SYRIAN REFUGEES THROUGH THE LENS OF
BALKAN IMMIGRANTS
THE CASE OF ÇAMDİBİ, İZMİR

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ABSTRACT

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Master Program in Political Science and International Relations

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After the beginning of the Syrian Civil War caused by the Arab Spring, the Syrian refugee crisis affected many countries, especially Turkey. Regarding UNHCR (2022) Turkey is the largest refugee hosting country with four million Syrian refugees. Approximately 150.000 of them settled in İzmir (Refugees Association, 2022). Çamdibi, a Balkan ethnic enclave, is one of the districts that the Syrians preferred to settle down. This research investigates the integration process of the Syrians and Balkan immigrants in Çamdibi, by asking the Balkan immigrants' approach towards the Syrian refugees in terms of culture, economics, and security. For this research interviews with 15 Balkan immigrants were conducted. Field study demonstrated that regular contact with the refugees and sharing the same neighborhood increases the empathy towards Syrians and supports the recognition of the refugees to some extent. On the other hand, the participants without any connection experience with the refugees tend to comment more negatively and are prone to believe in false information

on the refugees and prejudices on the refugees. Furthermore, the fear of loss of economic opportunities, cultural values, and national cohesion, also, cultural differences, and lack of knowledge on the national and international policies on the refugee crisis are the main points that obstruct the recognition of the Syrian refugees and integration process in Çamdibi. Consequently, this research displayed the degree of the Syrians' integration and recognition in Çamdibi.

Keywords: Balkan immigrants, Syrian refugees, integration, recognition, Çamdibi

ÖZET

BALKAN GÖÇMENLERİ PERSPEKTİFİNDEN SURİYELİ MÜLTECİLER: ÇAMDİBİ, İZMİR İNCELEMESİ

Dinçseven, Gizem

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Arap Baharı'nın yol açtığı Suriye İç Savaşı'nın başlamasından sonra Suriyeli mülteci krizi başta Türkiye olmak üzere birçok ülkeyi etkiledi. UNHCR (2022) verilerine göre Türkiye yaklaşık dört milyon Suriyeli mülteciyi kabul etmiştir ve Mülteciler Derneği (2022) verilerine göre yaklaşık 150.000 mülteci İzmir'de ikamet etmektedir. Balkan kökenli bir yerleşim bölgesi olan Çamdibi, Suriyelilerin yerleşmeyi tercih ettiği ilçelerden biridir. Bu araştırma, Balkan göçmenlerinin Suriyeli mültecilere karşı kültür, ekonomi ve güvenlik açısından yaklaşımını inceleyerek Suriyelilerin ve Balkan göçmenlerinin Çamdibi'deki entegrasyon sürecini incelemektedir. Bu araştırma konusu için 15 Balkan göçmeni ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Saha çalışması, mültecilerle düzenli bağlantıların ve aynı mahalleyi paylaşmanın Suriyelilere karşı empatiyi artırdığını ve mültecilerin tanınmasının desteklediğini göstermiştir. Bununla beraber, mültecilerle herhangi bir şekilde bağlantı kuramamış katılımcılar mülteciler hakkında olumsuz yorumlarda bulunmaya yatkın olup mülteciler aleyhindeki söylem-

lere ve önyargılara inanma eğilimindedirler. Ayrıca ekonomik fırsatların kaybedilmesi korkusu, kültürel ve ulusal birliğin kaybedilmesi korkusu, kültürel farklılıklar ve mülteci krizine uygulanan ulusal ve uluslararası politikalar hakkında bilgi eksikliği, Suriyeli mültecilerin tanınmasını ve Çamdibi'deki entegrasyon sürecini engelleyen temel noktalardır. Sonuç olarak, bu araştırma Çamdibi'deki Suriyelilerin entegrasyon ve tanınma derecelerini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Balkan göçmenleri, Suriyeli mülteciler, entegrasyon, tanınma, Çamdibi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Art: Article

ICCPR: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICERD: The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

ICRMW: The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families

CEDAW: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CRC: The Convention on the Rights of the Child

CRPD: The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

EU: European Union

GMG: Global Migration Group

ILO: International Labor Organization

IOM: International Organization of Migration

LCRP: Lebanon Crisis Response Plan

MoSA: The Ministry of Social Affairs

UN: United Nations

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

US: The United States

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Migration flows from Syria, after the Syrian Civil War, has become the most discussed research subject in terms of different perspectives, in political science and sociology. Regarding the number of the Syrian refugees accepted with humanitarian border governance, Turkey is the largest refugee hosting country with four million Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 2022). At the beginning, Turkey was a country of transit and recognized the Syrian refugees as temporary guests and aggrieved neighbors. However, through time Turkey became one of the countries of destination because of the EU countries' policies regarding the refugees and international agreements with Turkey (Erdoğan, 2018).

