

URBAN INTEGRATION OF IRREGULAR AFGHAN MIGRANTS IN
ISTANBUL: THE CASE OF THE YENI MAHALLE NEIGHBORHOOD



İLKNUR YİĞİT YAZĞAN

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

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İlknur Yiğit Yazğan


Boğaziçi University

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Urban Integration of Irregular Afghan Migrants in Istanbul:
The Case of the Yeni Mahalle Neighborhood

The thesis of İlknur Yiğit Yazğan
has been approved by:

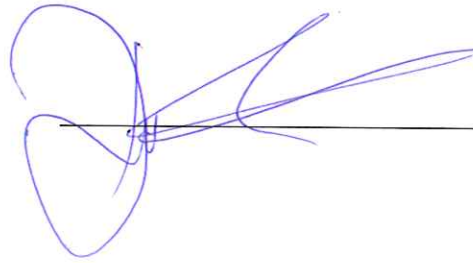
Assist. Prof. Mert Arslanalp
(Thesis Advisor)



Prof. Mine Eder



Assoc. Prof. Deniz Şenol Sert



July 2019

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ABSTRACT

Urban Integration of Irregular Afghan Migrants in İstanbul: The Case of the Yeni Mahalle Neighborhood

The main subject of this thesis is the survival/urban integration strategies of the irregular Afghan migrants living in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood of İstanbul in the absence of both state assistance and NGOs services. The existing academic studies on local and urban aspects of the migrants' integration—particularly the ones dealing with Afghan migrants' integration to İstanbul—seem to be inadequate.

The thesis will explore how these young and mostly bachelor Afghan migrants have settled in Yeni Mahalle, how they create a living space for themselves, how they are integrated into the working life, how they are solving their daily problems, and how they develop their survival strategies based on keeping appropriate distance with the natives.

It will start with a literature review on the factors affecting the migrants' integration to host societies in general, and will particularly concentrate on the factors that influence the migrants' integration to the cities. It will also provide an analysis of personal experiences of Afghan migrants by using in-depth interviews (individually and in groups) with young men (between the age of 17 and 35) from Faryap Province of Afghanistan.

ÖZET

İstanbuldaki Düzensiz Afgan Göçmenlerin Şehre Entegrasyonu:

Yeni Mahalle Örneği

Bu tezin ana konusunu, devlet desteğinin ve STK hizmetlerinin olmadığı şartlarda, İstanbul'un Yeni Mahalle bölgesinde yaşayan düzensiz Afgan göçmenlerin hayatta kalma/kente entegre olma stratejileri oluşturmaktadır. Göçmenlerin şehre entegrasyonunun yerel ve kentsel unsurlarına—özellikle de Afgan göçmenlerin İstanbul'a entegrasyonuna—dair akademik çalışmalar yetersiz görünmektedir.

Bu tez, genç ve genellikle bekar Afgan göçmenlerin Yeni Mahalle'ye nasıl yerleştiklerini, nasıl kendilerine bir yaşam alanı oluşturduklarını, çalışma hayatına nasıl entegre olduklarını, günlük sorunlarını nasıl çözdüklerini, ve yerli halkla uygun mesafeyi korumaya dayanan hayatta kalma stratejilerini nasıl geliştirdiklerini inceleyecektir.

Tez göçmenlerin ev sahibi toplumlara entegre olmasını etkileyen genel unsurlara dair bir literatür taraması ile başlayacak ve özellikle göçmenlerin kente entegrasyonunu etkileyen unsurlara odaklanacaktır. Aynı zamanda, Afganistan'ın Faryap eyaletinden gelen genç (17-35 yaş arası) erkekler ile (bireysel ve grup içinde) yapılan derinlemesine mülakatları kullanarak Afgan göçmenlerin bireysel tecrüberine dair bir analiz sunacaktır.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
GDMM	General Directorate of Migration Management
IHH	İnsani Yardım Vakfı (Humanitarian Relief Foundation)
IIMP	Istanbul Interparish Migrants' Programme
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MOI	Ministry of Interior
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history, migration has always been an important factor shaping the socio-cultural, economic and political developments within the human societies. However, in the post-cold war era, migration has become a more explosive and controversial topic; and it has been elevated to the status of a global security threat that is endangering the peace and stability within the international order. The mass irregular migration that started after the beginning of the civil war in Syria has increased the magnitude of the migration flows from the region and has made the problem more visible in the eyes of the ordinary citizens. It has become an actual part of the people living in the developed and developing countries, and it is considered as one of the factors that reshaped the political arena by further strengthening the populist anti-immigrant movements and policies within the host societies.

Turkey has been located on the border with regions of instability and conflict, and it has been considered as a transit country in migration flows. However, a series of internal and external socio-political and economic developments in the 2000s have gradually transformed Turkey into an important migrant receiving country. Despite their rapidly increasing numbers, irregular migrants who have arrived Turkey had to live in a legal and political limbo because of Turkey's unwillingness, and limited legal, financial and institutional capacities in terms of migrant and refugee reception policies. From the Turkish perspective, one of the most crucial aspects of the migration crisis was the change in their status: they were expected to be temporary migrants, but they have become permanent inhabitants of the Turkish cities—

particularly of Istanbul as a global city that can provide many opportunities to the migrants. Therefore, their integration to the host society and the city has become both a necessity and a controversial topic in Turkish politics.

The main subject of this thesis is the irregular Afghan migrants (who, after the arrival of the Syrian refugees, have started to inhabit the lowest rank in the hierarchy of migrants due to their lack of legal status) living in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood of Beykoz district of Istanbul, and their survival/urban integration (socio-economic incorporation) tactics at the local level in the absence of both state assistance and NGOs services. The urban integration experiences of Afghan irregular migrants in Istanbul and the factors influencing their integration to the city are important academic topics, because asylum is a human right and a crucial local issue rather than just being a national security topic. In addition to that, informal integration at the local level is a widespread phenomenon around the world, although host governments generally do not support the policy of local integration. The local/city aspect of the migration is crucial, because immigration is a phenomenon that mainly takes place within the cities where migrants settle. Their experiences in the cities can shed light on the success or failure of policies and strategies for their integration.

In this study, I would like to explore how the irregular Afghan migrants in Istanbul survive in the absence of any formal state assistance or an official integration policy. In order to understand this process, I will try to answer the following questions: How the lack of integration policies by the state or local governments affects the integration of Afghan migrants in Istanbul? How do those migrants achieve de facto integration in the local-urban level when there are no formal integration policies in the macro level? How do irregular Afghan migrants

experience their illegality and overcome their situation/negotiate their presence-existence within the host society's economic, cultural, political and legal structures? Have their survival tactics culminated in de-facto integration?

Afghans are a significant migrant group living in Istanbul, and they have seemed to create their own patterns of integration to the city in the absence of formal integration channels and assistance from the state institutions. Like other irregular migrant groups, Afghan migrants are mainly a consequence of an on-going conflict and associated socio-economic problems in their home country. However, contrary to the other irregular migrant groups, they have been somehow invisible and reside/work among the host society without negative reactions which can be compared to reactions against Syrian or other migrant groups.

In Turkey, the integration of the migrants to their host societies is a very recent topic within the academic literature, and the academic interest on this topic has grown significantly because of the socio-political requirements of the mass migration flow from Syria to Turkey after the beginning of the civil war. The existing scholarly studies on this topic are mostly about migrants' experiences, their survival tactics, migration motivations, their incorporation to labor and housing markets, Istanbul's transformation as a global city, and the city's interactions with its migrant populations. However, the academic studies on the local and urban aspects of the migrants' integration seem to be inadequate, and particularly there exist very small number of academic works specifically dealing with Afghan migrants' integration to Istanbul. In this field, Daniş et al's "'Integration in Limbo': Iraqi, Afghan, Maghrebi and Iranian Migrants in Istanbul" is an important academic resource on the settlement of Afghan migrants in Istanbul and particularly in Zeytinburnu district; and the problems associated with their integration process.

However, academic studies on the Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle district, which has become a new Afghan neighborhood in the last 20 years, are very rare. Mehmet Bozok and Nihan Bozok's article (2018) is the only academic work that is directly related to this topic.

In this thesis, my objective is to understand the de facto integration process of the Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle district through the socio-economic parallel community they established and I try to use the general factors affecting the migrants' integration process to understand this integration process, I also explore how these young and mostly bachelor Afghan migrants have settled in Yeni Mahalle, how they create a living space for themselves, how they are integrated into the working life, how they are solving their daily problems, and how they develop their survival strategies based on keeping appropriate distance with the natives.

In the case of Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle, it is better to talk about a mostly peaceful coexistence and a tactics of survival, rather than a real integration. They usually live in their own parallel society and keep their interactions with the locals as minimum and as formal as possible. They are well integrated to the labor market and they can find jobs regularly; and they have a good reputation among the native population who praised them as boys who escaped from war and work here in a well behaved manner. However, it is difficult to talk about a real integration in other fields, because there is a lack of formal initiatives by the government, and there is a lack of intention among both the native and migrant populations. The (lack of an) official state policy (that is based on turning a blind eye to the existence of these migrants while neglecting them and their needs) creates both negative and positive consequences for the irregular Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle. On the one hand, the negligence and lack of enforcement at the macro level of government policy

creates and perpetuates fragility for the migrants who have to continue their lives in a legal limbo without any legal or institutional guarantee, and that make them more vulnerable to exploitation in all spheres of their daily lives. As they do not legally exist, they can not call police personally when they are mugged, they may have to shoulder harassments from the locals (particularly on public transportation), and they can not use legal procedures when they can not get their payments from the contractors. On the other hand, it provides a social space for these migrants to develop and realize their tactics for survival at the micro level. Thus, in the case of Afghan irregular migrants in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood, it is possible to talk about the existence of de jure exclusion at the macro level with de facto integration at the local level through daily informal practices to ensure survival.

Afghan irregular migrants have established their own living spaces within the neighborhood including their own stores, restaurants, bakery etc, so seem to be adequately accustomed to the neighborhood as a community but as individuals their stay in Turkey tend to be temporary, because they do circulate among their family members, meaning that younger siblings or cousins replace the elder ones. Thus, as individuals who are aware of their temporary status in the city, they personally have no reason to be integrated into the city and the country in the long run. For their part, local people seem to be indifferent to the existence of a migrant group in their neighborhood as long as the migrants do not create any problems: usually, they do not exhibit xenophobic or anti-migrant reactions, but they also do not show any eagerness to establish deeper relations or interactions with the migrant community. The indifference on the part of native community is partly related to the fact that the Afghan migrants are not considered as an economic threat, because they do the jobs the natives are not willing to do.

For the irregular Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle, the local dimensions of labor market are an important factor for their settlement in this area. ‘Amele pazarı’ (the informal job market) has been a powerful pull factor for their concentration in the neighborhood. The existence of the amele pazarı provides a space where the Afghan migrants who are looking for relatively well paid jobs can meet with the local contractors who are looking for cheap and reliable workers outside the control of the national and local authorities. The amele pazarı also serves as a place where work related networks based on trust are established and where the irregular migrants socialize and communicate with others in their community. So, amele pazarı can be characterized as a place both for competition and cooperation.

In studying this case, it was nearly impossible to get accurate and detailed information about the existence of Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle from the official sources. In addition, the academic literature on Yeni Mahalle case was rare and most of the information was restricted to newspaper articles and documentaries, I have conducted approximately an hour long in-depth interviews with ten Afghan migrants living in Yeni Mahalle individually and over 50 people in groups in order to understand their personal integration experiences. All of them were young men (between the age of 17 and 35) from Faryap Province of Afghanistan. They were either single men who came to Turkey to save money for dowry/marriage, or they were married men who came to Turkey to earn money to support their (extended) families in Afghanistan. Nearly all of them were manual workers who were employed in informal sector as construction or agricultural workers without proper documentation and social security. One of the interviewees (Interviewee 4, 36) has been a rare example among all: he has been living in Istanbul for nearly 15 years and he has a more settled status with his wife and children who were attending local

schools. He was also the only one with a permanent job and plans for eventually acquiring Turkish citizenship.

It was difficult to have them talk and provide honest answers to my questions. They were feeling uncomfortable because of their legally and socially fragile position; and thus they seemed to be pretending rather than expressing their real feelings and thoughts. They frequently said “we are in a ‘gurbet’ (foreign land) and we cannot complain as we are foreigners here.” This attitude has made it more difficult to understand whether they were speaking of their minds or they were just providing the answers they believed expected from them as foreigners. In order to compensate for this ambiguity, I have to take their words with a grain of salt and corroborate their views from other interviewees and with other sources. Moreover, as a female researcher, they were shy to talk to me directly, never had eye contact with, so I revisited them with one of my male friend who knows Persian, so translated me when they were not comfortable speaking in Turkish.

In addition, I conducted participant observation in public spaces (like the public transportation they are using, the public parks where they have recreational activities, the informal job market (amele pazarı) where they find their daily jobs, and the astro turf fields where they have occasional football matches among themselves and I have visited some of their houses and their religious school in Yeni Mahalle. The visits I have made to shops owned by Afghans and the interviews I conducted with their owners and workers were also useful for developing my arguments. The muhtar of Yeni Mahalle was my informal source of information on the impact of local administration on the Afghan migrants’ integration to the city and the neighborhood. I have conducted interviews with him and I have the opportunity to observe his relations and communication with the migrants, and I also witnessed

his mediation activities between the members of the native and migrant communities. As a part of my research, I also conducted interviews with local shop owners who employ Afghan workers, and I tried to use their personal experiences to understand the native population's reaction to and perception of the Afghan migrants.

The thesis is structured as 5 chapters including the "Introduction" and the "Conclusion". The second chapter titled as "Local Integration: Definition, Theories and Dimensions," It starts with discussions on the definition for the concept integration at national and local levels. It continues with exploring the general factors affecting the success or failure of the integration policies at national level. It ends with an explanation of socio-economic and political factors of integration, which are specific to the local level.

The third chapter titled as "Institutional Context of Turkey's Integration Policies and Urban Integration in Istanbul" starts with the institutional context of the integration process in Turkey and provides a historical account of the changes in Turkey's migration regime and the past institutional integration practices. It continues by exploring the factors that influence migrants' decision to settle in Istanbul and the role of the local governments in the migrants' integration process.

The fourth chapter titled as "Integration of Afghan Immigrants to Istanbul: Yeni Mahalle Case" deals with the personal and group integration experiences of the Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle. After a brief historical narrative on the Afghan migration to Turkey, Istanbul and Yeni Mahalle, the chapter continues with a detailed analysis of the personal integration/survival experiences of the Afghan migrants' living in Yeni Mahalle district.

CHAPTER 2

LOCAL INTEGRATION:

DEFINITION, THEORIES AND ITS DIMENSIONS

The issue of integration is as old as the issue of migration. In the past, the prevalent attitude was “in Rome do as Romans do” and the incoming minority was expected to conform to the host society’s life style. Although integration was considered as a two-sided process, it was in fact based on an assimilationist approach. However, ever-growing migration waves, the existence of second-generation migrants, and increasing visibility of disintegration in the receiving societies have led to discussions about the requirement for new models to solve the socio-political and economic problems associated with the integration process. The discussions about the new models of integration was also related to the concept of majority culture losing its ascendancy, the emergence of a global culture and rising technologies of communication.

Local integration, within this context, has become an important topic in “integration” debate as the role of local and city governments has been expanded in the (re)resolution of the problems/issues created by/for immigrants in the municipal areas. Current studies on local integration have enriched the field by inserting a spatial dimension to our understanding on the process of integration and the socio-political problems associated with it.

The main reason for the inclusion of local level dynamics to the study of integration is the inherent local dimension involved in the process of integrating immigrants to host societies. According to Penninx & Martiniello, there are integration related issues that local governments have to solve: providing adequate

housing, jobs, education and health services, responding to their demands for religious and cultural activities, and teaching their mother tongue to their children etc. Although it is easier for the national governments to ignore these problems, the city governments/authorities have to find solutions to them, as they have to face the socio-political and economic problems related to the integration on a daily basis. That is particularly inevitable for the metropolitan cities where the impact and visibility of the immigrants have increased. The inner city riots in the cities in United Kingdom (UK) can be given as illustrative examples for this kind of bottom up socio-political forces compelling city governments to respond to the demands and problems related to the immigrants' integration at local level. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004) Local governments can also positively contribute to the integration process because, according to Penninx & Martiniello, the cities can develop some effective bridges for immigrant interaction and participation, by establishing city based representative-consultative bodies, although they are dependent on national policies on immigration, integration, naturalization. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 147)

This chapter will, first of all, try to provide a definition for the concept integration; secondly will concentrate on the general factors affecting the success or failure of the integration policies at national level; and finally it will focus on the socio-economic and political factors of integration, which are specific to the local level.

2.1 Defining integration: National and local

As Integration is a complex and vague phenomenon and that is why it is generally difficult to reach a common understanding on what integration is and which social

practices should be considered as a part of the integration process. Different terms such as “absorption, assimilation, incorporation and integration” have been used to describe the same processes from different perspectives and various researchers who have diverging research interests and policy goals have provided differing definitions.

Korac studies integration within the context of the refugee studies literature, and claims that “integration should be mainly understood in terms of its practical or functional aspects” as the “refugee status implies the right to protection and this right involves; provision of social service by the host country and access to social services to facilitate settlement of refugees.” (Korac, 2003). According to him, within the context of the race relations or minorities’ literature, the concept of integration is used to describe “the process of change that occurs when two cultures are forced to co-exist within one society. Within this framework, authors examine process such as assimilation and acculturation and are concerned with issues of identity, belonging, recognition and self-respect.” (Korac, 2003, p. 52)

Penninx and Martiniello, on the other hand, concentrate on the fact that newcomers (immigrants) are seen as other(s) for the host society and they have a desire to secure their place in both cultural sense and physical sense by having a home, a job and income, access to education, and health facilities. Based on these needs, they define integration “as the process of becoming an accepted part of society” and claim that definition of integration depends on three levels: individual, organizational, and institutional. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 141)

Goksel describes the integration within an historical perspective and argues that until the 1970s, an assimilationist perspective was dominant and the immigrants were considered as undesirable but essential elements for economic development.

During that period, host society's culture was seen as superior and it was assumed that immigrants should be assimilated to it. However, starting by 1970s more inclusive policies were adopted by European and North American countries with the help of immigrants' movements and other socio-economic and political circumstances. That approach is called multiculturalist approach, which argues that the integration process should be considered as a "two-way street" and immigrants' cultural differences also should be tolerated and respected.

Popularity of this approach weakened in 2000s, particularly because of the 9/11 terrorist attacks: as national security and identity issues have strengthened the concerns about social cohesion, multiculturalists approach has been replaced by more assimilationist policies. Therefore, instead of defending tolerance for cultural differences, the demand for social cohesiveness was promoted. However, that emphasis on social cohesion did not amount to a return to previous assimilationist policies but implementation of integration policies based on the concept of civic integration. Civic integration approach led to policies that, like assimilationist approach, demands immigrants to accept superiority of liberal values, secularism and religious neutrality in the public space and to adopt host society's way of life through learning the language of host society, accepting the institutions of the host society, and embracing liberal values including gender equality. In civic integration approach, the burden is mostly on the immigrants and the process is considered as a one-way street. These assimilations policies are imposed on the first generation of immigrants (new comers), while more multiculturalists policies are promoted for the second and third generations. (Göksel, 2018, pp. 1-12)

Weiner considers multiculturalism as an ill-defined, contentious term as it is explained differently by its supporters and opponents. For the supporters,

multiculturalism is seen as a cohesive policy and defined as “state policies that are encouraging and supporting the migrant communities' own language, culture and identity”, but for the opponents it led to increasing marginalization in the society and particularly in the labor market. (Weiner, 1996, p. 55) According to Wirth, as cited by Jayasuriya, although multiculturalism in essence meant that “variant cultures can flourish peacefully side by side”, the reactions from different immigrant communities to multiculturalist integration policies vary from each other. For example, while the Russian and Asian families in USA reject US’ policies regarding to native tongue education for their children in the classes due to their concerns about their future success and wish English classes; Spanish speaking Americans desire their kids to be placed in Spanish speaking classes in order to strengthen their own identity.

(Jayasuriya, 1996, p. 209)

Vathi however distinguishes between de facto and official multiculturalism.

