

The refugee integration industry: A comparative analysis of refugee post-arrival workplace adjustment in Germany and Turkey

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Abstract

Post-arrival workplace adjustment is an important lever for workplace integration specifically, and community integration more broadly. This paper identifies the integration and workplace adjustment support processes available to refugees in Germany and Turkey; while also establishing a model for what we call the 'integration industry': a burgeoning, little known, yet increasingly significant group of stakeholders in the workplace adjustment and subsequent integration of refugees in the destination country labour market. By re-engaging with the human resource management scholarship on post-arrival adjustment, we aim to make space for a forgotten and largely invisible group of workers: refugees. In short, we propose a model for explaining and understanding the multiple stakeholders in the integration industry as key arbiters in the workplace adjustment of refugees, while also signaling the potential implications of this 'industry'.

Key words: refugee workers, comparative analysis, integration industry, refugee labour market integration management, post-arrival adjustment

Introduction and Overview

The notion of refugees as a viable source of labour to address shortages in the destination country labour market has rarely been the dominant discourse on refugee entrants (Rhus, 2019). Instead, the narrative in the literature and popular discourse has been driven by a policy position that clearly distinguishes between refugee and migrant, in favour of the labour market attraction and integration of the latter (Guo and Al Ariss 2015; Zikic, 2015; Hajro et. al. 2019). As a consequence of this strict binary, refugees are pitched, politically constructed, and some would argue stigmatised, as a homogenous group of welfare-dependent, unskilled individuals (Baranik et. al 2018). It is safe to assume that neglecting the diversity of refugees, negatively impacts the integration policies created to benefit them in their post-arrival adjustment. As we see it, a 'one size fits all' approach to integration management may in fact not fit all. Refugees are diverse: they come from different countries, with different skills-sets and backgrounds and they can differ in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, religious affiliation and sexual orientation for instance. Lam (2018:103) argues that there is a "... need for intersectional approaches to refugee service provision, to foster a sense of admiration and respect for refugees' experiences, and to interact with public policies from the perspective of the

least privileged” (see also Brücker et. al 2016; Newman et. al 2018). The current policy prescription and theorising around refugees sees them placed at the periphery of both agendas. As we see it, refugees (and their varied backgrounds and experiences) need to be placed at the centre of the analysis and consulted on the development of the labour market integration policies which are established to benefit them. In this paper, we examine the integration and workplace adjustment policies in Germany and Turkey: two countries which have assumed complex roles in the integration of the recent wave of Syrian-conflict refugees.

There is a chorus amongst scholars that employment is the single most important aspect of integration for refugees, therefore placing a primacy on our need to understand the available supports surrounding workplace adjustment, particularly with regards to the ‘special’ needs of refugees (Castles et. al 2001; Tomlinson and Egan 2002; Ager and Strang 2008). The robust literature on refugee employment paints a bleak picture of the significant structural and personal challenges experienced by them in accessing the destination country labour market, particularly so, for those with skills and qualifications (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006; Betts et. al. 2017; Correa-Velez et. al. 2015; Campion 2018; Newman et. al. 2018; Fix et. al. 2017; Degler and Liepig, 2017). The focus on the barriers to employment has meant that there has been, at best, a partial understanding of the post-arrival workplace adjustment needs of refugees, and the associated ‘industry’ surrounding this adjustment process. It is important to address this gap for several reasons. First, at the supranational level, the United Nations Global Compact for Refugees has recently recommended for a complementary pathway for humanitarian entrants, to address destination country labour shortages. Second, this presents an opportunity to theorise around and develop policies in response to the integration ‘industry’ and the stakeholders who are part of it: an industry that has on the one hand emerged to service the needs of refugees; and on the other hand the needs of business and their immediate labour market shortages. Finally, in identifying a gap in the business and management scholarship, we construct a model to explain and understand the complexities surrounding locally-sensitive and context-specific refugee post-arrival adjustment and the ‘industry’ supporting this.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees states there are more than 25 million refugees, fleeing from persecution and danger, crisis and war, to a safe haven (UNHCR, 2017). The majority hail from developing countries and find refuge in neighbouring low- and middle-income countries, with the largest number settling in Turkey, which is hosting some 3.5 million refugees. Germany is the only high-income country which makes the list of the top ten host countries, accepting some 1 million refugees. In fact, the top ten countries host 60% of the total refugee population (UN News, 2018). Turkey and Germany are an excellent case in point for investigation as between them they have

welcomed the largest proportion of refugees over the last 5 years, as a consequence of the Syrian conflict (Refugee Council Australia, 2018).

