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LIVING IN "THE STATE OF EXCEPTION:"

EXPERIENCES OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN BERLIN

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Living in "the State of Exception:"
Experiences of Syrian Refugees in Berlin

"İstina Hali"inde Yaşam:
Berlin'deki Suriyeli Mültecilerin Deneyimleri

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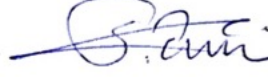Tez Danışmanı: *Prof. Dr. Pınar Uyan Semerci*   İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

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Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe):

1) göç

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4) "istisna hali"

5) iş hayatına katılım

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1) migration

2) asylum-seekers and refugees

3) social exclusion

4) "state of exception"

5) labour market participation

Abstract

Grounded on the findings of the qualitative fieldwork research conducted in Berlin, Germany, this thesis observes that, asylum seeker and refugee populations experience social exclusion, which particularly manifests itself through their participation in labor market within their resettlement processes. With this stand-point, this paper first sets to elicit the notion of social exclusion and aims to employ this multi-dimensional concept, in its relation to deprivation, in a structural and causal perspective, to understand and conceptualize the situation of asylum-seekers and refugees. Within the framework of rights, resources, and relations, this paper aims to read the waiting period during the resettlement process, with Agamben's notion of "the state of exception." Finally, given the inherent relation of exclusion with poverty, this paper aims to observe the manifestations of such "exception" in the labor markets in countries of destination, through the experiences of Syrian asylum seekers and refugees in Berlin, Germany.

Keywords: migration, asylum-seekers and refugees, social exclusion, "state of exception", labour market participation

Özet

Berlin, Almanya'da gerçekleştirilen niteliksel saha araştırmasının bulguları üzerine temellendirilen bu çalışma, sığınmacı ve mülteci popülasyonlarının, yeni ülkeye yerleşme süreçlerinde, kendini özellikle iş hayatına katılım alanında gösteren bir tür sosyal dışlanma içerisinde olduklarını gözlemlemektedir. Bu argümandan yola çıkarak, bu çalışma öncelikle, sosyal dışlanma kavramını aydınlatmayı ve çok boyutlu olan bu kavramın, yoksunluk ile olan ilişkisini, yapısal ve nedensel bir bakış açısı ile, sığınmacılık ve mültecilik durumunu anlamada ve kavramsallaştırmada kullanmayı hedeflemektedir. Haklar, kaynaklar ve ilişkiler çerçevesi içerisinde, bu çalışma, sığınmacı ve mültecilerin, yeni bir ülkeye yerleşme süreçlerinde, yasal statülerinin belirlenmesine kadar geçen bekleme sürecini, Agamben'in "istisna hali" kavramıyla okumakta, en nihayetinde ise, böylesi bir istisnai durumun, sığınmacı ve mültecilerin, ev sahibi ülkedeki iş hayatlarına yansımalarını, Berlin, Almanya'daki Suriyeli sığınmacı ve mültecilerin deneyimleri üzerinden incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: göç, sığınmacılık ve mültecilik, sosyal dışlanma, "istisna hali", iş hayatına katılım

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

Abbreviations

3D (Jobs) – Dirty, dangerous, difficult (jobs)

AR – Arabic

ASRs – Asylum Seekers and Refugees

BAMF - Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)

CBP – Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration

DE – Deutsch/Deutschland (German/Germany)

EN – English

ESC – Economic, Social and Cultural

EU – The European Union

IOM – The International Organization for Migration

ILO – The International Labour Organization

JOBCENTER - Bundesagentur für Arbeit (Public Employment Service)

LAGeSo - Landesamt für Gesundheit und Soziales (State Office for Health and Social Affairs)

NA – Not Applicable / Not Available

NGOs – Non-governmental Organizations

OECD - The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OHCHR - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

UN - The United Nations

UNCHR - The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UNFPA - United Nations Population Fund

TCNs – Third Country Nationals

TR – Turkish/Turkey

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction of the Main Concepts and Aims of the Study

Within the literature and policy papers regarding social cohesion and inclusion, it is frequently indicated that it is vital to study exclusion first, to be able to bring up debates of inclusion **(**Allman 2013, p. 9; p. 1; Shaban 2011, p. 6). While doing so, it is also frequently suggested to benefit from the point of views of the subjects themselves, through field-research, or as Hamberger (2009) puts it, "micro perspective," where he believes the "real solutions" lie (pp. 19-20). Likewise, Levitas (2000) agrees that the issues and procedures of social exclusion are "real ones" and as argued above, how they are interpreted and in what causal order they are explained, are directly reflected in policy making, therefore "appropriate social policies," in her opinion, need to discover what it "really" is for that "particular group" (pp. 358-9).

Byrne (2005) as well, underlines the importance of "consulting the experts; the poor themselves" for them to express their situations and needs (62), as Phillimore and Goodson (2006) further maintain**,** what needs to be studied is the "feeling" of being excluded or the "feeling of 'not belonging'" (p. 1718). Chambers (2006) explicitly inquires in a rather critical tone, "what poverty [is], who asks, who answers" and "whose reality counts," with the argument that, "the meanings of poverty" are constructed by "us," and contends that policies need to adopt a "bottom-up" approach, to be able to capture the realities of the subjects themselves (pp. 3-4), which all together back up my motive to conduct a fieldwork study with Syrian refugees in Berlin. Furthermore, as Konle-Seidl and Bolits (2016) maintain, on the EU level, there is no agreed policy or document regarding the particular situation of refugees. Even though most of the guidelines and recommendations on immigrant integration are binding, there is lack of "specifically tailored policies" aimed at refugees (*ibid.* p. 12), which would hinder identifying and targeting refugee-specific challenges and the multiple and complex deprivations, that are embedded to their situation, mostly in an intersecting manner.

Therefore, through the fieldwork study, this paper humbly hopes to contribute to studies identifying potential areas of action regarding the specific condition of refugees, who are not yet settled and wait for a decision within the "state of exception." I hope that this study would

contribute to the already existing studies in Germany regarding Syrian refugees, draw attention on the areas where they experience exclusion and finally provide the preliminary data for further and broader research, to be used in targeted policy development regarding asylum seekers and refugees, by making their voices and opinions heard and responded better.

1.2 Context and Background

The crisis in Syria, has resulted in displacement of millions of people from Syria since 2011, with almost five million people seeking asylum in neighboring countries, with an additional one million and two hundred thousand who had applied for asylum in Europe by 2017 (United Nations 2017, S/PV.7888, p. 2). Among the neighboring countries, Turkey hosts the largest number of Syrian refugees under its Temporary Protection, with an estimated three million people from Syrian (UNDP, ILO and WFP 2017, p. 83). On the other hand, the way the number of Syrian refugees in the European Union is smaller when compared to neighboring countries, there is also an uneven distribution among Member States of the EU (European Commission 2017, p. 41). Germany, for example, receives the highest percentage of applicants in 2017, which makes up for the thirty-one percent of among all application in the Member States (Eurostat 2018). Abruzzese (2016) perceives that Germany's "advanced immigration policies," oriented with its labor market needs, make it a desirable country of destination for asylum seekers and refugees (p. 39).

The German immigration law is regulated by the Federal Ministry of Interior and is based on the German constitutional law, as well as on the international and the EU law (EMN 2016, p. 16). Accordingly, asylum applications to Germany are processed within *the Asylum Act* and *the Residence Act*, consistent with *the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1951) (*ibid.*). Also, as one of the signatories of *the Migration for Employment Convention* (1949), *the Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons* (1976) and *the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness* (1997), Germany appears as an active member of the EU in migration cooperation (Abruzzese 2016, p. 40). Furthermore, to be able to respond to the high number of asylum applications mentioned above, Germany rapidly develops and adopts numerous amendments and new legislative packages, regarding the registration, accommodation, and integration of the so-called asylum applicants in the late 2015 and early 2016.

To be able to accelerate the registration processes of the asylum seekers, *the Act on the Acceleration of Asylum Procedures*, also known as *Asylum Package I*, has been adopted in October 2015. With this purpose, asylum applications are clustered into four groups, where applications from Syria belonged to "Cluster A," which represents the "countries with very good prospects to remain" (BAMF 2015). This Act aims to facilitate the early access to integration measures, as well as to labor market, by enabling asylum seekers from Syria to participate in the integration courses provided, even before being recognized as refugees (EMN 2016, p. 29). Following, in February 2016, it has been adopted that, while being registered, the asylum seekers received "the arrival certificate," which is necessary for them to receive the benefits provided within *the Asylum Seekers' Benefits Act* (*ibid.*, p. 48). Finally, to further accelerate the registration process and to respond to the rising number of applications, *Asylum Package II*, which, as well as suspending family reunification for those receiving protection, also encourages the implementation of specialized reception centers, where the asylum applications are processed and finalized in a three-week period, has been adopted in March 2016 (Scarpetta 2016, p. 260).

The Acts on the asylum procedure of the newly arrived refugees also include a plan regarding the "nationwide distribution" of the asylum applicants, with the aim of preventing accumulation of arrivals in certain areas (Abruzzese 2016, p. 39). Accordingly, the German State would be able to decide on the allocation of the ASRs, by encouraging them to apply for jobs in areas with low unemployment rates, which takes us to *the Residence Act*, which serves as the legal basis for the economic activities, namely the right to work and access to welfare benefits, as well as integration measures for immigrant groups, including asylum seekers and refugees (DW 2016; EMN 2016, pp. 16-7). To elaborate, through a sequence of ordinances, such as *the Residence Ordinance*, *the Employment Ordinance,* and *the Integration Course Ordinance*, the legal framework regarding the issues of residence, employment and integration of TCNs, is defined and regulated (*ibid*. p. 17). The residence titles of the asylum applicants are as well regulated under *the Residence Act*, which has gone through several amendments, with the aim to respond to the so-called challenges (*ibid*. pp. 17-8).

As for other TCNs, the prospects for ASRs to access the labor market in Germany are also dependent on their residence statuses, as defined by *the Residence Act*, and is also regulated under *the Employment Ordinance*, which has been amended in 2015, to define the basis according to

which the immigrants are admitted to employment with "certain qualifications" (BAMF 2017, p. 8; EMN 2016, p. 5). There are three different residence statuses in Germany, and in descending order, they can be listed as, "residence permit," "permission to reside" and "temporary suspension of deportation" (*ibid*. pp. 1-2). The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), grants the right to work according to these residence statuses. Whereas the applicants, whose asylum claims have been recognized and who have received a "residence permit" are allowed to engage in work activities, including self-employment without restrictions, people with "permission to reside" may work with "conditions" until they receive the final decision about their applications (*ibid*.). According to the new amendments, people in this category, are granted earlier access to the labor market, as well as to integration courses, given that they are permitted to work three months after they have made their applications (*ibid*. p. 3). Finally, people with "temporary suspension of deportation status," are as well granted admission to the labor market under "special conditions" (*ibid*. p. 2).

Nevertheless, as for other TCNs, for an asylum seeker to receive a "residence permit," it is required that they have the proof of proficiency in the German language and have an income generating job to sustain themselves, and their families, if applicable. With the new law, however, the applicants who have successfully maintained these requirements are eligible to apply for a permanent visa within three years, whereas, it was required that the applicant has spent no less than five years to be able to apply for the residence permit (DW 2016). In this response, in accordance with *the Residence Act, the Asylum Acceleration Act* is accepted in 2015 and integration courses have been facilitated and made available for asylum applicants "with good prospects to remain" (BAMF 2017, p. 8).

With the purpose to enable applicants to acquire a certain level of proficiency in the German language, as well as to help them attain basic knowledge on the culture, history and the legal system of Germany, integration courses, composed of six hundred hours of language instruction followed by sixty hours of orientation classes, are provided nationwide, and are compensated by the German State under *the Asylum-Seekers' Benefits Act* (BAMF 2017, p. 9; EMN 2016, pp. 28-9; Scarpetta 2016, p. 260). German courses combined with occupational training are also provided under the program called "Refugee integration measures," to provide them with job-related skills and consequently to increase their chances in the labor market, yet

these measures do not necessarily constitute an employment in the end (BAMF 2017, p. 8; EMN 2016, p. 29). The integration measures also require cooperation from the asylum seekers. To elaborate, to encourage participation, attendance to these integration courses is made compulsory, and the applicants who do not attend these courses could be subject to reductions in the welfare benefits they are granted (DW 2016).

It can be observed that the integration measures taken in Germany, in order to respond to the Syrian refugee populations in Germany, take employment-related issues of integration into their focus, and aim to stimulate the labor-force attachment of the newly arrived ASRs. Similarly, the idea of compensating the challenges of the current crisis with possible opportunities it may bring, is emphasized by ILO (2018), who argue that if "well-governed" migration can be advantageous for both migrants and host-communities, since it helps "balance labor supply and demand" and "develop and transfer skills" (p. 1). This aspect of migration appears to be particularly important in the European context as the European Commission (2017) notes, "migration brings several opportunities to the hosting societies, notably on the demographic front and in terms of skills" (p. 41).

The widely-shared consensus in the literature, which regards labor market integration as a principal step to integration in Europe appears to be in accordance with the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU (2004), which clearly state that "employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants" (CBP3). However, given the current situation, refugees appear to have considerably lower labor outcomes in comparison to other immigrant groups, as well as citizens of their countries of destination, which takes an even more acute form in the case of female refugees (Duran 2018). It can be observed that, due to cumulative factors embedded to their situation, even when employed, refugees tend to find placement in "shadow economy," where they generally work over-qualified and become victims to exploitation, as also has been revealed through the findings of my qualitative field-work study, conducted with Syrian refugees in Berlin (ILO 2016; OECD 2016; UNHCR 2014; Martin, Arcarons & Aumüller 2016).

1.3 The Significance of the Study

As suggested by Silver (1994 in de Haan 1998), how social exclusion is articulated and conceptualized directly affect the policies developed in response (12). Later Todman (2004) agrees that it is for this reason, there are considerable differences among the policies of countries tackling social exclusion within their conjecture (p. 13). However, as articulated by Sen (2000), it is well-acknowledged that to be able to conceptualize and interpret the notion of social exclusion, one also needs to inquire the "practical question" on how to develop policymaking, within the ferment of the notion itself, in addition to the "epistemic question" (p. 27). Similarly, Favell (2014) maintains his apprehension of "empirical operationalization," yet suggests that migration studies, which as he views as a "human-centered" field, need to be grounded with "real" and "lived" experiences of the subjects themselves (p. xi). Finally, as Uyan-Semerci (2012) also suggests, while conceptualizing exclusion, it is important to understand how poverty is experienced by the individuals, given the reason that how it is conceptualized would eventually affect the policies developed in response (p. 190). Against this background, this thesis is supported by the findings of the qualitative field study regarding the issue.

The strength of the study would first lie in its attempt to reflect the voices of the subjects themselves, through qualitative field-work study, as suggested frequently by the overarching literature. Secondly, and hopefully, this study would encourage and contribute to the identification of refugee-specific challenges and deprivation in migration studies. Finally, the significance of the study would be conducting research on such a current, yet a "moving target," in a timely manner and contribute to the writings and analysis of one of the biggest humanitarian crisis of the century so far, as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Antonio Guterres expressed back in 2013, on a briefing to the UN Security Council on Syria, the world "[has] not seen a refugee outflow escalate at such a frightening rate since the Rwandan genocide" (UNHCR 2013).

It is important to note at this point that, even though the field-work of the research has taken place in Germany, this paper does have any intention to make any assumptions and generalizations targeting the host-countries in question, namely Germany, and/or other countries that had been host-countries to some of the participants before arriving in Germany. Rather, the overall aim of the paper is to understand, establish and present the refugee experience in the post-

migration context, as a universal concept, giving insight from the case of Syrian Refugees in Berlin, Germany. In this regard, it can be maintained that the overall purpose of the study is to understand the Syrian situation of refugees within the exclusion debate, identify the potential target areas and consequently provide a qualitative kind of source to respond to them.

1.4 Research Questions

First of all, this research shuttles between the field findings and the literature on social exclusion, to be able to inquire, how the definition of exclusion would be compatible with interpreting and conceptualizing the field findings, to explore which aspects of the field findings would reflect "the story of exclusion" refugees may experience within the settlement process, in the most accurate manner. Within the framework of rights, resources, and relations, this paper displays how settlement experiences, through reading Agamben's "state of exception" in today's conjecture and observing its application with the case of mass populations of Syrian refugees in neighboring countries, as well as in Europe.

In this manner, this research is intended to serve in two different ways. First, according social exclusion's definition and history, observes how the concept has evolved in Europe, how its scope has been expanded in accordance with the changing conjectures in Europe, how could it be instrumental to understand the refugee experience in Europe, and finally how it could contribute to the ongoing literature on exclusion in Europe. Second, how it could contribute to policy-making, given that with the fieldwork study, this thesis identifies the areas where the subjects themselves feel excluded or where their situation falls under the definition of exclusion, for it would hopefully give an insight about the areas of concern for governments to consider and to benefit from while policy-making.

The thesis is grounded on the findings derived from the qualitative fieldwork study conducted in Berlin, Germany, with twenty-two Syrian refugee people, thirteen of whom had experienced a secondary migration and relocated from their first countries of asylum. Given that the migration is humanitarian, identifying the reasons why people might have needed to relocate had been particularly essential. Additionally, there have been questions inquiring the perspectives, expectations, and suggestions of the Syrian refugees on their livelihoods in Germany. Starting with broad questions about their perception of their living conditions in their host-countries,

targeting areas ranging from housing to employment and conditions thereof, settling down to inquiring their feelings regarding their lives in their new society and future aspirations. Having discovered the responses indicating a kind of a social exclusion, further research questions seek to elicit; in which areas they feel excluded, how such an exclusion make them feel, what they think are the barriers to their aspired inclusion, what they think are the reasons for such barriers, and finally where the participants see the solution to their identified problem in accordance with their future aspirations in their countries of destination.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis, first sets to elicit the notion of social exclusion by providing a literature review to understand, how the concept has developed to mean what it means today in the European context, and how it could be implemented to understand and explain the refugee experience derived from the qualitative fieldwork study conducted with Syrian asylum seekers and refugees in Berlin, Germany. Consequently, the exhibition of the sample, and details about the data collection procedure composed of vis-à-vis semi-structured in-depth interviews and one focus-group study, and the data analysis procedure within a thematic approach are provided in the Methodology chapter.

Consequently, the field findings derived from qualitative fieldwork study conducted in four different language groups; Arabic, English, German and Turkish, give insight about the livelihoods of Syrian refugees in their countries of destination, - not only in Germany, but also in other neighboring countries such as Algeria, Lebanon and Turkey - through their experiences, which manifests itself most visibly in their labor market outcomes. The field findings can be grouped into two broad categories regarding their stories of exclusion, revolving around their labor market participation. The first category would tackle, why labor market participation is so important for the subjects themselves as a way of inclusion; and consequently, the second category would highlight what the participants think are the barriers to their labor market participation, together with the variety of complexities they frequently come across with, within the state of uncertainty.

Within the first category, two main reasons emerge why the participants value labor market participation as a way of inclusion through their resettlement processes. The first reason appears to be regarding the welfare benefits that they are eligible to receive during the evaluation processes

of their asylum applications. The participants express their will to be independent of the welfare benefits they receive from the German government, due to reasons mainly revolving around their experiences of discrimination over the distribution of the so-called scarce resources. Consequently, the participants believe that participating in the labor market, and eventually becoming independent of welfare benefits, would enable them to re-establish a sense of control over their lives, as well as provide them with a feeling that their lives are 'back to normal' in their countries of destination.

When it comes to the challenges which they think that prevent them from being able to actively participate in the labor market in their countries of destination, it can be observed that these challenges are mainly structural, as also addressed in the relevant literature regarding social exclusion. The first challenge appears to be the waiting period accompanied by the feeling of uncertainty, which in the literature is addressed as the period of "limbo." As have been explained within the context and background session, refugees and asylum seekers have obligations to commit before being able to take part in employment in Germany. Accordingly, it can be observed that, for the participants, the feeling of uncertainty is furthered by the complexity of bureaucracy and the requirements from the German State regarding their settlement. Another challenge would be regarding the absence of human and social capitals of refugees, for their journeys are not planned as in regular migration. Therefore they have a deficiency in linguistic skills as well as migration networks, which can be quite dangerous for it deepens the vulnerability of refugees making them victims to brokers and fraud.