Regarding Izmir, there are approximately 150.000 Syrian refugees, and it is the eighth largest refugee hosting city in Turkey (Refugees Association, 2022). Firstly, the Syrian refugees chose to migrate to Izmir, because they planned to move to European countries from Izmir (Ogli, 2019). However, the Balkan route was closed by the international agreements and the Syrians decided to live in Izmir. Other factors that make Izmir a destination point is that the refugees have some relatives in Izmir who migrated here previously, also, as a third largest city in Turkey, Izmir has occupation opportunities as well. The most preferable locations for the refugees are Basmane, Karabağlar and Buca (Ogli, 2019). The reason they mostly preferred Basmane is that Basmane is close to the center of the city and the rents are cheaper than other locations like Alsancak or Balçova.

In addition to this, Syrian refugees built a new life in Turkey which they do not want to leave to return to the country where they lost their relatives. Hence, successful integration models have become a necessity to provide a peaceful community in the future. Therefore, the main research question and focus of this research is on the Balkan immigrants' approaches towards the Syrian refugees in terms of culture, economics, and security with qualitative research methods.

The reason for investigating the integration process and some possible problems related to this process between the Balkan immigrants and the refugees is that there was no specific research, in literature, on the integration between the refugees and immigrants. Balkan immigrants have a migration experience in recent history as refugees, although they are more integrated than the Syrians. Observing the relationship between an immigrant community and refugee community gained a new perspective to academic studies based on refugee integration.

Furthermore, two main hypotheses were formed:

H1: Although two groups have totally different historical and cultural backgrounds from each other, similar difficult migration experiences in the past tend to make them understand each other and simplify the integration process and the recognition of the refugees,

H2: The feeling of the loss of economic gains, space and national cohesion, and cultural differences can remind of/trigger past difficult traumatic migration experiences, therefore, the Balkan immigrants would be more defensive towards the refugees and the idea of recognizing them.

Çamdibi, a neighborhood in İzmir, was chosen in order to conduct this research. The main reason behind this choice is that both immigrant community and refugee community live together in Çamdibi. Regarding Çamdibi, it is known as the ethnic enclave of the Balkan immigrants (Ünal, 2008). Here, some of the Balkan immigrants completed their integration process in Turkey. While doing that they blended the newly learned culture of Turkey with the Balkan culture and created an ethnic enclave in Çamdibi. According to the data from the participants, since the early years of the Republic of Turkey, Çamdibi has been preferred by the Balkan immigrants. Furthermore, the first arrivals were placed with the guidance of the state, and then, the Balkan immigrants migrated to Çamdibi because their relatives settled there. The main reasons for choosing Çamdibi as a settlement location, for the immigrants after the 1950s, is that they knew that Çamdibi had a Balkan ethnic enclave. Therefore, they could interact with others who could understand them and share similar history and culture with them. Moreover, Çamdibi is one of the close districts to the center of the city, so both transportation and finding job opportunities in factories were easier than

other locations. In time, Çamdibi has become an immigrant dominant district and has been called "Balkan's place". Thus, by the arrivals of the Syrian refugees to this district, the most affected community was the Balkan immigrants. On the contrary, as Ogli (2019) mentioned, the Syrian refugees have chosen their locations to settle in terms of the housing opportunities (low rent) and location of the district in the city (closeness to the center or the workplaces). For these reasons, even though their numbers are not high like it is in Basmane, some Syrian refugees preferred to settle down in Çamdibi.

Another perspective that makes Çamdibi preferable to this study is that alongside being an ethnic enclave, Çamdibi can also be called a "ghetto" in which disadvantaged minorities created their own living area. Williams (2022) explained that the ghetto can be defined as having a particular racial component, and as defined by social isolation, residential segregation, gross inequality, consistent poverty, and crime. Even though some of the Balkan immigrants could increase their low class to middle class, in early years in Turkey and especially in Çamdibi, they experienced discriminations, poverty, inequalities because of being immigrant and lack of the information on Turkey and their rights here. Furthermore, they distinguished themselves within the boundaries of this district, because of the segregations they experienced and poverty. Furthermore, at the beginning, in Çamdibi, criminal activities spread because of the traumatic background (the wars, psychological and physical violence they experienced in both the Balkans and Turkey, and difficult migration processes), and because of difficult living conditions in Turkey. Therefore, Çamdibi was both a ghetto and an ethnic enclave for the Balkan immigrants.