There has to date been no discussion around the 'integration industry' - either theoretically or empirically. In line with Spender's (1989) notion of industry recipes, we take a contextual and locally-sensitive approach to explaining and understanding the 'industry' as a whole, and the role and practices of actors within and outside this industry - which we describe as recipes. As Spender (1989:6) notes: 'recipes are merely suggestive about the consequences of following them, though they also imply cautions against ignoring them. But they say nothing about the consequences of following different lines of action'. That is, recipes offer the analyst a (rough) road map for understanding the industry. Accordingly, we are able to establish an 'ideal-type' model of the governance/regulatory arrangements and stakeholders within and outside the workplace who guide the post-arrival adjustment of refugees and together form the integration industry. We draw on Freeman's definition of stakeholders which includes: "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of..." a particular workplace objective (Freeman, 1984: 25). In the case of refugees, stakeholders who can affect refugees or are affected by them—can include but are not limited to, community networks (ethno-specific and broader); migrant resource centres/NGOs; government agencies; HR peak bodies/managers; recruiters; education institutions; trade unions; employers; online platforms and local communities to name but a few. We detail our model further on.

In the following section we examine and categorise the stakeholders in the integration industry. In addition to placing the spotlight on labour refugees, we also place this 'industry' front and centre by examining how workplace adjustment and integration is discussed more generally in the business, management and migration scholarship. We then turn to the case of refugee post-arrival adjustment in two different countries; concluding by drawing general implications surrounding this industry and providing recommendations for future research.

A recipe for post-arrival workplace adjustment and integration: Lessons from the migration, business and management scholarship

According to migration scholars, while 'integration' is an overused term, it is notoriously difficult to define with Robinson (1998:118) going so far as to state it is 'chaotic' as a concept, bandied around by many and yet understood differently by most. It is also used in replacement of less 'desirable' terms such as for example: assimilation, absorption, acculturation and tolerance (Favell, 2001). Key researchers in the field agree that there is no single model or definition, as it is context-dependent

and also based on (the diversity of) individual needs. As a concept and practice it remains 'controversial and hotly debated' (Castles et. al. 2001:12). While there are difficulties surrounding a prescriptive and ubiquitous definition of and approach to explaining and understanding integration, it is an important policy term and policy agenda within the workplace and more broadly in society (Frattoni, 2006).

We agree with Modood (2018) that integration discourse and the broader hegemonic frames underscoring it fall into several categories, including: assimilation, individualist integration, cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism. The relations of power in each model is different. In the assimilation model the norms to which ethnic communities should abide by are dictated by the destination country, one is expected to change to 'fit in'. In the individualist integration model, ethnic minorities attempt at achieving success through pre-existing structures of power. The cosmopolitan model is a melting pot in terms of ethnicity. And finally, the multicultural model brings attention to the demands of ethnic minorities to coexist within and codetermine their own paths and practices. Depending on which mode is selected, there is a different configuration and arrangement among the stakeholders of the integration industry.

Discussion surrounding refugee integration suggests it involves staged change over time supported by a sustained, two-way relationship between the refugee and specific stakeholders/stakeholder arrangements in the destination country (Korac, 2003). Penninx (2003) highlights the importance of a network of stakeholder arrangements (located at the macro, meso and micro levels) in constructing the supports required for post-arrival integration. Ager and Strang (2008) extend on this with their multi-level perspective of integration, comprised of ten different domains, covering civic and economic adjustment for instance (Ager and Strang 2008: 170; see also Montgomery 1996; Kallenbach et. al. 2013). While the contribution of these studies cannot be underestimated, the linkages between the broader context (*outside* the workplace) and *within* the workplace are overlooked in the process of post-arrival adjustment; as are the varieties of integration modes and the two-way (sustained) dynamic between the refugee and the various stakeholders. Most notably the refugee is missing from these works. As such there are some glaring gaps in these analyses which the human resource management scholarship offers a potential response to.

