

STRATEGIES OF THE SYRIANS TOOK REFUGE IN TURKEY TO COPE WITH MIGRATION: REFLECTIONS VIA ISTANBUL SAMPLE CASE

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ABSTRACT

People were forced to leave their home countries and take shelter in the neighboring countries as a result of conflicts which started in 2011 and still raging in Syria. Turkey is among the major countries which welcomes Syrian refugees with an open door policy and puts them under protection. The lack of scientific studies about "Syrian Refugees" reaching the number of almost 2.744.915 (DGMM, 2016) as it might be considered as a new field, reveals the need to research this subject. This study aims to understand how Syrians who took refuge in Istanbul cope with migration. Main theories of our research are; cultural capital -an individual's language, socio-culture, education- and social capital, which defines the capital an individual has through relatives, friends and the ethnic group links. This research examines the role of the cultural and social capital that Syrian refugees have during the migration process pursuant to these theories of Pierre Bourdieu. Projected as a quantitative fieldwork, this study used the methods of "observation", "in-depth interview" and "focus group interview". Observations and interviews were made in different neighborhoods and districts of Istanbul. Based on the data acquired from the field, the effectiveness of cultural and social capital on the strategies Syrian Refugees develop while coping with the problems they face in their daily life and in the fields of education, children's education, working life, health and social relations will be assessed.

Keywords: Migration, Syria, Refugee, Pierre Bourdieu, Cultural Capital, Social Capital

INTRODUCTION

Migration is a matter of fact that continues its existence for many years. This matter of fact is versatile because of its demographic, political, economic, psychological, sociological and anthropological content. The definition of migration in general terms is; a geographic, cultural or social act of changing location for a short, medium or long period of time with the purpose of return or permanent settlement with political, economic, ecologic or individual reasons (Yalcin, 2004 p.13). In spite of the restrictions in some regions, chances of moving from one country to another increased along with the developments in mass communication and means of transportation (in regions like Europe or United States). However, most brutal aspect of migration is forced migration. With forced migration individuals or groups can become an object of a conflict or war that they are not a part of and they are forced to migrate or obliged to live within the boundaries of a different country by pushing them to migrate (Keser, 2011 p.2). On the important migratory routes, Turkey is a multidimensional country that receives and sends to migrants, or is used as a transit route (Kara and Korkut, 2010 p.161).

After the mass demonstrations that were called "Arab Spring" which broke out in Tunisia and spread to Egypt, Libya and some other Arab countries, major political and social developments occurred. These mass demonstrations were held against the repressive rulers in Arab countries with the demand for change. After these recent developments in the region, the situation that effected Turkey the most is the reflections of the Arab Spring in Syria as being a border county to Turkey. Therefore, as our target country for this research is Syria, the effect of Arab Spring in Syria and ongoing situation will be discussed.

As a reflection of the Arab Spring that broke out in March 2011, Syrian Army that was assigned by President Assad tried to suppress the protests started with the effect of Arab Spring with armed and deadly intervention. These developments and harsh intervention by President Assad's army, protests turned into an armed struggle and led to the outbreak of the civil war. Despite the fact that this situation started later than the other Arabic countries, civil war in Syria still continues in its most severe form. Millions of Syrians who have no safety of life and property were forced to migrate and take refuge in neighboring countries. Turkey is among the countries that is effected by the ongoing situation in Syria in economic and social dimensions.

One of the major factors that made Syrian crises crucial is the humanitarian dimension of the crisis. According the data of The UN Refugee Agency, the number of Syrian Refugees is 2.748.367 in Turkey, 246.589 in Iraq,

651.114 in Jordan, 120.491 in Egypt, 1.048.275 in Lebanon and 29.275 in North Africa, reaching to 4.844.111 in total. The refugees who applied for immigration to Europe and thousands of Syrians who are placed in the third countries within the region are not included in this number (UNHCR, 2016). Started with 8.000 people in 2011, the registered number of refugees reached to 4.844.111 and the number of Syrian refugees who are forced to leave their country is increasing each day.

Refugees develop strategies to cope with migration process and overcome the problems they face during this process. The ways of doing that and the factors like their skills in education, social networks and language are effective in coping with migration and the problems related to migration. Based on this framework, this research focuses on the effect of the variables of cultural (socio-cultural characteristics, language, education) and social capital (relatives, friends, ethnic group ties) that Syrians living in Istanbul developed to cope with migration and to what extent these variables play a role.

As migration from Syria, started in 2011, is fairly a new issue for Turkey and the number of scientific studies on nearly 2.750.000 Syrian refugees are not sufficient reveals the need to examine this issue. In the previous studies and published reports, the problems of the Syrian refugees about healthcare, education and sheltering, financial difficulties and lack of human living conditions are mentioned and the necessity of taking measures and helping Syrian refugees is highlighted. Beyond the scope of the subjects of these studies, status of the Syrians in Turkey and their problems are also within the scope of this research. This research is based on the struggles and problems of refugees about migration and the possibility of having different ways to cope with these problems, rather than a case of increasing number of refugees. In this context, I will try to understand if Syrian people have the same status in Turkey that they had in Syria before migration and what are the outcomes of this situation. In consideration of the data gathered after this study, it is aimed to bear a torch to the policies about Syrian refugees living in Turkey.