According to her:

[t]he former is common in liberal nation-states and consists of a recognition of minority rights and design of policies that protect minorities within broad human rights and liberal political philosophies. Official multiculturalism, on the other hand, is much less widespread. It goes beyond de facto multiculturalism by engaging states in deliberately and explicitly recognizing and protecting immigrants as distinct ethnic groups. Nevertheless, within liberal states’ integration policies two major changes are recognizable: a move away from official multiculturalism and the revaluing of citizenship. The latter is associated with a de-ethnicization of citizenship and a move towards jus soli as the basis of naturalization regimes. (Vathi, 2015, p. 77)

As Carmon pointed out, another model prescribed for integration is the famous “melting pot” model. It is based on the acknowledgment of the fact that the social reality does not support the idea of inevitable assimilation of new comers to host society. The USA has provided a good example for this model: different ethnic

groups of immigrants were not seen as passive objects but active subjects and thus all the existing cultures have interacted in an immigrant country in the formation of the nation. However, although this model was successful for European migrants' creation of a nation, that was not the case for the Afro-Americans who continued to suffer from segregation and could not achieve social mobility. Carmon claims that reality indicates the failure of the ideas of assimilation and the melting pot. (Carmon, 1996, pp. 13-29)

Sussmuth and Weidenfeld provide an alternative to melting pot model by offering the “salad bowl model” that foresees coexistence of different cultures without a need to fuse with each other. According to them the possibility of melting of different cultures into a national culture is a function of the interaction of immigrants' cultural diversity with the host country's culture; and integration must offer both host society and newcomers the opportunity to be receptive to each other, and the pluralistic societies should offer immigrants the freedom of self-organization and to remain open to cultural diversity. (Sussmuth & Weidenfeld, 2005, p. xiii)

Another model related to integration is called “acculturation and adaptation.” According to Vathi “acculturation refers to the newcomers’ change of cultural patterns with reference to those of the host society, assimilation refers to the newcomers’ shift of membership from formal and informal ethnic associations and other social institutions into those of non-ethnic origin and agenda in the same society. Adaptation, on the other hand, consists of relatively stable changes that take place in individuals or groups.” (Vathi, 2015, p. 76)

French Republican model provides a completely different definition for integration. In the French model, the legal distinction between the citizens and the legal aliens is crucial for the state’s relationship with the individuals and the political

system as well as the public institutional arrangements is established according to that distinction. This model assumes that aliens would become citizens eventually, and thus the individual immigrants should be considered political actors but not the immigrant collectivities. For this reason, it focuses on the formal equality before state/law, rather than multiculturalism or ethnicity; and issues of immigration and integration are not considered as political. This model promotes generalized, group-neutral policies and formal equality. This approach is different from the Anglo-American one that also considers immigrants as individuals in the process of citizenship but put more emphasis on ethnicity and ethnic minorities by generating group-specific policies to achieve integration process. Moreover, Anglo-American approach tends to promote representation of migrants, to support immigrant organizations' activities and to recognize of cultural and religious aspects of integration processes. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 153)

Ghosh defines integration as “arrangements that enable immigrants to actively participate in a host society through equality of opportunity and absence of discrimination on grounds of ethnicity or national origin.” By using this definition, he argues that a country's integration policy is strongly linked to its societal model such as multiculturalism, assimilation, segregation. For example, multiculturalist countries like Australia, Canada, and the US implement immigration and citizenship policies that are more open, but countries like Gulf States, Central and Eastern European countries, and Japan implement policies that are more exclusive towards their foreign workers by using least possible integration policies. (Ghosh, 2005, p. 4)

Some authors used the concept of incorporation instead of integration because they consider this vocabulary more appropriate since it does not obscure local and transnational processes. They define incorporation “as the processes of building or

maintaining networks of social relations through which an individual or an organized group of individuals becomes linked to an institution recognized by one or more nation states.” (Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen, *Beyond the ethnic lens: Locality, globality, and born-again incorporation*, 2006, p. 614)

Due to confusion about the definition (reflecting the complexity of the integration process), it would be more useful to concentrate on what integration includes as a policy. Sussmuth and Weidenfeld, within European context, argue that integration is about “more than a shelter and protection”; it is about “legal certainty, compliance with national laws, peaceful coexistence, and access to education, employment, social security, and civil rights are the central aspects of integration.” In other words, immigrants’ participation in the economic, social, cultural, religious, political, and civic life of the host society is fundamental for integration and immigrants have the obligation to respect the essential norms and values of the host society. Therefore, it can be argued that the process is actually all about rights and obligations, acceptance and being accepted, and these processes are not exclusively related to national, local, European level actors; nongovernmental actors as churches, trade unions, political parties, migrant organizations and the media are also fundamental throughout the integration process. (Sussmuth & Weidenfeld, 2005, p. xv)

In that respect, Vitorino argues that,

[in order to overcome the] lack of an official (common) definition of integration, consensus should be based on a balance between the rights entrusted to immigrants which ensures their economic, sociocultural, and political participation in civil society that welcomes them, as well as a respect for the host society’s values and basic rules. Therefore, it seems quite obvious that this effort of integration implies the need for strong mutual respect. (Vitorino, 2005, p. ix)

As it was cited by Jentsch, Geddes distinguishes between three types of integration: (a) socio-economic integration, which relates to migrants' use of rights in the education system and the labor market; (b) civil and political integration, for example the status of citizenship, but also migrants' active participation in the institutions of civil society and their inclusion in the welfare state; and (c) cultural integration, meaning a process which involves cognitive, cultural, behavioral and attitudinal change on the part of newcomers as well as the host society. (Jentsch, 2007, p. 3)

This thesis will focus on socio-economic integration and cultural integration and leave civil-political integration aside, because Turkey has accepted 1951 Refugee Convention with a geographical limitation that only give refugee status to the persons who become refugees as a result of events occurring in Europe, and thus the Turkish political system provides few opportunities for political integration to the target group—the Afghan undocumented/illegal immigrants in Istanbul. (Dimitriadi, 2018)

2.2 The significance of the local dimension of integration

The role of cities and/or metropolitan/local governments is crucial for integration. The cities/localities provide a spatial and institutional context for integrating immigrant populations and individuals to the host societies. Isin, as quoted by Varsanyi, advocated this position by arguing, “[g]lobal cities are spaces where the very meaning, content, and extent of citizenship are being made and transformed.” (Varsanyi, 2006, p. 229) In other words, local integration in the cities is a crucial topic, because cities are locations where the interactions and confrontations between the migrants and host societies are more complex, more intensive and more explosive. Cities have gradually become significant spaces for migration and

consequently local governments' approach to the issue of migration and the process of integration, and social cohesion have become crucial. They have to become more active in devising and implementing effective integration policies than their national governments. Penninx and Martiniello have provided examples from Netherlands and Sweden for increasing role of local governments in integration process. In both countries, the cities have assumed active roles in the integration process because the cities had to confront the issues related to migration and integration such as housing system, labor market, education system, public order. In addition, the conflicts and problems were more visible and the native populations could easily press the local governments for the solutions, and therefore, local governments cannot escape from the pressures as national governments do. As a result, local governments were the ones who generate pressure on their national governments for action. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 160)

Varsanyi, within the context of local citizenship, argues that irregular migrants are more visible in the cities and she describes them not as abstract entities as national migration policies do, but as neighbors, family members, friends, customers etc. As cities are left to manage these populations' presence, many states and localities are forced to formulate local membership policies in order to respond these populations' demand. These policies include problems and issues related to a particular locality rather than the ones related to international human rights. Varsanyi claims that citizenship is considered a sociological process and these irregular groups find a way to feel a belonging to the locality. She adds emerging examples of local citizenship for irregular residents in the US, such as many US cities giving immigrants local noncitizen voting rights, matriculas consulares, driving licenses and in-state tuition to irregular immigrants and their children. (Varsanyi, 2006, pp. 240-

245) According to Vitorino, these local policies apart from accepting the irregular immigrants as de facto residents, they also provide immigrants some legal and political rights through local and state laws, such as avoiding deportation, having a legally accepted identity, attending public institutions. (Vitorino, 2005, pp. 240-244)

In addition, as Jentsch argues, “local communities are not only spaces with their social, cultural, economic and political components in which migrants live. Rather, migrants are in dynamic relationships with communities, and their experiences at local level will define their opportunities.” (Jentsch, 2007, p. 4)

Other than their necessity to act due to their direct dealing with the immigrants, the cities/localities also may have a comparative advantage when compared with national governments for succeeding in integration process. According to Çağlar and Schiller, cities may offer different opportunities based on their scalar positioning in the global hierarchy. “These opportunities include variations in regulatory regimes, local infrastructures and possibilities for entrepreneurial activities, employment, education, housing, and entrance into local political and cultural life.” (Çaglar & Schiller, 2011, p. 3)

According to Zapata-Barrero, Caponio and Scholten, several scholars argue that:

local immigrant policies are specific in their pragmatic approach to problem-solving. Local governments would cooperate with migrant organizations out of a pragmatic urge for getting information on migrant groups, cooperation and sometimes even the instrumentalization of migrant organizations for the implementation of local policy measures. (Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, & Scholten, 2017, p. 3)

Cities can also facilitate integration process at ideational level and that is another reason why integration at local/city level is important for understanding the dynamics

of the integration process. As cities develop and maintain their own identities in time, like New Yorker or Parisian, which is separate and maybe different from the national identity, their more cosmopolitan identities can become a base for the recreation of migrant groups' identities if the migrants consider it more reputable from their own identity. The impact of these city based identities can become particularly significant during the periods when the concepts such as cosmopolitanism and super diversity become intellectually fashionable and thus more appealing for the migrants to identify themselves. Vathi provides an example for this argument from Italy and argues, “[p]arents and children mentioned identifying with Florence and Florentine identity and culture, seeing it as a reputable culture and a famous and distinct location and accent in Italy.” (Vathi, 2015, p. 104) Even when the cities employ policies that are more exclusionary and practices against the migrants, identification with the city may continue to be useful in facilitating integration, just because it is seen as something worth to identify with.

Although the nation state citizenship continues to be an important reality, the problem of nationality is questioned in the cities as debates on global/cosmopolitan/post national citizenship, supranational citizenship, transnational citizenship, and post-national citizenship continues, and the growing de facto long term residence of noncitizens in a national territory have challenged the dominant conceptualization based on nation state citizenship. (Varsanyi, 2006, p. 230)

2.3 Factors of integration at national level

The conditions that are conducive to integration, and the socio-economic, political and cultural factors that may explain the success of immigrant groups' or individuals' integration to their host societies are fundamental questions to be

answered in order to understand the integration process. It is also important to determine benchmarks to evaluate the success or failure of integration policies and to measure the level of integration for a particular immigrant group within a particular locality.

Penninx and Martiniello argue that integration processes can take place at three levels: individual level (affecting the personal lives and practices of the migrants), organizational level (related to the associations created by the migrants themselves) and institutional level (referring to the local and national institutions of the receiving states). Firstly, it can take place at the individual level, as housing, employment, education, and social and cultural adaptation to the new society, then as collective level of the immigrant group. The organizations of the immigrant group may mobilize the resources and immigrants may become part of the civil society and may contribute for the integration policy making process but reverse is also possible: these institutions may isolate the immigrant groups from the host society. The third level is the level of institutions; general public institutions of receiving societies or cities (like education system, institutional arrangements for the labor market or public health or the political system itself) and these general institutions must serve all the citizens equally. These institutions functions through rules and norms as well as unwritten rules and practices. Thus, either they can lead to partial or total exclusion or they can support their integration. Beside official institutions, there also exist private religious or cultural institutions (like churches, trade unions, cultural institutions) that provide special services to immigrants, and they act effectively as a part of civil society. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, pp. 142-143) All these, seemingly separate levels are inter-related with each other: institutions affect personal actions and personal actions can mobilize the institutions.

According to Sussmuth and Weidenfeld, in order to have a more effective integration policy, it is necessary to proceed on the basis of two important questions: who are the individuals and the groups that are subject to integration, and in which domains (language skills, economic integration, social integration, cultural integration, political participation, etc.) integration will be realized? When integration policies are designed within the context of answers given to these questions, the duration of immigrants in the host country becomes an important variable in determining the scope and the content of the integration policy: if the immigrants are temporary, policy should focus on the labor market integration and language skills, however for the permanent immigrants the integration policies should be more comprehensive that includes societal, cultural, political, language and labor market integration. (Sussmuth & Weidenfeld, 2005, p. xiii)

As quoted by Cadge et al, Jeffrey Reitz described four contextual factors for a successful reception and resettlement process:

a) pre-existing ethnic and race relations within the host population; b) differences in labor markets and related institutions; c) the impact of government policies and programs, including immigration policy, policies for immigrant integration, and policies for the regulation of social institutions; and d) the changing nature of international boundaries, part of the process of globalization. He argues that the characteristics of host societies can influence immigrant integration as much as, if not more than individual immigrant characteristics. (Cadge, Curran, Hejtmanek, Nadya, & Levitt, 2009, p. 7)

The factors affecting the level and success of immigrants' integration to the host societies can be classified into four categories: government policies and programs, the characteristics of the labor market, the character of relations with the host society, and other factors like gender, religion and time.

2.3.1 Government policies and programs

The impact of government policies and programs is the first and foremost crucial factor for the integration of immigrants to the host society. According to Korac, measures of integration commonly employed by the governments of receiving societies include access to retraining and education to enhance employment opportunities, to health and other social services and support in community building. The level and character of these forms of assistance and provision depend on the character of welfare systems of receiving societies, which tend to influence individual policies of integration. Welfare states, such as the Scandinavian countries or the Netherlands, provide welfare systems of assistance to refugees. The southern European countries, such as Italy, which have relatively underdeveloped welfare systems, tend to have underdeveloped and often ad hoc measures of assistance for individuals granted asylum. (Korac, 2003, p. 52)

An important aspect of the governmental policies is the existence or lack of a predictable and convenient legalization process for illegal immigrants. Legalization is considered as the indispensable first step for the integration individuals and Vathi argues that:

the lengthy process of regularization and uncertain residence rights have affected migrants' strategies of integration and feelings of belongingness, while creating stressful spatial immobility and affecting migrants' psychological well-being. Similar issues are applicable for Albanians in Greece; the unsettled situation regarding residence papers is associated with feelings of humiliation, exploitation, dehumanization and imprisonment. Moreover, "papers" also impact on belongingness, civic responsibility and engagement, obstructing feelings of being "at home" and the experiencing of sustainable emotional attachments. (Vathi, 2015, pp. 78-80)

As Vathi underlines within the context of Albanian immigrants in London, extension of the period of unpredictability due to lack of a dependable regularization process,

also lengthen out the suffering of the migrant populations by imposing social and personal costs on the immigrants: not only they have to face problems in hospitals and suffer depression due to severe psychological stress; they sometimes even cannot attend their relatives funerals as it is forbidden for them to leave the country. (Vathi, 2015, p. 81)

According to Penninx & Martiniello from the perspective of individual immigrants, their legal status is fundamental factor for the process. As they have concerns about their legal position, it affects their behaviors and challenges to integrate. Uncertainty about their future residence rights, their dependency to the state assistances and lack of political participation may affect the integration process negatively. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 141) Korac provides the examples of Italy and Netherlands to highlight the challenges created by their uncertain legal status. Although, the Dutch government controls the resettlement process at local and national level, and provides state assistance to the migrants; due the long duration of the process and uncertainty, the policies fail to integrate migrants to the Dutch society even when they are successful. On the other hand, although the Italian government is inadequate in providing state assistance and even an accommodation to migrants, and migrants have to live with assistance provided by NGOs and religious institutions through informal relations, the migrants in Italy have less problems in adaptation to the society when compared with migrants in Netherlands, because in Italy the refugees fleeing from general violence and armed conflicts were granted temporary resident permits with special decrees in the 90s. These permits, which were granted without lengthy determination process and give immediate rights to work and study, provide them an ad hoc status and a sense of certainty that they will not be deported. (Korac, 2003, pp. 55-59)

In the past decades when the issue of migration was not politicized as it is today, some Swedish and Dutch cities had more inclusive policies towards immigrants and integration in 1970s and 1980s. These circumstances created a base for inclusive national policies “including early introduction of local voting rights for aliens and an easier access to naturalization for many newcomers. These rights were considered as “means to enhance integration, rather than as a final testimony to integration achieved. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 149)

Brettell, Singer and Hardwick also emphasize the importance of representation of immigrants such as by giving voting right as some cities give voting rights for residents even if they are noncitizens. They argues that “[a]s Mexican immigrant become citizens, and as the native born second generation grows up and becomes politically empowered, the political landscape of both the city and the suburbs may change further.” (Brettell, Singer, & Hardwick, 2008, p. 82)

Another aspect of governmental policy is whether adequate local services are provided or not to immigrant groups. When local authorities in Tuscany (Italy) do not provide local services for foreigners, this had resulted in creation of social enclaves (ghettos) and rising conflicts. This is why the services (such as sponsoring immigrant cultural activities or intercultural activities) should be specifically given to the foreigners to make them feel they are welcome. (Vathi, 2015, p. 80)

Penninx and Martiniello argue that:

Beyond... migrant related differences, however, general characteristics of states and societies also matter. In the socioeconomic sphere, integration mechanisms in societies with a strong liberal market orientation (and limited welfare and social facilities) differ from those in the caring welfare states that put more emphasis on solidarity and redistribute much greater proportions of the national income In the cultural and religious domain, too, historical particularities and institutional arrangements create wide differences in the feasibility of policies in certain areas” (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 150)

The last aspect of governmental policy is whether state sponsorship and social assistantship is provided for the immigrant groups. The case study by Vathi clearly has shown that the living conditions of Albanians in Great Britain was better than the conditions of Albanian migrants in Greece and Italy, because the first migration wave in Great Britain has met with the state institutions and receive assistance from them. These assistance “included access to information and opportunities for education and language training and so this process of ‘socialization’ with institutions was empowering and helped them to learn some of the country’s social and political rhetoric.” (Vathi, 2015, p. 82)

The governments’ response to the problem of integration is partly influenced by their ideological orientation. It is generally assumed/argued that left leaning parties formulate and implement more pro-immigrant policies and programs when they are in office. For instance, as Salomoni argues, after the center-right parties’ victories in 2011 and 2008 elections in Italy, many anti-immigrant policies were formulated and cultural pluralist policies were replaced with assimilationist ones. (Salomoni, 2015, pp. 172-173) In districts governed by leftist parties, it is generally easier for immigrants to enjoy their rights. (Salomoni, 2015, p. 181)

2.3.2 Labor markets

The differences in labor markets and related institutions in receiving countries is also an important factor that affects the integration process. Vathi argues that “financial prosperity and economic security generated feelings of belongingness” and the concern for economic security affect all aspects of their lives including their family planning, marriage and relations either with their own people or intercultural. For

example “in the early 1990s there is a considerable age gap between the siblings. Some immigrants have decided not to have children because of their inability to properly provide for them.” That is why integration to labor market and economic well-being is directly related to integration. However, integration to labor market is mostly dependent on their ability to reach educational system. In addition, the deskilling process transforms highly skilled individuals (e.g. medical doctors) in their home countries into low status manual job seekers in the host countries and decreases their job satisfaction. (Vathi, 2015, p. 82)

The migrants’ level of integration to labor markets is affected by the social characteristics of the host country. Weiner claims that ethnically heterogeneous countries deal with the issues of integration differently than do homogeneous countries and the host society’s willingness to absorb migrants is one of the factors that affect a successful integration process. The guest worker concept in Germany and petrol rich countries is an illustrative example of this unwillingness: although guest workers are given many social rights, as long as they are not given citizenship they will feel culturally, socially and politically excluded from the host society. (Weiner, 1996, p. 48) The government in the USA during the 19th century took an opposite attitude. As Lieberson pointed out, the US governments those were willing to absorb new immigrants to their mostly heterogonous societies, for a long time during the 19th century did impose only minimal governmental regulations that may restrict the admission of European immigrants in the United States. (Lieberson, 1996, p. 195)

In many cases, adequate financial conditions are precondition for social integration for migrants. The financial difficulties and the necessity to work without holidays to establish a new life within an alien society may restrict the migrants’

participation in social activities that may enhance their social integration to the receiving society. For example, an Albanian migrant in Vathi's study says:

Can I tell you something? In the fourteen years that I have been living here, I have started this year to go to the cinema because I go with my daughter. Because my husband works every day; on Sunday we are home, what to do first? We have to stay with the children, we have to do the family shopping and this and that... So basically, our economic conditions haven't allowed us any kind of entertainment. We do beach holidays in Albania. We are limited in our expenditures for clothing, not to mention brands... We don't have any kind of entertainment. (Vathi, 2015, p. 85)

However, apart from the economic conditions and labor market integration, as it was debated in Vathi's study, cultural factors (like the jealousy of Albanian men and patriarchal worldview) and the inadequate language skills due to inefficient regularization processes also negatively affect social integration. (Vathi, 2015, p. 85)

For social integration of immigrants, ethnic or immigrant organizations can play a mediator and/or facilitator role. Vathi argues that:

[T]hese organizations contribute to immigrants' structural and social integration. This is both through concrete projects tailored and funded for these purposes, but also through provision of a meeting point for the immigrants of both generations where networking and socializing takes place. In London, for example, mothers prepare Albanian coffee and chat about their everyday problems while children attend a class in Albanian or practice traditional Albanian dance. (Vathi, 2015, p. 88)

According to Schiller et al, the network ties that migrants have provide access to resources. Consequently, the participation of individuals in personal or organizational networks, which place them in social fields that provide them with the capacity to command scarce resources, is an indicator of incorporation. Resources include material rewards, such as money, as well as employment, training, social recognition, social connections, and prestige. (Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen,

Beyond the ethnic lens: Locality, globality, and born-again incorporation, 2006, p. 614)

Moreover, according to Vathi, these organizations also establish connections between parents and host country institutions. They can take on the role of mediator between a family and school or social services. However, these organizations may also have negative impacts for the migrant groups such as organizational irregularities, intra-organizational rivalries and democratic participation. The conflict between Turkish migrant organizations due to their rivalry is a good example for these possible negative impacts. As Schrover and Vermeulen (2005) observe, the activity and prosperity of immigrant organizations depend on the political opportunity structure and the character of the immigrant community.” (Vathi, 2015, p. 90)

As Sert has argued,

[t]he migrants have interpersonal relations that links them with the previous migrants and natives both in the sending and receiving regions, [and] that have been developed through kinship, friendship and/or common societal origins. As a result of these networks, the migrant individual or individuals motivate their family members or friends for migration and provide information to them. These networks provide a social capital in the receiving country, particularly when looking for a job or accommodation. (Sert, Küresel hareketlilik ve göç, 2014, p. 513)

An overemphasis on the ethnic identity by the migrants may create resentment in the host societies and may weaken the willingness of the host society to incorporate the migrant groups. Even in a multi-cultural global city like London overemphasis on ethnic and religious identity by migrant groups have created a perception that there exist no-go zones for the native populations and triggered resentment among the members of the host society. However, as Schiller and Çağlar

argues the networks which created by the ethnic identities are not the only means for migrant incorporation, since migrants may form social relations with other people by non-ethnic ties based on professional, neighborhood, political, religious and economic relationships. (Çaglar & Schiller, 2011, p. 10)

2.3.3 The character of relations with the host society

The desire of the host society and the willingness of the migrant group to integrate can be affected by the perceptions of cultural difference, and of similarity with the culture of the host society. As Vathi narrated:

Migrants in Thessaloniki, in turn, feel some continuity of their culture and traditions. This is expressed through references to pan-ethnic identities, such as references to the Balkan culture, pointing to the similarities between the Albanian and the Greek way of life. Albanian immigrants in Florence likewise feel an affinity towards the Italian culture—something they felt even before migrating to Italy. As a result, appreciation and adoption of local social and cultural values, followed by a certain strategic mimicry or assertive adaptation is rather natural for Albanians there. However, in London, they faced with a culture shock, as it is a northern culture emphasizing with equality and individuality, even though they enjoy multiethnic environment, which makes them feel comfortable as foreigners. (Vathi, 2015, p. 87)

Within this context, the existence of a perceived or real discrimination is one of the factors affecting social integration. Although the level of discrimination can be different for low income and high income individuals, for first and second generation migrants, or for different races; the perception of discrimination affects the integration process no matter if it is official or not, direct or not, or supported by media or not.

