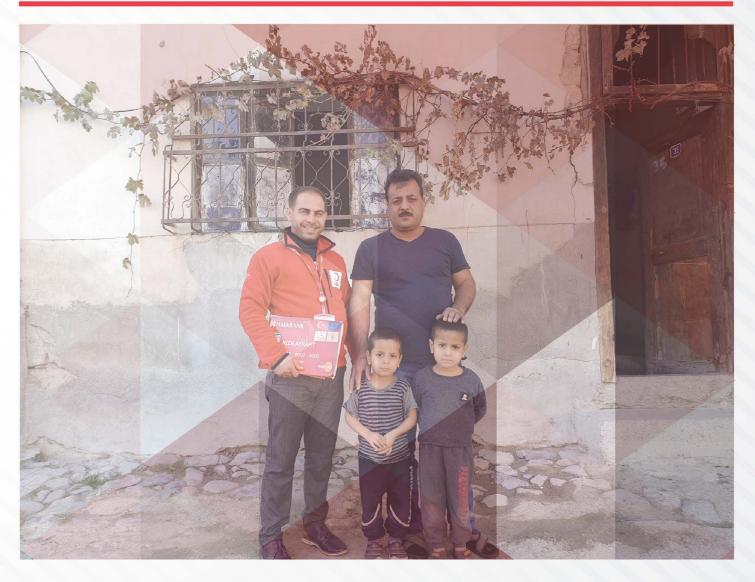


Livelihood Transition of the ESSN



 Capacity Mapping and Understanding the Potential – August 2020



CONTENTS

Table of Contents

| Introduction4 |
|--|
| |
| I. Conceptual Framework of Livelihoods7 |
| A. Sustainable Livelihoods9 |
| II. Capacity Mapping Exercise |
| A. The Methodology of the Study12 |
| B. Employment13 |
| C. Capacity Mapping and Profiling15 |
| III. Conclusion21 |
| |
| |
| References |
| Annexes A. Occupation in Turkey & Occupation in Origin Country |

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Turkey is currently home to the world's largest refugee population reaching up to more than 4 million refugees, of whom 3.58 million¹ are Syrians living under temporary protection. The vast majority of refugees in Turkey (more than 90%) live outside of camps, in the urban areas of different provinces across the country. Larger provinces such as Istanbul, Gaziantep, Hatay, and Şanliurfa have attracted the highest number of refugees partly because of the availability of job opportunities. The Government of Turkey is making commendable efforts to support refugees with access to basic rights and services, including education and healthcare.

To effectively respond to the immense refugee influx, Türk Kızılay (TK) established the KıZıLAYKART cash based assistances platform, which was used to integrate refugees into the existing social safety net mechanism through delivering cash assistance to the most vulnerable, allowing them to cover their needs across different sectors, including basic needs, education, protection and livelihoods. By 2020, more than 2.25 million individuals have benefitted from TK's humanitarian cash response. Türk Kızılay is a lead implementing partner of the flagship Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) programme, which has reached more than 1.7 million refugees with monthly cash assistance to help them cover their basic needs and providing them with freedom of choice.

On December 2018, Facility for Refugees in Turkey (Frit) Office of the Presidency of Turkish Republic published its transition strategy from basic needs to livelihoods for ESSN programme. Soon after that, in 2019 Türk Kızılay (TK) published its ESSN Programme Technical Analysis Report: Transition from Basic Need Assistance to Livelihood Opportunities which aimed to identify the number of people in the ESSN Programme beneficiary pool that could be referred to livelihoods programmes with projection figures and possible scenarios for the transition. With the purpose of increasing affected people's economic and social resilience and self-sufficiency by reducing their dependency on cash assistance in the forthcoming period, livelihood opportunities are the key aspect of sustaining their living conditions. It is significant to underline that livelihood is made up of the abilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities necessary to be able to live on. However, the sustainability of livelihoods is a quintessential component for poverty alleviation and reducing the dependency of people on social programmes.

^{1.} Directorate General of Migration Management, Temporary Protection, Ministry of Interior, accessed June, 2020, https://en.goc.gov.tr/temporary-protection27.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Consequently, in light of the principles of sustainable livelihoods, Türk Kızılay Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) Analysis Team conducted Capacity Mapping Exercise in March 2019 to provide an overview of individuals receiving ESSN and to serve as a starting point for policymakers, international organizations and NGOs to design their livelihood programmes. The survey collected data on their skills, education level, employment history, and their current situation. This survey is a continuation of Türk Kızılay's efforts which started with the first edition Livelihoods Survey which was conducted between July 2018 - October 2018 and published on the ReliefWeb.² Livelihoods survey findings were referred to the Exit Strategy document within the framework of the Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRiT) Office of Presidency of Turkey's.³

Methodology

Data collection of Capacity Mapping Exercise focused on the individuals receiving ESSN, and the sample was designed according to beneficiary density and the respective industrial and agricultural capacity of the provinces. A total of 4.804 eligible people between 18 and 55 years old in 13 provinces were surveyed in March 2019, data was collected by M&E operators via remote surveys.

Limitations

As the capacity mapping exercise was ESSN centered study, consequently the sample was designed among individuals receiving ESSN. Therefore, this study does not provide any information on the overall refugee population in Turkey. Moreover, the sample was representative on the provincial level, with the purpose of reaffirming the principles of the sustainable livelihoods and socio economic activities of these provinces, since there are many variables between them regarding their industrial capacity, economic developments, livelihood opportunities and needs. The survey findings aim to point out these differences in any livelihood programme design by humanitarian actors.

^{2.} Livelihoods Survey, Türk Kızılay Kızılaykart Cash Based Assistance Programmes, accessed March, 2019, https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resourcesMnE_Livelihoods_Survey_Findings_03042019.pdf.

^{3.} Frit Office of Presidency of Turkey, Exit Strategy From the ESSN Programme, accessed December 29, 2018, https://ailevecalisma.gov.tr/media/3725/essn-exit-strategy-1.pdf.

SURVEY FINDINGS

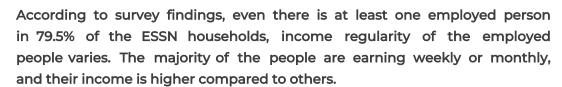




Employability refers to a set of skills, knowledge, understanding and capability of fulfilling work. In the survey context, employability skills mainly include people's educational background, trainings, and previous work experiences. Overall, in 79.5% of the households, there is at least one employed individual. This number is greater than the employment ratio of the individuals who have been participated in the survey. Apart from interviewee, other employed individuals in the same household are also taking into account in order to understand the overall participation in the labor market. 1.644 people out 2.777 unemployed stated that they did not want to work, while only 1067 of them said they were looking for a job.