According to the data released by the Directorate General of Migration Management of the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Turkey, the number of Syrian refugees in Istanbul is 392.484 (DGMM, 2016). Along with the uncertainty about the duration of stay of Syrian refugees in Istanbul, these refugees have entered a social life process in the places they live. This research is important to be a source in this field by explaining what kind of a social life process is developed by Syrian refugees in Istanbul, how they cope with migration, what kind of problems they face and the strategies they develop thereon.

Pierre Bourdieu Social and Cultural Capital

From the point of understanding the effectiveness of cultural and social capital, two major concepts of this study explained by Pierre Bourdieu in his article "The Forms of Capital", on the refugees' process of coping with migration, it is important to explain these concepts. In the socializing process of individuals, their place in the society is shaped by the capital acquired from their families or official agencies like educational institutions and accumulated by them. The relationship between the perception categories of individuals and symbolic differences is reflected on their capital in social sphere and the sort of capital needed according to the rules and the practices of the social sphere of the individual becomes evident (Aydemir, 2011 p.41).

Cultural Capital provides continuation of class inequality through social institutions in the widest sense and reinforcement of the cultural codes and class differences of goods and services consumed (Aydemir, 2011 p.41). According to Bourdieu, cultural capital exists in three ways. Bourdieu emphasizes the need of investment by magnate in person for the time needed for embodied cultural capital accumulation. Acquisition is people's try to improve themselves and an investment. However, he mentioned that cultural capital can be obtained unconsciously, depended on the society and social class, with varying degrees even in the absence of any conscious suggestion.

Objectified form of cultural capital can be defined in connection with its embodied form. Objects such as writing, paintings, monuments and so on can be transferred with their own materiality. For instance, a painting collection can be transferred as economic capital. Its legal property is transferrable here. Means of consuming a painting or ownership of the tools which are needed to use a machine is subject to the same transfer laws, but untransferable (Bourdieu, 1986 p.56).

Objectified cultural capital can't come down to embodied cultural capital which exceeds individual wills and as the example of language of each agent. This kind of cultural capital looks like a consistent universe with its own laws (Bourdieu, 1986 p.58).

Bourdieu explains the institutionalized form of cultural as embodying cultural capital with educational qualifications and individual's academic approval independent of personality. Educational qualifications such as culturally permanent and legally guaranteed cultural credential create a relatively independent cultural capital to its owners (Bourdieu, 1986 p.58). Academic qualifications make it possible to compare proficiency holders, even

replacing an individual with a more successful one by giving institutional recognition to individual's cultural capital. It also determines the value of the individuals with desired academic competence by comparison to other proficiency holders by guaranteeing the monetary value of gained academic capital (Bourdieu, 1986 p.60).

The concept of cultural capital which includes language proficiency, education, skills and socio-cultural characteristics is important for our research. Besides, as Bourdieu mentioned, possessed cultural capital and continuation of financial benefit, the return of academic qualifications, after migration will be discussed in the essay.

Bourdieu evaluates the social capital concept as more or less institutionalized long lasting network of relations in his book "The Forms of Capital". In other words, social capital is defined as a concept linked to a group membership, providing benefit with capital through collectivity to its members, namely providing reference, in other words, the sum of real or potential sources of being a member of this group. Meanwhile by using a common name (the name of a family, class, tribe, school, party etc.), support of collective belonging is provided to each one of them; thus social capital becomes sustainable and reinforced (61). In other words, social capital states the sum of real or potential sources an individual or group obtain by having more or less institutionalized mutual recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001 p.108).

3. Status of Syrians

People expect from their governments to protect and secure their basic human rights. However, in the state of migration, emigrant country can't or doesn't want to protect those rights. Because of that, international protection is needed. Protection of Syrians' human rights is possible with international protection. Legal status is provided to migrants with international protection. Although Syrians are called refugees in this essay, Turkey identifies the status of Syrians as foreigners under temporary protection. In this respect, touching briefly on refugees under international protection and temporary protection status is important for this study in order to understand the legal status that Syrians hold.

3.1. Refugees

Refugee is defined as "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his citizenship and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it, shall be granted refugee status upon completion of the refugee status determination process." (GOC, 2014) by adding the phrase; *as a result of events occurring in European countries* in Article 61 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection of the Republic of Turkey to the provisions of the United Nations Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, which was signed in Geneva and effectuated on April 22, 1954

3.2. Temporary Protection

The legal status of Syrians who took refuge in Turkey was uncertain until October 22, 2014, the date when Temporary Protection Regulation came into force. Since then, the phrase of *foreigners under temporary protection* has been used instead of *guests*. In this respect, I will discuss the concept of temporary protection which is important to understand the status of Syrians.

Temporary protection gain a legal basis by being defined as "Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection." (GOC, 2014) in Article 91 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection of the Republic of Turkey.

Along with the political stance of the Turkish Government on the Syria issue, its role of protecting power on Syrians and welcoming them into the country with open-door policy create a contrasting situation to geographic reservation. In order to overcome this contradiction, guest status, which has no legal equivalent, was adopted. Later, a new concept that can be accepted under the notional framework of international agreements, temporary protection was adopted (Bozbeyoglu, 2015 p.74).

