MiReKoc Working Papers
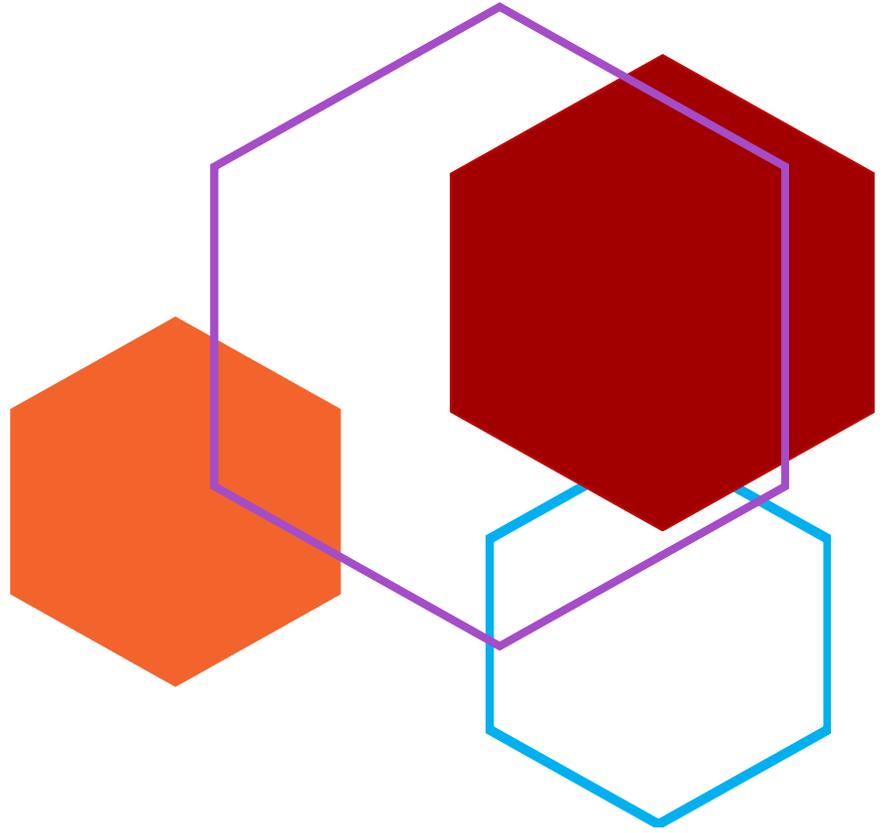
FMRC Series
Bibliographies on Syrian Refugees
in Turkey: Social Integration

Report by Souad Osseiran and Ayşegül Güneyli

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MiReKoc

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ÜNİVERSİTESİ

ABOUT MIGRATION RESEARCH CENTER AT KOC UNIVERSITY

Migration Research Center at Koç University (MiReKoc) aims to advance the state of the art in migration research through original and innovative scholarship, academic collaboration, and dialogue between researchers, policy-makers, international organizations and civil society actors since 2004. Based in Istanbul, MiReKoc provides a unique, institutionalized hub for migration research with a focus on Turkey and its close environment, aiming at increasing the research capacity of all state and non-state actors working on the topic of migration.

http://mirekoc.ku.edu.tr

ABOUT FORCED MIGRATION RESOURCE CENTER

The Forced Migration Resource Center (FMRC) at Koç University is an online platform established by MiReKoc in partnership with the Vehbi Koç Foundation. FMRC serves as an online and open access database of reliable resources on forced migration in Turkey and beyond. FMRC aims to increase research capacities and increase communication among different actors working in the field of forced migration as well as reduce information pollution and overloading of information in the field.

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This is the second part in a series of five *MiReKoc Forced Migration Resource Center Special Working Paper Series: Bibliographies on Syrian Refugees in Turkey*. The working papers aim to compile resources that examine the status of Syrian refugees in Turkey in five critical policy areas: (1) health, (2) education, (3) labor market (4) shelter and (5) social inclusion. They will draw on scholarly literature, publications of nongovernmental organizations and international organizations, and legislative documents defining the framework of the relevant policy field concerning refugees. Each working paper will be composed of a list of available studies that aim to answer at least one of the following questions: 1) What is the legal framework surrounding refugees access to this policy area? 2) What are circumstances/conditions of Syrian refugees in this policy area? 3) What is the impact of the presence of Syrian refugees on this policy area?

The objective of this initiative is to increase the research capacities of all stakeholders working in the field of migration and asylum by facilitating access to available information, increasing efficiency, and regulating the overload of information. This initiative is sponsored by the Migration Research Center at Koç University, and all references included are accessible through the online Forced Migration Resource Center database at Koç University. We believe that these working papers will be of interest to a broad range of readers including scholars, policy makers, and civil society practitioners.
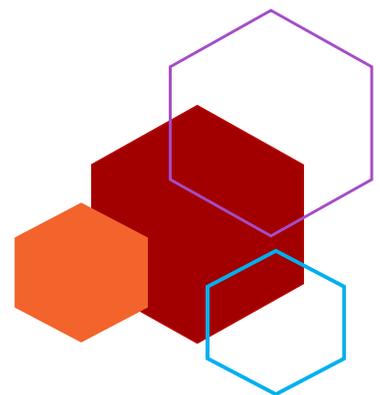
Souad Osseiran currently holds the position of Vehbi Koç Foundation post-doctoral researcher and project manager at the Migration Research Center at Koç University (MiReKoc). She holds a PhD in anthropology from Goldsmiths, University of London awarded in 2017. Prior to starting at MiReKoc, Souad was a Stiftung Mercator-IPC fellow for 2018-2019 where her research examined the incorporation of Syrian healthcare professionals into the public healthcare system in Turkey. Her research focuses on various themes related to forced migration in Turkey, migration journeys and integration.

Ayşegül Güneyli graduated from Koç University with a double major in sociology and psychology in 2020. She is now a student at the University of Amsterdam undertaking a research masters in social sciences with an emphasis on sociology. During her undergraduate studies, Ayşegül has worked in psychology laboratories at Koç and Ludwig-Maximilians University in Germany and as a visiting fellow at MiReKoç. In addition to various work and studies at Koç University, she has completed internships at a rehabilitation clinic for adolescents with substance abuse problems in Gaziantep and a center for mentally disabled children in Istanbul.

Contents

Introduction

Various research on Syrian refugee presence in Turkey has examined different aspects including labor market integration, education access, health status and the like. The protracted nature of the displacement has resulted in growing interest in social cohesion and the status of relations between refugees and citizens. Unlike other topics of study, social cohesion presents certain difficulties due to the multiple definitions of the concept and methods to measure it (Özçürmez et al., 2020). This working paper presents assorted literature, academic and grey, exploring the social cohesion of Syrian refugees and their relations with Turkish citizens from multiple perspectives and approaches.

Integration, harmonization, social cohesion and co-existence are the four main terms that emerge in the academic and grey literature discussing the integration of Syrian refugees, efforts or programs to facilitate refugees' social adaptation as well as the Turkish government's harmonization policies. The multiplicity of terms in use, is in some cases based on author preference and approaches to integration, in others it stems from the particularity of the Turkish context where the government favors harmonization (uyum) or social cohesion (sosyal uyum) over integration as a frame of reference. The multiplicity of terms highlights the challenges that accompany endeavors to integrate refugees as well as academic discussions on the issue in Turkey.

The Turkish government's approach to Syrian refugees changed over time as in the initial phase, an emergency approach was adopted because the refugee presence was expected to be short-term. With the protraction of the conflict in Syria and after the migration to Europe in 2015, the government began implementing long-term policies in the different domains of education, labor market, health, social security among others. The Turkish government's approach differs from other contexts by emphasizing social harmony and the need to develop refugee and migrants' abilities to independently navigate in society. In its official documents, the Turkish government relies on the term harmonization or social cohesion to describe policies or strategies to facilitate refugees' social adaptation and result in social harmony. Despite the existence of certain overarching harmonization policies, the steps of the harmonization process remain ambiguous and in part ad hoc. So far, many of the activities to foster relations between Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens are handled by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or emerge due to living realities and situations (organically) rather than being part of a planned strategy to foster social cohesion.

The resources included in this working paper are only a portion of those published on the issue of refugee integration in Turkey. These resources were selected because they examine integration, social cohesion, harmonization or co-existence in general terms rather than approaching this issue through education or the labor market. This selection criterion was used to highlight research, studies and reports focusing on social cohesion in general terms rather than through specific domains; this choice was made in part, as working papers on refugee education

and labor integration will be published subsequently. The resources were located through a general Google search, Google Scholar search and the FMRC database.