The existences of civil society institutions and individuals who can act as mediators between two groups also affect the nature of relations between host societies and the migrant groups.

According to Jentsch:

Civil society's involvement in the integration agenda is undoubtedly desirable. Local and national voluntary organizations can provide information and advice, support migrants in building social and employment networks, and contribute to their voices being heard in decision-making processes. Because the voluntary sector is so diverse and flexible, it is well suited to identify and address migrants' needs, and to take a holistic and person-centered approach. (Jentsch, 2007, p. 5)

The existence of social activist individuals, who are informed about the language, life style and culture of the migrant groups, in the districts where the migrants are living and who can mediate between migrants and state institutions is also an important factor. Moore argues that hiring individuals having these characteristics as social workers have been instrumental in resolving the tensions in Marseilles after youths in migrant districts started to attack social workers to attract the state's attention to their problems such as unemployment, social neglect and lack of leisure activities. They succeeded in that respect and the national and local authorities have started to recruit individuals who know the language and culture of the district as social workers. Particularly, mediators who were active in these kinds of social movements were recruited in many cities as social workers to solve the issues regarding to ethnic minorities. (Moore, 2004, pp. 130-131)

Self-organized refugee movements can also instrumental for the integration of immigrants to the receiving society. They emerged primarily in cities to demand access to Europe and to social and political, and to human rights. These movements mostly supported by leftist groups, unions, various civic organizations and individuals, including prominent artists and intellectuals. These movements were more heterogenous and have been supported by locals and so resulted with some

successes eventually, and this shows urban-based mobilizations' importance for migrants' accommodation in the city. (Mayer, 2018, pp. 10-11)

According to Weiner the success of integration is affected by certain factors. First factor is the willingness of the host society for absorbing immigrants and the rise of illegal migration causes negative feelings in the host society for government policies aiming integration for even legal migrants. (Weiner, 1996, p. 52) Secondly, the willingness of the migrants themselves to accept membership, both in the legal sense and by adopting a new identity is also important. As learning language is important but not enough for full incorporation and integration involves re-forming the identity, not everyone may prefer it. In fact, the willingness for integration can be considered as a function of the existence of a country to return or not. The groups who are rejected in their home countries, like the Jews in USA, will be more willing for adopting a new identity. Thirdly the structure of the labor market which enables the migrants to find a niche in the economy, one that frees them from excessive dependence upon the country's social services. (Weiner, 1996, p. 48) However, this process is not just about the availability of job opportunities; it is also related to nature of the jobs available. If they only employed in sectors that are not preferred by the native population and that do not provide any career opportunity, it may encourage low skilled illegal immigration wave that the host society will be less willing to integrate into their societies. In addition, in the situations where the cultural integration is dependent on education and socio-economic position, the conditions of the migrants employed in low skilled jobs will remain marginalized and that will negatively affect the intergenerational mobility among migrant populations. Integration of migrants through labor market may also create repercussions: when immigrants are successful in the labor market and if the native

minorities or communities are less successful, it may create reactions against them, as it had happened in Los Angeles; Black Americans attacked Korean shopkeepers. (Weiner, 1996, p. 59)

2.3.4 Other factors

Apart from the structural factors, gender, religion and time are also important factors affecting the integration of the immigrants to the cities.

Gender is an influential factor because the integration process has played out differently for men and women. Migrant women (particularly the first generation migrants) are dependent on men but once they enter the labor market their status change: while men are isolated in construction sector or in other manual works which requires minimum interaction with the locals; women are employed in domestic work and childcare that requires more interaction with the local population. Thus, due the differing characteristics of their occupations women are generally more successful in integration than the men are. This conclusion is reached through studying the Albanian immigrants in Greece and Italy where women followed men in migration; but it is also applicable for London case in which men and women migrating at the same time. The busy work schedule for men compared to more time the women have for socialization and courses is considered as the reason for more successful social integration of women. (Vathi, 2015, p. 91)

Religion and ethnic identity can also play crucial role for incorporation, both locally and transnationally. Although ethnic pathways are not the only way of migrant incorporation in the settlement process, it has significant impacts. For example, as Schiller argues, political mode of incorporation may follow an ethnic pathway so that ethnic networks are used to organize social relationships with

institutions such as political parties. However, the migrants may choose to follow non-ethnic pathways to be linked to institutions of the country they settled, which shows the other aspects their lives like religion or other identity bounds. In her research in both Manchester and Halle, Schiller has demonstrated that migrants generally become members of city councils or state legislatures through their engagement in local party politics rather than through the support of an ethnic constituency. (Schiller, *Beyond methodological ethnicity: Local and transnational pathways of immigrant incorporation*, 2008, p. 5) Choosing non-ethnic pathways based on more universal identities for integration may enhance immigrants' probability of success by isolating and protecting them from the adverse effects of a foreign ethnic identity.

Religion is another pathway of integration. As Çağlar and Onay quoted from Önder “the element that is most resistant to the assimilation of one ethnic group within another group or groups is not the language but the religious belief”. The differences between the levels of integration of the Muslim Turkish immigrant groups and the Christian Polish immigrant groups in Germany, and the preference of one over the other show that religious beliefs can be an important factor for promoting or preventing the integration process. (Çağlar & Onay, 2015, p. 63)

Moreover, as Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen argue:

In the absence of opportunity structures for ethnic pathways of incorporation, religion becomes more prominent as a pathway for becoming part of the locality, for newcomers as well as for native populations of cities experiencing economic insecurity... Its emphasis on family values, the need to build the moral fiber of local communities, and the efficacy of healing through prayer all have salience as migrants and natives experience the wastelands of their local cities and particular forms of restructuring. (Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen, *Beyond the ethnic lens: Locality, globality, and born-again incorporation*, 2006, pp. 626-627)

However, religious ties sometimes can be ethnic or homeland based, but other times they can be exclusively religion based. According to Schiller, that is the case for Christian African migrant churches in Germany:

The [re are] two born again churches in Halle/Saale Germany; one is predominantly Congolese and the other predominantly Nigerian. They were not building an ethnic church identified by the cultural or national identity of its members, rather both situated themselves within a global Christian mission and in organizations that linked them not to homeland churches but to a Pentecostal movement now being organized throughout Germany, Europe and globally... The non-ethnic Christianity I have been examining offers migrants in small-scale cities a transnational network of incorporation into social relations, which gave them access to various kinds of local social, economic, or political resources and ease their social, cultural and political participation to the city life". (Schiller, *Beyond methodological ethnicity: Local and transnational pathways of immigrant incorporation*, 2008, pp. 11, 22)

That is also the case for "Islam, in particular, is being studied as a global project, with its transnational networks coming under intense scrutiny." (Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen, *Beyond the ethnic lens: Locality, globality, and born-again incorporation*, 2006, p. 614) As Islam is a religion historically aspiring to transcend the ethnic, linguistic, national divisions under the concept of "ummah" can be instrumental in providing a suitable pathway for non-ethnic integration of migrants to receiving societies.

As the integration is considered as a long-term phenomenon, the time migrants spend in the receiving society is an influential factor in integration process: in time, migrant individuals can learn how the things work. That is why adaptation process is more difficult for adults, particularly in issues related to aesthetics and social values, as they are related to emotions and morality that have been already formed before migration. However, for the second-generation children the process is different, particularly if they can have an equal access to educational institutions in

the settled country—which shows the continuing importance of institutions and integration policies. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 145)

2.4 Cities as context: Factors affecting integration at the local level

The integration process for the immigrant populations to the city takes place at different levels (individual level, immigrant organizations level, institutional level) and the socio-political consequences of this process is conditional to several interrelated factors. Cadge et al argues that:

More complete and compelling explanations for why certain places integrate immigrants with greater success than others need to take scale and culture into account... [there are] important variations in how cities create and deploy their cultural armature, including differences in urban self-presentation, the prevailing ethos toward immigrants, and how culture is harnessed in service of urban renewal projects. We have also noted how history and political economy influence the available cultural apparatus in each site and the ways the city tells its story of welcome to immigrants. (Cadge, Curran, Hejtmanek, Nadya, & Levitt, 2009, p. 4)

Schiller and Çağlar point out to the lack of locality's theorization in international migration studies, and argue that the importance of locality has been ignored in the field because of the ethnic lens used for migration researches. They claim that as cities' scalar position influence the integration of migrants and the cities should not be considered only as containers, which migrants settle and work, but they should be seen in a dynamic relationship with the cities they settle. (Schiller & Çağlar, Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: Migrants incorporation and city scale, 2009, pp. 177-181)

The major factors that affect integration at the local level include geographical characteristics of a city's locality, urban repositioning and self-

representation, municipal approach to the socio-economic and political issues associated with migrants, city scale, and spatial organization of the city.

2.4.1 Geographical characteristics of a city's locality

According to Cadge et al, economic geographical characteristics of a city/locality is an important factor for integration at local level: each city's spatial characteristics, including land-use policies, geography, and the ways in which local and global flows intersect influence its geopolitical position and how immigrants are received.

Portland and Danbury provide two illustrative examples for the impact of economic geography on the perception of migrants in the cities. Portland, as a port city, has been standing in the center of global movements, tourism and economy since 1800s. Similarly, Danbury has been a transit hub and a trade city with its proximity to and relations with a global city, New York. Naturally, all these factors have attracted migrants these cities and they accommodated the migrants and have created a diverse environment throughout the centuries. (Cadge, Curran, Hejtmanek, Nadya, & Levitt, 2009, pp. 14-15)

Economic activity in a city and its relations with global economy is an important determinant of a city's geographical characteristics. That is why the nature and characteristics of economic activity in the cities should be taken into consideration while the significance and role of cities in integration of migrants is studied. Since modern times, urban centers have been the places where migrants could find a place. In the previous century, the big cities, as the locations for industry and production, provided economic facilities and affordable housing in the inner city districts. Moreover, these industries had unions that help for immigrants to obtain rights and political participation. In the last decades, immigrant integrations in the

cities were discussed within this context that they fight for their rights and contributed to the economy of the host society. However, in recent decades, urban economies changed and industrial and manufacturing sectors decreased dramatically, and at the same time service and finance sector increased. These processes called as urban economic restructuring and it has a spatial dimension. The demand for office space, gentrifiable dwellings, cultural centers have increased and urban centers that were once residential areas for migrants have been transformed into finance centers. (Menahem, 1996, pp. 144-145) However, transition to post-industrial cities has also created new economic opportunities for low paid workers. Sassen claims that new finance sectors in the urban economy created its own consumption patterns and this created low-skilled jobs for immigrants at the same time as providing high-skilled employers of immigrants. (Sassen, 1990) Therefore, the quality of immigrants varied, but mid-level jobs decreased and it caused inequalities in large cities.

Salih and Ricco compare two Italian cities' (Ravenna and Rimini) differing responses towards the Senegalese migrants, and they claim that the two cities' difference in receiving and incorporating processes depend on their economic development. (Salih & Riccio, 2011) Globalization and concomitant neo-liberal economic policies also affect the economy and the integration of the migrants to the cities. As Çağlar and Schiller cited from Peter Marcuse and Ronald Van Kempen, "globalization is a process that affects all cities in the world." (Çaglar & Schiller, 2011, p. 5) Therefore, it can be said that as neoliberal policies influence the city and restructure its institutions, networks, and labor market, it also influence the relationship between migrants and the settled cities. Moreover, as reductions appear in state services and benefits, decreasing investments of states in urban economies

and developing private service oriented policies influence the relationship between migrants and cities of settlement. (Çaglar & Schiller, 2011, p. 4)

2.4.2 Urban repositioning and self-representation

A city's self-identification and self-representation is considered as an important element in its response to the migrants and its integration policies. Schiller argues that when cities market themselves as "cities of diversity"; they generate occasions to show that they welcome their migrants. For example, in Manchester, much of the business and political leadership, including the former mayor, has seen new immigrants as providing the diversity needed to market Manchester as a global city as well as sustain Manchester's low-wage industries. "To make use of migrants as representations of difference and cultural performances of diversity... migrants have a small but persistent presence in representations of the city". (Schiller, *Beyond methodological ethnicity: Local and transnational pathways of immigrant incorporation*, 2008, pp. 19-21)

The recent trend for multicultural cities, in which some cities are trying to compensate for their loss of industrial wealth in the process of de-industrialization by transforming themselves into brand cities that are centers of tourism and art, is a trend that affects the acceptance of migrants. Portland is an illustrative example in this regard and the city, which defines itself with diversity, uses it to participate into global economy. However, Danbury provides a counter example: although the city represents itself as a multicultural city, it is not welcoming to the new comers (particularly the immigrants). It seems that Danbury is unwilling to translate its cultural multicultural city rhetoric into economic policies. (Cadge, Curran, Hejtmanek, Nadya, & Levitt, 2009, pp. 20-21) This contradiction between rhetoric

and practice in Danbury shows that the self-representation of the city is not adequate for determining its level multiculturalism and an analysis of actual socio-economic practices of the city administrations would be more useful in determining level of their multiculturalist approach. Penninx and Martiniello, following this line of reasoning, argues that, countries that traditionally recognized different religions and languages within their territories generally found it easier to make additional provisions for newcomers in those domains. (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, p. 151)

2.4.3 Municipal approach

National governments' official response, at the local level, to the socio-economic and political issues associated with migrants and the problems of integration affect the integration process. Although municipalities work under the control of national governments, they are semi-independent and some of their activities are clearly local. Thus, municipal policies are in fact the official policies that directly affect the daily lives of the migrants and the municipalities' services provided by local governments directly affect the success of integration process. For example, according to Cadge et al, the municipality in Portland not only provides many services (like language courses, healthcare, job opportunities) the migrants regardless of their legal status, it also encourages non-profit organizations for providing services. Moreover, it implements policies promoting individual liberties and prevent the investigation of the legal status of individuals unless there is a criminal matter. (Cadge, Curran, Hejtmanek, Nadya, & Levitt, 2009, p. 21)

In this respect, the embeddedness of cities in national contexts and policies is important for the integration process at the local level, because it can significantly influence local policies. As national level dominance is crucial, national policy has a

more or less determinant effect on what cities can do and cannot do. However, as the examples of Berlin, Frankfurt and Cologne in Germany; Zurich, Bern, and Basel in Switzerland; and Roubaix, Toulouse and Marseille in France have pointed out cities can create their own peculiar policies. City governments are not just implementers of national policies; they can also be effective in immigrant policy formulation. “Not only do cities make differential use of their existing discretionary power within a national system... they may also embark on new elements and forms of policy for immigrants, putting general policy settings to use in group-specific ways.” (Penninx & Martiniello, 2004, pp. 154-155)

For example, during the refugee crisis in the summer of 2015, Barcelona's mayor called for solidarity with refugees and declared the city as “city of refugee”. He said that “[i]t may be that states grant asylum, but it is cities that provide shelter.” Even though the mayors of Athens and Barcelona initiated actions for refugees taken, but these actions have failed since the national government has authority for the asylum matters. National states' authority is inevitable in the process but still some municipalities have power to reinterpret the laws in practice as happened in German municipalities. It applies to the “voluntary tasks of municipal administration” and it gives autonomy to the municipality. (Mayer, 2018, pp. 1-3)

During the same refugee crisis, German municipalities provided assistance to voluntary “welcome initiatives” spontaneously formed by the locals to provide help for those people who lack minimum human rights' standards when media has shown what was happening on the borders, in trains and buses and reception centers, which was catastrophic and degrading. “[D]epending on the local political culture in the respective municipal offices and pre-existing relations with civil society

organizations” different models governing the relation between the welcome initiatives and municipal administrations emerged. According to Mayer:

[These different models] ranges from hands off approaches limiting the municipal role to coordinating supply and demand while respecting and supporting the competence and needs of the volunteers ... to approaches where the departments tasked with integration try to nudge the volunteers’ engagement into directions that allow them to ‘save’ on professional social work and legal counsel (Mayer, 2018, pp. 8-10)

Graauw and Vermeulen, by comparing four European and American cities (Berlin, Amsterdam, New York City, and San Francisco), have developed a framework for explaining why city officials enact and implement policies that promote immigrant integration. According to that, when (a) the cities have left leaning governments, (b) immigrants who constitute a larger part of the city electorate and part of local decision making structures, and (c) if an infrastructure of community based organizations that actively represent immigrants’ collective interests in local politics and policy making, cities are more likely to embrace immigrant integration policies regardless of national states’ hostility towards them. (Graauw & Vermeulen, 2016)

2.4.4 City scale

City scale is last major factor that affects integration at local level. Schiller and Çağlar, define “city scale as the differential positioning of cities determined by the articulation of institutions of political, cultural and economic power within regions, states and the globe.” (Schiller & Çağlar, Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: Migrants incorporation and city scale, 2009, p. 188) It can be interpreted as the position of a city in the global hierarchy, which is not a function of its relations with the national institutions, but of its ties with the global economy and

institutions. According to Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen, within the framework of city scale, cities that are categorized as either global or gateway cities. The term gateway city refers to locations of first settlement of large numbers of migrants. Some such cities, for example, New York and London, are also classified as global cities and these are large-scale cities, well positioned in hierarchies of economic and political power. (Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen, *Beyond the ethnic lens: Locality, globality, and born-again incorporation*, 2006, p. 613)

Scale theory not only allows one to consider locality as a factor, but also argues that the local reception of migrants by the city is affected by its position within the global hierarchy of cities. Schiller argues that the scale of a city is an important indicator for migrant incorporation, including in the creating of networks internationally and locally. Although, the scale's impact on migrants is crucial, migrants affect for city scale measurement is also crucial. (Schiller, *Beyond methodological ethnicity: Local and transnational pathways of immigrant incorporation*, 2008, pp. 4-9) Top-scale cities such as London, New York or Paris, offer huge opportunities for migrants' integration and transnational connections for migrants regardless of their legality. These cities accommodate both highly skilled educated migrants as well as low skilled workers to sustain the services needed. Moreover, these top scale cities support for organizations of multiculturalism and/or cosmopolitanism. Up-Scale cities such as Dallas-Fort Worth accommodate many professionals hired from migrant networks. Therefore, these kinds of associations play significant roles to push the city higher scale in the global competition. There is also another categorization as low scale city, such as Philadelphia, that may not have a structure for investing in migrant transnational organizations. In these cities, affluent students and high-income elites contribute to the gentrification of city

centers and rebranding of cities. There is also downscaled cities (such as Halle/Saale in Germany and Manchester in the UK) that have experienced deindustrialization and depopulation. In these cities neoliberal transformations had reduced state support for social services and they have almost no accommodation for migrants' assistances and have little employment opportunities for the whole population of its own. (Schiller & Çağlar, Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: Migrants incorporation and city scale, 2009, pp. 191-194)

The city's scale (its economic position within the global hierarchy of cities) has an impact on how welcoming the city is towards immigrants. Schiller argues that “not only the state policies but also the actual impact of public policies need to be explored in relation to the location of particular places within the national space. Local opportunity structures are influenced by city scale and in times of neoliberal globalization, they could not be considered to be homogeneous within the national space”. (Schiller, Beyond methodological ethnicity: Local and transnational pathways of immigrant incorporation, 2008, p. 9).

Migrants have impacts on the city's scale with their labor, by creating and reproducing social institutions, by raising families, and producing wealth. Moreover, they help for city's brand as a world city with its diversity that pull investments and capital, and that create transnational connections that link cities to each other. Therefore, as scale makers of the cities, migrants should be reconsidered as actors. (Schiller & Çağlar, Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: Migrants incorporation and city scale, 2009, pp. 189-190) As cultural diversity is considered as an important factor in the competitive struggle between cities, immigrants can be marketable assets in the places where they settle, even enabling some cities to reposition themselves within the geopolitical hierarchy. For example,

as Cadge, Curran, Hejtmanek, & Levitt point out “Danbury and Portland have historically expressed a strong sense of pride in being tolerant, multicultural communities. Ideas such as ‘America is a nation of immigrants’, and ‘Multiculturalism is good for our community’, were firmly embedded in the collective cultural reservoir of these largely liberal, middle-class cities.” (Cadge, Curran, Hejtmanek, Nadya, & Levitt, 2009, pp. 8-9) Thus, the contribution of migrants to the city is also indirect factor for urban integration. As the migrants become actors, they contribute to the economic, social, cultural and political life of their cities and this create willingness of the host society to embrace their new neighbors and this influence local integration processes. (Çaglar & Schiller, 2011, p. 12) In other words, if and when migrants positively contribute to the cities, for example by making cities more competitive regionally, nationally and globally, these contributions create good relations with the host society and integration can be achieved as resentments are not taking place.