After massive influx of Syrians to the borders of Turkey, these people were put under protection and hosted in tent cities, container cities and other forms of accommodation by giving them first the status of guest and later temporary protection. As a result of temporary protection status, open-door policy is implemented and the principle of not returning anybody without their consent is adopted. Security of the people under temporary protection is fully maintained and humanitarian aid is provided to them. With this status, Syrians in Turkey don't

have the right to migrate or apply to take refuge in third countries (The Grand National Assembly of Turkey Committee on Human Rights Inquiry, 2014).

3.2.1. Rights Provided to Syrians with Temporary Protection

Rights such as humane treatment included in universal refugee rights, right of benefiting from health services and right to travel are given to the Syrians in Turkey who are under temporary protection (Tunc, 2015 p.41). With temporary protection regulation, access to health services, education, labor market, social aids and services are provided. In addition, Syrians under temporary protection are obliged to register to address registration system. They can benefit from the opportunities on condition of residing in the city they are registered (UNHCR, 2015).

Right of Habitation

They are allowed to stay in the cities they are registered provided to be registered out of temporary shelter centers. According to regulations, individuals can move to another city (YIMER, 2015). Registration documents given to the Syrians are not residence permits. According to Article 25 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection of the Republic of Turkey, people who don't want to benefit from the temporary protection framework can apply for residence permit under certain conditions. Residence permit is given to the Syrians with passports valid for at least a year. However, as the duration of temporary protection is not considered as part of required period, Syrians are not able to get residence permit (UNHCR, 2015)).

Syrians under temporary protection don't have the right to apply for a family residence permit even when they are married. Due to violation of visa exemption period Syrians don't have the right of family residence permit (YIMER, 2015).

Access to Labor Market

According to the regulation regarding to the work permits of foreigners under temporary protection entered into force which is published in the Official Gazette dated January 15, 2016 and numbered 29594, employers can apply to Ministry of Labor and Social Security for work permits to Syrian refugees who came to Turkey as a result of the conflict in their home country and have valid residence permit for at least six months.

Syrians under temporary protection should hold certain conditions in order to apply for work permit. Touching briefly to these conditions; first the individual under temporary protection should have temporary protection identity document/foreign identification document and foreign ID number. Completing the period of at least six months under temporary protection, they are able to apply for work permit in their registered place of residence. Besides, the individual applying for a work permit shouldn't hold another work permit for working for a different employer previously and shouldn't have incomplete application.

It is stated that the fee for work permit is collected from the individuals under temporary protection, but not the fee for residence permit. Work permits are given for one year at most and don't replace for residence permit.

Right of Education

According to national laws, all children including the foreigners living in Turkey have the right of attending freely to primary and secondary schools (UNHCR, 2015). Children can get education in public schools or temporary education centers with the circular no.2014/21 about educational services on foreigners which is published on September 23, 2014 for Syrians under temporary protection. Application to Provincial Directorate of National Education is necessary for registering to Turkish schools.

Educational institutions(schools) established for Syrians are temporary education centers. Such education institutions are teaching in Arabic using Syrian curriculum. However, these institutions are not located in every province of Turkey and the existing ones might not have enough capacity.

As stated in the circular about educational services on foreigners, Syrian refugees should have either residence permit, temporary protection identity document or foreign identification document in order to apply for a Turkish school or temporary education centers. The refugees who applied for an identity card but haven't received it yet get education as guests. Their registration status will change after arrangement of their identification documents.

Along with primary and secondary school students, Syrian youth providing necessary language skills and academic requirements can apply for universities. Syrians who can pass international student entrance exams which are held in each university are exempted from university fees. Each university might charge applicants to this exam.

Benefiting from Healthcare

According to the circular no. 2015/08 on implementation of services related to foreigners under temporary protection published by Presidency of Disaster and Emergency Management on October 12, 2015; all Syrians who reside inside or outside of camps can reach to medical treatment in public health institutions. However, foreigners under temporary protection can benefit from healthcare only in the provinces they are registered. The most important condition for healthcare is being registered. Besides, emergency healthcare services are available to everybody.

According to this regulation, no fee is collected from the patients for basic and emergency healthcare. In some provinces, Presidency of Disaster and Emergency Management covers the 80% of the expenses of the medicine bought from the pharmacies. In some other provinces patients are obliged to pay the full cost of the medicine. Otherwise, according to Health Practice Paper, Presidency of Disaster and Emergency Management (AFAD) covers the full cost of medical treatment to a certain amount if patients are beneficiaries of general health insurance.

Purpose and Problem

The main problem of my research is which strategies Syrian refugees living in Istanbul develop during their process of coping with migration and in this context, whether the categories such as cultural capital (socio-cultural characteristics, language, education) and social capital (relatives, friends and ethnic group ties) have effects and to what extent their roles are.

Sub-problems of the researched are organized as follows;

1. Do cultural and social capital that refugees have play a decisive role during their process of coping with migration? If so, what kind of a role they have?
 - a. What kind of strategies do refugees develop in order to cope with the difficulties they are facing while communicating with their colleagues and shopkeepers in their neighborhood and to what extent their cultural capital, e.g. spoken languages, is effective?
 - b. What is the effect and role of refugees' education levels (cultural capital) on the strategies they develop while coping with migration?
 - c. Which relationship networks (social capital) are densely used during migration process?
2. What kind of a role the social and cultural capital that refugees have play during their process of finding a job, health problems, children (if any) education, social relationships with local people?