Language and choice of terms emerge as key considerations based on the resources included here. In the presentation of the resources, we endeavored to present authors' and institutions' definitions of the terms they used whether it was integration, social cohesion, co-existence or harmonization. This task aims to demonstrate the diversity in conceptualizations as well as possible gaps for future researchers. Including the definition of the term used in the resource aims to develop a shared language and understanding of these terms to further the discussion on social cohesion politics in Turkey. Moreover, multiple terms are employed to describe Syrians in Turkey varying from refugees, asylum seekers and persons under Temporary Protection. These terms indicate specific legal rights as well as bearing political implications. While using terms other than the official, persons under Temporary Protection, may be a political or ethical choice for authors, the lack of commonality of terms used raises further questions about the implications concerning public recognition of Syrian refugees' rights and status in Turkey.

Based on the resources included several key themes concerning social cohesion emerge, namely an emphasis on language acquisition as a mode to increase interaction and communication. Language acquisition was also tied to increased participation in the labor market which is expected to of the studies include data collected before 2015, demonstrating the changes

facilitate refugee social cohesion. At the same time, various resources acknowledge that negative public perception and attitudes towards Syrian refugees as well as negative media representation of refugees must be countered to enable more positive engagement with citizens. Negative representation and perception emerge especially as an issue of concern for Syrian refugee women as different resources mention gender specific perceptions hindering social cohesion efforts. Research on citizens' attitudes towards refugees helps to highlight the ways social integration may be impacted and which factors influence social cohesion. Several resources provide recommendations on how to improve social cohesion and a key reoccurring suggestion concerned information accessibility and making social cohesion processes transparent for both refugees and citizens.

This working paper aims to present the most recent and relevant academic research, grey literature including non-governmental organization reports and governmental papers which discuss policies and theories or present findings relating to the integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey. The different resources included in this working paper highlight epistemological and policy gaps. In addition, the resources included rely on various methods, qualitative and quantitative, illustrating a diversity in approaches to studying social cohesion. As such, the resources will assist researchers from different disciplines in developing projects examining integration experiences, practices and policies in the Turkish context.

In the following, most of the resources rely on data from 2015 or the period

after. However, a few of the studies include data collected before 2015, demonstrating changes in the approaches to Syrian refugees. These resources provide a historical perspective of Turkey's social cohesion policies regarding Syrian refugees while later researches illustrate the ways long term social cohesion policies have been developed or provide more current insights into social cohesion in a context of protracted displacement.

The working paper is divided in four thematic sections. The first section, *Theories and Policies*, includes resources providing a macro perspective and policy documents explaining institutional approaches to social cohesion. *Experiences and Relations* presents resources analyzing refugees and citizens' social relations and discussing their experiences of social cohesion. In the *Gender* section, the entries currently included focus on women and social cohesion to shed light on female refugees' specific needs. We hope that this section will highlight the need for research examining gendered experiences of social cohesion in Turkey that reflect the diversity of the refugee population. The final section, *Actors and Institutions*, comprises of several resources outlining the role of key actors, mainly non-governmental organizations, community centers and the like in facilitating social cohesion processes.

Theories and Policies

This section includes a diverse set of resources developed by governmental bodies or scholars focusing on the Turkish government's approach to social cohesion, and its policies and strategies to achieve social harmony. The policy documents from the Ministry of Development and the Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM), provide insights to governmental macro policies and approaches to social cohesion. Resources presenting a theoretical engagement, review the social cohesion policy landscape in Turkey (Simşek & İçdugyu, 2016), the state of the art (Özçürümez et al., 2020) or provide theoretical framings for social integration (Goksel, 2018). The majority of the resources in this document include policy recommendations and suggestions, but the resources in this section outline the Turkish state's policy approach as well as different scholarly engagement with theories of social cohesion or integration in the Turkish context.

Turkish Republic, Ministry of Development, Presidency for Strategy and Budget, Eleventh Development Plan (2019-2023), [On Birinci Kalkınma Planı (2019-2023)]. Ministry of Development. [Available from: http://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/OnbirinciKalkinmaPlani.pdf]

The Presidency of Strategy and Budget in the Ministry of Development outlines its strategic plans for the years 2019 to 2023, which aim to increase efficiency and achieve structural changes in all domains ranging from the economic to the social. As a strategic plan, the document includes only the aimed results rather than outlining the plans or programs that will be implemented to achieve these changes. Regarding migrants and refugees in Turkey, the document states that stronger migration management is needed as well as ensuring the social harmonization of migrants and refugees, increasing their access to education, providing support throughout schooling education to enhance refugee and migrants' skills and labor market opportunities. The document focuses especially on children under international and temporary protection rather than the entire refugee population when mentioning social harmonization. It outlines plans to increase social harmonization programs for children alongside ongoing programs to facilitate cultural exchanges among migrant, refugee and citizen children. The plan outlines the need to organize educational, sporting and cultural programs as well as increase Turkish language skills among refugee and migrant children. The plan mentions that it is necessary for the government to raise awareness to address prejudices and negative attitudes towards refugees as well as counter the lack of knowledge surrounding the conditions of their presence in Turkey.

Directorate General for Migration Management (Göç İdaresi), "Türkiye'nin Uyum Strateji Belgesi ve Ulusal Eylem Planı 2018-2023" [Turkey's Harmonization Strategy Document and General Action Plan 2018-2023]. [Available from: https://www.21yyte.org/tr/veri-tabanlari/uyum-strateji-belgesi-ve-ulusal-eylem-plani]

This document presents the strategic action plans that aim for the social

harmonization between non-citizens and citizens, for the years 2018 to 2023. The research team developed the strategies and recommendations based on workshop proceedings, meetings in different cities with local government representatives, NGOs, international organizations, and migrant groups. In the plan, the term foreigner (yabancı) and migrant (göçmen) are used and there are a few mentions of Syrians under Temporary Protection specifically. However, the plan outlined impacts Syrian and non-Syrian refugees and migrants present in Turkey.

According to the plan document, harmonization is individuals' ability to independently and actively participate in social life while developing a sense of belonging. It is multi-dimensional and encompasses six domains: social harmony, accessible information, education, health, labor market, and social services. The strategic plan is organized around these six domains. In the following, we focus on the strategies outlined concerning social harmony. Social harmony is conceptualized as citizens and migrants, including refugees, coexisting by increasing social acceptance, facilitating a shared sense of belonging and cross-cultural interaction. According to the document, achieving social harmony is dependent on acknowledging and respecting cultural and religious differences within society. It mentions incorporating social harmonization into school curricula. It suggests countering negative perceptions and attitudes towards migration and migrants by making publicly available accurate information about migration and the conditions under which migrants and refugees are present in Turkey. The plan mentions raising public awareness and the role of the media in disseminating positive

representations of migrants to contribute towards altering negative perceptions. For migrants, it outlines the need to ensure they have access to accurate and reliable information on all matters including harmonization. The plan highlights the role of municipalities in facilitating the interaction between citizens and migrants at the local level. It proposes creating platforms for municipalities to exchange information and experiences about engaging with migrant populations - to develop best practice. Local actors are also tasked with creating social and cultural programs for migrants and citizens at the local level to foster engagement. The plan also outlines that increasing migrants' access to education and providing standardized Turkish courses is a strategic priority. Moreover, it calls for Turkish citizen children to be included in educational support programs held for migrants to increase peer interaction between migrants and citizens.

As a strategic document, the final sections include a table explaining the steps of each strategic point included. The table shows the strategic aims and breaks them down in specific components before briefly outlining how each will be put in practice, the expected timeframe for individual processes, the institutional actors responsible for implementation and on what basis the end results must be evaluated.

Goksel, G.U. (2018). Integration of Immigrants and the Theory of Recognition. Palgrave McMillan. [Available from https://www.palgrave.com/gp/book/9783319658421]

Goksel argues for approaching refugee or migrant integration from a "democratic justice" perspective rather than social cohesion or assimilation. Goksel focuses on the Canadian and Turkish cases, but for the purposes of this working paper, only the sections of the book concerning Turkey will be presented. Drawing on Axel Honneth's "recognition theory", she analyzes Syrian refugee integration in the Turkey case and the socio-economic challenges to their inclusion. She emphasizes two key aspects that influence Syrian refugee integration based on recognition theory; namely, refugees' integration into the informal labor market and the persistence of inconsistencies in government policies concerning refugees' long-term presence. Refugees' incorporation into the informal labor market does not present them with public recognition of their labor and the variation in government discourse concerning refugees' long-term presence does not provide them with recognition of their right to remain. Goksel examines the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, to highlight the gap between the law and political discussions on refugee presence. She explains that where the law provides space for integration to occur, political discussions about long term refugee presence is affected by nationalism and assimilationist logics. Moreover, she explains that the labelling of Syrian refugees as guests in political discourse influences public perception of Syrian refugee presence, marking their presence as temporary as well as undermining their rights. Political discourse, inconsistencies in governmental policies and public perception all influence attitudes towards refugees and towards their permanent settlement in Turkey. In turn, this influences any attempt to integrate based on the principles of democratic justice.