Within this structure, the thesis aims to give an insight into the livelihoods of Syrian asylum-seekers an refugees in Berlin, Germany, which is observed to be displaying a common ground with the notion of social exclusion, as will be explained in the following chapter; attempts to enrich the literature on exclusion tackling the refugee situation with supportive findings from the qualitative fieldwork study; and finally hopes to shed light on the areas of concern, for targeted policy development regarding the issues of inclusion and harmonization of refugee populations in the labor markets in their countries of destination.

CHAPTER 2: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: LITERATURE REVIEW ON SOCIAL EXCLUSION

2.1 History and Definitions of Social Exclusion

The term "social exclusion" appears to be a European concept with its French origins. The earliest reference to the term is accredited to Réné Lenoir (1974), who, in his book, *Les exclus,* draws attention to people, who were exempt from social protection systems, including the senior citizens, unaccompanied minors, addicts and some other groups who were at the "margins" of the society and were deprived of the protection of the State (de Haan 1998, p. 11; Levitas 2006, p. 124). Yet, Sen (2000), goes even back to late eighteenth century and claims that, even though the employment of the term social exclusion as "a free-standing concept" is quite recent, its ferment can be found in the writings of Adam Smith, which outstandingly concentrates around poverty and deprivation (p. 5). As conveyed by Sen, Adam Smith, with his emphasis on "capabilities," defines deprivation as, "inability to appear in public without shame" (*ibid*). Sen further explains the term within its French origins, associates it with the values of "liberty, equality and fraternity," and contends that, the demand for "fraternity" calls for avoiding "exclusion," and the demand for "equality" urges the elimination of "poverty" through the implementation of equal rights and opportunities (*ibid,* p. 24).

The term spreads quickly around Europe and is widely adopted, for it was instrumental to explain the "new social problems" rising as a result of urbanization such as "unemployment, ghettoization, changes in family structure," that welfare benefits were not able to tackle anymore (de Haan 1998, p. 11). Silver (1994 cited in Loury 2000) highlights that, in addition to "social exclusion," some other terms are employed to describe the consequences of the "economic restructuring" in Europe such as "new poverty," and "the underclass," which indicate the "vulnerable populations" within their territories (p. 226). In this response, it can be said that the term is explained in relation to socio-economic developments such as industrialization, migration, and urbanization (Allman 2013, p. 8; Byrne 2005, p. 23; Uyan-Semerci 2012, p. 193). Allman (2013), who sees the inclusion of the term in the discourse of European Commission in 1995, as "key point of departure," once again underlines that the term "poverty" was not adequate to define the predicament of the so-called "marginalized" (p. 7).

Although the term is employed in policy documents in Europe as an "umbrella term," that there is no agreed-upon definition, consequently as the concept spreads to other countries from France, each country attaches meaning to it, in accordance with their own conjecture and social issues (Rawal 2008, p. 164; Todman 2004, p. 2). Moreover, Abrams, Christian and Gordon (2007), draw attention to the fact that, the term might have dissimilar definitions in academic and policy circles; concentrating on different facades of exclusion, therefore constructing one solitary definition might not necessarily be "desirable," either (p. xiii). Levitas (2000), attributes the adaptability and applicability of the term social exclusion to academic and political areas to its "elasticity" (p. 358), which Todman views as the reason for the term's "popularity" in Europe (*ibid*, p. 5). Last but not least, Uyan-Semerci, Erdoğan and Sandal-Önal (2017), as well, view practices of exclusion and inclusion as socially constructed, which may have different forms in different societies (p. 36). Therefore, a study in Germany with refugee populations would give new insights into the literature on exclusion.

Even though there is no agreement on the "exact factors" or "agency" causing social exclusion, as Phillimore and Goodson (2006) suggest (pp. 1717-8), however, it is commonly agreed that the term has a "multi-dimensional" character, stemming from the complex nature of deprivations. In this manner, Du Toit (2004, cited in Allman 2013) similarly advocates that "definitions and their applications within individual country contexts allow [us] to present social exclusion as a single outcome of multiple determinants of deprivation" (p. 10). Sen (2000) warns that, since the term appears to be "versatile" and adaptable to various contexts, one needs to be cautious not to use it "indiscriminately," with a "temptation" to grasp every sort of deprivation responsible for social exclusion (p. 9). With this challenge in mind, it would be beneficial to have a look at the "school of thoughts" regarding social exclusion to have a clear frame.

To begin with, Silver (1994), who appears as one of the most prominent commentators and contributors of conceptualizing social exclusion, brings forward a model, where she identifies three paradigms of social exclusion, based on different meanings attributed to the concept by theoretical and political arenas. These three paradigms are listed as; (1) "solidarity paradigm"; (2) "specialization paradigm" and (3) "monopoly paradigm."

According to the "solidarity paradigm," which has its roots in the French thought,

particularly on Rousseau, social exclusion occurs as a result of a "deficiency of social solidarity" (Levitas 1994, p. 537). To elaborate, de Haan (1998) reads the solidarity paradigm as, the break of the "social bond between the individual and society," which has a political aspect, as well as cultural and moral, given that solidarity indicates "political rights and duties," as well. Accordingly, "the poor, unemployed and ethnic minorities" may also be demarcated as "outsiders," which results in their exclusion from the society (p. 13). In the "specialization paradigm," however, the emphasis is found on "individual liberalism," which draws more on the thoughts of Hobbes in the United States. According to this paradigm, exclusion is reproduced in terms of "economic division of labor" and "social differentiation," which indicates a sort of "discrimination," where particular groups or individuals are denied equitable access to opportunities. This kind of exclusion manifests itself more in the labor market with "unenforced rights" (de Haan 1998, p. 13).

Finally, according to the "monopoly paradigm," which has its roots more on the Weberian thought, "the social order" is forced by the establishment of "hierarchical power relations," and consequently social exclusion occurs as a result of the construction of "group monopolies," where the "powerful" creates a kind of "social closure" and confines the so-called "outsiders." The distinction of this paradigm than of specialization paradigm lies on the ground of "citizenship rights." To elaborate, in the monopoly paradigm, the individuals are structurally kept outside the law, and therefore their access to rights are dissimilar than of the citizens (de Haan 1998, p. 13). Furthermore, as Rawal (2008) notes, exclusion, which occurs as a result of the interaction between "class, status and political power" which favors the "included" and keeps the "excluded" at a distance and under domination (p. 168). This kind of exclusion can be eliminated through citizenship, which hints at the debate with third-country nationals, including refugee populations.

Similarly, Levitas (1998 in Levitas 2000) also develops a model, where she distinguishes three discourses of exclusion, which she lists as "redistributionist discourse (RED)," "social integration discourse (SID)," and finally "moral underclass discourse (MUD)." According to the redistributionist discourse (RED), poverty appears to be the reason for exclusion. Therefore the solution to exclusion lies directly in eliminating poverty through welfare benefits (p. 359). Here again the emphasis on "citizenship rights" might be observed. Therefore the discourse is likened to Silver's monopoly paradigm (Rawal 2008, p. 169).

In the social integration discourse (SID), the emphasis shifts to "labor-force attachment," which, in this view, would eliminate poverty and poverty-driven exclusion (Levitas 2000, p. 359). In this discourse, social exclusion is viewed as an outcome of unemployment, or "non-participation" in employment, which can be solved through individuals' inclusion in the corresponding labor markets (Byrne 2005, p. 55; Todman 2004, p. 3). As differentiated by Levitas (2000) herself, for there is no "reward" for "unpaid work" as in RED, where welfare benefits are available, SID highlights how "paid work" could still be insufficient to combat exclusion (p. 360). Here Levitas draws attention to the conditions in employment, which can be precarious in revenue, as well as in timing arrangements, which may continue to exclude individuals from participating in social activities. Therefore, she concludes that the main indicator of social exclusion in RED is "low income," whereas, in SID, it appears to be "unemployment" or "economic inactivity" (*ibid*, p. 360).

Lastly, the "moral underclass discourse (MUD)," concentrates on "moral and cultural" reasons for poverty, and consequently apprehends "workless households" than individual's participation in the labor market (*ibid*, p. 360). This discourse, with an emphasis on "dangerous classes" takes the outcomes of social exclusion on certain groups in a given "social order" in its center, which in this response could also cover the immigrant and refugee populations in a given society (*ibid*, p. 360). This approach concentrates more on the "pathological characteristics" of the "excluded," rather than the system itself, and view those as the reasons for their exclusion (Todman 2004, p. 3).

2.2 The Concepts of Poverty and Social Exclusion

As can be seen through the prominent paradigms and discourses of social exclusion by Silver (1994) and Levitas (1998), there is an evident relation between poverty and exclusion. As Levitas (2000) maintains, a clear distinction between social exclusion and poverty is not easy to detect, given that both are concerned with "lack of possessions" and "inability to do things," which are accepted to be "normal" within a given society (p. 369). Therefore, similarly, Sen (2000) suggests that it would be instrumental to start with the acknowledgment that social exclusion is theoretically connected with the "well-established" concepts of poverty and deprivation (p. 3). However, the nature of the relationship appears to be the question over the conceptualization

attempts of the notion of social exclusion.

As brought forward by de Haan (1998), there is disagreement over the ways which define social exclusion with poverty. For instance, where some commentators view poverty as one of many components of social exclusion, some others tend to see these two terms as alternative to one another (*ibid.* p. 12), such as Todman (2004), who observes that social exclusion is frequently described in a way which is "indistinguishable" from poverty, given that some authors use the terms "interchangeably" (p. 4; p. 9). On the other hand, Sen (2000) advocates that the "new literature" on social exclusion is indeed an extension of the existent literature on poverty, which can be read as "capability deprivation" (p. 3). On the other hand, similarly, there are views which assess the two concepts in a causal aspect and depict poverty as responsible for social exclusion and vice versa.

Therefore, it would be beneficial to begin the argument with the definition of poverty. According to the definition provided by the United Nations (1995, cited in Levitas 2000), poverty is initially associated with deficiency in "income and productive resources" which would be necessary to maintain "sustainable" lives, and is also manifested through inability to participate in "decision-making," as well as in "civil, social and cultural life" (p. 365). As can be seen in the definition, poverty has a solid connection with exclusion from social activities, for it has an evident "causal effect" on "participation in those (Levitas 2006, p. 153). That is where the "capability" or "incapability" debate on exclusion takes place. To elaborate, as de Haan (1998) notes, in the deprivation argument, the determining factor "is not what people possess but what it enables them to do"; therefore, the focus shifts from "possession" to "right" or "command" of individuals over these possessions in economic, social and political terms (pp. 14-5).

Similarly, Uyan-Semerci (2010) argues that poverty need not only be seen as deprivation in income but also a deprivation in capability, which reinforce and affect how individuals may participate in every institution of the society (p. ix). Later, she maintains that income poverty is limited to explain humanitarian development. Therefore, the term has been re-defined in the framework of capabilities (Uyan-Semerci 2012, p. 191). A similar approach would come from Levitas (2006), who also argues that poverty needs to be "[redefined] in terms of lack of opportunity" than in terms of "lack of resources" given that according to Levitas, poverty occurs

when individuals are deprived of "opportunities" for example "to work" or "to live healthy and secure lives" (p. 129). Chambers (2006), associates this aspect of social exclusion with "capability deprivation," and argues that such deprivation is also reflected through one's "self-respect" within the given society (p. 3).

Against this background, Sen (2000), who is among the commentators who depict social exclusion and poverty in a causal relation, maintains that it is pivotal to distinguish "diverse ways" through which exclusion would result in deprivation and poverty (p. 40). This statement brings forward one of the most prominent features attributed to social exclusion, namely it is being a "multi-faceted" or "multi-dimensional" phenomenon, which makes the concept particularly challenging to study and employ (Levitas 2000, p. 365; Rawal 2008, p. 165; Todman 2004, p. 5). To elaborate, individuals and/or groups of people, might experience exclusion in various different ways, or namely, there might be both "material" and "non-material" dimensions of deprivation, which is also cited to be the main differentiation of the concept of social exclusion than of poverty, which is seen to be "uni-dimensional," and directly measurable by "income" (Sen 2000; Shaban 2011; Todman 2004). What is striking about the "multi-dimensionality" of deprivations is that, all generally, these dimensions of deprivation appear to occur in a "mutually reinforcing" fashion, namely, one results in the other, and where the deprivations are "intersecting," the situation takes an even more precarious form (Chambers 2006, p. 3). This feature of social exclusion, with its effort to apprehend and analyze the "multi-faceted" aspect of deprivation, is seen as the "strength" of the concept (Rawal 2008, p. 165).

Before concluding on this section on exclusion and poverty and embarking on inquiring "who is the excluded," given the definition of exclusion above, it would be beneficial to list the harmonized differences cited in literature in an attempt to distinguish social exclusion from poverty. To begin with, Abrahamson (2001, cited in Todmann 2004), develops a table noting distinctions between social exclusion and poverty. Accordingly, poverty appears to be directly associated with "insufficient resources," whereas in social exclusion the concern is "the denial of ability to exercise rights"; poverty happens to be a "static condition" where social exclusion is a "dynamic process"; in poverty, the "stratification" occurs in a "vertical" manner indicating lower/upper classes, whereas in social exclusion the stratification occurs in a "horizontal" fashion, separating the "insiders" from the "outsiders," all in all, consequently where the study of poverty

15

would be found in "economics," a study of social exclusion would be genuinely "sociological" (Abrahamson 2001 cited in Todmann 2004, p. 11). As a final remark, approving Todman (2004), Richmond (2004) suggests, what distinguishes social exclusion from poverty is that social exclusion draws attention to "social mechanisms" which create and sustain the so-called deprivation, rather than deal with the deprivation itself (p. 48).

2.3 Defining the Subject: Who Is the "Excluded?"

Before attempting to observe the possibility of employing the concept of social exclusion while studying the asylum-seeking and refugee populations, it would be instrumental to revert the question and ask who the "excluded" is according to the descriptions in the literature, as well as remarking how social exclusion is defined. To begin with, it has already been noted that, social exclusion appears to be a "state," where people experience "a combination of linked problems," which come together to "trap" them in "a spiral of disadvantage," and progressively detach them from the centers of "power," "resources" and "values" (Levitas 2006, pp. 125-9; Phillimore & Goodson 2006, p. 1718). In the same way, Crespo et al. (2003) observe that, exclusion occurs as a "social process," where individuals, or a social group of people, are not able to maintain and sustain a life within an "integrated" fashion, commonly given the factors that have already determined it, which hint at the "structural" causes of exclusion (p. 22).

A similar approach to these definitions is also found within the "capability" argument in relation to economic, social and cultural (ESC) rights, where it is believed that social exclusion lies (Levitas 2000, p. 365). Todman (2004) maintains that social exclusion occurs when individuals and groups, are incapable of participating in social, economic, political, cultural, civic institutions, activities, and services which are accepted to be "ordinary" or "customary" in a given society (p. 5). Confirming, Cook (2009) notes that social exclusion is a "dynamic process" where individuals experience deficiency regarding their "access" to activities, that are considered "normal" in the society they live (p. 2).

This statement takes us to the "relativity" aspect of social exclusion, which is highly critical to determine, given that to be able to conclude that one is socially excluded, the case needs to be assessed in relation to the mainstream society. To begin with, it is widely acknowledged and addressed in the literature that, social exclusion takes place when people are found in a

disadvantaged position "relative" or "comparable" to the majority, in a given society (Allman 2013, p. 7; de Haan 1998, pp. 14-5; Todman 2004, p. 6). Sen (2000) claims that the authentic position of the social exclusion concept may be found in its emphasis on "relational deprivations, assessed within the "capability" frame, inherited from Adam Smith's discourse (pp. 6-7).

Another emphasis would be on the "everydayness" of social exclusion. As maintained by de Haan (1998), and later by Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud (2002, cited in Todman 2004), individuals or groups can be said to be socially excluded if they do not, or are not able to "participate in the key activities" within a given society (p. 10; p. 4). Similarly, Allman (2013) highlight that, "belongingness" which one experiences within their "everyday relations" establishes the basis of exclusion and inclusion (p. 3). In this manner, Uyan-Semerci (2012) encourages to consider ways to discover, how discrimination occurs in relation to poverty and social exclusion and discuss it in various dimensions. She argues that all "disadvantageous groups" may come across with discrimination in their daily lives; moreover, such discrimination may itself be the cause of poverty, or if intersected may be experienced in a more striking way (p. 190).

At a certain point, of course, it is also necessary to have a look at the literature following Lenoir, who had already come up with a list of the "socially excluded." As Silver (1994, cited in Sen 2000) records, people may have been found excluded from;

> A livelihood; secure, permanent employment; earnings; . . housing; education, skills, and cultural capital; the welfare state; citizenship and legal equality; democratic participation; public goods; the nation or the dominant race; family and sociability; humanity, respect, fulfillment and understanding (Sen 2000, p. 1).

Which are all relevant in the case of asylum-seeking and refugee populations. Last but not least, beyond material and non-material means of deprivation, the concept's relation to other attributes such as "ethnicity, race, gender, disability" and so on, and their manifestations in forms of discrimination, need not be neglected from the framework of the studies in social exclusion, especially in post-immigration societies (Allman 2013, p. 8; Shaban 2011, p. 5; Uyan-Semerci 2012, p. 191).

2.4 Exclusion and Refugees within the Framework of 'Rights, Resources and Relations'

Finally, this section aims to comprehend and conceptualize the situation of refugees in their host societies, with regard to social exclusion within the framework of rights, namely the "the state of exception" suggested by Agamben (1998); resources, both in terms of material and non-material assets; and lastly, relations, indicating the social capital and network of the asylum seekers and refugee populations. To begin with, it would be instrumental to commence with inquiring how and why social exclusion might be a problem for the asylum seekers and refugees, to be able to highlight refugee-specific risks and challenges. As Alba and Foner (2014) note, immigrants come together with their characteristics or qualities, by means of skills, education and culture, which reinforce the challenges they encounter in their countries of destination (p. 282). Further, they record that, the institutions and structures in the host society are also determinant in the sorts of the barriers, and their reflection in terms of inclusion and exclusion (*ibid*, p. 282).

As reported by the European Commission (2016), refugees arrive with specific challenges, or in other words, "vulnerabilities" caused by previous trauma; "lack of documentation" as well as disregard for the qualifications; "inactivity" during asylum procedure, in addition to other common barriers they share with third-country nationals such as linguistic barriers; challenges in the labor market; scarce housing options and so on (p. 4). As noted by Taylor (2004), the "becoming" of a refugee is generally linked to poverty and deprivation, not only in material terms, but also in non-material terms, given that they leave their jobs, houses, belongings and even family members behind, and encounter a period of "limbo," in during the resettlement process in host countries (p. 6). Furthermore, Oberoi (2009) contend that the particular "vulnerability" of the whole immigrant populations in their countries of destination originates from their "non-citizenship" (p. 33). Additionally, migrants, especially refugees, might be "unfamiliar" with the local language, as well as laws and practices, which leaves them in a more vulnerable position to enforce their rights than other immigrant groups (*ibid*, p. 33).

As can be seen above, asylum seekers and refugees arrive in their countries of destination, suffering from multiple deprivations both in material and non-material terms, as suggested by the definition of social exclusion. In studying social exclusion, employment of the framework of "rights, resources, and relations," is originally suggested by de Haan (1998). However, even before

de Haan (1998), Silver (1994, cited in Uyan-Semerci 2012), observes that social exclusion may be identified in three different bases. These can be listed as, firstly being excluded from the "economic" realm, namely exclusion from the labor market, as well as "inability" to access to basic resources needed to sustain a livelihood; secondly witnessing "non-recognition," which refers to exemption from legal and political rights, as well as social and economic, combined with access to services; thirdly and finally, being excluded from the social relations on both individual and communal levels (*ibid.* p. 192). Similarly, and more recently, Burchardt et al. (2002, cited in Todman 2004), develop a model, where they define social exclusion through dimensions of "consumption; production; political engagement and social interaction" (p. 5).

To elaborate, when the framework of rights, resources, and relations is reflected in the case of asylum seekers and refugees, the preliminary observation would be that, within a rights-focus approach, exclusion might be reflected through "selective and deliberate policies" which denies some ASRs from their rights such as "federally funded settlement support, family reunion, employment" (Taylor 2004, p. 17). Similarly, Todman (2004) notes that according to the definition by UNDP within a "right-focused approach," social exclusion appears as "non-recognition of basic civil and social rights" such "access to healthcare, education, and other non-material forms of well-being" (p. 4), which is addressed as "unenforced" or "unrealized social rights" (Allman 2013, p. 8; Oberoi 2009, p. 33; Uyan-Semerci 2010, p. x). Uyan-Semerci (2010) encourages to view and conceptualize poverty as "violation of human rights" and highlights how economic and social rights - which are in relevance with the "resources" and "relations" points of our framework – are fundamental for the enforcement of other rights (pp. ix-x). Later, Göregenli (2012, cited in Uyan-Semerci, Erdoğan & Sandal-Önal 2017) draws attention on the "legal" aspect of social exclusion, revealing itself in forms of discrimination through "unenforced rights," which she argues is the "indirect" denial of the fundamental rights based on equality of human beings, (p. 34). Last but not least, Crespo, Lopez and Vitello (2003), hint at the factors contributing to exclusion of third-country nationals in Europe and maintain that, "integration" as opposed to exclusion, means "the exercising of basic rights, of justice, and of social and civil rights" (p. 26).