This study aims to analyze the effectiveness of cultural and social capital that Syrian Refugees migrated to Istanbul during their process of coping with migration in an extensive and holistic approach. Holistic approach is one of the basic characteristics of qualitative research and it is assumed that variables are affected from other relevant variables (Yildirim and Simsek, 2013 p.50). It is necessary to examine and evaluate the variables like social and cultural capital, residential neighborhood or district together to understand the strategies developed by Syrian refugees while coping with migration.

Methodology

This article is supported by empirical data collected during a fieldwork in Istanbul between the years 2014 and 2016. In whole the author spent six months in the field. In qualitative researches "data sources are individuals or groups who live the phenomenon that researcher focuses and who can express or reflect this phenomenon." (Yildirim and Simsek, 2013 p.80). Target population of this research is constituted of Syrian refugees who reside in Istanbul and were reached through snowball sampling, one of the purposive sampling methods (Patton, 2014 p.230). Foreseeing that Syrians in Istanbul have different living conditions and economic status was effective in choosing Istanbul for this research. Istanbul is the province with the densest Syrian population in Turkey with 392.484 (DGMM, 2016) people living outside of camps. Istanbul is internationally recognized as a metropolis with its existing potential and location. With lots of different opportunities like huge trade, production, business opportunities and transportation facilities, Istanbul has refugees from a large variety of cultural and social levels. It is assumed that this situation would be beneficial when determining the sample.

Research sample is defined based on snowball sampling which has the principle of chain communication and determining a subject or subjects (Guler, 2013) from sample, providing to reach to new information and people by asking individuals who else is there to make interviews (Patton, 2014). This technique provides the opportunity for enrichment of information by being used for reaching people to get information and situations which are important for the research. Besides, as there is

progress in the process, obtained situations and names continues to grow like a snowball (Yildirim and Simsek, 2013 p.139).

In this context, the sample of this research consists of 24 individuals with whom in-depth interviews were made and nine individuals consisting of four and five people with whom focus group interviews were made. As one to one interviews were made before group interviews with two of the five interviewees in one group, the sample consists of 31 people in total. In this research, quantitative research method is used as it provides the opportunity to use multiple methods.

According to Yildirim and Simsek (2013), quantitative research is *"the research with a quantitative process towards putting into the perceptions and events in a realistic and integrated way"* (45). For the purpose of this study, in-depth and group interview techniques were used to look at the migration process from the perspective of Syrians and to interpret this process.

As Patton mentioned, in-depth interview is the best way to understand how people give meanings to events in their life and reach to their points of view (2014 p.341). In-depth interview method is used to understand how refugees interpret migration process and what is effective in the strategies they develop.

First, semi-structured interview method is used for the purpose of the study. In semi-structured interview, researcher can change the planned questions according to the flow of the interview, can affect the flow of the interview by asking additional questions and give opportunity to interviewee to explain and detail the answers (Turnuklu, 2000 p.547). In this respect, semi-structured interviews offer more systematic and comparable information (Turnuklu, 2000; Yildirim and Simsek, 2013; Glesne, 2015). Two pilot interviews were made to check if questions are clear in line with the previously scheduled semi-structured open-ended questions and to avoid any possible ambiguous and disturbing situations for interviewees. Later, analysis was revised and questions were finally shaped by making necessary arrangements. After final arrangements, interviews were made with the defined sample between November 2015 and April 2016.

Researcher introduced herself in the beginning of the interviews by expressing her intention to be there. Interviews were made by asking previously scheduled questions which consist of seven parts. However, mostly the order and content of the questions were changed and non-scheduled questions were asked due to the conversation during the interview and answers that interviewees gave. Interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants. After each interview, analysis were made within one or two days and interviews were changed into scenarios, afterwards data analysis was made.

Another qualitative research method used in this study is focus group interview. This method was chosen in order to reach the views and experiences of many Syrian refugees and to find the opportunity to study on a wider sample. Focus group interviews were made to reach different views and opinions during the interview process and especially by thinking that being part of a group affects the scope and depth of the answers given by the interviewees as Yildirim and Simsek (2013) mentioned (179).

In this study, two focus group interviews were made. Those groups were formed randomly. In the first group, refugees who are studying in the universities in Istanbul were gathered. The second group was formed to consist of Syrian refugees from different ages and genders. Participation of four students from the same university is provided to the first group, the other group had five participants. The interview with the university students were made in the faculty café on a weekend. The other focus group interview is made in the home of one of the participants on their demand and to make attendance easier. Interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants as done in the in-depth interviews to obtain more details about the interview and minimize the loss of information.