2.4.5 Spatial organization of the city

The patterns of accommodation among the migrant populations positively or negatively affect the integration process. If the living spaces in the city is segregated among the native and migrant populations and the migrants live in enclaves isolated from the native populations, the spatial relations will negatively affect the integration process. Particularly when the access to educational and social services is limited by the segregation, it will become more difficult for the migrant population to reach and to become accustomed to the larger society. However, the enclaves can be instrumental for the migrants to maintain their own identities, if the access to services is not obstructed. (Weiner, 1996, p. 53) Other than the living spaces, the

access to public spaces (such as parks, buses, metro stations, libraries, religious institutions, city squares) fundamental for the interaction of immigrants with each other and with locals as these spaces can act as meeting spots for immigrants.

2.5 Conclusion

As it is shown in Table 1, there are many socio-economic, political, cultural and geographical factors, both at national and local levels, affecting the immigrant groups' integration to their host societies. However, not all these factors are equally influential for every immigrant group or applicable for every country: their overall impact changes from group to another, from one country to another and in time. For irregular immigrants working in the informal sector (e.g. the Afghans in the Yeni Mahalle district of Istanbul) their legal status, the characteristics of the labor market, the existence of immigrant organizational networks, perceptions of cultural difference or similarity with the host society, existence of mediating institutions and individuals, and the duration of the immigrants stay in the host country can be singled out as more effective factors at national level. The geographical characteristics of a city's locality, city scale, and spatial organization of the city (including the accommodation patterns) are factors that shape the integration process of the immigrants to the city at the local level.

CHAPTER 3

INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT OF TURKEY'S INTEGRATION POLICIES AND URBAN INTEGRATION IN ISTANBUL

Historically, Turkey has been one of the transit and destination countries for irregular migrant flows because of its geographic position and socio-economic characteristics. Throughout the Republican era, Turkey has witnessed several migration waves from different regions of the world, of differing magnitude, and for various reasons.

Turkey's official policies related to the migration flows and the integration of the new migrants to Turkish societal structure have evolved as a result of the changing characteristics of the individuals involved in migration and the Turkish society.

3.1 Institutional context: Integration policy in Turkey

The countries use different approaches and instruments for managing the flow of migrants. As Sert has pointed out, the existing asylum regime is a product of Second World War, and it was shaped by UNHCR particularly after the end of the cold War that had increased the number of refugees. The existing regime makes it more difficult to get refugee status by allowing the nation states to determine national restrictions. Within this regime, Turkey imposed a national restriction based on geography, and has not accept refugee status for non-European asylum seekers. (Sert, *Küresel hareketlilik ve göç*, 2014, p. 519)

This chapter will be about the resultant de facto integration process of the migrants in Turkey in the absence of formal governmental initiatives/policies in because of the geographical restriction on the description of refugees. As Dimitriadi argues, Turkey has been an attractive transit and destination country for irregular

migrant flows, because of its informal economy, its extensive land and maritime borders and its visa regime. (Dimitriadi, 2018, p. 69) Throughout the Republican era, the migration waves to Turkey during different periods have presented differing characteristics and the policies implemented by the Turkish governments evolved in time as a reaction to these changing characteristics.

İçduygu and Aksel have classified Turkey's migration patterns and governments' responses into four key periods: a) the two way immigration and emigration circulation in the early period of Turkey; b) the emigration boom since the 1950s; c) the emergence of new migration patterns in the 1980s; and d) the new forms of migration governance employed since the 2000s. (İçduygu & Aksel, Turkish migration policies: A critical historical perspective, 2013, p. 167)

During the early years of the Turkish republic, the laws governing the country's migration policy, and the institutions that were responsible for their implementation reflected the need for settling people who were coming to Turkey through population exchange treaties with the neighboring states. As İçduygu and Aksel underlined, the "migrant phenomenon" that the modern Turkey had to deal with during that time was not related to the migrants of other origin, but those of Turkish origin who were moving to Turkey. The first steps for regulating early migration waves and their integration processes included the establishment of Ministry of Population Exchange, Development and Settlement (1923), the acceptance of the new constitution (1924), and the adoption of the Turkish Citizenship Law (1928) and the Law on Settlement (1934). The Law on Settlement (1934) is considered as the main legal text that defined the nation building process in Turkey, not only by structuring the migration and integration of those of "Turkish origin and culture" but also by preventing other migrants' entrance to the country as

refugees or migrants, and regulating the assimilation process of Turkish citizens who are not from Turkic origin. (İçduygu & Aksel, Turkish migration policies: A critical historical perspective, 2013, p. 172).

During that period, the state authority controlled the incorporation of muhacirs (migrants) at different levels. Those migrants were granted citizenship and the ones who were called iskanli (settled) resettled to the farmlands and houses, while the ones who were called iskansiz (not settled) did not receive any assistance from the state authorities for their resettlement, although they, particularly the ones who were from the common homeland origins, could use their familial and social networks. As Daniş et al argues, incorporation process for those immigrants was smoother, since the period was dominated by the muhacir arrivals, and both local people and migrants were familiar with the social and demographic diversity. Therefore, the heterogeneity of the Turkish society in the early republican era was emphasized as an important dimension that triggered a successful integration process for the migrants. (Daniş, Taraghi, & Perouse, "Integration in limbo": Iraqi, Aghan, Maghrebi and Iranian migrants in Istanbul, 2009, p. 461)

The period between 1950s and 1980s has witnessed new developments in Turkey regarding to international and internal migration flows. Since the early 1950s, the emergence of new social dynamics (such as economic modernization and urbanization), and rising rural-urban migration created new issues related to the settlement and employment of newcomers. Turkey's integration with the world migration regime also took place during these years through the signing of the 1951 UN Convention and the 1967 Protocol, which defined the status of the refugees and asylum seekers. (İçduygu & Aksel, Turkish migration policies: A critical historical perspective, 2013, p. 172)

As cited by Geoffrey from İçduygu, irregular migration trends in Turkey can be divided into distinct periods: “1979-1987-fertilization period; 1988-1993-maturation period; and 2001 onwards-degeneration period”. The major factors which affected migrations patterns were a) the regional and ethnic conflicts in the neighboring countries, b) the gate keeper role Turkey played in between East and West, North and South , and its place as a transit spot for migrant flows, c) the increased security measures and visa requirements for entry into the EU that have forced many irregular migrants to wait in buffer zones like Turkey, and d) the transition and liberalization of Turkish economy, which have created opportunities for labor migrants seeking better wages. (Geoffrey, 2005, pp. 9-13)

In post 1980s, Turkey has faced new patterns of migration and according to Düvell the changes in Turkey’s migration patterns and its eventual transition from an emigrant country into an immigrant receiving country can be explained partly by its geographical location. Turkey is situated in or near regions of great economic and political disparity, and volatility, such as the affluent but illiberal Gulf countries, the poor republics in the Caucasus and Central Asia, the troubled post-communist countries around the black sea, the war zones of the Middle East and the unstable North African nations. Thus, on the macro level Turkey’s geographical location makes it an attractive destination for all those nations’ people who wish to change their situation. (Düvell, 2014, p. 99)

The mass arrivals of refugees such as Iranians fleeing the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, and the Iraqi refugees who started to come during 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf Crisis of 1990-1991, have signaled this transformation of migration patterns for Turkey from a country of emigrants to a transit or host country. As İçduygu and Biehl pointed out, the continuous conflicts in Iraq have

caused more refugees to cross the borders, and those who moved during these periods were generally resettled to the Western European countries. Therefore, Turkey was still mostly a transit country for the migrants in those years. However, in 1989, Turkey received migrants from Balkan countries who were of Turkic origin and some of whom permanently settled in Turkey. The diversification of migrants coming to Turkey occurred after the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and particularly in Istanbul the irregular immigrant labor force has grown. (İçduygu & Biehl, *Migrant cities: Istanbul*, 2008, p. 5) According to Eder, “[t]he collapse of the Soviet Union... made the country – and particularly Istanbul – a convenient destination for this type of irregular migration” and “contributed significantly to this dynamism.” (Eder, 2015, p. 135)

Dimitriadi described transit country as the one located at the crossroads of the first and third worlds, receiving thousands of migrants every year in transit to neighboring first world countries and have some common characteristics: they share borders with developed countries, have high flow of migrants, offer possibility for informal entry to a neighboring country and have restrictive policies towards migrants. A transit country is also unprepared to confront migrants and their needs. (Dimitriadi, 2018, pp. 18-20)

Moreover, as İçduygu and Aksel stated, the changing socio-economic situations in Turkey, internal and international political changes like political-military conflicts in the region, and particularly the globalization process that influenced the movements of people as well as goods, technologies, ideas and finance were the reasons for the emergence of new migration patterns in the 1980s. Due to these changes, the integration approach traditionally used by Turkey for migrants that based on “common descent and culture” was not applicable anymore.

(İçduygu & Aksel, Turkish migration policies: A critical historical perspective, 2013, pp. 175-176)

During 1990s, Turkey has become a transit country for the people both from the east after the conflicts in the Middle East and from the west after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thus, Turkey had to deal with irregular, in other words “illegal”, migration according to Turkish laws in the post 1980s, but until 1994 regulation, the issues related to migration have never been mentioned within the context of asylum or labor: there were only legal regulations regarding to entry, exit, stay and residence of foreigners. Although the 1994 Asylum Regulation defined the process for asylum application, it remained difficult for immigrants to be recognized as legal residents because the geographical limitation to the Geneva Convention has continued, and those applied for resettlement were only given a temporary asylum until they are resettled to a third country.

Brewer and Yukseker elaborated the asylum process of Turkey after 1994 Regulation as follows: an asylum seeker who has legally or illegally entered Turkey could file an asylum application in a governorship within five days of their arrival, and after an interview with authorities; they would be kept in detention until their application is accepted. If the application were accepted, the applicant would be granted with residence permit to freely reside in particular satellite cities in Turkey that was determined by the Ministry of Interior (MOI). The Ministry of Interior, in cooperation with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), would decide whom to accept or reject. If the person were rejected, they would be deported to the country of their origin. In 1999, an amendment to that regulation extended the period of application to 10 days. Moreover, it allowed individuals to petition against rejection of their

application to obtain refugee status within 15 days. A new amendment in January 2006 further modified this regulation in favor of the asylum applicants by removing the time limit to apply for asylum after entrance. In addition, during the process of application, they could stay in reception centers or reside in a place, which is determined by the Ministry of Interior in satellite cities in Turkey. However, a “person whose application for refugee status is rejected twice would be notified that he or she needs to leave Turkey.” (Brewer & Yüksek, 2009, pp. 658-659)

Turkey’s migrants have been diversified after 2000s, and EU adaptation policies have led Turkey to generate new policies, and particularly the influx of Syrian Refugees have challenged Turkey’s exclusive migration policy and forced Turkey to face the reality. Particularly since the beginning of 2014, most of the refugees started to live outside the camps, and the registered non-camp population has increased. The actual number of Syrian refugees in Turkey is not known as many of them, especially in big cities like Istanbul, were not registered. With the sudden increase of refugees, Turkey created a Temporary Protection Regime and the 2014 Law on Foreigners and International Protections were generated to address the issues and inconsistencies that existed in the previous laws. (Sert, Elements of uncertainty in Turkey's refugee system, 2014, pp. 163-164)

According to this legislation Turkey has established a new agency, “the General Directorate of Migration Management (GDMM) under the Ministry of Interior, with broad powers to manage and regulate nearly all areas related to migration, temporary protection, and refugees.” In fact, 2014 law has pointed out to the significant gaps in Turkey’s migration policy and it was the first legal regulation that deals with the asylum status of the migrants that reside in the country. Although, it did not change the dual application process, it is considered a crucial step as it has

expanded the legal protections. (Woods, *Urban Refugees: The experiences of Syrians in Istanbul*, 2015, p. 13)

This law created three categories of people under Turkey's asylum regime. "These are refugees (only European asylum seekers), conditional refugees (who can stay in Turkey temporarily until they are resettled in a third country), and people are granted subsidiary protection, who, in theory, enjoy access to education and healthcare, among other benefits." Apparently, the last category only applies to Syrians. (Woods & Kayalı, *Engaging Syrian communities: The role of local government in Istanbul*, 2017, p. 7) As Sert pointed out "this law guaranteed unlimited stay, protection against forcible returns, and access to reception arrangements where immediate needs are addressed." (Sert, *Elements of uncertainty in Turkey's refugee system*, 2014, p. 163)

However, in the post 1980s period, the integration process in Turkey has remained as de facto integration for the asylum applicants who were waiting for the result of their application processes or irregular immigrants, despite the fact that the migration flows to the country were getting diverse and Turkey was forced to generate better and more comprehensive policies for handling migrant receiving processes. As Daniş et al cited from Erder, Turkey was still "more of a 'waiting room' rather than a 'receiving country'", and the migrants were classified as: a) political refugees who seek for resettlement in a third country; b) transit migrants who came to Turkey to cross a more developed country for better economic opportunities; and lastly c) suitcase traders and temporary clandestine workers who do business in cyclical patterns. However, the difference between transit migrants and political migrants were vague, so as cited from Aslan and Perouse, "the legal, social or economic status of migrants may easily change during their period of stay

in Istanbul.” (Danış, Taraghi, & Perouse, "Integration in limbo": Iraqi, Aghan, Maghrebi and Iranian migrants in Istanbul, 2009, pp. 465-466)

In those years, integration practices in Turkey also seemed to differ for different nationalities. For the Iraqis, their social capital that was based on their economic, cultural or political ties was the factor that contributes to their integration process. For example, Christianity was a crucial resource for the Iraqi Assyria-Chaldeans to create social networks during their temporary stay in Istanbul, because their religious organizations (church) and other secular institutions provided essential solutions such as legal services, educational services, employment services in the informal economy and moral support for their members. For the Iraqi Kurds, the political ties with Kurds from Turkey and Iraq had affected the process differently, and for the Turkmen, their ethnic similarity contributed to their integration to the host society, and the Turkmens seem to be the most advantageous ones for the socio-cultural integration to Istanbul among the migrant groups from Iraq. Therefore, among those immigrant groups, the most crucial factor for integration seems to be the networking, which was generated by familial solidarity, linguistic resource, and ethnic or religious associations. However, Turkish state's (non-existing) reception policy was another factor that shaped Iraqi immigrants' overall integration process. As in the case of Iraqi Christians, Turkey was not receiving them officially and state actors could have ignored the visibility of migrants. Last but not the least, the integration process for Iraqis was also interlinked with their spatial settlements.

During the same era, there was another group of migrants, Iranians who considered Turkey as a waiting room. Their integration and survival process were also mostly facilitated by the familial and ethnic-religious networks. Both Baha'i and Christian charity organizations provided material resources and educational

assistance to Iranian migrants. However, these services cannot be considered as a tool for integration, although they were crucial for migrants' survival in Turkey. Their integration level remained weak, as the assistance provided by those organizations did not eliminate Iranians' feeling of temporariness and lack of trust to each other. Therefore, Daniş et al argues that irregular migrants' overall success in integration depended on the capacity of their social segment. (Daniş, Taraghi, & Perouse, "Integration in limbo": Iraqi, Aghan, Maghrebi and Iranian migrants in Istanbul, 2009, pp. 465-623)

African migrants were another group of migrants in Istanbul and Kelly and Yukseker have been studied their experiences. In their study it has been argued that Africans increasingly have arrived to Turkey as irregular migrants or asylum seekers who were initially in 'transit' to cross into Europe. As their 'transit' stay turned out to be permanent, they had to find ways to integrate to the host society. Although irregular African migrants' presence in the city was more like 'tolerated' by the police, their distinctive appearance might have increased the risk of police harassment or deportation easily. The Istanbul Interparish Migrants' Programme (IIMP) provided their survival needs, but as the program's capacity was weak, the priority is given to women and children. Other than IIMP, individual churches also have provided assistance for African migrants. However, because of the deficiency of their organizations, and their weak social networks, African asylum seekers were more vulnerable to hunger and abuse. On the other hand, irregular economic migrants from African countries have created stronger social networks and have been integrated to the informal economy and have engaged in informal import and export businesses in Turkey. Their social interactions in Istanbul mostly included church

visits, and so religious organizations have been crucial tools for their socio-cultural integration to the host society. (Brewer & Yüksek, 2009, pp. 660-679)

Turkey's migration regime was reformed in the post 2000s, as the new waves of immigration (particularly the massive flows of Syrian migrants who fled from Syrian conflict) forced Turkey to a position that it can no more ignore the presence of migrants and had to take some action in terms of their legal status and socio-economic integration to Turkish society. Moreover, international organizations' increasing attention to the immigrant issues and Western European governments' financial and institutional encouragement, and support has transformed Turkey into a country of destination. Turkey still applies a geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention and according to this policy limits asylum rights only to immigrants coming from Europe. However, as Syrian presence in Turkey has become a significant phenomenon, Turkey was forced to recognize them—although not as “refugees”, but as “people with temporary protection status.” Their lack of a refugee status led to lack of state assistance in accessing fundamental rights in practice, and as Sert emphasized “while the Temporary Protection regime provides international protection, the future of the refugees' status remains unknown.” (Sert, Elements of uncertainty in Turkey's refugee system, 2014, p. 163)

According to Şimşek, the level of integration for Syrians who face insecure legal status and limited access to rights usually depends on their economic resources and their financial investments. Therefore, according to Şimşek, Syrians immigrants in Turkey have been going “through ‘class-based integration’ that is in favor of refugees who do investments and who are skilled, and leaves out refugees who are unskilled and do not have economic resources to invest in the receiving country.” (Şimşek, 2018, p. 2) Şimşek also emphasizes the role of national and international

NGOs for the integration process as exemplified by the case of Gaziantep. The extended stay of the Syrians in Turkey has forced the government to change the legal and institutional framework on immigration and immigrants. In April 2014,

“Turkey adopted a new Law on Foreigners and International Protection to (re)define the status of Syrians in Turkey, which is temporary protection status and the implementation has been left to the Ministry of Social Security and Work. In January 2016, Turkey issued a new regulation allowing registered Syrian refugees to get work permits.” (Şimşek, 2018, p. 7)

However, accessing to work permits has been hard in practice: not only the availability of work permits has been dependent on employers, but also the process has some bureaucratic obstacles. Therefore, Syrians mostly continue to work in the informal economy facing exploitation due to lack of safe working conditions and a social security protection. It can be said that, a working permit is still hard to obtain but being entrepreneur has been easier for Syrians and Turkey, according to Şimşek, implements a self-sufficient model for refugees. Although these rights privileged them from other immigrants in Turkey, the system still has many problems related to their situation and integration process. (Şimşek, 2018, pp. 2-10)

The temporary protection status that provides a limited access to fundamental rights, and the socioeconomic deprivation still complicate the integration process for Syrian immigrants trying to survive in Turkey. Although Law on Foreigners defines the rights for Syrians, there are ambiguities and exclusion in practice. In other words, they are protections, rights, or mobility enjoyed by foreigners who have residence permits. (Woods & Kayalı, Engaging Syrian communities: The role of local government in Istanbul, 2017, p. 7)

Therefore, the Syrian migrants continuing marginalization in the labor market continues to be a significant obstacle for their meaningful integration. As Şimşek

pointed out, employment has been emphasized as the most important dimension for integration, since having an employment makes them feel secure, enables them to make plans for the future, and gives them economic independence, self-esteem, wellbeing and a means of survival; while unemployment creates social exclusion, because it results in lack of interaction and consumption. (Şimşek, 2018, pp. 2-10)

In the absence of formal integration mechanisms, most of the studies on the integration of immigrants/refugees in Turkey have been based on a network approach by exploring which informal networks are utilized (ethnic, linguistic, etc.), for what purposes (employment, housing, etc.), and whether new ones have been formed. As cited by Biehl, Daniş et al's study conducted a comparative research about various migrant groups' networking strategies, and their shared ethnic, religious and linguistic traits with the receiving society and thus reveals the particular migration histories. (Biehl K. , 2012, p. 14)

Biehl argues that the spatial choices are also crucial for the lives of the migrants in Turkey. She has studied Kumkapı, a neighborhood in an old historical settlement, and emphasized that the choice of place is not accidental, neither for internal nor for international migrants. Kumkapı was shaped by local histories of migration and so it was more inclusive for both internal and international migrants, particularly after 1970s. Its location in the city center, its convenience for business sector, its embeddedness in migration history at urban and local levels, the availability of free zone informal economy, informal housings with various options (like shared flat, family housing etc.), and informal job opportunities have influenced the process of migrant resettlement and incorporation in Kumkapı neighborhood. Moreover, according to Biehl, the emergence of micro-ethnic communities and special businesses catering to foreigners (like ethnic restaurants and ethnic

hairdressers) in this heterogeneous neighborhood created a self-help system for irregular migrants. (Biehl K. S., 2014)

In another study, Biehl addressed the questions about asylum seekers' experiences in a bureaucratic process, their 'protracted uncertainty' status, and these documented migrants' transition to irregular migrants. In the absence of local integration, the de facto aspect of asylum regime appears, and since the waiting process is very vague and unpredictable, migrants turned out to be irregular immigrants. In her study, she focused on regular migrants who are on the process of waiting in uncertainty in the satellite cities to be resettled into a third country, and by lacking access to their rights, networks, information, and informal economy. As the local people and official authorities in the satellite cities were not well informed about migrants' resettlement process, they may face some local resentment when they require assistance. These people find themselves as criminals and irregular economic migrants who seek opportunities in Istanbul because they are ignored at bureaucratic level, there is a lack of state or NGOs assistance, and they live under an uncertain situation, and with their insufficient resources. (Biehl K. S., 2015)

In Turkey, there is still no structured regulation or official process regarding the integration framework and there are many problems to be solved: the informal economy is insecure and does not provide a regular income; there is lack of affordable housing; and the children do not have full access to the education because of inadequate knowledge about the registration process, the widespread child labor due to families' economic difficulties, and additional costs of schooling for the children. The access to health services seems to be less problematic one among the immigrant access to rights, as they can use the health services although they face difficulties in crowded hospitals. For immigrant integration, social participation is

also considered crucial and Syrians feel socially excluded due to racial discrimination, lack of language skills and their general (sometimes self-imposed) sense of isolation from the host society. (Şimşek, 2018)

Even though its role as a transit country is still crucial, Turkey's role as a destination country is becoming more significant. However, due to the still effective geographical limitation on the Geneva Convention that does not consider non-European migrants as refugees, the financial and institutional insufficiencies, and the incompetent official reception mechanisms, migrants who are either undocumented or documented have to find their own survival and incorporation patterns, in other words follow a de facto integration. (Danış, Taraghi, & Perouse, "Integration in limbo": Iraqi, Aghan, Maghrebi and Iranian migrants in Istanbul, 2009, p. 444)

Üstübici argues about civil society's increasing role for migrant rights in Turkey. Civil society institutions have become a recent phenomenon after Turkey's EU accession process in the post 2005 period. However, their role is still insufficient to make a change. First of all, there are no right based mobilizations as the "existing migrant organizations are not powerful enough to raise their voice" although there are many NGOs doing their best to provide need based supports by international funding. (Üstübici, The governance of international migration: Irregular migrants' access to right to stay in Turkey and Morocco, 2018, p. 173) Moreover, more traditional civil society institutions such as trade unions do not pay any attention for problems of migrants who are in informal market and these institutions never embrace any pro-migrant rights.