To begin with, while carrying the argument to the refuge-specific aspects of social exclusion, Crespo, Lopez and Vitello (2003) observe that, the preliminary classification and exclusion of non-citizen populations begin with by their differentiation as "regular" and

"irregular," "with papers" and "without papers," where the "irregulars" and "without papers," obviously experience a direct exclusion, given that they are "invisible to the administration," which appears to be the main challenge for asylum-seeking populations (p. 27). Bloch and Schuster (2002) describe that Germany also has such a "process of differentiation" through rights that are reliant on diverse residency statuses and the existence of a discrete system explicitly for asylum seekers (p. 409). Furthermore, even when regularized, and refugees are entitled with equal protection of their economic, social and cultural rights, Oberoi (2009) notes that variety of factors avert them from having an "effective access" to those, which is featured as "*de jure* and *de facto* discrimination," that is intensified by the "invisibility" and "vulnerability" of refugee populations (p. 33).

In this respect, Uyan-Semerci et al. (2017), draw attention on the "citizenship rights" as opposed to "immigrant rights," especially in multi-cultural societies, where discrimination and exclusion may be based on factors such as race, ethnicity, gender and so on (p. 35). "Denial of citizenship rights," which may be legitimate within the sovereign state to a certain point, may at the most extreme take form of "denial of human rights" (*ibid*, p. 35). This view shows resemblance with Agamben's (1998), who argues in *Homo-Sacer*, referring to a "figure of archaic Roman law," that "may be killed and yet not sacrificed," where, at the most extreme, the harm caused may be legitimized by the sovereign state, and such exclusion may appear in the form of legitimization of denial of human rights (p. 12). Agamben depicts the condition of *Homo-Sacer* within a "bare life," where the subject "remains included in politics in the form of the exception," which he also calls as "exclusion" (*ibid*, p. 13). Agamben addresses this situation as "the state of exception," which he defines as "zone of indistinction between outside and inside" (*ibid*, p. 102). He also draws attention on the "politicization" of bare life" through policies of inclusion and exclusion and brings forward the argument of "inclusive exclusion" given that the "Sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception" (*ibid*, pp. 13-4). He elaborates that, the excluded is not exempt from the rule. Instead, "the exception maintains itself in relation to the rule in the form of the rule's suspension," which hints at the "limbo" period, that most of the refugees and asylum-seekers experience during their settlement processes, with the long waiting periods in uncertainty (*ibid*, p. 18). Finally, Agamben, as well, draws attention on the distinction between "the rights of man" and "the rights of the citizen" and views this as the main contributor of the exclusion of refugee populations in countries of destination (*ibid*, p. 78).

Saraceno (2002, cited in Todman 2014) similarly observes that the discourse on social exclusion develops within two "analytic lineages," the first one, concentrates on the questions of "poverty" and "material deprivation," with an emphasis on "social conditions" through which, people are included in or excluded from "relevant resources," and is correlated with the "social rights tradition"; the second one concentrates more on subjects such as "social disintegration, marginality [and] un-belonging," which she views as "processes" through which, people are disengaged from "meaningful social networks" in a given society (p. 2). This initial definition is a good starting point for analyzing the refugee experience within the two remaining aspects of our framework; "resources" and "relations."

To begin with, it has already been maintained that, we can talk about social exclusion in a relative manner. To elaborate, people are considered to be socially excluded, if they experience "disadvantages" or "inequalities" in comparison to other groups or members, and if their "resources, opportunities [and] entitlements" prevent them from engaging in activities that are considered "normal" or "customary" in a given society (Todman 2004, p. 6). In this manner, it is not difficult to observe that, asylum seekers and refugees, in contrast to other immigrant groups, may arrive with deficiencies in their resources both in material and non-material terms.

First of all, in the case of ASRs, the relocation cost may be quite high, and they may arrive in low capital resources. Additionally, since their journeys may not always be well-planned, they might be missing documents regarding their qualifications, which besides putting additional burden to their recognition processes, may also cause experiences of long-term unemployment or employment in lower qualified jobs, often in the informal sectors, where they become open to exploitation (Schmidt & Liebig 2016, p. 30; Taylor 2004, p. 17). As Levitas (2006) notes, even though the deficiency in resources might appear as one of the central aspects of poverty, the focus needs to be shifted to identifying and targeting who are "at risk of becoming trapped on low incomes for long periods, especially those who have limited opportunities to escape" (p. 129). This statement appears to be in accordance with the situation of the refugees, who appear to trapped in "multiple" and "mutually-reinforcing" disadvantages throughout their settlement experiences.

Finally, as it has been maintained above, not being able to take part in the activities accepted "normal" by the majority of the population, is a prominent aspect of social exclusion. The

statement inherently indicates the association of social exclusion and lack of interaction with the mainstream society and hints at the "relations" aspect of our framework. In this respect, highlighting once again the particularity of asylum-seeking and refugee people, whose deprivations can take a more complex form, Bloch and Schuster (2002) draw attention on "the dependency on smugglers," which may cost the ASRs arrival in countries, where they lack "social and/or kinship networks" that are vital in the initial phases of the settlement (p. 403). Similarly, Burchardt et al. (2002 cited in Todman 2004) systemize social exclusion through "the lens of agency" (p. 7). Likewise, Byrne (2005) views "culture" as of the multiple dimensions of social exclusion and encourages to understand the concept through analyzing the "deficits in cultural, and hence human, capital" (p. 133). De Haan (1998), as well, comes with the idea of "social capital" in "development debate," initially adopted by Putnam (1993), who takes the argument from the other way around and suggests that, the greater the degree of "horizontal connections" within a society, the more efficacious the governments would be (p. 15).

Crespo et al. (2003) estimate that there may be "mutual distrust," attributable to lack of familiarity between one another, which again would be reinforced with a consequent lack of interaction, followed by the insufficiency of environments which would provide the interaction (p. 28). Corresponding, The Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy (2004), who views "interaction between immigrants and Member State citizens [as] a fundamental mechanism for integration," and therefore elimination of social exclusion, encourages States to create an environment to improve such interactions (CBP7). However, more recent debates also encourage interaction among kinship networks, as Hilber and Baraulina (2012) maintain, whereas formerly, "migrant networks" were taken as an aspect of "cultural segregation" and therefore had a negative connotation, today, they are being appraised in a more optimistic manner, given the "resource oriented-approach," which claims that people with an immigration background would get access to "social support" and "valuable information," through their ethnic networks (p. 93). Furthermore, it is also noted that, the deficiency in social capital and networks in the case of refugees, may also have direct influence on their labor market outcomes. They might experience further challenges in their access to information, which may result in not being informed about "the processes" or "the channels" to employment in a foreign country (Desiderio & Schuster 2013, p. 17; OECD & UNHCR 2018, p. 16).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 The Sample

Due to conducting the field-work study in a foreign country with limited resources, including networks, I had to rely on available subjects while sampling, therefore there had been no pre-determined demographic profile in terms as age, gender, marital status and so on. My first intention was to carry out purposeful sampling and reach out and interview Syrian refugees, who have previously been in Turkey, and eventually relocated and ended-up in Germany. However, because of difficulties in reaching adequate number of participants due to aforementioned challenges, I had to rely on available subjects, through snowball sampling, which in fact had been fruitful for it enriched my sampling, even if not in terms of age and gender distribution (see Table 1; Table 2 and Table 3), but in terms of educational, occupational, and most importantly linguistic attainments, which might be critical to determine or affect (1) the reasons to migrate (or relocate); (2) satisfaction in the host country and its aptness with their prior expectation; and finally (3) integration aspirations and future plans, that I was searching for.

Table 1: Age Distribution of the Participants

Young Adulthood (15-29)	Prime Age (30-49)	Middle Age (50-64)	Old Age (65+)	TOTAL
15	6	0	1	22

Table 2: Gender Distribution of the Participants

Female	Male	TOTAL
3	19	22

Table 3: Distribution of the Participants According to Marital Status

Married	Single	TOTAL
3	19[1]	22

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[1] 1 Single mother with three kids #ASIC1.

Still, thirteen out of twenty-two participants of my sample, are composed of people who have experienced a secondary-migration to Europe from their first countries of asylum, mainly in neighboring countries; with nine who relocated from Turkey, two from Algeria, and two from Lebanon (see Table 4). The almost even distribution of participants in terms of their post-migration experience had been determinant in shaping the structure of the thesis. The relocated, and other people who directly aimed for Europe created clusters, to check against one another. Such clustering has internal validity since the relocated had spent as much or even more time in their first countries of asylum, than their current.

Table 4: Distribution of Participants According to Countries of First Asylum

Algeria	Lebanon	Turkey	TOTAL
2	2	9	13/22

It has been challenging to create my sample. Thankfully, I was referred by the immigrant organization, where I pursued my Erasmus+ Internship during the process, to some other organizations and integration course providers, that could have been helpful with my sampling. I have also done extensive internet research on NGOs working on refugees in Berlin to ask for their cooperation, with the hope to access more participants and expand my research. After a busy process of e-mailing and vis-à-vis visits to those places, most of whom would not want to be in a mediator position due to "confidentiality" issues, some have given ideas on how to reach. However finally, through snow-ball sampling reached through four different channels, I had been able to reach out twenty-two people and conduct seventeen semi-structured in-depth interviews in three different languages; English, German and Turkish, and a focus-group study composed of five people in the Arabic language.

In order to eliminate sampling-bias, I have conducted my research mainly through four different channels, in addition to one independent contact that has no relation to any of these networks. The channels also diverge in two main groups, the two in the first group are integration courses provided to refugees by the German Government. One of them is located in Kreuzberg, and the other one is in Wedding, which are both known to be 'Turkish neighborhoods' in Berlin, Germany. The other two of them are non-profit, non-governmental organizations engaged in work

with refugees, who are both established in the Summer of 2015, seemingly due to the high-refugee inflows in Germany. These two NGOs also differ between each other in the way they operate. While one, which is again located in Wedding, is composed of rather a smaller group, where both refugees and citizens develop a remarkable bond, as they work and produce together, which gives them a sense of belonging as well as a sense of productivity and effectiveness. The other one is channel is rather a larger event in the concept of a speaking club, organized by an NGO aiming to enhance the linguistic skills of refugees, as well as providing them with an environment to socialize with locals, as well as other refugees, which is beneficial for improving their "social capitals" via building networks. Furthermore, the event is again held in Kreuzberg, famous for its dense Turkish population. Aside from the four channels elucidated above, I have accessed one participant through independent contact.

Table 5: Distribution of Participants According to the Type of the Networks Accessed

Independent Contact	Integration Course	Non-governmental Organization	TOTAL
1	11	10	22

3.2 The Data Collection Procedure

Before starting with the field research, I had done further readings, which are not cited, but benefited, on how to work with sensitive groups such as refugees, to be able to have an effective and productive work while conducting the interviews. All the interviews are conducted and tape-recorded by me, in Spring 2017. The participants' consents for being tape-recorded, are taken verbally and recorded, as well. Before starting with the interviews, I once again introduced myself; briefly reclarified the scope and purpose of my research and thanked the participants for accepting to take part and for contributing to my research. I paid attention to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and comfort. Some of the participants have declared that they accepted to take part in this research because I came from Turkey, which I would read not only in relation to kinship but also concurrently having an immigration experience, as the participants themselves. Another factor which gave the participants comfort appears to be my age, given the cumulation of the sample in the young-adulthood age range, which I also belong. Finally, the type of data collection place may also be a factor for creating a sense of comfort (See Table 6).

When clustered according to the type of data collection place, both for the vis-à-vis interviews and the focus group study, only four out of the twenty-two were conducted in a "private place," mainly the house of the participant' or that of their friend's. Even though the remaining eighteen are clustered to be conducted in "public places," these are places, the participants visit in their daily lives, mainly the integration courses, so this may have contributed to their sense of comfort during the interviews.

Table 6: Type of Data Collection Place

Private	Public	TOTAL
4	18	22

During the interviews, I tried to have a flow going from general to specific and tried to elicit the story from the respondents. Discovering what mattered the participants the most and their opinion-value had been the main strategy throughout the interviews. Last but not least, throughout the interviews, I paid attention to be a good listener and an observer. The flow of the interviews has been more like a conversation, given the atmosphere I tried to maintain as described above. Finally, the duration of the interviews was generally satisfying. The information on the duration of the interviews may be found in Table 7.

Table 7: Duration of the Interviews per the Languages Conducted

DURATION	ARABIC*	ENGLISH	GERMAN*	TURKISH
	(Focus Group of 5)	22.53 min	43.51 min	56.28 min
	1.10.25 min	32.07 min	38.40 min	57.01 min
		38.36 min	48.03 min	30.19 min
		01.18.03 min		1.15.07 min
		48.31 min		1.13.14 min
		42.35 min		1.15.21 min
		35.04 min		
		46.01 min		
APPROX.	12 min.	43 min.	43 min.	61 min.

3.2.1 Semi-structured In-depth Interviews

As I have explained in the sampling section, even though my sample was not very diverse in terms of age and gender, it was fruitful in terms of other attributes such as languages spoken, education, occupation (which indicates previous social status) to see how these variables affected (1) reasons to migrate, (2) satisfaction in the host country, and (3) perceptions of integration and future aspirations. So, it can be concluded that my sample was responsive to my research intentions.

The semi-structured in-depth interview questions, which may be found in Appendix A.1 and Appendix A.2, are prepared by myself in English and Turkish languages respectively. The reason for the selection of multiple languages for the research is, with the assumption that English speaking and Turkish speaking participants would show disparities which would eventually – and hopefully – diversify my sampling and contribute to my findings. Additionally, I had the chance to include two more language groups; first Arabic, the native language of the participants, and German, which is the local language spoken in their countries of destination. This had been an incredible opportunity for me to first, hear the refugees voices in their language, secondly, given that language acquisition is highly associated with integration, to see what differences this German-speaking group have when compared to the others in terms of their aspirations of harmonization.

Table 8: Distribution According to the Language of the Interview

Arabic	English	German	Turkish	TOTAL
5	8	3	6	22

The interview questions are composed of two sections. The first section, (A) demographic questions, while gathering information on age, gender, marital status and attainments such as education level and occupation; also act as a warm up and get to know session. The second section, (B) research questions; first (B.1.) seek background information on motivations to locate in Germany, as well as reasons to leave Turkey if applicable; their lives back in to compare with their life in the host country and consequently to better understand the responses they will be giving in the last section regarding integration; following (B.2.) questions regarding the life in host country,

inquiring more physical conditions such as the housing arrangement, employment status, access to services including integration support, and finally (B3) questions inquiring the perceptions of participants regarding their life in the host country, their perceptions of integration and plans and aspirations (see Appendix A.1)

The interview questions, provided in Appendix A.1 may seem exhaustive, yet they were needed for several purposes. First, it was a new experience for me, so I did not want to lose track. To elaborate the questions served more like a guide for me, in case I could not get the respondents to speak, which luckily did not happen. Eventually, I could observe that, open-ended interview questions and transitions were beneficial, that most of the time, the points were already covered, without even asking directly, as I gazed through them to see if I am missing any. All in all, the interview questions were not handed-in the respondents, it was more like a guide, or outline for me to both to be able to keep track of the inquiry as well as, to avoid non-response bias, in case the participant would not speak, or the conversation would be stuck. To conclude, in practice the nature of the interviews had been genuinely open-ended, in-depth and semi-structured.

3.2.2 Focus Group Study

The focus-group study composed of five Arabic-speaking participants and another English-speaking participant from Syria, who volunteered to contribute to my study as an interpreter. The focus-group study had been very productive with the eager contribution of the participants and the immense support and collaboration of the volunteer interpreter. Conducting a study, in the mother tongue of the participants had its benefits. As one of the English-speaking participants, who also has an advanced level of the German language maintains,

> If you are talking to someone in English, you're talking to, you know maybe his mind, but when you're talking his mother language, you're talking to his feelings, so, so you get to know the culture much better. You get to know how the people think (ESNG6).

Also, the profiles of the participants of the focus-group study had been more diverse, than among the vis-à-vis interviews. To elaborate, most remarkably, among the five members of the group, two of them were women, making two out of all three female participants in the field-work study. Aside from diversity in gender, the age, marital status, and educational and occupational backgrounds were also quite diverse. Detailed information on the profile of the participants may

be found in Appendix B.1: "Demographic Information of All Participants" and Appendix B.2: "Educational and Occupational Profiles of All Participants."

The focus-group study is conducted around a round table, where each participant, the interpreter and the interviewer were at the same distance to one another, where eye contact was possible. I had also been able to act as a "convert," a full participant in the group, as well as keeping my position as a moderator. Also, the interpreter's from the same integration course, aside from his coming from Syria for asylum purposes, had contributed to maintaining a friendly and a comfortable atmosphere, where all the participants could have the chance to speak, as well as interact and contribute by agreeing or disagreeing. The focus group study took an hour and ten minutes, where each participant had more or less twelve minutes each, including the discussions (see Table 8). All in all, the focus group study had been very productive and enriched my findings.

3.2.3 Use of Interpreters

It has been noted that the interviews are conducted and tape-recorded by me in Spring 2017, in four different languages; Arabic, English, German and Turkish, with interpretation support in Arabic and German languages, with the help of translators, who gratefully volunteered to contribute to my study. The target language was English for both groups.

Table 9: Use of Interpreters

Arabic	English	German	Turkish
Yes	No	Yes	No

For the Arabic-speaking focus group study with five Arabic-speaking participants, and another person from Syria attending the integration course, speaking in English, who volunteered to translate the focus group and enabled me to listen to the refugees in their mother tongues, and also reach out a different language group. It was advantageous in many ways. Besides enabling me to hear refugees' voices in their own language, it created an atmosphere of comfort, since initially, the interpreter was among them, both being a refugee from Syria and being a friend of theirs from the language course.

On the other hand, in the German-speaking group, as well, a volunteer native-speaker, who works at one of the NGOs, thankfully enabled me to reach out a different language group, which is remarkable because they manage to speak the language of the host community. Similarly, the existence of the interpreter from the NGO, which the participants of this group regularly visit and develop a sense of belonging and comfort, made them more eager to participate, as in the Arabic-speaking group.

Even though the contribution and effort of both interpreters are highly appreciated, and the research would not have been as rich, if they had not contributed; still, there are certain observations and challenges, that I have come across with during the vis-à-vis interviews, which I find worth mentioning for future researchers to consider.

To begin with, unlike in the Arabic-speaking group, where the participants could speak in their mother tongue, in the German-speaking group, since it is a newly acquired language, there had been misunderstandings, which affected the quality of data attempted to be gathered. Also, as a speaker of the German language, luckily, I could observe that sometimes, especially when the participant talked for a long time while answering to open-ended questions, the interpreter, naturally did not intervene with the flow of thought of the participant not to discourage them from speaking. However, since while translating it to me, the responses are shortened, summarized and sometimes some points are forgotten to mention. However, I managed to avoid such loss in meaning by transcribing the tape-recorded responses of the participants directly, in the first person singular, ignoring the interpretation. Therefore no shift or loss in meaning had been possible. Unfortunately, this would not have been possible for the Arabic-speaking group and the responses are reported within the interpretation of the translator, in the third person singular.

Additionally, unlike the atmosphere in the focus-group study, the existence of a third-party especially during vis-a-vis interviews had been disadvantageous than in without, in various ways. First, there had been a risk of "desirability bias," since the interpreter could represent an authority both being a native and working at the association the participants regularly visit and feel connected to. Additionally, when as a researcher, I need elaboration or clarification, it gets more difficult to convey or intervene, than in vis-a-vis interviews; therefore questions are kept simpler or even omitted, as can be observed in the difference in duration of the interviews with and without interpreters displayed in Table 7.