Data Analysis

Data started to be analyzed during the interview process. Because the focus of the research is determined and shaped with the data analysis made during data collection (Glesne, 2015 p.261). By taking notes about the data, things that data tell and things that weren't realized earlier are tried to be discovered. In this respect, obtained data was interpreted primarily and observations were noted. A comparison was made by checking whether the groupings obtained by analyzing the first interview exist in the second interview or not. Then, the list of main concepts were formed derived from the transcript of these two interviews. In this regard, transcripts of the interviews were coded directed to

question and purpose of the research. *"Coding is defined as making the investigation related in answering research questions for oncoming data parts"* (Merriam, 2013 p.170). Codes were determined according to obtained data. Later, related parts in the interviews were marked, sub codes created by checking which paragraphs are interrelated. Themes were shaped this way throughout the research and with increasing data obtained from the interviews, these codes were elaborated by making necessary corrections. Although coding, classification and theme finding is not a mechanical process, it is a process where one can reflect on what to think and learn with the data and one can think about how will research look like in the end by developing new instincts (Glesne, 2015 p.273). In this respect, codings and themes were patterned according to the purpose of the research during the analysis process and were strived to be answerable to the research question. A computer program, Maxqda 12 was used In order to obtain data from the interview transcripts corresponding to the themes. Thus, the data corresponding to the themes in each interview transcript obtained faster.

Limitations

Addressing to migration from Syria to Turkey, a relatively new issue, our research "Strategies of the Syrians Took Refuge in Turkey to Cope with Migration: Reflections via Istanbul Sample Case" is limited to a few neighborhoods in Istanbul, the province hosting the most Syrian refugees living outside of refugee camps. Although we aimed to focus only on two neighborhoods in Istanbul, our research includes participants from different neighborhoods in Istanbul as they are reached through the reference of other refugees', namely snowball sampling method. Despite this, our research is far from representing all of the Syrians living in Istanbul. Since a much wider research is needed for that and this is beyond the limits of our study, this research was carried out in the districts and neighborhoods of the interviewees that we could reach.

Another limitation of our research is that some of the interviewed refugees were not able to speak Turkish and stated that they can speak the languages such as Arabic, English and Russian. 18 of 31 interviewees told us that they can speak Turkish. Three of the interviewees told us that they can only speak a little Turkish. The remaining 10 participants stated that they can't speak Turkish. Some of the Syrians with Turkmen ethnicity told that they speak Arabic and they can understand, but not able to respond in Turkish. Most of the interviews that were not made in Turkish were made in Arabic and questions of the interviewer were translated into Arabic while the answers were translated into Turkish with the help of translators.

Findings and Comments

In this section of the article, findings of the fieldwork will be examined. The role of cultural and social capital that Syrian refugees develop to cope with the situations in their daily life like education of themselves and their children, working life, health and social relations. As confidentiality of information about the participants is very important, a nickname is set for each of them. The participants with whom in-depth interviews were conducted are coded as "ID" while focus group interview participants are coded "FG" and each participant is numbered as "ID1, ID2" or "FG1, FG2".

The Role of Cultural and Social Capital in Education

a) Adult Education

Adult participants who get educational support from either national or international institutions were able to reach to education opportunities by means of similar capitals they have. Most of the participants expressed their opinions that they can reach to vocational or language education in Turkey through their social capital; relatives, neighbors or friends. Meanwhile, participants can contact the educational institutions or be aware of the education. Some opinions highlighted by Syrian refugees are as follows;

One of the participants told the following on educational institutions and access to language education; *"I have a Syrian neighbor. She told me that there is a course here, lets attend this course. We are going together (...) I mean I am learning Turkish and they are good at orienting us. This course recently opened in Edirnekapi and I am going there. The name of this course is Association of Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM)"* (ID6). Another participant getting language education told us how she could access to language education; *"I found a friend here, and she .. neighbor. (...) She wanted to learn Arabic. We were willing to learn Turkish at the same time. I asked her that thing, if you want we can teach you Arabic and you can teach us Turkish. (...) She taught us Turkish and Thank God I mean me and my husband learned Turkish from her."* (ID9).

Another participant mentioned that having a vocational education in Syria, her cultural capital, was effective in showing necessary skills for vocational education in Turkey and getting acceptance. She could benefit from such an education with the help of a friend. She, who told us that both cultural and social capital is effective in

reaching education and said; *"I graduated from a high school for example, about handicrafts I mean. (...) I have a friend and she was going to that association and I heard from her. In this association women are always doing something. For example, they asked me what type of talent you have? They are checking if you are talented or not, I already got education before. (...) I am doing things with my hand there, I am learning."* (ID5).

b) Children Education

Refugees that we made in-depth interviews were asked if their children aged 6 to 13 are going to the school or not. They told us that some of their children at these ages are still not able to go to school. 30 of 41 children at these ages were able to attend school while 11 of them were unable to attend for various reasons.

The standards of education offered to Syrian children is determined with the circular no.2014/21 about educational services on foreigners which is published on September 23, 2014. According to the related part of the circular about Syrian refugees living outside of the camps, foreigners who are at school ages and demanding adults can enroll in the educational institutions attached to the Ministry of Education. Foreigners applied with foreign identification document can be enrolled through the evaluations of provincial student placement and transfer commissions (The Ministry of National Education, 2014).

With this circular, even though free education was offered to them, Syrian children most of whom can't speak a language other than Arabic face with language obstacles in public schools and are confronted with language problems in education (Koman, 2015; Orhan and Gundogar, 2015).