3.2 Urban Integration and Istanbul

Even though migration policy is related to national issues, the actual experiences, conflicts, problems, and incorporations take place at the local, and generally in the urban areas. As Daniş et al have underlined, “the heterogeneity and dynamism of urban areas provide a wide range of ethno-linguistic, national and economic varieties offer many advantages to irregular migrants.” (Daniş, Taraghi, & Perouse, "Integration in limbo": Iraqi, Aghan, Maghrebi and Iranian migrants in Istanbul, 2009, p. 468) The migrants, who do not choose to stay in the camps, choose to settle in the cities to establish a future. According to Woods and Kayalı, they mostly prefer to live in urban areas all around the world, partly because “urban areas offer independence, freedom of movement, employment opportunities, and amenities for refugees.” Moreover, refugees who chose to live in urban have reached better long-term outcomes, creates self-sufficiency that is crucial for them despite many risks and exploitations, which includes informal economic sector. (Woods & Kayalı, Engaging Syrian communities: The role of local government in Istanbul, 2017, p. 5) Except middle class migrants who have financial resources to settle in the cities, poor urban migrants mostly live in bad houses, which are overcrowded and overpriced, in shantytowns that has many other migrant and other marginalized groups, and they find rent without contracts. In addition, because of their status as they don't have any legal documents, their access to the health care and education is also absent and beside these challenges they may continuously face discrimination, harassment and criminality in their daily life. (Woods, Urban Refugees: The experiences of Syrians in Istanbul, 2015, pp. 7-9)

Irregular migrants generally prefer urban areas (particularly Istanbul) for their temporary or permanent residence, because according to Üstübici, the immigrants'

integration processes mostly depended on their economic activity in the informal economy and with their diversity and dynamism urban areas provide many advantages to irregular migrants. Moreover, the deficiency of the state control on the labor market, and lack of rights to housing and education create the flexibility and informality for migrants in Istanbul. They are generally settled in disadvantaged areas of the city and employed in the informal economy. Housing is an initial step for their economic participation: they live in poor areas, in overcrowded rooms lacking proper sanitary systems mostly shared with co-ethnics and informal contracts and overpriced rents are the main features of these housings. Irregular migrants mostly find these accommodations through their social/kin networks and with informal mechanisms. In Istanbul, convenience for the work opportunities is the most important factor that affects their housing preferences. (Üstübici, The governance of international migration: Irregular migrants' access to right to stay in Turkey and Morocco, 2018, p. 185)

Informal labor market's flexibility is one of the most important factors that shape their preferences to live in Istanbul. In terms of the universal education right, there are bureaucratic obstacles regarding to migrants' residence permits. In other words, as they do not stay in the satellite cities they were settled, they cannot obtain a residence permit in Istanbul. When it comes to healthcare services, as Üstübici argues, there are limitations and restrictive laws about irregular migrants' access to healthcare and left to migrants' their own responsibility. Migrants who are under international protection can access free basic healthcare, but the same bureaucratic obstacles and lack of residence permit in Istanbul create problems: as they do not stay in the satellite cities in which they are temporarily settled, they mostly lose that fundamental right, and so they have to afford their healthcare expenses. NGOs may

provide some basic consultations for whom cannot afford health service, but still legal documents (at least passports) are required for treatment and people who do not have any documents are given help through associations. In the worst-case scenario, when there is no way to reach healthcare services, the migrants may choose alternative/traditional medicine. (Üstübici, The governance of international migration: Irregular migrants' access to right to stay in Turkey and Morocco, 2018, pp. 157-161)

Istanbul's socio-historical characteristics as a global city also have an appeal for the migrants. Istanbul was an imperial capital both for the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires, and until the early 20th century it remained a multicultural center through its ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity. Moreover, it was a crucial commercial center with its location and networks. So, because of these advantageous positions, Istanbul had always been an attractive target for the migrants as an imperial and a cosmopolitan city. However, several socio-historical developments have affected this global position of Istanbul: after the collapse of Ottoman Empire and founding of new Republican Turkey, the capital was moved to Ankara; the emigration of non-Muslim people who were holding commercial activities and the socialist taking control of the neighboring countries have decreased Istanbul's commercial and trade activities; and Istanbul's demography, social and cultural life has changed tragically (Biehl K. , 2012, pp. 5-7)

From the early years of the Republican era, Istanbul has witnessed some significant population changes that influenced its cultural landscape. The first major change was the arrival of Balkan refugees after the Balkan Wars. Moreover, though Greeks who reside in Istanbul were excluded from the population exchange, the non-Muslim demography has decreased because of an undeclared policy and wartime

measures, and finally Istanbul became a homogenous city, which had lost most of its cosmopolitan character. (Keyder, *The setting*, 1999, pp. 10-11)

In 1950s, the influx of rural migrants from Anatolia transformed İstanbul into a migrant city once more. These rural migration flows have transformed the city dramatically: with the rapid population increase, the *gecekondu* (settlements that were created by illegal occupations of the state land in the periphery of the city) areas emerged, and due to cultural transformations associated with the rapid urbanization, the city witnessed a “peasantization” process. During that process, İstanbul was transformed from an Imperial capital into “a third world metropolis” with its disorder. (Biehl K. , 2012, p. 8)

However, according to Keyder, 1980s has witnessed some fundamental changes in terms of economy and the urbanity of Istanbul. Market oriented economic policies transformed the country, and the city. The changes were mostly physical changes, like gated communities, construction of hotels, office towers, gentrification of old city buildings, etc. and all these developments were the signs of a global city. (Keyder, *Globalization and social inclusion in Istanbul*, 2005, p. 128) In a global city “land has finally become a commodity,” (Biehl K. , 2012, p. 8) the production model has shifted from a Fordist to a flexible one, service sector has been created, welfare system has been weaken and Istanbul’s population has increased dramatically. New internal migrants, most of them were Kurds from eastern Turkey who are escaping from the conflicts in the region migrated to the city and contrary to the previous *gecekondu* dwellers have settled as tenants. Under these circumstances, the city did not provide many opportunities for socio-economic integration, as networks were not applicable anymore. However, as Istanbul became a global city, an informal economy has been created because of emerging neoliberal economic system. In

addition to that, as Turkey opened its doors to international capital and tourists from the 1980s onwards, there has been an increase in the number of foreigners coming to Turkey. These years were considered as politically and economically unstable periods, but Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi-AKP), particularly after its success of gaining governmental power, had created a “global city’ out of a globalizing city. Istanbul has become a cosmopolitan and secure city: it attracted foreign investments; urban regeneration that has changed the city’s scale again has become a government policy, some administrative autonomy for municipalities provided for the urban transformation. So Istanbul has been considered as a global city, which includes foreign investments, service sector, foreign people and thus a multicultural environment. (Biehl K. , 2012, pp. 9-13)

Therefore, according to Üstübici, Istanbul has become an economic hub for migrants of different nationalities who are looking for economic opportunities regardless of their legal status. (Üstübici, The governance of international migration: Irregular migrants' access to right to stay in Turkey and Morocco, 2018, p. 131) Moreover, “global cities are not only centers of the global economy but also provide various spaces for transnational identities, life-styles and formal and informal organizations. Istanbul is the center of the global economy in Turkey. Thus, transnational social spaces in Turkey are predominantly set up in Istanbul.” (Pusch, 2012, p. 179) As cited by Biehl from Daniş et al., the reasons what make Istanbul a migrant target city has been “travelling practicalities, informal employment opportunities, multiplicity of networks, civil society presence and the anonymity offered by crowds and diversity.” (Biehl K. , 2012, p. 15)

Local government structure is important for governance of migration in the urban areas. Istanbul is a province and a metropolitan municipality and therefore, it

has one state-appointed Vali (provincial governor), 1 elected metropolitan mayor, and 39 ilçe (municipal districts) which have their own locally elected municipality and a state-appointed kaymakamlık (district governor) office. Kaymakamlık is the local extension of the central government and it is responsible for administrative tasks like education, health, and security, while district municipalities are responsible for local development, infrastructure, water, electricity, and waste management. Municipalities' role has been discussed for Syrian migrants by Woods & Kayalı and they have stated that there is no coordination process or policies to guide local governments' policies with Syrian migrants in Istanbul. District municipalities' political affiliations vary as some of them are active and some of them are not. In general, municipalities provide some existing services like donations, foods, and goods. However, some of district municipalities, like Sultanbeyli and Esenyurt, take action, and established centers for Syrians and other migrants to go for information on their rights, and also NGOs cooperate with those municipalities to provide services to refugees. The municipalities in general do not have any responsibility on issues related migrants, but the problem has become unavoidable for district municipalities as migrants have become more visible. The municipalities that prefer a more passive position on migration issues justify their position by arguing that they are not given budget for migrants, and the ones who are providing assistance to refugees use NGOs as alternative service providers. (Woods & Kayalı, Engaging Syrian communities: The role of local government in Istanbul, 2017, pp. 9-18) Some district municipalities, like Zeytinburnu district, have taken significant steps to create awareness on the issue of migrant integration by, for example, organizing international conferences about migration. (İçduygu & Biehl, Migrant cities: Istanbul, 2008, p. 47)

Although the local governments have to deal directly with the problems related to migrants on a daily basis, they cannot allocate resources for them, because of legal and jurisdictional restrictions. Neither local governments nor municipalities have specific regulations in terms of their services and responsibilities about the migrants. The 2014 Law on Foreigners and International Protections does not provide any basis for local governments' responsibility on migrant issues, because it does not refer to local governments in the process of migrant issues. Only the regulation about "city councils" includes references to the services for foreigners but it is also not specific. The Law No. 5393 refers to refugees but it fails to define any area of jurisdiction. Some district municipalities and/or mayors may take initiative on migrants' problems on the basis of the host society's reactions, and use *hemşehri hukuku* (law of fellow-resident) as the justification for providing services to migrant groups within the context of poverty. However, taking the initiative may risk the scrutiny of the Supreme Court of Public Accounts for the expenses, and they can be blamed of corruption because of the services they provided for migrants. In addition to that, scarce financial resources, inadequate number of personnel with language skills, lack of a reliable database on the migrants, and the lack of coordination between different municipalities are the other problems that local governments have to deal in migrant issues. The local governments try to overcome these problems by coordinating their efforts with the NGOs. (Erdoğan, 2017)

Danış and Nazlı has studied the Syrian refugees' reception process in Sultanbeyli district and analyzed the role of NGOs—particularly *Mülteciler Derneği* (Association of Refugees)—in this process. The term "receptive" has been used to avoid the permanence of their stay, and they argue that actually there is a non-integration process of refugees, because the services provided to refugees by NGOs

are given in segregation, and the communication channels are closed by the service providers. According to them, with Mülteciler Derneği civil society's initiatives have been encouraged as a governance model for refugee reception. However, the associations are not really independent from the state, because they use ideological and clientele networks to overcome bureaucratic challenges. Their approach to the migrants has been motivated by Islamic values, and Islamic leaders smooth the locals' resentment by creating awareness about *ensar* by using the religious context. Though the reception processes are relatively quick because of the strong cooperation with local governments and central state institutions, the process has been criticized as being nontransparent and the activities are mostly need based rather than right based. According to Daniş and Nazlı, in order to overcome these problems firstly the legal status of migrants should be defined, and a transparent process should be created with local people's interaction and in the presence communication channels and should not run in segregation. (Daniş & Nazlı, A faithful alliance between the civil society and the state: Actors and mechanisms of accommodating Syrian refugees in Istanbul, 2019, p. 11)

Therefore, the availability of housing and labor market opportunities and the presence of community networks help migrants in Istanbul to survive and to have a chance to integrate into urban spaces in neighborhoods like Kumkapı, Kurtuluş, Dolapdere, Tarlabaşı, and Zeytinburnu. Istanbul, historically an imperial capital and now a "global city," accommodates many NGOs, and religious organizations; and migrants regardless of their nationality and legal status exist in its informal economy and informal housing sector. As Pusch has pointed out, "[w]hile Istanbul provides the exclusive cultural, economic and social infrastructure for the formal migrants who mainly belong to the socio-economic global elite; it also offers a variety of

informal networks and working possibilities for their informal counterparts.” (Pusch, 2012, p. 175)



CHAPTER 4

INTEGRATION OF AFGHAN IMMIGRANTS TO ISTANBUL: THE CASE OF THE YENİ MAHALLE NEIGHBORHOOD

Afghan irregular immigrants in İstanbul are one of the last examples of the ongoing international migration flows to Turkey since the early Republican era. For the Afghan migrants, Turkey and particularly Istanbul is both an important transit point before travelling to their ultimate destinations (EU or USA), and a destination country that can provide economic opportunities to undocumented immigrants with its large and booming informal sector.

In this chapter, first of all a brief historical account of the Afghan immigration to Turkey and Istanbul will be explained to provide a historical perspective for comparing the personal and group experiences of regular/documented Afghan migrants who were settled in Zeytinburnu by the Turkish state, and irregular/undocumented migrants in Yeni Mahalle district who are neglected by the state institutions. Moreover, fragility of this negligency and its consequence of daily survival tactics will be elaborated. The settlement of irregular Afghan migrants to Yeni Mahalle and the socio-economic characteristics of Yeni Mahalle as an informal settlement for migrant communities will also be explored in this section. Then, the socio-economic and political factors that influence/shape the integration of the Afghan migrants to Istanbul will be analyzed by using the migrants' personal narratives about their daily experiences. These factors are lack of an official policy for integration (as well as ineffective enforcement of immigration laws against irregular migration) at the macro level, centrality of *amele pazarı* for migrants' daily lives, the role of housing in the integration process, the significance of good friendly

relations for co-existence with the locals, the impact of migrants' demographic characteristics and gender for the integration process, the role of informal networks and formal associations, the influence of (non-existing) municipal policies/services, and the role of spatial characteristics of Yeni Mahalle for the migrants' integration to/survival in the city.

4.1 Historical context: Afghan immigration to Istanbul:

Turkey is not a new destination for the Afghan migrants. It has always been an important transit country for the Afghan migrants trying to reach Europe and its geographical position as the last country before EU has provided Afghans their first encounter with the sea after high mountains. However, the toughening of Iranian policies against Afghan migrants such as the termination of financial support and not admitting children to schools have transformed Turkey into a destination country for Afghan migrants. Their perception that Turkey provides more socio-economic opportunities has also contributed to their decision. For the Afghan migrants "Turkey had been a strategic choice, to earn sufficient money and eventually return."

(Dimitriadi, 2018, p. 78)

Afghan migrants' flows to Turkey actually have started with an official invitation from Turkish President Kenan Evren in 1982, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The Afghans who were invited were Uzbeks and Turkmens who were of Turkic origin. As part of Turkey's official migration policy for Turkic people, those Turkic migrants from Afghanistan were provided with permanent residency, which gives them an access to employment, education, and citizenship, and they were initially resettled in the satellite cities of Turkey. After the official migration, the number of those migrants has further increased through "family reunification" or

“migration through marriage.” Although Istanbul was not a government-designated location for settlement for those Afghan migrants, because of the failure of integration in the rural areas, they have followed internal migration patterns to seek better opportunities in large cities like Istanbul, Ankara, and Bursa. Particularly because of their skills in leather workshops and ateliers, their preference in Istanbul was Zeytinburnu district which was a shantytown with its leather ateliers. Thus, Zeytinburnu has become a center for Afghan identity and community living in Istanbul. As Daniş, Taraghi, and Perouse pointed out, “Zeytinburnu is actually not only an embodiment of Afghan identity. It also represents the network of local advice, support and economic or material help other individuals from the same national background offer.” (Daniş, Taraghi, & Perouse, "Integration in limbo": Iraqi, Aghan, Maghrebi and Iranian migrants in Istanbul, 2009, p. 549)

Afghans who were officially invited and living in Zeytinburnu have obtained their Turkish passports and been naturalized as citizens. Therefore, they have been the only group of Afghan migrants who have been fully documented since their arrival. Those Afghan people settled in Zeytinburnu also have educated professionals and elites from the Afghan government before the Russian invasion in their ranks. Thus, the Afghan population who has settled earlier in Zeytinburnu have established their economic life and succeeded in upward mobility in the society: many of them owned their own stores, restaurants, and leather workshops and they have established their networks for business relations with Afghanistan. Moreover, they have founded “The Afghan Turkmen Social and Solidarity Foundation” in 1999 and this indicates their social and economic integration in Zeytinburnu. The missions of the foundation have includes helping Afghans in Turkey, giving shelter to Afghan arrivals regardless of their legal status, running cultural and religious events, and arranging

funerals, weddings, and Farsi classes etc. The Foundation has conducted some activities to advocate the rights and interests of irregular Afghans in the local base such as enrollment of undocumented migrants' children to the schools. (Danış, Taraghi, & Perouse, "Integration in limbo": Iraqi, Aghan, Maghrebi and Iranian migrants in Istanbul, 2009, p. 562) As the Foundation's members are Turkish citizens and have voting rights, they can construct good relations with local and central governments through local politicians, who need their electoral support and they use their influence to shape the government policies and decisions to serve the interest of the Afghan migrant community in general. (Arısoy, Afganistan Türkleri derneğini ziyaret etti, 2019)

There is another group of Afghans who use Turkey as a transit country for eventual resettlement in a third country by applying UNCHR. Those people are mostly single men or single female-headed families who use Turkey as a waiting room, but the process of waiting may last years and they may be forced to live in a precarious situation in the satellite cities. They cannot stay permanently in Turkey because of the Turkey's geographical limitation for refugees and if they cannot pass to a third country, they also become irregular migrants. Therefore, Afghans choose not to apply for refugee status in the first place, and risk their legal status in order to live in cities that offer more employment opportunities. Beside them, there are undocumented migrants from Afghanistan who illegally entered the country through human smuggling to have safer and better life. They and other Afghans, who arrived to Turkey with legal visa but overstayed and thus became irregular, are described as economic migrants. (Danış, Taraghi, & Perouse, "Integration in limbo": Iraqi, Aghan, Maghrebi and Iranian migrants in Istanbul, 2009, p. 553)

Those irregular migrants settled in Zeytinburnu and lived under hard circumstances, as Mackreath and Rabiei stated, “without legal status, employment rights, basic health care, or education, they exist in caged circumstances. Service provision is strictly utilitarian—calls centers, money transfer shops, restaurants. The public spaces are for men, while the women stay largely behind closed doors.” Moreover, “there exists a hierarchy of migrants and Syrians have been legally, politically, economically and socially prioritized after their mass arrivals and Afghans started to constitute the bottom of this migrant hierarchy.” (Mackreath & Rabiei, 2018, p. 1) In Turkey, they are mostly considered unlawful migrants and prevented from any kind of assistance, so these men are under the risk of arrest, detention, and deportation. Moreover, they cannot formally access to essential services as health care and education, as they do not have any identity cards. Moreover, for the past decade or so the reports have portrayed either all or some provinces of Afghanistan as “safe.” This approach justifies deportations of Afghans, since internal migration to these “safe provinces” removes the threat of violence or persecution. (Skodo, 2017) Today, “the UNCHR is only providing very limited resettlement options, hindered in part by the American government’s restricted quota for Afghans.” (Mackreath & Rabiei, 2018, p. 1)

4.2 Factors shaping urban integration of Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle district

Zeytinburnu has been the main settlement of Afghan migrant community regardless of their legal status, but eventually the competition over the job access in Zeytinburnu and the diminishing job opportunities forced some migrants to seek other opportunities for employment. Thus after 2000s, Yeni Mahalle district in Beykoz, which is located up the Asian coast of the Bosphorus, became the new

destination for Afghans. Yeni Mahalle district is located in an outskirts of Bosphorus and it consist of both informal settlements which was constructed after 1950s rural migrant flows, and the rich and secured luxury houses next to the Bosphorus— meaning that there is a class based settlement patterns in the district. (Bozok & Bozok, 2018)

Yeni Mahalle is a residential area that has been formed by internal and external migrants. It was established by the migrants fleeing from “the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War”, and later internal migrants from Kastamonu and other towns in the Black Sea region started to settle in the Yeni Mahalle during the internal migration flow after 1950s. The construction of first informal settlements (gecekondus) transformed district into a working class neighborhood. Romanians who came after the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc constituted the first international migration flow, and those migrants illegally worked in textile workshops that were established in the Yeni Mahalle district. The district became more complex in the 1990s with the arrival of Kurdish migrants escaping from the intensifying internal conflict in the Eastern and Southeastern regions of the country, and the amele pazarı (informal labor market for manual jobs in construction sector) was established by these Kurdish migrants. Gradually, amele pazarı has become the center of the district as the workers living in the informal housings waited there to find a daily job in the booming construction industry, negotiations for payment took place in that area, and the masters found daily workers there. (Bozok & Bozok, 2018, p. 428)

At the beginning, displaced Turkish citizens (mainly ethnic Kurds) and Romanians were in the labor market of Küçükusu district, but gradually the market has been dominated by Afghans: they started to commute to the district for work and gradually they started to settle in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood of Küçükusu in order to

reduce transportation costs and convenience to labor market. Their decision to settle there is also influenced by the low renting costs and availability of housing. (Seyhan, 2017) As the locals and migrants narrated, the arrival of the Afghans to Yeni Mahalle led to a rivalry between Kurds and the Afghans; and the street fights continued until 2015 when the Afghans started to dominate the amele pazarı.