D. Şimşek and İçduygu, A. (2016). "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Towards Integration Policies", Turkish Policy Quarterly 15(3): 59-69. [Available from: http://turkishpolicy.com/article/828/syrian-refugees-in-turkey-towards-integration-policies]

The article discusses the Turkish government's social cohesion policies by examining key instruments developed as part of Turkey' migration infrastructure and in response to the Syrian refugee presence. The article examines the regulations and legislation in place prior to the ratification of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection in 2014. It then discusses the process leading up to the drafting of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection and the clauses related to social cohesion. The authors then analyze the introduction of the Temporary Protection Regulation and the subsequent regulation concerning the Labor of Foreigners under Temporary Protection. Focusing on the key domains of labor, education, healthcare and housing, the article outlines the provisions made available based on Turkey's legal and administrative documents. Through the discussion, the authors argue that it is necessary for state actors to design and implement long-term policies concerning various domains including social, economic, education among others to facilitate refugee integration.

S. Özçürmez, Hoxha, J. and İçduygu, A. (2020). "Does social cohesion solve forced migration riddles? Troubled concepts and constrained practices in Turkey". Migration Studies 0(0): 1-20. [Available from:

https://academic.oup.com/migration/article-abstract/doi/10.1093/migration/mnaa011/5819160?redirectedFrom=fulltext]

The article presents a theoretical discussion regarding social cohesion with an emphasis on the ways in which the concept has emerged in forced migration contexts. The article fills a gap in existing literature by offering a critique of the ambiguity surrounding definitions and use of social cohesion and integration. Contributing to theoretical discussions on social cohesion, the authors articulate the underlying connection between social cohesion and refugee resilience. Resilience with its emphasis on the capacities to adapt makes it a key, albeit under articulated, component of conceptualizations of social cohesion. With an eye to the Turkish context where the government has favored using social cohesion over integration, the article explores the ways in which social cohesion emerges in literature concerning Syrian refugees in Turkey. Relying on the analysis of 327 scholarly articles and policy reports focusing on Syrian refugee presence in Turkey published between 2011 and 2018, the authors explain that four main conceptual approaches to the refugee presence emerge. These are, 1) security threat-based, 2) humanitarian emergency drive, 3) policy regime oriented and 4) socio-interactional. Discussing these different conceptual framings, the authors explain the timeframe in which each of these categories emerged and the progression of the refugee situation in Turkey. They explain that in terms of developing long term social cohesion policies, the policy regime oriented and socio-interactional conceptual approaches may provide policy makers and scholars with the most insights. The article presents recommendations for the ways long term oriented social cohesion policies may be developed in situations of protracted displacement beyond the Turkish context.

Experiences and Relations

The resources in this section vary in terms of methodology and present data collected at different periods of time thereby reflecting the changes in the Turkish government's social cohesion policies over time. Some of the studies (Yavçan, 2015; Ombudsman Institution, 2018) cover multiple themes (health, education, etc.), but due to the focus of the working paper, these resources' summaries only include a discussion about the findings concerning social cohesion. The resources examine Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens' relations and the challenges to social cohesion (Erdoğan, 2017; Erdoğan, 2018; Yıldırımalp & İyem, 2017; Ertong Attar & Küçükşen, 2019; Balcioğlu, 2018; Hu et al., 2019; Boy et al., 2019; Yaman 2017; Altiok & Tosun 2018); perceptions and attitudes among Syrian refugees (Yıldırımalp & İyem, 2017) and/or Turkish citizens (Çirakoğlu et al., 2020) to social cohesion; experiences of social cohesion (Bozcaga et al., 2019); social distance or contact between refugees and citizens (Boy et al. 2019; Yıldırımalp & Erdoğan, 2019; Çirakoğlu et al., 2020) in different cities in Turkey. De Connick et al. (2020), explore the impact of different factors on citizens' social integration expectations for refugees by comparing findings from four Western European countries and Turkey. Şimşek (2018) explores the class related underpinnings of integration processes and the influence of transnational relations (Şimşek, 2019) on integration in Turkey. Most of the resources suggest policy recommendations to improve relations highlighting the role the government, local actors, NGOs and the media must play to foster social cohesion in the long term.

Yavçan, B. (July 2015). "Turkish Red Crescent Community Center Project Needs Assessment Report". Turkish Red Crescent. [Available from: https://data2.unhcr.org/en/needs-assessment/1339]

This report presents a review of the needs of urban based Syrian refugees' living in Şanlıurfa. It aims to facilitate the efforts of community centers to meet those needs. TRC relied on its Community Center project to connect with the community and conduct field studies, focus groups, and surveys with Syrian refugees as well as interviews with NGO representatives. They highlight several policy recommendations. Regarding integration, the report relies on a trust index to measure Syrian refugees' increased trust towards Turkish institutions including police, military, judiciary, among others, as well as Turkish and international non-governmental institutions as a sign of social integration. The report concludes that an increase in trust in these institutions stems from greater engagement with them due to longer term presence, and, therefore, indicates increased integration. Among the main recommendations offered to facilitate integration are increasing provisions for Turkish language courses, on the basis language acquisition increases refugees' ability to enter education and formal employment in Turkey. Facilitating access to education for Syrian youth will also provide ground for interaction between refugee children and Turkish citizens, besides equipping them with skills to access better labor market opportunities in the future.

Erdoğan, M.M. (2018) "Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler. Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum [Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Harmonization]". Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları. [Available from: https://bilgiyay.com/kitap/turkiyedeki-suriyeliler-toplumsal-kabul-ve-uyum/]

This book focuses on the situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey and Turkish citizens' social acceptance of their presence and the extent of cultural co-existence. Erdoğan conducted a total of 144 semi-structured in-depth interviews with 72 Turkish citizens (21 Women/51 Men) and 72 Syrian refugees (26 Women/46 Men) who live outside refugee camps in the cities of Kilis, Gaziantep, Hatay, Mersin, Izmir and Istanbul. The fieldwork was conducted for one month in 2014. In addition, a public opinion survey was carried out in October 2014, with 1501 participants from 18 cities in Turkey investigating how Syrians living in Turkey are perceived. The two sets of data were analyzed alongside the web page content of 21 national and 56 local newspapers between the years of 2011 and 2014. Interviews with migration experts, bureaucrats, NGO and INGO representatives were conducted as well as a review of the reports and news releases of 38 NGOs working on Syrian refugee integration issues. In the following we focus on key strategic parts of the book offering insights into the issue of social harmonization.

The in-depth interviews conducted with Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens, focus on six main categories of integration, including: socioeconomic conditions, perception and approach to citizens/refugees, social acceptance, expectations from the state, relationship between refugees and citizens, and attitudes towards duration of refugee presence and their social harmonization (uyum). As the interview questionnaire was posed to both citizens and refugees, the research generated perspectives from both populations. Even though Erdoğan stresses that Turkish citizens demonstrate a high acceptance of Syrian refugees, the interview data highlights that the hospitable attitude decreases when long term, permanent, refugee presence was evoked.

In the chapter entitled, "General Evaluations on the Syrian's in Turkey and Recommendations", Erdoğan states that societal acceptance towards Syrian refugees is high; however, he stresses the need for policies to manage these attitudes as they may change in light of Syrian refugees' expected long term presence in Turkey. The chapter includes four key recommendations that must be implemented if social cohesion is to be achieved: 1) Turkey's open-door policy needs to continue[1] and the basic human rights of Syrian refugees living in Turkey protected; 2) increased social support is needed to facilitate social cohesion; 3) the systemized registration of all Syrian refugees is necessary for state actors to better organize and manage service provision; 4) national integration policies need to be developed for permanent refugee presence and with the aim of coexistence rather than focusing on

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[1] The open border policy was halted in 2015 and the Turkish government has since built a wall along its southern border.

short term goals and addressing Syrian refugees as temporary guests.