Language skills of the families plays an important role while coping with the situations that children face for accessing to education. Mostly, Syrian refugees who can speak Turkish are able to send their children to Turkish public schools. One of the participants who have enough language skills and benefit from her cultural capital stated the importance of cultural capital on accessing to education and told that; *"Yes, Ali is going to school, 3rd grade. (...) We send him there for getting education in a Turkish school. (...) We are Turkmens already, my son can speak Turkish. In fact, he speaks much better than us. (...) Enrollment was not a problem to us because we know the language, we handled it I mean."* (ID3).

Syrian refugees who don't have enough information about enrolling to Turkish schools or who can speak only a little Turkish are facing limitations about their children's access to education. Even applying to Turkish schools is very hard. (Koman, 2015). In this case Syrian refugees can handle application process with their social capital (if available), with the help of either Turkish people around them who have knowledge about application process, with Turkish speaking Syrian refugees or with the help of refugees who have knowledge about the application process.

Two refugees (ID9 and ID21) who could overcome this situation by going to the Turkish schools for application with a Turkish speaker or a Turk, through their social capital were observed to have similar experiences. A refugee told her opinion like that; *"I swear to God you need to have the means (mediator) for application. I mean for example I enrolled my son to school, it is hard, not easy. My friend Ayse worked hard to help us in this. For example they were not accepting the daughter of my sister. But Ayse, may God bless her, went to the school and spoke to the principal. He accepted. But I mean you need to work hard, you need to find an acquaintance."* (ID9). Another refugee who told that she was able to handle this situation they faced with the help of their neighbors and not facing any problems thanks to the neighbors said; *"There is a (Turkish) neighbor nearby. This neighbor has a grocery here (...) This neighbor helped us, we went to school with her for enrolling our children to school."* (ID21) and supported this opinion.

Although Turkey provides free education to Syrians, children with language problems are going to temporary education centers as a solution. Those centers are like schools providing education in accordance with Syrian curriculum. Families should have a certain level of economic capability to send their children to temporary education centers. Some of the Syrian refugees told that expenses such as registration fee, transportation and stationery costs create serious problems and they cannot afford these expenses. Refugees who don't have work permit or who are working illegally in poor conditions cannot send their children to school or children forced to leave school (Koman, 2015). Having the financial means to meet the educational costs, namely economic capital, plays an important role in access to education. A participant with adequate financial means told that he didn't face any problems about their children's education and said; *"I made a reservation from a school for my children. They are going to a Syrian school. We arrived and they started going to school (...) I'm satisfied with the education in the school."* (ID22) mentioning that he didn't have any problems about their children's access to education by means of his economic capital.

On the other hand, a refugee told that Syrian schools want a lot of money for enrollment and they can hardly make their living with one salary and said; *"Here, a Syrian school told us to send our children to school but they as 150 Liras for each student monthly. In total it is 450 Liras for us. We don't have money. So we couldn't send*

them to school for this reason." mentioning that they are not (able to) sending their children to school due to lack of economic capital.

Syrian refugees take advantage of their capitals when facing these situations. Some of them who told that they are not able to send their children to school because of insufficient financial means are trying to cope with the situation they face with the help of their social capital such as relatives or friends. A refugee who tries to cope with the situation in similar ways said; *"When we arrived they were asking for a lot of money but we didn't have much. For the children, a friend from Saudi Arabia sent us money, may God bless him. He gives 300 Liras per month."* (ID11) describing her situation. Another refugee told us; *"There is a familiar teacher here, gave us 100 Liras for our children's education. They weren't going to school before (...) He gives 100 Liras every month, 3 children are going to school."* (ID10).

The Role of Social and Cultural Capital on Working Life

Most of the interviewed Syrian refugees are working in a different job than in Syria. Especially male refugees are working in different jobs. A refugee who used to work as a electric-electronic engineer in Syria is working as a interpreter now. Another refugee who used to have a pharmacy said he can't find a job in Turkey. Once a high level tax inspector in Syria is now working as an unqualified worker. Most of the refugees who used to be employers in Syria is either not working or they are just workers. Professional background and experience of Syrians' are not taken into consideration in businesses in Turkey. Also, we see that their educational background, namely their cultural capital don't play a role in their recruitment process. Among the interviewed refugees, there are university graduates, double masters degree holders, multilingual people speaks up to 5 different language and lifelong teachers. We can say that language level is an important asset in recruitment process. Turkish speaking Syrian refugees are preferred by employers. Businesses who have Arabic speaking customers hire Syrian refugees as interpreters. A refugee of this opinion said; *"Arabic customers were coming. They call me and I do interpretation. (...) Working conditions is good for me, no discrimination. May be finding a job was easier for me because of the language. For instance, refugees who speaks the language can find better job opportunities."* (FG1). Another refugee who told us that she found a job for her husband who can't speak Turkish through her social network said; *"We found a job for my husband at a hotel. My husband was told to be the Arabic manager of this hotel. You know, the daughter of my uncle found this job. You know, she said this job is good and my husband went there. (...) My husband and my cousins husband went there and met with the owner of the hotel. But he said you don't speak Turkish, for example how can you explain the problems of Arabic guests, how will you help us.."* (FG9).