3.3 Data Analysis Procedure

3.3.1 Transcribing

It has been noted that all the interviews are conducted and tape-recorded by me, in Spring 2017. All the recordings of interviews have been fully transcribed within the following month. The recordings are initially clustered according to the language the interviews are conducted (see Table 8). While transcribing, the participants are given code numbers composed of five digits, which would not only help keep the participants' confidentiality but also serve as indicators regarding their profiles. To elaborate, while the first two letters of the participant code number indicate the language that the interview is conducted, the following two letters indicate whether the participant is reached through an integration course or a non-governmental organization. Finally, the last digit is composed of numbers, which list the participants in chronological order, within each language cluster.

Accordingly; the first two letters AS stands for Arabic Speaking; ES for English Speaking; GS for German Speaking; TS for Turkish Speaking, as listed in alphabetical order. The second two letters represent the types of networks, through which the participants are accessed. Accordingly, IC stands for Integration Course, ID for Independent Contact and NG for non-governmental organizations. Finally, the corresponding combinations of these four letters in displayed order, are numbered in chronological order, based on the date of data collection, among each language cluster. Consequently, to give an example, participant code ASIC1 would mean, Arabic-Speaking participant accessed through an integration course number one.

3.3.2 Thematic Approach

After the transcription process, I have adopted a thematic approach for the content analysis of the data derived from the field-work study. To do so, initially, I scanned through the whole transcribed texts, searched for frequently addressed words or concepts *(indexing),* to identify major themes and ideas, that is a primary concern to the subjects themselves, regarding their lives in the post-migration process. I could observe that the concerns concentrated around "money" and "work," hinting at their harmonization in the labor market in their countries of destination. The absence of it, indicated the existence of "social exclusion," as also indicated by keywords and

concepts such as "difficulty," "uncertainty" and "safety," which are also key concepts in the definition of social exclusion as explained in the previous chapter. When investigated further, why harmonization in the labor market was important to the subject themselves and what they think are barriers to employment - as posed to the participants with interview questions in B2 and B3 in Appendix A1 - I could observe that, the barriers identified were mainly structural and institutional, as also suggested in the literature regarding social exclusion.

While trying to make meaning out of the "story of exclusion" of the participants; in order to avoid elite-bias, I paid attention to cross-checking the statements and concerns with participants from other strata, such as among different language groups or education levels. I paid attention to be able to cover all groups and discover, how or in which manner, could this particular situation have affected them, as well. Such an approach enabled me to see different aspects of a certain challenge while shedding light on the multi-dimensionality aspect of social exclusion, reinforcing the 'causality' aspect of it, which Sen (2000) encourages researchers to focus, rather than merely acknowledge (p. 8).

Therefore, it can be concluded that, to be able to back up the theory grounded on my qualitative fieldwork study, and to contribute to its construct validity, I benefited from primary data findings such as regulations regarding asylum seekers and refugees ranging from national to international, in order to be able to display the conjecture in a more appropriate manner. In the upcoming chapter, you may find the demonstration of the field findings, harmonized with relevant primary data findings, within the conceptual framework of social exclusion.

CHAPTER 4: THE STORY OF EXCLUSION AS MANIFESTED THROUGH LABOR MARKET PARTICIPATION

This chapter focuses on the experiences of the participants in the fieldwork study, which revolve around the issues regarding their labor market engagement in their countries of destination. Even though, the interview questions, which are provided in Appendix A.1, covers a wider scope, the overall findings of the study indicate that throughout their settlement processes, the participants go through experiences which hint at the concept of exclusion, and these experiences manifest themselves most clearly through the issues regarding their participation in the labor market.

In this response, this chapter initially sets to demonstrate why engaging in the labor market activities is important for the participants as a way of inclusion in their countries of destination; and subsequently, aims to discover, what the participants think are the barriers to their aspired labor market outcomes, and explain these through the complexities they have been experiencing as refugees, in the state of uncertainty during their settlement processes.

4.1 Why Labor Market Participation is Important as a Way of Inclusion

4.1.1 Becoming Independent of Welfare Benefits

In the "monopoly paradigm" developed by Silver (1994), and later reinterpreted by Levitas (1998) as "redistributive discourse of exclusion (RED)," there is an emphasis on welfare benefits as a tool for combating exclusion among disadvantaged groups. In Germany, after being registered for their cases to be examined, all ASRs are eligible for the welfare benefits, including support for accommodation. According to the legislative framework regarding employment of immigrant populations in Germany, asylum seekers were prevented from entering the labor market until they received their status, followed by other formal requirements to employment, such as the language acquisition and formation, which causes them to find themselves in long-term unemployment with dependence on welfare benefits (Bloch & Schuster 2002, p. 397; Nwabuzo & Siklossy 2017, p. 5).

The participants reflect that they find the German government's integration support, including the welfare benefits, very instrumental especially during their resettlement processes, given the deficit in their material resources attributable to refugee status. Still, they are uncomfortable with the situations that keep them away from participating in the labor market, which they also see as critical to their harmonization in their countries of destination.

> The benefits are enough, I mean they already calculate everything, they compensate for everything, like rent for the house, the pocket money. Well, on the other hand, a Syrian or any normal refugee cannot be on their own. It is so difficult (TSID5)[2].

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[2] Yardımlar yeterli aynen yani onlar zaten hesaplıyorlar her şeyini karşılıyorlar mesela evin kirası harçlığın. Şey yardım ediyor bazen öbür taraftan baksan şimdi Suriyeli veya normal bir mülteci kendi başına olamaz. Çok zor (TSID5).

Everything is fine. Everything is fine actually. The State has given us everything. So now that we have to do something good, that is, so, there is nothing else, the State has given us everything. So, it is a good thing (TSIC2)[3].

Here, I can complete my study here and do something good. Two year, three years and I can do a lot of things, and there is someone to helping me. The government, giving money and for flat and for eee for school for language (ESNG1).

Actually, I can't imagine how German country government actually it is aaa an honorable job noble job sorry because it is giving us a lot of things and eee actually I know that three hundred and twenty Euros is not an such an amount to be happy, but at least they give people the thing that still. . . So, it is nice work here the government even if I am not a refugee yet (ESIC7).

Apperantly, welfare entitlements are not the main determinant in the choice of destination, though they become very important for new arrivals without the necessary support networks (Bloch & Schuster 2002, p. 404). Still, the Syrian refugees interviewed, reflect on their will to work and be done with *Jobcenter*[4] which provides the welfare benefits. This is mainly due to having experienced or felt a negative attitude from the local people, which they believe is stimulated by their "taking money from the government," in their own words. As communicated by the volunteer interpreter, an Arabic-speaking participant at the age of thirty-four from Deir ez-Zor, who has been in Germany for more than a year already,

He said we do- we were not saying that we have to sit and taking money from the government, no this is totally wrong. . . He said he have a dis [inaudible speech] in his back, and he have umm infection in his nerve, but till now he is insist, he wanna work by his own and don't want money from the government (ASIC4).

Even though he has no formal education, he expresses that he can do several jobs, and would like to pursue his vocational training on nursing. Similarly, a German-speaking thirty-seven-year-old participant from Hasakah, who has been in Germany for almost two years now still living in a refugee hostel, had worked as a taxi driver for ten years back in Syria. And now he expresses why he cannot go on with this occupation as;

Taxi driver now I cannot because bit very difficult for me. Eee because I have to learn a lot

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[3] Valla her şey güzel yani. Her şey güzel yani devletler bize her şey verdi. Yani şimdi bizim yani iyi bir şey yapmamız lazım, öyle, yani başka şey yok her şey devlet bize verdi, iyi bir şey yani (TSIC2).

[4] JOBCENTER - Bundesagentur für Arbeit (Public Employment Service).

German and I have to learn a lot that I road with eee..and I cant. Yes, that's difficult for me. Eee now eee no matter what works no matter. Just eee only eee I want to work now. Yes, whatever works — the important thing I have to finish with *Jobcenter* (GSNG1)[5].

A suggestion to the reasons behind the urge to have one's own employment and stop receiving welfare benefits come from Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2003) who note that, "for people who come from countries without a welfare system, . . welfare is often understood as a handout and hence humiliating for the person who receives it" (p. 76). The strong will of the Syrian people to participate in the labor market in their countries of destination may be associated with "social integration discourse (SID)" of Levitas (1998), which views "labor force attachment" as the key actor to combat exclusion (Levitas 2000, p. 359).

Further Bloch and Schuster (2002), draw attention to the media coverage on asylum seekers and refugees and the political discourse indicating that welfare benefits are the "pull-factors" for the asylum-seekers and refugees from "less-developed countries" (pp. 406-7). According to them, reinforce potential "racist hostility and racist attacks," which in turn, may act as an instrument for "legitimizing further restrictions" over ASRs (*ibid.*). Similarly, in my fieldwork, when investigated further, it can be observed that one of the reasons the participants wanted to start working immediately and stop taking money from the government appears to be the experience, or the feeling of discomfort because of receiving the welfare benefits. As an English-speaking, thirty-four-year-old participant, who has a career in visual arts and had worked as a director both in Damascus, Syria and later in Lebanon because of the war expresses;

> I'm sitting with a guy, he is from German in Greifswald, and he's, 'Oh you have iPhone 6,' and he asked, 'this is from Merkel?' I was like, 'how Merkel gave me iPhone 6? Oh, I will invite a lot of people to come to Germany, because there is iPhone 6', I said (ESNG4).

He further expresses the same concern expressed in Arabic-speaking focus-group study as;

> The Syrian people, they coming here, it's not for the money, they coming here to looking for the safe, the Syrian people, they have enough money (laughs) don't worry about that, they can create the money from the stone. They didn't like to giving money. They would

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5 Taxifahrer jetzt ich kann nicht, weil bisschen sehr schwierig für mich. Eee weil ich muss viel lernen Deutsch und ich muss viele lernen das ich Straße mit eee..Und ich kann nicht. Ja das ist schwierig für mich. Eee jetzt eee egal was was arbeiten egal. Nur eee nur eee ich möchte arbeiten jetzt. Ja, was arbeiten egal. Das wichtige ich muss Schluss mit Job-Center (GSNG1).

like to work, they would like to made own life by themself. No one he will like an hour he want to waiting money from the government (ESNG4).

In this respect, the point Uyan-Semerci (2012) makes, regarding "the discourse of help/aid," is worth mentioning. She draws attention to the danger of "re-establishing" the structure of the hierarchy, inherent within the notion of deprivation, which results in social positioning of certain groups and segmentation in society (p. 195). She further emphasizes the necessity to seek "human dignity" before all, as well as considering the citizenship rights, or in the case of refugees, undeniable human rights (*ibid*; See also Arendt 1998). The issue of dignity and self-esteem, together with the "sense of control" over one's life, especially in the post-migration context, will be examined further in the upcoming sections.

On the other hand, as ILO (2016) records, when access to the labor market is "prohibited or restricted by law," refugees find themselves in the informal economy, which brings the "risk of exploitation in terms of wages, working conditions and social security coverage" (p. 3). Similarly, UNFPA and IOM (2013) draw attention to the increase of "xenophobia and racism" as a result of "economic uncertainty [and] high unemployment rates" and highlight that, "those on the margins of society – including migrants in an irregular situation, refugees, asylum-seekers and the stateless – are easy scapegoats" (p. 314). Likewise, Bloch et al. (2002) explain the causes of such racist or discriminatory attitudes with concerns of the host-populations over "alleged exploitation of scarce resources" by ASRs, especially those that are "undocumented" and work in "the shadow economy" (p. 407). As can be seen, in addition to becoming a victim due to exploitation resulting from illegality and exemption from right to residence and work, the situation creates tension between the refugees and the host society, as well. Being subject to such potential hostilities, Syrian asylum seekers and refugees are well aware of the tension their participation in cheap labor creates within the host society. As a twenty-eight-year-old participant among the Arabic-speaking focus-group study, who had lived in Turkey for a year and a half and relocated due to exploitative working conditions and the perceived negative attitude of people in response notes;

> I worked for a year, later did not give residency. The government did not give. I worked, and there's no warrant, no license, I worked black. But later many people, it became very very crowded. Then the lawyer will come. Why? I came, I worked black. But I have to work. I have to. Eee German, Turkish I've come, eee cheap, cheap salary, I work cheap. Umm Turks and Germans, 'why he work cheap salary?' Eee then he gets angry. He worked

cheap, he will make me cheap now. But boss, he has no problem. He gives little, no raise. So, I said, I am going. That is enough (ASIC5).[6]

Similarly, a Turkish-speaking participant addresses the same problem he experienced in Turkey, where he lived in a "state of exception" with his lack of capability to enforce his rights to employment and security in employment;

> We were going uninsured. We were not given the work permit. We must get a residence permit after that we should wait a long time. After getting the residence permit, we had to go to Ankara for work permit. Because we could not get it, because we work without insurance (TSNG4)[7].

The same participant explains how he has been exploited given the "irregularity" of his status in Turkey;

> A friend of mine was working in Manavgat as a painter. I went there, worked there a little, for six months. I saved a good amount of money, then I told my master three months ago, three months before the Bairam, in two thousand fourteen. I said I will be umm; I am going to Europe. . . But the master did not pay my money. Because I am Syrian, I left a lot of money with him (TSNG4)[8].

Participants who have lived and worked in Turkey in illegality are well aware of the fact that they are exploited due to their status and may not be able to seek after their rights. Since this is the main reason cited that they wanted to relocate, they obviously hope it to be different in Germany.

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[6] Çalıştım bir sene, sonra, ikamet vermedi, sonra baktım bir sene ııı hükümet vermiyor. Eee çalıştım hatta teminat yok, ehliyet yok, öyle siyah çalıştım. Ama sonra çok adam, çok çok kalabalık oldu, sonra Avukat gelecek. Niye, ben geldim siyah çalıştım? Ama mecbur iş yapacağım mecbur. Eee Alman Turkish, ben geldim, eee ucuz, ucuz maaş, çalıştım. Mmm Türki Alman, 'niye o ucuz maaş çalıştım?' Eee sonra asabi oldu. Bu çalıştı ucuz, ben şimdi ucuz edecek. Ama patron, o bende problem değil. Az verecek az, zam yok. Ha ben baktım e gideceğim yeter bu kadar (ASIC5).

[7] Sigortasız gidiyorduk. İş izni bize verilmiyordu, bir oturum izni almalıyız ondan sonra uzun süre beklemeliyiz. Oturum izni çıktıktan sonra şey iş izni için Ankara'ya gitmeliydik. İşte çıkmadığı için sigortasız çalıştığımız için (TSNG4).

[8] Bir arkadaşım Manavgat'ta çalışıyordu boyacı olarak. Gittim onlar biraz çalıştım orda altı ay. İyi bir para biriktirdim. Ustama o zaman demiştim, üç ay önce bayrama üç ay kalmıştı iki bin on dörtte. Dedim ben şey olacağım, Avrupa'ya gideceğim. . . Ama ustam paramı vermedi Suriyeliyim diye çok param kaldı onun yanında (TSNG4).

Finally, a Turkish speaking participant of age twenty-two from Damascus, who has lived in Bursa, Turkey for one and a half years, where he has his family, has been living in Germany for one and a half year as well, expresses the reason when he is asked, "why do you think there is such an attitude? What do you think is the reason behind?"[9], he expresses that, "we Syrians came, came to Europe. There are more jobs, they are recruiting Syrians because they have a lot of jobs already. For example, here I work for a month, I do not like the salary, and I quit. Either a rise in my salary or I quit and leave (TSNG1)[10]. Similarly, Uyan-Semerci et al. (2017), draw attention to the "prejudices, stereotypes and perception of threat," which may take form of "economic threat" especially regarding immigrant populations in terms of competitiveness in employment placement (p. 27), or even as in the sample, even when employment is not likely, due to benefiting from welfare provisions, as well.

4.1.2 Reestablishing the Sense of Control Over Their Lives

Another key concept frequently addressed in the literature regarding harmonization of asylum-seeking and refugee people in the labor markets in the countries of destination, revolves around the debates of maintaining "self-reliance" or "self-sufficiency," which, presumably, besides easing the financial burden of hosting the refugees, would also enable the ASRs themselves to sustain and determine their own lives (Desiderio, 2016; Papademetriou & Fratzke 2016; Schmidt and Liebig, 2016). Even though Levitas (2006) notes that "employment does not necessarily promote social inclusion (p. 155), UNDP, ILO and WFP (2017) emphasizes that, employment is vital in "building self-reliance" and "fostering dignity" among refugees and host-communities (p. 17).

Especially in the case of asylum-seeking and refugee women, there is an emphasis in enhancing their "self-reliance" which would eventually contribute to their "autonomy," "freedom" and "self-esteem" both at domestic and societal levels (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 96; Crépeau, 2014, p.

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[9] Peki neden sence böyle bir tavır? Bunun sebebi ne olabilir sence?

[10] Biz Suriyeliler geldi, Avrupa'ya geldi. İşler daha iş bol. Çünkü Suriyeliler çok var önceden çok iş var şey alıyorlar işe alıyorlar. Mesela burada bir ay çalışıyorum beğenmiyorum bırakıyorum maaş ya yükselecek ya da ben bırakacağım gideceğim (TSNG1).

15). Furthermore, migration itself may be a tool leading to economic "empowerment" of women who migrate into a society where roles are distributed between men and women differently than of their countries-of-origin. Such "empowerment" of immigrant women, both in financial and social terms, may help them organize against gender-based-violence, even if not completely avoid. Consistently, it is further claimed that maintenance of economic and social rights regarding women's empowerment, is critical for the enjoyment of other rights and access to other capabilities (Koenig, Touzenis & Cholewinski 2009; Cengiz & Beveridge, 2015).

Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2003), view resettlement as "a process during which a refugee, . . gradually re-establishes the feeling of control over his/her life and develops a feeling that life is 'back to normal'" (p. 62). Whereas they do no not fail to note that, "normal life" and a "sense of control" may have different meanings for different people, the way "the re-established normalcy may be different from life before migration" (*ibid*), Phillimore and Goodson (2006) carry the argument a step further and claim that "people are excluded not just because of their present position, but because they have few prospects for improvement in the future" (p. 1730). As one of the three female participants of the whole sample, a twenty-seven-year-old university graduate woman from Latakia maintains, "it was part of our reason why we are here. We don't want to be part in this war. We need to survive. Survive not only stay alive. We need a chance in life; work, find life, normal life" (ESNG2). Confirming, one of the youngest participants in the whole sample, a twenty-year-old university-drop-out, who, first moved to Algeria with his family, when the war began, and due to the 'state of exception' they had experienced, who could not maintain a 'normal life' and relocated to Germany, assert;

> We don't need hosting; we just need opportunity. We need just like some air maybe (laughs) some oxygen. Yeah, that's all. . . Like, if it's allowed to get to the college, we can study, we can go, if it is allowed to work, we can work, but it's not allowed. Yes, that's why Germany is better place for a refugee to go (ESIC3).

The definition of a "normal life" by the subjects themselves, as revealed by the field-work study, appears to have been able to sustain a life, where uncertainties are eliminated, and people have a "sense of control" over their lives, in the post-immigration context. A thirty-eight-year-old participant from the Arabic-speaking focus-group study, who had lived in Turkey for less than a year before, and has been in Germany for over a year and still living in a hostel and having

processes before he can be employed, expresses his concerns over the uncertainty and the sense of lack of control over their lives as;

> In the same time, we are living in a fear, that we learn, we we make an *Ausbildung* [/vocational training/], we start our business, we make our life, and then they say, no refugees anymore, you have to go back to your country. And this is also problem for us. He say, it's he's making him afraid, it's like he's standing on on the hell, hell edge, you know, the edge of the hell, just he need a push. [Silence] we need safe. Nothing else (ASIC2).

Similarly, Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2013), who are among the advocates of acknowledging the post-migration stress of refugees, observe that, "unpredictability" and a "lack of control" may become "a way of life for refugees," and they encourage inclusion policies to consider ways to help refugees constitute a "normal life," preferably through employment (pp. 82-3). As a thirty-six-year-old participant, married with two children, who have been living in Germany for two years already, who volunteered to help during the Arabic-speaking focus-group study, expresses on behalf of the whole group, including himself,

> We don't need psychologic help. Really, we need work. We need just to settle down. We need that in the end of the month, nobody will knock our door to tell you have to change your place. This is what we need. We need safe (ESIC8).