Capacity Mapping & Profiling

Sustainability of the employment and set of skills are two sides of the same coin, and it will be misleading to think them separately from each other. Therefore, the ability of the target population and their requirements need to be taken into consideration for livelihood programmes. Addition to that, regardless of the years of work experience, becoming fluent in the native language of their destination enables them to overcome the barriers in the labor market.



Overall, while male beneficiaries' work experiences are ranging from 6 to 10 years, around 80% of female beneficiaries' has no prior work experience.

Male beneficiaries' speaking, reading or writing Turkish at an advanced level made up 2.7%, 10.6% and 2.0% respectively.



INTRODUCTION

The first response of humanitarian assistance in any disaster or conflict is mainly emergency relief. Therefore, the primary objective is to cover the basic needs of the affected population, such as food, water, shelter and medical care. In the long-term, assistance programs should focus on providing skills, trainings and economic opportunities leading to self-reliance to recover or rebuild people's livelihoods or develop new ones. It is imperative to shift the focus to sustainable solutions and create opportunities for the affected population to make them resilient and self-sustainable. During and immediately or after a crisis, refugees/displaced people are often weakened by the loss of some of their essential capital (assets). Humanitarian assistance is the first level of short-term support. If properly planned and implemented, it helps to preserve or recover essential production resources. However, for these benefits to persist, medium and long-term assistances are needed to increase production capacity and strengthen people's economic capacity. The contribution of humanitarian assistance must be seen as part of a wider package for sustainable livelihoods and the achievement of self-sufficiency goals.

In the context of forced migration, displaced people are often not being able to access the formal labor market, health and education services. Although people under international and temporary protection in Turkey, do not face any regulatory constraints in terms of accessing health care and education, the inability to access the formal labor market, nevertheless, hinders their ability to develop self-sustainability. Regardless, refugees find many ways to survive and earn a living, including by carrying out day-to-day tasks for the informal sector. Lack of access to the labor market can increase the risk of resorting to harmful survival strategies such as child labor. Refugees/displaced people who quickly achieve a certain level of self-sufficiency are better able to preserve their strengths, seize opportunities and maintain their dignity, compared to assisted refugees. In this context, livelihoods development plays a crucial role in improving people's lives. However, livelihoods policies should focus on sustainability to promote long term solutions. Therefore, it is important to ensure the sustainability of livelihoods.

There are various definitions for Sustainable Livelihood, but within this study following definition will be utilized: Livelihoods are used as including the capabilities, assets (including material and social resources) and activities required to survive.⁵ Livelihoods are sustainable when they can cope with pressures and shocks and recover from them while maintaining or improving their capacities and assets, today and tomorrow, without exhausting the natural resources.⁶ According to this definition, a variety of livelihood strategies are normally seen as a combination of activities or choices that people make or do, to achieve their life goals.

^{4.} In this context, livelihoods approach plays a very critical role in enabling refugees to achieve self-sufficiency. Livelihoods concept was developed in the 1980s, in the 1990s and it was turned into a policy approach by the Department for International Development and conceptualized as Sustainable Livelihoods. The Department of International Development has attempted to improve the results of its poverty reduction programs through integration of good development principles of Sustainable Livelihoods (people-centered, sensitivity, multi-level and in partnership, sustainable and dynamic) and by applying a holistic approach in programming support activities to ensure the importance of improving people's livelihoods.

^{5.} Caroline Ashley and Diana Carney, Sustainable Livelihoods: Lessons from Early Experience, Department for International Development, British Library, London, UK, 1999, 6.

^{6.} Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway, Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century, IDS, document de travail n°296. Brighton: IDS, 1992, 5-6.

In March 2019 Turkish Red Crescent designed and conducted its first Capacity Mapping Exercise for the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN), programme which is the largest unconditional and unrestricted cash transfer programme in the world and it has been funded by the Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (DG ECHO) since late 2016. In the third phase of the programme, the primary discussion is the transition from basic needs to livelihoods opportunities. With the aim of the recognizing the data-driven approach to such a large scale programme, Türk Kızılay decided to implement the Capacity Mapping Exercise. The purpose of the study is to provide a starting point for stakeholders to design their programmes based on credible data and robust analysis.

This study consists of three sections, in the first section the conceptual difference between livelihoods and sustainable livelihoods will be discussed, the importance of sustainability of the livelihoods will be further argued throughout the first section. In the second section, the sustainable livelihoods framework will be an outline and the importance of its principles and the detrimental value of this approach in livelihoods programmes will be explained. In the last section, based on the Capacity Mapping Exercise's findings, the importance of the sustainable livelihoods approach and the key points to evaluate when designing a livelihoods programme will be outlined.



I. Conceptual Framework of Livelihoods

In 1992 Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway defined livelihoods as:

"A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims, and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term".

Livelihoods include human, social, natural, physical and financial resources. Individuals use these assets to develop a livelihood strategy that will improve their ability to earn a living. At the same time, the range of possible actions to build their lives is conditioned by the institutions, policies, and processes of the state and civil society. Social, legal and political frameworks influence how people can use their assets. In this regard, policies and institutions are important external factors that directly affect households' options to access livelihoods. These factors are different in every society, and they influence access to property and vulnerability to shocks. It is important to emphasize that vulnerability is defined by the external environment that people live. It includes factors people have limited or no control over, such as population increase, climate change, epidemics, market collapse, and conflicts.⁸ Generally, it is assumed that the deprived ones are the most vulnerable because wealthy households have goods and resources capable of dealing with shocks and long-term vulnerability trends.⁹

^{7.} Chambers and Conway, ibid, 5-6.

^{8.} Jeremy Swift, Why are rural people vulnerable to famine? Vulnerability: How the Poor Cope, IDS Bulletin, Vol 20, No. 2., Brighton, 1989, 13-14.

^{9.} Robert Chambers, Poverty and livelihoods: whose reality counts? Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9RE, UK, 1995, 189.

While this may be valid in many cases, it is also true that in situations of political instability and war, ethnicity or political affiliation determines the risk and vulnerability of a household, regardless of its wealth. To analyze vulnerability, it is, therefore, necessary not only to identify the risks faced by households but also all the capabilities possessed by households. The latter allows the necessary potential to be used to withstand negative shocks. Consequently, it is important to understand the social, economic and political context before understanding the context of vulnerability.