Within international human resource management scholarship, Black, Mendenhall and Oddou (1991) (see also Black and Stephens, 1989) provide a simple and often replicated categorisation of post-arrival adjustment for expatriates, distinguishing between: general adjustment, which incorporates living conditions in the destination country; interaction adjustment, which includes the social relations and interactions with local workers; and, work-related adjustment, involving integration into the local

workplace and therefore the processes defining workplace integration. Importantly, workplace integration, social integration (at the workplace level and more broadly), and living conditions are complementary and intersecting facets of post-arrival adjustment. Notably, the expatriate is given primacy in this model whereby their diverse needs are emphasised. Crucially, their needs are not a ‘bolt-on’ to the human resource management processes but rather form the main focus of attention. Notably, the various stakeholders affecting them and affected by them are placed in a secondary position (Takeuchi, 2010). While there is strength in placing the ‘expatriate’ at the centre of the analysis, the stakeholder dynamics are lacking, and we see this as a glaring oversight in the (international) human resource management scholarship.

We draw on the insights from both the migration and (international) human resource management literature while responding to the weaknesses in each by developing the following model (see Table 1) which places the diverse cohort of refugees at the centre of the analysis combined with indicators of the links between the various stakeholders, and the implications of the dynamics between them. The model is informed by and responsive to the locally-sensitive and context-specific hegemonic frames and discourse.

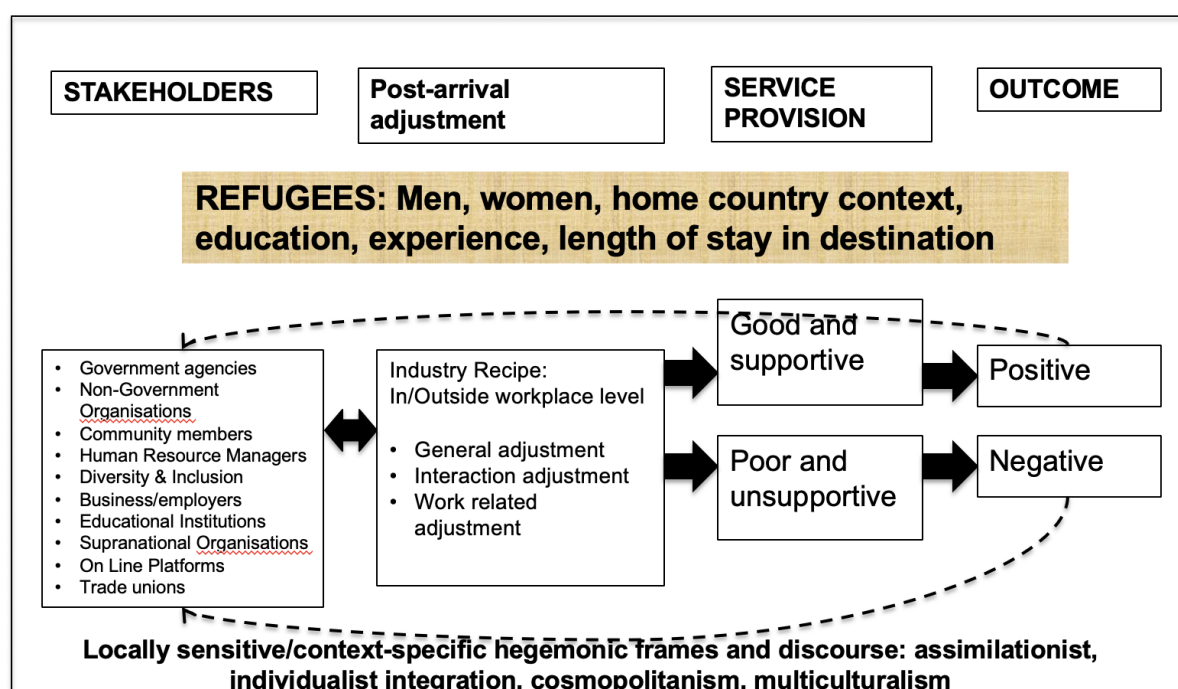


Table 1: A stakeholder model of refugee integration management and post-arrival adjustment

We now turn to examine this industry and the stakeholders within it in two distinct country contexts: Germany and Turkey, which provide interesting points of comparison with vastly differing approaches to refugee integration management, set within different macro contexts. While Germany follows a

coordinated approach to refugee management: defined by connections between the various stakeholders and refugees, supported by an economically favourable macro-level climate; Turkey's approach is limited, scattered, disconnected and hampered by an unfavourable economic context. In both country cases, the integration of refugees is strongly supported by political discourses of the ruling parties, which appear to collaborate with various stakeholders. The reality for refugees within these two distinctive contexts plays out very differently.