It is frequently emphasized that, as long as post-migration stress resulting from language barriers, among other structural barriers and long-term unemployment, which altogether cause feelings of uncertainty and insecurity, the issue of social exclusion in the case of refugees would persist. To combat this, Levitas (2006) encourages initiation of labor market participation, which would not only maintain a medium for social interaction, but also be instrumental in building "self-esteem" by being able to generate their own income, as well as sense of being an "active member" of the society (p. 136). Similarly, World Health Organization (2001), establishes that, within their understanding mental health, is associated with a "hope of living full and productive lives in their communities" (p. 4), Which takes us to the *vita activa* argument Arendt (1998) establishes. Arendt designates "three fundamental human activities: labor, work, and action," and argues that "labor assures not only individual survival but the life of the species. Work and its product, the human artifact, bestow a measure of permanence and durability upon the futility of mortal life (Arendt 1998, pp. 7-8). She further brings forward philosophers such as Locke, Smith, and Marx, in order

of appearance, and notes that in all of their works, it can be observed that "labor was considered to be the supreme world-building capacity of man" (Arendt 1998, p. 101).

Similarly, as UNDP, ILO and WFP (2017) suggest in the case of the Syrian refugee crisis on its sixth year, escalating economic opportunities need to be a "priority," given that "employment generation" and "sustainable livelihoods" continue to be the most efficient means of "building self-reliance" and "fostering dignity among refugees and host communities" (p. 17). However, Onsando (2014), while acknowledging that labor market activity would generate "self-worth," it may not always be sufficient for refugees to be able to combat multidimensional challenges of the refugee experience (p. 84). Arendt (1998) addresses the same situation by her reference to Aristotle, who maintains that "neither labor nor work was considered to possess sufficient dignity to constitute a *bios* at all, . . [which] could not be free, independent of human needs and wants (Arendt 1998, p. 13). In this manner, the upcoming section will try to shed light on the refugee-specific challenges regarding building a sustainable and secure life as experienced reflected by the subjects themselves.

4.2 Barriers to Employment: Complexities within the State of Uncertainty

Hynes (2011), focuses on the structural and institutional aspects of exclusion particularly in the case of asylum seekers and refugees, and argues that "deterrent asylum policies" keep asylum seekers in a "liminal" period until they receive their status, which she calls "policy-imposed liminality." Such an exclusive policy creating a 'liminality' period, as expressed by various other authors, hinders the harmonization processes of asylum seekers, who remain without a status, in the countries of destination (Sansonetti 2016; Sen 2000; Tanczos 2016). Likewise, Bloch and Schuster (2002), draw attention to "the system of differential exclusion," where the asylum seekers are not capable of initiating their resettlement processes and therefore, remain in "limbo," where they are also deprived of accessing to legal employment opportunities, which eventually draws people to work in the "shadow economy," where they become vulnerable to various forms of exploitation (p. 408).

When we have a look at the field findings to see how such a liminality would affect the settlement processes of the ASRs in Berlin, Germany, we firstly observe that, the waiting period, together with the complexities of the bureaucracy, stemming from other deprivations in the

linguistic skills and social capital of ASRs, appear in a causal fashion as in the definition of social exclusion, and create and sustain the feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. To be able to decode the relations among multiple material and non-material deprivations the participants go through, it would be instrumental to start by analyzing the 'waiting period' in uncertainty, and its consequences on the participants during their settlement processes in Berlin, Germany.

When the participants are asked about their plans regarding their future in their country of destination, it is frequently expressed that, they cannot decide on that yet, due to dealing with the resettlement process and the obligations it brings;

> I have no idea. Now, I have a flat. Maybe next month I will be done with the integration course, and then I must find a job. I need to be done with the *Jobcenter*. Umm Maybe, but I do not know, but I would like a training. I need to get everything done. I am still waiting. I have an appointment at the foreigner's registration office in two months. I had been waiting for this appointment for eight months. They have given me another appointment two months, that makes ten months. I am waiting for my residence permit, my passport. No one can, [pause], someone cannot do anything in Germany without the passport. Someone to find a flat or to look for, need, first of all, where is your passport? This is nonsense. This is nonsense. It does not work. And now I must wait for another two months (GSNG3)[11].

The same problem is expressed by one of the three female participants of the fieldwork study, an Arabic-speaking woman from Damascus, a former teacher and a single mother with three children, who has been in Germany for one and a half years, now works and stays in a hostel, where she works as a cleaner. As translated by the volunteer interpreter;

> All the problem that she is facing because till now, she have the resident, the proof that she can stay in Germany, the residency, but till now she don't have the passport and whatever she applied for a place, they ask her for a passport, and till now she doesn't have it. This is the problem that she is facing for the main time. She can solve her problem when she

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[11] Ich habe keine Ahnung. Jetzt ich hab schon eine Wohnung. Vielleicht nächste Monate k- ich, vielleicht fertig mit dem Integrationskurs, und danach ich muss eigentlich ich muss ein Job finden. Ich muss das *Jobcenter* vorbei. Ich will nicht immer beim *Jobcenter* sein. Ummm. Vielleicht, keine Ahnung ich aber eigentlich Ich würde gerne eine Ausbildung. Ich muss alle Sache mach- fertig machen. Ich warte auch eee Ich warte noch, Ich habe ein Termin in zwei Monate beim Ausländerbehörde. Ich warte auf den Termin seit 8 Monate. . . Sie haben mir gegeben noch einem andere Termin zwei Monate, das heißt zehn Monate. . . Ich brauche von Ausländerbehörde mein Aufenthalt mein Reisepass. Niemandem kann [pause], jemand kann nichts machen in Deutschland ohne Pass. Jemand ein Wohnung finde, oder ein suche, braucht, am erste, wo ist dein Reisepass. wo ist dein Reisepass. Das ist Quatsch. Das ist Quatsch. Es geht nicht. Und jetzt ich warte, ich muss noch zwei Monate warten (GSNG3)

received her passport from the eee the German passport, or replacement from the German passport, any official document. . . But till now every time they go to their appointment, they just delay them like six months more, six months more and this the problem (ASIC1).

It has been noted that, particularly for women, who are responsible from their children, the situation may get even more precarious, as also articulated by the same participant;

> The situation that she is living till now, it doesn't help, she can't focus on her German course, because she have a problem, personal problems like, she is not finding a job, she is not finding a place to stay, and every like few months, she has to transfer her apartment from place to place. And it's very hard, when you have a mom and no man to take care of the kids (ASIC1).

Upon the statement, when she is asked about her children - one of whom had been present at the integration course with his mother, the time the interview took place - whether they were able to start school and if they had, how it was going, the interpreter retrieves that;

> Because she's transfer from place to place till now, and her son, he doesn't know how to speak German well. Because, yeah, every few months, they have to transfer from place to place and he can't stay in one school, every time she have to transfer him from school to school and till now he can't focus on learn German (ASIC1).

Such duration of paperwork, together with the feelings of uncertainty and insecurity it brings, prevent asylum-seeking and refugee people from initiating their settlement process, committing to the requirements and eventually building a sense of normalcy and control over their lives. The situation gets even more precarious when people have relocated with their families and relatives, especially when their files may go separate, as in the case of a participant, who has relocated with his family mother and sister. As conveyed by the interpreter;

> Like for him, they are a family, but they separate their papers, his mother eee from aaa a different *Jobcenter*, his sister, different *Jobcenter*, and he have a different *Jobcenter*, and each one of them, they have a separated file. And from now to the end of the month, they have to leave the place, each one of them, they have to go to the *Jobcenter*, asking for another place, and I don't think that they can live together anymore (ASIC4).

Such a separation multiples the pressure of settlement for the household by the number of its members and add to the already existing challenges. As also suggested by European Commission (2013/2), such procedures, requirements, and exclusion distress family life and violate "the right

to family reunification" (p. 9). As stated by one of the female participants, who have taken the journey with her brother all the way, "I came here with my brother. He lives also in Berlin; we stick together. We eee, we decided to stay together. It's better. I found that it's better than everyone falls, like leave by himself. Together, stronger [laughs]" (ESNG2). Even for those, who have initiated their files, the tension regarding the uncertainty of other members of the family appears to be quite distressing and negatively affecting the resettlement outcomes of the individuals, as in the case of one of the youngest members of the participants, a twenty-two-year-old eldest son of the family;

> I have my residence, I am not in danger, but eee them, have all the problems. They found aaa place to stay, very cool place to stay, like; it's a normal place to stay [sighs], and eee some money, they protect them from the police. They asked for residence, and now they have one-year residence with conditions, but they have. That happens before one week [laughs]. Yeah, that's why I cannot, I didn't study the eee German language before, because I don't know (ESIC3).

As OECD and UNHCR (2018) also note, uncertainty regarding refugees' – to which I would add, and/or their family members' - prospects of remaining, may hinder them from investing in language acquisition or other training activities, which would provide them with required skills in the countries of destination (p. 10). As can be seen, whereas some come cannot begin with the integration courses dealing with bureaucracy; "I couldn't find anything and begin with a course, and I feel alone. Every day I feel alone more than before. Umm and I try to do something to work, everything it's closed front my face. . . I met, the bureacraty in Germany, it's kill our dream" (ESNG4), some starts the language course, but the bureaucracy interrupts and delays the resettlement processes;

> First time here in Germany, eee two months for example new here, and a lot of papers with appointment. And then go to school, two months. Two months course eee A1. And after that eee I said I still want another course eee I mean A2 or A2.1. He said you have to eee the teacher said eee you're waiting papers from bank. And five months, I'm waiting for papers from bank. And I forgot everything. I learned a bit and then I forgot everything (GSNG1).[12]

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[12] Eee erstemal hier in Deutschland eee zwei Monate bei zum Beispiel neue hier und viel Papiere mit Termin mit. Und danach gehe Schule, zwei Monate. Zwei Monate Kurs eee A1. Und danach eee ich hab gesagt ich möchte nach noch eee andere Kurs so ich meine A2 oder A2,1 oder so hat er gesagt du muss. das eee

As quite recently highlighted by OECD et al. (2018), "uncertainty" regarding prospects to stay in the countries of destination, where particularly the status may be subject to renewal after several years, as in the case of Germany, creates additional stress for the asylum seekers and refugees" (p. 10). Tanczos (2016), as well, draws attention to the processes after recognition, which may be extremely demanding for the refugees, who may have limited means to rebuild their lives and fulfill the conditions required by the "socio-economic integration standards" (p. 5). These could be acquiring a certain level of the local language, finding adequate housing for themselves and their families, securing and employment which generates basic income to maintain for themselves and so on (*ibid.*). The only senior person in the sample, who is a sixty-four-year-old woman from Aleppo, expresses her concerns about her rights regarding retirement, given that she has been receiving letters from the *Jobcenter* telling her that she needs to work. She expresses the stress it creates, together with the difficulty of language learning at an old age, as disclosed by the interpreter;

> She said she doesn't know that it's not allowed for her to work, because till now, she is the receiving posts from the *Jobcenter*, that she have to work, every three months, they send her a post, what you have to do, or where you have to work, and she is 64 years old. She has, she has a lot of sickness in her body, a lot of disease, they doesn't care. Even she can't study, she said, I always forget, I don't have eee my brain (ASIC3).

Further, she conveys her anxiety about the requirement of the language learning and the feeling of the uncertainty embedded, with the question; "She said, in case she didn't get this B1 certificate, what's happen? Do you have, you have any idea? (ASIC3).

It can be observed that participants are well aware of these conditions and requirements, as one participant, married with two children, who had previously lived and worked in Turkey before relocating to Germany with his family maintains;

> For example, here, four years, three years, I've got permission. Four years, after or you go out or you stay here. It's because you are being tested in this three year. Test, I mean, for example, what have you done in this three-year period? For example, in this three year, I

Lehrerin hat gesagt eee du bist warte Papiere von Bank. Und fünf Monate ich warte Papiere von Bank. Und ich hab vergessen alles. Ich hab gelernen bisschen und dann ich hab vergessen alles (GSNG1).

taught [/learned/] German, I went to school, eee, for example, searched for the housing, I looked for work, for example, I found a job, for example, I bought the house we pay everything ourselves. I have to do these in this three year. And then you go or stay in Germany (TSIC6). [13]

However, such uncertainty regarding their prospects to stay may impact the level of their investment in the required skills, as well as in enterprises, especially for those, who may find locating employment in the labor market difficult, and want to launch their business enterprises. It is worth mentioning that, "self-employment" and "immigrant entrepreneurship" appears as one of the frequently addressed and encouraged instruments to employment and naturalization in the sample, as well as in policy papers working on the issue (IOM 2015/2, p. 66; Lerner, Menahem & Hisrich 2005, p. 195).

I mean I can open a small factory for myself, but I don't want to open it, because, in Germany, it's not clear when you're gone. I mean, I want to open it, but it is like that. . . I just got here in Germany, but you don't know if you get a visa or not. You don't know it. That is not clear (TSIC6).[14]

He further explains how challenging it has been to struggle to build and re-build his life several times, in several countries;

I want only and one thing from this State, don't send us back. Because I had difficulties in Turkey. I lived in Turkey without chairs for two years. I did not get them, I do not want chairs, because I do not know when I am leaving. You begin to know in the second, third year; then I bought little by little. And then all is gone. I sold all at once, and I came here. I don't want to go through this again. It happened when we were in Syria the first time, my home was brand new. The second in Turkey, so I do not want to unsettle again, I want to be able to go on. I request this from Germany (TSIC6).[15]

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[13] Ya burada mesela dört senede, üç senede burada izin gelmiş. Dört sene sonra ya sen git buradan ya sen kal burada. Öyle çünkü ben bu üç sene imtihan oluyorsun. İmtihan yani meselen sen bu üç sene ne yaptın? Meselen ben bu üç sene, Almanca öğrettim, okula gittim ııı meselen ev aradım, iş aradım, meselen iş buldum, çalıştım, meselen ev aldım, kendimiz her şeyi ödüyorsun. Üç sene bunlar yapmam lazım. Sonra sen ya al bunu devam et diyorum Almanya'da, ya git (TSIC6).

[14] Yani ben kendime küçük bir fabrika açabilirsin ama ben açmak istemiyorum, çünkü Almanya'da sen ne zaman sen gitti, belli değil. Yani ben açmak istiyorum ama öyle yani. . . Almanya'da daha yeni geldim ama vize alırsın da almazsın da onu bilmiyorsun biz. O bu belli değil (TSIC6).

[15] Ben bu devletten tek bir şey istiyorum bizi geri göndermesinler, çünkü ben Türkiye'de çok zorlandı. Ben Türkiye'de eşyalar iki sene oturdum sandalye de yok. Sandalye de istemiyorum çünkü ben bilmiyorum ne zaman gidecek. Ondan sonra ikinci sene üçüncü sene belli oluyorsun yani, ondan sonra ben yavaş yavaş aldım aldım aldım. Ondan sonra hepsi gitti hep, tek sefer sattım. Ondan sonra geldim buraya. Ben

Another challenge contributing the uncertainty about the life in destination countries for refugees might be "policy changes," which may affect any aspect, at any time, regarding the conditions of refugees, from prospects to stay in the country to employment (p. 10). As articulated in the focus group study;

> We love Germany; it's better than another country, [cross talk]. But we need umm a good treatment for us. Just take it easy with us, take it easy with the refugees. And you know, every day there is new laws for refugees. Every single day. And they put, just put, they are focusing refugees. No problems in Germany, only refugees. We have to kick half of them out; we have to out half of them in in a stock market, I don't know. I don't know (ASIC4).

The same concern about the instabilities resulting from the policy-changes regarding refugees, in an attempt to respond to the high number of asylum-seekers and their reception, which add to the already existing challenges of resettlement, is expressed by an Art Director, who later finds out that, he has to go back to the city he is first registered in;

> And then they have a new rule. They just send me Brief [/letter/], and they say you have to go back to Greifswald, because the new rule. They say, everyone he's, he eee registration after 01.01.2016, he should go back to the city where he's registration in the first time. And now I'm fight to move to Berlin. They say there is two conditions to go to another city or to another country. The same condition if I want to go to Spain, if I can find contract and job contract and like apartment contract, I can move to Spain. And so, the condition for Berlin, the same condition for another country (ESNG4).

He further continues explaining the steps he has taken to overcome the situation;

> I find a flat, but I don't find a job. . . I find a *Praktikum*, but it's a free *Praktikum*, but the *Jobcenter*, they didn't accept to move to Berlin with a free *Praktikum*, they say no, they have to pay to you because this is it's long term. The problem in the art, in my domain, I wanna talking about my domain, in the art there is no contract, like long contract, like there is contract 3-month, 2-week, it's rather freelancer. This is the art. How it works with the art (ESNG4).

Here we may observe the "state of exception," as a control mechanism over the lives of the refugees as Agamben (1998) suggests.

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istemiyorum şimdi ikinci sefer böyle. Biz oldu birinci sefer Suriye'de benim ev yepyeni. İkinsi Türkiye'de, yani bozmak istemiyorsun bunu. Yani hani devam etmek istiyorsun. Yani ben bu rica ediyorum Almanya'dan (TSIC6).

I don't want to go to this city again. I am young man. I don't have a family; I don't have a wife, I don't have a kid. How you put me in this countryside? How? Why? What do I have to do there? I have a career, and I have aaa like the degree, bachelor's degree or the university degree. For this, I want to go out the *Jobcenter*, because I have to looking for my career, for my job, for my art. And once I'm out the *Jobcenter*, out the like this is control from the *Jobcenter* and then I can live my life (ESNG4).

The deprivations emerging within the "state of exception"; sustained uncertainty, insecurity and lack of a sense of control over one's life, together with the complexity of the bureaucratic procedures, may have discouraging and demotivating effects on the asylum seekers and refugees, which are also observed in some other studies (e.g. Desiderio & Schuster 2013, p. 41; Platonova & Urso 2012 p. 27). Further, in my study, I could observe how far such "discouraging" and "demotivating" effects could go, as initially exemplified by the relocation of the thirteen participants out of twenty-two – which composes more than half of the sample – due to non-refugee friendly policies of their first countries of asylum, which limited their prospects for a sustainable future. However, the pressure of the requirements to secure a status, may even get refugee and asylum-seeking people in Europe to consider return, either to their countries of origin, which is currently at war, or to other neighboring countries, including Turkey, where they have the elder members of their family, given that they have no chances of reunification with them any time soon in Germany (TSNG1; TSIC2, TSNG3).

Similarly, a participant in the German-speaking cluster conveys his observation regarding those people, who cannot deal with the resettlement process in Germany and return as;

Now eee many many person, they have a year looking for apartment apartment. But there is none, because eee the social eee also no help. . . I know a lot of people who went back to Syria or Iraq. . . Eee the people eee why went back. Firstly, saw eee speaking very difficult. German-speaking very difficult and papers too, very very very difficult (GSNG1).[16]

However, the most peculiar case would be the declaration of a German-speaking participant, who has completed all his requirements and has been able to find a decent accommodation for himself,

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[16] Jetzt eee viele viele Person haben sie ein Jahr suchen Wohnung Wohnung. Aber keiner, weil eee das eee sozial auch keine Hilfe und. . . Ich kenne viele Personen auch hat zurück nach Syrien oder Irak. Eee das Leute eee warum hat zurück. Erstemal hat hat gesehen das eee sprechen sehr schwierig. Deutsch sprechen sehr schwierig und Papiere auch sehr sehr sehr schwierig (GSNG1).

over his wish to return, even in the presence of a third-party, a translator from Germany, as expressed in his own words; "That's difficult to explain [silence]. Actually, I'm not happy with my passport with my apartment with all, but I have to stay here. I want to return [inaudible speech] to Syria. I need my family ... I like Berlin, I like people, but that's not my home" (GSNG3)[17].

Finally, the European Commission (2013/1), referring to the vulnerability stemming from uncertainties affecting the life of asylum-seekers and refugees, especially those without a status, emphasize that, they are kept in a "legal limbo," with limited access to their "civil or socio-economic rights," which is in accordance with the framework of our research (p. 42). The belief that, speeding up the naturalization processes of refugees, would encourage them to them to invest in building their lives both in terms of their human and social capital is also shared by Long (2015) (p. 30). Finally, as Tanczos (2016) suggests, "secure residence is also necessary for the effectiveness of the equal socio-economic rights guaranteed in the Geneva Convention" (p. 2). As can be seen above, the on-going waiting periods and the feelings of uncertainty and insecurity, which also hint at the requirements and complexity of bureaucracy, contribute to the challenges, that asylum seekers and refugees experience in their settlement processes.