Social capital is understood with reference power of social relations. Social relations develop ties and with this ties, reference circles are formed. Community covers the social relations forms such as solidarity and cooperation which makes actions easier with the power of motivation (Aydemir, 2011 p.161). According to Hanifan, when one individual interacts with neighbors, and they interact with others and so on, a social capital accumulation arise; this situation can directly meet the social needs of the individual and can provide a significant improvement in living conditions of the whole society (Putnam and Goss, 2002 p.4). According to social capital theory, one of the circumstances where the relations of Syrians with their relatives, environment or friends with whom they strike up after coming to Turkey becomes functional and visible is the process of finding a job. We see that social ties of the refugees are effective in this process of employment. Syrians are going to job applications with their acquaintances, relatives or friends, namely through their social capital. Eight of the interviewed refugees (FG1, ID3, ID8, ID9, ID11, ID14, ID15 AND ID16) told that they can find a job through similar social capitals. A participant refugee who is a psychological guidance and counseling teacher said; *"I came here (to Turkey). There was a school, school like, you know, Quran, Arabic language. (...) Owner of the school is the husband of a friend of ours. Ahmet (brother of ID3) told him that I have a sister, she is a teacher. I worked there for a year."* (ID3). Another refugee who gets help from her social capital said; *"My uncle is a mosque imam. He opened a Quran course. My uncle found this job for my husband."* (ID11).

Working Conditions

There are too many unregistered workers in Turkey. Syrians are among these unregistered workers. As the number of refugees who are working without work permit is high and these unregistered workers can't get what they deserve and are subject to labor exploitation (Kaya and Eren, 2015 p.60).

Participation to labor market and qualifications of Syrian refugees in Turkey changes according to economic conditions of those cities where Syrians are densely populated. In Istanbul, that has the densest Syrian population living outside of camps, the sectors where Syrians are into labor market are the fields they work dependently. In the same time, these sectors are the largest fields in the labor market. Dependency occur in sectors like

construction, trade, textile and industry (Lordoglu and Aslan, 2016 p.793). Refugees working in such sectors don't have work permit.

Refugees working in labor intensive sectors face different unjust treatments in working life like being fired without a reason because they don't have work permit. Refugees in these sectors work in similar conditions, with irregular and unsecured work environment and they work up to 12 hours per day with low salaries. The ones who have higher qualifications are also forced to work in these sectors due to lack of language skills and being unregistered. Five refugees (FG1, ID4, ID10, ID11 and ID13) have similar experiences about working hours, the most complained issue of refugees. A refugee told us about her husband's working conditions; *"My husband is working in a restaurant in Ortakoy. Honestly, I don't know his job exactly but he works 12 hours per day. He leaves home at 8am and comes back at 10pm. (...) He has one off day per week. Sometimes he can't even take a day off. (...) He doesn't have holiday on festival days."* (ID4). Another refugee has the following opinion about working conditions *"Syrians are struggling about work mostly. For example, daily working hours should be eight hours. But here there are people working for 12 or 14 hours. And with minimum wage with no insurance."* (FG1).

Syrian refugees complain about having no social security and being paid less than local workers despite doing the same work. In addition, they mentioned that along with the low wages, sometimes they are not or willing to be paid. A participant who has Turkish and Syrian citizenship draws attention to wage differences between local workers and them. He told an example about low wages though no insurance: *" (...) A Furniture was looking for an international sales manager who can speak Turkish and Arabic. (...) He asked where I came from. I said I came from Syria. Okay, I am hiring you. (...) Look, he said, I will give you a salary of 1200 Liras. I said look, I am an international sales manager. The previous manager's salary was 3000 Liras. Why is it 1200 to me? Why won't you register me in social security? He said you don't have work permit, how come I can register you? Come on, I will give you 200 Liras extra for not having insurance, you will get 1400. I asked if all his workers need work permit, is it a must? He said they are all Turks. I said me too. (...) He apologized. Honestly, if I will pay you 3000 Liras, I will hire a Syrian manager for 1000 Liras."* (ID23).

The Role of Social and Cultural Capital about Healthcare

According to the circular no. 2015/08 on implementation of services related to foreigners under temporary protection published by Presidency of Disaster and Emergency Management on October 12, 2015; foreigners under temporary protection can benefit from healthcare only in the provinces they are registered. Besides, healthcare services which are not covered by general health insurance are not available to them.

Despite this circular published by AFAD, some of the Syrian refugees stated that they are not examined when they go to public hospitals. A refugee who mentioned having problems to access healthcare said; *"So my son's eyebrow was hurt. You know, we went to doctor and they stitched the wound. They would take out this stitches afterwards you know. I took him to hospital again. You see one doctor, he sends you to the other doctor, then to other and so on, nothing happened. I couldn't find or understand anybody. I came back and did it myself."* (ID10). While this participant told what they went through like that, lots of others told about similar experiences they had.

18 of 31 interviewees told us that they can speak Turkish. Three of the interviewees told us that they can only speak a little, the remaining 10 participants stated that they can't speak at all. We see the impact of language capabilities in healthcare as well. Turkish speaking Syrian refugees told that they had no problems related to healthcare. Refugees who can't speak the language are getting support from their social capital when they are going to the hospitals to cope with the difficulty of not speaking the language. Refugees told that having social capital is important when going to hospital and stated that they are getting support from their relatives, friends or neighbors when they have to go to a hospital. A refugee who is getting support from her social capital due to lack of language said; *"They can't understand us. My son is going to the hospital with me, why. He speaks Turkish better."* (ID12). Another refugee said; *"I went there (to hospital) for my eyes. My daughter went first with a Turkish friend and get an appointment for me. I went with my daughter and got treated."* (ID17). A refugee who is a graduate of the department of pharmacy and who used to own a pharmacy in Syria is solving his own health problems with the help of his cultural capital. He told that he is not going to hospital and taking care of his health problems himself and said; *"I am not going to hospital. I prepare my own medicine."* (ID19), telling his way of coping with this situation.