Although, there was a small number of Afghans who came to Yeni Mahalle neighborhood from Zeytinburnu and settle there in the 1990s, the majority of the Afghan migrants in the district consist of the people who left their country after the US invasion of 2001. During the 2000s, urban renewal projects and migrant flows of other nationalities have created many challenges for irregular Afghan migrants to stay in Zeytinburnu, and so they created a community in Yeni Mahalle thanks to the networks generated around kinship and friendship ties. Yeni Mahalle has become the main settlement area that contain nearly 5,000 predominantly male Afghan migrants from different ethnic identities such as Turkmen, Uzbek, Tajik, Hazara and Pashtun who has come from Afghanistan in order to work. (Bozok & Bozok, 2018, p. 429) The amele pazarı in Küçüksu-Yeni Mahalle has become the main scene of Afghan settlement in the district. Early in the morning, they gather on the main street of the neighborhood to be hired as day laborers by local employers. Turkish employers pick them up in vehicles and drive them to work in construction, gardening, and greenhouse agriculture or garbage collection—daily, insecure and unsteady jobs. (Arjomand, 2016)

The instability and wars in Afghanistan have been fueling a custom of migration in which the cycle of migration restart with every new generation. The Afghan migrants are accustomed to migration from their families and most of them involved in the process starting from the neighboring Iran. However, a combination

of push and pull factors seem to be directing Afghan migration to Turkey and significantly increasing their numbers in the post 2000s era. According to Karakaş, the pull factors consist of job opportunities provided by Turkey's large informal economy and the existing networks established by already settled Afghans; while the push factors are the “[d]eteriorating security in Afghanistan, removal of Afghan refugees from Turkey's neighboring countries, the worsening economic situation in Iran, and the construction of a 144 km-long wall along the Iranian border.” (Karakaş, 2019, p. 2)

4.2.1 The (lack of) government policies and programs

As explained since the beginning of the study, for Turkey the most significant issue regarding to migration governance is lack of legal status for the migrants. So, like the other migrant groups in Istanbul, the Afghan migrants, who are mostly young single men, and mostly came undocumented automatically became irregular migrants.

Uncertainty about their future residence rights, lack of the state assistances and lack of political participation is affecting the integration process negatively. As they perceive no future in Turkey, they only live in the “now” to save money either to go back to Afghanistan or smuggled further to the Europe. Therefore, their undocumented position influences their all integration process and survival strategies, as they do not have any state sponsorship, social assistance, and local services because of their illegality: they are not able to access to health, education and formal labor market. Interviewee 1 (25) claims “we cannot go to the state hospitals because we do not have a passport or residence permit, and private hospitals are overcharging us.” (See, Interviewee 1, Appendix B) Thus, as the legal status is the most crucial part of integration, the Afghan migrants' biggest

expectation is to become legalized and to get their residence/work permits. Some associations in Zeytinburnu abuse their expectations and some Afghan migrants claimed that they paid 150-200 dollars to some associations to get their residence permits only to be cheated by them.

However, the lack of prospect for legalization does not provide any motivation to Afghan migrants for integration to Turkish society as long as they do not have any problems. As Üstübici argues, “rights, or the possession of legal status, may not be a priority as long as the threat of deportation is not experienced daily.” (Üstübici, *The governance of international migration: Irregular migrants' access to right to stay in Turkey and Morocco*, 2018, p. 30) The migrants know that their stay in Turkey will be temporary, and so they do not focus on legal matters. Their aim is to evade the state’s controls by becoming invisible and materialize their purposes. That is why they try to avoid criminal and chaotic environments. Interviewee 2 (16) explains their attitude as follows,

Sometimes we are robbed, they want our money. If there is a neighbor we can trust, he/she helps us by calling the police. However, we never call the police on our own, just give the money and try to escape. Now we are more cautious because of these incidents, for example we try not to go out at night when [the streets are] deserted. If we have to go out, we walk with some of our friends; they cannot approach us. (See, Interviewee 2, Appendix B)

As mentioned in the second chapter, the existence of governmental policies and programs is a significant factor for the integration of migrants. In the case of Afghans, government’s ideological attitude to the refugees and its inclusive rhetoric is important, although the Turkish state institutions usually are not officially involved in the integration process. The AKP government, as an Islamic conservative party that has tried to establish closer relations with the countries in the Middle East, has

considered migrants as coreligionists. (Danış & Nazlı, A faithful alliance between the civil society and the state: Actors and mechanisms of accommodating Syrian refugees in Istanbul, 2019) Although this rhetoric has been mostly used about the Syrian refugees, the Afghan migrants have also benefited from this inclusive discourse of the government. Although state institutions do not provide official assistance, central and local administrations tolerate the existence of Afghans in the Yeni Mahalle district if they are not involved in criminal activities. Interviewee 3 (27) claims, “when there is an incident, the police protect us. When they control identification cards, they let us go if we say we are Afghans.” (See, Interviewee 3, Appendix B)

4.2.2 The characteristics of the labor market

Integration to labor market is also an important aspect of Afghan migrants ‘survival and the probable integration to the city. For the Afghan migrants, who do not have any hope for legalization of their status in Turkey, main motivation is to earn money by integrating into the job market. Thus, for the Afghan migrants the *amele pazari* has been the most important pull factor for their settlement in Yeni Mahalle district. In order to survive in this informal job market and dominate it, the Afghan migrants (as a group and as individuals) have followed a strategy that will increase their ability to compete with the others: they accepted every kind of work, at a lower price, and endure any kind of cruelty or torment. Their aim is to satisfy their employers with their service and thus establish long-term work relations with them by making themselves indispensable for their employers. Interviewee 3 (27) explains this strategy: “I have a contractor with whom I am working for years, we trust each other.

I will return to my family soon, but before leaving I am introducing my younger brother to my contractors.” (See, Interviewee 3, Appendix B)

Individual survival strategies start with the negotiation process where they offer better prices for their labor, and continue with their efforts to win the favor their employers by eagerly carrying out even the most dangerous tasks. The success of this strategy can be seen in their employers’ satisfaction with their work and attitude, as reflected in the comments of one of the local contractors, Mr. Şekerci: “We are very satisfied with the Afghans’ work; ours [Turkish citizens] are not as hard working as they are. They are hard working, and we call them again because we are approving [their work].” If the contractors are satisfied with their work, they generally take the phone numbers of the Afghan workers, and next time they can contact with laborer without a need to go to the amele pazarı. In fact, amele pazarı is generally for the newcomers, as the ones who established their networks directly called by the contractors. However, amele pazarı remains to be the center for the migrant groups in the district even if they have permanent contractors, as they go and find daily jobs there when their contractors have no job for them.

Group strategies in the job market are based on working in harmony with their circle of friends. When their contractor needs more workers, they contact with their housemates. The existence of kinship or family networks is an important factor for entering and surviving in the informal labor market. Nearly all the interviewees say that the assistance from their relatives were instrumental for them to come to Yeni Mahalle district, to find an accommodation, to find a place (if not job) in the amele pazarı and to establish their work contacts.

In parallel with the Eder’s argument that migrant workers in Turkey mostly work in domestic services, entertainment sector, the sex industries, textiles,

hospitality and construction (Eder, 2015, p. 136), Afghan migrants usually employed in construction work, gardening, underground textile workshops and garbage collecting/recycling. Their affiliation into the informal job market can be considered as the most successful aspect of their, otherwise mostly failing, integration process. Afghan migrants, who left their villages or towns as young adults, come to a district in Beykoz and adapted to the global job market with the assistance from their acquaintances living there. Interviewee 4's (aged 36) comments explain their experiences:

“In the winter there are lesser job opportunities, and so the daily wages drop to 80 TL. However, in the summer we have negotiating power as there are more jobs, and our daily wages increase to 150 TL. Here [in Turkey] there is a free market economy, and our boys follow the rise in the value of the dollar very well. I am in Istanbul for 16 years. In the first 6 years I have difficulties, and the society, particularly the Kurds) was nervous about us. In time, we gained trust in the labor market; we keep our heads down and do whatever wanted from us. Now, I have a more permanent job and social security. Thanks God, I am among the lucky minority who brought their families and children, and settled in this district. However, I go to Küçüksu amele pazarı a few times a month, and hire workers. (See, Interviewee 4, Appendix B)

4.2.3 Characteristics of Yeni Mahalle as a locality and the character of relations with the host society

Housing is another crucial dimension of urban integration for the migrants' survival strategy. Most of the studies on migration (both internal and external) underline the importance of the accommodation for the migrants. Yeni Mahalle district consists of squatter houses that were built after 1950s, and lack a legal status. Due the houses' poor physical conditions and illegal status, the homeowners are more inclined to rent them to the migrants. In those houses, Afghan migrants live in large groups of 6 or 8 without proper infrastructure. The interviewees generally do not want to complain about the poor housing conditions, but if they are questioned some of them says

(Interviewee 3 and others in the apt) “actually we don’t even put our donkey in this kind of house, but here we are in ‘gurbet’...” The rent is shared among the tenants and there exists a kind of internal hierarchy within the house based on house leader. The house leader is selected because he has more experience, age and charisma.

The Afghan migrants’ socio-cultural integration seems to be more hesitant. Their relationship with the old residents (locals) of the district is similar to the hedgehog analogy Bozok has paraphrased from Lethen. Lethen argues that humans determine their distance and intimacy in societal spaces like Schopenhauer’s freezing hedgehogs: they get as intimate as it is necessary to survive, and get away from each other once they are warm again because their quills hurt each other. (Bozok & Bozok, 2018, p. 430) The Afghan migrants try to keep a reserved relationship with the other residents of the neighborhood, and to give a constant message that they are silent, polite, and hardworking people who get on with their own business.

Interviewee 5 (19) explains

[s]ometimes they snipe us on the public transportation, because the buses are too crowded. We do not get off the bus, because we also pay for it. However, we do not answer them, and keep our heads down, because this is their country. (See, Interviewee 5, Appendix B)

The locals also keep their proper distance from the Afghan migrants. They are friendly enough to rent their houses’ ground floors, coal cellars or basements to Afghan migrants, but they are too distant to be real neighbors. Some native tenants complain about the rising rents due to the Afghan migrants, but the houses they rented are in damp, sunless and decrepit houses without natural gas system, which (according to my personal observations during my visits to their houses) cannot be considered as livable by normal native families. Thus, for the property owners who

determine the rents according to the number of people living in the house, Afghans are a lucrative source of income. Other locals complain about the existence the Afghans in their neighborhood and accuse them of being “unclean” and of “spreading contagious diseases.” According to Bozok and Bozok, the relations between locals of Yeni Mahalle and the migrants continue on very thin line, with minimum interactions at societal spaces, and home visits. (Bozok & Bozok, 2018) However, when compared with the general negative perceptions about the Syrian refugees, the Afghan migrants have a more positive reception from the native populations: they are considered as “hardworking” and “they are not begging on the streets.”

Afghan migrants claim that they try to evade every activity that may require spending money, but the football matches they played in astro turf fields seem to be the most important social activity for them. Although, they generally play it among themselves, the football matches they play with the locals are becoming more frequent and they share phone numbers with each other to invite them for future matches. Thus, halısaha maçı (astro turf football fields) have become one of the public spaces where native populations meet with the migrant group.

As it is elaborated in the previous chapter, the social characteristic of the host country is an important factor for the integration process. Yeni Mahalle district has a more heterogeneous social character, which has been created by successive internal and external migrations since 1950s, and this makes the acceptance of Afghan migrants (a new group of outsiders) to the neighborhood through a series of negotiations easier. The negotiations include the bargaining process related to the labor market, rents, and shopping. A local (Interviewee 6 aged 42) explains:

A big amount of money circulates here. We do not have an axe to grind about the Afghans. They politely go to their jobs and return. Even we have football matches on the astro turf fields on Sunday. They are Muslims, [and] without them, our mosques will be empty, but sometimes their rapidly increasing numbers scare us. Even in a small quarrel, hey band together. If we say we do not want them, our neighbors are renting even their coal cellars to them. We do not want to fall foul with our neighbors as financial gains are involved. Of course, if a serious problem emerges, everyone will react, [and] we would erase them from here. However, to be fair, they do not create serious problems. (See, Interviewee 6, Appendix B)

From the other side, the Afghan migrants also positively perceive Turkey and Yeni Mahalle district. Interviewee 7 (52) says, “after all, it [Turkey] is a Muslim country, [and] neighborhood residents are pious people. It was more difficult in Iran; the Sunnis here are like us.” (See, Interviewee 7, Appendix B) These statements show that religious and cultural affinity is an important factor shaping their relations with the locals. Some Afghan migrants go to the iftar tents for breaking their fast during Ramadan, attend the mosque ceremonies, and exchange greetings during religious festivals. A young Afghan boy residing in Afghan medrese (Islamic religious school) says that they are invited to mevlüts (Islamic memorial services) to recite Quran.

However, some other Afghans do not want to be visible in the public sphere. So, they do not want to attend wedding ceremonies of the locals, even when they are insistently invited by their contractors. Interviewee 3 (27) claims, “above all we will stand out there, we do not want to draw attention.” (See, Interviewee 3, Appendix B) Afghan migrants generally do not want to be visible, and this is a survival strategy to avoid any kind of harassment and possible deportation. They always want to keep their convenient distance. The unwillingness to socialize is also related to financial matters. Interviewee 5 (19) says, “we do not want to spend money as far as possible. In order to send money to our country, we have to stay here with minimum

expenses.” (See, Interviewee 5, Appendix B) As it is cited from Vathi in the previous chapter, the financial difficulties and the necessity to work without holidays to establish a new life within an alien society is restrict the migrants’ participation in social activities that may enhance their social integration to the receiving society.

4.2.4 Demographic characteristics of the migrants

Demographic characteristics of the Afghan migrants are also another important factor limiting their integration process. Most of the Afghan migrants in the Yeni Mahalle district are young males who are bachelor, and most of them come to Turkey for saving the high dowry money required for a marriage in Afghanistan. When asked about the possibility of a marriage with a Turkish citizen, Interview 5 (19) answered:

“Of course it could be good to marry with a pious Turkish girl. However, with whom we will marry here, where can we meet them? We do not attend school; our workplaces are construction sites and gardens. In addition, who will allow his daughter to marry an undocumented foreigner? On the street, our clothes are dirty as we are returning from work, so how we can impress someone with our look? That is why, it is better for us to marry with someone approved by our parents, and later work here to send money to our families at home. (See, Interviewee 5, Appendix B)

The willingness or desire of the migrants for integration is another crucial factor that is considered as controversial in the case of Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle. Most of the Afghan migrants do not have a plan or expectation to live in Istanbul in the long run. There is constant flow of new migrants and that is why the Afghan population in the neighborhood remains young. The migrants who materialize their goals return to their homeland Afghanistan and send their younger relatives or fellow citizens to Istanbul by using their network relations. Due to the temporariness of their

stay, they are never fully integrated to the local community and continue to live within a parallel community—always keeping an appropriate distance to the locals. They do not negatively speak about their Turkish neighbors and they do not openly complain about their lives in Turkey. However, they do not attend wedding ceremonies even when they are invited, although they have closer contacts with the locals in the mosque and the turf football field. They talk with their contractors on the phone and keep business relations, but generally, they do not establish real neighborly relations with them. As they do not plan to have a future in Istanbul, they do not think about bringing their families to Istanbul if they are married or getting married there if they are bachelor.

Most of the Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle district can adequately speak Turkish language for daily communication and that is an important element for their integration process. Interviewee 8 (28) says, “finding an accommodation, finding a job, and learning the local language are the most urgent matters for us when we migrate to a country. Maybe learning a foreign language so fast is skill that is given to the Afghans.” (See, Interviewee 8, Appendix B) Most of the interviewees explain that they have learned the language; “by hearing, and using during their work”. Most of the Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle have a predisposition to learn Turkish, because they are of Uzbek (a Turkic people speaking a Turkic language) ethnic origin. They learn the language as soon as possible, although they have their own small community in Yeni Mahalle; and that is generally appreciated by the locals. One of the local (Interviewee 6) says, “now they are like us, they speak Turkish better than us.” (See, Interviewee 6, Appendix B)

The Afghan migrants’ feeling that they have religious and ethnic affinity with the host society and consequent perception of kinship is another factor that eases the

migrants' relations with the locals. The hoca (Muslim scholar Interviewee 9) of the Afghan medrese (Islamic religious school) in Yeni Mahalle explains:

We consider Turkey as fatherland. We have taken sanctuary here. God bless them, they open the door for us. We obey the rules of the laws; we also preach our disciples and other youth visiting our school on this matter by saying, "this is our second homeland, we should obey the rules, we should not leer at women, and we will show humility." (See, Interviewee 9, Appendix B)

The ethnic affinity is a positive factor for the Afghan migrants of Uzbek origin. They can more easily learn the language as their language has come from a common origin. They also feel themselves as Turks, and thus part of the dominant ethnic group in Turkey. The scholar of the medrese claims (Interviewee 9), "Turkey is their fatherland," although the locals do not share this feeling. They still call them as Afghans who learned Turkish or escape from war. However, the newly formed Güney Türkistan Yardımlaşma Derneği seems to be disposed to raise awareness among the locals on this issue. The head of the association (who is also the scholar of the medrese- Interviewee 9) talks like a Turkish-Islamist ideologue and clearly express his political connections in Turkey. It can be argued that, if this feeling of affinity is shared by local and central government authorities can create a more positive environment for interaction of the local and migrant communities.

Religious and ethnic affinity is considered as a positive factor by both communities. Both sides emphasized the importance of religious brotherhood during the interviews: the locals express their appreciation by saying that "without them the mosques will be empty", while the Afghan migrants emphasize the Sunni and Muslim character of Turkey and argue that they are more comfortable in Turkey than in Iran. In this respect, the locals' higher religious sensibility is a significant factor, because in a more secular neighborhood the harmony between two communities

could be more precarious. For example, the scholar of the medrese has a long beard and a turban. He (Interviewee 9) emphasizes, “there is no reaction from the people in the neighborhood”, and “on the contrary” he says “religious people here come to have a chitchat with us, and ask for advice.” (See, Interviewee 9, Appendix B)

Gender is an important determinant of their distant relations with the local community. Most of the Afghan migrants are bachelor young men, and therefore both the Afghans and the locals try to keep their distance with each other. If they were women, or if their migrant community had included more women, it may be possible that closer neighborly relations would have been established between the local and migrant communities. Moreover, living in a conservative neighborhood, one of their significant concerns is their relations with the local women, as interviewee 6 (42) says, “well, they are good boys, our mosques would be empty if they were not being here. But we are very cautious, if they approach to our women, we will evade them from here.” (See, Interviewee 6, Appendix B) So it shows how *namus* (honor) is a red line for the locals in the presence of single migrant men. It is considered as more crucial than economic competition. It is also an important factor for the Afghan migrants. Since they are single, they are shy to approach to the families, and they consider it normal to be excluded from the society, particularly in terms of home visits. As Interviewee 4 (36), an Afghan living in the neighborhood for 16 years, explains:

During the first six years, I also lived alone. The neighbors kept their distance and I was living like a vegetable between home and work. There was also less number of Afghans to socialize with. However, for the last nine years since my wife came here, we have better relations with the neighbors. My wife visits their home, my children go to school, I speak the [Turkish] language better, and as I have my work permit, I will become a citizen. (See, Interviewee 4, Appendix B)

This indicates that gender is a crucial determinant for social relations. As mostly conservative locals live there, and most of the interactions in that kind of society take place during family visits, their marital status is a significant obstacle for the Afghan migrants to socialize with the locals. They are not invited to their usta's (constructor) house, though they have good relations. Moreover, as they share an apartment with 6-10 people, they try to keep their expenses to minimum in order to save money to send to back home. If the situation would be different, they could have brought their family, and would be spending their money here in their living space. However, their marital status is also an advantage for their survival: they can keep the expenses minimum by sharing rents with their counterparts, and they find accommodation easier since the conditions of the houses are poor in the neighborhood. In addition to that, being independent make them more mobile for their labor force and also for their accommodation patterns. It is important to note that, most of the men in the district are young, because they do circulate with their brothers or cousins from their homeland. So, the population remains young and resistant for the harsh work conditions, and they can keep their good reputation as "hardworking boys," and continue to dominate labor market.

Interviewee 4's experiences point out to the importance of both the legality, the migrant's self-identification with the host country, and the impact of living as family for the establishment of closer relations between the migrants and the locals. The locals' view on bachelor Afghan migrants seems to be more cautious.