Alp, Ç., Apiş, I. Y., Hazneci, H., Küçükçavuş, M.A., Ertunç, M.A. (2018). "Syrians in Turkey. Syrians in Turkey". The Ombudsman Institution. [Available from https://www.ombudsman.gov.tr/syrians/special_report.pdf]

Prepared for the Ombudsman Institution which is affiliated with the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, this report presents data about the situation of the Syrians in Turkey to inform institutions as well as make policy recommendations. The authors favor the use of Syrian refugees rather than the official legal term of persons under Temporary Protection. They rely on data collected in meetings held in Ankara, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş and Kilis with representatives of governmental institutions, INGOs, Turkish and Syrian NGOs, municipal actors among other stakeholders. Alongside these meetings, interviews were conducted with Syrian refugees living in camps and in urban areas, as well as community leaders and local representatives. With a focus solely on social integration, the report outlines that language barriers continue to be the main challenge to Syrian refugees' integration into society. The report recommends the "resocialization of migrants" as a durable solution given refugees' expected long term presence in Turkey. The report calls for long term integration strategies to be developed especially concerning language acquisition. The approach to integration places language at the root of all domains, whereby language acquisition is expected to facilitate access to education, labor market and the like. The report highlights the need to incorporate Syrian refugees into the design of integration strategies as well as making the process transparent and clear to Turkish citizens. The role of local governments in implementing integration efforts is highlighted due to the high concentration of Syrian refugees in urban settings. The report recommends that accurate and unbiased media be promoted to ensure that integration efforts are not undermined by negative or misinformed media reports about refugees.

Yıldırımalp, S. & Erdoğan, H. (2019). "Suriyelilere Bakış Açısının Toplumsal Uzaklık Bağlamında İncelenmesi: Sakarya İli Örneği [Examining Perspectives on Syrian Refugees in the Context of Social Distance: The Example of Sakarya Province]". Bilgi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 21 (2), 343-363. [Available from https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/bilgisosyal/issue/50622/638107]

This report aims to investigate Turkish citizen's perceptions of integration and determine Turkish citizens' social distance from Syrian nationals living in Turkey, and the extent of this distance. The authors refer to Syrian refugees solely by nationality in the article and do not use any legal term or reference. A survey was administered to 300 Turkish citizens (124 women and 146 men, between the ages of 18-64) working at a textile factory in Sakarya. The textile industry was selected due to the high number of Syrian nationals working in this industry. The survey utilizes the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and the findings indicate that Turkish citizens are socially distant from Syrian refugees, which excludes refugees from the socio-economic, cultural, and political spheres. The authors explain that despite living in close proximity to each other, Turkish

citizens have limited social interaction with Syrian refugees as they avoid building strong social ties. The research found that the level of social distance is relatively stable and does not fluctuate depending on the economic situation. The authors conclude that coexistence has not been achieved yet and highlight the urgency of addressing the root causes of the social distance to develop nuanced approaches to facilitate social integration and prevent the rise of xenophobic attitudes that can lead to social unrest.

Şimşek, D. (2018). "Integration Processes of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: 'Class-based Integration'". Journal of Refugee Studies. [Available from: https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/doi/10.1093/jrs/fey057/5139595?redirectedFrom=fulltext]

The article focuses on the ways in which the socioeconomic background of Syrian refuges differentially impacts their integration and the inequalities they face in Turkey. Şimşek builds on the concept of 'class-based integration', explaining the distribution of rights according to refugees' economic capital. Based on this conceptualization, the availability of economic resources eases refugees' access to rights in general and results in higher integration opportunities, while a lack of economic capital adversely impacts the rights received and the extent of integration. Şimşek explores the effect of economic capital on the formation of social relationships and its legal consequences. In this article, integration is defined as a complex process that builds on diversity and is multi-dimensional as it depends on legal status, access to rights, refugees' plans for their futures and the role of social mediators. She examines

integration through three interrelated dimensions referred to as the legal-political, socio-economic and cultural dimension. In her analysis, Şimşek relies on fieldwork carried out in Istanbul, Ankara and Gaziantep in 2016 where she conducted in-depth interviews with 84 Syrian refugees of various ages. Based on Şimşek's research findings, Turkey does not have a sufficient integration policy for all refugees, and there is a preference to integrate wealthier and highly qualified refugees. The government's selective approach to granting citizenship and permanent residency favors those with higher economic capital whereby excluding refugees from disadvantaged class backgrounds from the opportunity to integrate permanently in socio-economic and cultural spheres as well as being assigned an ambiguous political status. The discussion highlights the ways in which integration is implemented as a differential process that distinguishes between refugees and further influences relations between refugees and citizens.

Yıldırımalp, S , İyem, C . (2017). "Suriyeli Sığınmacıların Toplumsal Kabul ve Uyum Sürecine İlişkin Bir Araştırma [Social Acceptance and Adaptation Process for Syrian Asylum Seekers: A Research]". Bilgi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, (2), 107-126. [Available from: https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/bilgisosyal/issue/36462/413193]

This study presents the harmonization problems urban-based Syrian asylum seekers face by gathering data on asylees' perceptions of the social adaptation process. The report aims to formulate recommendations after analyzing specific problematic areas. Social harmonization is conceptualized as a dynamic 3-way process involving

Syrian asylees, Turkish citizens and the various institutions working to ensure access to basic rights such as health, education, housing, employment as well as socio-cultural adaptation. The authors argue that harmonization is a difficult concept to define but explain that it encompasses the notions of a culture of shared values and citizenship, social cooperation, feelings and identification of belonging as well as social control and order.

With the aim of identifying the problems in the social adaptation process, authors conducted structured interviews with 30 Syrians (20 men, 10 women) between the ages of 15-54 residing in Istanbul, who had previously been living in state managed camps in the border provinces. The interviews addressed different legal, economic and socio-cultural dimensions of social harmonization and involved questions about inequalities faced, perceived rate of acceptance from the Turkish community, the extent respondents felt they could express themselves as well as their relationships with the community and participation in the social realm. The research findings highlight that the length of time spent in Turkey and language acquisition were key to social harmonization. While respondents expressed acceptance from Turkish community, they explained that the lack of sufficient language skills prevented them from moving beyond the point of acceptance. Social isolation and experiences of discrimination and inequality were also mentioned. The authors indicate that Syrian refugees do not face significant problems in the legal sphere, but rather in the socio-cultural and economic realms. They emphasize the need for developing dynamic, multi-dimensional and complementary policies which account for Syrian asylum

seekers' permanent presence and facilitate the harmonization of refugees and Turkish citizens. According to the authors, Turkish citizens and Syrian asylees must be included in the policy development process by gaining citizens' consent and involving asylum seekers in decision making. They argue for adopting a rights-based approach regarding asylum seekers' access to services whereby access is a right rather than presented as opportunities that are refugees' responsibilities to benefit from.

Erdoğan, M. M. (2017). "Syrians Barometer-2017: A Framework for Achieving Social Cohesion with Syrians in Turkey", [Available from: https://mmuraterdogan.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/syrians-barometer-executive-summary.pdf]

The report is based on a survey conducted among Turkish citizens and Syrian refugees concerning the social coherence between the two populations and related to other integration concerns. Erdoğan seeks to offer a framework for developing integration policies and formulates recommendations for facilitating coexistence, integration and social coherence recognizing these as two-way processes. The report includes an overview of the refugee situation in Turkey in 2017, highlighting the long-term presence of Syrian refugees. For the 2017 version of this study, a survey was carried out with 3324 respondents, 2089 Turkish citizens from 26 provinces and Syrian participants from 11 provinces including 1235 households in both camp and urban settings. The questions for Turkish citizens included opinions on Syrian refugee's acquisition of Turkish citizenship, permanent residency, participation in education and the labor

market as well as topics such as perceived similarity in culture and lifestyle. The questionnaire for Syrian refugees included similar themes and explored their opinions on preferences for citizenship, country of permanent stay, socio-economic integration, well-being, state assistance and relations with Turkish citizens.

The survey results indicate that despite accepting Syrian refugees' residence in Turkey and their need for assistance, Turkish citizens do not welcome their long-term presence. Turkish citizens expressed negative beliefs about refugees and favor limited interaction. The author argues that this social distancing reinforces processes of "othering". According to the findings, while Syrian participants perceive themselves as being similar to Turkish citizens in various ways, Turkish citizens emphasized differences with 80% of respondents saying they did not have anything in common with Syrian refugees. The findings contrast with the discourse of solidarity and welcome frequently used in political discourse and is insufficient to foster social acceptance and interaction.

Survey responses varied according to province which contradicts beliefs that higher numbers of refugees would lead to increased contact between residents and would facilitate interpersonal relationships. Survey results showed that Turkish citizens residing in border provinces distanced themselves more from refugees than those living in provinces hosting less refugees due to the perception that refugees pose a threat to existing family structures. There is an emphasis on a gendered dimension influencing perceptions with Turkish citizens fearing that Syrian women may take away their husbands by accepting

to be second wives. Examining the intersection of political party affiliation and attitude towards refugees, the study shows that voting practices and attitudes towards refugees are highly correlated. CHP and MHP voters had similar, generally negative, attitude trends towards Syrian refugees while AKP and HDP voters expressed similar, positive, attitudes towards refugees.

