping all other variables constant. As expected, income in Syria is positively correlated with the probability of being self-employed or employer and it decreases the probability of working in a casual work. Turkish proficiency, interestingly, does not contribute to the probability of self-employment but it increases the chance of having a regular job while decreases the probability of being in a casual work. When we check the effect of living outside the camps, we see that it increases the probability of being self-employed by almost 17% and decreases the chance of working in a casual work by 11%. Among provinces in the dataset, Bursa which is famous of being the center of textile sector in Turkey, seems to be the best city in terms of economic integration of Syrians. Syrians living in Bursa have the highest chance of working in a regular job, being self-employed and have the lowest probability of working in a casual job.

In addition to the analysis explained above, Table 10 presents the results of a similar analysis with a subsample which only focuses on cities with refugee camps. Thus, we exclude data about Syrians living in Bursa, Mersin, İstanbul and İzmir where there are no refugee camps. This way also takes into account the self-selection bias problem that might arise in analyzing the whole data because refugees in big cities could be the ones who do not want to rely on the welfare support from the Turkish government but rather wants to earn their own lives through finding a job in a bigger province. Therefore, they might have specific characteristics which can contribute to their labor market outcomes. Thus, we will be able to understand the profile of Syrians in different labor market activity status without considering the opportunity pool differences between cities like İstanbul and provinces which are on the Syria-Turkey border and have protection camps. These provinces are Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Gaziantep, Adana, Mardin and Kilis. Marginal effects of each coefficient for the likelihood of working in a regular job are estimated using logit model and presented stepwise in the Table 10. The findings confirm that elderly, women, those with a higher level of education, those with higher level of Turkish proficiency have higher probability of working in a regular job and, thus, better prospects for economic integration in Turkey. In terms of provinces, Syrians in Hatay have lower probability of working in a regular work whereas Gaziantep, another province with manufacturing activity, provides higher chance of working in a regular job.[10]

[10] Table 4A in the Appendix focuses on the role of time since migration using the subsample where we only analyzed the situation of Syrians living in provinces where there are also temporary protection camps.

Table 9. Job Type of the Employed Syrians in Turkey
(Marginal Effects from Multinomial Logit Regressions)

	Pr(Regular Work)	Pr(Casual Work)	Pr(Employer or Self-employed)
Age (Reference Category= 18-24)			
25-34	.002	-.079*	.077*
35-44	-.020	-.054	.074
45-54	.006	-.126*	.120**
55-64	.110	-.237***	.127
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	.124**	-.056	-.068
Marital Status (Reference Category: Single)			
Married	-.071	.132**	-.060*
Other	.646***	.636***	-1.282***
Education Level (Reference Category: No diploma)			
Below High School	.099*	-.139***	.040
High School	.217***	-.271***	.054
Above High School	.378***	-.393***	.015
Months since migration	.006	-.009**	.003
Income in Syria	-.024	-.057***	.082***
Turkish Proficiency	.066***	-.047***	-.018
Living out of temporary protection camps	-.058	-.110**	.168*
Cohort FE			
2012	.161	-.249**	.088
2013	.241*	-.300**	.058
2014	.426**	-.526***	.100
2015	.477**	-.591***	.114
2016	.516	-.696***	.179
Province level FE (Ref. Category: Adana)			
Bursa	1.894***	-2.524***	.630***
Gaziantep	.896***	.476***	-1.373***
Hatay	-.331***	.364***	-.033
Kilis	.054	.038	-.093**
Mardin	.018	.029	-.047
Mersin	-.388***	.302***	.085
İstanbul	.012	-.029	.018
İzmir	.764***	.667***	-1.432***
Şanlıurfa	.115	.085	-.200**
# of Obs.	640	640	640
Pseudo-R^2	0.3617	0.3617	0.3617

Notes: *p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01. All standard errors are heteroscedasticity robust.

Table 10. Marginal Effects of Job Type Model

(Dependent Variable: A dummy variable which is equal to 1 for regular workers and 0 for casual/day workers)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 5
Age	.008*	.008*	.010**	.010**
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	.161*	.193**	.165*	.177*
Marital Status (Reference Category: Single)				
Married	-.151	-.155	-.063	-.024
Other	-.007	-.055	.034	.063
Education Level (Reference Category: No diploma)				
Below High School	.193*	.225**	.246**	.246**
High School	.437***	.453***	.463***	.479***
Above High School	.684***	.701***	.702***	.717***
Months since migration			.018	.018
Income in Syria			.058	.052
Turkish Proficiency			.150***	.146***
Living out of temporary protection camps				.134
Cohort FE				
2012		.231	.440***	.449***
2013		.061	.458**	.473**
2014		.304**	.679***	.684***
2015		.291**	.610***	.610***
2016		.079	.539***	.542***
Province level FE (Reference Category: Adana)				
Gaziantep	.155	.184*	.258**	.283***
Hatay	-.554***	-.550***	-.552***	-.560***
Kilis	-.016	-.035	.092	.107
Mardin	-.186	-.137	.070	.112
Şanlıurfa	-.085	-.129	.016	.054
# of Obs.	385	385	385	385
Predicted Probability of Regular Work	.54	.55	.54	.54
Pseudo-R^2	0.364	0.387	0.412	0.423

Notes: *p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01. All standard errors are heteroscedasticity robust. In addition to the continuous age variable, models are also run using categorical age variable which did not change the sign and statistical significance of other control variables. Categorical age variable showed that the statistical significance of age variable is due to individuals aged between 45 and 64 who have higher probability of being employed in regular jobs compared with the youngsters and the elderly.