We employ a comparative case-study approach as it allows us to evaluate the key pillars of the integration industry: multiple stakeholder arrangements/interests; refugee post-arrival adjustment; and the locally-sensitive and context-specific hegemonic boundaries. Our approach is informed by Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) who note that a comparative case study method clarifies 'whether an emergent finding is simply idiosyncratic to a single case or consistently replicated by several cases'. To this end, we conducted an extensive examination of primary and secondary sources, including: policy and government reports; media documents, data, online platforms, industry, non-government agency and business reports. Due to space constraints we focus on recent events surrounding refugee post-arrival adjustment and the emergent 'integration' industry supporting this.

Integrated refugee management: The case of Germany

Germany has been receiving refugees since the 1970s. While the number of people seeking and being granted refugee status has risen consistently over the last few decades, the so-called 'refugee crisis' in the summer of 2015 saw the highest influx of refugees into Germany (BMI 2017; Eurostat, 2019; Statista, 2018). This has been a litmus test for refugee entry and settlement, set within a context of divided public opinion. On the one hand, the public has displayed a welcoming sentiment for and solidarity with refugees (Stern, 2015; Zeit, 2015). Equally welcoming has been the response of business leaders, declaring the arrival of working age refugees as an opportunity to address the growing labour shortages in Germany. Business leaders have long been arguing that some sectors are suffering from a lack of workers and that the long-term effects could be permanently damaging for the economy, estimating a cost of €30bn. On the other hand, there have been doubts about refugee's ability to integrate: perceptions based on minority ethnic integration throughout Germany's history of immigration. For instance, a recent study found that over 54% of the population held negative attitudes towards refugees (Zick et. al. 2019). These doubts however have been allayed by the positive refugee employment outcomes (Deutscher Bundestag, 2018) which some argue are directly linked to Germany's integration management policy (Gürtzgen et al., 2017; Luyken, 2018).

Integration has been a topic of discussion and debate in Germany for many decades and there is consensus among the public and policy makers that the integration of ethnic minorities has failed (Berlin-Institut, 2009), particularly so with regards to the visibly Muslim-minority population. More specifically, much has been made of this group's alleged unwillingness to integrate into German society and as such, they are held responsible for their failure to build the human and social capital needed for success in the mainstream German labour market, and more broadly, German society (Author). When taking our examination into the workplace, it is safe to say that there has been a weak response to integration measures. For instance, according to Günter Piening, Germany's Integration Commissioner for nearly a decade now, there is no need to recognise workplace racial equality (MIGAZIN, 2012). As such, issues related to ethnic diversity at the workplace level are neglected within the diversity management portfolio. Moreover, the idea of cultural diversity and the promotion of multiculturalism have been largely ignored in the broader German context (Author). Underscored by such a challenging context, the recent influx of refugees has paradoxically fuelled some positive changes (Degler & Liebig, 2017; BAMF, 2017; Eurostat, 2016).

Since 2015, the integration of refugees has emerged as a significant industry. Annually, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), sponsors a large number of integration projects across Germany. Many of these projects focus on creating opportunities for refugees and locals to meet and interact on a social level, while forging a two-way and ongoing dynamic between the refugee and the broader society. A search of the 2018 project atlas displayed over 120 projects across Germany focusing on refugees and hundreds more focusing on diversity, migrants and ethnic minorities (BAMF, 2018). Most of these projects are carried out by local clubs and local organisations, which sets local communities as a major stakeholder in the integration industry. However, very few of these projects focus on the labour market integration of refugees. That is, the key focal point is society not the workplace level.