4.2.1 Requirements and the Complexity of Bureaucracy

Morris (2003) notes that in Germany, there is "graduated system of statuses," inherited from its guest-worker history, where people had "phased access" to the labor market (p. 82). Aside from that, Nwabuzo and Siklossy (2017) draw attention to a report by *the Federal Statistical Office,* which designates that, although there is a need for skilled labor, refugees who hold the skills and the experience, may not have access to places available in the labour market in Germany, due to their limited German language skills, combined with other bureaucratic requirements (p. 26). Martin, Arcarons and Aumüller (2016), remark the obligation to gain "formal vocational formation" to be able to participate in the labor market in Germany, which also requires a high level of proficiency in the German language, which they find "far from appropriate" for the time being (p. 31). Similarly, Herbert Brücker (in Breitenbach 2016), underlines the perspective

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[17] Das ist schwierig zu erklären [silence]. Eigentlich ich ich bin nicht glückliche mit meinem Reisepass mit meinem Wohnung mit alle aber ich muss, hier bleiben. Ich will [inadudible speech] nach Syrien zurück. Ich muss meine Familie… Ich mag Berlin, Ich mag die Leute, aber das ist nicht meine Heimat (GSNG3).

regarding harmonization of third-country nationals in the labor market in Germany, which before all, requires the acquisition of the German language, followed by the necessary formal education. However, even in *The Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy* (2004), to which the European Member States reaffirmed their commitment in 2014, the order, - which may, as well, be read as the priority- is the other way around. To elaborate, while the *CBP3* regards "employment [as] a key part of the integration process and [as] central to the participation of immigrants"; *CBP4* brings forward the necessity of "basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions" in this manner. However, as Oberoi (2009) observes, "migrants, it can often appear, have no economic, social and cultural rights; only duties" (p. 20);

> I have looked for jobs to work. Some say you have no language; some say you work uninsured, black. And I do not want to work black. I already saw difficult it is in Turkey. I don't want to work black. If I want to work white or with insurance covered, they want the language (TSNG4).[18]

When a participant in the Arabic-speaking focus-group study, who states that he wants to work, is asked to elaborate, what he thinks is the reason behind not being able to do his job (See Appendix A), he lists the "language" the first, and then the "place" meaning the housing arrangement. When he is further asked about the vocational training, the answer is;

> He had his own place, he knows what he is doing, and he knows his job. But here in Germany, what, the problem that he cannot find his his job. What they want is the language, and the the place that he have to stay, t- to settle down. And now he decide, once he get the chance to make an *Ausbildung* [/vocational training/], he wanna make umm blacksmith for the ships. You know the big ships in the sea, this something new for him, this what he's planning to do. But he have to start umm step by step. Language, place to live, and then the *Ausbildung* [/vocational training/] (ASIC2).

Again the pressure of the requirements regarding employment can be observed as;

> He have he have temporary job now but he can't work as a *Vollzeit* [/full time/] because some time, the *Jobcenter* doesn't accept, he should have the B1 first. And working, studying the same time, it's it's not, yeah it's not working (ASIC2).

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[18] "Ben iş aradım çalışmak için. Kimi diyor dilin yok, kimi diyor sigortasız, siyah çalışmak. Ben de siyah çalışmak istemiyorum. Bunun zor olduğunu zaten Türkiye'de gördüm. Siyah çalışmak istemiyorum. Beyaz çalışmak istiyorsam ya da sigortalı dil istiyorlar" (TSNG4).

The situation is no different for people, who have an acquisition of the English language and hold a university degree as one participant expresses;

> There is all the time, you have to make *Praktikum* [/internship/] and you have to make training and blablabla. Why? I'm study 5 years and I have a good experience, and this is Art. This is it's not doctor or engineering, this is Art. Why I have to make a *Praktikum* [/internship/]? I don't want to be just number in your file. I wanna make my life, don't give me money, but let me free. Don't give me a lot of rules and a lot of law. Just let me free (ESNG4).

The "causality" of deprivations may be observed within the Arabic speaking group, as articulated by the interpreter;

> I told you, this guys get a chance, to have official pa- paper in Turkey, they will not come to Germany, trust me. Because all the Syrian people, they love to work, they not like, they love to work, and they can depense [/depend/] on their own. In this country, they're facing a lot of problems, language, place to live, renting houses. . . (ESIC8).

The difficulty and complexity of bureaucracy appears to be another factor frequently emphasized as a barrier;

> He just, he just want to th- from the government, to make the the things easy for the refugees, he wanna work, and he wanna rent his own house, and he don't want any money from the government. Not from *Jobcenter*, not from *LaGeSo*, he can do his own job, but he want it to be easy (ASIC2).

Especially the participants who have previously lived and worked in Turkey under *the Temporary Protection,* but had to leave due to not being able to receive a residence permit, together with a work permit, cannot help but compare the situation in Germany with Turkey;

> He said, eee the first week he was in Turkey, next week he was starting to work in Turkey, but here, till now, he didn't find a proper job. He stay for one month in Turkey, but in th-the first week, he eee he arrived to Turkey, the second week, he found a job, and he start work. he work as a tailor. but he have to start umm step by step. Language, place to live, and then the *Ausbildung* [/vocational training/] (ASIC2).

> But here in Germany, one needs to study to live. Here it is not like in Turkey. Now, if I were in in Turkey, for example, I have my profession, I can work wherever I go. But, here it does not work. Even if I am a master, I need the diploma. Also, for example, how can I

say? There are the cleaners right, cleaners? People who clean the streets, even they have to do a three-year vocational training here (TSID5).[19]

Turkey is very nice because there is no *Termin* [/appointment/], no trial, no crowd I mean. For example, I want to work, I have my profession, I am a furniture maker, I have an occupation. I have worked at the factory in a summer. For example, I want work here, first need German. I have German, but not B1, B2. There is no such a thing in Turkey (TSNG1).[20]

But here it is very different. But for example, here my profession is very nice, they value it here. It's a very important profession, but go do your training come after that, learn German. You need to learn German, then you need to do a vocational training. Three years after the vocational training. It does not work. *Ich kann nicht* [/I cannot/], I mean, three years is very difficult (TSNG1).[21]

And it's hard to find a job here. I want B1. I mean, we have to go with school. I learned some language here. I mean I can talk. Here the woman says, you talk very good, but I have to take B1. Then you arrange your job. But it is necessary that we work. So, you didn't hire us, because you can't do anything. Because we're going to move slowly (TSIC6).[22]

While waiting for their cases to be evaluated, many ASRs experience long-term unemployment, with some other complications attached, until they receive the legal permission to work, as also observed by Phillimore and Goodson (2006). While Brücker (in Breitenbach 2016), acknowledges that, harmonization of Syrian refugees in the German labor market is a "slow process," is also "confident" that, many of them will be able to locate a place in the German labor

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[19] Ama burada Almanya'da adamın yaşaması için okuması lazım. Burada Türkiye'deki gibi değil. Şimdi Türkiye'de olsaydı mesela benim mesleğim var nereye gidersem çalışırım. Ama burada olmuyor usta bile olsa bana diplomat lazım. Bir de mesela nasıl diyeyim temizlikçiler var ya temizlikçiler, yolları temizleyenler onlar bile üç yıl *Ausbildung* falan yapacaklar burada (TSID5).

[20] Türkiye çok güzel çünkü ne *Termin* var ne mahkeme var çok kalabalık yok yani. Meselan ne, istiyor iş var, ben mesleğim var, mobilyacıyım, işim var fabrikada çalıştım bir yaz fabrikada. Meselan burada iş istiyor, ilk önce Almanca lazım, Almanca var ama B1 yok, B2 yok. Öyle yok Türkiye'de (TSNG1).

[21] Ama burada çok faklı var. Ama mesela burada benim meslek çok güzel burada çok tutuyorlar. Çok önemli bir meslek yani ama git *Praktikum* yap ondan sonra gel, Almanca öğren. Almanca öğrenmek lazım, bir de *Praktikum* yapmak lazım ya da *Ausbildung*, Üç yıl sonra *Ausbildung*, ben yok ya. *Ich kann nicht* yani, çok zor üç yıl çok zor (TSNG1).

[22] Bir de yani iş bulmak için zor burada. Bir de B1 istiyorum. Yani Schule'de yanında mecbur lazım. Az dil öğrendim burada. Yani konuşabilirsin. Burada kadın diyorsun sen çok güzel konuşuyorsun ama B1 almam lazım. Ondan sonra sen ayarlıyorsun işin. Ama yani mecbur bizim çalışma lazım. Yani bizi işe almadın, bize hiçbir şey yapamazsın. Çünkü biz yavaş yavaş oynatacak (TSIC6).

market eventually (n.p.). However, Sen (2000), warns about the risk of "skill loss," which might result from long-term unemployment, in addition to a loss of motivation, confidence, and sense of control, as have been maintained in the previous section. They claim that "people not only 'learn by doing,' they also 'unlearn' by 'not doing'" (p. 19). Similarly, the European Semester (2017) confirms that people's "human capital" may depreciate through a long-term unemployment period, which in the case of refugees might be quite likely, as a result of the lengthy waiting periods and the requirements of the settlement process, which deter participation in the labor market (p. 2). It is for this reason the elimination of structural barriers to employment and enabling accelerated access to the labor market is highly encouraged.

> I'm looking for tailor, but there is no tailor in Berlin. I have to wait for the appointment to get my passport. After that, I'm going to Hamburg. There's a big factory in Hamburg. Great factory. I mean that is what I plan, but I want B1. I cannot work, yet. I want work, but I need B1. You cannot work without getting it. But I do not need vocational training, I mean in my profession, because I am tailor for fifteen years. I can sew whatever you ask for. I told it to *Jobcenter* (TSIC6).[23]

However, barriers to harmonization in the labor market may result in employment in underqualified jobs, for many refugees as can be seen with the example below;

> And you have to go to school to work here. To vocational school. For example, if I did not study at the university, I want to do something mechanical aircraft, but unfortunately, they do not take. They are sending you to the truck driving or working in the markets. They call it *Ausbildung* [/vocational training/]. You have to be written in a company to make an *Ausbildung* [/vocational training/], but people don't find the opportunity. I mean truck driving or working in the market is not a good job. Maybe, one can work at the market during college, but he can't work there until the end of his life. Yes, of course, some people did, some people didn't go. But I have never heard of a refugee, who went to vocational school to become an aircraft mechanic (TSNG4).[24]

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[23] Ben terzi arıyorsun ama Berlin'de terzi yok mecbur *Termin* bekleyeceğim pasaport almak için. Ondan sonra Hamburg'a gideceğim ben. Hamburg orda büyük bir fabrika var. Büyük fabrika. Ben yani bu bunu düşünüyorsun, ama B1 istiyorum. Daha çalışamıyorsun, iş istiyorum ama B1 almam lazım. Onu almadan çalışamıyorsun ama, *Ausbildung* gerek yok ben benim yani meslek *Ausbildung* gerek yok çünkü, ben on beş sene terzi. Benim mesleğim terzi. Ne istersen ben dikebilirsin. Ben söyledim *Jobcenter*'a (TSIC6).

[24] Ve burada çalışmak için okula gitmelisin. Meslek okulu bilmem ne. Mesela ben üniversite okumasam, uçak mekanik şey yapmak istiyorum meslek okuluna ama ne yazık ki almıyorlar. Tır şoförü, marketlere gönderiyorlar. Yani onlar *Ausbildung* diyorlar. *Ausbildung* yapmak için bir şirkette yazılmalısın ama fırsat bulmuyorlar insanlar. Yani tır şoförlüğü, markette çalışmak iyi bir iş değil yani. Belki de yani üniversite

Junge and Patuzzi (2016), group barriers to the participation of people with an immigration background in the labor market in countries of destination, in two broad categories. While the first set of barriers concentrate more on the "skill capital" and "resources" of migrants; the second set of barriers concentrate more on structural aspects, such as "the degree of coordination" and 'openness' of labor market actors." Furthermore, they argue that high unemployment rates of immigrants, in addition to their representation in sectors in low-skilled jobs with high over-qualification rates throughout Europe, can be read as an indicator that, "barriers to the labor market that go beyond the skill capital of migrants" (pp. 4-5).

Similarly, in addition to non-material dimensions of deprivation in the case of ASRs, such as the lack of social capital and the non-acquisition of the local language explained above, Sansonetti (2009) suggests, "employers' racism and prejudices" as one of the reasons to lower market outcomes of refugees, as well as other immigrant groups, which may result in employment underqualified jobs, which may not necessarily reflect their academic or professional backgrounds (p. 34). Phillimore and Goodson (2006), as well, concentrate on the structural aspects of the labor market segregation, and view this as a policy, which "condemns particular ethnic groups to particular kinds of work," with an emphasis on "racial" dimension of the argument (p. 1731). As a thirty-four-year-old art director from Damascus anecdotes;

> They recognize my diploma; they see my website, they see my job, they see everything. Yeah, they accept my diploma it's okay. The problem, the people, they don't accept me. I send maybe a thousand e-mail now to looking for job, and I have to find a job. Actually, I'm try to do anything. I'm try, and now I wanna find just *any* job to move to Berlin (ESNG4).

As Arendt (1998) notes in *The Human Condition*, "even harsh, painful labor was preferred" to "insecurity" (p. 31).

Such discrimination regarding securing an employment, that the participants declare to be experiencing, may also be attributed to the "uncertainty" regarding their legal statuses, potential bureaucratic obstacles and the lengthy procedures thereof, which may discourage employers to

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sırasında markette çalışabilir ama hayatının sonuna kadar orda çalışamaz. Evet tabii yani bazı insanlar gitti, bazı insanlar gitmedi. Ama ben hiç duymadım bir mülteci gitmiş uçak mekaniki şey olmak için da meslek okuluna (TSNG4).

hire and invest in the ASRs in the long-term (Desiderio & Schuster 2013, p. 46; Martin, Arcarons & Aumüller 2016, p. 31; OECD & UNHCR 2018, p. 10). Accordingly, aside from discrimination in the labor market during the selection process, pressures of time and the existence of requirements are also quoted to be influential in the down-ward professional mobility of asylum-seekers and refugees (Freedman 2009, p 51; Phillimore & Goodson 2006, p. 1731). Confirming, the same participant continues and expresses, "I don't need to lose my time and my age to waiting. I'm thirty-four, I am not young. If I don't begin now, where, when and where I have to begin? Just I want to try to begin something, to build something" (ESNG4).

Last but not least, Sansonetti (2016), draws attention to the gender-specific aspects of employment in underqualified occupations, especially in the post-migration context where, particularly single mothers, who are responsible for their families, may need to find employment more urgently. In the absence of a "bargaining power," these women may have to accept the first job available, which once again highlights the 'causality' aspect of exclusion (*ibid.* p. 35). Freedman (2009), referring to women's high representation in domestic work, observes that labor segmentation has a greater effect on women than men (p. 51). Furthermore, Uyan-Semerci and Silahtaroğlu-Bekmen (2015), unveils the association of migration and domestic work, whether the migration is internal or international, with two cases in Turkey, which displays the globality of the situation.

Today, domestic work appears as a highly addressed aspect of female migration, as an embodiment of the "intersectionality" debate. According to this argument, the intersection of multiple factors such as gender, race, and class, come together to trap women in further disadvantage and to increase their "vulnerability" to exploitation (Nwabuzo & Siklossy 2017, p. 5; OHCHR 2015, p. 10; Koenig, Touzenis & Cholewinski 2009, p. 14). Even though some authors argue that, "domesticity" could work in advantage to women, for it may be instrumental for them to enroll in employment and consequently secure a status easier (Morris 2003, p. 92), within the stance of this paper, such an approach would be a perspective legitimizing those inequalities stemming from the intersectionality of race and gender, resulting in exclusion and stigmatization, especially in the labor market in the post-immigration context.

While identifying the areas, in which the exclusion and exploitation of immigrant women

in domestic work may take form, Crépeau (2014) brings forward the speculation, where "workplace [is] the only shelter," due to "migration-related debt" or concerns over the "legal status" – which is in accordance with the "resources" and "rights" aspects of our framework, respectively - (p. 12). The "dependency" situation of migrant women, either to an employer or spouse, is also addressed by Geddie (2014), who clarifies that, women may be restrained to an abusive situation with the fear of "losing their status and becoming undocumented," which increase their vulnerability to gender-based violence (p. 3). Furthermore, as in the case of ASIC1, - one of the three female participants of the whole sample, a thirty-four-year-old single mother of three, who as a former, can find employment in domestic sector below her qualification - quitting a job in domestic sector, may mean giving up their housing arrangement, which puts additional pressure on the women. As conveyed by the interpreter;

> She found a job, I looked her to find this a job, I'm working as Hausmeister [/caretaker/], and I'm looking for a umm like cleaning lady, so I asked her to work for my owner. And she agree, and when she quit, he asked her to leave. It's a hostel; she can stay there, when she quit, she have to leave (ASIC1).

To sum up, as can be seen above, various factors come together in a causal fashion, and trap asylum seekers and refugees in the cycle of "exclusion," with most visible manifestation in the labor market in countries of destination.

4.2.1.1 Acquisition of the Local Language

The importance of acquisition of the host country language in the labor market outcomes for all immigrant groups has been frequently addressed and acknowledged in various studies, as well as policy reports (Martin, Arcarons & Aumüller 2016, p. 18; Doerschler 2010, p. 152; OECD 2016, p. 6; Thyssen 2016, p. 15). Consistently, Höhne and Koopmans (2010) note that, according to prevailing research regarding labor market paths of immigrants, those who do not have a good command of the German language have more difficulties in securing employment in Germany (p. 7). Given the background, however, it is not surprising to see the emphasis on language acquisition first.

ILO (2017) as well as, supporting the idea that language acquisition is pivotal to contribute the labor market outcomes of refugees and other immigrant groups, especially for those who might

be facing "de-grading of competencies" thereof, they also recommend language courses to be provided in combination with training programs (p. 52). Similarly, Tanay and Peschner (2016), advocate that enhancing refugee's linguistic skills would allow them to make the most of their existing qualifications and therefore result in restored labor market outcomes (p. 139). In this response, Martin, Arcarons, and Aumüller (2016), underline that language instruction of refugees is important, as long as it does not suspend their admission to corresponding labor markets. Correspondingly they suggest "on-the-job language training," which would, as well as improving their linguistic skills, would also enable them to make up for the missing credentials needed for more fair and effective participation in the labor market (*ibid.* p. 18). Even though the idea of combining language learning with on-the-job activities is not new, and has already demonstrated constructive outcomes for especially refugees among other immigrant groups, such training remain limited for it entails collaboration with employers, and they generally work quota-based (Konle-Seidl & Bolits 2016, p. 35; Martin, Arcarons & Aumüller 2016, p. 18; Schmidt & Liebig 2016, p. 37).

In Germany, the so-called "integration courses" which consist six hundred hours of language instruction followed by orientation courses, which aim to teach the basic values and workings of the German State, are available to refugees since 2005. Additionally, after the basic language course, migrants and refugees are also encouraged to take part in the vocational language courses provided, if they are looking for employment, yet not necessarily in combination with on-the-job training, which still depends on the employer (BAMF 2016). However, as the European Commission (2013) notes, in the many Member States, including Germany, a certain level of language acquisition is a prerequisite for "naturalization." Moreover, while imposing conditions such as the obligation to acquire the local language, States may apply penalties to those who do not attend to courses provided which ranges from "withdrawal of social benefits, . . to possible deportation" (*ibid.* p. 9). Such implementations, as the report states; "leads to the exclusion of certain groups from a secure legal status" which in turn hinder integration, rather than support (*ibid*). Moreover, as can be observed in my field-work study, such an application creates pressure on asylum-seeking and refugee people, who are already facing a causal chain of challenges, resulting from multiple deprivations embedded in the situation of refugees in terms of rights, resources, and relations.

The spatial manifestation of exclusion within the host-society may be observed during the resettlement process, where asylum-seeking and refugee people need to stay in hostels or detention centers, with other ASRs with limited or no interaction with people from the host-society (Bloch and Schuster 2002, p. 408). Similarly, European Commission (2016), draw attention to spatial isolation and ghettoization, which they see as an "urban dimension of diversity and migration," that cause exclusion in various aspects of life in countries of destination, such as participation in the labor market, acquisition of the local language, for it creates a barrier to interaction among members of the society (p. 11). Likewise, Tanczos (2016), emphasizes that "housing," should not simply be seen as a medium for "sheltering," but also as a medium for "personal development and interaction" (p. 5).

However, even though the asylum-seekers and refugees are allowed to participate in the integration courses earlier than before, the participants of these courses point that, they are still together with other immigrant groups, who are mostly Syrian refugees, with whom they speak Arabic, and therefore, they do not find an opportunity to practice the German language. The situation is expressed in the Arabic-speaking focus-group study more intensively, for whom the acquisition of the local language appears to be more vital and urgent than other participants who already have a command of English, which might be helpful to a certain extent. As expressed by a participant in the Arabic-speaking focus-group study, and articulated by the interpreter;

> We are taking our integration school now, but the problem, the all the people that we live together in in the same area, it's all Arabic. He said the situation that we we that we are in, that's forcing you to live, either it's in the *Heim* [/hostel/], or in a in a hostel, these two places, it's full of refugees. That's why you have no chance to speak German (ASIC5).

