

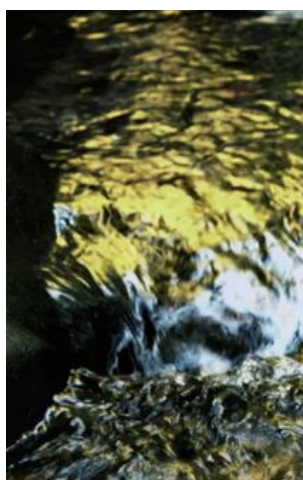
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Immigrant integration in small and medium-sized towns and rural areas: local policies and policymaking relations in Turkey

Country Reports on multilevel dynamics

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REPORT

<https://whole-comm.eu>





## Abstract

This report looks at multi-level governance dynamics and at the integration policies targeting post-2014 migrants developed by three small and medium-sized towns and rural areas in Turkey. Primarily based on interviews conducted in each of the selected localities, it provides an overview of 1) national and regional integration policies targeting post-2014 migrants in Turkey; 2) policymaking relations among the key actors involved in these policy processes in three localities and key features of policy networks within which these actors interact; 3) how these actors perceive and define integration. The report first touches upon Turkey's overall legal and policy framework on governance of migration and integration. This overview includes a description of legislation, national policy documentation on integration, legal and institutional capacities and roles of different governmental and non-governmental actors at national and local levels as well as cooperation and coordination mechanisms among these actors. The report finds that the policy framework of Turkey creates certain barriers for policy making relations at the local level and in creating networks among the key actors. The centralized national policy making and governance system in Turkey does not allow local actors to independently develop local policies specific to their contexts. In addition, inconsistencies in national policies that include return-based narratives of politicians and policy makers on the one hand, and integration focused policy and program initiatives on the other, along with the pending temporariness of refuge statuses create confusion among local actors who thus choose to remain on the sideline rather than being proactive. Most importantly, international organizations and civil society organizations play a key role to address the needs that are not met by governmental authorities, while municipalities play a limited role due to limitations of funding and human resources. However, there is an increasing awareness that local actions and policies are key to produce solutions that are more sustainable and targeted. However, the actors who are given such a role at the provincial level and who are in the center of coordination and cooperation efforts in the localities do not have a high decision-making power and other capacities such as budget, and human resources at the local level. The actors' perception of integration, or harmonization which is the term used instead in legal and policy documents in Turkey, differ depending on various factors such as local historical and political context, the actors' awareness of the issue, public opinion against migrants and refugees in the localities and their mandate. While some actors believe that harmonization is possible once certain actions are met, such as by strengthening education policies and working to change perception of host communities, others do not believe that harmonization can be achieved at least in the short-term due to structural factors from lack of clear national policies and institutional preparedness to inherent cultural differences.



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## Abbreviations

CCTE	Conditional Cash Transfer for Education
ESSN	Emergency Social Safety Net
HCWG	Harmonization and Communication Working Groups
HSA	humanitarian and social assistance
IP	International Protection
PDMM	Provincial Directorate of Migration Management
PMM	Presidency of Migration Management
RA	Rural Area
SASFs	Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations
ST	Small Town
TEC	Temporary Education Centers
TP	Temporary Protection



# 1. Introduction

Over the last few years, Turkey has received unprecedented numbers of migrants and asylum seekers, often in an unordered way. This has led to a growing immigrant presence in scarcely prepared small and medium-sized towns and rural areas (SMsTRA). The way in which these local communities are responding to the challenges related to migrants' arrival and settlement in their territory is crucial for the future of immigrant integration in Europe. This is even more true if we consider that in 2022 these localities are again on the front line of refugee reception in Europe following the arrival of thousands of Ukrainians in Turkey.

This report aims to explore how three small and medium sized towns and rural areas in Turkey have responded to the presence of post-2014 migrants<sup>1</sup>. In particular, it aims to assess, first, which policies have been developed and implemented in these small and medium sized towns and rural areas, or, in other words, how have SMsTRA mobilized vis-à-vis the new challenge and in relation to the policies and funding schemes put forwards by other levels of government. In doing so, the project looks at the embeddedness of local actors in multilevel frameworks in which regional, national and EU policies and stakeholders may play a decisive role in shaping local integration policymaking. Second, the report focuses on the interactions between the actors involved in integration policymaking, asking: what different patterns of interaction can we identify between local (policy) actors and regional/national/supranational authorities and stakeholders? Which factors have led to the emergence of collaborations as well as tensions between actors at different government levels? Are new cooperative relationships eventually emerging and, if so, what are the key features of resulting policy networks? Third, the report asks how the actors involved in these policy networks perceive and frame the integration of post-2014 migrants, under the assumption that frames can play a key role in influencing policymaking processes.

In these localities – which differ in terms of their size, the political affiliation of their local government, their experience with cultural diversity, their economic and demographic situation and that are located in different regions – a total of 45 interviews have been conducted with actors involved in local integration policymaking, including members of local government, local officials, street-level bureaucrats, local councilors and a wide range of non-governmental actors. Insights derived from the interview material have been complemented with an in-depth analysis of policy and legal documents.

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<sup>1</sup> The group of migrants that arrived in (Western) Europe after 2014 is very heterogeneous, “but mostly comprises migrants that left from areas of political and humanitarian crises” (Working Paper 1 2021, 1-2). The majority of ‘post-2014 migrants’ entered thus as asylum-seekers but may have obtained different legal statuses by now (see for more detail Working Paper 1 for the Whole-COMM project).



The report crucially finds that 1) while Turkey has a national policy context that is geared towards defining the mandates and capacities at the central level, in recent years local level actions and policies are gaining importance and formal competencies for local level coordination and cooperation mechanisms are promoted as in the case of establishment of local coordination mechanisms within the governorates and integration working groups under the local migration management branches. However, the absence of sufficient budgetary and administrative support and other structural issues, such as ambiguity in the legal framework concerning municipalities' work for refugees and migrants and other priorities in other sectors, these efforts remain limited. The UN agencies, as well as international and national civil society organizations operating in Turkey are taking a more active role in contributing to social cohesion activities and meeting the needs of refugees and migrants through joining ad-hoc referral mechanisms in the localities. 2) The policies focusing on social cohesion (harmonization) and being led by the local migration management authorities in each locality are in the initial development phase since the relevant programs and activities are mostly planned at the national level, organized as one-off events and fragmented across different sectors that prioritize some other issues such as access to employment, education and social assistances. 3) Regarding framing of integration, this report indicates that the negative framing of integration especially among those who are non-state actors and are working indirectly with refugees and migrants is common and they believe that harmonization is not possible in given circumstances. This framing also reflects the negative local public opinion that is understood by the actors interviewed for this study. And for others, integration or harmonization is conditional upon various factors such as development of clear national policies, seeing migrants and refugees' own efforts to integrate to the society, removing language barriers etc.

The report is organized as follows. Section 3 describes in detail first Turkey's overall legal and policy framework for migration and integration governance, which is followed by an introduction to the three local cases studied. Section 4 covers four overarching themes, which are explored at the local level through the narratives provided by various actors: 1) an overview of the main local policy developments related to integration, 2) an analysis of integration and public opinion frames, 3) multilevel governance dynamics in integration policy making and 4) decision making. Finally, the concluding section highlights the main comparative findings of the analysis.

This report is a deliverable of the Whole-COMM Project, which focuses on small and medium sized municipalities and rural areas in eight European and two non-European countries that have experienced and dealt with the increased arrival and settlement of migrants after 2014 (for more information about the project see: Caponio and Pettrachin, 2021 at <https://whole-comm.eu/working-papers/working-paper-1-2/> ).



## 2. Methodology

Empirical data for this report was collected in the period October 2021 until April 2022. Data collection comprised document analysis and semi-structured qualitative interviews with respondents at the local, regional/provincial, and national level. Potential respondents were sampled based on their (professional) positions, e.g., as local official working on integration in a municipality or employee in an NGO offering non-profit services to refugees. Most respondents were contacted through email first (usually in Turkish), occasionally followed by a reminder and a call. After establishing first contacts in a municipality, other respondents were identified using the method of ‘snowball sampling’ (Bryman 2016). In total, 45 interviews were conducted between December 2021 and February 2022. While there was only one interview made online, the rest was conducted face-to-face.

The three localities on which this report focuses were selected based on several different variables. Case selection was conducted in the framework of the broader Whole-COMM project (see Caponio and Pettrachin 2021 for more details) in order to maximize variation among a set of variables including: population size<sup>2</sup>, the share of non-EU migrant residents before the arrival of post-2014 migrants, unemployment levels before the arrival of post-2014 migrants, demographic trends before the arrival of post-2014 migrants, the political parties in government (conservative vs progressive). Some of these variables were additionally used to identify four types of localities, of which three are represented in the Turkey study:

Type	Characteristics	Selected cases in Turkey
Type A (“revitalizing/better-off” locality)	Recovering local economy and improving demographic profile, migrants’ settlement before 2014	Small town in Eastern Marmara Region (ST East Marmara)
Type B (locality “in transition”)	Improving economic and demographic situation, no remarkable arrivals of migrants before 2014	Small town in Central Anatolian Region (ST Central Anatolia)
Type C (“marginal” locality)	Demographic and economic decline, migrants’ settlement before 2014	N/A
Type D (“left-behind” locality)	Economic and demographic decline, no remarkable arrivals of migrants before 2014	Rural area in Mediterranean Region (RA Mediterranean)

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<sup>2</sup> The Whole-COMM project distinguishes between medium towns (i.e., provincial/regional capitals with between 100,000 and 250,000 inhabitants), small towns (i.e., localities with between 50,000 and 80,000 inhabitants that are either provincial/regional capitals within rural regions/provinces or do not have any administrative function) and rural areas (i.e., localities with less than 30,000 inhabitants and a low population density).





Turkey is divided into 81 provinces, which are grouped into 12 statistical regions based on population, geography, regional development plans, main statistical indicators, and socio-economic development ranking of provinces. In order to reflect some of the main territorial cleavages in Turkey, Whole-comm research is being carried out in two small sized towns and one rural area located in the East Marmara, Central Anatolia, and Mediterranean regions.

Our first case is in the North-western part of Turkey, the **East Marmara Region**, which has a population of over 8 million inhabitants, corresponding to almost 10% of the entire population. The region is located between Turkey's two most populated provinces, Istanbul and Ankara, and has been a dynamic region with its relatively vibrant economy, as being one of the wealthiest regions in Turkey. From the late 19th century onwards, the region has been hosting many migrants and refugees arriving from former Ottoman territories in the Balkans and Caucasus and has also attracted internal migrants arriving from Northern and Eastern regions of the country since the mid-20th century. In 2021, the region hosted around 150,000 foreigners, including residence and/or work permit holders and non-Syrian asylum-seekers and refugees under International Protection, which corresponds to 2.1% of the region's population, being the same as the national average. Syrians under Temporary Protection are reported separately from the national statistics on foreigners. By April 2022 the region hosted 275,000 Syrians, accounting for 3.3% of the regional population, which is below the national average of 4.4%.

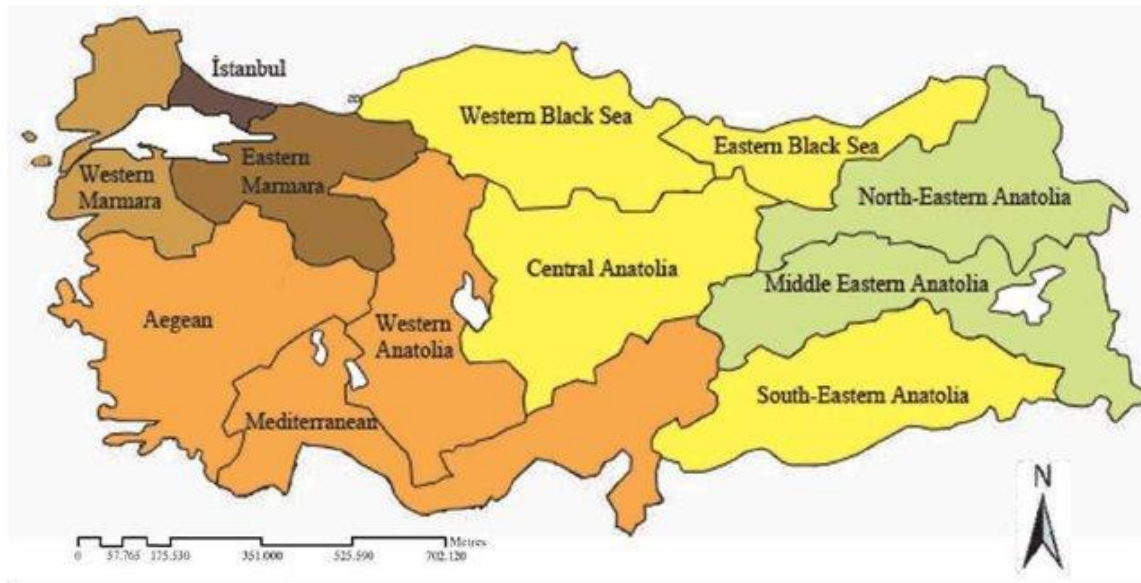
Our second case is in the **Central Anatolia Region**, which is considered as the heartlands of Turkey and has a population of over 4 million, making up 4.9% of the entire national population. Although the pace of rural-urban internal migration has relatively slowed down, the region continues to observe both rural-urban and inter-urban migration for economic and educational purposes. Services, construction, and agricultural sectors are among the leading economic activities in the region. The Central Anatolian region hosts 66,000 foreigners and asylum-seekers/refugees under IP, making 1.6% of the population, being under the 2.1% national average. It also hosts just over 120,000 Syrians under temporary protection, making close to 3% of the regional population, which is also below the national average of 4.4%.

Our third case is in the **Mediterranean region**, covering the entirety of Turkey's southern coastline and with a population of close to 11 million, corresponding to 13 % of Turkey's entire population. The region's provinces are diverse in socio-economic development levels and the average annual equivalized household disposable income is the fourth lowest within the 12 regions. The services, agriculture and industry are respectively the main economic sectors. There are three free trade zones that make the region a dynamic hub for export. Its eastern provinces are among the primary agricultural regions of Turkey with significant seasonal labour migration, including also increasingly more foreign migrant groups. There are close to 220,000 registered foreigners residing in the region, which accounts for around 2% of the total population as in the East Marmara region, though the vast majority (60%) are settled in Antalya province. Also, the Syrian refugee population is considerably much higher in this region. In April 2022, just over 1 million Syrians were registered in the region, accounting for 10% of the regional population. At



the regional level, it hosts the second largest number of Syrians after the Southeast Anatolia region, bordering Syria.

**Figure 2: Classification of NUTS1 regions in Turkey\***



\* Figure extracted from Hürriyet G. Ögdül (2010) Urban and Rural Definitions in Regional Context: A Case Study on Turkey, *European Planning Studies*, 18:9, 1519-1541.



## 3. Introducing the cases

### 3.1 National context

Turkey has been transforming into an immigration country steadily since the 1990s. This trend took a rapid turn after the 2010s, particularly due to the conflict in Syria. Turkey's current migration population includes over 3.7 million Syrians under temporary protection<sup>3</sup> and over 320,000 international protection status holders and applicants of other nationalities, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran and Somalia<sup>4</sup>. While 98.6% of Syrian refugees live across Turkey in 81 provinces, 1.4% are hosted in seven temporary accommodation centers managed by the Presidency of Migration Management. As of 2022, there are also over 1.3 million foreigners that are living in Turkey with residence permits.<sup>5</sup> Building on this significant change in Turkey's migration demography, this section of the report outlines Turkey's overarching legal and policy framework for both migration governance more generally and around integration more specifically, and concludes with an overview of the key actors, coordination, and cooperation mechanisms in Turkey's integration field. Given the locality-based focus of Whole-Comm research, the section closes with an overview of public administration and local governance in Turkey more broadly.

#### 3.1.1. Turkey's migration management regime: legal and policy framework<sup>6</sup>

The Law on Foreigners and International Protection (hereafter LFIP, No.6458) constitutes the basis of Turkey's modern migration management system. The LFIP was adopted on 11 April 2013 after a meticulous reform process that started in the mid-2000s and primarily aimed to align Turkish legislation with EU and international standards. The Law establishes the key framework of the rights, obligations, and statuses to be granted to all foreign nationals arriving and staying in Turkey for different reasons including seeking asylum, study, work, family reunification, tourism. The Regulation on the Implementation of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (hereafter RI-LFIP, No. 29656) was issued in March 2016.

Being Turkey's first asylum law, the LFIP also incorporates critical legal safeguards for refugees and asylum-seekers, such as banning expulsions, and stipulates rights and services for refugees to access health care, employment, education, and social services. Turkey has a unique legal framework and policy for asylum as the LFIP kept the geographical limitation of the 1951 Geneva

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.unhcr.org/tr/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2022/03/UNHCR-Turkey-Factsheet-February-2022.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.goc.gov.tr/ikamet-izinleri>

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix, Table 1 for a detailed list of related legal and policy documents in Turkey.



Convention. This has resulted in the differentiation of statuses among asylum seekers (applicants of international protection) according to their countries of origin. Only those who come from European countries (the Council of Europe member countries) are recognized as refugees, while for others a new category called conditional refugees was created under the LFIP. Accordingly, they can only stay in the country until resettlement or voluntary repatriation as durable solutions are provided. In short, in Turkey, there are three categories of International Protection (IP) status, which are stipulated in the LFIP as refugees (Art. 61(1)), conditional refugees (Art. 62(1)) and subsidiary protection (Art. 63(1)). And all IP applications are made on an individual basis and are assessed through the Refugee Status Determination procedure.

The LFIP also stipulates the Temporary Protection (TP) status (Article 91) that is adopted in the situations of mass influx of refugees where individual protection eligibility processing is difficult due to high numbers. The scope of who can fall under this regime is determined by the government. Based on the LFIP (Art. 91), in 2014 upon a call from diverse stakeholders, Turkey has given temporary protection status collectively to Syrian refugees as with time they needed a legal status to grant rights and services in a more systematic manner. Since 2014, Turkey has developed a Temporary Protection regime implemented based on the LFIP and detailed through the Temporary Protection Regulation (hereafter TPR, No.2014/6883, 22 October 2014) (with no time limit on Syrians' stay and no forced return). Reaffirming the original 'geographical limitation' rule, Temporary Protection status holders are not formally recognized as refugees in Turkey regardless of their long-lasting stay. Thus, these populations cannot be provided any avenues for accessing secure and permanent statuses (unless applying for residence permits or being granted exceptional citizenship) and local integration. However, the public service institutions in Turkey have been mainstreaming their services to enable Syrians under temporary protection to access health, education and social services and employment.