The analysis must take into account a set of institutional arrangements and policy-making processes that influence survival strategies. Policymakers, researchers, development programmes should seek to know the goals of individuals, households, and communities for livelihoods. The strength of the livelihood approach lies in its holistic character. It is based on the idea that various interdependent factors can promote or limit the ability to develop survival strategies. These factors cannot be studied in isolation; instead, they must be approached comprehensively. Finally, the livelihood approach is dynamic by nature; individuals adapt their survival strategies to an iterative chain of events and causal relationships because they want to take advantage of any positive change in their life. They also want to reduce the impact of external shocks and predictable negative trends in the sector that their livelihoods are dependent on.

In short, the livelihood approach seeks to understand the multiple economic and social relationships that influence individuals and their survival strategies. These strategies have multiple dimensions and are influenced by a variety of actors such as local communities, civil society, private sector, and regional and national authorities. In such a context, individuals use a variety of means to support themselves.

A. Sustainable Livelihoods



By definition, a livelihood is sustainable when it can absorb external shocks, preserve personal capacity and increase available assets. Sustainable livelihoods have four criteria: Ecological sustainability which is increasing the productivity of environmental resources so they can be used by the next generations; economic sustainability maintaining a given level of spending or an acceptable level of long-term economic well-being; social sustainability which is minimizing social exclusion and increasing social equity to the maximum; and institutional sustainability having formal and informal institutional structures and processes to improve long-term livelihoods.¹⁰

The concept of a sustainable livelihood is built around three elements: The capabilities (and activities that flow from it) necessary to lead a decent existence; the tangible assets that an individual or household possesses or has access to; intangible assets, such as the ability to apply or request or access services, technology, income-generating activity. Livelihoods are sustainable when they are resilient and they are not dependent on external support unless the support itself is economically and institutionally sustainable. It is possible to conceptualize the many dimensions of sustainability by distinguishing between environmental, economic, social and institutional aspects of sustainability. Environmental sustainability is achieved when the productivity of vital natural resources is conserved or improved for future generations. Economic sustainability is achieved when a certain level of spending can be maintained over time. For the poor households, economic sustainability is achieved when a fundamental level of economic well-being can be achieved and maintained (the baseline will probably depend on the situation, but one can think of the dollar per day of international development goals.) Social sustainability is achieved when social exclusion is minimized and social equity maximized and institutional sustainability is achieved when existing structures and processes can continue to play their long-term role.

The Sustainable Livelihood approach recognizes the complex and long-term nature of poverty reduction, therefore, its main purpose is to understand the multifaceted nature of vulnerability by exploring what makes people vulnerable at the macro level and assessing people's talents, resources, aptitudes, skills, expertise, and knowledge at the individual level. Sustainable livelihoods advocates for designing vocational programmes to train the affected population to increase the resiliency of the people. This approach emphasizes the importance of analyzing the qualities, rather than needs. It recognizes the inherent potential of all the members of a community, whether it comes from their strong social networks, their access to resources and physical infrastructure or any other factor that contributes to poverty reduction. Eliminating the constraints that hinder the realization of this potential will be a key objective of livelihood oriented development efforts.

^{10.} Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway, "Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21st century", Institute for Development Studies, IDS Discussion paper 296, Brighton: IDS, 1991, 5-8.

^{11.} Chambers and Conway, ibid, 5-8.

^{12.} D.K. Bagchi et al., 'Conceptual and Methodological Challenges in the Study of Livelihood Trajectories: Case-Studies in Eastern India and Western Nepal, Journal of International Development 10, 1998, 453-468.

^{13.} Diana Carney, Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: what contribution can we make?; Department for International Development, London, 1998, 15-21.

^{14.} Claire Letemendía, "Women and Economic Development Consortium January", Women and Economic Development Consortium, Canada, 2002, 15-16.

^{15.} Andy Norton and Mick Foster, The Potential of Using Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers; Centre for Aid and Public Expenditure, 2001, 39.

With the purpose of helping approach is to help people to become more robust, stronger and more able to achieve their own goals; It puts people in the center of the livelihoods programme, and it encourages the participation of the target population at all stages of the project cycle.¹⁶ The livelihood approach advocates a holistic approach because people are implementing diverse strategies to improve their living conditions and diverse actors such as the extended family, grass-root organizations, local, regional or national authorities, the private sector, civil society, and other aid organizations are involved in these strategies. The holistic approach ensures that when a livelihoods programme is designed, relations among these actors and cross-impact of the programme are taken into consideration. Moreover, sustainable livelihoods recognize multiple influences on people and seek to understand the relationship between these influences and their common impact on livelihoods. Consequently, it is imperative to understand the underlying causes of poverty by identifying structural constraints, social factors, and household dynamics, in-group and out-group relations that limit individuals' ability to improve their life quality. Hence policymaking or introducing vocational courses are not enough to provide a solution. Besides the effect of these actors and institutions, a sustainable livelihood approach recognizes the importance of unpredictable external shocks such as natural disasters, draughts, etc. and predictable negative incidents such as economic crisis, devaluation, etc.

Sustainable livelihoods approach does not propose a policy framework, on the contrary, it acknowledges the inherent dynamism of living conditions and factors that influence people. Hence, it proposes a framework to understand this dynamism and causal relations between different actors to design a sustainable programme. In short, to understand the reality on the ground before designing a livelihoods programme, it is imperative to understand the relationship between the vast network of actors that influence people's livelihood outcomes, the strategies people employ and unpredictable shocks and predictable negative incidents. In this context, new survey, the Capacity Mapping Exercise, designed and conducted by the Türk Kızılay Kızılaykart Cash Based Assistances Monitoring and Evaluation Analysis teams.

^{16.} Tom Franks et al., Goodbye to projects? The Institutional Impact of Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches on Development Interventions, 2004, 17-19.



II. Capacity Mapping Exercise

In 2018 Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRiT) Office of the Presidency of Turkish Republic published its ESSN Exit Strategy. In the document Turkish government outlined its strategy to the gradual transition from basic needs to livelihoods to reduce the dependency of individuals receiving ESSN to social assistance. It is possible to argue that a data-driven approach plays a critical role in profiling the target population accurately, identifying the needs and consequently designing livelihoods programmes that will provide long-term sustainable solutions and benefit both the individuals receiving ESSN and national economy. Hence, in line with the principles of the Exit Strategy's framework and sustainable livelihoods framework, the Türk Kızılay Kızılaykart Monitoring and Evaluation Analysis Team designed the Capacity Mapping Exercise in March 2019 and data was collected by M&E operators. The purpose of the study was to provide a vivid picture of the livelihood capacity of the individuals receiving ESSN by looking at their employment situation, income, its frequency, previous work experiences, education, and Turkish language capabilities. In addition to that, the study also focused on understanding the relationship between sector, income and its frequency.