4.2.5 The impact of migrants' informal and organizational networks

As it is the case for other migrant groups all around the world, for the Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle networks based on friendship, family and kinship are their

most important resource. Almost all the interviewees pointed out that they have come to Yeni Mahalle district through an acquaintance, relative or friend; and they have found a place to stay with the help of their fellow citizens if they do not know anyone directly. They also explain that through these networks, they find jobs; they got examined in the hospitals although they do not have identity cards; they send the remains to Afghanistan if someone dies here; they organize wedding ceremonies for the males living in Turkey; and they securely transfer money to their relatives in Afghanistan through havale (informal personal network based money transfer system). When they are asked, how they can trust the intermediaries for the transfer of money, they smilingly say “our families there [Afghanistan] are relatives or neighbors, where they can run away.” The interviewees say that they find trustworthy contractors in construction and gardening for the new comers free of charge. Interviewee 3 (27) notes, “I do not get any commission [for finding a job]; charging interest and commission is haram [forbidden by religion].” (See, Interviewee 3, Appendix B)

It should be noted that the right based migrant associations that exist in Turkey are not active in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood. The only migrant organization is the newly formed Güney Türkistan Yardımlaşma Derneği (South Turkistan Cooperation Association) that also operates the religious school. As Nichols and Uitermark explain, normally the migrants use two different strategies to integrate to their host societies: either they constantly negotiate their existence and visibility with the host society, or they seek their rights through mobilization. The second strategy is used in USA and Europe and Nicholls’ and Uitermark’s academic studies describe them. (Nicholls & Uitermark, 2017) However, in the absence of migration

governance, the migrants in Turkey choose the first strategy and that is also the case for the Afghans.

Migrant organizations have been either formal ethnic association established by migrants who have acquired Turkish citizenship and/or ethnicity based informal solidarity networks; or they are crucial for their integration process. The Afghan associations in Zeytinburnu are active and most of the interviewed Afghan migrants living in Yeni Mahalle claimed that they have relatives in Zeytinburnu. Afghan migrants, who have acquired Turkish citizenship and are active in these associations, have contacts with the state officials due to their voting rights. Their contacts with local and central authorities are crucial, because these links can be utilized for the benefit of other Afghan migrants. Interviewee 4 (36) says, “residence permits were promised during the election period, and some people acquire these permits.” The Muslim scholar in Afghan religious school (Interviewee 9) tells, “[acquiring a residence permit] is generally linked to the relations that the people in the association have with the politicians; but during this process some people could not get residence permit although they have paid money.” (See, Interviewee 9, Appendix B) Based on these accounts, it can be claimed that there exists a possibility of legalization for the Afghan migrants via political mobilization that involves their relatives who gained citizenship.

South Turkistan Cooperation Association, that has been active nearly for one year as a religious school but has been recently organized as an association, is an important organization that has to be mentioned. It is located in a ramshackle depot in Yeni Mahalle and has a dormitory that is used by young boys. Its rent is paid collectively and the scholar establishes contacts with Turkish associations like IHH (İnsani Yardım Vakfı-Humanitarian Relief Foundation) and receives benefit in kind

such as food and coal. The scholar also teaches Quran and the students of the religious school try to establish good relations with the locals in the neighborhood—for example by reciting Quran during religious funeral ceremonies.

The name that has been chosen during the establishment of the association (Güney Türkistan Yardımlaşma Derneği) was an attempt to emphasize their common ethnic identity with the locals. The relations that the scholar (Interviewee 9), who is also the head of the association, have with the official institutions are significant and he can directly invite these institutions to the opening ceremony. He argues

We are Turkistanis from the north of Afghanistan. Our lands have been usurped; as our old books have been burned, we do not have a place in official history. The institutions where we could learn our language have been destroyed, but we are Turks and we will disseminate this fact with the help of religious scholars here. We are Kipchak Turks; we are both religious and ethnic brethren. We will set our hearts for our state, and our only desire is to become citizens. (See, Interviewee 9, Appendix B)

The scholar lives with his family and the existence of his family with him enable him to establish better contacts with the neighbors than the young Afghan migrants who are mostly bachelors. He can establish and keep family to family contacts and his wife and children can have interactions with the natives' wives and children more easily. His good relations with the preeminent Turkish religious scholars in the district and with the mosque congregation also positively affect the locals' perception on the religious school and the Afghan community. Most of the interviewed shopkeepers indirectly express their contentment with their existence by saying that without them the mosques would be empty. In other words, the newly established association may create a potential for facilitating the integration of Afghan migrants with its permanent members and the official/political contacts its leader has established and developed. At least it may be useful for acquiring citizenship as it

was the case for the Afghan migrants of Turkish origin in 1983 by utilizing their political connections to lobby for a legalization process.

4.2.6 The impact of the municipal approach

The local governments and their policies are one of the important dimensions in migrant integration process. As it was underlined in the previous chapter, migration is in fact an issue that is related to central governments. The national government is fully responsible for controlling the immigration and integration processes since migration is seen as a security issue. However, local governments have to deal with the consequences of the outcomes of migration directly as it affects the daily life in their districts, the initiatives and policies developed by the municipal authorities are considered crucial for the success of integration process. In the case of in Yeni Mahalle, the municipal authorities seem to ignore the reality Afghan migrants, contrary to initiatives undertaken by some other municipalities in other migrant intensive neighborhoods through cooperation with voluntary associations. Based on my personal inquiry with the Beykoz Municipality, where Yeni Mahalle is located, I have learned that the municipality has not been assigned any specific role in the management of Afghan migration or providing municipal services to this group of people.

In the case municipal services, one of the problems that also create discontent among the locals is public transportation. The Afghan migrants living in Yeni Mahalle are unregistered and they are not counted when the services are planned. The district officially has a population of 20 thousand and the public services including public transportation is planned according to this number. Thus, the bus services between downtown and Yeni Mahalle are sparse, and the existence of the

Afghan migrants makes the buses overcrowded. The municipalities do not respond to this problem and public transportation is place where the negative reactions to Afghan migrants reach its apex. In public transportation, two communities interact with each other in an enclosed space, and thus most of the confrontations between them occur in the buses. The locals accuse Afghans by saying that they are dirty, they congested the vehicles, they do not leave seats for the locals, and the locals cannot commute because of them. The Afghan migrants confirm these problems related to public transportation by expressing that as they are returning from manual works and they do not have an opportunity to take a shower after the work, they are generally sweaty (particularly in the summer) and they have difficult times. This particular problem strengthens the locals' negative perceptions about the Afghan migrants ("they are dirty and so they smell foul"), and negatively affects the relations between two communities. This clearly shows that lack of attention by the municipal authorities to the reality of migrants within their territory, affects social integration negatively by creating and fueling inter-community problems. On the other hand, the negligence of the municipality parallel the national state policies, and thus their approach to the migration related issues are interrelated. This negligence create a chance for the Afghan migrants' informal activities but also it creates a fragile situation for their presence today and in the future.

Muhtar (elected local chief) of the Yeni Mahalle district argues that if the municipality take some measures for resolving over-congested public transportation problem, the most important topic will be settled; and in order to that the Afghan migrants should be documented and legalized. A form of documentation, if not a full-fledged legalization, is the necessary first step for any municipal planning because the municipalities are required to plan their services according to official

census data. Muhtarlık as a local base can become influential in responding to irregular migration in metropolitan cities of Turkey. A muhtar is responsible for determining common needs, improving quality of life in the neighborhoods, working together with municipalities and other public institutions and voicing opinion on matters relating to the neighborhoods. He/she is the only authority to issue a 'poverty document', which proves that the holder has not got well income and therefore is eligible for social aid from government institutions and municipalities. According to many scholars, the role of the neighborhood and its muhtar is crucial, not only because the muhtar and the board of council members are directly elected by the residents of the neighborhood, but also because they are indisputably the closest administrative unit to the people (Genç, 2018)

In the Yeni Mahalle case, the muhtar is an influential person for migrant integration and he is a practical person. He says:

These people are here and they do not have a place to go. They are here because they escape the war in their own country; we cannot denounce them for that. Besides, they do not commit any impudence. Their numbers have increased in the last five years, and this has led to tensions with the youths in the neighborhood, but that is mostly to protect themselves from locals' attack or harassment. I convene [Afghan] groups behind the scenes, and inform them about the simple things for abiding with the rules: such as leave your place to elderly and pregnant persons on the bus or in the park; do not look into the eyes of the women directly; be more careful about your personal hygiene. At the same time, I act as a mediator: if someone cannot get money owed to him, they come and inform us; and if the indebted is someone we know, living in the neighborhood, I talked with him and try to convince him to pay the money. It sometimes works, but if it is someone I do not know, I do not intervene. When there is a fight, generally between them, I intervene to solve it. Sometimes, they are mugged by our people [locals]; we call the police because the Afghans do not want to be involved in the process. (See, Interviewee 11, Appendix B)

Therefore, as the lowest and the closest level of local government, muhtar plays an important role for the migrants' integration process. He raises the awareness

about the migrants in the neighborhood and plays a reconciliatory role in the integration process. In addition to that, according to muhtar, as a preeminent figure in the neighborhood, his perception on the migrants and their integration affects the locals' perceptions. As a person who has contacts with the official authorities, the muhtar also reports the inevitable problems associated with the existence of Afghan migrants to the authorities. He says, “[l]ast week there was a meeting between muhtars and the minister of internal affairs, and I explained that the existence of Afghans in our district is not the biggest problem, but their undocumented status is.” (See, Interviewee 11, Appendix B) So, the basic concern of the muhtar of Yeni Mahalle is to have these migrants documented and legalized, and so to find an addressee in case of a potential crime.

The weakness of the municipal approach to migrant integration seems to be a significant shortcoming: the only public service that municipal authorities provide to the migrants is ignoring them, and thus not to have them deported. Zeytinburnu municipality, where most of the Afghan population resides, can be considered as an exception. The Afghans living there have citizenship, and so right to vote and stand for election; and this advantage induces local politicians to promise that they will appeal to the central government for issuing residence permits for the Afghan migrants living in Zeytinburnu and Yeni Mahalle neighborhood. The experience of the new mayor of Beykoz municipality, who previously was the mayor of Zeytinburnu, can be instrumental for the Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle to establish better contacts with the local government and to develop projects with the new mayor through newly established association.

Afghan migrants' access to education and health remain to be problematic despite the informal solutions they have found to survive. A student interviewed in

the medrese says that he desires to concentrate solely in his education, but in order to continue with high school he needs to be legalized. The migrants' access to education is generally restricted to pre-school and elementary levels. The muhtar claims, "with the assistance from the school management, we have eliminated the bureaucratic procedures for enrollment of migrant children to preschool. They can also attend elementary school. However, most of the Afghans here are bachelor men, and their children are in Afghanistan." (See, Interviewee 11, Appendix B) Having a higher education and attending a university is very difficult for the Afghan migrants. Interviewee 10 (aged 28) who had drop out of university in Afghanistan explains:

I want to go to a university here, and I can even say that it is my entire dream. However, I have to send money to my family, and it is expensive to live here. At the same time, I have to study for the exams to have a scholarship. It is very difficult process, but I will not give up. (See, Interviewee 10, Appendix B)

Among the services that supposed to be delivered by the state is the access to healthcare. This is also an important challenge for the Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle district. They generally solve this problem by using their networks. As they do not have legal rights of a refugee, they cannot officially use state hospitals or community clinics. The migrants without a valid passport even cannot be examined by a doctor. Thus, they have created their own solutions by using their friends' passports or renting passports from others. In other words, they have overcome this challenge by using local networks they established with the private hospital and doctors in the neighborhood, and the friendship and kinship networks they established at the local level. The other method is to utilize their elders' relations with the management of private hospitals. Interviewee 7 (52) explains:

Both in municipal medical center and in a private hospital nearby, there are managers and doctors with whom we have an agreement. For not so serious health problems, we have the boys without financial means treated in municipal medical center. However, if there is a serious health problem, the private hospital treats them without a passport. We direct these people to that private hospital to be treated with prices that are more favorable. (See, Interviewee 7, Appendix B)

4.2.7 Spatial factors of integration

The Yeni Mahalle district's location within the spatial organization of the city is another factor that shapes the Afghan migrants' integration process. The neighborhood's location with its links to rising construction sector, the existence of informal housings, and the socio-cultural characteristics of the district as a lower strata working class neighborhood have been important factors for Afghan migrants' settlement in Yeni Mahalle district. For the Afghan migrants, the availability of accommodation is an important element for their decision to settle in Yeni Mahalle district. It is a slum area where the migrants can find poor quality houses that the locals would not want to live in and rent them without an official contract. One interviewee says, "nobody would have let us to stay with 10 people [in other neighborhoods]. The [conditions of the] houses here is poor, but after all is said and done, it serves to aims."

The district's convenient location, within the city with its proximity to the second bridge over the Bosphorus and to the city center, provides better transportation opportunities for the Afghan migrants to reach different locations all around the city. The neighborhood is close to the coast and has public spaces nearby like a huge park, several mosques, and other recreational facilities where they can meet with their relatives and the locals.

Their working class characteristic that has been shaped by internal and external migration has provided a basis for Afghan migrants to form a parallel

community in the neighborhood. The Afghan migrants are only the last wave of migrants who came to the district through their kinship networks and developed strategies for survival and integration within the city. In Yeni Mahalle, Afghan migrants can create their own enclave where they can maintain their own identity, by having their own restaurants, bakeries, stores, religion schools while living side by side with the locals and other migrant groups.

For the Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle, the economic and geographical characteristics of the city are crucial factors shaping their integration. Istanbul is a globalized city that has extensive formal and informal economic and social networks, which require the existence of different migrant groups for its functioning. The migrants, including the Afghans in Yeni Mahalle, provide indispensable services for the strengthening of Istanbul's competitive advantage in globalized markets. Therefore, these migrants are not solely tolerated and accepted out of empathy because of humane sentiment, but also wanted for their contributions to the local and national economy. As the neoliberal policies influence the city and restructure its institutions, social networks, and labor market, it also shapes the relationship between the Afghan migrants and the locals.

Urban identity and city's repositioning also other factors to be taken into attention for explaining the integration of Afghan migrants to Istanbul. It considers and advertises itself as an ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse city where different communities with their own life styles live side by side, particularly in more cosmopolitan downtown districts. Afghan migrants can more easily become anonymous in these cosmopolitan spaces of the city and be integrated to it. For example, most of the Afghans spend their spare time in Kadıköy or Zeytinburnu, which are cosmopolitan districts and are convenient for commute. Zeytinburnu

provides them fellow citizens associations, relatives, friends, stores, restaurants and other services. Therefore, it helps them to maintain their own identity, and strengthen their links with their life and culture back home. On the other hand, Kadıköy provides an opportunity to enjoy the benefits of a globalized city without attracting unwanted attention as an outsider. However, Istanbul does not provide official pathways for integrating undocumented migrant blue-collar workers, although it is advertising itself as a globalized city, which embraces diversity of its inhabitants. It seems that, the targets for the marketing include compatriots, global investors and the tourists who can contribute to the city financially or otherwise; not the migrant blue collar workers who may not positively contribute to Istanbul's image as a rising global city.

4.3 Conclusion

The integration of Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood mostly takes place at the individual level and affects the personal lives and practices of the migrants. The organizational level related to the associations created by the migrants themselves is inadequate and the institutional level referring to the formal governmental policies and programs is largely missing. Not only there is a lack of a predictable and convenient legalization process that may stabilize their lives in Turkey, but also state sponsorship and social assistantship to these migrants are usually non-existent and they cannot reach adequate local services.

Thus, the integration of Afghan migrants to Istanbul and the Turkish society seem to be limited to an incomplete socio-economic integration: they can benefit from the informal labor market to earn a living and save money, but their use of educational rights is mostly missing. In the absence of a national governmental

program for migrant integration, the civil and political dimension of integration is non-existent: the prospect for citizenship is left to an unreliable lobbying process to influence local politicians; the Afghan's active participation to institutions of civil society is limited to their interactions in the mosques; and they cannot legally benefit from the services of welfare state. The cultural integration (the third dimension of any integration process) has very limited applicability; it is very difficult to see cognitive, cultural, behavioral and attitudinal changes on the part of newcomers as well as the host society as a result of their interactions.

In the light of all these findings, it would be more convenient to talk about a de facto and limited integration for the Afghan migrants. They employ a survival strategy as they believe their stay in Turkey will be a temporary one, and they are willing to integrate as much as it is required by their main motivation: earning and saving money for dowry or for supporting their families. This survival strategy is mostly based on de facto integration in the absence of official policies in Turkey for legalization and integration of irregular migrants. Thus, the integration and the adaptation of the migrants in Yeni Mahalle case mostly depend on their invisibility and silence. In other words, the integration process is related to the fulfillment of basic human needs without any demand for political rights. They try to keep their interactions with the native population as minimum and positive as possible.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The main subject of this thesis is the irregular Afghan living in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood in Beykoz district of Istanbul, and their survival/urban integration (socio-economic incorporation) strategies in the absence of both state assistance and NGOs services. It has concentrated on local/city aspect of the migration, and explores the personal experiences of irregular Afghan migrants in order to evaluate their survival strategies during the defacto integration process.

As the migration and its consequences are an inevitable reality people face in their daily lives, increasing visibility of disintegration in the receiving societies have led to discussions on the necessity to change the old approach that expects the incoming minority to conform to the host society. Local integration has become an important topic as the role of local governments has been expanded in the solution of the problems created by immigrants in the municipal areas. They are responsible for providing public services to migrant populations (like adequate housing, jobs, education and health services, etc.), and contrary to national governments who can ignore migrants and their problems, the local governments have to face the socio-political and economic problems related to the integration on a daily basis.

Integration is a controversial concept and it is generally difficult to reach a common understanding on what integration is and which social practices should be considered as a part of the integration process. Some scholars describe integration “access to social services to facilitate settlement of refugees”, while the others associate integration as having a secure place “in both cultural sense and physical sense by having a home, a job and income, access to education, and health facilities.”

However, it is defined the difference between integration and assimilation is clearly emphasized within the literature. Integration based on a more multi-culturalist approach and it is considered as a two-way street in which both the migrants and host societies harmonize their practices, while assimilation is described as a one-way street in which migrants adapt to the host societies practices.

For the integration process, different models are offered within the academic literature: “melting pot model” that foresees the interaction of different migrant cultures in the formation of a unique national culture; “salad bowl model” that is based the coexistence of different cultures without a need to fuse with each other; “acculturation and adaptation model” that refers to the newcomers’ change of cultural patterns with reference to those of the host society without losing its peculiar identity; or the “French model” based on citizenship.

It is claimed that due to confusion about the definition, it would be more useful to concentrate on what integration includes as a policy, and consider it as immigrants’ participation in the economic, social, cultural, religious, political, and civic life of the host society while respecting its essential norms and values.

As the cities have gradually become significant spaces for migration, the local governments have to become more active in devising and implementing effective integration policies than their national governments. For the local governments migrants are not abstract entities as seen by national governments, but they are real persons: neighbors, family members, friends, customers, etc.

The local governments also have some comparative advantages for integrating the migrants to their host societies. They can directly deal with the migrant groups as they provide vital public services to them. They can provide

cosmopolitan local identities, which may have greater appeal for the migrants than the particularistic national identities promoted by national governments.

The general factors affecting the integration process can be classified into four categories: government policies and programs, the characteristics of the labor market, the character of relations with the host society, and other factors like gender, religion and time.

The impact of government policies and programs is the first and foremost crucial factor for the integration of immigrants to the host society. The character of welfare systems of receiving societies, and the existence or lack of a predictable and convenient legalization process is important factors that influence the integration. Legalization is particularly significant for the migrants, because it is a key factor that determines their formal relations with the host state including residence and work permits, and voting rights. The ideological orientation of governments partly influences their responses to the problems of migration and integration: left leaning parties formulate and implement more pro-immigrant policies and programs, while right leaning parties may adopt anti-immigrant policies

The migrants' success in integrating themselves to labor market and economic well-being is directly affecting their success in general integration, because adequate financial conditions are precondition for social integration for migrants. However, migrants' level of integration to labor markets is affected by the social characteristics of the host country: societies that are more homogeneous (like Germany) generally have less desire to accept migrant workers, while societies that are more heterogeneous (like USA) have more willingness for it.

Immigrant organizations can play a mediator and/or facilitator role in the social integration of immigrants, and the network ties that migrants have provide

access to resources. However, an overemphasis on the ethnic identity by the migrants may create resentment in the host societies and may weaken the willingness of the host society to incorporate the migrant groups.

The character of relations with the host society affects the integration process. The perceptions of cultural difference and similarity between migrants and host society; the existence of a perceived or real discrimination; the existence of civil society institutions and individuals who can act as mediators between two groups; the existence of social activist individuals, who are informed about the language, life style and culture of the migrant group; and the existence of self-organized refugee movement may influence desire of the host society and the willingness of the migrant group to integrate.

Gender, religion and time are considered other factors that also shaped the integration process. Gender is an influential factor because the integration process has played out differently for men and women: due to differing characteristics of their occupations, women are generally more successful in integration than the men are. Time is also an important factor because the duration of the migrants' stays in a locality directly affects their ability to integrate.

The factors affecting integration at the local level include geographical characteristics of a city's locality, urban repositioning and self-representation, municipal approach to the socio-economic and political issues associated with migrants, city scale, and spatial organization of the city.

Economic geographical characteristics of a city's locality are a crucial factor for integration because its spatial characteristics influence its economic geopolitical position and therefore, shape how immigrants are received. Economic activity in a city and its relations with global economy is an important determinant of a city's

geographical characteristics. A city's self-identification and self-representation also affects the integration process: cities that markets themselves as diverse or multicultural tend to be more open to the migrant groups. However, this is not applicable for all migrant groups, because even the most-migrant friendly city administrations have a specific target group: they prefer select individual migrants (in small numbers) who can financially or intellectually contribute to their city, and who are willing and capable of integrating to their new homes.