Lastly, the LFIP also regulates statuses, rights and obligation of foreigners arriving in Turkey for diverse reasons including tourism, study, work, family reunification, who are granted residence permits and can settle in Turkey on a temporary basis. Once they reside in Turkey for eight years without interruption and meet other necessary conditions, they are eligible to obtain a right to apply for a long-term (permanent) residence permit that was introduced by the LFIP for the first time, and it is seen as an important path for integration.<sup>7</sup>

Besides the legal framework provided by the LFIP, Turkey does not have an overarching and formally documented migration policy. For a long time, Turkey's migration policy focus has been around alignment with EU's standards and law. Technical issues of migration management (e.g.,

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<sup>7</sup> However, its implementation remains limited, and the data of long-residence permit holders are not publicly available. It is closed to international protection applicants and status holders regardless of their duration of stay in Turkey. Lastly, unlike similar schemes found in traditional migration countries, the holders of long-term residence permits have still limited rights, for example long-term residence permit holders should apply for work permits.



institutionalization efforts, asylum processing systems, prevention of irregular migrants to the EU) have been more dominant than issues such as migrants and refugees' access to education, health and livelihoods, as well as social protection and cohesion. This changed however with the refugee crisis. Following the 18 March EU-Turkey Statement of 2016 in particular, through which the EU offered Turkey substantial new funding to improve the conditions of refugees in the country, various state institutions have been highly proactive in managing and coordinating programs aimed at improving the conditions of refugees in Turkey (see below).

As per the LFIP, the role of coordinating and formulating migration policies in Turkey fell under the responsibilities of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM). However, following especially the attempted coup in 2016 and the instatement of the Presidential system in 2018, this policy-making role of the DGMM was seemingly limited, with policy coordination being taken up by the Presidency itself, and the DGMM focusing mainly on operational management. However, with a recent change of DGMM's status to a Presidency in October 2021, the Presidency of Migration Management (PMM) may exert more discretion and power in policy making.

From the DGMM's establishment in 2013 to date, only two thematic national policy documents have been adopted by the Ministry of Interior. These are the Irregular Migration Strategy Document and National Action Plan (2015-2018) and Turkey's Harmonization Strategy Document and National Action Plan (2019-2023). At an institutional level, the DGMM's 2019-2023 Strategic Plans include activities focusing on improvement of operational procedures and works as well as building institutional capacity, at the provincial level in particular. Although PMM has reported that preparations for drafting Turkey's Migration Policy Strategy Document have been ongoing since 2018, a comprehensive Migration Policy Strategy Document remains unpublished.<sup>8</sup>

Turkey's 11<sup>th</sup> National Development Plan (2019-2023) calls for strengthening the institutional base for better integrating foreign nationals into the economy, the adoption of the pending National Migration Strategy document and more effective cooperation with the international community. As part of the 11<sup>th</sup> National Development Plan, an International Migration Policy Report was also specifically commissioned and prepared, which emphasizes the importance of incorporating migrants, including refugees, into Turkey's broader developmental plans.<sup>9</sup>

PMM is responsive to global high-level agendas, including the Sustainable Development Goals, the New Urban Agenda, Global Compacts, high-level dialogues, regional consultative processes

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<sup>8</sup> See: Biehl and Acikgoz 2020. Migration and Asylum Sub-Sector Review and Gaps Assessment to Help Define Priorities of Future IPA III Programming in Turkey. <https://www.avrupa.info.tr/sites/default/files/2021-12/Final%20Report%20Sector%20Study%20Migration%20and%20Asylum.pdf>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/DisGocPolitikasiOzellhtisasKomisyonuRaporu.pdf>



(i.e. Budapest, Almaty processes) and has reiterated its commitment to the improvement of migration policies. In addition, Turkey’s report to the New Urban Agenda has emphasized Turkey’s commitment to localization of its policies. While formulation of overarching and sub-sectoral strategic policies is still limited, it is for certain that migration has emerged in Turkey as a key public policy concern.<sup>10</sup>

### 3.1.2. Turkey’s integration regime: legal and policy framework

The LFIP is considered a milestone in Turkish immigration history for many reasons including its introduction of a provision on integration for the first time in Turkey’s migration management history. In fact, Article 96 of the LFIP set out the main principles of integration and its coordination among different stakeholders. The inclusion of integration in a law for the first time has been a drastic policy change in comparison to previous years, when migration had been perceived to be of temporary or transit nature for non-Turkish migrants and only migrants with Turkish origin and ethnic background are accepted as permanent. Notably though, the law does not use the term integration (*entegrasyon* in Turkish), but introduces instead the term *uyum*, translated into English as ‘harmonization.’ As stipulated by the Law, the aim of *uyum* is to “facilitate mutual harmonization between foreigners, applicants and beneficiaries of international protection and the society as well as to equip them with the knowledge and skills to be independently active in all areas of social life without the assistance of third persons in Turkey or in the country to which they are resettled or in their own country” (Article 96, LFIP).

Notably, when the LFIP was being drafted, this choice of wording was purposeful on the part of Turkish lawmakers, who were considering the experiences of the millions of Turkish citizens that migrated to Europe from the 1950s onwards and their perceived experience of being subjected to integration policies characterized by unilateral and compulsory processes. Because of this historical experience, the notion of ‘integration’ in the Turkish imaginary was seen as carrying negative connotations. Harmonization, on the other hand, was felt as having a more positive meaning and better reflecting the aims of the Turkish approach. Given this background, the PMM defines it as referring to “...neither assimilation nor integration. It is rather a voluntary harmonization resulting from mutual understanding of each other between the migrants and the society.”<sup>11</sup>

In accordance with Article 96 of the LFIP, harmonization policies apply to all foreigners that reside in Turkey under any type of residence permit (residence permit holders) and beneficiaries of

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<sup>10</sup> See: Biehl and Acikgoz 2020. Migration and Asylum Sub-Sector Review and Gaps Assessment to Help Define Priorities of Future IPA III Programming in Turkey. <https://www.avrupa.info.tr/sites/default/files/2021-12/Final%20Report%20Sector%20Study%20Migration%20and%20Asylum.pdf>

<sup>11</sup> <https://en.goc.gov.tr/about-harmonisation>



international protection (applicants and holders of international protection). The RI-LFIP further regulates that people under temporary protection are also the subjects of harmonization policies and activities. The integration provisions of the LFIP include a non-exhaustive list of activities that the DGMM has the responsibility to carry out together with other institutions (such as language, vocational courses and courses on the legal, political and cultural system of the country to facilitate integration). The LFIP has also introduced a long-term residence permit scheme for the first time and opened a permanent residency pathway for those residing in Turkey for eight years without interruption. However, this scheme excludes international protection status holders from non-European countries who are not allowed to stay in the country permanently due to Turkey ‘geographical limitation’.

As noted above, one of the two thematic national policy documents issued in Turkey in the migration field include the Harmonization Strategy Document and National Action Plan (2019-2023), which was adopted in 2018 by the Migration Policy Board under the PMM, though it was made public only in July 2020 on the PMM’s website. The Document has six chapters, and they are: access to information and orientation, education, employment, health, social assistances and service, and social cohesion. The target groups of the document are in line with the LFIP and RI-LIP, covering all types of foreigners residing in Turkey legally, including Syrians under temporary protection.

PMM Strategic Plan (2019-2023) also specifies several strategic targets with respect to harmonization, including: the preparation and expansion of integration courses for foreigners, supporting the integration processes of all the foreigners, developing and apply an effective integration process through improved coordination between all the parties involved, and informing the public regularly regarding the matters that are within the scope of duties of the PMM.

The needs assessment and strategic priority documents of the EU’s Facility for Refugees in Turkey,<sup>12</sup> as well as the UN’s annual 3RP reports on Turkey,<sup>13</sup> can also be considered as key policy documents shaping Turkey’s integration strategies.

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<sup>12</sup> Under “Key Facility Documents” [https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/enlargement-policy/negotiations-status/turkey/eu-facility-refugees-turkey\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/enlargement-policy/negotiations-status/turkey/eu-facility-refugees-turkey_en)

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/3RP-2022-Document-English-Version-v5.pdf>



### 3.1.3. Integration governance in Turkey: Actors, coordination and cooperation

The Presidency of Migration Management (PMM), formerly established under the LFIP as a Directorate (the Directorate General for Migration Management - DGMM)<sup>14</sup>, is the primary state institution in managing migration and asylum related tasks in Turkey. Following the adoption of the Presidential system, the DGMM's duties are re-stipulated in the Presidential Decree No. 4, of 10 July 2018. The Presidential Decree (No.85) issued on 29 October 2021 elevated the status of the DGMM to a Presidency. In line with this change, 6 new directorates under the central organization of the PMM replaced the DGMM's 12 departments, and new sub-departments under each directorate are expected to be established.<sup>15</sup> PMM has a large network of provincial organizations, namely the Provincial Directorates of Migration Management (PDMM) that operate in all 81 provinces of Turkey<sup>16</sup>. They are tasked to implement the LFIP and centrally formulated policies at local level. The institutional branches of the PMM further include: 27 Removal Centers, one Reception and Accommodation Center, 7 Temporary Protection Accommodation Centers, two International Protection Decision Centers, two Shelters for Victims of Human Trafficking, 15 Migration Consultancy Centers located under PDMMs, the Foreigners Communication Center (YIMER) and a Migration Research Center.

The LFIP gives the responsibility to PMM to regulate the integration activities and also created a single department named the Harmonization and Communication Department to support planning and implementation of all activities related to harmonization in coordination with other relevant institutions. With the recent elevation of DGMM's status to PMM, this department's status was also elevated to a directorate consisting of sub-departments. PMM has also established harmonization working groups within PDMMs in 30 provinces, while in the rest of the provinces they have liaison staff responsible for harmonization related to actions and activities. Both Article 96 of LFIP and Article 118 of the RI-LFIP, specify that the PMM can collaborate with public institutions, local governments, civil society, universities, and international organizations to organize and carry out integration activities.

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<sup>14</sup> As a new civilian migration management institution, in 2014 the DGMM took over the mandate for all policy and execution in the area of migration and asylum from the National Police.

<sup>15</sup> These Directorates are Directorate General of Combatting Irregular Migration and Expulsion Affairs; Directorate General of International Protection; Directorate General of Harmonization and Communication; Directorate General of Foreigners; Directorate General of Management Services; Directorate General of Legal Consultancy.

<sup>16</sup> It is regulated by a secondary legislation entitled "Regulation on Establishment, Duties and Working of Provincial Organizations of DGMM - No. 28821, 14 November 2013". A Council of Ministers Decision issued in February 2018 has established 36 District Directorates for Migration Management in 16 provinces, under the responsibility of the respective PDMMs.





While PMM is the main institution responsible for migration and asylum management, there are other state institutions with growing responsibilities in the sector due to both the inter-sectoral nature of migration and the scale of the matter in Turkey (Biehl and Acikgoz 2020). Several Ministries, including the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Family and Social Services, and the Presidency of Religious Affairs play key roles in service delivery for migrant and refugee populations, having also separate departments or directorates specialized in migration. Their provincial branches implement central policies and programs and are coordinated by governorates.

Municipalities are also among the key actors in the field of integration, even though the different municipal laws do not provide for any direct competences and responsibilities. However, there are a few articles under the Law on Municipalities (No.5393, 2005) and Law on Metropolitan Municipalities (No.5216, 2004) that are used as the legal basis for municipalities to indirectly work on refugee and migrant matters. The main clause that is referred to is Article 13 of the Law on Municipalities entitled “The rights of fellow-citizen”.<sup>17</sup> In accordance with this article, refugees and migrants are interpreted as fellow-citizens of the place where they live. Besides such legal ambiguity, another constraint on municipalities related to the integration field is that their main budget is centrally allocated as per size of the local population, which includes registered foreigners with residence permits and International Protection status holders but notably excludes all Syrians under Temporary Protection. Hence municipalities wanting to carry out work with refugee groups must often seek partnerships with international financial institutions or international agencies. Most municipalities in Turkey lack any strategic planning around migration issues, beyond classifying refugees among the vulnerable and disadvantaged groups they are responsible to serve and offering ad-hoc social assistance. Some municipalities, metropolitan ones in particular, have used their discretion to establish migration specific directorates and units, but these structures do not have dedicated budget and staff. In short, lack of resources, competences and tools lead to partial and short-term solutions (e.g. limited social aid, opening up existing municipal centers’ courses etc. for refugees, offering language courses) by municipalities.

International and national civil society organizations in Turkey also play a significant role in providing services and doing advocacy work with regards to migrants’ access to essential services and social, political and cultural rights, and are also recognized as key partners under Article 96(3) of the LFIP. In Turkey, there are numerous NGOs doing migrant integration work directly or indirectly, involving primarily information, counselling and referral services for Syrians under

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<sup>17</sup> The article states that “Everyone is a fellow-citizen of the county/town which he lives in. The fellow-citizens shall be entitled to participate in the decisions and services of the municipality, to acquire knowledge about the municipal activities and to benefit from the aids of the municipal administration... The municipality shall perform necessary activities to improve the social and cultural relations between the fellow-citizens and to preserve cultural values”



temporary protection about education, health, labor market, social assistance and support, legal issues, and registration procedures as well as organizing courses, trainings and social activities to facilitate adaptation to social life. As per their mandate, all UN agencies in Turkey also do work related to migrant integration such as employment, health, education (UNHCR, IOM, UNDP, ILO, UNICEF, UNFPA, WHO, UN Women, and the like). Migrant communities are also essential actors in integration. They can choose to build their communities based on informal cultural and social groups or formal bodies like NGOs.

The coordination of migration policy in Turkey involves the following mechanisms.

**Migration Board:** LFIP identified PMM not only as the main governmental institution responsible for the implementation of migration legislation, but also as the main agency that has the duty to lead the process of policy-making on migration. For that, Article 105 of the LFIP established a Migration Policy Board. However, with a Presidential Decree in 2018, it was restructured and named as Migration Board and its role was defined as to determine Turkey's migration strategies regarding foreigners, monitoring their coordination and implementation, and consists of representatives of ministries, institutions and organizations to be determined by the Ministry of Interior, under the chairmanship of the Minister of Interior.

**Presidential Boards:** With the establishment of the Presidential system in 2018, migration policy duties were added under the responsibilities of different boards under the Presidency. As per the Presidential Decree (No.1)'s article 30(1)f, the Board develops policy recommendations regarding solving problems on migrants and migration issues, while Article 26 on the Security and Foreign Policies Board stipulates that the Board is responsible for “e) determining and monitoring Turkey’s migration policy and strategies; monitoring implementation of migration related activities and make recommendations; assessing planned new practices; following-up on regional and international developments and reporting impact of these developments on Turkey.”

**Provincial coordination mechanisms by PDMMs, or governors:** Article 104 of the LFIP states that “The Directorate General is authorized to ensure cooperation and coordination with public institutions and agencies, universities, local governments, non-governmental organizations, and private and international organizations in relation to its duties”. Moreover, with regards to coordination at the local level, Article 118 of the RI-LFIP states: “Provincial immigration boards where cohesion activities at provincial level are planned and carried out with the participation of state institutions and organizations, municipalities, chamber of commerce, NGOs, universities of each province are held once a month under the chairmanship of the governor.” Hence the main coordination mechanism at the local level are the provincial migration boards. In provinces or districts where there are no PDMMs, the coordination on migration is led by the governors.



Another coordination mechanism exists around the Regional Refugee and Resilience Response Plan (3RP). The Inter-agency coordination<sup>18</sup> is co-led by UNHCR and UNDP and inter-agency coordination structures have been established at the national and sub-national level across Turkey. (e.g Syria National Task Force, South-East Inter Agency Task Force, Istanbul-Inter-Agency Task Force, Inter-Sector Working Group in Gaziantep, Sector/Working Groups<sup>19</sup>, Technical working groups.

With regards to funding, the PMM's annual budget of 4 billion 493 million proposed for 2022 indicates a substantial increase in PMM's budget in comparison to the previous year which was 2 billion 983 million.<sup>20</sup> As noted above, the EU has also been providing substantial financial and technical assistance to Turkey on migration and asylum for related programs and projects focused on aligning Turkish legislation with EU Acquis since the 2000s both through the Instrument for Pre-Accession (IPA) program and the Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT). Turkey also receives substantial bilateral funding in the migration field from EU member states (e.g. Norway, Sweden, Netherlands) or non-EU member states (UK, Switzerland, US).

### 3.1.4. Overview of public administration and local governance in Turkey

Turkey is a unitary state which is organized around a two-tiered administration at the central and local level, with the local level further being organized at the provincial and district level. Although in 1999, as part of the EU accession process, regional development agencies were created based on the NUTS system, these agencies do not have administrative competencies, and legislatively they are under the jurisdiction of the central authority.<sup>21</sup>

The Turkish state has 81 provinces that are ruled by a centrally appointed governor. The governor is the highest authority in the provinces and representative of the central authority in the locality. Provinces are subdivided into districts, which are directed by appointed district governors. Local governments in provinces are governed by elected authorities.

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<sup>18</sup> Detailed information can be found in this briefing Note. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/57051>

<sup>19</sup> "In Turkey, the interventions of the humanitarian community are coordinated and harmonized through six sectoral working groups – Protection including SGBV and Child Protection sub- sectors (led by UNHCR and co-led by UNFPA and UNICEF respectively), Basic Needs (co-led by UNHCR and WFP), Education (co- led by UNICEF and UNHCR), Health (led by WHO), Food Security (co-led by WFP and FAO) and Livelihoods (led by UNDP)" The updates on sector/working groups are found in this website. <https://www.refugeeinfoturkey.org>

<sup>20</sup>[https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/2022\\_Yili\\_Merkezi\\_Yonetim\\_Butce\\_Kanunu\\_Teklifi\\_ve\\_Bagli\\_Cetveller.pdf](https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/2022_Yili_Merkezi_Yonetim_Butce_Kanunu_Teklifi_ve_Bagli_Cetveller.pdf)

<sup>21</sup> See Tan, Evrim. 2020. "Quo vadis? The local government in Turkey after public management reforms" in International Review of Administrative Sciences 2020, Vol. 86(1) 115–133.



In Turkey the main local government is the municipality and municipalities have a broad range of competencies that are regulated both by the Law on Municipalities (No. 5393, enacted on 3 July 2005) and the Law on Greater Municipalities (No. 5216, enacted on 10 July 2004). Municipalities may engage in activities and initiatives of all sorts to meet the common local needs of the town's inhabitants. This includes not only basic services such as solid waste disposal and wastewater management, but also housing, culture and the arts, tourism and promotion, youth and sports, social services and assistance, vocational and skills training, and activities related to economic and commercial development. There are different type of municipal administrations that are categorized as metropolitan, provincial, metropolitan district, district, and town municipalities.

Other types of local government are the Special Provincial Administrations (SPAs) and Villages. SPAs, are responsible for the provision of services in rural areas outside the jurisdiction of municipalities. The main legislative body of the SPA is an elected provincial council, but the governor is the official head of the SPA. Villages are another form of local government established in small communities in rural areas. An elected alderman's council and an elected local authority (known as *muhtar*) govern them. A neighborhood *muhtar* is another elected post in urban areas. The main tasks and duties of the *muhtar* are determining common needs of neighborhood residents; developing life quality of neighborhood; organizing relation of neighborhood with municipality and other public institutions; delivering opinion on issues related with neighborhood; cooperation with other institutions (Law on Municipalities: Art. 9).