> Also, we don't have a German friend to speak with. We don't have, because we are living with the with the community with all Arabic. Even my umm Chef, he can speak eee very good English, so we don't speak German. What I learn here, the next day I forget. There is no practicing (ESIC8).

A participant from Aleppo at the age of twenty-eight, who is married with two kids, and who had lived in Turkey for four years before, and have been in Germany for less than a year articulates that, **"actually,** everything in Germany is nice, but I want to see the world, you see? The

world. Because you are going home, you come to school. I mean nothing else, I have four friends here, that is it. . . You speak in Arabic (TSIC6)"[25].

Even the English-speaking, higher-educated participants, who are used to systems of formal education agree on the fact that, for one to acquire the language, they need a medium where they could practice in real life, which indicates the need for interaction with the locals from the host society. To begin with, a twenty-four-year-old participant from Aleppo, who, as he has been in Germany for more than two years already, has completed the integration course and speak a good level of German says, "I don't think that integration could be done in a school, in the language school. Yeah in the language school, you can learn German, but you have to use it, German you know, umm I think, yeah there should be more, you know, more contact" (ESNG6). Similarly, a twenty-five-year-old participant from Aleppo, who reports being able to speak in German, even when he has been in Germany for one and a half years, explains the reason as;

> I speak good German because, there is a school six month, it's German, but I have a lot of friend here and make a lot of relationship even with German people. I am playing basketball here, too and this basketball team is all time speaking in German and the coach and the people not thinking we have a refugee, we have someone Arabic speaking and they speaking German, the whole time speaking quickly and don't thinking this, and I need to understand (ESNG1).

It is also worth to mention that both participants also live in a shared-flat with German or German-speaking people residing in. Last but not least, one of the three female participants in my sample, a twenty-seven-year-old, bachelor's degree holder participant from Latakia, who has managed to acquire the German language during the fourteen-month period she has spent in Germany, although most of it in camp, maintains that;

> There was a lot of eee volunteers, they came almost every day to the camp, so they always speak with the kids in German, so the kids got the language. And there was a lot of people, they offer eee free eee like free lessons, and it was *sehr gut* [/very good/], because we could have a lot of connections, a lot of friends, and also for a lot of Germans, we are now new

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25 "Almanya'da her şey güzel yani ama dünyayı yani görmek isterim yani ben dünyayı, anladın mı? Çünkü eve gidiyorsun, okula geliyorsun. Yani başka bir şey, dört arkadaş var onu yani. . . Arapça konuşuyorsun (TSIC6)".

friends for them. . . And as I told you, you have to have contacts, because from German you learn a lot. In books, you learn mmm [gesture indicating so so] (ESNG2).

Other participants believe that the easiest way to get in interaction with the German-speaking people would be directly taking part in the labor market. It has been mentioned that, almost half of the participants who have lived and worked in Turkey. Even though the working conditions had been exploitative in Turkey, resulting from their lack of status, and for this reason they needed to relocate, they still argue that it is advantageous to take part in the labor market, in order to be more in touch with the locals, and to improve their language skills, which is a prerequisite for receiving the living permit in Germany.

> He said, 'but you put them in the school and then you can't work unless you have your certificate, it's hard. They can take benefit, they're [cross talk], working paying taxes and the same time, they're ling- learning the German language from from the work from the umm the place that you're working with so, but school home, home school, it doesn't help (ASIC2).

A German-speaking participant of the age twenty-two, who has been in Germany for more than a year, has declared learning the German language by himself, during the period he had been waiting for the notification of approval from BAMF[26] to be able to enroll in a language course, which took him ten months in total. When he is asked if he thinks that the integration courses are helpful[27], he says, "yes, the integration course the integration course helps us, yes, with the eee with the article, grammar. But if you want to speak great, you have to talk with people" (GSNG3)[28].

Moreover, formal education at integration courses might not be the best suitable option for every participant. For example, a thirty-seven-year-old participant from Hasakah, who has been living in Germany for one and a half years already stresses, "This is also very difficult for me eee in school. Because eee I have eee Syria twenty years no school. Yes, but I have learned German

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[26] BAMF - Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees).

[27] "Helfen dir die Deutschkurse sehr gut? Diese Integrationskurse? Findest du hilft ihr?"

[28] "Doch, Den Integrationskurs helft uns, ja mit de ııı mit dem Artikel, Grammatik. Aber wenn man will super sprechen, er muss man mit die Leute unterhalt (GSNG3)."

here"29 meaning the NGO working for, and with ASRs the participant is a part of, as well (GSNG1). ESNG4 expresses a similar concern;

> I don't want to feel as a student anymore. I'm thirty-four. This is the big problem for me. I'm study in the university like ten years, and then now I just come back to the school. I can learn the language but without school. Please don't put me in the school. I have a three years, you need this this, after three years, if I don't have this, you can kick me out. Okay, I accept that. Just put me to learn this by myself. Don't push me (ESNG4).

Similarly, a Turkish-speaking twenty-two-year-old participant from Damascus, who has lived in Turkey for one and a half years and has been in Germany for more than a year now, maintains, "I will learn German. I have my course now, but I do not understand anything, I mean, you know it is very difficult to know, very. *Akkusativ, Dativ*30 (TSNG1)31. Lastly, similar concerns are also expressed within the Arabic-speaking Focus-group study. A thirty-eight-year-old participant from Aleppo, who had also lived in Istanbul Turkey for less than a year before he has been to Germany for more than a year now, says "as long there is die, der, das, they have no chance," and the other participants laugh altogether (ASIC2). As reflected by each language cluster among the sample, bare language instruction provided at language courses, with an overemphasis on grammar is not being very productive. Last but not least, even an English-speaking participant, who is used to having formal education, finds it difficult to adapt to the language course. As he expresses in his words;

> But the problem umm here, we are in the school, we are not learning German. They just give us verbs, umm articles. We need people to communicate with; they should, they should put us in the work; directly in the in the market. Not, not you can't work until you have B1 or B232, it's taking time. We can learn the language, from the street not from the school; school doesn't teach us (ESIC8).

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29 "Das ist eee in Schule auch sehr schwierig für mich... Weil eee ich hab eee Syrien zwanzig Jahre keine Schule. Ja, aber ich hab gelernt Deutsch hier (GSNG1)."

30 Grammar terms in German.

31 "Almanca öğreneceğim. Ben kursum var şimdi, ama anlamıyorum bir şey yani çok zor. Biliyorsun yani, çok. *Akkusativ, Dativ* (TSNG1)."

32 See. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.*

He continues as;

> Wasting our time, this is real. I came here, sometimes I sleep here because it's boring, he just repeating, *der die das*, *Sie, sich, ich, mich*[33], it doesn't help. What we hern- learn here, we can't speak in the street. Nobody using *'Sie'* in the street. No one. And there is a lot of words we heard here, they are, in the s- doesn't use it. Doesn't use it. If they want us to correct the German language, this is the wrong way (ESIC8).

When they are asked, what they think would be better, the answer is, "the market, the market, in the work market and including your work, we can learn German, better German than in school" (ESIC8), which calls for reconsidering the language teaching options, which may go together with real work experience. A similar response is expressed within the Arabic-speaking focus-group study as; "and now they offer us *Ausbildung* [/vocational training/], plus umm integration school which, umm *Ausbildung* plus teaching the language, yes, we'll go. But only teach us language without work, it doesn't work (ASIC4).

A twenty-eight-year-old participant from Aleppo among the Arabic-speaking group, who had also lived and worked in Turkey and so had been able to grasp the language expresses;

> If you bring all this refugees, you should put them in the market first, they can start to work, and they can learn the language from the street. But you bring them from the war, and you put them directly in the school, it doesn't help. It, they can't learn. . . He said they can take the C2 in his work. He can work and learn, and he can give them C2 certificate, once he learn the German language from the street, or from the work, not from the school (ASIC5).

The emphasis on direct and formal placement in the labor market concentrates among the Turkish-speaking participants, who mainly have experience of language acquisition via work. Similarly, a thirty-eight-year-old participant from Aleppo, who had lived in Istanbul, Turkey for less than a year before suggests, as translated by the interpreter; "most of the Syrian people in Turkey, they start to speak the Turkish language in three months. Why? Because they are working" (ASIC2).

A similar language learning experience in Turkey via work may be observed as the following, "I learned easily and quickly. Why? I worked. All my friend Turkish. But here all my friend Arab. I speak Arabic Arabic. But he speaks every day ten, fourteen hours. I speak Turkish

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[33] Grammar terms in German.

quick, but here I talk eee only with the Teacher, and then I speak in Arabic, Arabic (ASIC5)"[34]; "I found a job again. I work in eee evening dresses, for sales, but Arab customers. I learned Turkish by talking; I talked, so I learned. I mean I learned on the Street. Umm, my friends are also Turkish. I learned Turkish from him (TSIC2)"[35]; "There was a carpenter. There was also a Turkmen in the shop. He spoke both Arabic and Turkish. I talked to the man, I said, I want to work with you, I want to learn the language. He said, 'I do not need.' I told him, I do not want money or anything, as long as I learn the language, he said okay. So, I improved my language (TSID5)"[36]. Finally, it can be concluded that, as observed through the field-work study, the advantages of taking part in employment would contribute to the acquisition of the local language, as well as to reestablishing the sense of control over their lives, as will be explained in the next section, in detail.

4.2.2 Lack of Social Capital and the Danger of Brokers

When considering the "rights, resources and relations" framework adopted while investigating the aspects of social exclusion of asylum-seeking and refugee populations, it is not surprising to see the reference made by the participants themselves, to the "relations" aspect of their deprivation, which in other words is the deficiency in the social capital and networks. As has been argued in previous chapters, "social networks/social capital will produce a rosier picture of inclusion in social relations" (Levitas 2006, p. 153). Participants reflect on their deficiencies in their social capital in the post-migration context as;

> Because we don't have, here is no family, no really friend, and something like that when I'm coming here. I think it's a little bit difficult to find people to living together, but there

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[34] "Eee kolay hızlı öğrettim. Niye? Çalıştım. Hepsini arkadaşım Turkish. Ama burada hepsi arkadaşım Arap. Arapça, Arapça konuşuyor. Ama her gün on bir, on dört saat konuşuyorum Turkish. Hızlı konuşuyorum ama burada ııı belki ııı *nur mit Lehrer*, onda sora konuştum Arapça Arapça (ASIC5)."

[35] "İş buldum gene çalışacağım ııı abiye satışta ama Arap müşteriler, ııı Türkçe öğrendim, Muhabbet ıı, muhabbet edirem ben de yani öğrendim yani yolda öğrendim. Aaa benim arkadaşlar hatta Türk. Öğrendim, Türkçe öğrendim ondan (TSIC2)."

[36] "Bir tane marangozcu vardı. Orda da dükkânda bir tane Türkmen vardı. Hem Arapça konuşuyordu hem de Türkçe konuşuyordu. İşte adamla konuştum dedim abi ben senin yanında çalışmak istiyorum, dil öğrenmek istiyorum. Adam dedi lazım falan değil. Dedim abi para mara istemiyorum. Yeter ki dil öğreneyim, tamam dedi girdim. Dilim biraz gelişleştirdim (TSID5)."

is a lot of Syrian people, .. I have a lot of friend, and together and together, and the relation between people is growing, and this is something like going better because we don't have family but now, we have friends, and for me, it's now like a family (ESNG1).

Up to a certain point, it is true that the refugees may find strength, as they cooperate and exchange information within their kinship network, however, due to further deprivations resulting from being a refugee, other than any other immigrant groups, these networks may not always be sufficient to ease their challenges;

> But we have a problem. When you coming here and you need the help, there is some people living here from a lot of years, twenty, thirty years, easy to helping you [referring to me as a person from Turkey]. But I'm coming here and asking to help, the problem, all around me the people, is need the help, because all refugee, and from Syria, Iraq or another country, but refugee. He need the help, he cannot helping me, if I asking something, it's a problem (ESNG1).

As a result of deficiency on social capital, together with lack of linguistic skills, people need to rely on agents to sustain for it. As manifested in the Arabic-speaking focus-group study, people need others to translate for bureaucracy, which creates an additional financial burden on them. As translated by the volunteer interpreter;

> All these people here, sometime they are taking *Dolmetc-* eee translator with eee with them, and they pay him money. All the people asking money and we are facing this problem since we came to Germany, all the translator that she help us in Germany. He has to translate for us that she help us, yes it's with money, nothing for free. And all these guy, they have to do this. Otherwise, you have to speak English or German. But Arabic, no (ESIC8).

The same observation is also recorded by Desiderio and Schuster (2013), "when personal and ethnic networks and migration chains are not sufficient for prospective low-skilled migrants to find employment abroad, they generally have recourse to the services of private intermediation agencies" (p. 49), or as in my sample, rely on brokers, especially in the housing market. As one participant notes, "the most important thing that you move, find a place to stay and you know to, to get yourself in the language school and something. To start things" (ESNG6).

The importance of having connections to initiate the settlement in the post-migration process can be observed in the case of ESNG4, who has been able to find the apartment he now

lives in, through the help of a friend of his from Lebanon;

> It's so difficult. I didn't find, my friend, she's Lebanese and German, she helped me to find this flat. Because she has a job, she find this apart-, this flat and she's give me this flat to live in, because I don't have a job. I don't have a contract, she has a contract, she rent this apartment for me, and because I ask her, she said okay, I will rent this apartment, and you can live in (ESNG4).

A similar observation is done in the work of Crespo et al. (2003), who maintain that, people with an immigration background, who lack "cultural or neighborhood network contacts," would have additional problems throughout the processes of resettlement, starting with bureaucracy and paperwork, going on to searching for accommodation and employment (p. 28). One of the three female participants of the field-work study, the twenty-seven-year-old, university graduate, who has a good command of German already in addition to English, expresses the importance of contacts, when she is asked about her experiences regarding accommodation finding, as;

> Umm with good English (laughs), so it was easy for me to communicate, since the early beginning with a lot of Germans, and I asked for help. I asked can you please help in finding room, house. It was easy because there is communication and now, I have a lot of connections, so it was super easy. *Viel* [/many/] contact. (ESNG2)

Some may have connections which can be helpful, however, when people lack the social capital, they may find themselves in a position to rely on brokers, especially in the housing market, where the resources are scarce in a crowded city like Berlin. Further, applicants may not yet be eligible to move in a flat on their own, and wait in uncertainty, with limited access to rights and resources, as in the case of a thirty-six-old participant, who is married with two children;

> I went to that company with someone who can speak German, we ask for place for my family, an apartment. I was in *Jobcenter*, they said, we are sorry, we didn't give umm the *Jobcenter* people a place. He should have his own business aaa or my own work. So, we found a broker. But you have to pay like two thousand Euros. After that, he bring me a place, from the same company, who refused to give me (ESIC8).

"Causality" aspect of exclusion may be well observed in the case of ESIC8. Given that, he had not been able to enroll in independent employment back then, and so they were dependent on welfare benefits as the whole family, the companies refused to sublease them an apartment. Therefore, either they must live in refugee hostels provided by the State, or depend on brokers, as

he did. Moreover, neither is he the only participant who mentions the existence of brokers on the housing market, who rent apartments to refugee people with excessive commission rates. For some, it may still work as an advantage because they eventually find a proper place to live in, as TSNG4 and his friends, "we have found a flat, of course, you can't find a flat for free. I know an Arab in Wedding. Eee he paid five thousand Euros, and someone brought him the contract. We have paid, the four of us at home, and we got the apartment."[37] However, not always would these brokers may be instrumental. As TSNG1 has experienced, refugee people who lack the social capital to help the know-how about the country, accompanied by lack of linguistic skills, might easily become victims to fraud;

> I looked for apartments. A man came. He asks for one thousand five hundred to find an apartment. I will find an apartment, but he wants one thousand and five hundred. Okay, I gave one thousand five hundred, and he cheated us, he did so to trick us. And then my boss went and took the money back (TSNG1).[38]

Still, as can be observed above, people may need people, whom they could rely on to help them in difficult situations as exemplified above. A similar observation is also made by Lerner, Menahem and Hisrich (2005), who presume that improving the "social capital" of immigrant populations and expanding their networks - whether with their co-ethnics or citizens the host society - would create an opportunity for them to attain "know-how" in the new environment, which would eventually reduce the deficiency in relations and help them lessen their vulnerability to exploitation, just as in the case above (p. 206). To sum up, deficiency in the social capital and exclusion from relations, together with other sorts of exclusions explained throughout this paper, takes an even more acute form in the case of asylum-seekers and refugees; augments additional burden to their already existing deprivations in both material and non-material resources; and eventually may hinder their harmonization desired in the settlement process.

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[37] "Bir ev bulduk tabii ki parayla, parasız ev bulamazsın. Ben bir Arapları tanıyorum Wedding'de. Eee beş bin Euro ödedi birisi ona kontrakt getirdi. Biz şey ödedik, biz dört kişiyiz evde, o evi aldık" (TSNG4).

[38] "Evler baktım. Bir adam geldi. Adam bin beş yüz istiyor bulmak için. Ev bulacağım ama bin beş yüz istiyor. Tamam bin beş yüz verdim, herif bizi kandırdı kandırmak için onu yaptı öyle. Sonra benim patron götürdü parayı geri aldı" (TSNG1).

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

As it has been elucidated through the literature review on social exclusion, even though the implementation of the term is quite recent, the studies examining the relative positioning of people in societies and the distribution of wealth, had been on the agenda for longer. Still, it is important to understand how the concept of exclusion has developed to mean what it means today in the European context, to be able to comprehend and explain the refugee experience driven from my fieldwork study. Given the "elasticity" of the concept of social exclusion, and its applicability to other conjectures, this paper set to analyze the refugee experience within the rights, resources and relations framework. This approach, as well as being instrumental to comprehend and conceptualize the concept, especially in the context for the asylum-seeking and refugee populations, gave a chance to read Agamben's "state of exception" through such a current issue; the Syrian refugee crisis and their processes settlement in the neighboring countries as well as in Europe.

While implementing the concept of social exclusion, it is important to underline once again that there has been no agreed upon definition, yet its relation to studies of poverty and deprivation is highly acknowledged. Therefore, the concept appears to be used as an "umbrella term" addressing and tackling the multiple dimensions of deprivation, which may as well have different connotations for different communities or groups in different spatiotemporal arrangements. For this reason, the most prominent commentators of the concept of social exclusion have attempted to develop "models" or identify "paradigms" to conceptualize the term within the variety of discourses available.

As the concept evolved and gained popularity in Europe, both its scope and definitions have been challenged. While acknowledging the term's early association with the notion of poverty and deprivation, its relation was needed to be redefined, to be able to understand and responds to the new challenges within the society, which had been particularly instrumental for investigating the immigrant populations. In an attempt to conceptualize social exclusion, further acknowledgment of multiplicity of dimensions of deprivation and disadvantage came into the stage. To be able to tackle the multi-dimensionality in question, an emphasis on their causality has been innovative, for it addressed the structural, or the macro causes of deprivation, rather than,

the individual-level, or the micro causes. It has been acknowledged that the human capital is static, and is determined by the so-called structures, which create and sustain the so-called inequalities by means of advantages, even if not necessarily by rights.

Furthermore, distinguishing the concept from poverty and carrying it from the domain of Economics to Sociology had been instrumental in acknowledging the non-material aspects of deprivation, as well as material, taking the attention to "resources" and "relations" points of our framework. With such acknowledgement, it has been possible to make an emphasis on the "social capital," especially in the post-immigration context, which could be both read as "resources" and "relations," since beyond its socialization aspect, its deficiency directly affected the life in the countries of destination starting from housing to employment. The deficit in the social capital has several impacts, especially with regard to employment-related issues, beginning with unemployment, resulting in employment in under qualified jobs for immigrant populations, or when combined with deprivation in terms of rights, results in illegal employment which is also associated with exploitation. Within this perspective, all these structures causing and reinforcing such dynamics in the labor market made it possible to read "refugee" as a class, given that some of these people might have had a different status before being displaced.