Other beneficiaries of such funding include integration course providers, of which according to a list on the BAMF website, there are over 8000 officially approved agencies across Germany, including a mix of welfare agencies, local clubs and organisations, Volkshochschulen (partly state-funded education institutions), trade unions and private language schools. On integration courses alone, the government has spent almost 4 billion euro between 2016-17. Between 2015 and 2017 the government spent a total of 43.25 billion euro on refugee-related programs (Focus, 2018). The integration industry provides an important service, but it is also big business.

Trade unions have emerged as an important stakeholder and like businesses view the arrival of refugees as an opportunity to address labour shortages while countering Germany's demographic challenges. Correspondingly, unions aim to stop businesses from undermining existing labour standards, while fostering anti-racism policies and practices in organisations. The main aim of unions is an optimisation of the government's integrated refugee management system (Bergfeld, 2017). For instance, trade unions have been pushing for policy changes regulating the entry of refugees into the labour market, particularly lobbying around the simplification of the recognition of formal qualifications held by refugees. Moreover, IG Metall, the powerful metalworker's union has been calling for a sustainable refugee policy while coordinating language courses in their headquarters which are delivered on-site (IGM, 2016). Another large trade union body, Ver.di (2016), has taken a more hands-on approach, developing a number of practical measures to foster the integration of refugees in the labour market. One example involves ensuring Telekom, the largest telecommunications company in Germany, employ 100 refugees as apprentices annually. These are but a few examples of the wide range of trade union refugee management activities which have emerged since 2015.

A recent initiative surrounding workplace adjustment which goes beyond simply labour market entry, has seen to the establishment of a joint stakeholder refugee management effort between trade unions, industry chambers, employers and works councils (Giertz et al., 2016). According to a study by the German Association for Human Resource Management (DGFP) (2017a) businesses are very committed to the labour market integration of refugees and are planning to expand on refugee employment and training - creating a clear link between integration policies outside and within the workplace. The DGFP (2017a) noted that over 70 percent of HRM professionals who were questioned on refugee integration indicated that their companies actively employ refugees and seek to create a seamless workplace adjustment process, particularly so through internships and efficient qualifications accreditation pathways. Ongoing employment of refugees is planned for the coming years where 65% of the companies surveyed indicated they intend to actively hire refugees: as trainees, interns and in permanent employment positions.

The service industry has been identified as being particularly committed to facilitating the labour market integration of refugees. However, those who hire them have indicated they are struggling with their lack of language skills (91%), insufficient professional qualifications (45.9%) and unclear responsibilities and services on the side of the government authorities (45.1%). According to

investigations undertaken by the German Association for Human Resource Management (DGFP, 2017b) there is a pressing need to improve upon the pathways to language acquisition for refugees; and, establish better coordination between public agencies and the workplace level, particularly with regards to flexible and more efficient qualifications recognition.

From 2015, the DGFP together with their member companies, have called on politicians, the administration, industry chambers and all other related parties to create a coordinated effort with regards to refugee labour market integration (DGFP, 2017b). And indeed, with much support from civil society, and different stakeholders involved in the post arrival adjustment process, Germany has reacted relatively swiftly in developing a coordinated system which builds a bridge between stakeholders within and outside the workplace level. The fact that Germany has a shortage of workers due to demographic change, supported by a healthy economy are factors that have combined to create a favourable context to foster the labour market integration of refugees. However, while the orchestrated effort needs to be acknowledged as relatively successful, particularly considering that swift action was needed in the last 5 years, one has to note the relevance of refugee's agency (which often remains overlooked) in the integration process. Their desire to live, work and settle in Germany has indeed been profound.

In contrast to Germany, the Turkish case places the spotlight on different features of the integration industry with different consequences for the refugees whom it has been established to assist in the process of post-arrival adjustment.