Throughout most of its history, Turkey has remained a highly centralized country. However, in the 2000s, Turkey undertook a public management reform in line with EU Accession process to decentralize competence on the implementation of public policy with the goal of distributing more roles to local government and democratic participation and decision-making processes.<sup>22</sup> For example, with the Municipal laws enacted in 2004 and 2005, local councils came to the forefront, the tutelage powers of the central government and its provincial extensions were softened, new avenues for cooperation with NGOs and universities in decision making were created. Overall, with these new regulations, local governments gained a more pro-active and participatory management approach compared to the past. However, since 2012, the process has started to be reversed with, for example, the adoption of the Greater Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 6360 (enacted on 12 November 2012)<sup>23</sup> and the abolishment of Special

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<sup>22</sup> See Demir, Fatih. 2021. *Public Policy Making in Turkey: Foundational Concepts, Current Practice, and Impact of the New Presidential System*. Springer Cham.

<sup>23</sup> This Law extended metropolitan municipal borders to nearby districts and villages. Small municipalities and villages were abolished and turned into neighborhoods of metropolitan municipalities and new metropolitan municipalities were established. The Law has been criticized that re-structuring of metropolitan municipalities could not improve local conditions as it created gaps in local capacity at both urban and rural scales, and also could not strengthen local participation.



Provincial Directorates in greater metropolitan municipal borders in 2012 with the same law.<sup>24</sup> Although some may consider this recentralization process contradictory to Turkey’s local government reforms undertaken in 2000s, Tan argues<sup>25</sup> that Turkey has never prioritized participation in local governance and reforms were limited with managerial reforms and marketization of the public sector to improve efficiency rather than ensuring autonomy in decision making or participation. The country since then has become more centralized following especially the change of the governmental regime from parliamentarian to presidential system.

## 3.2. The local cases<sup>26</sup>

### 3.2.1. Small Town in the East Marmara Region

Situated in the East Marmara region, the first case is a small size town with a population between 100.000 - 150.000 inhabitants. It is located in a province that over the course of the past 15 years, the period covered in this research, has observed annual population growth rates that are substantially higher than the national average. Unemployment levels remained slightly above the national average in 2008 and 2013. Local politics in this case is characterized by a clear divide, with the social democrats (Republican People’s Party, hereafter CHP) and the conservative ruling party (Justice and Development Party, hereafter AKP) having very close votes. Over the last decade, the province has seen a significant rise in the share of foreigner residents. While in 2007 this share was very close to the national average, in 2021 this figure peaked to almost 10 times the national average. The province is also host to different refugee groups, including Syrians under the status of Temporary protection and more significantly diverse national groups of asylum-seekers under the status of International Protection (IP), being among the provinces hosting the highest concentration of IP status holders in Turkey.

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<sup>24</sup> See Demir, Fatih. 2021. *Public Policy Making in Turkey: Foundational Concepts, Current Practice, and Impact of the New Presidential System*. Springer Cham.

<sup>25</sup> See Tan, Evrim. 2020. “Quo vadis? The local government in Turkey after public management reforms” in *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 2020, Vol. 86(1) 115–133

<sup>26</sup> In Turkey the most important differentiation between municipalities with regards to size is whether they constitute metropolitan municipalities. According to the Law on Metropolitan Municipalities (no. 5216, dated 2004), provinces that host more than 750,000 inhabitants can be classified as metropolitan municipalities. The lowest population threshold for constituting a municipality for administrative purposes is 5000 inhabitants (Law on Municipalities, no. 5393, dated 2005). Other than that, there are no set administrative criteria to further classify municipalities with inhabitants between 5000 and 750,000. Given the average size of most towns across Turkey, especially those being impacted by migration, in the Turkish case the classification of localities on the population-size criteria used in the Whole-Comm project has been slightly amended with 50,000-150,000 being considered a small town and 150,000-350,000 being considered a medium-size town.



### 3.2.2. Small Town in the Central Anatolian Region

The second case examined is also a small size town with a population between 100.000 - 150.000 inhabitants. The annual population growth rates at the provincial level reflect the broader trends in the Central Anatolian region, which had mostly remained well below the national average over the last 15 years, though in 2021 it rose closer to the national average. In contrast, unemployment levels have remained lower than the national average in 2008 and 2013. In terms of local politics, the conservative AKP party has a stronghold in this case, which is closely followed by the nationalists (Nationalist Movement Party, hereafter MHP, currently the coalition party of ruling government). Over the last 15 years the share of foreigner residents in the province has remained consistently just slightly above the national average. The percentage of Syrians under Temporary Protection is almost the same as the national average and asylum seekers with IP status also have an important presence in the province, which like locality 1 was among the earliest satellite cities in Turkey for hosting asylum-seekers.

### 3.2.3. Rural Area in the Mediterranean Region

The third case is situated in the rural countryside of a mid-size town (close to 350.000) in the Mediterranean region. It is located in a province in which over the last decade the annual population growth rate has remained very close to the national average, while unemployment levels have steadily remained slightly above the national average in 2008 and 2013. In terms of local politics, at both the provincial and district level, the nationalists (MHP) have maintained a stronghold in this locality. Over the last decade however, the social democrats (CHP) have also been ascending in power. Over the last 15 years, the share of foreigner residents in the province has remained close to the national average. However, as noted this figure excludes Syrians under Temporary Protection, who constitute today more than 10% of the provincial population, being among the highest concentrations in Turkey. Asylum-seekers under IP status, on the other hand, remain much lower than the national average and in comparison to the two other regions.

## 4. Overarching themes

### 4.1. Development of integration policies

*“The needs are met, there is nothing called integration”*

As discussed under the national context, concerns over migration management, especially linked to control of irregular migration and institutionalization, has for a long-time overshadowed integration policy making in Turkey both at the national and local level. Moreover, given the context of rising centralization in Turkey, most local integration policies are strongly tied to the national understandings and approaches. Likewise, public local actors seem to have limited and weak capacity in developing integration policies that is also enhanced by the lack of financial means. On the other hand, pro-migrant NGOs seem more active in supporting local integration processes, however, their work is based on short-term projects which might make local integration unsustainable for the targeted groups. In sum, it is possible to distinguish between formal and informal integration policies, with the former kind being those that are implemented in line with national integration policies, and the latter referring to the activities and implementations of other local actors such as the NGOs', the employers' organizations, unions and so on. In the following, we examine first the local policy context of 'harmonization', which as noted in Section 2.1 is the concept used in Turkey instead of integration. This is followed by an overview into the situation in sub-thematic areas of integration that were more frequently mentioned during the interviews, including employment, housing, education, and social/humanitarian assistance. The section concludes with some notes on the similarities and particularities of the localities vis-à-vis development of integration policies.

#### 4.1.1. Harmonization

The Provincial Directorate of Migration Management (PDMM) has a key role in implementing the harmonization policies that are mostly determined at the national/central level by the Presidency of Migration Management (PMM). The PMM declared the year of 2020 as the Year of Social Cohesion, which then led to the establishment of Harmonization and Communication Working Groups (HCWG) under all PDMMs. These working groups organize information and orientation activities for migrants and refugees, and also hold regular meetings with diverse stakeholders (*muhtars*, NGOs, foreigners, religious officials, university, opinion leaders etc.) at both the provincial and district levels. While the PMM informs the PDMMs in the provinces about the required format of the meetings, the PDMMs mainly deal with the logistical organizational aspects, such as finding venues and participants. PDMMs also regularly visit foreigners at their homes to determine whether they are in need of assistance. And they organize different events for celebrations of special days, such as for World Refugee Day.



The topics in which PDMMs give information and orientation show variety. For instance, the PDMM in the province where RA Mediterranean is located stated that they provide information to Syrians on “proper use of public parks/gardens”, while also trying to correct the local populations’ misconceptions about Syrians. And in cases when a certain criminal activity has taken place, they try persuading locals not to attribute this to the entire Syrian population, or when, during community meetings, locals make statements about Syrians taking their jobs, they respond with examples about how Syrians are taking up work that locals do not want to do.

PDMMs can also direct foreigners to the special course entitled “social cohesion and life” which are given by public education centers that are under General Directorate for Apprenticeship and Non-formal Education, under the Ministry of National Education.<sup>27</sup> The course takes eight hours and includes information both about access to different kinds of services (e.g. education, including language courses, health, the Foreigners Communication Center) and Turkish culture (e.g. not being loud in public spaces, respecting neighborly relations, and the like). These courses were planned first by the PMM and piloted in 14 provinces in Turkey and have now become widespread at the national level.

One of the significant means used by PDMMs to reach out to the local Syrian populations and also increase local social cohesion is collaborating with community leaders (defined as *kanaat önderleri* or opinion leaders in Turkish) who are believed as wise, notable and respectful Syrian people by their own community. Opinion leaders are determined by the local authorities in each province and are regularly invited to meetings with PDMMs. They take on responsibilities such as spreading news and relevant information among their communities, solving daily tensions and crises between migrants and locals, and delivering information to the local authorities about their community’s needs and problems.

There are specific groups targeted by local actors for implementing integration activities. Students are one of them. For instance, in RA Mediterranean, the Governorship organizes picnics/tours for both local and foreign students in coordination with the Ministry of National Education and some associations. However, this is not a regular activity. Women are another specifically targeted group. Again in the province where RA Mediterranean is located, the PDMM has been carrying out a project in coordination with the GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit) and PMM that involves creating labor opportunities for both Syrian and Turkish women. Likewise, the PDMM in ST Central Anatolia is reported to have provided some trainings to local Syrian women though it was noted also that it is not easy to convince Syrian women to get out of their houses and that local and migrant women do not tend to mingle in such events, though it is also slowly changing.

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<sup>27</sup> According to the Ministry’s statistics, “Social Harmony and Life” has been the primary course in terms of the number of the participants. 374.082 people have been registered to this course in 2022 <https://e-yaygin.meb.gov.tr>





As mentioned by several interviewees, adults/families are not targeted for harmonization practices/activities in RA Mediterranean, which entails migrant presence in rural areas, since rural areas are not prioritized, especially the areas where the massive groups of migrant workers live in tents next to the villages/fields. In this sense, one can only mention about indirect interventions, such as the campaigns against child labor in agricultural sector in Turkey run by the I/NGOs or UN bodies. These works indirectly target the migrant population.

As stated by the interviewees from PDMs in all three localities, the Harmonization and Communication Working Groups (HCWG) lack enough budget and personnel for planning and implementing integration policies and activities, which limits their work on the ground. Based on the data gathered during the fieldwork, the HCGW seems to collect and reflect on local data with the help of three channels: *muhtars*, opinion leaders and the work/reports of the NGOs. The HCWG in PDMs use these channels to overcome the gaps and plan further activities. However, how these sources of information strengthen their ability to create and implement local integration policies remains a critical question.

Pro-migrant NGOs are more creative and active compared to local public authorities in the sphere of integration. An interviewee in ST East Marmara commented that they build their understanding of harmonization on the feedbacks they get from the participants who joined their activities as well as their experiences as an NGO working in this field for years. They organize peer-groups; build a Women' Committee and plan sport activities for integration of two groups (migrants and locals) in ST East Marmara.

#### 4.1.2. Employment

Rising unemployment, high inflation and deepening economic crisis for the masses have been the new normal for Turkey. Even though migrant/refugee groups are among those most vulnerable to the crisis, these structural conditions limit further the local actors' capacities to develop integration policies in the sphere of employment. The majority of the migrant/refugee groups work informally and under precarious conditions. Employers need to get work permits for their foreign employees after signing a contract. IS-KUR (Turkish Employment Agency) have the worker pool in each province for employers looking for foreign workers. However, foreign workers must be registered with proper ID. IS-KUR is also tasked with issuing exemption certificates for Syrians under Temporary Protection that areas working in agriculture and husbandry. These certificated guarantees these groups' employment in these sectors without need of work permit. This is significant when the informal structure of the labor force in rural sectors is considered. A recent change requires the registration of the intermediary to the Turkish Employment Agency to work formally while gathering workers for agricultural work. S/he also needs to sign a contract with the workers.

Given this framework, there are only a few local actors that are active in the field of employment in terms of creation and implementation of integration policies. For instance, in ST Central Anatolia, a pro-migrant NGO functions as a hub of information for migrants looking for jobs, while in ST East Marmara, a pro-migrant NGO provides employers interested in hiring



migrant employees with necessary information and financial support (e.g. fees to be paid for work permits). Local policies in the sphere of employment that are developed primarily with local citizen populations in mind can also indirectly affect the integration policy field. For instance, in RA Mediterranean, the establishment of an Organized Industrial Site, which was planned to create jobs for the local population is also recognized as a potential site for migrant employment.

In Turkey, municipalities are tasked with making inspections on shops/businesses owned by foreigners as in whether they are legally licensed and are paying required taxes. The domination of the housing market by foreigners and its reflections on the signboards of the real estate agencies written in Arabic in ST East Marmara leads to local people's reactions. In response, the municipality made a change on regulations with the help of a municipality council decision saying only 30% of a signboard can be in Arabic and it must be smaller than Turkish.

PDMM in the province that the RA Mediterranean administratively tied to, has been working in coordination with Provincial Directorate of Labor and Employment institutions in order to organize on-the-job-training programs. Foreigners are also directed to the Turkish Employment Agency to increase their capacities in the labor market, such as learning how to prepare a CV or increase capacities for looking for a job. Particular attention is paid to the immigrant group between the ages of 15-18 and they are primarily directed to vocational courses with the aim of meeting the needs of the labor market for semi-skilled workers.

### 4.1.3. Housing

In Turkey, there is no public policy to regulate housing issue for the migrant populations. Syrians under Temporary Protection are not eligible for buying houses. However, foreigners who want to be Turkish citizens are allowed to buy houses. In this sense, ST East Marmara is differentiated from the other two cases, as its housing market has been dominated by wealthy foreigners who mainly come from Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the UAE. In order to control the dominance of foreigners in housing market in ST East Marmara (both as customers and real estate agencies), the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning has recently made a change that conditions foreigners buying houses not to sell for three years.

Syrians under Temporary Protection have dispersed throughout Turkish provinces. While migrants' own networks have a key role in finding a place to live, those who do not have such networks can be supported by pro-migrant NGOs/*muhtars* (such as in the case of ST Central Anatolia) or personal initiatives and motivations of PDMM (such as in the case of ST East Marmara). These actors generally provide temporary accommodation to the migrants. Problems arisen by living together in the apartments can be directed to PDMM in provinces by the locals and PDMM with the help of opinion leaders plays an intermediary role.

In recent years, national actors have introduced stricter procedures to control migrant populations' residential registration processes through asking for rent contracts, paying regular visits to residences to prevent fake registrations etc.



Residential registration functions as a tool by local authorities to manage and control the mobility of the migrant/refugee groups especially in rural areas. Furthermore, residential registration is a prerequisite for refugees 'access to the humanitarian/social assistance/general health insurance.

Another recent change entitled the “de-concentration plan” was made in late February 2022. The Ministry of Interior stated that foreign nationals will not be granted residency in locations where the number of Syrians make up more than 25 percent of the local population. The plan, dubbed “the fight against spatial concentration,” has now been implemented across Turkey to solve certain problems, such as ghettoization and segregation of refugees, their adaptation to social life, the coordination of social services and security issues. According to the new plan, Syrians are not allowed to concentrate in certain neighborhoods, the population of foreigners is kept as less than 25 percent of the local population, and if it happens those locations are closed to the further settlement of foreign nationals. Moreover, in areas where Syrians make up for a large portion of the local population, they will be relocated to different districts and provinces on a voluntary basis.<sup>28</sup> Locality in A was among the first 16 provinces being closed to foreigners. Following that, the de-concentration plan started also being implemented in Locality in B and D.

#### 4.1.4. Education

Under the Turkish education system, only children with a foreigner identity number can be registered in schools. Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE)<sup>29</sup> ensures children's access to the national education system. The CCTE program provides vulnerable refugee families with bimonthly cash payments to help them send and keep their children in school.

Vocational Training Centers that offer 4-year education in total are included in formal education. Students attend the school for a day in a week and practice for the remaining 5 days in a workplace. The language requirement (A1 grade Turkish Language Course in a Public Education Center) for registration to a Vocational Training School has recently been changed in order to increase the number of Syrian students.<sup>30</sup>

Temporary Education Centers (TECs) for Syrian students under temporary protection were closed down by the National Ministry of Education in the academic year of 2018-2019. Syrian children being directed to public schools have faced difficulties due to the Turkish curriculum

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<sup>28</sup> <https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/new-regulation-caps-refugee-population-at-certain-level-in-provinces-171719>

<sup>29</sup> CCTE is financed by European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (ECHO) and implemented through a partnership between the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services, the Ministry of National Education, AFAD, Kızılay and UNICEF.

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.meb.gov.tr/suriyelilerin-mesleki-egitime-erisimi-icin-onemli-bir-adim/haber/23540/tr>



and disproportionate distribution of the students to the schools. This national shift has diverse reflections and responses in three localities regarding integration policies.

In ST Central Anatolia, the majority of the students in some of the public schools located in certain migrant neighborhoods is composed of foreigners (mainly Syrians and Afghans). The union has made suggestions to the Provincial Directorate of National Education demanding more teachers whose primary function is teaching Turkish to the foreigners before they start their first year. The union demands quotas for foreign students (from 15% to 20%) to protect the dominance of Turkish students. The union raises the demand for organizing basic trainings on hygiene to the students in the foreign-dominated schools.

In Locality in A, besides the implementation of the quota system, the schools seem to be separated based on nationality. There are private schools established by Iraqi community. PDMM makes regular visits to those private schools. PDMM also demands for an increase on the duration of Turkish courses was recently accepted by the school management.

Finally, in the RA Mediterranean, children of the Syrian seasonal workers have difficulties in accessing education as child labor is common and mobility prevents children from regular attendance to the schools. In this sense, the lack of education and integration policies of the Ministry of National Education towards children of migrant seasonal workers has been criticized by many interviewees (e.g lack of transporting facilities, bullying in the schools).

#### 4.1.5. Humanitarian and Social Assistance

Since the start of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey back in 2011, provision of humanitarian and social assistance (HSA) has been maintained and transformed into an integration policy in later years. In regular and non-regular ways, refugees in Turkey have been supported with HSA in the forms of cash assistance, food, clothes, and hygiene kits. The most comprehensive form of the HSA is through a program (Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) funded by the EU named in Turkish as Social Cohesion Assistance (SUY). More irregular forms of HSAs are provided through the intermediary role of PDMMs, municipalities or NGOs. These local actors redirect the endowments from the wealthy citizens to the disadvantaged groups in their provinces/rural areas, including the migrant/refugee populations. For instance, in ST Central Anatolia, the Municipality runs an information desk called *turquoise table* where it organizes HAS for all of those in need, including migrants, to avoid overlapping. Local opinion leaders also play a critical role in finding those needed to provide the HSAs.

It appears that in recent years, local actors are making more efforts to provide HSA jointly to both migrant and local populations, after observing that provision to migrants only leads to increasing tension. For instance, in ST Central Anatolia, a pro-migrant NGO states that it is now distributing HSA at the same time to both groups.