This section consists of three parts. In the first part, methodology and the limitations of the Capacity Mapping Exercise is outlined. In the second part, primary findings on capacity profiling are discussed: Employment, education, Turkish level, and previous work experience are designated as primary indicators in capacity profiling for the study. The data were analyzed in two parts in this section: First, the findings are shared on a provincial level to point out provincial differences, then data is disaggregated based on gender to show the differences and variation between genders. In the final part, a statistical model is constructed. The purpose of the model is to understand if income and frequency of the income are affected by other variables. Education, Turkish level, province and sector of employment are identified as independent variables for the model, whereas income and frequency of the income are designated as dependent variables.

Moreover, as the sustainable livelihood approach suggests, it is imperative to focus on the local level when designing a livelihoods programme hence mapping the capacity of the individuals receiving ESSN was deemed as detrimental to provide data for relevant stakeholders. This study focused on mapping these qualities to provide a starting point for livelihoods programmes' design phase.

A. The Methodology of the Study



The Capacity Mapping Exercise is conducted in 13 provinces.¹⁹ These provinces were selected based on beneficiary density and the respective industrial and agricultural capacity of these provinces. In total 5.019 people were reached for the survey however 4.804 of them were considered eligible for the final analysis because the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR) identifies the upper age limit for livelihoods referrals as 55; Consequently anyone above the age 55 is removed from the analysis. The level of analysis was selected as provinces to accurately capture the complexity of socio-economic and socio-cultural differences between individuals receiving ESSN who reside in different provinces, consequently, the final analysis is the only representative at the provincial level and the data is not aggregated on the national level. Moreover, the unit of analysis is designated as an individual. All the data collected is about the survey participant but questions related to a household's overall participation in the labor force were also included in case the respondent is unemployed but other members of the household are employed.

Unit of analysis for the ESSN programme indicators is the household, hence the shift from household to individual posed a significant challenge on data collection process because for the ESSN application, applicants are only required to provide one phone number and in most cases, that phone number belongs to a male member of the household. This posed two problems first the likelihood of reaching other members of a household was very low, second women participation would not be on the desired level. For the first problem, for operational purposes, it was decided to survey only the household member that was reached. To tackle the second problem and to increase the number of women participants in the survey the sample was stratified by gender on the provincial level, the sample was designed with a confidence level of 95% and a confidence interval of +/-5%. Nevertheless, in total, out of 4.804 surveys, 1.829 surveys were conducted with women, in contrast 2.975 surveys were conducted with men. The general findings are as follows: the average age of the survey participants is 36.6; the average household size is 6.5. People and on average survey participants have been in Turkey for 4.6 years, 50% of the sample has been in Turkey for 5 years. 3.170 of the participants had prior work experience before they have come to Turkey, among this group 360 of them were women and 2.810 of them were men, and the average work experience is 12 years.

B. Employment



It is possible to argue that the likelihood of someone's employment is dependent on two variables: The condition of the labor market and the skill set of the person. The first one is outside of his/her control; it is determined by factors such as the market forces, economic growth. The latter is determined by a person's capacity; education, training, previous work experiences have a direct impact on the likelihood of employability of a person. In this study, the exogenous factors related to the economy are not taken into consideration. Therefore, in terms of determining the success of people's employment, this study does not provide an answer. The main purpose is to assist policymakers and programme designers to be cognizant about the potential on the field and possible obstacles in implementing livelihoods programme.

Overall in 80% of the households, there is at least one employed individual.²⁰ This number is greater than the employment ratio of the individuals who have been participated in the survey because to understand the overall participation in the labor market it was also asked if anyone in the household is employed.

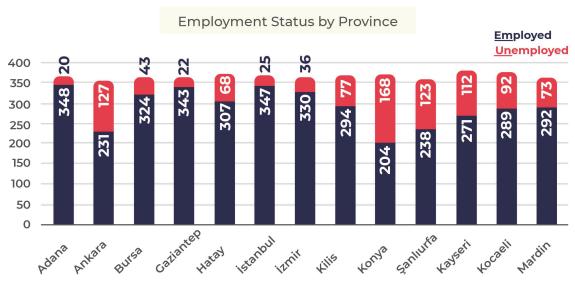


Figure-1: Employment Status by Province

As figure 1 shows that on the provincial level a significant number of people are in the labor force. However, the total number of unemployed people is higher than the employed on aggregate: 2.777 participants said they were unemployed.²¹

^{20.} This ratio increases to 81% when survey participants above age 55 is also included into analysis. Data is representative for the period Spring 2019.

^{21.} Number of employed and unemployed is provided only for survey participants, on average there is at least one employed individual in 81% of the ESSN households. However, data was only collected from the individuals we contacted.

1.644 of the participants said they did not want to work and not look for a job, while 1.067 participants said they were looking for a job. The majority of the people who emphasized that they do not want to work are women and they identified their responsibilities at home as the primary reason. When the number of employed people is disaggregated by gender total number of employed women is 139 (out of 2.077 employed people). Figure 2 provides the details regarding gender disaggregation of employed and unemployed participants.²²

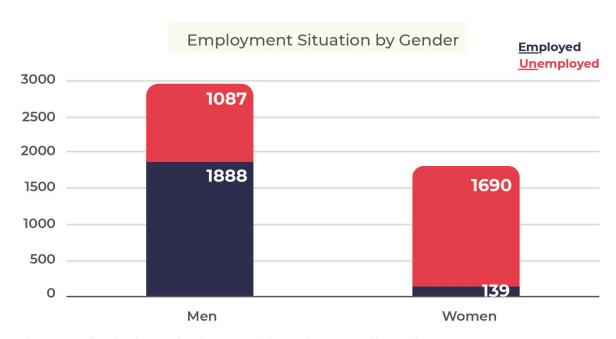


Figure-2: Employed and unemployed survey participants disaggregated by gender

In overall, women participation in the workforce is very low and it is assumed that their potential to participate remains low. Understanding the cultural and structural problems that prevent women cash recipients to participate in the labor force is beyond the scope of this study. However, it is important to emphasize that any livelihood programme that targets women has to take into consideration these structural limitations on women's participation in the workforce.

In comparison, 239 men argued they did not want to work therefore they were not searching for a job. The average age for this group is 44. However, it will be misleading to assume that there is a correlation between age and employment. Within the survey participants number of employed men whose age is above 40 is 487. Independent t-test and binomial logistic regression and point biserial correlation tests were conducted. Age was picked as the independent variable and employment status was designated as the dependent variable. Tests reveal that there is no strong statistical relationship between age and employment status.²³

^{22.1.405} women participants claimed that their responsibilities at home prevents them from working. Average age of this group is 34.