Erdoğan suggests the following policy recommendations to ensure continued coexistence and ensure tensions are avoided: alongside increasing integrative measures, policies must be developed that facilitate Turkish citizens' acceptance of Syrian refugees; ensuring local authorities receive more resources and autonomy; it would be beneficial to establish a "Ministry of Social Policies and Integration"; ensuring accurate information is made accessible to all residents would reduce Turkish citizen's negative perceptions towards Syrian refugees.

Altıok, B. & Tosun, S. (September 4, 2018). "How to Co-exist? Urban Refugees in Turkey: Prospects and Challenges". MiReKoc Policy Brief. [Available from: https://mirekoc.ku.edu.tr/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/ALTIOK-and-TOSUN-2018-How-to-coexist.pdf]

This policy brief focuses on the underlying causes of negative Turkish public opinion towards Syrian refugees in Turkey and formulates policy guidelines for both state and civil society actors aimed at minimizing tension and facilitating social cohesion. The policy brief draws on in-depth interviews conducted with refugees to explore their experiences of living in urban spaces as well as interviews with Turkish bureaucrats. They rely on public opinion surveys capturing

Turkish citizens' attitudes towards Syrian refugees which demonstrated Turkish citizens' hospitality and hostility towards Syrian refugees. Three influential dimensions resulting in negative public attitudes are highlighted: 1) perceived cultural and ethnic threat, 2) economic competition over resources and rights, and 3) ambiguous state political agenda. Ambiguous state policies and methods of governance are identified as the main drivers of conflict and tensions as inconsistent policies result in short-term economic benefits for the state but impede social cohesion in the long run. In outlining policy guidelines to develop co-existence, the authors define social cohesion as a gradual process of integration premised around the relationship between refugees and the host community. As part of the guidelines, they argue that achieving social cohesion requires addressing and countering the root causes of public disfavor and involving local and civil society actors in these efforts.

Şimşek, D. (2019)."Transnational Activities of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Hindering or Supporting Integration". International Migration, 57 (2). [Available from: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/imig.12489]

This article examines the ways in which Syrian refugees' transnational activities intersect with their integration process in Turkey. For the study, fieldwork was conducted in Istanbul, Ankara, Hatay and Gaziantep and 90 Syrian refugees of whom most were men aged between 19 and 54, were interviewed in the period between April 2015 and January 2016. While the refugees interviewed mainly defined integration in terms of labor market participation and legal status,

the author defines it as a multi-dimensional process in which the agency of both the refugees and locals play a crucial role. The author concludes that Syrian refugees use transnational economic activities, which they engage in with relatives or close friends living in other countries, as a means to survive in or further adapt to Turkey. Şimşek underlines that the ambiguous legal status and lack of labor market access for refugees hinders refugees' motivation to integrate and thus recommends that access to the formal labour market should be made easier as part of long term integration policies.

Ertong Attar, G. & Küçükşen, D. (2019). "Somehow Familiar but Still a Stranger: Syrian Students in Turkish Higher Education". International Migration & Integration, 20, 1041. [Available from: https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12134-018-00647-8]

This article examines Syrian students' experiences in the higher education system in Turkey and looks at Turkish students' perceptions of social distance. The article also highlights the social problems faced by Syrian students. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with 15 Syrian and 8 Turkish first-year students attending Mersin University, in March 2017. The questionnaire included questions about biographical background, family, migration, university experience, and future hopes. A thematic approach was used and findings were summarized under the four headings of avoidance of contact, spatial discrimination, interacting with the unknown, and prejudice. According to the findings, both Syrian and Turkish students view each other cautiously, however Turkish students expressed empathy towards

Syrian students. Thus, the authors conclude that both groups perceive each other as simultaneously familiar and different. Both groups prefer to be spatially segregated on campus, which the authors explain as curbing Syrian and Turkish students' communication and engagement with each other. Furthermore, Syrian students who can speak Turkish fluently are more prone to socially interact with Turkish students and are in the more powerful position compared with those who cannot speak Turkish well.

Yaman, F. (2017). "Uyum ve Ötekileşme Ayrımında Suriyeli Sığınmacılar" [Syrian Refugees at the Crossroads of Integration and Alienation]. KADEM Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi, 3(1), 91-109. [Available in Turkish from: http://kadinarastirmalari.kadem.org.tr/uyum-ve-otekilesme-ayriminda-suriyeli-siginmacilar/]

The article provides a discussion of "othering" processes and social harmonization with an eye to the effect of Syrian refugee presence on Turkish society. In the following, we focus on the final section of the article that provides recommendations concerning refugee presence. The author stresses that Syrian asylum seekers will remain permanently in Turkey and highlights the need to develop measures for their social harmonization which extend beyond ensuring only their basic human rights. The authors favor the use of the term asylum seeker and social harmonization in the article. The author defines social harmonization as equally encompassing all the actors in a society, and differentiates it from assimilation. Several recommendations to achieve social harmony are discussed: 1) conceptualizing harmonization as a multidimensional process and recognizing it as the coexistence of citizens and refugees within a space that provides equal rights to all, rather than the assimilation of refugees into local culture; 2) it is to develop measures to address the negative perceptions of refugees to improve communication between refugees and Turkish citizens; 3) facilitating Turkish language acquisition for refugees alongside providing Arabic language courses for those who want to learn it to improve communication; 4) ensuring refugees' access to formal labor market which would both facilitate their socioeconomic integration and decrease negative perceptions of refugees' impact on the national economy; 5) implementing measures concerning housing and neighborhoods to prevent ghettoization; 6) publically emphasising Turkish citizens' compassion, neighborliness, mercy and hospitality to mobilize these emotions to achieve a positive social environment.

Balcioğlu, Z. (April 2018). "Sultanbeyli, Istanbul, Turkey. A Case Study of Refugees in Towns". Tufts University, Feinstein International Center. [Available from: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Tufts%2BRIT%2BSultanbeyli%2C%2BIstanbul%2C%2BTurkey.pdf]

This case study report focuses on the ways in which Syrian refugees in the Sultanbeyli district in Istanbul interact with each other and the host community in the urban space. The everyday experiences of Syrian refugees are presented in the report. Balcioğlu conducted 19 semi-structured interviews with a total of 22 Syrian refugees and held a focus group with 11 participants. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the representatives from

Sultanbeyli Municipality, the Turkish Red Cross, and the Blue Cross Association. The fieldwork was conducted in Sultanbeyli district between May-August 2016. Balcioğlu highlights that more than half of all refugee families interviewed said they are content with their neighbors who mostly have a welcoming attitude. However, the author also stresses that the main impediment to integration is the lack of Turkish language skills. According to Balcioğlu free Turkish language courses are offered by community centers in Sultanbeyli, which also contribute to the socialization of refugees. However, these centers are mostly used by women refugees, creating concern about the unequal integration across the refugee population in the long term. Even though the case study mentions hospitality, socialization among refugees, and the efforts of the municipality in facilitating integration, the case study includes limited discussion concerning the interaction between Turkish citizens and Syrian refugees.

Hu, W., He, R., Cao, J., Zhang, L., Uzunalioglu, H., Akyamac, A. and Phadke, C. (2019). "Quantified Understanding of Syrian Refugee Integration in Turkey". In *Guide to Mobile Data Analytics in Refugee Scenarios*, **Springer Inc.** [Available from: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-12554-7_11]

Relying on Call-Detail Records (CDR) and Point-Of-Interest (POI) data provided as part of the D4R (Data for Refugees) Challenge, the study examines the movement and activities of refugees and citizens to make inferences regarding level of integration. The research findings draw on the data provided for 11 key cities that host a high number of refugees and the data covered the full 12 months of 2017 demonstrating changes across the year. Focusing on refugee place of residence with respect to citizens and then examining where they commute to (work, etc.), how far they travel daily and what leisure activities they engage in, the authors highlight the ways refugees adopt similar patterns to citizens or the degree to which their daily activities are distinct from citizens. The research demonstrates that there is variation across the cities studied and points out possible future avenues for research.