#### 4.1.6. Commonalities and particularities in each locality

RA Mediterranean, which has entailed the study of the rural countryside, is different from the two other cases studied, since rural areas emerge as more disadvantaged and the labor regime in agriculture seems the major obstacle to integration. The Syrian seasonal worker groups living in tents in RA Mediterranean are the ones who benefit least from both national/provincial level harmonization plans and programs, as well as various integration efforts of other actors realized primarily in urban areas. On the other hand, ST East Marmara also shows a key distinction from the two other cases in relation to its unique migrant demography, composed of both wealthy foreigners buying real estates (mostly from Iraq, UEA and other Gulf countries) and impoverished refugees and migrant laborers (Syrians, Afghans and others from Turkic countries).

However, in spite of these different cases, the integration policies and their implementations still carry certain similarities. The main reason behind seems to be structuring the integration policies at the national level. PDMMs in provinces have only their role to implement what is planned by the PMM. This leaves PDMMs small room for maneuver in creating integration policies at the local level. Another main commonality is the lack of its financial means for many local public actors to create and implement local integration policies. Neither the Municipalities nor the HCWGs have their own budget allocated only for integration activities. Population of the provinces increases with the arrival of post-2014 migrants. While the municipalities are still expected to provide basic services to the increasing population, their budget remains the same. Likewise, HCWGs do not their own budget and have to operate with insufficient number of experts. That is why HCWGs closely follow the deliverables of the NGOs ‘work in the field of integration. On the other hand, even though the NGOs with financial means are active in the sphere of integration and social harmony, it damages the sustainability of the harmonization process since the NGOs generally work based on short-term projects.

### 4.2. Frames of integration

#### 4.2.1. Policy frames

In all three localities where we interviewed the local actors, the integration frames by different actors used showed to depend on various factors such as local context, familiarity with the topic and public opinions, hence different frames were found, which we summarize below.

#### **Conceptualization: Harmonization (*uyum*) or integration (*entegrasyon*)?**

As noted in Section 2.1 of the report, national legislation in Turkey uses the term “harmonization” (*uyum*) in regulating what are essentially integration processes. Therefore, in all three localities we asked the interviewees to share their understanding and preference in the use of these concepts. Although most of the actors prefer using the concept of harmonization (*uyum*), the connotation attributed to these concepts broadly varies as summarized below:



An interviewee representing an NGO in ST Central Anatolia, argued that the concept of (social) harmonization sounds (*sosyal uyum*) more aesthetic and therefore their preferred term, whereas integration sounds more political and irritating. Similarly, an interviewee representing local government in ST East Marmara stated that *uyum* sounds more Turkish although integration is also a familiar concept in the Turkish context due to Turkey's EU Accession process. However, since integration historically has more rigid connotations, there is an ideational agreement of the use of *uyum* in their institution. In ST East Marmara, a representative of local government also reported that *uyum* is a term that fits better in describing the current situation in which migrants are slowly starting to adapt to Turkish society in sharing a lifestyle, while local citizens in turn are also getting more used to the lifestyle of migrants, including physical appearance (e.g. bearded men, different manner of headscarf use), that were previously found to be unacceptable in Turkey's secular context. An expert interviewed in ST Central Anatolia added that integration is a weary concept and was already discussed extensively in other contexts, whereas harmonization is a fresh one and bears more potential to develop innovative policies around it. A representative of an anti-migrant group in ST Central Anatolia interpreted integration and harmonization from a status perspective, noting that integration occurs if migrants are to stay permanently, whereas harmonization fits better to the situation if migrants are eventually destined to return to their countries of origin. A representative of a service provider NGO in RA Mediterranean interpreted integration as a process of obligation that enforced upon refugees and migrants to integrate into the job market etc. For example, refugees and migrants find themselves obligated to undertake certain only done by refugees and migrants, so it's a process happening by itself and no one has a voluntary decision about it, thus the process for them refers more to integration than harmonization. For a local government representative in RA Mediterranean, harmonization is more about the need for foreigners to adapt to the society, while integration entails adapting to the country's system and institutions. On the other hand, an interviewee representing an employer organization in ST Central Anatolia stated that they find the term integration more appropriate since it denotes a request for a contribution from a foreigner to society while harmonization is more about just participating in life. In RA Mediterranean, a representative from a local government stated that integration signifies diversity whereas in the case of *uyum* affinities already exist between groups. This is for instance the case of RA Mediterranean where there are Turkish citizens with Arab ethnic background living in that region: in this locality, harmonization is the most appropriate concept because migrants and locals have things in common. Migration management authorities in all three localities underlined that facilitating social and economic interaction between host and migrant communities is their priority, so their policy framing does not quite match with integration that is perceived to be a process of teaching their own culture to foreigners unlike their ideal harmonization conceptualization based on reciprocity and voluntariness. Additionally, the actors such as NGOs who work closely with migration management authorities do not question the terms much and reported that they prefer using the concept of harmonization from a more technical perspective since it is also an officially accepted term.



**Harmonization is possible:** The interviewees shared their views of integration in their localities and proposed a wide range of measures to solve the “problems” or create “harmonization practices”. While some measures that they suggested were related to their mandate, some others fell under other actors’ capacities or remained at an ideal level.

- A local government representative in ST East Marmara shared that there is a rightful reaction of vulnerable local communities against migrants and refugees, as there are local communities more in need than refugees who are benefiting from social assistance schemes supported by the EU (ESSN program). Therefore, they argue that funded integration projects and activities should include local and migrant communities equally. Another local government representative from ST East Marmara reported that migrants and refugees are becoming more and more settled with the passing of time, such as through acquiring real estate etc., and added that as long as they respect the rules of the country and make efforts to adapt to the society, the Turkish state is big enough to have the capacity to absorb them. In RA Mediterranean, on the other hand, emphasis was made on the role of education. A representative from a service provider NGO reported that most children do not go to school, that’s why they do not know the culture, language and rules of the society. For example, some of them are not aware of the rule of not speaking aloud in public spaces. Therefore, education was suggested as a primary solution to remove the barrier against integration.
- In the ST Central Anatolia, one expert stated that local communities are resistant towards accepting the presence of migrants given the prevalence of nationalist and conservative tendencies. So a mental shift is said to be required, and explicit policy goals need to be integrated into the school curriculum as this shift starts with children. A local public service provider in ST Central Anatolia specified that integration can only be attained after a certain period of time has passed, when more inter-communal marriages will take place and economic independence will be attained, although the current situation was also noted as not being very promising as migrants in this locality are said to be working mainly in husbandry.
- An interviewee from the local government in RA Mediterranean believed that every discussion, plan, and discourse about integration is built around protecting local communities while the voices of migrants and refugees are not heard at all. He stated that nobody asks them what they really want with their lives, adding that they most probably are not dreaming of working in agriculture fields their entire lives. The interviewee thus pointed out to the importance of granting agency and voice to refugees and migrants so they can also make decisions about their future, though this also requires clear national policies around their status in the country, as to whether they will be able to stay or must return. Another local government representative in RA Mediterranean who sees the issue as a lingering humanitarian problem, proposed that integration requires economic independence and having a minimum living standard, so to this end, social assistance



should be delivered more systematically. Given the particularity of the local living conditions (e.g. agricultural laborers living tents) he also pointed to the need for their improvement with the provision of electricity and water services, adding thought that it should not be free. An expert from RA Mediterranean stated that there are primarily acute needs of people living in tent settlements such as access to education, health, decent living conditions, and after these needs are met, implementing cultural, social activities and projects to bring together members of both communities can be more appropriate. In RA Mediterranean, the representative of a pro-migrant NGOs and an employer referred to the advantages of rural areas to facilitate harmonization. They both believed that it is easier to reach out to both local and migrant communities and respond to their needs more easily in rural areas, as the relationships are warmer and closer. For example, the employer stated that if a migrant gets sick in a big city like Istanbul, nobody will help in taking this person to a hospital but in their locality, they will personally take care of anyone who is in need of support. A local government representative in RA Mediterranean also highlighted that their locality is historically diverse and multiple languages including Arabic, and Kurdish are spoken, so it is much easier to ensure harmonization in this locality.

- In all three localities, migration management authorities indicated that language learning, knowledge of Turkish law, and rights and responsibilities are key issues to achieving harmonization. For example, if foreigners cannot navigate through public service due to language barriers, or if women are not aware of their rights of divorce or support system in case of domestic violence, they close themselves into their culture and community.

**Harmonization is not possible and there is not much to do about it:** In all three localities, there is a predominance in the negative framing of integration, especially among non-state actors and those who are working indirectly with refugees and migrants.

- An interviewee in ST East Marmara representing an employer organization believes that harmonization cannot be achieved in the current circumstances where migrants are decreasing locals' living standards and locals are becoming more nostalgic about the past. Thus, he stated, Syrians need to be progressively and forcibly returned to their countries, and alluded to different public perceptions as a justification (e.g. that Syrian youth enter into fights more easily, that they should be fighting instead in their country where there is a war, and that other countries should be sharing the burden with Turkey). Similarly, another interviewee in ST East Marmara who is an employer shared that harmonization is impossible because Turks cannot accept or adapt to any other culture other than their own, even if decades have passed, because the local population is supposedly very nationalistic and had difficulties in the past of even accepting the arrival and presence of other Turkish citizens belonging to different cultures (e.g. Kurds). Thus, it is claimed that this issue is likely to lead to increased social tensions in the coming 10 to 20 years. An employer from ST East Marmara believes that migrants impose their lifestyle and do not show any efforts to adapt to the new society, and that there is rather a seeming pressure





on locals to adapt to them. The interviewee from an employer organization in ST East Marmara shared that they and their institutions' other branches in different localities undertake some efforts to facilitate migrants' access to employment and well-being. However, he added similar remarks to former ones, about how migrants do not adapt to the society or show any effort in this regard, and therefore believed that specialized services including providing language support in Arabic should not be provided, leading potentially to them conquering everything in the country. Lastly, a real-estate agent in ST East Marmara proposed to decrease the number of migrants in their locality, stating that they pose a danger in society through gathering into groups against local groups and entering into fights. Women and other groups are acceptable but young, non-working groups killing time in café shops are seen as more problematic and so they are not very optimistic that this issue can be solved. All in all, with such beliefs, these interviewees shared the idea that no policy or intervention can actually solve these social issues.

- The interviewee representing local government in ST Central Anatolia pointed out that harmonization cannot be achieved because the local migrants and refugees consist primarily of youth in their 20s who do not speak any Turkish. It can only be achieved after children who are currently in school complete their education in Turkey and participate in the workforce and social life, which will require another decade or more to be achieved. A union representative in ST Central Anatolia referred to the absorption capacity of the local labor market and argued that harmonization is difficult to attain and would take a long time. For example, while there are jobs in public offices, agriculture, and tourism, migrants and refugees can work only in agriculture and run small businesses that do not advance their status in society, thus their integration into society in this locality as opposed to big, industrialized cities seems more difficult to be realized.

An interviewee from local government in RA Mediterranean stated that no actors, including the local government, civil society etc. are taking real ownership of the matter, as no one knows if migrants and refugees are permanently or temporarily living in their locality. Additionally, he noted that it is not easy to expect people who came to Turkey at a later age, like in their 50s to speak the language and participate in social life. Another local government representative in RA Mediterranean shared that education is key for harmonization but that it is difficult in their local context where migrants are living in tent settlements and do not have access to schools for their children, so this is seen as a major structural barrier against harmonization.

#### 4.2.2. Public opinion frames

In all three cases we examined, we observed that most local actors maintain an adverse attitude towards migrant groups, which also reflects the predominant public opinions of the local population. And numerous similar frames were referred to in each context. It should be noted here though that this section is about both how the interviewees perceive “public opinion” i.e. what locals think about migration and what interviewees think. In other words,



this section gives a mix of actors' perceptions of public opinion and thoughts/perceptions that the interviewees themselves have.

- **Migrants have “taken-over” our spaces:** In both ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, interviewees gave examples about neighborhoods, schools, public parks being “taken over” by certain migrant populations, like Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis. This sense of “take over” was linked not just with the physical presence of migrants but also through material markers, an example often cited being about the shop signs written in Arabic.
- **Migrants are perceived as a demographic threat:** Linked with the former, in both ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, interviewees frequently made references to the widespread public opinion about the Syrian population's demographic threat due to comparably higher reproductive rates. Although they did not see Syrians as such an immediate threat in their own small cities, where the Syrians are still a minority, they referred to examples of other cities where Syrians are overpopulated. Interviewees that are members of the opposition in the Local Councils and anti-migrant group representatives commented especially that the public is worried about their future since they suspect that Syrians' young population and fast birth rate will likely and unfavorably change the demographic composition and thus the political outlook of the country.
- **Migrants are a threat to the economic well-being of citizens:** In ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, interviewees commented on the ongoing fragility of the Turkish economy and on how it is being disrupted further by accommodating refugees who work informally. From this perspective, locals are perceived to think that in a context of rising unemployment, refugees are taking their jobs by lowering the wages. Furthermore, it is claimed that because of working informally they also do not pay taxes. On the other hand, some interviewees also made resentful statements about how some local migrant groups, such as Syrians and Iraqis in ST East Marmara and Iranians in ST Central Anatolia, are perceived to be living better lives than locals, either because they were already better off to begin with or are receiving salaries from the state, and ground these often in the example of how they seem to spend a lot of free time just hanging out in cafes and parks (and “smoke shisha”), while citizens have to work hard or do not have the means to enjoy such leisure activities due to unemployment.
- **Migrants are a security threat:** Interviewees from all three localities indicated that increasing drug use has become a major security concern among the local population and made suggestions that this increase was due to the increasing presence of migrant populations. In ST Central Anatolia, interviewees from the municipality, local Council members, and local NGOs reported that drug use among school children is at an alarming level and there is a strong sentiment among the local communities that the increasing presence of refugees, mainly Afghans, in the last few years is the reason of this problem. They stated that they are now scared to go out and walk in certain neighborhoods in the evenings which was reportedly not the case before the last waves of refugees moved to their locality. In ST East Marmara, similar sentiments were raised, one interviewee making



comments about how as Turkish citizens they fear walking in some streets and have heard of people being beaten, women being harassed and even raped. In RA Mediterranean, one interviewee alluded to the perception that ascribes the increased prevalence of violence in their locality to refugees, blaming their “culture” and “nature” that includes a higher tendency to pick fights, assault women, and involvement in illicit economic activities including drug trafficking.

- **Migrants are different:** The interviewees in all localities shared their own reflections and public perception about how migrants are culturally and socially differentiated from the local population. In ST Central Anatolia, several respondents gave examples about the parenting culture in the refugee community. They find refugees are careless in their child rearing practices and give examples related to how they supposedly let their children play in the streets without proper clothing in the middle of the winter, do not discipline them to act properly in public spaces, and that refugee children tend to be violent, loud, and rude. In ST East Marmara, statements were also made about the so-called “Arab culture” of public space use, which again is described as being loud and rude, and also involves presence in large groups and/or in late hours. Lastly, in RA Mediterranean, gender norms, in particular the prevalence of early marriages in refugee communities, was pointed out as a sign of refugee communities being more conservative, and “culturally backward.” For example, one interviewee underlined that violence against women and gender inequality are also big issues in Turkey but added that Turkish women are seen much more often in public space and socialize, whereas Syrian women are not allowed to leave the house and do not socialize with other women. Again, in RA Mediterranean, one interviewee gave an example about how migrant girls start riding bikes for the first time in Turkey as women riding bikes is not part of their “conservative” culture.
- **Migrants are a burden to public services:** One of the major discontents against Syrians has been the perception that they benefit from health services more favorably than citizens. One interviewee in ST Central Anatolia, stated that locals cannot take appointments in hospitals due to Syrians outnumbering Turkish citizens in hospitals, and in general seeing large groups of Syrians waiting in front of doctor’s offices seemingly creates much frustration and resentment among local populations. This sentiment is voiced through remarks such as “we have become foreigners in our own country” and how “there should be a limit to the hospitality shown to Syrians.” In ST East Marmara, one interviewee complained at length about Syrians getting health services for free, noting how he and his family had been paying insurance premiums for decades to be able to benefit from health services.
- **They are not learning the language.** In ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, two interviewees stated that refugees do not show any effort in learning the language and that dialogue and social cohesion cannot be attained without communicating in the same language. They underlined that it is not the locals’ responsibility to learn the migrants’

language, on the contrary, migrants should be able to speak Turkish to adapt to the local culture.

- **Migrants should be sent back:** A statement raised by several interviewees in all three localities was that refugees should be sent to their countries and an example frequently given to justify this sentiment was about Syrians travelling back to Syria during the religious holidays, which also appears frequently in the media. In other words, they believe that if Syrians are able to visit their country for the holidays, they should also be able to stay there. Another statement frequently made was about how Syrians were initially accepted as guests but have now overstayed and overstretched Turkish hospitality. One interviewee specifically commented: “we have taken care of them for long enough, we have our own poor people to prioritize.” As alluded to before, refugees are also seen as disrupting social peace by entering into fights with police and citizens, causing public security issues, which again is remarked as a reason of why they should be sent back.
- **The economic and social paradox:** There are some other opinions that are slightly different than the ones above. While there are statements like “they keep the economy running, they have taken on our burden. They do the work that our citizens don’t like”, they also add that they cannot live permanently in Turkey as their sole purpose is not to go after their employment. In another locality, one interviewee points out the paradox of locals who sell their houses to foreigners at high prices and then complain that foreigners took over all of their city. The business/shop owners also expect to see “Arabs” (they mean mainly Iraqi migrants) as they spend good amount of money, while they also complain about them.