23. For these test employment status was coded as a binary variable (I employed, 2 unemployed), the test results are the following: non-parametric correlation/spearman's correlation: -0.09, binomial logistic correlation: -0.03, point-biserial correlation: -0.09. The results indicate that one unit increase of age has a negative 0.03% or -0.3% impact on likelihood of employment hence the age has no or very minimal impact on employment.

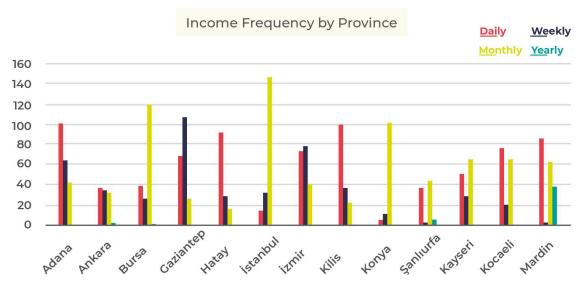


Figure-3: Income Frequency by Province

The analysis shows that the regularity of the income is an important indicator, people who have weekly or monthly income earn more than people with daily or yearly income. The difference can be attributed to the regularity of the work. Weekly and monthly payment can be identified as an indicator that individuals have a regular job. Yearly payments are very rare except in Mardin and yearly paid people are mostly in agriculture.²⁴

In short, even though the number of employed people is significant, the sustainability of their employment has a quintessential role in poverty alleviation. In such manner, being aware of the abilities beneficiary population have is crucial, any livelihood programme that dismisses the range of abilities of the individuals to have will improbable to create maintainable outcomes.

C. Capacity Mapping and Profiling



According to Charles Tilly, "skill denotes a hierarchy of objective individual traits, will not stand up to historical scrutiny; skill is a social product, a negotiated identity". Skill can be identified as a social construct. It is a constructed relation between employers and workers even though skill is accumulated through knowledge, experience, and intellect of the individual. At the end of the day it is a relation between workers and employers. Consequently, skilled workers take part in crucial steps of the production and they maintain a monopoly over knowledge and labor supply for the jobs that require their knowledge.

^{24.} Annex shows both their sector in their country of origin and their sector in Turkey, as well as the cumulative ratio of employment overall that sector.

^{25.} Charles Tilly, Theory and Society, Special Issue on Solidary Logics, Vol. 17, No. 3, 1988, 453.

The cost of replacing a skilled worker is very high for employers compared to unskilled workers.²⁶ In short, unskilled and semi-skilled workers can be easily replaced, regardless of their intelligence or experience.²⁷

In line with this understanding, then it is possible to argue that there is an undeniable link between sustainability of the employment and skill, hence livelihood programmes are expected to understand the skill set that their target population possesses and the needs of the labor market. The purpose of the study is to fill the void for the first part of the process, understanding the skill set of the target population. In this regard, the capacity mapping survey focused on collecting data on an individual's education, work experience and the sector that they were employed in their country of origin. Figure 4 below shows the education level of the participants. The majority of the participants have obtained a primary school diploma, and on average 11.9% of the participants are illiterate. This number increases to 30.7% in Şanlıurfa. To explain this anomaly, participants from Şanlıurfa designated as an experimental group while other provinces were designated as the control group. The detailed analysis did not explain this spike; it could be a coincidence or might be caused by an unobserved variable that explains why there were more illiterate people in Şanlıurfa compared to other provinces.

Education Level by Province

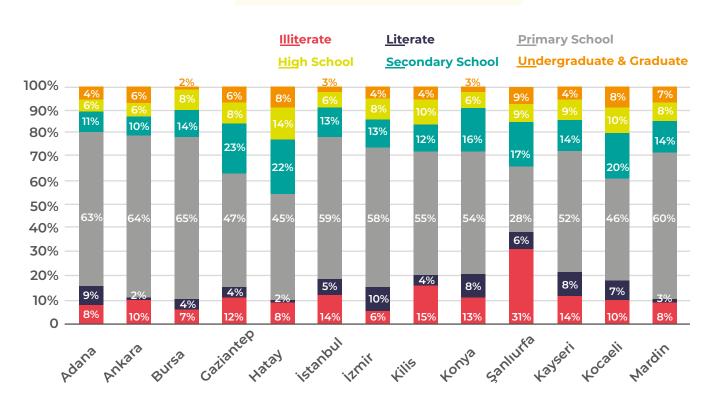


Figure-4: Education level of the participants, disaggregated by province

Figure 5 shows the income groups by education. Analysis shows that there is no clear indication that education has an impact on income. Spearman coefficient²⁸ is used as a model to find if there is a relationship between education and income. Education was recoded as an ordinal scale between 1 to 7; 1 indicates illiteracy and 7 indicates undergraduate or above. Spearman rank correlation test was used with the option of "pairwise complete observation" which simply removes rows of the matrix with missing observation. The output of the test was 0.084 which demonstrates that there is a weak positive association between the beneficiaries' income and their education level.

Education Level and Income

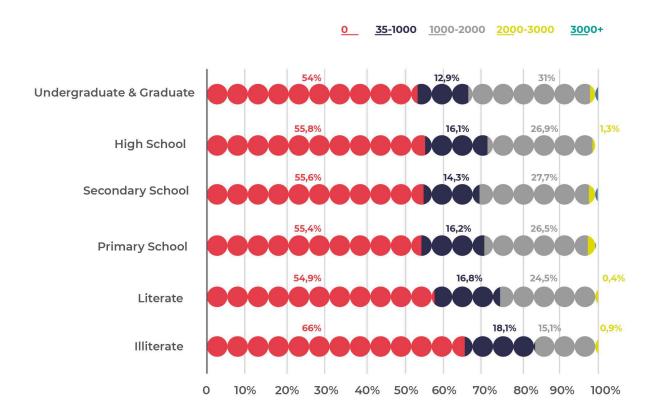


Figure-5: Education Level and Income

^{28.} Spearman's rank correlation coefficient is a non-parametric statistical test which gives an information about the strength and the direction of the association that exist between two variables at least on ordinal scale.

Figure 6 highlights the overall work experience in which the male participants have primarily between 6 to 10 years, while most of the female participants have no prior work experience.