As has been maintained before, the thesis is grounded on the findings derived from the qualitative fieldwork study conducted in Berlin, Germany, with twenty-two Syrian refugee people, thirteen of whom had experienced a secondary migration and relocated from their first countries of asylum, which creates the backbone of the study. Given that the migration is humanitarian, identifying the reasons why people might have needed to relocate, as well as including those who have directly aimed for and came to Europe, and particularly to Germany, and how they perceive their life here had been the primary concern of the fieldwork research. After intensive traffic of sampling, interviewing and transcribing during the data collection process, the thematic approach is adapted to identify what mattered the subjects themselves the most, throughout the data analysis process.

Accordingly, it could frequently be observed that the manifestations of social exclusion revealed themselves most evidently in relation to the labor market outcomes of the participants. There was also a distinct causal relationship between the deprivations, which all have reflected aspects of rights, resources, and relations to a certain extent. To elaborate, the waiting period and

68

the feeling of uncertainty, resulting from the requirements and complexity of bureaucracy, combined with lack of social capital and know-how in the new society, have been stated as the main barriers causing the participants' exclusion from the labor market. The participants also viewed the participation in the labor market as the key step to their successful settlement. This is mainly with the hope that, labor-force engagement, would make them independent of welfare benefits, which prevented their mobility both in physical and cognitive sense, and finally would help them reestablish a sense of control over their lives and would have given them the feeling that their lives are being back to 'normal'.

The experiences of Syrian asylum seekers and refugees in their countries of destination, could be as well read with Agamben's notion of "state of exception," where the refugee populations are "outside" the national law, for they are not eligible for citizenship rights, but under the control of the "sovereign," which constrains their capabilities, leaving them in a period of uncertainty, where people are also incapable of enforcing their human rights in the absence of citizenship rights. When "the state of exception" is sustained and the naturalization process is suspended, people become reluctant to invest in the skill capitals required for participation in the key activities of the host country. At the most extreme, the waiting period in uncertainty could be so unbearable that some people might contemplate a secondary migration, which can be costly and more importantly risky, as more than half of the participants have already experienced, and few are considering.

Against this background, it can be argued that, even though the primary intention might not necessarily be to exclude, yet, on the contrary, investments are made to enhance the resources of asylum seekers and refugees in terms of country-specific skills needed for the participation in the labor market, ASRs could still experience exclusion. Therefore, the feedback received from the subjects themselves, especially of the qualitative kind, need not be neglected from the policy-making and its implementation through programs aimed at enhancing refugees' social capital. Even though there is an overarching emphasis on developing "tailor-made" policies aimed at ASRs, which consider their particularity and are grounded on fieldwork studies, the task is challenging. Such insertion of the views of the subjects themselves in the policy-making could be done in coordination with non-governmental organizations, which produce positive outcomes as also revealed within my field-work study. Last but not least, as aimed to be conveyed throughout

this thesis both through the literature review on social exclusion and the findings of the qualitative fieldwork study, identification and elimination of exclusion of all sorts, need to be seen as the key step, that needs to be taken in order to maintain and sustain inclusive societies.

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APPENDIX A.1: Interview Questions in English

A. Demographic Questions

1. How old are you?

2. Which city in Syria do you come from?

3. What is your occupation?

4. Have you studied back in Syria?

    a. (If yes) What did you study?

5. What languages do you speak?

    a. How did you learn it?

B. Research Questions

B.1 Background Information

6. How was Syria? What was your life like in Syria?

7. How was Turkey? (If applicable)

    a. When did you go to Turkey (year) and with whom? How long did you stay in Turkey?

    b. What were you doing in Turkey?

    c. What was the reason you chose to go to Turkey first?

    e. Why did you leave Turkey?

8. How was your journey?

9. When did you come to Germany (year) and with whom?

10. How did you decide to come to Germany, or Berlin in particular?

    a. What was your motivation and expectations?

    b. What did you know about Germany before you came here?

11. Which differences drew your attention between Turkey and Germany?

B.2 Life in Host Countries

12. What do you do now in Germany? How would you describe your life here?

B.2.1. Housing Arrangements

13. Can you tell me about your housing experience?

    a. Where do you live (which region)? (Where did you live back in Turkey?)

    b. What is your housing arrangement? How did you find it?

    c. What do you think about your current housing situation? (Adequate/ Inadequate, Why?)

    d. Which community do you live together with?

        i. How do you get on with your neighbors? How do you think their approach towards you is?

B.2.2. Access to Employment and Working Conditions

14. Are you currently working? (Or, have you been employed before in Germany or Turkey?)

    a. (If yes) Where do you work? What kind of work are you doing?

    b. How did you find this job? (Was it easy to find it? Did you get any help finding it?)

    c. Who do you work with? (Arab, Syrian, Turkish, Immigrant etc.)

    d. How do you get on with your colleagues?

15. (If working) Are you happy with your current work situation?

    a. (If no) What job would you like to do instead?

    b. What factors are holding you back?

16. (If working) Do you think that your job uses your education and skills? (Does your employer recognize your education and work experience from your home country?)

17. (If working and previously employed) How is your current job different than your previous employment before coming to Germany?

18. (If not working) Would you like to be able to work?

    a. What job would you like to do?

    b. What factors are holding you back?

        i. How do you think this would be improved?

B.2.3. Access to Services and Support

19. Who do you go to when you need support or information about something? (*e.g.*, family, friends, support workers, volunteers, NGOs, etc.)

20. How do you compare the services provided here in Germany and Turkey?

B. 2.3.1 Integration Support

21. Once you arrived in Germany, did you receive any support to help you settle? (*e.g.*, regarding the procedures, housing arrangement, getting a job etc.).

    a. What was it?

    b. Do you believe that it has been helpful?

B.2.3.2 Language Education and Vocational Training

22. Have you had any language or skill training in Germany so far? Or do you need any?

    a. (If yes) In which areas? (*e.g.*, for language, work, personal interest?)

    b. (If yes) Do you believe that it has been helpful?

23. (If no) What do you think is preventing you from accessing, or fully utilizing the training?

    a. What would help you to access or utilize it better? (*e.g.*, e-learning, funding, flexible hours, child-care etc.)

24. (If applicable) Which school do your kids go and with whom (*e.g.*, with other refugee children, immigrant children or locals?).

a. What kind of education do the children receive there, in which language?

b. Are your kids happy with their school? Do you believe that it has been helpful?

B.3 Perceptions of Integration and Future Aspirations

B.3.1 Perceptions of Integration in the Host Community

25. How does being a refugee impact your life?

26. How do you feel in the society? Do you feel accepted in the local community?

27. Do you think discrimination is a big problem in Germany (or back in Turkey)?

a. Have you ever experienced any sort of hostility or harassment?

i. (If yes) Would you mind sharing?

28. What does integration mean to you?

29. What barriers do you face in respect to your integration in the community? (*e.g.*, Language, cultural differences etc.)

B.3.2 Future Plans and Aspirations

30. How do you think might your integration be enhanced? (How might your life in Germany be improved? What changes to your life here in Germany would help you to feel integrated better?)

31. What are your plans for the future? How do you see your future here in Germany?

Other

32. Thank you for your time. Is there anything else you would like to add, or ask me?

33. Can you recommend any other person who may wish to participate in this study?

APPENDIX A.2: Interview Questions in Turkish (Türkçe Mülakat Soruları)

A. Demografik Sorular

1. Kaç yaşındasınız?

2. Suriye'de hangi şehirden geliyorsunuz?

3. Mesleğiniz nedir?

4. Suriye'de eğitim gördünüz mü?

     a. (Yanıt evet ise) Ne okudunuz?

5. Hangi dilleri konuşuyorsunuz?

     a. Bu dilleri nasıl öğrendiniz?

B. Araştırma Soruları

Araştırma Soruları

6. Suriye, nasıl bir yerdi? Suriye'deki hayatınız nasıldı?

7. Türkiye nasıldı? (Eğer uygunsa)

     a. Türkiye'ye ilk ne zaman ve kiminle gittiniz? Ne kadar süre kaldınız?

     b. Türkiye'de ne yapıyordunuz?

     c. İlk olarak Türkiye'ye gitme nedeniniz neydi?

     d. Neden Türkiye'den ayrılma gereği duydunuz?

8. Yolculuğunuz nasıldı?

9. Almanya'ya ilk ne zaman ve kiminle geldiniz? Ne zamandır Almanya'dasınız?

10. Almanya'ya (ya da Berlin'e) gelme fikri nasıl gelişti?

     a. Buraya gelmekteki beklentiniz ve motivasyonunuz neydi?

     b. Gelmeden önce burası hakkında ne biliyordunuz?

11. Türkiye ile Almanya arasında dikkatinizi çeken ne gibi farklılıklar var?

B.2 Ev Sahibi Ülkede Yaşam

12. Şu an Almanya'da ne yapıyorsunuz? Buradaki yaşamınızı nasıl tanımlarsınız?

B.2.1 Barınma Durumu

13. Biraz da barınmaya dair tecrübelerinizden bahsedebilir misiniz?

    a. Şu an nerede / hangi bölgede yaşıyorsunuz (ya da Türkiye'de hangi nerede yaşadınız)?

    b. Ne tür bir yerde yaşıyorsunuz? Bu yeri nasıl buldunuz?

    c. Şu anki barınma imkanlarınızı nasıl buluyorsunuz? (Yeterli/Yetersiz)

    d. Almanya'da hangi toplulukla beraber yaşıyorsunuz?

        i. Komşularınızla nasıl anlaşıyorsunuz? Size karşı tutumları sizce nasıl?

B.2.2. İş Hayatına Erişim ve Çalışma Şartları

14. Halihazırda çalışıyor musunuz? (Ya da daha önce Almanya veya Türkiye'de çalıştınız mı?)

    a. (Yanıt evet ise) Nerede çalışıyorsunuz? Ne tarz bir iş yapıyorsunuz?

    b. Bu işi nasıl buldunuz? İş arama / bulma süreciniz nasıldı? Bu konuda yardım aldınız mı?

    c. Kimlerle beraber çalışıyorsunuz? (Arap, Suriyeli, Türk, Göçmen vb.)

    d. İş arkadaşlarınızla aranız nasıl?

15. (Çalışıyor ise) İşinizden memnun musunuz?

    a. (Yanıt hayır ise) Ne tür bir işte çalışmak isterdiniz?

    b. İstediğiniz işte çalışmaktan sizi alıkoyan nedir?

16. (Çalışıyor ise) Eğitim ve yeteneklerinizin iş yerinizde yeterince değerlendirdiğini düşünüyor musunuz? Eğitiminiz ya da geçmiş iş tecrübeleriniz işvereniniz tarafından tanınıyor mu?

17. (Daha önce çalışmış ise) Şimdiki işiniz ile Almanya'ya gelmeden önceki işiniz arasında ne gibi farklılıklardan bahsedebiliriz?

18. (Eğer çalışmıyor ise) Çalışmak istiyor musunuz?

a. Ne tür bir işte çalışmak istiyorsunuz?

b. Sizi alıkoyan nedir?

B.2.3 Hizmetlere Erişim ve Destek

19. Eğer bir konuda desteğe ihtiyacınız olursa ilk nereye gidiyorsunuz (aile, arkadaşlar, gönüllü çalışanlar, dernekler, örgütler vb.)?

20. Türkiye ile kıyasladığınızda, Almanya'da mültecilere sunulan hizmetleri nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?

B.2.3.1. Entegrasyon Desteği

21. Almanya'ya ilk geldiğinizde barınma, hizmetlere erişim, iş bulma vb. konularda herhangi bir yardım ya da desteğe erişiminiz oldu mu?

a. (Eğer evet ise) Hangi konuda yardıma ihtiyaç duydunuz?

b. Bu yardımın size fayda sağladığını düşünüyor musunuz?

B.2.3.2 Yabancı Dil Eğitimi ve Mesleki Eğitimi

22. Şu ana kadar Almanya'da ya da Türkiye'de dil ya da diğer yeteneklerinizi geliştirmek adına bir eğitim aldınız mı?

a. (Eğer yanıt evet ise) Hangi alanlarda? (Adaptasyon, iş, kişisel ilgi vb.?)

b. Bu eğitimin size fayda sağladığını düşünüyor musunuz?

28. (Yanıt hayır ise) Sizi bu eğitimlere erişmekten, ya da daha iyi verim almaktan alıkoyan neydi?

a. Bu hizmetlere ulaşmanıza ya da daha iyi verim alabilmeniz için sizce ne yardımcı olabilir? (Online eğitim, hibe, esnek saatler, çocuk bakımı vb.)

24. (Eğer uygunsa) Çocuklarınız hangi okula gidiyor ve kimlerle birlikte eğitim alıyor? (Diğer mülteci ya da göçmen çocuklar, yerel halk?)

a. Orada hangi dilde ve ne tür bir eğitim alıyorlar?

b. Çocuklarınız okulundan memnun mu? Okulun fayda sağladığını düşünüyor musunuz?

B.3 Entegrasyona Dair Algılar ve Gelecek Planları

B.3.1 Misafir Ülkede Entegrasyona Dair Algılar

25. Mülteci olmak buradaki hayatınızı nasıl etkiliyor?

26. Kendinizi toplumun içerisinde nasıl hissediyorsunuz? Yerel toplum tarafından kabul gördüğünüzü düşünüyor musunuz?

27. Türkiye'de ya da Almanya'da mültecilere karşı bir ayrımcılık ya da ırkçılık sergilendiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

> a. Herhangi bir kötü muameleye maruz kaldığınız oldu mu?
>
> > i. (Eğer yanıt evet ise) Paylaşmak ister misiniz?

28. Sizin için entegrasyon ne anlama geliyor?

29. Entegrasyon anlamında ne gibi engellerle karşılaşıyorsunuz / karşılaştınız? (Dil bariyeri, kültürel farklılıklar vb.)

B.3.2 Gelecek Planları ve Beklentiler

30. Sizce entegrasyonunuz daha başka nasıl desteklenebilir? Buradaki hayatınız, ileriye yönelik olarak hangi anlamlarda iyileştirilebilir?

31. Gelecek planlarınız nelerdir? Buradaki geleceğiniz hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?

Diğer

32. Vakit ayırdığınız için çok teşekkür ederim. Eklemek ya da sormak istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

33. Bu çalışmaya katılabileceğini düşündüğünüz, önerebileceğiniz bir tanıdığınız var mı?

APPENDIX B.1: Demographic Information on All Participants

Code	Age	Gender	Marital Status	City/ Origin	Length of Stay		Languages spoken[39]	Housing Arrangement
					In DE[40]	In TR		
#ASIC1	34	Female	Single mother (3 kids)	Damascus	1-2 yrs.	-		Workplace (hostel)
#ASIC2	38	Male	Single	Aleppo	1-2 yrs.	<1 yr. (IST)	TR	Hostel
#ASIC3	64	Female	Married	Aleppo	1-2 yrs.	-	FR	Hostel
#ASIC4	34	Male	Single	Deir ez-Zor	1-2 yrs.	-		Hostel
#ASIC5	28	Male	Single	Aleppo	1-2 yrs.	1-2 yrs. Adana	TR	Hostel
#ESNG1	25	Male	Single	Aleppo	1-2 yrs.		EN, DE	Apartment (shared-flat)
#ESNG2	27	Female	Single	Latakia	1-2 yrs.		EN, DE	Apartment (prev. camp)
#ESIC3	20	Male	Single	Aleppo	1-2 yrs.	< 3 yrs. DZ	EN	Apartment
#ESNG4	34	Male	Single	Al-Tabqah/ Damascus	1-2 yrs.	1-2 yrs LB	EN	Apartment
#ESIC5	20	Male	Single	Damascus/ Palestinian	1 yr.	<1 yrs. (BUR)	EN	Apartment (with his relatives)
#ESNG6	24	Male	Single (DE gf)	Aleppo	2 yrs.		EN, DE	Apartment

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[39] Self-declared.

[40] (ISO 3166-1) Alpha-2 Country Codes.

#ESIC7	19	Male	Single	Aleppo	1-2 yrs.	< 3 yrs. DZ	EN	Hostel
#ESIC8	36	Male	Married	Homs	2 yrs.	< 3 yrs. LB	EN	Apartment
#GSNG1	37	Male	Single	Hasakah	1-2 yrs.		DE	Hostel (prev. camp)
#GSNG2	25	Male	Single	Hasakah	1-2 yrs.		DE	Apartment (shared-flat)
#GSNG3	22	Male	Single	Damascus	1-2 yrs.		DE	Apartment
#TSNG1	22	Male	Single	Damascus	1-2 yrs.	1-2 yrs. (BUR)	TR	(Hostel, but he had an appointment for a flat via Broker)
#TSIC2	23	Male	Single	Damascus	1-2 yrs.	2 yrs. (prev. 1 yr. in EG)	TR, EN	Apartment (via Broker)
#TSNG3	24	Male	Single	Deir ez-Zor	<1 yr.	3 yrs	TR, DE	Hostel
#TSNG4	28	Male	Single	Kobani	1 yr.	3 yrs.	TR, EN, DE Kurdish	Apartment (with other refugee friends)
#TSID5	19	Male	Single	Aleppo	1 yr.	3 yrs.	TR, DE, EN	Apartment (with his brother)
#TSIC6	28	Male	Married	Aleppo	<1 yr.	4 yrs.	TR	Hostel

APPENDIX B.2: Educational and Occupational Profiles of All Participants

Code	Languages Spoken	Education	Previous Occupation		Current Occupation	Future Plans
			In SY	In TR		
#ASIC1	AR	Uni	Teacher	-	Cleaning lady	Not clear yet.
#ASIC2	AR	NA	Blacksmith	Textile (production)	A temporary job	Vocational training on blacksmith for big ships
#ASIC3	AR, FR	NA	Owner of a factory	-	Retirement?	Re-unite with her husband.
#ASIC4	AR	NA	Can do 2-3 jobs	-	NA	Nursing
#ASIC5	AR, TR	NA	NA	Any job in Turkey illegally	NA	Not clear yet. Any job
#ESNG1	EN, DE	University	Student	-	Student	Complete his studies and do something good
#ESNG2	EN, DE	University	Student	-	Student	*Ausbildung* Büro Kommunikation / Office Management
#ESIC3	EN	University drop-out	Student	-	Student - Training	Study management studies at Uni

#ESNG4	EN	University	Artist/ Director	-	Unemployed	Willing to do any job to stay in Berlin
#ESIC5	EN	University drop-out	Student	Textile (production)	Student	Not clear yet. Uni or *Ausbildung*
#ESNG6	EN, DE	University drop-out	Student	-	Student	Keep on studying Bio-technology
#ESIC7	EN	Highschool	Student	-	Student	Study Dentistry Germany Uni
#ESIC8	EN	University	Area Manager	-	House-Meister	start his own business – entrepreneur
#GSNG1	DE	Not in school for 20 years (prob.High school)	Taxi-driver		NA, Integration course student	Not clear yet. Any job
#GSNG2	DE	No formal education	Carpenter		Integration course +works at ALDI	Not clear yet Any job (open to new opportunities)
#GSNG3	DE	No info	Family business Restaurant	-	Integration course student	Not clear yet but maybe open his own restaurant (entrepreneur) Wish to return.

#TSNG1	TR	NA	Worker at factories	Textile (production)	Seeking	Wish to stay and work. If not return to Arabic countries.
#TSIC2	TR, EN	University drop-out	Student	Textile (sales)	NA, Integration course student	Wish to return.
#TSNG3	TR, DE	No formal education	-	Car-washing, broker for finding flat	NA, Integration course student	Not clear yet. Wish to return.
#TSNG4	TR, EN DE, Kurdish	University drop-out	Student	House-painter	NA, Integration course student	Wish to study and find a decent job (Not 3D jobs)
#TSID5	TR, DE, EN	Highschool drop-out	Student	Carpenter, Welder	High-school Student	Study at university and become an architect.
#TSIC6	TR	NA–occupational knowledge	Tailor	Textile (production)	Integration course student	Tailor at big factories in Hamburg

ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY THE ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research on Humans)

Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Nihan Duran

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: The Syrian Refugees in Berlin

Proje No. / Project Number: 2017-40013-59

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected	
	Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 12 Mayıs 2017

Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

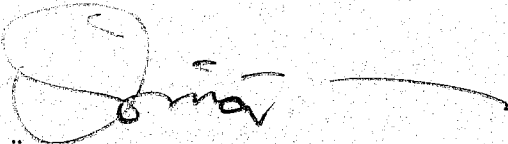Doç Dr. Itır Erhart   (izinli)

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak

Üye / Committee Member

Doç. Dr. Koray Akay

Üye / Committee Member

Doç Dr. Ayhan Özgür Toy

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Turgut Tarhanlı

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Ali Demirci