### 4.3. MLG Dynamics in integration policymaking

#### 4.3.1. Mapping the networks

As part of the Whole-COMM research, in each of the case study localities the research participants were also asked to fill a survey, addressing the different dimensions covered in this report, including the relations between the diverse actors in the framework of integration policymaking. Building on this data, the following network graphics were produced. As shown below, in ST East Marmara, pro-migrant NGOs appear to be the key actor that deal with integration. The interviews showed that the NGO in this locality is a branch of nation-wide organization that receive funds from different international organizations, so their programs fill some gaps in the locality through other local actors’ cooperation and referrals to this organization. Yet, the other local migration management authority is also influential in this locality as it shown as provincial official in the graphic. For ST Central Anatolia, although pro-migrant NGOs are also very active, the graph shows that local government and public services are more at the center of networks. This affirms the observations from the field where there is more hierarchical relations between local government and other local actors who expect the local government to be more active in the field. In RA Mediterranean, the local governance

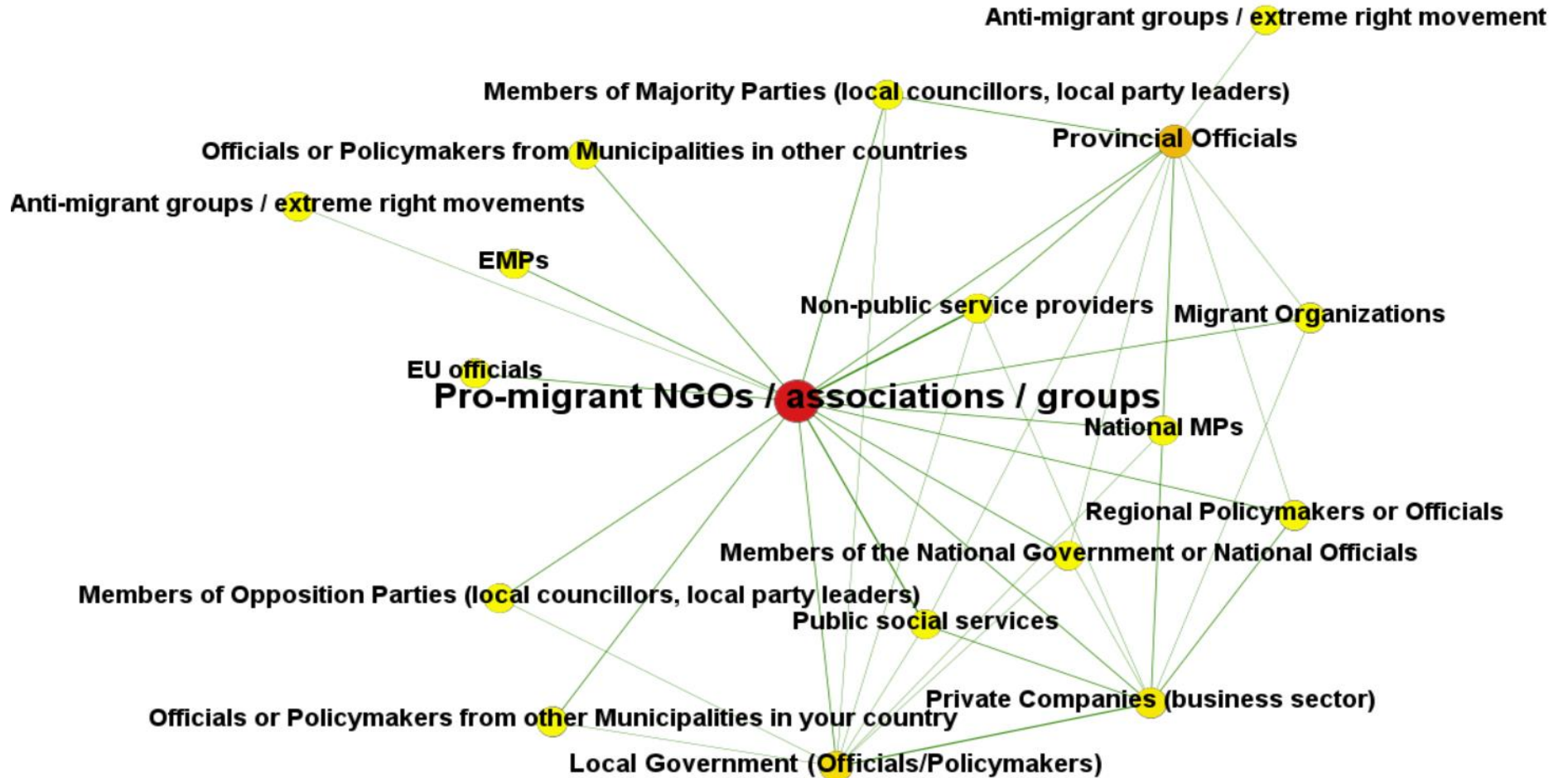


is organized through district governorate that formally ensure coordination among the local actors and tendency to control the field more strictly. Public social service and pro-migrant NGOs follows the local government in terms of being influential in this network. Moreover, one NGO falling under the category of non-public service provider doing advocacy work seems to be acknowledged for their effort in supporting seasonal agricultural workers.



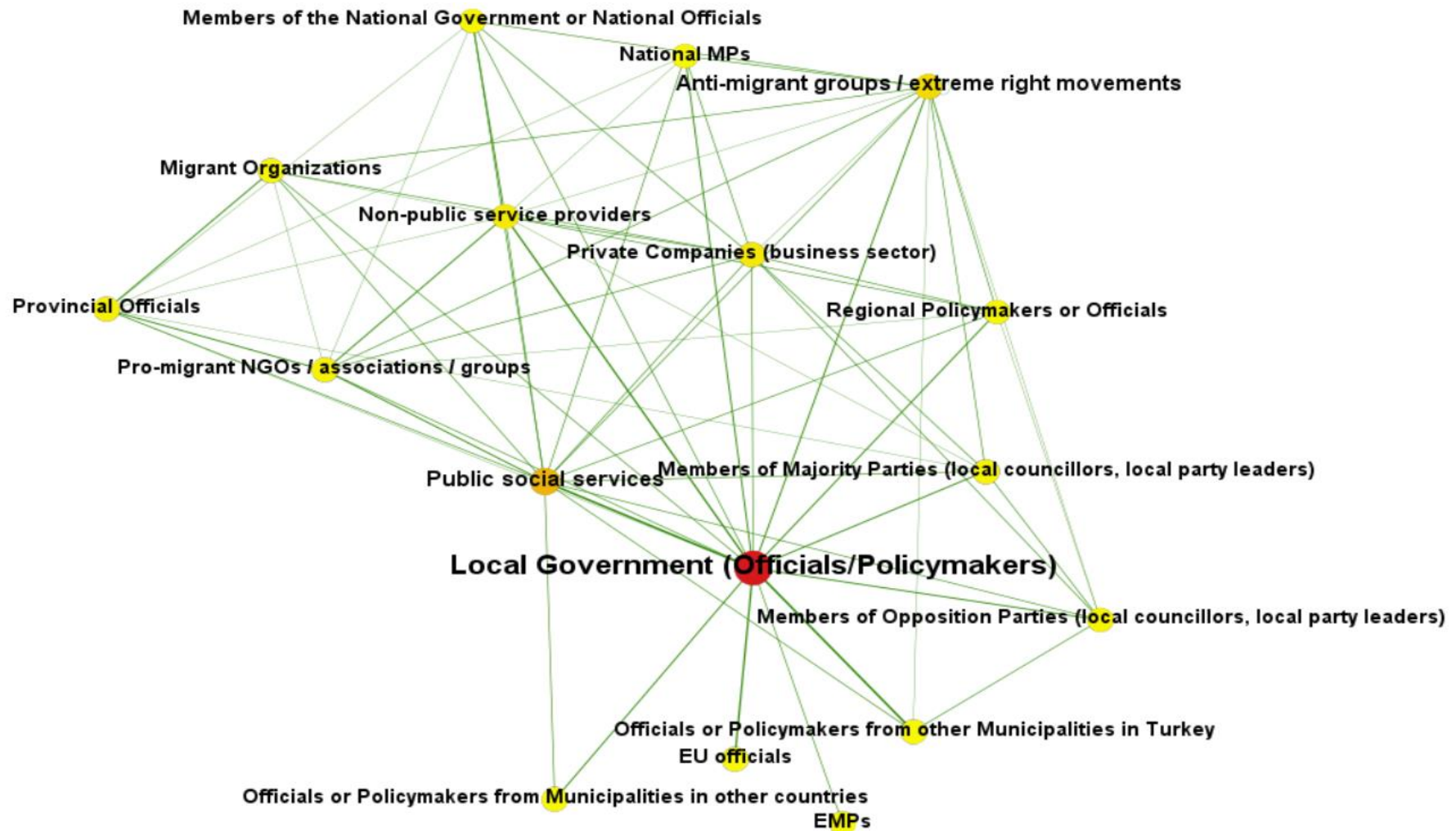
**ST EAST MARMARA: NETWORK ANALYSIS**

- The thicker the lines/edges the more frequent the interactions
- A force-directed algorithm is applied that keeps closer actors that interact more frequently



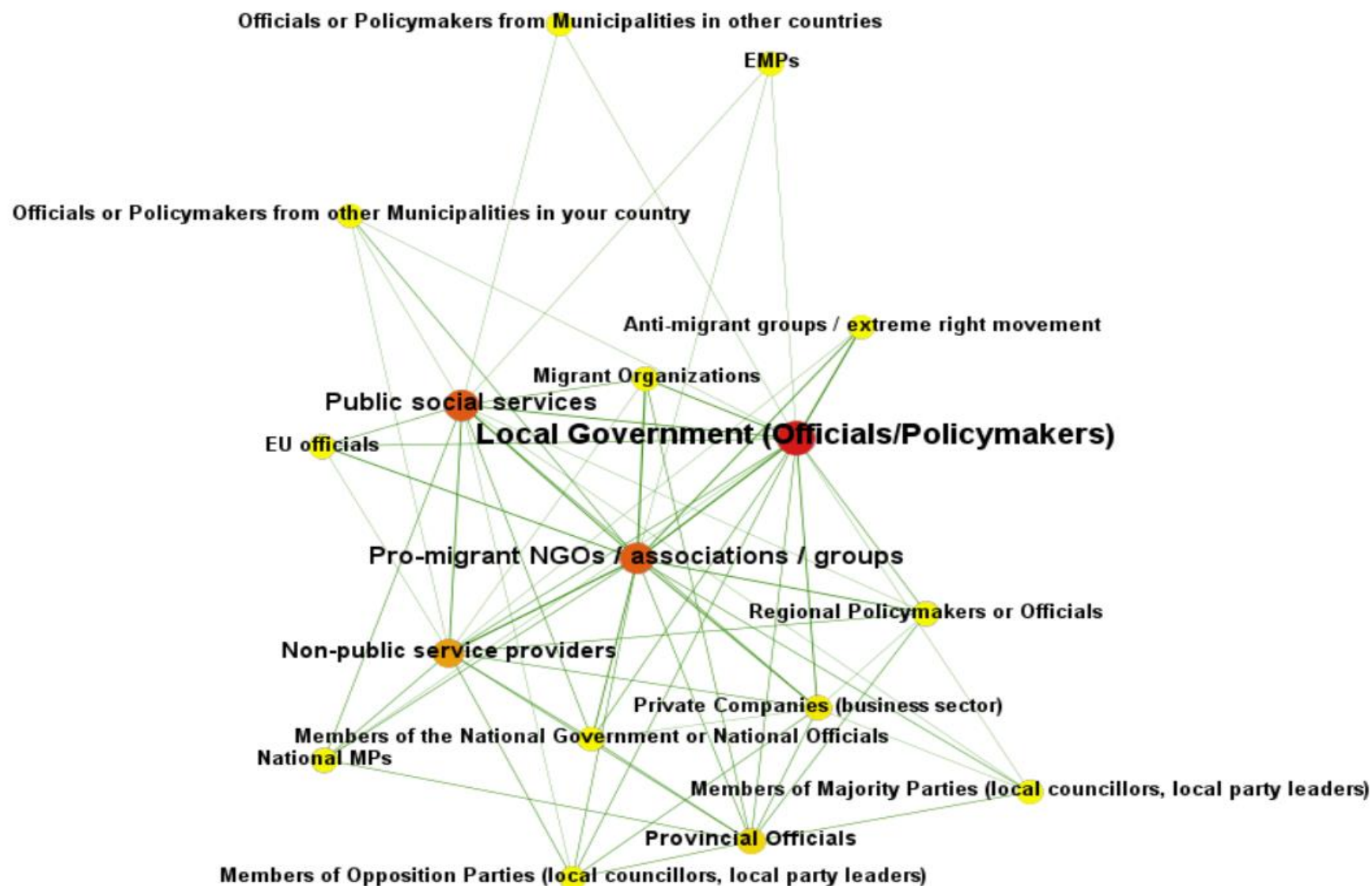


**ST CENTRAL ANATOLIA: NETWORK ANALYSIS**





**RA MEDITERRANEAN: NETWORK ANALYSIS**







## 4.3.2. Actors' functions and roles in governance networks

### 4.3.2.1 Governorates

In the Turkish public administration system, the government is represented by governorates in 81 provinces. Centrally appointed governors have a coordinating role over public offices within their province. In ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, which are provincial capitals, the Provincial Directorates of Migration Management (PDMM) act as direct representatives of the central government and carry out coordination and other relevant tasks related to migration on behalf of governorates in these provinces (discussed below). Governorates may also organize more general coordination meetings at the provincial level where migration can also become an agenda item as well. Since there are no district directorates of migration management, in RA Mediterranean the district governorate takes control over migration issues in coordination with the PDMM in the province to which the RA Mediterranean is administratively tied. The governorate has taken roles such as distributing social assistance for refugees, meeting with community leaders to understand and address issues, as well as convening coordination meetings between public and civil society organizations in RA Mediterranean. However, it was observed that the district governorate, which is tasked with serving the local citizenry in general, take such actions with greater caution, especially around aid delivery to refugees due to concerns about reactions of the local communities.

### 4.3.2.2 Provincial Directorate of Migration Management (PDMM)

PDMMs are the local branches of the Presidency of Migration Management, and all have specialized 'harmonization units' that play the main role in the overall coordination and cooperation of integration matters at the provincial level in Turkey. The activation of these units is relatively more recent within the institutional history of PDMMs across Turkey, which until 3-4 years ago focused primarily on mainly administrative matters like registration and status determination of refugees and asylum seekers and managing irregular migrant returns. Still, these units often have a small human resource capacity of one or two personnel only and do not have a specific budget, hence cannot independently plan and undertake any systemic or long-term integration-related activities.

In ST East Marmara and RA Mediterranean, the PDMMs reported organizing one-off events or activities such as celebration of special days (e.g. June 21<sup>st</sup> Refugee Day, December 18<sup>th</sup> International Migration day, March 8<sup>th</sup> Women's day), providing support to NGOs or other local stakeholders' project activities and providing informational guides for local migrant populations (e.g. brochures about PDMM's work and procedures, access to rights and services, useful contacts, places to visit in the city, etc.). Since 2018, the two PDMMs have also been tasked with organizing large gatherings called 'harmonization meetings', that are centrally planned by the Presidency at the national level in cooperation with other international organizations (UNCHR, IOM, ICMPD) and are implemented in selected provinces across Turkey. With these meetings, the PDMMs' main role is to ensure attendance of



migrants and refugees and deliver logistical support when necessary. The PDMMs are aware that one-off events such as these ‘harmonization meetings’ that also target all migrants and refugees as a whole have limited impact (a critique also raised by local NGOs), though they also see them as an opportunity for raising awareness among public institutions, migrants and refugee groups about availability of resources, orientation mechanisms, and the like. Seemingly, there are also some efforts for deepening engagement at the local level, like holding regular meetings with community leaders to exchange information and prevent any existing tensions from turning into conflicts, and other types of disturbances causing threats to public security. PDMM in RA Mediterranean reported that they are engaging with local university researchers to do a study on the local economic impact of Syrians, while PDMM in ST East Marmara are planning to develop more local-need focused projects, such as working at schools about peer-bullying or opening a Center under PDMM that will offer vocational and language training and include a day-care center.

#### 4.3.2.3 Municipalities

In all three localities, the municipalities described their main role as a provider of municipal services that are accessible to all urban residents irrespective of a foreigner or citizen status, although services aimed at migrants were in actuality very limited. In ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, it was reported that the municipal service desks function as the first point of contact between municipalities and foreigners in case a foreigner needs a service from the municipality, though only in ST East Marmara the service point was also said to include translation support.

Municipality representatives in ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia indicated that urban infrastructure work is part of their primary role in serving all urban residents. For example, water distribution, maintaining intra-urban roads, or constructing or refurbishing parks are part of their role in line with their annual strategic planning. And this mandate includes the urban areas that are run-down and impoverished and likely to be also inhabited by foreigners. In the rural areas of RA Mediterranean, informal settlements (e.g. living in tents) are common and the municipal services normally cannot be provided as these settlements are not formalized. To counter this, the municipality reported that they have started assigning numbers to such informal settlements so that the resident foreigners get registered to an address, making them in turn eligible for public services including children’s school registration.

Municipalities are also tasked with business licensing and registration. The municipalities carry out inspections to the shops/businesses owned by foreigners to check their main permits granted by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security as they sometimes open their businesses still in the application process as seen in a few cases in ST Central Anatolia. In RA Mediterranean, the municipality reported that they apply a looser control due to the potential economic benefits of these businesses to the locality in comparison to ST Central Anatolia which seems stricter.



Municipalities in Turkey can also provide social assistance to urban disadvantaged and vulnerable residents, again irrespective of foreigner or citizen status. However, all three municipalities reported that they did not provide municipal social aid directly to foreigners, but rather took on a facilitative role, such as directing foreigners to the central government's social assistance branches (Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations) or assisting local charities, business people and civil society organizations interested in making donations to local and migrant communities by providing logistical support and/or identifying persons with most needs.

Municipalities are also tasked with providing community social services to local communities, which can include vocational training for adults, and recreational, social and cultural activities for mainly women, children, and youth. These services are in principle open to foreigners, but usually require a certain level of Turkish knowledge. For example, in ST Central Anatolia, the municipality planned to extend a garment manufacturing-focused vocational training to foreigners, but it required A1 level Turkish knowledge. Municipal community centers can also offer Turkish language courses; however, the teachers are to be assigned by the Ministry of Education, Directorate of Lifelong Learning.

Another key area where municipalities are taking action is in trying to ease potential tensions between local and migrant communities in the context of shared public spaces. For example, in ST East Marmara, there were complaints by the local community about foreigners dominating a park, leading the municipality to construct a new one, though the same complaints emerged in this space as well. The widespread use of shop signs in Arabic in neighborhoods of the city where migrants dominate was another issue of contention, after which the Municipal Council issued a decision obliging shop owners to use 70% Turkish and 30% Arabic in their signboards.

Apart from the provision of these more general municipal services outlined above, none of the municipalities interviewed for this research saw themselves as having a role in designing or providing specialized services, projects or activities for foreigners. In fact, municipalities in ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia underlined that they prefer remaining on the sideline, while they also make efforts to respond to any requests coming from other designated stakeholders such as the PDMM or NGOs. Reportedly, the reasons why municipalities are reluctant in taking a proactive role are threefold. First, they refer to ambiguities of national policies (e.g. the ongoing discourse of temporariness of Syrians), which prevents them from making long term planning around the issues of local integration. Second, they point to funding limitations (i.e. Municipal budgets being determined according to number of local citizens only). Third, the municipalities believe that their priority is to serve citizens as they are their electorates and they do not want to receive any reaction from their electorates about serving Syrians or other refugees.

Linked with Municipalities, in Turkey regional Municipal Unions can also be identified as actors in the migration and integration field, though their level of activity varies between regions. For instance, the regional Municipal Union linked to ST East Marmara is highly active in



organizing activities such as knowledge and experience sharing, dissemination of good practices, delivery of consultancy and training, preparation of assessment reports related to migration issues.

#### 4.3.2.4 Political parties and local council members

The Municipal Council is one of three organs that exist in Turkey under municipalities together with the executive organs including the Municipal Board and Mayor<sup>31</sup>. Municipal councils are the decision-making bodies of the municipalities and consist of elected members. Political parties have members in municipal councils in relation to the votes they receive. They can have the authority of limiting executive power. In all three localities we interviewed Municipal Council members representing political parties other than the one of the elected mayor. Notably, we observed that differences in political party membership did not play a big role in their influence of policy making on integration or on how migration issues are approached in the Municipal Councils.

In ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, the interviewees stated that migration and integration related issues are not included in the agenda or discussions of the Council meetings due to a few reasons. First, they believe such matters are solely decided by the national government. Second, even if the national policy of the ruling party seems to promote integration of refugees into society, the mayor and executive branch do not have any explicit policy or programs for the refugees in their localities due to their concern about the backlash from their electorates. Third, the way the decision-making processes works prevents them from having any substantial discussion regarding migration in the Council meetings. Since they reported that they do not have any majority in the Council and the ruling party members do not have a culture of deliberating any decisions in the Council, the Council tends to approve whatever the mayor brings as a proposal or to vote for delegation of power to the mayor. In ST East Marmara, they indicated the opposition party's delicate situation in this locality as a reason for their rather passive role. The Council members from both ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia imagine a more active role for them when they come to power. They hope that they will reflect the concerns of both their electorates and of those people from the ruling party who are very critical about refugees. They reiterated the impossibility of integration between two communities and their future policy of encouraging return of some refugees back into their countries.

In RA Mediterranean, the municipal council member who is from the ruling party but in opposition in this locality did not discuss the role of Council per se but reiterated that he

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<sup>31</sup> The Municipal Board is designed to serve as both an executive and advisory body, and is headed by the mayor. Members of the board are elected for one year. The mayor is the principal executive and representative body of the Municipality. Mayors are directly elected by voters in the location.



pursues a supportive approach of national policies. He criticized the municipality's policies as he finds that they are not aligned with national policies and insufficient in responding to the needs. He for example commends the previous term's management from the nationalist party (MHP) in providing electricity and water and building prefabricate houses in one of the tent settlement areas to make a comparison with the current management. He also stated that he supports social assistance endeavors for Syrian refugees at the individual level and by cooperating with the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation.

#### 4.3.2.5 Other state actors

In line with Turkey's public administration system, there are numerous central state representatives functioning in the sectors such as education, health, social assistance and services, and employment at the provincial and district levels. We interviewed the representatives of employment agencies and social assistance institutions. The employment agency plays a role in improving job seekers' skills and facilitating access to the labor market by vocational training and other employment support services. They described their role in the localities limited to processing applications for work permit exemption for those who work in the agricultural sector. Their mandate does not exclude foreigners who want to register for job-seekers database or vocational trainings, yet there is a tendency that vocational trainings for foreigners are mainly dealt through projects funded by donor agencies.

The social assistance institutions (Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SASFs)) is a state-wide network established in each province and district in Turkey. Their main role for foreigners is to receive applications for the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) program funded by Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT) of the EU<sup>32</sup>. Their main mandate is to assist the most vulnerable people and do transfers of various types of cash and in-kind assistance. However, the interviewees reported that in the last few years their assistance to foreigners was restricted to the ESSN and conditional cash assistance for children in education funded by FRIT programs due to backlash from the host communities. In one locality, they reported that they currently receive the applications of foreigners for ESSN via phone that started in the pandemic and continue to this date. However, they undertake household visits to identify vulnerabilities and do necessary referrals to other public institutions and service provider NGOs. In the RA Mediterranean, they work closely with a platform of faith-based NGOs and charities that was established in the beginning of the Syrian crisis and still function to provide

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<sup>32</sup> The Emergency Social and Safety Net (ESSN) is the biggest program of the FRIT as well as the single largest humanitarian program in the history of the EU. It is a social assistance scheme that provides monthly cash assistance through debit cards to the most vulnerable refugee population. It assists more than 1.8 million people and the total allocated fund under the FRIT is over €1,8 billion. The first and second phases of the program was implemented by the World Food Program (WFP) with Turkish Red Crescent Society and Turkish government institutions (Ministry of Family and Social Services) The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) was contracted under FRIT 2 to implement ESSN III again with the Turkish Red Crescent Society (Kızılay) and Turkish governmental counterparts.



humanitarian aid to the most vulnerable refugees. They find their assistance work fundamental as having income or financial assistance constitute the precondition of any social cohesion or integration work.

Another state actor that is key is the mukhtar. They are elected neighborhood authorities. They describe their role as being local leaders that act between the state and people even if the interaction between locals and mukhtars has become more limited due to relegation in their tasks and responsibilities due to the digitalization of services for issuing residence permits and personal status papers (birth and marriage certificates, ID verification etc.). They still have various roles to play and are often tasked with compulsory duties for public health, education and military matters. For example, during the pandemic, they played an essential role in supporting people who cannot leave their houses in coordination with public health and health officials. They also described their role in disseminating the right information that they receive from the migration or security authorities for foreigners and community leaders. They also monitor public safeguards in their neighborhoods. For example, in one locality, upon complaints about noise at night caused by foreigners, they mediate between local residents and foreigners before the issues are reported to security officials, but they underline that they expect foreigners to obey the rules of community life.

#### 4.3.2.6 Pro-migrant civil society

Over the past decade, following especially the mass scale of arrival of Syrians, there has been a dramatic boom in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Turkey serving refugee communities, whose missions and scope of work vary considerably, including rights-based, humanitarian and/or faith-based organizations operating at international, national and/or local levels. In each of the case localities, we interviewed the local branch offices of national NGOs, who similarly described their main role as facilitating asylum seekers and refugees' access to rights and services through offering several activities such as legal, psycho-social and protection support, awareness raising, educational opportunities, community building through social cohesion activities, and the like. They report working closely with local public institutions and other local actors.

As their work is centered entirely on local migrant and refugee populations, in all three cases the NGOs saw themselves as holding a special position in terms of grasping and analyzing the actual needs and demands of both migrants and local communities, which they achieve by using various tools, such as engaging community members through consultation meetings or carrying out needs assessment research. And they use this knowledge in their efforts to respond to local needs, either through their own capacities or through mobilizing and cooperating with other actors. As such, they see their function as doing advocacy to make the current situation more visible and bringing together local civil society, public and other organizations to respond to the needs collectively. And once these goals have been met, they often move to other localities where there are more needs.



On the other hand, each NGO highlighted that their work is based entirely on a project basis, which can have several negative impacts. First, it means that their resources are limited in amount and time, thus they have to be strategic in prioritizing what to work and invest on. Doing project work only can also lead to significant periodic changes in staff, which can negatively impact local efforts, such as social cohesion activities, given the time required to gain local trust and respect. Also, the projects are often planned at the central level of the organization, so although the projects take into consideration local needs, they are bound by activity and funding related decisions made in their headquarters. They also highlight that they need to go through a detailed bureaucratic permission procedure to be able to implement any of their activities.

There are differences between what aspects of local integration NGOs prioritize, which builds again on their assessment of local needs. For instance, in ST Central Anatolia, the NGO focuses on protection (e.g. awareness training on violence against women, assigning mobile teams for aid distribution) and providing financial support due to high number of vulnerable case in the region, whereas in ST East Marmara, the NGO aims to invest more in social cohesion activities in the near future while continuing their service provision work.

In both localities, the NGOs have been working towards facilitating social cohesion between migrant and host communities through social and cultural activities, though these have been limited mostly to one-off or large events, for example around special day celebrations, which tend to have limited long-term impacts. In the future the NGO in ST East Marmara shared that they plan to focus on developing long-term social cohesion activities. To this end, they use consultation mechanisms with refugee communities to identify the most promising activities for social cohesion. (e.g. peer-groups, women committees, high school students frequenting same youth centers). Since there is no systematic plan in place, as a local NGO they develop their own plan and go along with implementing activities. However, the NGO in ST East Marmara expressed a dilemma that they face about their long-term social cohesion activities. While these activities require to working with same groups over time, they also need to reach out as many as people as their number of clients are very high (around 5000)

In ST East Marmara, we interviewed the local representative of the largest national humanitarian organization. Unlike in certain localities where this service provider NGO has community centers opened for migrants and refugees, they do not have big operations in ST East Marmara. They mainly talked about their role in the ESSN program. In ST Central Anatolia, the interviewee from a large national faith-based humanitarian organization's local branch talked about their charity-based operations in cooperation with a platform composed of small local faith-based organizations. They pointed out that while they had a larger role in the beginning of the crisis, they nowadays assist only certain vulnerable groups including orphans and single women households as well as focus on their large aid delivery operations inside Syria.



#### 4.3.2.7 Other local actors

For the Whole-Comm research in each locality we also interviewed other diverse non-state actors and have listed below examples of how they see their involvement and role with respect to local integration policies and processes and to what extent they interact with the former main actors.

##### **Private sector**

In each of the localities, the different private sector representatives we interviewed shared their opinions and observations about the local job market dynamics (e.g. high unemployment levels, large informal markets) and incorporation patterns of local migrant and refugees populations (e.g. heavy work permit bureaucracy, presence of large unskilled labor force). While they appear well-informed about such local dynamics though, they do not see themselves as having a role in supporting local integration processes beyond offering jobs to migrants, which they argue anyhow is a first step that facilitates migrants' local integration. In other words, they hold that if migrants actively participate in the local labor markets and have a strong work ethic, integration will occur naturally.

##### **Real estate agencies**

Similar to private sector representatives, the real estate agencies in ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia primarily shared their observations about local issues of integration in referring to certain commonly held characteristics of local migrant populations, including the discontent about unemployed relatively wealthy house owner Iraqi youth and an increasing number of Iraqi business owners including in real estate, restaurants and shops in ST East Marmara, and the growing prevalence of poverty among seasonal migration workers in ST Central Anatolia, and concerns over their increased visibility in public spaces in general. In all three cases, real estate agents noted that they do not have any refugee clients as Syrians as they cannot afford to live in areas where they sell/rent houses or other real estate. They reported that Syrians or other refugees live in impoverished neighborhoods, abandoned places or live in tent settlements, as in the case of RA Mediterranean. As such, they do not seem to play a role in the facilitating access to housing for refugees and migrants in need but serve primarily more well to do migrant populations.

##### **Universities**

In ST Central Anatolia we interviewed an academic from a university, where the university (and its experts on migration) seems to function both as an advisor to local authorities and an implementer of projects that are similar to the ones undertaken by civil society organizations. Relevant university faculty are also invited to take part in the provincial local coordination meetings organized by the PDMM and Governorate. Additionally, they build partnerships with NGOs, community leaders etc. The interviewee gave an example of their current search for funding in implementing a vocational training program and their potential partnership with





the UNHCR and Provincial Directorate of Education to tackle the problem of bullying and exclusion in public schools.

### **Local media**

In RA Mediterranean, we interviewed a local media representative who underlined the power of local media in impacting local perceptions about the migration situation in general as well as influencing decision makers to take actions to improve conditions of refugees living in difficult conditions by making positive news more visible, although it is rare to come across positive stories. The interviewee added that uncertainties in refugee status prevent local media representatives from educating and working more on these issues.

### **Anti-migrant groups**

We interviewed a Turkish far-right organization<sup>33</sup> in ST Central Anatolia who mainly shared their discontent about the presence and increasing visibility of migrants in their city. They claim that some migrants are morally backward and cause a threat to public security. However, they also are aware that there are many people living in difficult conditions and hold that there cannot be any local policy or projects in place for integration for such a large population. Regardless, they do not think that they have any role in supporting integration. Only in the past, they distributed some social aid to refugees living in impoverished neighborhoods and extended their support for those who stood out to be “moral” or “honest”. They also watch for immoral public behaviors of migrant groups to protect public morale. In ST East Marmara, we interviewed an association that established by Turkic migrant groups that arrived prior to the 1980s. They mainly shared their opinion about how they were different from today’s “asylum seekers” rather than talking about their role and support for integration in this locality. They highlighted that they integrated into the society without any specific state support (except the houses that were provided to them in the 1980s, although they underline that they were constructed through EU funds) through their hard work, doing unwanted jobs and immersing themselves in Turkish culture. They believe this is the reason why they are now respected members of the society, and they are called “gocmen” while Syrians are called “asylum seekers”. They added that local communities understood their value better after Syrians moved to the locality because Syrians are perceived to be a burden on public services and dependent on assistance from the state unlike them. They stated with a pride that their roots belong to the Turkish-Islam synthesis and not to the Arab culture.

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<sup>33</sup> The Grey Wolves (Turkish: Bozkurtlar), officially known as Idealist Hearths (Turkish: Ülkü Ocakları, is a Turkish far-right organization and movement affiliated with the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP).



## Trade Unions

In ST Central Anatolia, we interviewed one of the biggest education unions. They stated that their mandate does not include any tasks related to foreigners. However, they are aware of the problems related to public schools. They talked about the discontent among teachers and school administration about public schools located in neighborhoods populated by Syrians. In those schools, the Syrian students become the majority (80%-90%) in time with Turkish parents gradually taking their children out of these schools due to an increase in the number of Syrian students. They reported that teachers working in those schools ask for their rotation to other schools, even to village schools. The teachers are reported to have pointed out the lack of support that they expect to receive from the administration and change in their perception about their profession from being teachers to caretakers as a reason for their discontent. Although the Union restated their lack of formal migrant issues, the union representatives shared their ideas to address these problems such as advocating for incentives for teachers, organizing hygiene training for children, accelerated Turkish classes for students, having translators for communicating with parents.

## Employer Organizations

In both ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, we interviewed local representatives of a national employer organization which works towards supporting job creation, diversification of workforce and skill development to increase the economic power of the country. In ST Central Anatolia, their stance stood out to be more positive as the interviewee commented on the positive impacts of migrants on the local economy. They also reportedly support women and other disadvantaged groups' inclusion into local labor markets, including migrants and refugees, both through their own means and support offered by philanthropic organizations. However, in ST East Marmara, the representative of the same employer organization expressed perceptions about refugees that were a lot more negative, including claims about how the refugee populations have started completely transforming their city through increasing visibility. The interviewee also personally believed that their organization should not take any role in integration of refugees and that it is up to them to integrate, learn Turkish etc.

### 4.3.3. Dynamics of cooperation and conflict

#### *ST East Marmara*

The provincial coordination meetings held by PDMM are seen as the main interaction platform between the actors. The meetings function to facilitate interaction and communication between the actors and to provide a platform for exchanging updated information about the field. PDMM sees harmonization and information sharing meetings for migrants held in ST East Marmara as a platform for the exchange of information between public institutions while they are invited to speak in the same panel to inform migrants about their area of expertise. The municipality and NGOs underlined that their cooperation with community leaders supports their aid distribution operations. PDMM's cooperation with community leaders not



only establishes an information channel between public institutions and migrant communities but also mobilizes wealthy migrant groups living in RA Mediterranean to support refugees. In ST East Marmara, similar to ST Central Anatolia, PDMM gives importance to inter-institutional cooperation to complement their efforts, and they expect to see municipalities to be more active on social activities.

### *ST Central Anatolia*

Formal provincial-level coordination meetings, convened either by the governorates to discuss more general issues or by PDMMs to discuss migration-specific matters, constitute the main institutional interaction platforms bringing together many of the main actors in ST Central Anatolia. Several interviewees pointed to these meetings as being an influential coordination mechanism. The meetings of the PDMM are perceived to be a platform for information exchange and sharing institutional updates. As some actors indicated, problematic issues that need to be addressed by officials are discussed during these meetings. However, it was also pointed out that in most cases, these meetings rarely go beyond information sharing and are limited in providing a platform for taking action and/or offering structured solutions to problems that are raised. For example, one interviewee mentioned how the issue of the lack of Persian translators in hospitals was brought to the attention of decision-makers in several meetings, but no actions were taken. Some interviewees also made remarks about the ways in which other institutional representatives use these meetings to make complaints about the local situation rather than bringing up ideas and proposals for solutions. Still, it appears that these meetings are not a place where institutional conflicts may arise. As one interviewee stated, these meetings are held mainly for protocol purposes, participating officials engage in limited discussion and tend to show 'statist reflexes that are more security-oriented.

The interactions between local public institutions and pro-migrant NGOs forms another structure of support for governance and service provision in the migration field in ST Central Anatolia. Although the form and level of interaction varies for each institution, all public institution members interviewed mentioned the importance of NGOs and gave different examples of cooperation with them. Moreover, NGOs are commended for their flexibility and proactiveness to take initiatives, and/or are seen as an important financial power for being able to mobilize funds for many things including social aid, organizing social cohesion activities, and the like. One interviewee even commented that it would not be possible to deliver any support to migrants and refugees without NGOs. It seems thus that NGOs try to respond to requests of referrals coming from all provincial actors including PDMM, chamber of commerce, and social assistance institutions to find solutions for migrants and refugees' problems at the local level. Some NGOs also offer personnel support to local public institutions, such as translators, which creates another cooperation structure between NGOs and public institutions.

Despite the centrality of NGOs in ST Central Anatolia in cooperation mechanisms, most of the actors emphasized that they expect the PDMM to be a lead actor in supporting other institutions while recognizing also that PDMM works with insufficient human resources and



financial capacity. For example, a public institution representative complained about receiving referrals from the PDMM for the issues that should actually fall under their responsibility (e.g. explaining a procedure to foreigners). In the same vein, some actors underlined the lack of support that they receive from the municipality. On the other hand, municipal representatives commented that they respond to individual requests from all institutions, including NGOs, even if there is no explicit cooperation mechanism.

#### *RA Mediterranean*

In the case of RA Mediterranean, relations and networks among numerous actors are more complex, as it involves both the province and district levels. Interviewees' references to coordination and cooperation mechanisms indicate some level of disconnection between the province and district priorities, capacity, and resources. The coordination meetings held by the PDMM at the provincial level include all public, municipal, and NGOs as well as the metropolitan district municipalities. Yet these actors' outreach and capacity to jointly undertake activities in this locality seem insufficient and is even further limited with respect to rural areas. In the absence of a district directorate of migration management in Tarsus, the PDMM authorities organize periodic meetings in the RA Mediterranean both to disseminate information among public institutions and promote public-civil society cooperation. Through such meetings, the PDMM perceives itself as making an indirect contribution to integration issues at the district level, while pointing out that other actors, especially the municipality, district governorate, education authorities, and NGOs have the responsibility to respond to the needs of people living in tent areas in the rural parts of the district and to tackle severe problems such as child labor, schooling of children and poor infrastructure conditions.

The main coordination function in RA Mediterranean is held by the district governor who convenes regular meetings separately with three main actors, namely public institutions, NGOs, and community leaders. Similar to the PDMM's role, the district governor's office also builds connections with NGOs and community leaders, though it is limited mainly to aid distribution activities.

While pro-migrant NGO representatives commend their strong internal NGO network and regular coordination meetings held in the province that RA Mediterranean is administratively tied to and appreciate the openness of public institutions working with them in this province as opposed to other cities, their mandate does not necessarily cover RA Mediterranean. Given this restriction, the pro-migrant NGOs jointly plan activities for RA Mediterranean from the province that are ensured to be aligned with the field needs. However, these activities are on a temporary basis and need to prioritize humanitarian needs by targeting only refugees rather than integration and social cohesion issues. Although there are a few ongoing vocational training and employment-related projects referred to and commended by the local public authorities, their results are not reported to be observed yet.

Some interviewees pointed out that while there are a variety of services provided at the provincial level for migrants and refugees such as language, vocational courses, and



informative training about access to rights and services, these activities are not seen in RA Mediterranean. They report that there are no locally organized meetings, workshops, or panels as NGOs presence and the municipality's involvement is not strong in Tarsus. As a positive note, they mentioned that there are a few people from the City Council who care about this matter. And they added that the activities organized in RA Mediterranean by national or provincial actors do not take into consideration the local context. They gave an example of how information about a large grant call by an international organization based in Ankara targeting agricultural cooperatives in the region including RA Mediterranean is not disseminated locally to potential beneficiaries in RA Mediterranean. The public institution and NGO representatives also stated that there are duplications of limited efforts. Lastly, political issues seem to impact the level of cooperation in RA Mediterranean. Some interviewees indicated insufficient coordination between governorate and metropolitan municipalities as well as between metropolitan and district municipalities despite being from the same political party.