The waiting room of refugee management: The case of Turkey

Turkey has been a destination for movements of migrants and refugees throughout its history. Conflicts and political turmoil in neighboring countries; and its location as a "bridge" between Europe, Asia and Africa have made Turkey a valuable "transit" point: a waiting room for refugees (İçduygu and Yüksek, 2012, İhlamur-Öner, 2013). Turkey's conventional policy position has been to protect those who take refuge in it as a temporary transit point before making their way to third countries; additionally, it also acts as a safe haven until refugees can return home. Most recently, there has been a seismic shift in the dominant approach to refugee mobility with Turkey becoming the final destination point. Two key periods have characterised Turkey as a safe haven for refugees. First in 1979, following the Iranian revolution where 1.5 million Iranians entered Turkey; and since 2014, following the Syrian conflict, it has hosted some 3.7 million refugees (UNHCR, 2019), with a smaller

proportion entering from other war-torn locations (UNHCR, 2018). Despite Turkey's economic challenges and what has been, until recently, a lack of protective regulation and integration infrastructure, the UN agency has praised it for the colossal efforts made to host and settle refugees, particularly from Syria. Moreover, it has been touted as providing better refuge than most other West European countries in terms of the economic and workplace integration of refugees, who are allowed to work and establish businesses in Turkey (The Economist, 2018).

The large flow of refugees from the Syrian conflict has significantly transformed Turkey's traditional national policy trend: as a key transit point, and with this turn has come the establishment of the first 'integration' policy (Düvell, 2018; Unutulmaz, 2019). The refugee agreement made with the EU in 2016 consolidated this policy 'turn'. The agreement determined that Turkey would: (i) serve as a buffer to stop the refugee influx into Europe; (ii) ensure the legal integration of Syrian refugees; and (iii) improve the conditions of refugees in Turkey. Crucially, the agreement involves the transfer of 6 billion Euros to Turkey, to be used for the purposes of refugee integration (European Commission, 2019).

While EU funding has been an important sweetener in forging the 'turn' in Turkish policy, an understanding of its political context provides deeper insights into the complex divisions surrounding refugee integration and post-arrival adjustment. The ruling party in Turkey, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), has been an ardent supporter of refugees who are viewed as religiously and culturally aligned to the AKP's conservative political agenda. Syrian refugees are managed in complex ways that fundamentally change the ethnic and religious composition across many Turkish cities. Opposition parties thread a spectrum of welcoming, cautionary and anti-integration lines with regards to refugees in Turkey, which remains polarised between serving as a waiting room or, a final destination.

Paradoxically and despite the overt and very vocal support by the government and national agencies to refugees and the popular discourse surrounding Turkey's efforts, the social acceptance of refugees is very low where the public considers them as "foreigners who steal *their* jobs", "potential criminals", and "responsible for the decline in their local communities" (Erdogan, 2014; İKV, 2016; Koca, 2016; Erdoğan & Semerci, 2017). Within such a context, access to work generally is restricted and for those with skills and qualifications, there are insurmountable barriers in gaining access to the labour market in a commensurate position (ILO, 2016). These obstacles, underscored by a negative social milieu, impede the mobility of refugees into the formal Turkish labour market. Add to this the refugee's lack of language skills and the lack of assistance with gaining language skills and the barriers to workplace and social adjustment post-arrival are clearly evident (Akgündüz et al, 2015; İçduygu, 2016; Del Carpio et al, 2018; Kayaoglu & Erdogan, 2019). As such, the vast majority of refugees - particularly those with

skills and qualifications - remain unemployed; deskilled and underemployed (İngev, 2017; Erdogan, 2014; Akcapar & Simsek, 2018), motivating a move to a third country when and where possible; or, employment in the informal economy (Kaymaz & Kadkoy, 2016). In terms of the latter point, the vast proportion of Turkey's economy runs on informal and unrecorded bases with no social welfare infrastructure. Refugees appear as significant contributors to the informal sector, which puts them in direct competition with Turkish nationals who are used to commanding higher wages. The perception of competition for jobs and welfare benefits fuels social tensions between Turkish society and refugees (İçduygu and Diker, 2017).

The multicultural environment in Turkey is largely underdeveloped which, at a macro level, creates a social milieu which limits the integration of refugees into work and broader community life (The Economist, 2017). In spite of the policies for economic liberalisation since the 1980s, Turkey has largely remained closed to migrant and refugee workers as settlers and as such to the workplace adjustment of refugees in the Turkish labour market has been limited (Buğra and Keyder, 2006). Crucially, the lack of Turkey's multicultural work culture has been radically challenged by recent regulations. Since 2016, foreigners can obtain a work permit (*turquoise card*) that is valid for one year and must be renewed annually. This is a significant shift in Turkish policy, which has restricted international labour mobility until recently. Furthermore, the right to an indefinite permit to work and live in Turkey is granted to those who obtain long-term residency or to those who have remained in the country on a legal work permit for eight years.