5. Conclusion

Employment and working in a regular paid job are major drivers of economic integration of refugees. These would not only help them participate in economic and social life in their destination country but also reclaim a decent standard of living. Therefore, economic integration is seen as an important part of the whole integration process of refugees and, local integration as it is named by UNHCR (2011) is regarded as one of the suggested durable solutions of the refugee problem.

Turkey was hosting 3.7 million Syrian refugees as of December 2018 and their repatriation does not seem to happen soon. The Syrian Barometer 2017 suggested that nearly a fifth of those Syrians had

an intention to stay in Turkey even after the conflict is over. Consider tens of thousands of children who were born to Syrian parents in Turkey and it would not be realistic to expect a full repatriation. Thus, improving the Syrians' economic integration and avoiding any negative impact on the native population in the process remains to be an important task for Turkey.

Using a recent micro-level survey results, this paper examines labor market activities of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Data covers detailed information about 1,235 Syrian refugees from 10 major refugee-hosting provinces. Moreover, data covers information about both self-settled refugees and those who reside in the temporary protection camps. Thus, we are able to dig into not only the role of individual-level characteristics but also cohort and settlement specific factors on the employment of refugees. Furthermore, each respondent is asked about the demographical and socio-economic background of other household members. This in total informs us about 7,591 Syrian refugees. Descriptive statistics show that 40.5% of respondents are children (below age 18) and this rate is 50.4% for Syrians living in the temporary protection camps. Employment rate is higher for the self-settled refugees; 24.5% of Syrians who live inside camps and 43% of self-settled ones are employed. The latter is a high rate given the fact that 50.4% of self-settlers are in the school age. In other words, child labor is a fact among Syrian refugees and likely to be a survival strategy. Moreover, around 25% of them in the sample are housewives. Unemployment rate is 19.7% in the total sample while it is higher in the temporary protection camps (25%). Among all the employed, only 40.7% work in regular paid jobs while 49.3% work as seasonal or irregular (daily) jobs without a reliable income.

Our regression analysis show that higher likelihood of employment is positively associated with being younger, men, having an above-secondary school diploma, higher income level prior to migration and better Turkish language proficiency. The province of Izmir is found to have the worst refugee employment prospects compared to other provinces in the data. Apart from understanding the factors that increases the likelihood of employment, we also examined the factors that are associated with different job status. We find that refugees who have higher levels of education, women, have better Turkish language proficiency, belong to later cohorts (except 2016) and live in Bursa, Gaziantep and Izmir have higher probability of working in a regular job once they are employed. These results do not change when we exclude non-border provinces from the sample.

One of the main findings of this paper is the huge role of education and Turkish language proficiency in the employment prospects of refugees. Thus, government should focus urgently more on the policies that will bring improvements in these areas. However, as we have discussed above, economic integration is not only related with the income earning and, it is also a part of the whole integration process. Therefore, a more complex and comprehensive solution scheme is needed to solve the integration problem. A very young refugee population without education and employment could be a threat for the country but this same young population can be also turned into opportunities if necessary policies are enacted with the contribution of various stakeholders. For example, refugee children who are actively in the labor market can be returned to education system but only with welfare supports to their families if they are in need. Besides, we find that provinces are different in terms of employment prospects they offer to refugees. We believe that it is important to study these different cases in detail both through qualitative and quantitative methods so that we can learn more from the cases of both success and failure.

That all being said, this study becomes the first attempt to understand the economic integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Thus, we aim to provide some insights about the labor market activities of this large group of refugee population in a developing country context which also currently hosts the largest refugee population in the world. Therefore, this paper can be also seen as a contribution for the literature about the integration of refugees in general.