To conclude, the level of coordination and cooperation in this locality seems to be more limited than the mechanisms in the other two localities. This affects the need to ensure minimum living standards of agricultural migrant workers remain unmet. The organizations that are supposed to protect labor rights prioritize the needs and issues of seasonal agricultural workers from the host communities over migrant workers.

#### **Dynamics of cooperation and conflict across the three cases:**

Given that the main/only formal coordination mechanisms is limited to meetings organized by either governorates or PDMMs, local government (PDMM in particular) and other public services take center stage. The public and local government officials tend to cooperate with pro-migrant NGOs to use their available resources; their capacity and mandate fall short in many aspects as explained throughout the report.

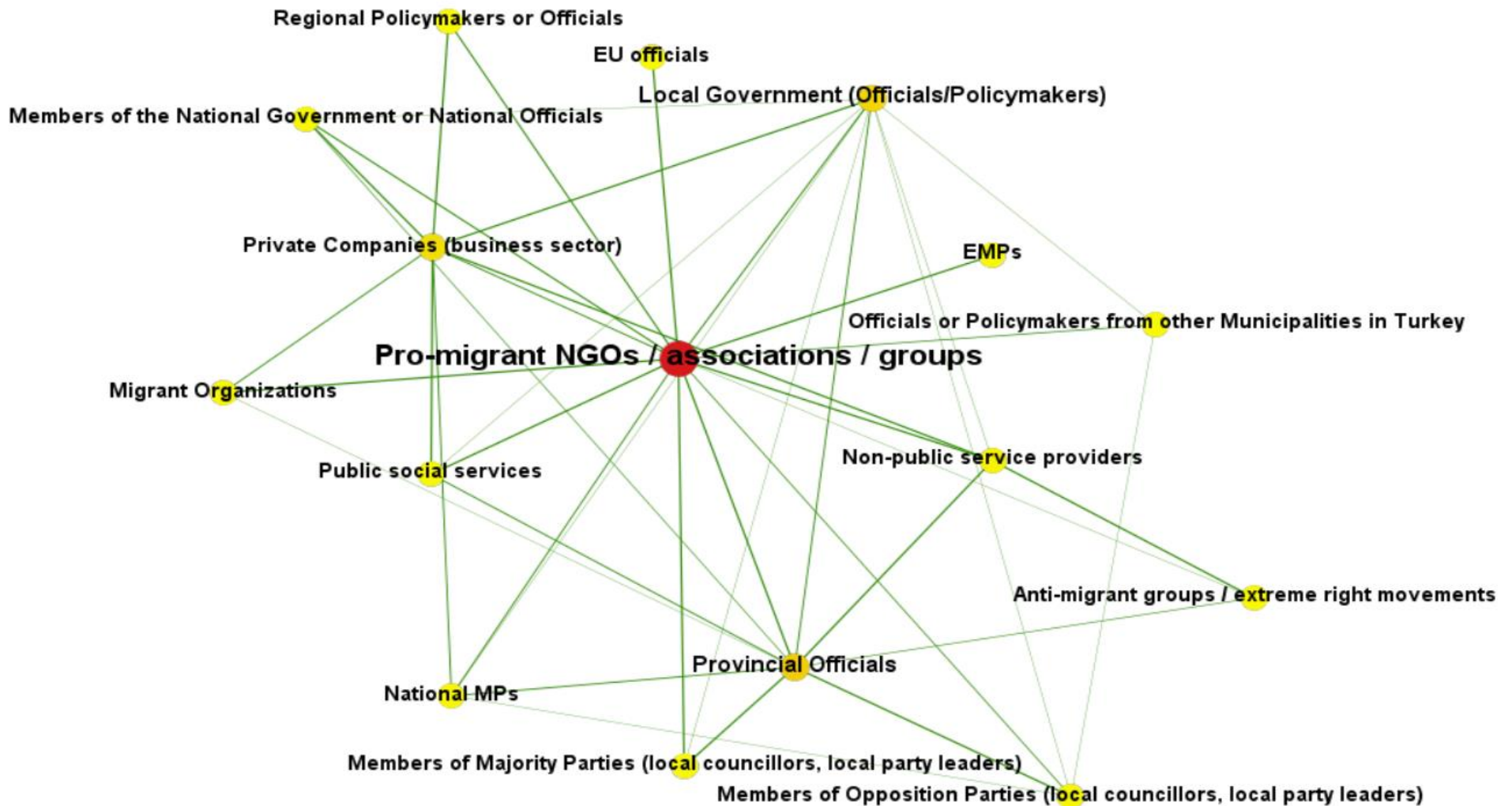
- Conflictual interactions are rare, since either the interactions take place through protocol meetings and technical information sharing mechanisms or the institutions intentionally remain on the sideline and try not to be visible in their actions.
- NGOs appear as the third most relevant actors, though as noted these are mostly in the form of informal partnerships. While they expect to work more closely with public and local government officials, this cooperation varies in accordance with the interests, human resources and financial capabilities of the respective actors.

As noted above, research for this report included also a survey study carried out with the interviewed research participants. The following graphics build on this data and show the extent of cooperation and conflict between the diverse actors.



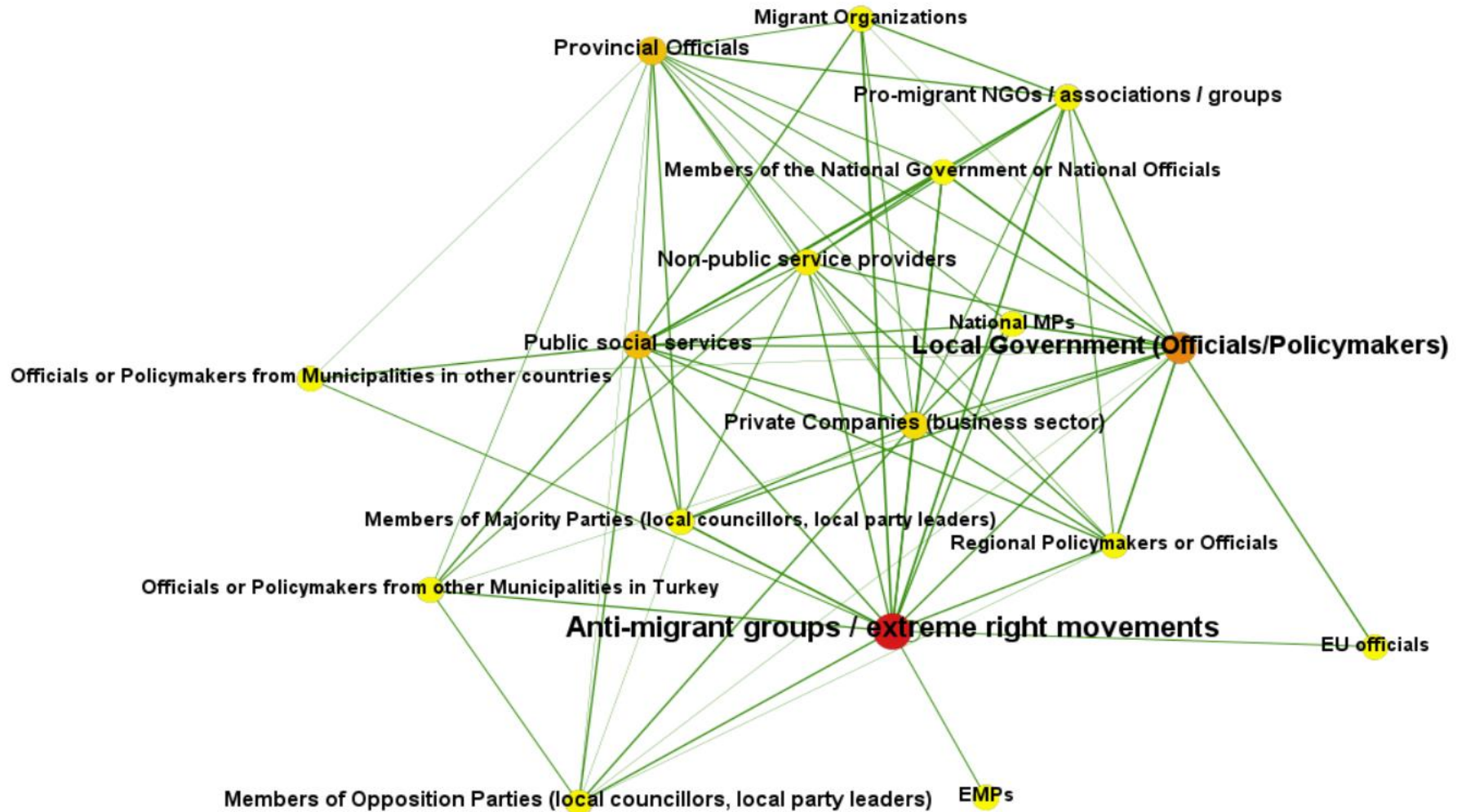
**ST EAST MARMARA: NETWORK COLLABORATION/CONFLICT**

- The thicker the lines/edges the more collaborative the interactions (thin lines represent conflictual interactions)
- A force-directed algorithm is applied that keeps closer actors that have more collaborative/less conflictual interactions.
- % CONFLICTUAL TIES: 37%



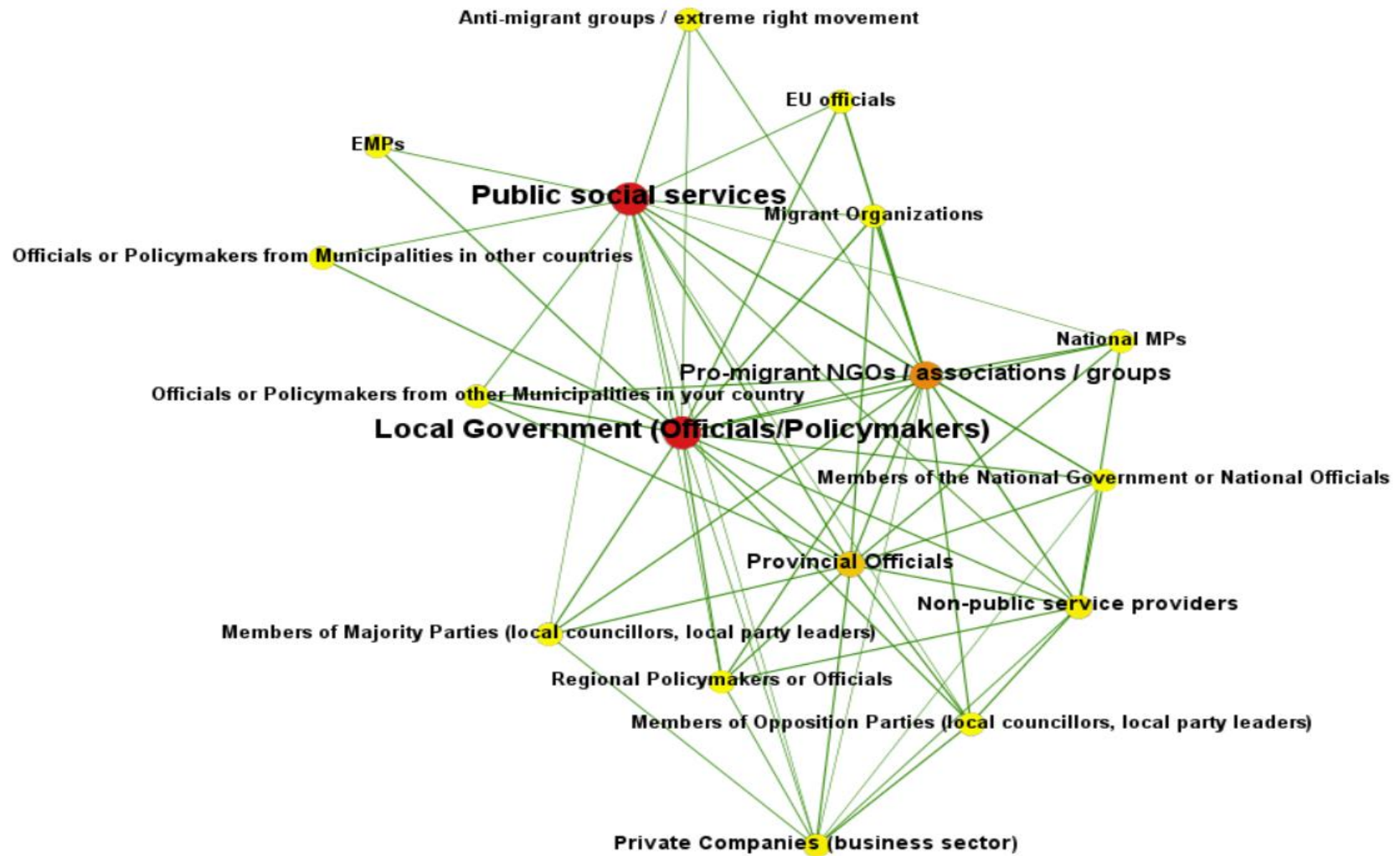


**ST CENTRAL ANATOLIA: NETWORK COLLABORATION/CONFLICT**





**RA MEDITERRANEAN: NETWORK COLLABORATION/CONFLICT**







## 4.4. Decision making

The survey conducted within the framework of this study asked about the factors influencing actions and decisions of local policy-makers, political actors and street-bureaucrats, non-profit service providers, trade unions, private employers and employers' organizations. This section summarizes the findings of the survey. Table 2 in the Appendix indicates in more detail the answers of respondents in each locality with the scale of 1 to 5.

### **Factors that crucially influence local policymakers' actions and decisions:**

#### *ST East Marmara*

The local official from this locality indicated that except pressure or request from local government and private companies, all the other factors such as election, requests of members of local council members, all pro or anti migrant protests as well as national/provincial government highly influence their actions and decisions. In the interview we held with this actor, their position of remaining on the sideline through not having any explicit policies for migrants and their actions of mediating local public's reactions and demands against migrants were striking. On the other hand, the survey results showed a wider range of considerations in their actions.

#### *ST Central Anatolia*

The local official from this locality selected the request or pressure from the private company and national government as the most influential factors for their actions and decision-making processes. Similarly, this interviewee emphasized in our conversation that their policies are dependent on the decision of the national government and president. Thus, once there is a broad framework in place determined by higher ups, they can then draw a roadmap to move forward. However, they do not see that the national government approaches the issue as a problem that needs suggestions/roadmap for solutions, therefore they are not a proactive actor in the field.

#### *RA Mediterranean*

For the centrally appointed local government representative/policy-maker in this locality, the factors of economy, anti-migrant protests, local attitudes towards migrants, suggestions from parties forming the majority within the local Council as well as requests/pressures from national and provincial governments highly influence their decisions. For the elected local official, economy, requests or pressures from national and provincial governments and upcoming elections are the most influential factors among all, yet they are reported as partially/somewhat important. Unlike the discussions we held with local officials, the economy, local attitudes towards migrants that they were often referring to do not show up in survey responses to be a priority in their decision makings. However, for both local policy makers, suggestions from public officials, their values and then suggestions of pro-migrant



NGOs are seen as very influential factors impacting their decisions. Since they both cooperate with pro-migrant NGOs, this response is aligned with the interviewee results.

**Factors that crucially influence the actions/decisions/mobilization of ‘political actors’ (e.g. advocacy NGOs, pro-migrant or anti-migrant movements, local councilors from opposition parties etc.):**

#### *ST East Marmara*

In the interview we undertook with the anti-migrant group from this locality, they mostly compared their past migration experience with the situation of “newcomers”. Regarding the factors influencing their decisions and actions, they indicated that anti-migrant and pro-migrant protests, requests or pressures from local NGOs and local media are the most influential factors for their decisions. Both interview and survey results indicate that they are mostly affected by perceptions and opinions in their actions.

The local council member from the opposition party selected the factors of request or pressures from public officials, national and provincial government highly whereas the request or pressures from the parties forming the majority and opposition within the local Council are marked as the least influential factors along with pro and anti-migrant protests, request of local NGOs. This result can be perceived contradictory as local context, local actors should be assumably important for a political party member working at local level. Regardless, this is aligned with the discussion in the interview that politics at local level are not independently carried out, so they did not see that they have a power to influence local politics and they had stronger ties with national agenda/ decisions making processes.

#### *ST Central Anatolia*

Responses of the representative from an anti-migrant group in this locality indicated that the upcoming election, requests or pressure from local NGO, private company and national government constitute the most influential factors for their actions/ decision making processes. While elections, national government influence are expected factors, the impact of local NGO suggestions can be interpreted within the framework of their reported charity-based work in collaboration with faith-based organizations in this locality for the most vulnerable groups despite their nationalistic, anti-migrant attitudes. The member of Local Council from the opposition party reported that the most influential determinants of their political involvement are related to the elections, pressure/requests from the local government, national and provincial government. They scored all other factors directly related to local dynamics very low. This aligns with our discussion where they pointed out the importance of the national level dynamics rather than local politics in terms of influencing



their actions. Their opposition in the Council as explained in the MLG section due to various reasons cannot impact decisions or policy making processes at local level.

#### *RA Mediterranean*

A respondent who are a service provider (non-profit) is known as one of the leading NGOs doing advocacy work for seasonal agricultural migrant workers, they chose values as the most important factor. They also found the economy and suggestions, pressures coming from local and national government as well as public officials important. This result seems in line with our discussions that were about the influence of local and national government official's decisions, policies to have a real impact on living conditions of seasonal migrant workers.

#### **Factors that crucially influence the actions and decisions of street-level bureaucrats / non-profit service providers / trade unions / private employers /employers' organizations**

#### *ST East Marmara*

Like other localities, employer's decisions and actions regarding migration are not affected by the factors listed in the survey. Only economy and values are indicated as the most influential ones. For the employer organization, in parallel to interviewee results, the actors and contexts at national and local levels seem to be equally important for their decisions with the exception of their choice of national government as the highest factor. This type of employer organization in all three other localities shows to be adapting more technical and neutral positions. Interestingly, trade unions in this locality did not select any of the listed factors impactful in their actions/decisions except election and anti-migrant protests. With regard to impacts of pro-migrant NGO's decision-making processes, unlike in the other localities, the factors related to local context and actors are not rated very high. The most influential factors are listed as values and requests/pressure of local government. Although they indicated their cooperation and coordination efforts at local level, they may not be seeing local context as their projects and activities are mostly designed and funded nationally. Lastly, for the street-level bureaucrat tasked with migration management, the factors related to national context are higher than issues directly related to local level such as requests of Local Council members, local government and public officials.