As of 2017, there were 87 thousand foreigners with work permits in Turkey and the largest share of these were held by Syrians who number some 13 thousand permit holders. As noted by İçduygu and Diker (2017), refugees invariably gain access to the Turkish labour market when it is a cost benefit to the employer: forming a cheap, easily substitutable and fragile labour reserve (Erdogan, 2014; Erol 2018; Akcapar & Simsek, 2018). The implications of this approach to post-arrival adjustment are significant. Şimşek (2018), touches on the weak "social bridge" between Turkish society, the workplace level and refugees, highlighting the dominating intransigence of Turkish society toward refugees where, as a consequence they face discrimination in all aspects of life and acute difficulties in post-arrival adjustment as they languish in the peripheral and secondary labour market.

To address this fragile state, non-government organisations (NGOs) have been tasked with an important role as arbiter and bridge between refugees and the Turkish labour market (Şimşek, 2018): a role supported by EU funding which has been particularly important in steering the agenda on refugees. For instance, local and international NGOs work with central and municipal governments in facilitating a needs-based approach to assisting refugees with their post-arrival workplace adjustment

(Çebi, 2017). Notably though, as Bélanger and Saracoglu (2018) state, NGOs work within the context of the Islamic-conservative framework of the ruling government and as such, are challenged in terms of what they can achieve as key actors in the integration industry (see also Mackreath and Sağnıç, 2018).

The variety of approaches required to assist with the post-arrival integration and workplace adjustment of refugees who hail from different cultures, backgrounds and contexts is now part of Turkey's national refugee management policy. Yet, these efforts remain limited and disparate, contradictory and tense due to the sheer size, divergent and intersectionally complex composition nature of the refugee population and the limited nature of Turkey's (domestic) economic resources. As a result, the various stakeholders who include: ministries, government agencies, parliamentary commissions, NGOs, supranational organisations such as the World Bank, businesses/employers all under the watchful eye of the EU, drive divergent and at times conflicting agendas while the needs of refugees remain peripheral and unfortunately neglected (İçduygu, 2016; MoFLSS, 2017; Del Caprio et al, 2018).

Despite a long history of serving as a waiting room for refugees, the last couple of years have moved the Turkish policy and practices towards the 'integration' of refugees into Turkish workplaces and society. However, the inspiration for these political and economic shifts in the integration of refugees remains hotly contested among key political interest groups and key stakeholders in Turkey.

Discussion and Conclusion

The post-arrival workplace adjustment and integration of refugees has perplexed business and management scholars, who have traditionally focused on (skilled) labour migrants. In privileging a particular 'type' of migrant, the literature surrounding the 'integration' of refugees generally and their workplace integration and adjustment more specifically, typically focuses on particular support services targeting 'deficits' including: language instruction, education and general assistance with finding employment. Consequently, there has been little if any understanding of the diversity of needs surrounding refugee post-arrival adjustment and the broad and varied industry (and its related stakeholders) that has emerged to service these needs. Thus we argue that the integration industry for refugees has different industrial recipes determined by contextual and locally sensitive criteria.

Our aim in this paper has been to extend on the extant literature surrounding the post-arrival adjustment of refugees; and to shed light on the integration industry surrounding this process.

Accordingly, we developed a model for post-arrival workplace adjustment, showcasing the multiple stakeholders involved in this process, underscored by hegemonic and historically shaped frames and discourses which together influence the experience of refugee integration. In the process of arriving at our model we explored how integration and post-arrival adjustment are defined within the migration and business and management scholarship. Taken together, these insights formed our recipe for understanding the integration industry in Germany and Turkey.