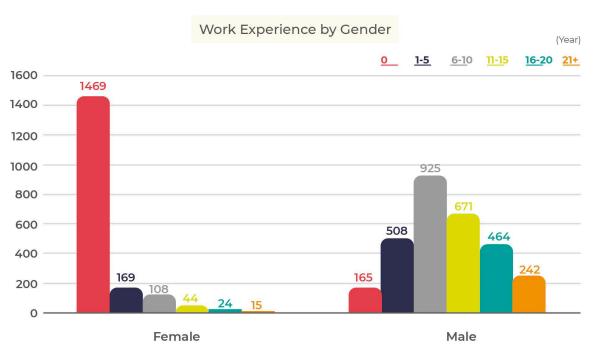


Figure-6: Work experience disaggregated by gender

It is also important to emphasize that in addition to work experience and education, linguistic adjustment is also a crucial indicator of income. Linguistic adjustment is the process for the refugees/immigrants to become fluent in the native language of their destination hence it determines the employment and income.²⁹ Nevertheless, research on this topic indicates that the risk of endogeneity in the model for language and income relation is quite high³⁰, the capacity mapping exercise does not aim to propose a model to identify variables that affect income for the refugee population, because this study does not focus on finding a relation between income and language.³¹ In this context, Figure, 7 and 8 show the Turkish level for both male and female participants by province. Overall, the rates of speaking, reading or writing Turkish at an advanced level among male cash recipients are 2.7%, 10.6% and 2.0% respectively. In contrast, in İzmir, the rate of people who can speak, read or write Turkish at an advanced level is 26.6%, 26%, and 27.1%. To find the reason for this abnormality, descriptive statistics, and cross-tabulation analysis was applied. According to the results, this occurrence could be explained by the fact that the male individuals receiving ESSN in İzmir province have been living in Turkey longer than individuals receiving ESSN in other provinces.³² In short, the majority of the participants have no or very limited knowledge of Turkish. Intermediate level is higher for men compared to women which can be attributed to the fact that men are exposed to Turkish more because of their relatively active participation in the workforce.

^{29.} Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller 1995, The Endogeneity between Language and Earnings: International Analyses, Journal of Labor Economics, 246-247.

^{30.} Endogeneity in a statistical model happens when there is a dependent variable correlates with the standard error, and it implies that there is an unobserved variable that explains the observed phenomena.

^{31.} Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller proposed a model to determine the variables that effects the income and eliminate the endogeinety between income and language. However, they do not claim that their model is a universal one hence host country and its context should be taken into account when the model is replicated. (Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller, The Endogeneity between Language and Earnings: International Analyses, Journal of Labor Economics, 1995.)

^{32.} The result of this analysis is not definitive, consequently this issue should be investigated further.

Turkish Level by Province/Male Participants



Figure-7: Turkish Level By Province Male Participants

Turkish Level by Province/Female Participants

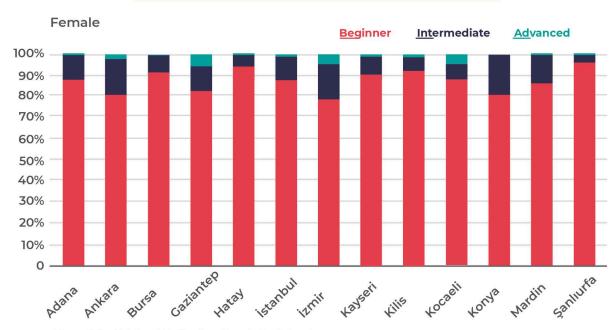


Figure-8: Turkish Level By Province Female Participants

In the sustainability of employment, the Turkish level undeniably plays an important role. As a result, livelihoods programmes should also include a Turkish language course for adults, and in an ideal scenario fluency in Turkish should be a prerequisite to start vocational training.

In conclusion, the capacity mapping exercise shows that even though on the provincial level the number of employed people is relatively high, and on average there is at least one employed person in 81% of the households, there are structural problems that will inevitably hinder sustainability of the employment. When data is disaggregated by gender, it becomes evident that women's participation in the workforce is very low, and the primary reason is cited as their responsibilities at home. Consequently, livelihood programmes for women have to take this into consideration and programmes should be designed accordingly. Moreover, education and the Turkish level for men and women are low, the majority of the participants have no or very little formal education and the Turkish level is mostly at the beginner level. In order to implement a sustainable livelihood programme, these challenges need to be addressed.



III. Conclusion

Livelihoods are the means that enable everyone to earn a living. They include the abilities, assets, income, and activities each person needs to have a dignified life and fulfill their potential. The livelihood is sustainable when it allows people to be resilient and cope after a setback or stress (such as a natural disaster or economic or social vagaries) and improve their well-being as well as future generations. The livelihood approach is based on understanding peoples' assets and/or skills and how they utilize these assets into a livelihood mean.

Livelihoods approach started as a way to construct a framework for rural development; however over the years, the framework evolved and since late 1990, the term refers to a comprehensive framework for poverty analysis, which aims to improve the life quality of the poor by utilizing already existing assets through poverty reduction policies. Since then, the sustainable livelihoods approach dominates both policy research and analysis. Sustainable livelihoods approach identify ways to balance business and social goals. It aims to incorporate the principles of participatory social development and adult learning techniques into the policy framework.

In line with the principles of sustainable livelihoods, to support the livelihoods transition of the ESSN programme, Türk Kızılay Kızılaykart Cash Based Assistances Monitoring and Evaluation Analysis Team conducted Capacity Mapping Exercise to provide a better understanding of the skill set, education and language level of the individuals receiving ESSN who are between 18 and 55 years old. Socio-economic and socio-cultural variance among the provinces as well as livelihoods opportunities were taken into consideration in the study design, hence the analysis was only representative on the provincial level. Overall, there is at least one employed person in 81% of the ESSN households, however, income regularity of the employed people varies. The majority of the people are earning weekly or monthly, and their income is higher compared to others.

As Annex A points out, most of the skilled workers are still employed in their sector in Turkey and they are utilizing their skills. Workers with daily income are mostly unskilled hence these people should be trained according to the needs of the labor market and industries in the provinces they are living. On linguistic adjustment, the Turkish level of men is higher than women. The men are more exposed to Turkish due to their participation in the workforce, it is possible to assume that the level of difference between women and men is caused by this but further investigation is required to determine the exact cause. However, the overall majority of the survey participants have no or very limited Turkish knowledge. A low level of linguistic adjustment emphasizes the importance of Turkish language courses as a prerequisite for achieving long-term sustainable solutions with livelihoods programmes.

To sum up, achieving long-term solutions through livelihoods programme should be the priority objective because the sustainability of livelihoods is a key factor in combating poverty and reducing the dependency of people on social programmes. In this regard, capacity mapping exercise maps the skill set of the target population on the provincial level. It should be noted that a blanket approach to livelihood programmes without taking into consideration the regional and provincial dynamics as well as people's skill set, education level, and linguistic adjustment, the results will not be sustainable and target population will continue to be depended on social programmes.