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Appendix

Table 1A: Labor Market Status of Syrians in Provinces with Camps

	Pr(Unemployed)	Pr(Employed)	Pr(Non-active)
Age (Reference Category= 18-24)			
25-34	.090*	-.084	-.006
35-44	.127**	-.113**	-.014
45-54	.183***	-.265***	.082**
55-64	.263***	-.491***	.229***
≥65	.208*	-.624***	.416***
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	-.192***	-.195***	.387***
Marital Status (Reference Category= Single)			
Married	-.103**	.092	.011
Other	-.010	.001	.009
Education Level (Reference Category=No diploma)			
Below High School	.005	.014	-.019
High School	-.004	.140***	-.136***
Above High School	-.139***	.329***	-.190***
Months since migration	-.009**	.005	.004
Income in Syria	-.020	.045**	-.025*
Turkish Proficiency	-.066***	.049***	.017
Living out of temporary protection camps	-.064**	.026	.038
Cohort FE			
2012	-.069	.042	.026
2013	-.238**	.119	.119
2014	-.345**	.234	.110
2015	-.343*	.134	.209
2016	-.464*	.197	.267
2017	-.469*	.194	.276
Province level FE (Reference Category=Adana)			
Gaziantep	.027	-.026	-.000
Hatay	-.017	-.058	.075*
Kilis	-.056	.054	.001
Mardin	.042	-.002	-.040
Şanlıurfa	.075*	-.023	-.052
# of Obs.	902	902	902
Pseudo-R^2	0.3841	0.3841	0.3841

Table 2A. The Role of Time Since Migration for the Labor Status of Syrians in Turkey

	<48 months		
	Pr(Unemployed)	Pr(Employed)	Pr(Non-active)
Age (Reference Category= 18-24)			
25-34	.030	-.023	-.007
35-44	.066	-.052	-.014
45-54	.096	-.159**	.062
55-64	.215***	-.398***	.183***
≥65	1.525***	-2.570***	1.045***
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	-.166***	-.177***	.343***
Marital Status (Reference Category= Single)			
Married	-.039	.124*	-.084
Other	.018	.077	-.096
Education Level (Reference Category=No diploma)			
Below High School	-.060	.077	-.017
High School	-.016	.140**	-.124***
Above High School	-.063	.303***	-.239***
Income in Syria	-.008	.008	.000
Turkish Proficiency	-.064***	.037*	.027**
Living out of temporary protection camps	-.055	-.029	.084*
Cohort FE			
2015	.091**	-.096**	.006
2016	.052	-.109**	.057*
2017	.097	-.083	-.014
Province level FE (Reference Category=Adana)			
Gaziantep	.166**	-.131	-.035
Hatay	.103	-.180**	.076
Kilis	.122	-.026	-.096
Mardin	.184*	-.071	-.114
Mersin	-.045	.287**	-.242**
İstanbul	.038	-.010	-.027
İzmir	.317***	-.362***	.044
Şanlıurfa	.217***	-.168**	-.049
# of Obs.	577	577	577
Pseudo-R^2	0.408	0.408	0.408

Table 3A. The Role of Time Since Migration for the Labor Status of Syrians in Turkey

	≥48 months		
	Pr(Unemployed)	Pr(Employed)	Pr(Non-active)
Age (Reference Category= 18-24)			
25-34	.109	-.064	-.045
35-44	.155**	-.080	-.076
45-54	.234***	-.301***	.067
55-64	.314***	-.547***	.233***
≥65	.277*	-.647***	.370***
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	-.156***	-.241***	.398***
Marital Status (Reference Category = Single)			
Married	-.119**	.037	.082
Other	-.113	.093	.020
Education Level (Reference Category=No diploma)			
Below High School	.035	-.026	-.009
High School	.018	.096	-.113**
Above High School	-.142**	.249***	-.107**
Income in Syria	-.035**	.061***	-.026*
Turkish Proficiency	-.033*	.018	.015
Living out of temporary protection camps	-.060*	.060	.000
Cohort FE			
2012	.044	-.039	-.005
2013	-.038	-.005	.043
2014	.024	.036	-.060
Province level FE (Reference Category=Adana)			
Gaziantep	-.065	.045	.019
Hatay	-.077	.019	.058
Kilis	-.133*	.115	.019
Mardin	.002	.028	-.031
Mersin	.160	1.466***	-1.626***
Istanbul	-.054	-.062	.116*
Izmir	.068	-.175*	.106*
Sanlıurfa	.007	.077	-.084
# of Obs.	609	609	609
Pseudo-R^2	0.4024	0.4024	0.4024

Table 4A. The Role of Time Since Migration for Marginal Effects of Control Variables in the Job Type Model

	<48 months	≥48 months
Age	.000	.014**
Gender (1=Female, 0=Male)	.132	.157
Marital Status (Reference Category= Single)		
Married	-.031	.067
Other	.269	-.280
Education Level		
(Reference Category = No diploma)		
Below High School	.513***	.002
High School	.549***	.363***
Above High School	.812***	.652***
Income in Syria	.074	.054
Turkish Proficiency	.086	.213***
Living out of temporary protection camps	-.003	.199*
Cohort FE		
2012		.405**
2013		.244
2014		.528***
2015	-.016	
2016	-.207	
Province level FE (Reference Category=Adana)		
Gaziantep	.099	.431***
Hatay	-.743***	-.418***
Kilis	-.056	.268
Mardin	-.099	.213
Sanlıurfa	-.265	.214
# of Obs.	165	220
Pseudo-R^2	.471	.456