What lessons can we draw from the two very distinct country contexts we explored? Comparing Germany and Turkey is interesting as the two countries sit at either end of the economic spectrum, however, they have been collaborating on refugee management. Remarkably, connecting these two distinctive country cases has been the political will and leadership discourses in the ruling governments that have engendered major transformations in national policies and practices surrounding the integration of refugees. As such, our analyses show the significant role that governments, leadership, the politics of the day, communities, workplaces and work-related agencies (trade unions and HR peak bodies) can play in shaping refugee integration. We also identify that political will needs to be and is often supplemented with stakeholder engagement. In the case of Germany, this is done through a large network of stakeholders, including for instance: businesses, HR professionals, trade unions and NGOs; and in the Turkish case, this has remained focused on a few large NGOs. In both countries the main barrier to post-arrival adjustment and integration appears to be the hegemonic frames surrounding the historical treatment of refugees (and ethnic minorities). Drawing on Modood's spectrum of categories, we identify an awkward connection between the German and Turkish examples where refugees are expected to 'fit in' or assimilate to the broader socio-cultural milieu. This is in spite of Germany's more sophisticated approach to and involvement of a broader suite of stakeholders in the post-arrival adjustment of refugees. In the German case refugee 'integration' benefits the German economy, which is demanding labour to address shortages; while in the Turkish case, 'integration' benefits aspects of the conservative ruling government agenda. In both cases, there are only minor elements of a co-determined outcome in the post-arrival adjustment process, raising questions and concerns about the sustainability of such an approach, that stymies refugee agency. That is, in both cases the approach to integration is one way and neglects the diverse needs of the refugee population. Although the arrival of Syrian-conflict refugees has transformed national policies and dented public opinion, the sustainability of the integration of refugees remains on a tightrope of tensions between divergent political debates, professional controls, economic interests, and social divisions in both countries. In such a context, we note that strong political will for stakeholder engagement within and outside the workplace level is the way forward for effective management of the integration industry and for a shift in the dial from assimilation to integration.

Political will is important as it sets the foundations on which stakeholders can operate as arbiters for refugee integration: within and outside the workplace level. As a key group of stakeholders, HR practitioners, have a particularly important and strategic role to play in the post-arrival workplace adjustment of labour refugees (Dundon and Rafferty, 2018): threading together general, interaction and work-related adjustment. Creating a community of shared practice around post-arrival adjustment for refugees is an important first step in allowing the HR community to learn from each other's expertise. Doing so, has several financial and non-financial benefits: promoting the company brand as a diverse and multicultural organisation; and, attracting a broader talent pool of diverse workers (Peretz et. al. 2018; Bretos et. al. 2018). Furthermore, sharing stories on the challenges and opportunities experienced by drawing on the diversity of refugee talent can also play an important role in disrupting negative public attitudes, shifting perceptions of refugees as unwilling to integrate. HR managers are in a pivotal position to go beyond simply 'bolting on' another diversity group to the HR process and infrastructure by using the HR function explicitly to the organisation's advantage and capitalising explicitly on the diverse talent of (refugee) incumbents. That is, HR practitioners (and the workplace level) are an important and potentially powerful player in changing negative perceptions surrounding refugee integration, which in Germany's case continue to polarise society in spite of the favourable economic climate, coupled with signs of successful labour integration for recent refugee arrivals (Zick et. al. 2019). HR practitioners and organisations more broadly are in a position to more effectively communicate the gains from labour refugees.

Future research could investigate the diverse needs of refugees with a particular focus on the extent to which they feel they are using their full potential; and particularly so, if this has resulted in material outcomes, in the form of securing jobs that reflect their qualifications. Acknowledging the agency of refugees and giving them an active role in the development of the process of post-arrival adjustment can aid in creating a better process of labour market integration at the workplace level and more broadly. Second, we noted that the German approach to post-arrival adjustment and integration relies on a multi-stakeholder approach, when compared with the Turkish case which largely relies on 3 disparate stakeholders (key players in the informal economy; NGOs and the government). In both cases however the focus is largely on stakeholder arrangements located outside the workplace level. More research needs to be undertaken to examine not only the links between the various stakeholders who are located at different levels of analysis, but also a central focus is required on the links between stakeholders located within and outside the workplace level. Finally, in order for us to go beyond 'integracism', which is defined as a specific interpretation of integration containing

implicitly racist assumptions (Author), we need to engage more critically with the notion of integration and post-arrival adjustment. In many countries, including our two cases, the notion of integration remains firmly stuck on the assimilation of refugees into the dominant culture rather than creating a basis for acceptance, a co-determination of structures and policies, and a positive recognition of diversity. The implications of this entrenched systemic bias require further investigation, particularly so in terms of the implication of such bias on HRM practices and processes in organisations.

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