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The percentages of cash recipients' current occupational groups according to their occupational groups before coming to Turkey can be found contingency tables below.

| | | Occupation Before Turkey | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|------------------|-------|-------------------------|--|
| | | | Agriculture | | Construction | | Manufacturing | | Textile | | Handyman | | Skilled Craft Workers / Artisans | | Skilled Services | | Hospitality Services | |
| | | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | |
| | Agriculture | 81 | 38.4% | 16 | 6.3% | 1 | 1.3% | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 2.5% | 4 | 4.1% | 2 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Consturction | 41 | 19.4% | 152 | 59.8% | 4 | 5.1% | 10 | 3.6% | 14 | 8.8% | 8 | 8.2% | 10 | 11.1% | 1 | 4.5% | |
| | Manifacturing | 9 | 4.3% | 9 | 3.5% | 34 | 43.6% | 9 | 3.2% | 6 | 3.8% | 3 | 3.1% | 2 | 2.2% | 1 | 4.5% | |
| | Textile | 7 | 3.3% | 4 | 1.6% | 3 | 3.8% | 206 | 73.6% | 10 | 6.3% | 6 | 6.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 4.5% | |
| | Handyman | 7 | 3.3% | 7 | 2.8% | 2 | 2.6% | 7 | 2.5% | 87 | 54.7% | 2 | 2.1% | 3 | 3.3% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| 딝 | Skilled Craft Workers / Artisans | 5 | 2.4% | 9 | 3.5% | 3 | 3.8% | 7 | 2.5% | 8 | 5.0% | 53 | 54.6% | 5 | 5.6% | 1 | 4.5% | |
| atio | Skilled Services | 1 | 0.5% | 6 | 2.4% | 1 | 1.3% | 2 | 0.7% | 3 | 1.9% | 0 | 0.0% | 41 | 45.6% | 1 | 4.5% | |
| ď | Hospitality Services | 2 | 0.9% | 3 | 1.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 0.7% | 2 | 1.3% | 1 | 1.0% | 1 | 1.1% | 10 | 45.5% | |
| Ö | Commercial Services | 4 | 1.9% | 5 | 2.0% | 7 | 9.0% | 9 | 3.2% | 4 | 2.5% | 4 | 4.1% | 6 | 6.7% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| at l | Street Vendors | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| Current Occupation | Education | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.3% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| O | Unskilled Services | 45 | 21.3% | 39 | 15.4% | 20 | 25.6% | 26 | 9.3% | 17 | 10.7% | 13 | 13.4% | 17 | 18.9% | 7 | 31.8% | |
| | Clerical Occupations | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Animal Husbandry | 4 | 1.9% | 1 | 0.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 1.3% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Home-Based Business | 5 | 2.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.1% | 1 | 1.1% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Entrepreneurs | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.6% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Shoemaking - related | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 0.8% | 2 | 2.6% | 1 | 0.4% | 1 | 0.6% | 1 | 1.0% | 2 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | TOTAL | 211 | 100% | 254 | 100% | 78 | 100% | 280 | 100% | 159 | 100% | 97 | 100% | 90 | 100% | 22 | 100% | |

| | Occupation Before Turkey | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--|-------|------------------|--------|----------------|-------|---------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|---------------|-------|-------------------------|--|
| | | | mercial vices | Street | Street Vendors | | Education | | Unskilled Services | | Clerical Occupations | | Animal Husbandry | | Home-Based Business | | Entrepreneurs | | Shoemaking - related | |
| | | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | |
| | Agriculture | 18 | 8.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 7.0% | 8 | 7.3% | 6 | 6.7% | 6 | 26.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Consturction | 38 | 17.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 11.6% | 11 | 10.0% | 16 | 18.0% | 2 | 8.7% | 0 | 0.0% | 15 | 16.1% | 2 | 1.8% | |
| | Manifacturing | 10 | 4.5% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.3% | 2 | 1.8% | 1 | 1.1% | 1 | 4.3% | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 7.5% | 3 | 2.7% | |
| | Textile | 21 | 9.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.3% | 7 | 6.4% | 8 | 9.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 10 | 10.8% | 1 | 0.9% | |
| | Handyman | 17 | 7.6% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.3% | 2 | 1.8% | 5 | 5.6% | 1 | 4.3% | 2 | 50.0% | 10 | 10.8% | 1 | 0.9% | |
| | Skilled Craft Workers / Artisans | 6 | 2.7% | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 9.3% | 3 | 2.7% | 6 | 6.7% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 5.4% | 2 | 1.8% | |
| ţi | Skilled Services | 7 | 3.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 4.7% | 2 | 1.8% | 1 | 1.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.2% | 1 | 0.9% | |
| edn; | Hospitality Services | 2 | 0.9% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.3% | 1 | 0.9% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 3.2% | 1 | 0.9% | |
| ŏ | Commercial Services | 39 | 17.5% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.9% | 8 | 9.0% | 1 | 4.3% | 0 | 0.0% | 8 | 8.6% | 2 | 1.8% | |
| Current Occupation | Street Vendors | 1 | 0.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| 히 | Education | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 19 | 44.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Unskilled Services | 56 | 25.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 5 | 11.6% | 68 | 61.8% | 23 | 25.8% | 8 | 34.8% | 0 | 0.0% | 22 | 23.7% | 8 | 7.2% | |
| | Clerical Occupations | 1 | 0.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 8 | 9.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Animal Husbandry | 2 | 0.9% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 2.3% | 2 | 1.8% | 1 | 1.1% | 4 | 17.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.1% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Home-Based Business | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.9% | 2 | 2.2% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 50.0% | 1 | 1.1% | 1 | 0.9% | |
| | Entrepreneurs | 1 | 0.4% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.9% | 1 | 1.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 1.1% | 0 | 0.0% | |
| | Shoemaking - related | 4 | 1.8% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.9% | 1 | 1.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 4 | 4.3% | 89 | 80.2% | |
| | TOTAL | 223 | 100% | 0 | 0% | 43 | 100% | 110 | 100% | 89 | 100% | 23 | 100% | 4 | 100% | 93 | 100% | 111 | 100% | |

B.Occupation by Province

The percentages of cash recipients' occupational groups before coming to Turkey according to their provincial residency in Turkey can be found contingency tables below.