The Role of Social and Cultural Capital on Building Social Relations (Neighborhood, Friendship, Business Friendship etc.)

Forms of social relationship are close social relations such as involving in civil society organizations, being in social interaction through social networks, neighborhood and friendship. These associations formed by people

when facing with the problems and actions taken together play an important role in solving the problems. (Aydemir, 2011 p.26).

"I don't have neighbors, I mean not much. I only visit Syrians. I can understand Turks but they can't understand me. So we are not visiting each other." (ID7)

"We don't visit our neighbors because we can't speak Turkish but we have good neighborhood. They are nice people and bringing food to us. Our relations are good but we don't visit each other because of not speaking the language well." (ID22)

"I insisted on learning Turkish. My Turkish friends are very very nice. One of my Turkish friends, which is very nice as well, we get on very well and they are helping us about everything. (...) I can speak Turkish with them." (ID9).

Direct quotations above shows that language plays an important role on building social relations. Refugees who speaks Turkish have good relationship with their neighbors and their Turkish friends and they face no communication problems. Otherwise, refugees who can't speak Turkish can't build relationship with their neighbors or build social relations only with Syrians like themselves. Other than that, refugees who can't speak Turkish get support from their social capital while building social relations. Especially children help their families in this regard thanks to learning Turkish in their schools. Some of the refugees (ID1, ID10, ID17, ID19, ID20, ID24) told that they can communicate through their social capital. A refugee said; *"My older daughter learned Turkish a little. Our children are playing with their children and learning from them. They are speaking, they are being interpreters to us. But we can't speak."* (ID1). Another refugee told that he builds social relations through his social capital and said *"I have friends from Rakka. They have been living here for 40 years and they are Turkish citizens. I have many friends here. As my friends speak Turkish, they help me when I speak with neighbors and etc."* (ID24)

Conclusion

Being a versatile concept due to its demographic, political, economic, psychological, sociological and anthropological content, migration is a collective action caused by social change and effect whole community in both migration receiving and emigrant countries. In this respect, trying to understand Syrians' migration to Turkey and social life process in Turkey is important for both Turkey and Syrians.

In this study, the thought that refugees will develop strategies to cope with migration process and overcome the situations they face during this process is taken as basis. In this sense, we took out from the thought that the difference of cultural and social capital among individuals shows that Syrian refugees have different ways to cope with migration. With in-depth and focus group interviews, it is understood that cultural and social capital play an important role in Syrian refugees' daily life, children's education, working life, healthcare and social relations. But cultural and social capital plays different types of roles in these fields. In the same time, the role of economic capital can be realized in some fields.

In the adults' access to education, educational background is come up to be crucial, in the meantime social capital plays an effective role in situations like being aware of education opportunities and going to educational institutions. Language qualifications play an important role for children in choosing between temporary education centers or public schools. Usually, Turkish speaking families or children choose public schools. Syrian refugees who have insufficient information about enrollment to schools or speak only a little Turkish make the registration process with the help of either their social capital (if they have any), Turks around who have information about the topic, Turkish speaking Syrian refugees or refugees who learned the process already. So, while families who have economic capital in access to education don't face any problems about their children's education, families who doesn't have economic capital try to cope with the process with the help of their relatives or friends, namely their social capital.

Most of the refugees are working in a different job than in Syria. Professional background and experience of Syrians' are not taken into consideration in businesses in Turkey. After our fieldwork, we see that their educational background, namely their cultural capital don't play a role in their recruitment process or in setting up a business. On the other hand, we see that social ties of refugees is effective in recruitment process. According to social capital theory, Syrians can find jobs with the help of their relatives, acquaintance or friends and neighbors they made contact with after coming to Turkey.

Most of the Syrians can't afford to pay the fee for work permit. As work permits are valid for a year, most of them are not able to pay for it. Refugees with no work permit and working unregistered can't get all of their rights. They are up to labor exploitation by working in irregular and unsecure environments with low and unfair wages and up to 12 hours per day. What is notable at this point is, the ones who have higher qualifications are also forced to work in these sectors due to lack of language skills and being unregistered.

We see the effect of language qualifications in healthcare. Turkish speaking refugees can easily go to hospitals and treated, they can even help other Syrians about language. Refugees who can't speak the language are getting support from their social capital to overcome the problems, namely their relatives, friends or neighbors to cope with the problem of lack of language.

As in the other fields, language and social network have an important role in building social relations. Refugees who can't speak the language and have no acquaintance in Istanbul, especially women are not going out. However, the ones who have social capital can meet with their Syrian neighbors or relatives or communicate through Turkish speaking individuals.

To conclude, we can say that social and cultural capital play various roles in the process of coping with migration. As Aydemir (2011) mentioned, Syrian refugees are able to come up with solutions to their problems with the help of ties they established while coping with problems, actions taken with them or their language capability and education.

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