Bozcaga, T., Fotini, C., Harwood, E., Daskalakis, C. and Papademetriou, C. (2019) "Syrian Refugee Integration in Turkey: Evidence from Call Detail Records". In *Guide to Mobile Data Analytics in Refugee Scenarios*, **Springer Inc.** [Available from https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-12554-7_12]

The study relies on call detail records (CDR) provided as part of the D4R (Data for Refugees) Challenge to offer insight into refugee integration in Turkey. The authors analyze the CDR data alongside district level data concerning refugees' places of residence. They examine multiple factors to develop conclusions concerning the correlation between factors such as labor, employment, healthcare and social integration while accounting for confounded results. Regarding social integration, the research showed that refugees were more likely to call or contact Turkish citizens than the reverse. Exploring access to labor market, healthcare, educational or religious foundations that assist refugees, the research showed the ways access to these differing services influences refugee movement within the

province of residence. Among all these factors, access to healthcare emerges as the main significant factor influencing mobility. The research approaches integration as a two-way process that involves both refugees and citizens. The chapter argues that high resource areas are more likely to oppose refugee presence in contrast to low resource areas. Considering the number of ATMs in a geographical area as indicative of formal economy, they argue that refugees are less integrated into formal economy. Availability of health care facilities and Islamic foundations is correlated with refugee integration, so they recommend policy makers ensure sufficient healthcare facilitates are available in high refugee concentrated areas to reduce stress on infrastructure. Geographical location and population distribution is a significant indicator of acceptance, as Turkish citizens living in areas with high concentration of Syrian refugees are understood to indicate higher levels of tolerance. The researchers call for further research focusing on degrees of contact among other themes.

De Coninck, D., Ogan, C., & d'Haenens, L. (2020). "Can 'the Other' ever become 'One of Us'? Comparing Turkish and European attitudes toward refugees: A five-country study". International Communication Gazette. [Available from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1748048519895376]

The study compares the public attitudes and perceptions towards refugees in 5 countries, Turkey and four Western European countries (Belgium, France, Netherlands, Sweden). The researchers investigated the ways in which socio-economic and cultural background of respondents as well as country level socio-economic standards affect attitudes and perceptions of citizens towards refugees. In the following, we will only focus on the findings for Turkey where 2,649 face-to-face interviews were conducted in February 2016. The questions included in the survey investigate the extent to which citizens perceive refugees as a threat to the economic and socio-cultural spheres. Contrary to the contact hypothesis that stipulates that the presence of a larger number of refugees would lead to increased interpersonal contact between citizens and non-citizens, resulting in more positive attitudes, the results for Turkey indicate that citizens have the lowest level of acceptance among the countries included in this study. Increased contact with refugees was found to decrease the sense of threat among citizens in western European countries included in this study while increasing it in Turkey. Socio-economic conditions are also factors affecting country-wide attitudes, as among the countries studied, Turkey has the lowest level of GDP per capita and implements the lowest level of integration policies. According to the authors, individual variables such as education, economic class, region of residence and religiosity are also influencing factors with higher socio-economic class participants expressing lower threat perceptions towards refugees. Education was an influential factor in the European countries examined with respondents with higher education perceiving refugees as a low threat; however, in Turkey, educational attainment was not found to affect threat perception. Common religion does not appear to produce more positive attitudes and sentiments in Turkey. Deservedness was highlighted as a key issue by respondents where

deservedness was conceptualized as demonstrated language acquisition, lifestyle adaptation and common religious practice. The research found that citizen respondents place a high value on refugees meeting specific conditions such as language acquisition, job skills, and the like in contexts where citizens have a high threat perception. In the Turkish case, citizens' threat perception resulted in mixed responses about the conditions refugees need to meet.

Çirakoğlu, O.C., Demirutku, K., Karakaya, O. (2020). "The Mediating Role of Perceived Threat in the Relationship between Casual Contact and Attitudes towards Syrian Refugees in Turkey". Journal of Refugee Studies. [Available from: https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/doi/10.1093/jrs/fez118/5732868?redirectedFrom=fulltext]

The study explores Turkish citizens' perception of threat and attitudes towards Syrian refugees relying on contact theory. For this purpose, 353 Turkish citizens (172 women, 181 men) residing in Ankara were surveyed. In addition to questions on the frequency of social contact with Syrian refugees, participants were given scales measuring their perception of threat and assessing their social distance towards refugees. The research found that respondents have more casual rather than systematic contact with refugees and high levels of threat perceptions and negative attitudes towards refugees. Casual contact refers to everyday non-meaningful interaction while systematic contact refers to frequent and more in-depth engagement. According to survey results, casual contact and negative attitudes were found to be mediated by perceptions of threat. The authors argue that casual contact confirms stereotypes of refugees developed in negative media portrayals and increase citizens' perceptions of threat. They argue that reducing threat perception depends on facilitating social integration and encouraging meaningful interactions between refugees and citizens. They recommend that governmental organizations and media outlets present realistic portrayals of Syrian refugees and communicate accurate information about them to Turkish citizens. They also suggest local level actors such as municipalities, schools and NGOs, host activities that give space to Syrian refugees' voices to counter negative perceptions.

Boy, J., Pastor-Escuredo, D., Macguire, D., Moreno Jimenez, R. and Luengo-Oroz, M. (2019). "Towards an Understanding of Refugee Segregation, Isolation, Homophily and Ultimately Integration in Turkey Using Call Detail Records". In, *Guide to Mobile Data Analytics in Refugee Scenarios*, Springer Inc. [Available from: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-12554-7_8]

The authors define integration as a multi-layered process involving various governmental and non-governmental actors alongside refugees and citizens. Following UNHCR's emphasis on the importance of using standardized measures for assessing and comparing integration efforts within and between countries, they present a methodological framework for quantifying and measuring integration. For this purpose, they analyze the residential and social segregation of refugees and citizens using Türk Telekom's call detail records (CDR) data

made available through the Data for Refugees (D4R) challenge project. The research findings offer insights into integration by measuring the distance between refugees and citizens using a classification framework for residential practices including three main categories: segregation, isolation and homophily. The research accounts for "social inclusion indicators" that concern refugees' fair access to services including the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN). Examining residential distribution and engagement in local activities, the authors measure indicators of residential segregation and isolation by analyzing refugees' communication patterns and their locations throughout the day based on their CDR. Using three data sets and focusing on districts in Turkey's southern border provinces, the authors conclude that the majority of refugees live in specific neighborhoods where Turkish citizens do not live. The authors explain that citizens and refugees are socially isolated for the most part with refugees communicating with citizens, but without the reverse communication happening. The authors argue that it is likely that refugees contact citizens to ask about jobs or properties to rent, but citizens do not communicate with refugees about these issues. Some districts in border provinces present contrasting results, whereby the authors conclude that integration programs in those districts might be more successful than those in other parts of the province. Based on the findings, the authors suggest that further research examining communication between refugees and citizens is necessary to identify integration needs.

Gender

This section presents resources focusing on the gendered integration experiences of Syrian refugee women and girls living in different provinces in Turkey and the challenges they face, highlighting the importance of devising gender sensitive integration policies that empower women and girls and facilitate their social inclusion. The different studies and resources examine Syrian refugee women's social integration (Küçükşen, 2017; Açikalin et al., 2020; Yücel et al., 2018), refugee women's experiences of local governments' integration efforts (Duğan & Gürbüz, 2018) as well as gender specific problems reflected in and reinforced by media portrayals (Narlı, Özaşçılar & Ipek, 2020). In the process, Yücel et al., (2018), Küçükşen (2017), Narlı, Özaşçılar and Ipek (2020), Duğan and Gürbüz (2018), and Açikalin et al., (2020), examine Syrian refugee women's relations with Turkish citizens and their attitudes towards each other. They stress that language, socio-cultural barriers and negative perceptions result in discrimination against refugee women. The various resources included here explain that these are among the most significant obstacles hindering Syrian refugee women's social integration since these obstacles prevent them from gaining access to various domains such as the labor market as well as developing meaningful and long-term relations with Turkish citizens. Küçükşen (2017) and Narlı et al. (2020) explore the effects of negative media portrayals of Syrian refugees on public opinion, while highlighting media's potential to counter biases by raising awareness, representing refugees positively and giving a space for Syrian women's voices. Açikalin et al. (2020) develop a measurement tool for assessing the level of social integration of Syrian refugee women by investigating the domains of education, law and security, social inclusion and economy, and Küçükşen (2017) measures the scope of social exclusion.

Yücel, A., Utas, C., Luchsinger, G., Kavlak, I. V., Bjorg Kristjansdottir, I., Freizer, S. (June 2018). "Needs Assessment of Syrian Women and Girls Under Temporary Protection Status in Turkey". UN Women & ASAM-SGDD. [Available online in Turkish and English: https://eca.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2018/08/needs-assessment-of-syrian-women-and-girls-under-temporary-protection-status-in-turkey]

This report presents the findings of a needs assessment conducted among Syrian refugee women and adolescent girls to formulate gender sensitive recommendations aimed at empowering them. The needs assessment explores how refugee women actively construct their own network, rebuild their lives in Turkey and cope with changing gender dynamics due to forced migration. A total of 1230 structured face-to-face interviews as well as 61 in-depth interviews were conducted with out-of-camp Syrian women and girls living in Gaziantep, Hatay, Şanlıurfa, Istanbul, Konya, Izmir and Adana. Focus group discussions were organized with Syrian men and women as well as Turkish citizens. Moreover, 40 interviews were conducted with representatives of governmental institutions, Syrian and Turkish INGO and NGO representatives as well as Syrian and Turkish opinion leaders.