| | | | <u>Province</u> | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|------------|--|--|--|
| | | Adana | | Ar | nkara | В | ursa | Gaziantep | | Hatay | | Is | tanbul | | | |
| | | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | | | |
| | Agriculture | 48 | 17.9% | 22 | 9.9% | 8 | 3.3% | 20 | 8.0% | 53 | 21.9% | 7 | 2.9% | | | |
| | Consturction | 33 | 12.3% | 51 | 22.9% | 19 | 7.8% | 27 | 10.8% | 45 | 18.6% | 25 | 10.3% | | | |
| | Manifacturing | 17 | 6.3% | 8 | 3.6% | 9 | 3.7% | 13 | 5.2% | 10 | 4.1% | 9 | 3.7% | | | |
| | Textile | 38 | 14.2% | 15 | 6.7% | 70 | 28.8% | 35 | 13.9% | 5 | 2.1% | 70 | 28.9% | | | |
| | Handyman | 21 | 7.8% | 24 | 10.8% | 17 | 7.0% | 27 | 10.8% | 17 | 7.0% | 17 | 7.0% | | | |
| ě | Skilled Craft Workers / Artisans | 24 | 9.0% | 12 | 5.4% | 10 | 4.1% | 9 | 3.6% | 4 | 1.7% | 15 | 6.2% | | | |
| 直 | Skilled Services | 7 | 2.6% | 10 | 4.5% | 13 | 5.3% | 9 | 3.6% | 13 | 5.4% | 6 | 2.5% | | | |
| ore_ | Hospitality Services | 1 | 0.4% | 1 | 0.4% | 7 | 2.9% | 1 | 0.4% | 4 | 1.7% | 2 | 0.8% | | | |
| Occupation Before Turkey | Commercial Services | 27 | 10.1% | 38 | 17.0% | 25 | 10.3% | 26 | 10.4% | 18 | 7.4% | 34 | 14.0% | | | |
| tion | Street Vendors | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| upa | Education | 9 | 3.4% | 1 | 0.4% | 2 | 0.8% | 12 | 4.8% | 16 | 6.6% | 7 | 2.9% | | | |
| 8 | Unskilled Services | 11 | 4.1% | 10 | 4.5% | 19 | 7.8% | 7 | 2.8% | 12 | 5.0% | 8 | 3.3% | | | |
| - | Clerical Occupations | 8 | 3.0% | 14 | 6.3% | 18 | 7.4% | 16 | 6.4% | 22 | 9.1% | 13 | 5.4% | | | |
| | Animal Husbandry | 3 | 1.1% | 1 | 0.4% | 2 | 0.8% | 3 | 1.2% | 1 | 0.4% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| | Home-Based Business | 5 | 1.9% | 0 | 0.0% | 1 | 0.4% | 4 | 1.6% | 3 | 1.2% | 0 | 0.0% | | | |
| | Entrepreneurs | 8 | 3.0% | 15 | 6.7% | 15 | 6.2% | 13 | 5.2% | 15 | 6.2% | 7 | 2.9% | | | |
| | Shoemaking - related | 8 | 3.0% | 1 | 0.4% | 8 | 3.3% | 29 | 11.6% | 4 | 1.7% | 22 | 9.1% | | | |
| | TOTAL | 268 | 100% | 223 | 100% | 243 | 100% | 251 | 100% | 242 | 100% | 242 | 100% | | | |

| | | | | | | | | <u>P</u> | rovince | | | | | | |
|------------|--|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|----------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|
| | | lz | Izmir | | Kayseri | | Kilis | | Kocaeli | | Konya | | Mardin | | nliurfa |
| | | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % | Count | Column N % |
| | Agriculture | 21 | 9.5% | 23 | 9.9% | 19 | 9.0% | 32 | 12.7% | 73 | 26.4% | 70 | 26.2% | 61 | 25.4% |
| | Consturction | 28 | 12.6% | 28 | 12.0% | 29 | 13.7% | 36 | 14.3% | 49 | 17.8% | 41 | 15.4% | 32 | 13.3% |
| | Manifacturing | 4 | 1.8% | 4 | 1.7% | 11 | 5.2% | 10 | 4.0% | 14 | 5.1% | 6 | 2.2% | 1 | 0.4% |
| | Textile | 26 | 11.7% | 36 | 15.5% | 31 | 14.7% | 17 | 6.8% | 15 | 5.4% | 11 | 4.1% | 8 | 3.3% |
| | Handyman | 10 | 4.5% | 10 | 4.3% | 17 | 8.1% | 15 | 6.0% | 22 | 8.0% | 11 | 4.1% | 24 | 10.0% |
| a j | Skilled Craft Workers / Artisans | 7 | 3.2% | 5 | 2.1% | 11 | 5.2% | 15 | 6.0% | 7 | 2.5% | 9 | 3.4% | 5 | 2.1% |
| Turkey | Skilled Services | 10 | 4.5% | 7 | 3.0% | 21 | 10.0% | 11 | 4.4% | 8 | 2.9% | 12 | 4.5% | 6 | 2.5% |
| ore | Hospitality Services | 2 | 0.9% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 0.9% | 3 | 1.2% | 2 | 0.7% | 3 | 1.1% | 0 | 0.0% |
| Before | Commercial Services | 27 | 12.2% | 27 | 11.6% | 27 | 12.8% | 34 | 13.5% | 31 | 11.2% | 26 | 9.7% | 43 | 17.9% |
| ţ | Street Vendors | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% |
| Occupation | Education | 2 | 0.9% | 8 | 3.4% | 10 | 4.7% | 7 | 2.8% | 5 | 1.8% | 14 | 5.2% | 15 | 6.3% |
| 읭 | Unskilled Services | 7 | 3.2% | 30 | 12.9% | 12 | 5.7% | 7 | 2.8% | 16 | 5.8% | 25 | 9.4% | 20 | 8.3% |
| | Clerical Occupations | 16 | 7.2% | 18 | 7.7% | 13 | 6.2% | 35 | 13.9% | 10 | 3.6% | 13 | 4.9% | 18 | 7.5% |
| | Animal Husbandry | 3 | 1.4% | 5 | 2.1% | 3 | 1.4% | 2 | 0.8% | 6 | 2.2% | 9 | 3.4% | 5 | 2.1% |
| | Home-Based Business | 2 | 0.9% | 3 | 1.3% | 2 | 0.9% | 2 | 0.8% | 1 | 0.4% | 6 | 2.2% | 2 | 0.8% |
| | Entrepreneurs | 18 | 8.1% | 25 | 10.7% | 2 | 0.9% | 24 | 9.6% | 3 | 1.1% | 11 | 4.1% | 0 | 0.0% |
| | Shoemaking - related | 39 | 17.6% | 4 | 1.7% | 1 | 0.5% | 1 | 0.4% | 14 | 5.1% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% |
| | TOTAL | 222 | 100% | 233 | 100% | 211 | 100% | 251 | 100% | 276 | 100% | 267 | 100% | 240 | 100% |



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