The municipal approach is another factor that shapes the integration process as municipal policies directly affect the daily lives of the migrants. The more positive the municipal administrations perception about the migrants, the more conducive the socio-political environment for integration. City scale (the position of a city in the global hierarchy) is the last local factor shaping the migrants' integration to host societies. Within this conceptualization, top-scale cities such as London, New York or Paris, offer greater opportunities for migrants' integration and they accommodate both highly skilled educated migrants and low skilled workers to sustain the services needed.

Turkey has been one of the transit and destination countries for irregular migrant flows. It has witnessed several migration waves from different regions of the world, of differing magnitude, and for various reasons and Afghan irregular immigrants is one of the recent examples. For the Afghan migrants Turkey and Istanbul constitute an important transit point and a destination country.

Turkey's migration patterns and governments' responses are divided into four key periods: a) the two-way immigration and emigration circulation in the early period of Turkey; b) the emigration boom since the 1950s; c) the emergence of new

migration patterns in the 1980s; and d) the new forms of migration governance employed since the 2000s.

During the early years of the Turkish republic, the laws governing the country's migration policy, and the institutions that were responsible for their implementation reflected the need for settling people who were coming to Turkey through population exchange treaties with the neighboring states. During that period, the state authority directly controlled the incorporation of muhacirs.

In post 1980s, Turkey's migration patterns has changed and it was transformed from an emigrant country into an immigrant receiving country, partly due to its geographical position between regions of instability and regions of prosperity. The mass arrivals of refugees such as Iranians fleeing the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979, and the Iraqi refugees who started to come during 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf Crisis of 1990-1991, have signaled this transformation. However, Turkey's legal bad institutional system on migration did not change, and the issues related asylum or migrant labor generally ignored. There were attempts for reforming the legal and institutional system for migrants' integration, but they were mostly unsuccessful until the arrival of Syrian refugees after 2011. That means, the Turkish governments has continued to ignore the existence of migrants of different origins in its cities, and did not develop a long-term policy for their integration to the Turkish society and political system.

In the absence of formal integration mechanisms, most of the studies on the integration of immigrants/refugees in Turkey have been based on a network approach by exploring which informal networks are utilized (ethnic, linguistic, etc.), for what purposes (employment, housing, etc.), and whether new ones have been formed.

Irregular migrants in Turkey generally prefer to settle in urban areas (particularly Istanbul) for their temporary or permanent residence, because the urban areas provide many advantages to irregular migrants with their diversity and economic dynamism. Istanbul has become a cosmopolitan and secure city as it attracted foreign investments and urban regeneration that has changed the city's scale. Therefore, Istanbul has become an economic hub for migrants of different nationalities who are looking for economic opportunities regardless of their legal status. The irregular migrants are generally settled in disadvantaged areas of the city and employed in the informal economy. They live in poor areas, in overcrowded rooms lacking proper sanitary systems mostly shared with co-ethnics and informal contracts and overpriced rents are the main features of these housings. These houses are found through their social/kin networks and with informal mechanisms. Informal labor market's flexibility is another important factor that shapes their preferences to live in Istanbul.

Turkey has always been an important transit country for the Afghan migrants trying to reach Europe. However, the toughening of Iranian policies against Afghan migrants such as the termination of financial support and not admitting children to schools have transformed Turkey into a destination country for Afghan migrants. Afghan migrants' flows to Turkey actually have started with an official invitation from Turkish President Kenan Evren in 1982, after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Those Turkic migrants from Afghanistan were provided with permanent residency, which gives them an access to employment, education, and citizenship, and they were initially resettled in the satellite cities of Turkey. Afghans who were officially invited and living in Zeytinburnu have obtained their Turkish

passports and been naturalized as citizens. Therefore, they have been the only group of Afghan migrants who have been fully documented since their arrival.

After 2000s, Yeni Mahalle district in Beykoz, which is located up the Asian coast of the Bosphorus, became the new destination for Afghans because of increasing the competition over the job access in Zeytinburnu and the diminishing job and housing opportunities. Yeni Mahalle is a residential area that has been formed by internal and external migrants, as the internal migration during 1950s, Romanians in the 1990s, Kurdish migrants from the South East of Turkey, and Afghans in the 2000s have shaped the neighborhood.

The amele pazarı (informal labor market for manual jobs in construction sector) that was established by these Kurdish migrants is the main factor attracting irregular migrants to the neighborhood. Afghans started to commute to the district for work and gradually they started to settle in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood of Beykoz in order to reduce transportation costs and convenience to labor market. Lower rents and availability of housing and job opportunities also influenced their decision. The majority of the Afghan migrants in the district consist of the people who left their country after the US invasion of 2001. Yeni Mahalle has become the main settlement area that contains nearly 5,000 predominantly male Afghan migrants from different ethnic identities. They became successful in dominating the informal labor market in this locality. Their competition power comes from their cheap labor but also from their flexibility about the working conditions due to their gender, age, resistance and hard work. This local labor market domination is actually the most important part of their survival tactics. As their purpose for being in Turkey is saving money, all the survival tactics revolve around this activity. Moreover, as they are also appreciated

by the locals because of their labor force and hard working character, cheap labor would not be enough for them to be accommodated by the locals.

The urban integration process for irregular Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle district is mostly shaped by lack of official policies in Turkey for legalization and integration of irregular migrants. Particularly national and local governments' policy of negligence is influencing their process of integration. This negligency creates a space for them to move around and generate survival tactics by avoiding deportation, but also keep them in a fragile situation for their future. The integration and the adaptation of the migrants in Yeni Mahalle case mostly depend on their invisibility and silence. So, they do not think about the future to avoid this fragility, and they only focus on today, on saving on money, on avoiding deportation, a roof to live and on having jobs. In other words, the integration process is related to the fulfillment of basic human needs without any demand for political rights. The Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle neighborhood have established a parallel community in which Afghans have their own shops, business relations and housing procedures, and which lives side by side with the natives without any unnecessary interaction.

As their main motivation is to save up money, they usually have come to Turkey for short and medium terms. Therefore, they have seemed to accept the lack of legal rights, and they aimed for a "realistic" de facto integration strategy for survival during their assumedly temporary stay in the city. They use the opportunities of the city with minimum expenses, and they protect their invisibility within the host society to avert hostile reactions from the locals, and thus prevent deportation from Turkey.

The desire of the members of migrant community for integration is an important determinant of a successful integration. However, in the case of Afghan

migrants in Yeni Mahalle, this condition has not been materialized, and this is mostly related to the lack of any official procedure for legalization of the irregular migrants in Turkey. As they have foreseen no long term future for themselves in Istanbul, their only ambition is to realize their goals by utilizing the opportunities provided by the city. However, newly established Güney Türkistan Yardımlaşma Derneği (South Turkistan Cooperation Association) is a promising step for community building, because its religious sensitivities are in line with the neighborhood's sensitivities. The hoca's interactions and relations with the local religious leaders and the local preminent figures are crucial for the long term processes. Needless to say, the emphasis on Turkishness of the migrants' identity can also be promising in a neighborhood that mostly hosts conservative and nationalist locals coming from Black Sea region of Turkey. This association has a potential for creating a sense of belonging and identity for the migrants.

The lack of local services, even the basic ones like hygiene, healthcare, housing, and all-inclusive cultural events, negatively affects Afghan migrants' integration to the city. Beykoz municipality, where Yeni Mahalle is located, completely ignores the existence of the migrants, while the Istanbul metropolitan municipality (that is responsible for providing many local services) seems to forget their existence when the local service provision is planned. For the Afghan migrants and the local public transportation is the most problematic issue. Afghans use buses for transportation, and the locals get frustrated in their daily use because of the overcrowded buses because of the municipality's planning of public transportation according to the population registered in the district that is lower than the real population. Lack of registration and legality lie at the root of the problem, and

therefore registration is the fundamental step that could, also, be materialized by local governments.

However, the lack of central and local policies can also be considered as a positive factor for the Afghan migrants, because, as they clearly stated during the interviews, there is a minimum threat of deportation as long as they are not involved in a criminal case. The state authorities ignore the Afghan migrants who are lack of legal documents; and for the migrants without identification papers, it is enough to say he is an Afghan to be released.

The existence of an informal economy, the existence of reliable accommodation, lesser discrimination against the Afghans, and the cultural, religious, linguistic affinity between the local and migrant populations positively contributed to the integration process. This is an informal/de facto integration process in which the state institutions do not have direct contribution; and the fellow citizens and kinship networks established by the Afghan migrants are indispensable for this integration process.

During this informal /de facto integration process, civil society institutions play a very limited role. There is only one migrant association in the neighborhood and its activities are not rights based. It proposes absolute obedience by arguing that they are in a foreign land and they have complied with all the conditions imposed on them.

To sum up, in the absence of macro level government policies, there are every day practices at the micro level for those migrants who are lacking legal status and recognition from the state. The negligence of the state institutions turns to be an advantage for their everyday survival tactics, although it creates a sense of the fragility for their lives. Considering the definitions and practices of “integration,” in

the absence of any kind of recognition and de jure integration policy, we can talk about a limited de facto integration for the irregular Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle.

A successful integration process for the immigrant groups requires securing a place within the host society in both cultural and physical senses through having a job that will provide a regular and decent income, and access to social services like education and health care. For the Afghan irregular migrants in Yeni Mahalle access to social services is still problematic, although they have (to a certain extent) secured their position in the job market through their hardworking character and endurance. However, becoming an accepted part of host society is another aspect of a successful integration, and it is difficult to argue that Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle are an accepted part of the local community. At the best, they are a group that is generally tolerated by the locals as long as they do not create any disturbance, and they know their (relatively lower) place within the local social hierarchy. In addition to that, as the Afghan irregular migrants do not have a legal status in Turkey, there exist many legal and procedural obstacles that limited their participation in the host society: they do not enjoy an equality of opportunity, they do not have guaranteed civil rights, they do not have an access to the social services provided by the state, and they have to live through a constant social discrimination from the locals who, with their words and behaviors, reminded the Afghans that they are tolerated outsiders.

Thus, it would be better talk about a peaceful coexistence where two communities (like two liquids with different densities in a glass) touch each other on many occasions but never mix with each other. The Afghan migrants in Yeni Mahalle within the context of this peaceful co-existence utilize everyday survival tactics they generate within the informality that urban setting of İstanbul provides, in

order to continue their lives and materialize their goals/dreams that are generally detached from the city and the neighborhood they are living in.



APPENDIX A
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Interviewee 1	He is 25 years old, married, and works in construction in daily jobs. He is from Faryap province in Afghanistan and has been in Istanbul for 6 years.
Interviewee 2	He is 16 years old, single, works in construction and gardening jobs. He is from Faryap Province in Afghanistan and recently arrived to Istanbul.
Interviewee 3	He is 27 years old, married, and works in construction. He is from Faryap Province in Afghanistan and has been in Istanbul for 5 years.
Interviewee 4	He is 36 years old, married, and works in construction. He is from Faryap Province in Afghanistan and has been in Istanbul for 16 years.
Interviewee 5	He is 19 years old, single, works in construction, gardening (daily jobs), and has been here for 3 years.
Interviewee 6	He is 42 years old who is local in the neighborhood, working as a driver.
Interviewee 7	He is 42 years old, married, holding a store where construction equipment sold. He is from Faryap Province in Afghanistan. He has been here for 6 years.
Interviewee 8	He is 28 years old, married and from Faryap Province in Afghanistan. He owns a store, like a mini supermarket and has been in Istanbul for 5 years.

Interviewee 9	He is 45 years old, married and the family live in Istanbul, too. He has been in Istanbul 2 years ago and he is from Faryap Province in Afghanistan. He is a religious scholar, running the religious school madrasa, who also established the association recently.
Interviewee 10	He is 28 years old, single and works in construction. He is single and from Faryap Province in Afghanistan, and has been in Istanbul for 3 years.
Interviewee 11 (Muhtar)	He is 32 years old, his first term as being the local chief.
Interviewee 12 (Mr. Şekerci)	He is 82 years old contractor, a local who hires Afghan migrants for his construction and gardening works, from Istanbul.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEWS WITH THE IRREGULAR AFGHAN MIGRANTS IN YENİ MAHALLE NEIGHBORHOOD

Interviewee 1:

‘Biz devlet hastahanesine gidemeyiz, kimliğimiz, ikametimiz yok, özel hastahaneye gitmeliyiz ve onlar da bizden fazla para alıyorlar.’

Interviewee 2:

‘Bazen yolda sıkıştırıyorlar, paramızı istiyorlar. Orada eğer bize yardım edecek güvenilir birileri olursa iyi, onlar polisi arayıp duruma müdahale edebilirler, ama biz aramayız polis. Biz parayı verip kaçmaya çalışırız, çünkü biz burada olay istemiyoruz, gerçekten, görünmek, dikkat çekmek istemiyoruz. Bu olayları yaşayınca daha dikkatli olmaya başladık, yalnız yürümemeye çalışıyoruz hava kararınca, birimiz geç dönsek bile işten, diğerlerimiz önümüze geliyor, kalabalık olduğumuzda bize yaklaşmıyorlar gerçekten.’

Interviewee 3:

Bir olay olunca, polis bizi koruyor, yani mesela kimlik sordular, biz de Afgan'ız dedik, geç diyorlar...’ ‘Benim hep çalıştığım bir usta var, birbirimize güven olmuş, o hep beni arar iş olunca, eve kadar bırakır iş dönüşü. Hatta işçi lazım olsa, bana sorarlar, ben çevremde güvendiklerimi çağırırım, bunun için asla komisyon almam, haramdır. Ben artık aileme döneceğim, erkek kardeşimi getirttim, onun buraya ve ustama alışmasını bekliyorum, sonra bütün bağlantılarımı ona bırakıp, gideceğim...’

Yani biz eŖeđimizi bile bađlamayız bu evlere, ama ne yapalım gurbetteyiz, mecburuz... Her Ŗeye rađmen buradayız, ayakta durmalıyız ve dikkat çekmemeliyiz’

Interviewee 4:

‘... Kışın daha az iş var burada, bu yüzden yevmiyeler düşer. Ama yazları işler artar, yevmiyelerimiz de artar, bir arz talep piyasası, pazar ekonomisi var ve bizim çocuklar bunları iyi takip eder yani, özellikle dolardaki deđişmeleri takip ederler.

Ben 16 yıldır İstanbul’dayım, Ŗimdi düzenli bir işim var, ailemi getirdim, tabi ilk 6 yıl ben de çok zorluk çektim, özellikle bekâr olmaktan, bir de Kürtlerle rekabet vardı, onlar bizi istemiyordu, saldırıyordu. Ama zamanla biz emek piyasasında güven kazandık, aranan adamlar olduk, çünkü bizden istenilen herşeyi başımızı eğip en iyi şekilde yaparız. Benim Ŗimdi sigortam ve sürekli bir işim var, şanslı azınlıktan biriyim, ailemi çocuklarımı getirdim, buraya yerleştik. Ama sürekli işim olsa da, arada bu amele pazarına gelip, piyasayı yoklarım...’

‘... Dediđim gibi, ilk zamanlar çok zordu, yalnızdım, komşular mesafeliydi çok, ben iş ile ev arasında ot gibi yaşıyordum. Hem daha az Afgan vardı sosyalleşmek için. Ama su son 9 yıldır eşim burada, çocuklarımla birlikteyiz ve komşularla eşim daha iyi oldu. Eşim evlerini ziyaret ediyor, onlar da bizi ziyaret ediyor. Çocuklarım okula gidiyor, ben Türkçeyi daha iyi konuşuyorum ve çalışma iznim olduđu için yakında vatandaş olmayı umuyorum...’ ‘...diđer çocuklar için de bazen ikamet olayları konuşuluyor, özellikle secim dönemleri, bazıları alabiliyor, bazıları alamıyor...’

Interviewee 5:

Bazen otobüste bize söyleniyorlar, özellikle otobüsler kalabalıkken. Biz de inmiyoruz tabi, sonuçta bedava binmiyoruz ki, ama asla kavga etmeyiz, cevap vermeyiz, sadece başımızı önümüze alırız, sonuçta burası onların ülkesi...'

'olabildiğince para harcamamaya çalışıyoruz, yani ailemize para gönderebilmek için, olabildiğince az harcamalıyız...'

'...tabi buradan dini bütün bir kızla evlensem çok güzel olur, ama kimle evleneceğim, yani kim beni alır ki? Nerede tanışacağım hem kızlarla? Biz okula gitmiyoruz, inşaatta, bahçede çalışıyoruz ve üstümüz başımız kir pas içinde, bizi kim beğenir sokakta. Hem kim kızını kaçak bir yabancıya verir. İşte, bizim için ailemizin bulunduğu kişiyle evlenmemiz daha iyidir, yani biz de para yolluyoruz ki başlık parası biriksinsin...'

Interviewee 6:

'...Büyük paralar dönüyor burada, evinin odunluğunu, ahırını kiraya veriyor bunlara komşularımız, yani çok da birşey demiyoruz, sonuçta komşularımızla kötü olmak istemeyiz, para kazanıyorlar. Ama aynı zamanda düzgün çocuklar, işinde gücündeler. Hatta onlar olmasa camilerimiz boş kalacak, dindar çocuklar, bizim dilimizi iyi konuşuyorlar. Ama sayılarının bir anda artışı bazen bizi endişelendiriyor. Yani bazen mac filan da yapıyoruz, ama endişeli bir bekleyiş de var. Tabii dedigim gibi komşularımızın gelir kapısı bunlar, ama ciddi bir sorun çıkarsa da herkes tepki gösterir, ama adil olalım, duzgün çocuklar, en azından Suriyeliler gibi dilenmiyorlar...'

Interviewee 7:

‘...yani sonuçta Türkiye Müslüman bir ülke, komşularımız dindar insanlar. İran bizim için çok zordu, buradaki insanlar Sünni bizim gibi, bunlar elbette bizim için çok önemli, avantajdır...’ ‘... Belediyenin sağlık merkezinde ve yakındaki özel hastanede tanıdığımız, anlaştığımız müdürler ve doktorlar var, çok ciddi olmayan vakialarda, durumu da olmayan çocukları belediyenin sağlık merkezinde muayene ettiriyoruz, ama ciddi bir mesele de özel hastaneye götürüyoruz, bizim tanıdığımız onları pasaportsuz, daha uyguna tedavi ediyorlar...’

Interviewee 8:

‘... Kalacak bir yer bulmak, iş bulmak, o yerin dilini öğrenmek biz Afganların en önemli ilk meseleleridir göç ettiğimizde, yani belki bize bir lütuf bu ki hemen o ülkenin dilini öğreniriz...’

Interviewee 9:

‘... Biz Türkiye’yi ata yurdumuz biliriz, buraya sığındık. Allah korusun bu ülkeyi, Allah razı olsun bize kapılarını açtılar. Burada biz kurallara uyarız, itaat ederiz, buraya gelen çocuklara da hep bunu nasihat ederim; her zaman kurallara uyun, tevazu içinde olun ve kadınlara kötü bakmayın...’ ‘hem burada insanlar bize güveniyor, tepki göstermiyorlar, tam aksine dini meseleler konusunda tavsiyeler alıyorlar... Bizler hem Kuzey Afganistan Türkistan bölgesindeniz, bizim topraklarımız alındı, kitaplarımız yakıldı ve bu yüzden resmi tarihte yerimiz yok, dilimizi öğreten kurumlar mahvedildi. Ama biz Türk’üz ve bu gerçeği yayacağız,’

özellikle buradaki din âlimlerinin yardımıyla. Bu ülkemiz için kalbimizi veririz ve tek arzumuz vatandaş olmak...’

‘...ikamet izni almak da dernekte olup da siyasetçilerle ilişkisi insanları tanımanıza bağlı, yani bağlantı çok önemli zaten bizde. Bu süreçte derneklerce aldatılan da var ama bazısı para verip, ikamet filan alamıyor...’

Interviewee 10:

‘...Ben Üniversite’ye gitmek istiyorum, hatta bu benim bütün hayalim. Ama ben aileme para göndermeliyim, burada yaşamak pahalı. Ama yine de burslu okumak için sınavlara hazırlanıyorum, bu çok zorlu bir süreç, ama vazgeçmeyeceğim...’

Interviewee 11 (Muhtar):

‘Bu insanlar burada, gidecek yerleri olmadığı için yani, sonuçta ülkelerindeki savaştan kaçmışlar. Bunun için onları suçlayamayız. Ayrıca burada da hiç yanlış bir işe bulaşmıyorlar Ama son yıllarda sayıları iyice arttı, bu mahalledeki gençlerle arasında bir gerginlik yaratıyor, ama bunlar özellikle bizim gençlerin tacizlerinden filan korunmak için bir araya geliyorlar, sorun da o zaman oluyor. Ben bu çocukları el altından uyarıyorum, yani basit kurallarla ilgili öğretiyorum, otobüste kalabalıkta yaşlıya, hamileye yer verin, kadınların gözlerine bakmayın, temiz dolaşın gibi şeylerde... Bazen arabulucu da oluyorum, mesela parasını vermeyen mahalleli olursa, biz tanıyorsak, arayıp konuşuyorum, ayıp olur, günah olur diyorum, ama ben tanımiyorsam kişileri, karışmıyorum. Kendi aralarında kavga olursa müdahale ediyorum, yardımcı oluyorum. Bizimkiler onlara saldırırsa, polisi biz çağırıyoruz, onlar sürece dâhil olmak istemez. Bizim tek istediğimiz bu insanların kayıtlanması,

yani gecen hafta bakanlarla toplantı vardı muhtarların, ben hep bu kayıtsız
Afganlardan bahsettim...’

Interviewee 12 (Mr. Şekerci):

‘...Biz bu Afganlardan çok memnunuz, biliyorsunuz işte, bizimkiler böyle işe
hevesli değil, ilk fırsatta kaçarlar, ama bunlar çok çalışkan, ozaman bir dahaki işe
gene bunları çağırıyorum ben...’



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