While the report presents findings concerning various dimensions of life, in the following, we focus on aspects relating to integration. Syrian refugee women explained that the biggest challenges to their social cohesion are language and cultural barriers, discrimination due to prejudices, perceived threat to existing family structures, and refugee women's isolation at homes or within the neighborhood where they live. Even though the importance of establishing bonds and building interpersonal relations with Turkish citizens was underlined by the interviewees, almost half of all respondents did not socialize with Turkish citizens, highlighting language barriers and negative perceptions as the key reasons for the lack of engagement. Difficulties accessing housing and moving frequently prevent refugee women from forming bonds with Turkish citizens such as their neighbors.

Among the policy recommendations, several aim at facilitating social cohesion including: providing free Turkish language courses with attached childcare services to enable women to attend; encouraging long-term participation of women in the labor market and the social sphere; providing spaces for refugees and citizens to interact and form interpersonal relations with each other; developing gender specific programmes targeting women so participants who feel more comfortable in joining women-only activities are included; utilizing mass media to raise awareness about the situation of refugees in general and Syrian refugee women in particular as a means to address negative perceptions held by Turkish citizens towards Syrian refugees. In addition, the report recommends that social media and

media outlets should be used to publicize examples of both general and women-led harmonization and joint integration activities.

Küçükşen, K. (2017). "Suriyeli Sığınmacı Kadınlarda Sosyal Dışlanma Algısı Üzerine Nitel Bir Çalışma [A Qualitative Study on the Perception of Social Exclusion in Syrian Refugee Woman]". İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi, 6(5), 2399-2413. [Available from: https://app.trdizin.gov.tr/publication/paper/detail/TWpjM01UWTVPUT09]

This study focuses on how female Syrian asylum seekers are perceived by Turkish citizens in Konya, the inequalities those women have experienced and the challenges they face in their efforts to integrate socially, culturally and economically. The authors favor the reference asylum seeker in the article. For the semi-structured interview questionnaire, the Social Exclusion Scale (Jehoel-Gijsbers and Vrooman, 2007) is adapted. The questions address a range of issues including poverty, access to social rights, and participation in the social realm. For the research, 14 face-to-face interviews were conducted with Syrian asylee women living in Konya. Alongside these, news reports, NGO reports, data published by the UN agencies and Turkey, were analyzed. The findings indicate that while asylee women use public services and have social rights, they often face social exclusion due to public opinions and media portrayals representing them as marriage breakers. The author recommends developing policies to integrate asylum seekers into the socio-economic realm as well as counter negative representations in the media to address negative perceptions of Syrian asylee women.

Narlı, N., Özaşçılar, M. & Turkan Ipek, I. Z. (2020). "Turkish Daily Press Framing and Representation of Syrian Women Refugees and Gender-Based Problems: Implications for Social Integration". Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 18(1), 1-21. [Available from: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/15562948.2018.1557311]

Underlining the importance of designing gender sensitive integration policies, the authors examine the media representations of Syrian women under Temporary Protection in Turkish media outlets with a focus on the gendered challenges they experience and the effects of these challenges on mental health and social integration. The authors highlight the significance of media portrayals on influencing the perceptions and attitudes of Turkish citizens and its consequences on refugee integration. Upon analyzing the content of 856 news items from daily local and national news reports, the majority being from southern Turkish provinces published between 2013 and 2015, the authors identify 13 types of gender-based problems specific to Syrian women. These include various forms of gender based violence against Syrian women and girls, honor killings, forced sex work, forced marriages, early marriages, reproductive and sexual health issues. Under the 13 types, the authors include Turkish women's perceptions of Syrian women as Turkish women express hostility towards them on the basis they threaten family units due to Turkish men taking Syrian women as second wives among other issues. The authors explore how these diverse issues are portrayed in media reports to identify six dominant framing categories for Syrian women (victim, criminal, threat, state of war and displacement, human, and remedy). The authors indicate that there is a diversity in the ways that Syrian women are portrayed in the media, but this results in contrasting representations about the same issues; thus, compassionate, sexist and xenophobic discourses about Syrian women coexist. The authors emphasize the importance of including Syrian women's voices in media and news content as part of methods to counter negative perceptions. More accurate or positive portrayals of Syrian women would positively impact discourses about refugees; thereby, positively influencing the social integration of Syrian women under Temporary Protection.

Duğan, Ö. & Gürbüz, S. (2018). "Suriyeli Sığınmacıların Sosyal Entegrasyonuna Yönelik bir Araştırma [A Study for Social Integration of Syrian Asylum Seekers]". Turkish Studies, 13(26), 529-546. [Available from: https://app.trdizin.gov.tr/publication/paper/detail/TXpBeE9URXlNZz09]

The study investigates the local government's efforts to facilitate the integration of Syrian asylum seekers in Konya. To facilitate integration, the Konya municipality offers Turkish language courses, socio-cultural activities, vocational training, and aids Syrian asylum seekers through social welfare services. In addition to interviewing 3 Konya municipality representatives, 10 Syrian asylee women participating in municipality courses were interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured and were conducted between August-September 2018. The authors use the term asylum seeker rather than refugee and rely on the concept of harmonization in their analysis without providing a detailed definition of what is meant by harmonization.

The authors claim that the municipality's efforts are effective in facilitating the adaptation and integration of Syrian asylee women, as learning Turkish facilitates their communication with Turkish citizens while participating in various courses enables them to socialize with other refugees. However, asylee respondents explained that they are unable to develop meaningful relations with their Turkish neighbors due to prejudice prevalent among Turkish citizens. The authors recommend that more initiatives bringing together both Turkish citizens and Syrian asylees need to be offered by the municipality, in addition to activities diminishing prejudices. They furthermore suggest increasing the number of municipal employees who can speak Arabic to facilitate communicating with refugees.

Açikalin, Ş. N., Erçetin, Ş. Ş., Potas, N., Çevik, M. S. , Neyişçi, N. B. & Görgülü, D. (2020) "Measurement of Social Integration: Syrian Women in Turkey". Journal of Refugee Studies, 1-24. [Available from: https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/doi/10.1093/jrs/fez120/5732859?redirectedFrom=fulltext]

The authors conducted research with Syrian refugee women to develop a "Social Integration of Immigrant Scale' to measure social integration in Turkey. Drawing on international institutions' definition of social integration and academic debates, they approach it as a process of adaptation that results in co-existence among refugees and citizens. Relying on approaches used in the European Union to measure social integration, they explore it through four domains: education, law and security, social inclusion and economy. The levels of integration in those domains informs social integration. They carried out two surveys with Syrian refugee women and considered 106 responses from each set respectively. They sought to measure respondents' social integration in each of the domains mentioned above, assessing the influence of specific factors such as marriage, age, number of family members, education among others on the integration levels. Applying various tests to the data, they explain that low levels of social inclusion were recorded among the research respondents which the authors attributed to language barriers and Turkish citizens' negative perceptions of refugees. In contrast, Syrian refugee women scored high on education integration.

Actors and Institutions

This section consists of resources focusing on civil society initiatives and organizations in Turkey and the importance of grass roots organizations and local level efforts in promoting diversity, social cohesion and coexistence among citizens, migrants and refugees. The studies and policy reports examine refugee and migration focused civil society initiatives (Baban et al., 2018), Community Centers (Biehl, 2019; Paker, 2018; Seyidov, 2019), and NGOs (Sunata & Tosun, 2019; Seyidov, 2019) as well as other actors and institutions including refugees, citizens, state actors and local governmental institutions that are all involved in social integration processes. The resources included highlight the important role civil society organizations play as mediators between citizens and refugees as well as bridging the gap between government integration policies and realities on the ground (Paker, 2018). Across the board, the resources stress the importance of local and bottom-up approaches to facilitate coexistence.

Baban, F., Keyman, F., Paker, H. & Rygiel, K. (October 2018). "Promises and Challenges of Diversity: The Role of Civil Society Initiatives in Fostering Pluralism". Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University. [Available from: https://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/en/publications-66198907?cat=All%20Publications&year=All%20Years&page=2]

The report focuses on promoting coexistence conceptualized as all segments of society living together peacefully in a way that encourages everyday face to face interactions between citizens and non-citizens. The authors underline the importance of welcoming newcomers and building solidarity networks among all residents and rely on three cases that showcase such efforts. The Civil Society initiatives included in the study are from Turkey, Italy and Germany, offering insight into diverse contexts of refugee response. Based on their findings, they argue that for bottom-up efforts such as civil society initiatives to be more effective in challenging prejudices and preventing the formation of xenophobic attitudes, integration policies need to be implemented in support along with strong government leadership. They explain that successful co-existence is dependent on macro-level leadership supporting inclusion efforts, 'meaningful' policies concerning access to housing, education, health, language acquisition, employment and the like, and civil society initiatives aimed at fostering engagement between citizens, migrants and refugees.