#### *ST Central Anatolia*

Local branch of a faith based non-profit service provider (NGO) reported that the values, requests or pressures from the local government and anti-migrant protests are the major factors influencing their decision making. They did not refer to national political agenda or local politics impacting their decisions, actions. Their close ties with the government can be assumed to be a factor in their lack of interest in issues related to national and local politics. For the pro-migrant NGO, requests or pressures from the local government come first and followed by other factors equally scored except the anti-migrant protests, economy and member of local council from the opposition party. While these two actors both provide services to migrants and refugees, actions of the pro-migrant NGO are reported to be more



attached to national and local decision makers in line with our interview results. Employer organizations like most of the other actors did not include the economy as the most influential factors in their actions and decisions. Although the interviewees in this locality and others highlighted the economic context for both locals and migrant communities as an important barrier for their policies, actions, this was not weighed much in the surveys. Lastly, unlike in the RA Mediterranean, the street level bureaucrat responsible for migration management did not mark the factors related to local actors (local government, public officials, pro-migrant NGOs etc. score of mostly very influential, however, requests/pressures of national government as well as factors related to public opinions such as elections, local media, anti-migrant protests, economy were indicated as the most influential factors. Other street-level bureaucrat working in the social assistance sector did not score highly on any of the factors except the elections. This can be explained that their institution is not inherently assigned with any role for policy or decision-making power at the local level.

#### *RA Mediterranean*

For the employers, employer's organizations and real estate agent about the factors influencing their decisions do not indicate much information. Their scores to all factors are between the score of 1-3. This somewhat reflects the interviews results in which indicated that they do not see themselves influential actors in this field and shared mostly their framing of the issue and public opinion in general rather than their role per se. For pro-migrant NGO, values, economy, anti-migrant protests and local media seem the most influential factors for their decision-making processes. This results also reflects somewhat their practices where they try to be attentive to local communities' reactions and include the most vulnerable local people in their projects that has been a norm since 2018 for most of the donor funded projects in Turkey. One of the street level bureaucrats who is responsible for migration management issues responded highly to all factors between 4 to 5. They are the key actors both in central and local level, so they seem to be aware of all factors in their decision-making processes although as indicated other sections results that they are in the center of coordination and cooperation efforts in the localities, yet they do not have a high decision-making power at local level.



## 5. Conclusion

Turkey's integration policies are traditionally formed and implemented at a national level. The findings of the study have showed that while national level policies bring some alignment between practices and policy implementation under social cohesion and other sectors such as employment, housing, education and social assistance, the contextual factors such as demography of migration, structural issues such as labor market conditions and host communities' approaches determine substantial differences between the three localities.

Regarding harmonization policies, the national migration management actor namely PMM invest in establishing local level coordination mechanisms, harmonization working groups under their local branches and implementing certain integration activities such as awareness raising meetings at different localities, social cohesion trainings for migrants and refugees. The responses of local actors in the three localities to these efforts differ in accordance with their priorities and needs. In ST East Marmara, municipal and pro-migrant NGO actors underline the importance of local planning, as well as necessary budget allocation for such efforts to make them more impactful and sustainable. In RA Mediterranean, which is a sub-provincial town with a large agriculture sector, ensuring decent living conditions for agricultural migrant workers who live in isolation from the host communities become a priority. Local policies in the field of employment in ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia focus on skill development and formal access to labor market. Given large informality, the local actors' activities, and efforts as in the case of ST Central Anatolia mainly include vocational training and job matching activities. With regard to housing, there is no formal housing policies for refugees in Turkey, migrant networks and assistance by some local actors (mukhtars, pro-migrant NGOs) shape practices of housing. In ST East Marmara, wealthy foreigners who mainly come from Iraq, Saudi Arabia and the UAE dominate the housing market, which leads to some tension in local communities as some neighborhoods are mainly populated by migrants. Housing policies are also used for control of mobility to ensure migrants and refugees stay in their registered residences. In ST East Marmara and B, the formal housing procedures creates problems for those who cannot afford to pay utilities, deposit etc. In RA Mediterranean, the tent settlements have their own infrastructure and registration issues.

In the three localities, the framing of integration by local actors tends to be either negative or critical about the current situation. While the actors share their understanding of harmonization, they also interchangeably referred to local public opinions to support their arguments or concerns. Public opinion frames are categorized in the report under several headings. These frames are about migrants being seen as a threat to demography, well-being of citizens, security, and public spaces. Migrants are additionally perceived as inherently different than host communities and as causing a burden on public services, so their return to their countries of origin is proposed as a solution to these issues. Despite such framing of actors in the three localities, some actors pointed out to the paradox of economy and social dynamics since migrants/refugees are accepted to be contributing to the economy, housing market especially in ST Central Anatolia.



The detailed analysis of MLG dynamics in the three localities showed that the local public actors at provincial level in ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia and sub-provincial level in RA Mediterranean develop some form of networks through formal coordination as well as ad-hoc referral mechanisms. In ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, local migration management authorities lead such coordination and cooperate with several actors including pro-migrant NGOs, community leaders, universities although some actors criticize that the coordination efforts at local level remain procedural and do not offer real solutions to issues. In these two localities, NGOs are mainly contacted by all actors to find solutions for migrants and refugees' problems at the local level, yet the actors expect the PDMMs to be a lead actor in supporting other institutions and to see more active support of municipalities. In RA Mediterranean, the provincial and district level relations and networks are more complex than the other two localities where only provincial level relations are managed. Provincial level efforts do not always reach targeted populations in the district and do not meet the district's priorities in ensuring minimum living standards of agricultural migrant workers. The advocacy work of NGOs and their coordination mechanisms at the provincial level address some capacity and resource needs, yet they are far from sufficient. Overall, interactions between actors are not considered conflictual, since the cooperation mechanisms take place at a more formal level where some actors choose to be passive or sidelined. NGOs are in the center of partnerships, yet the mechanisms are found to be more ad-hoc.

The survey examining the factors influencing actions and decisions of the actors interviewed for this study including local policy-makers, political actors and street-bureaucrats, non-profit service providers, trade unions, private employers and employers' organizations. The local officials in the three localities share the view that national and provincial government highly influence their actions and decisions. Additionally, in the RA Mediterranean, the elected and centrally appointed local officials find suggestions from public officials, their own values and suggestions of pro-migrant NGOs highly impactful for their decisions. The political actors, in all three localities find more ties with national agenda/decision making processes rather than local dynamics of politics, so they find pressures coming from local and national government as well as public officials important. In terms of the values, only in RA Mediterranean, a non-profit service provider representative rated values as highly important. As it surfaced in the interviews, employers and employer's organizations, as well as real estate agents, do not see themselves as influential actors in this field and so their responses are not very informative. In ST East Marmara and ST Central Anatolia, street-level bureaucrats find requests/pressures of national government as well as factors related to public opinions such as elections, local media, anti-migrant protests, economy important. The most influential factors for pro-migrant NGOs seem to be values and requests/pressure of local government.



## 6. Appendix

**Table 1: Integration laws and policies in Turkey**

	RELEVANT LAWS	RELEVANT POLICIES	MAIN ACTORS INVOLVED	ROLE/ RESPONSIBILITY OF ACTORS	FUNDING
<b>NATIONAL LEVEL</b>	<p>Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) No. 6458, 11 April 2013</p> <p>Amended by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Emergency Decree No 676, 29 October 2016</li> <li>-Law No 7070, 1 February 2018 on the regulation of emergency provisions</li> <li>-Decree No 703 on the harmonization of laws, 9 July 2018</li> <li>-Law No 7148 amending several acts, 26 October 2018</li> <li>-Law No 7196 amending several acts, 6 December 2019</li> </ul> <p>Presidential Decree No. 1, 10 July 2018</p> <p>Presidential Decree No. 4, 10 July 2018</p> <p>Presidential Decree No. 17, 13 September 2018</p> <p>Presidential Decree No. 2182, 1 March 2020.</p>	<p>11th National Development Plan (2019-2023)</p> <p>Strategy Document and National Action Plan on Harmonization (2018-2023)</p> <p>Strategy Document and National Action Plan on Irregular Migration (2019-2023)</p> <p>Turkish Grand National Assembly, Human Rights Monitoring Commission, Migration Rights Monitoring Sub-Committee, Migration and Harmonization Report, March 2018</p> <p>DGMM’s 2019-2023 Strategic Plan</p> <p>DGMM’s 2020 Activity Plan</p>	<p>Presidency of Migration Management (PMM)</p> <p>Provincial Directorates of Migration Management</p> <p>Office of Presidency</p> <p>Ministry of Interior</p>	<p>International Protection Status Determination, Issuance of Residence Permits, Registration of Temporary Protection (TP), Reception of international protection applicants and TP, management of return (forced and voluntary) &amp; readmission, coordination, policymaking on all migration matters including harmonization (integration)</p>	<p>PMM</p> <p>EU</p> <p>Bilateral donor agencies</p> <p>UN agencies</p>



	<p><b>Secondary regulation:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Regulation on the Implementation of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection - No. 29656, 17 March 2016</li> <li>-Regulation on Establishment, Duties and Working of Provincial Organizations of DGMM - No. 28821, 14 November 2013</li> <li>-Regulation on the Establishment and Operations of Reception and Accommodation Centers and Removal Centers No. 28980, 22 April 2014</li> <li>-Regulation on Combatting Human Trafficking and Protection of Victims of Human trafficking, No. 29656, 17 March 2016</li> <li>-Regulation on Work Permit of Applicants for International Protection and those Granted International Protection, No. 29695, 26 April 2016</li> </ul>	<p>EU's 2021 Turkey Report (Neighborhood enlargement report)</p> <p>Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, Environment and Urbanization Council Report, Urbanization, Migration and Harmonization Commission Report, 2017</p>			
	<p>Temporary Protection (TP) Regulation No.2014/6883, 22 October 2014</p> <p>Amended by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Regulation 2016/8722, 5 April 2016</li> <li>-Regulation 2018/11208, 16 March 2018</li> <li>-Regulation 2019/30989, 25 December 2019</li> <li>-DGMM Circular 2016/8 on the Implementation of Procedures and</li> </ul>	<p>UN Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) for Turkey Country Chapter 2021-2022</p>	<p>Presidency of Migration Management (PMM)</p> <p>Provincial Directorates of Migration Management</p>	<p>Registration, Rights and service provision</p>	<p>Government (PMM, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Family and Social Services, Ministry of</p>





	<p>Principles of Temporary Protection, 5 April 2016</p> <p>-DGMM Circular on Principles and Procedures for Foreigners under Temporary Protection - 2017/10, 29 November 2017</p> <p>-DGMM Circular on Cessation of Status of Syrians due to Voluntary Return 2019/1, 7 January 2019</p> <p>-President Decision No. 1851, No. 30989 (official gazette), 25 December 2019 (on general changes to Temporary Protection)</p> <p>-Regulation on Work Permit of Foreigners under Temporary Protection, No. 2016/8375, 15 January 2016</p>		<p>Office of Presidency</p> <p>Ministry of Interior</p> <p>Union of Municipalities of Turkey</p>		<p>Labor and Social Security), Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT) 3RP (UN, International donor agencies)</p>
	<p>- Law on International Labor Force No. 6735, 28 July 2016</p> <p>- Regulation on Turquoise Card, No:30007 (official gazette), 14 March 2017</p> <p>- Regulation on Implementation of International Labor Force, No.31738 (official gazette), 22 February 2022</p> <p>- Social Security and General Health Insurance Law No 5510, 31 May 2006</p>	<p>Provincial Employment and Vocational Training Commission Reports (Turkish Employment Agency)</p> <p>Turkish Employment Agency 2019-2023 Strategic Plan</p>	<p>Ministry of Labor and Social Security, Turkish Employment Agency</p>	<p>Employment Vocational Training</p>	<p>Ministry of Labor and Social Security, Turkish Employment Agency, Projects funded by FRIT(EU), EU, international donors</p>



	<p>Education and Social Services&amp;Assistances ( no specific primary law on migrant and refugees)</p> <p>-Circular on Education (Schooling) Targeting Foreigners, No. 2014/21, 23 September 2014</p> <p>-Directive on Health Benefits for Temporary Protection Beneficiaries, No.29153, 22 October 2014</p> <p>-Child Protection Law, No. 5395, 3 July 2005</p> <p>-Directive on Unaccompanied Children No. 152065 (official gazette)</p> <p>-Law on Family Protection and Prevention of Violence against Women No. 6284, 8 March 2012</p> <p>Regulation on Centers for the Prevention and Elimination of Violence, No. 29656, 17 March 2016</p> <p>Regulation on Women Shelters, No. 28519, 5 January 2019</p>		Ministry of Education Ministry of Family and Social Services	Education Social services Social assistances	Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Family and Social Services, Projects funded by FRIT (EU), EU, international donors
	<p>Turkish Citizenship Law, No. 5901, 29 May 2009</p> <p>Amended by:</p> <p>Law No. 2010/139 amending the implementation regulation of the Turkish citizenship law, 19 September 2018</p>		Ministry of Interior, Department, Directorate of Population and Citizenship Affairs	Citizenship  Civil affairs	



	Circular No. 4000496010.07.01- E.88237 on the Marriage and the Registration of Children of Refugees and Temporary Protection Beneficiaries, 13 October 2015				
	Other relevant Primary Laws: Law on Settlement No. 5543, 26 September 2006 Law on Human Rights and Equality Institution, No. 29690, 20 April 2016 Attorney Law No. 1136, 7 April 1969  Regulation on Legal Aid of the Union of Bar Associations, No. 25418, 30 March 2004	Turkish Ombudsman Institution, Special Report on Syrians in Turkey, November 2018  Turkish Grand National Assembly, Human Rights Monitoring Commission Meeting Reports	Ministry of Interior  Human Rights and Equality Institution  Union of Bar Associations  The Ombudsman Institution of Turkey	Human Rights, Legal aid	
<b>REGIONAL LEVEL</b>		Policy Report: Urban Refugees of Marmara Region, 2022	Union of Marmara Municipalities	Advocacy, training, capacity building, network building for municipalities	
<b>LOCAL LEVEL</b>	Law on Municipalities No. 5393, 3 July 2005  Law on Metropolitan Municipalities, No. 5216, 10 July 2004	Municipal Strategy and Performance Reports	Municipalities  Muhtar (elected neighborhood officials)	Municipal Urban Services, Social and Cultural activities, Language and Vocational Trainings	Municipalities



	Law on the organization of muhtars and councils of elders in cities and towns, No.4541 Official Gazette, 15 April 1944				
	Law on Associations, No. 5253, 4 November 2004.		National NGOs International NGOs	Advocacy, service provision, protection support, social cohesion support	Donor agencies, UN agencies

**Table 2: Analysis of factors that influence actions in studied localities**

ST EAST MARMARA <sup>34</sup>												
INTERVIEWEE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Economic situation of the locality	4	4	3	3	3	3	4	3	4	4	4	2
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from the local government (or those of neighboring localities)	2	1	3	1	3	1	3	1	2	3	2	2
Suggestions from public officials/public servants	4	5	3	3	3	1	4	1	2	3	2	1
Your values and ideas	5	4	4	4	3	3	4	1	5	3	4	3
Locals' attitudes towards migrants	4	2	4	3	3	1	4	4	3	3	4	4
The upcoming elections	5	3	4	3	4	1	4	4	1	3	4	3
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from local NGOs or associations	4	1	4	4	3	1	3	1	1	3	3	5

<sup>34</sup> The interviewees numbered from 1 to 12 respectively belong to the following groups: local official, member of opposition in local council, street-level bureaucrat, street-level bureaucrat, street-level bureaucrat, employer, employer’s organization, trade union, pro-migrant NGO, service provider (non-profit), expert/journalist, anti-migrant group.



Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from private companies	3	1	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	3	2	4
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from parties forming the majority within the local Council	5	1	3	2	2	1	3	1	1	3	2	4
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from opposition parties in the local council	5	1	3	4	4	1	3	1	1	3	2	2
Requests or (direct/indirect) pressures from the national government	5	5	4	4	4	1	5	2	4	3	4	4
Requests or (direct/indirect) pressures from the regional/provincial government	5	5	4	4	4	1	4	1	1	3	2	4
Anti-migrant protests	5	1	3	2	5	1	3	1	2	1	4	3
Pro-migrant mobilisations	5	3	4	2	4	1	3	1	4	3	4	5
Local media	5	1	4	2	4	1	3	1	1	3	2	5

ST CENTRAL ANATOLIA <sup>35</sup>											
INTERVIEWEE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Economic situation of the locality	3	1	4	2	3	4	3	3	2	3	

<sup>35</sup> The interviewees numbered from 1 to 10 are found under the following groups: local government, local official, street-level bureaucrat, street-level bureaucrat, street-level bureaucrat, employer, employer’s organization, real-estate company, pro-migrant NGO, service provider (non-profit), expert/journalist.



Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from the local government (or those of neighbouring localities)	3	4	2	2	4	3	4	2	3	3
Suggestions from public officials/public servants	2	1	2	3	4	2	4	1	4	3
Your values and ideas	3	1	3	3	4	5	4	5	5	3
Locals' attitudes towards migrants	2	1	4	1	3	3	2	3	5	4
The upcoming elections	3	3	4	4	3	1	4	2	1	4
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from local NGOs or associations	3	1	2	3	4	3	4	3	5	4
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from private companies	4	1	2	1	3	3	3	2	1	4
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from parties forming the majority within the local Council	3	1	2	2	3	3	4	2	1	1
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from opposition parties in the local council	3	1	2	1	3	3	3	2	1	1
Requests or (direct/indirect) pressures from the national government	5	4	5	3	4	3	5	2	3	4
Requests or (direct/indirect) pressures from the regional/provincial government	3	4	3	2	3	3	5	5	4	4
Anti-migrant protests	3	1	3	1	4	1	4	5	5	1
Pro-migrant mobilisations	3	1	3	1	3	1	4	3	5	1
Local media	3	1	4	2	4	3	4	3	5	1



RA MEDITERRANEAN <sup>36</sup>											
INTERVIEWEE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Economic situation of the locality	5	3	3	4	2	3	2	4	3	3	4
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from the local government (or those of neighbouring localities)	4	1	2	4	1	3	3	3	3	1	1
Suggestions from public officials/public servants	4	4	2	5	2	4	3	3	3	1	4
Your values and ideas	4	4	3	5	3	3	2	5	5	1	2
Locals' attitudes towards migrants	5	1	3	5	2	3	3	3	3	4	4
The upcoming elections	1	3	3	5	1	2	1	2	1	4	1
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from local NGOs or associations	3	3	3	5	1	2	3	3	1	1	4
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from private companies	3	2	2	4	2	2	2	3	1	1	3
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from parties forming the majority within the local Council	5	2	5	5	2	2	3	3	1	1	4
Requests/ Pressures/ Suggestions from opposition parties in the local council	3	2	5	5	3	2	3	2	1	1	1

<sup>36</sup> The interviewees numbered from 1 to 11 respectively belong to the following groups: local official, member of of opposition in local council, street-level bureaucrat, street-level bureaucrat, employer's organization, real-estate company, pro-migrant NGO, service provider (non-profit), expert/journalist, anti-migrant group.



Requests or (direct/indirect) pressures from the national government	5	3	5	5	2	2	2	2	3	1	4
Requests or (direct/indirect) pressures from the regional/provincial government	5	3	5	5	3	2	2	3	3	1	4
Anti-migrant protests	4	1	3	3	1	2	1	4	1	3	1
Pro-migrant mobilisations	3	1	3	3	1	2	1	3	1	3	3
Local media	3	2	5	5	2	2	3	4	1	3	3





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