Sunata, U. & Tosun, S. (2019). "Assessing the Civil Society's Role in Refugee Integration in Turkey: NGO-R as a New Typology, Journal of Refugee Studies", 32(4), 683–703. [Available from: https://academic.oup.com/jrs/article-abstract/32/4/683/5098727?redirectedFrom=fulltext]

The article explores the types of non-governmental organizations in Turkey providing services and support to refugees in Turkey. The authors present an overview of the development of the civil society sector in Turkey. In the case of migration related NGOs, they serve a key role in providing services, but more importantly in assisting refugees to access their rights to education,

healthcare, legal status, etc. They fill the gap that emerges between governmental policies and realities on the ground. They refer to these NGOs as NGO-R (refugee) to highlight the focus of these NGOs efforts and activities on migration and refugee specific issues. They argue that these NGOs play a crucial role in facilitating refugee integration, but do not provide a definition of integration. For the research, in-depth interviews were conducted with 12 different NGO-Rs including INGOs, established by Turkish or Syrian citizens, in the district of Fatih in Istanbul from October 2016 to March 2017. The authors classify the NGOs according to their funding source and work capacities highlighting their role of mediating between state policies and the situation on the ground. Through the research findings, the authors present the religious motivation underlying the activities of certain NGOs and their closeness to the ruling party's ideology. They argue that the refugee presence gave rise to a space for NGOs to mobilize around refugee rights and demands for assistance.

Paker, H. (June 2019). "Practicing Coexistence in Civil Society: Syrian Refugees in Turkey". Report-Istanbul Policy Center. [Available from: https://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/en/publicat ions-66198907?cat=All%20Publications&year= All%20Years&page=2]

The report highlights the key role civil society plays in fostering coexistence among Syrian refugees and citizens in Turkey. The author defines coexistence as an interconnectedness between people transcending citizen and non-citizen dividing lines. A mixed-methods approach was used whereby 22 in-

depth interviews were conducted with civil society representatives working with Syrian refugees in Gaziantep, Istanbul and Hatay in 2017 and 2018. In addition, two focus group sessions were held with Syrian refugees to gain further insights into Syrian refugees' interactions with Turkish citizens in Gaziantep and Istanbul as well as analyzing existing grey literature. The author concludes that a top-down approach to refugee policies hinders civil society efforts to create spaces where Turkish citizens and Syrian refugees can interact with each other. Paker argues for localizing approaches and underlines the importance of supporting civil society activities and neighborhood-level solidarity networks in their efforts to foster co-existence. In addition, she calls for adopting a rights-based approach towards refugees and highlights the need to conduct campaigns to raise awareness and eliminate prejudices against refugees.

Biehl, K. (September 2019). "Urban Community Centers in Turkey: Understanding the Diversity of Contemporary Practices". Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University. [Available from: https://ipc.sabanciuniv.edu/en/publicat ions-66198907?cat=All%20Publications&year= All%20Years&page=2]

This report presents a historical overview of urban community centers (CCs) in Turkey highlighting the distinguishing features and main components of different CCs' practices over time. Relying on interviews with different CC's representatives and a review of existing literature, the author develops this conceptualization of CC types: 1) Social welfare and participatory urbanism focused CCs; 2) Sustainable human

development and women's empowerment CCs; 3) Social municipal work and localized service delivery-based CCs; 4) Urban refugees and community-based protection. The conceptualization is developed by examining the initial context that gave rise to the type of CC, the institutions and actors involved, the target communities, and the CCs' main stated objectives. With regards to refugee integration, Biehl explores how CCs' roles changed due to the refugee presence and the CCs' role as mediators connecting citizens and refugees by organizing social cohesion activities. Showing the historical development of different CC models in Turkey over time, the author suggests an approach which can better accommodate for and support diversity in Turkey.

Seyidov, I. (2019). "On social integration process with refugees in Turkey: how can NGOs be more effective?" International Journal of Inclusive Education, 1-15. [Available from:https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13603116.2019.1673955]

This study illuminates the limitations and achievements of civil society organization's social integration efforts regarding Syrian refugees in Turkey. The author explores ways in which NGO efforts could be further improved and puts forth recommendations to facilitate integration. For the research, 15 in-depth semi structured interviews were conducted with supervisors of refugee focused NGOs in Ankara. The questions focused on the social integration process and NGOs' role in it as well as exploring interviewee's perceptions of refugees, the role of NGOs and policy. The author defines social integration as a dynamic

two-way process and highlights the role of NGOs in facilitating it. Seyidov breaks down his findings and arguments into 5 sections: 1) Syrian Refugees in Turkey, examining the state and NGO-led humanitarian response to the refugee presence. 2) The Definition of Social Integration, exploring respondents' concepts of social integration whereby Seyidov defined it as a process of social cohesion facilitating cultural exchanges and creating harmonious common spaces for both the Turkish citizens and the Syrian refugees. 3) The Dilemma of Social Integration Process in Turkey, in which Seyidov explains social integration processes implemented in Turkey and highlights the role of CCs in fostering NGO and state initiatives. CCs play an active part in providing socio-cultural and educational activities, thereby creating spaces for Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens to interact. According to Seyidov's respondents, the language barrier continues to be a principal cause of prejudices for both sides. 4) The Role of NGO in Social Integration Process, discusses the main obstacles NGOs face in fostering social cohesion where the most significant obstacle that emerges is limited or uneven coordination. 5) Further Suggestions outlines recommendations for facilitating NGOs' social integration efforts; highlights the importance of systematic coordination and communication between all actors as well as the need to create information exchange platforms for NGOs and governmental institutions to build effective networks and responses; increasing Turkish language courses accessibility through NGOs and providing vocational training to increase labor market participation. The author stresses the need for further research on these issues to develop effective social integration measures.
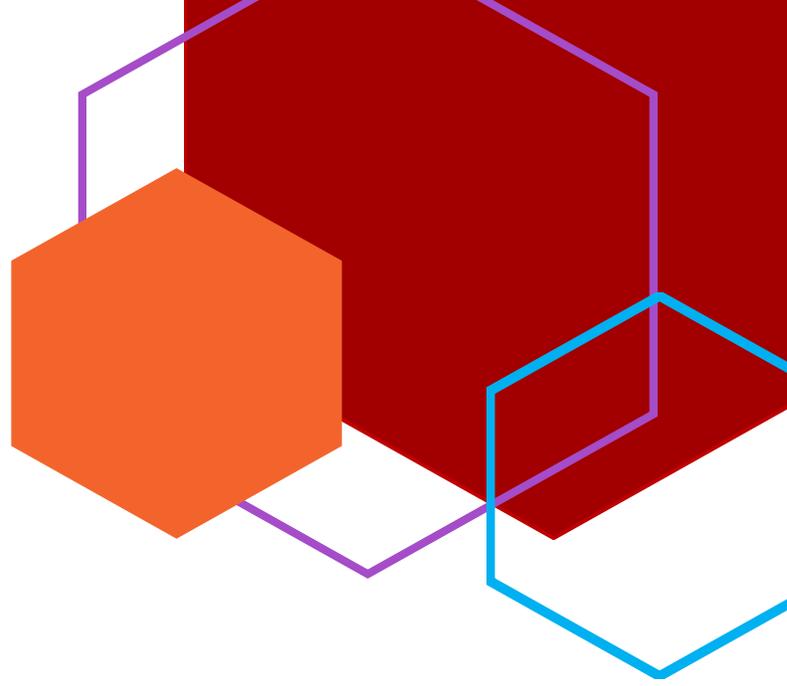
Harmonization

Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Law No. 6458)

ARTICLE 96 –

(1) The Directorate General may, to the extent that Turkey's economic and financial capacity deems possible, plan for harmonization activities in order to facilitate mutual harmonization between foreigners, applicants and international protection beneficiaries 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. For these purposes, the Directorate General may seek the suggestions and contributions of public institutions and agencies, local governments, non-governmental organizations, universities and international organizations.

(2) Foreigners may attend courses where the basics of political structure, language, legal system, culture and history of Turkey as well as their rights and obligations are explained.

(3) The Directorate General shall promote the courses related to access to public and private goods and services, access to education and economic activities, social and cultural communications, and access to primary healthcare services and, awareness and information activities through distant learning and similar means in cooperation with public institutions and agencies and nongovernmental organizations.

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