In terms of the Syrian refugees, they have similar reasons to choose Çamdibi as a destination. Alongside the lower rents and Çamdibi's advantageous location, they preferred to settle down close to their relatives who live in Basmane or Çamdibi. Nevertheless, there was a critical difference between the Balkan immigrants and the Syrian refugees in Çamdibi. When the Balkan immigrants arrived in Çamdibi, there was no other ethnic enclave. This means that there were not lots of natives and obvious rules in Çamdibi. Çamdibi has been shaped by the Balkan immigrants in time. Nevertheless, it was different for the Syrian refugees, because, when they arrived in Çamdibi, there was a Balkan ethnic enclave in front of them. Therefore, they have

needed to make themselves accepted by this enclave. This shows that the Balkan immigrants and the Syrian refugees have different integration processes in Çamdibi, although they have some similar experiences like discrimination, poverty and traumatic war and migration memories.

As already mentioned, this research focused on just the integration of the Syrian refugees in Çamdibi to be able to work more specifically. This integration process was analyzed by Honneth's theory of recognition which consists of three types: 1)love, 2)respect and rights, and 3)social esteem (Honneth, 1995). These three normative requirements provide, firstly, a safe environment in which one's needs, values and beliefs are respected (family and friendship), secondly, the perception that the subject is equal to everyone (respect through legal equality). Lastly, mutual approval of one's contribution to public life (reputation through the principle of success) is provided (Göksel, 2019).

This research attempted to answer the question whether the Syrian refugees were respected, the refugees could have appropriate conditions that support their rights or whether they could achieve social esteem and what sort of issues they had to deal with in Çamdibi. Furthermore, the impact of flow of the migration on the Balkan immigrants could be analyzed through findings. These points gave the degree of the integration between the Balkan immigrants and the refugees. Before discussing the findings of the field study, methodology, historical background and theoretical framework that support and justify the research topic were in de discussed in the following chapters.

In the methodology part, the method used in this study was discussed and explained in detail. Moreover, information on questions and ethical issues were given in this section. Furthermore, in historical background, both the Balkan immigrants and the Syrian refugee's backgrounds were shared with the difficulties they faced. In that section, it was displayed that, although these two communities have distinctive cultural and historical backgrounds, there are similarities such as war trauma, poverty and discrimination.

In the third section on theoretical framework, phased information on the theories used in this research was given. Firstly, migration, some universal rights of individuals and international organizations were discussed. Then the main theory of this paper, Honneth's theory of recognition, was stated. Through this theory, possible recognition problems were mentioned. This part was completed with some information on some refugee policies of Germany, Lebanon and Turkey. This supported the observation of whether macro policies influence the recognition and integration processes. Lastly, the results from the field study were analyzed and discussed with the limitations of this research.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

In this study, in Çamdibi, the Balkan immigrants' approaches towards the Syrian refugees in terms of culture, economy and security has been investigated in Çamdibi province in Izmir. Field study has been executed. On average 30 minutes long, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted. Some of the interviews last at least 50 minutes which provided important amount of information and understanding on the research topic. Through the in-depth interviews, different ideas could be collected, and the participants could express themselves properly. By this method, the field work has become more comprehensive in terms of the variety of the perceptions towards the Syrian refugees and integration process.

For this study, the personal ideas had to be collected and analyzed thematically, so qualitative research methods were more useful. Through semi-structured interviews, the participants could express themselves openly and some questions could be added or removed according to the characteristics or expressions of the participants. A qualitative research method has been chosen for this research by getting inspired by the Weberian term, verstehen. Verstehen, in German, means to understand, perceive, know, and comprehend the nature and significance of a phenomenon, and Weber used this term to define social scientist's attempt to understand both the intention and the context of human action (Erwell, 1996). Hence, in order to understand and comprehend reactions or ideas of a community, qualitative research methods might be more useful than quantitative research methods.

In order to get the core opinion, extemporizing questions have been added. Moreover, the participants sometimes formed their own questions, these recommendations and thoughts helped in terms of observing different sorts of approaches, in this field study process as well. Additionally, qualitative studies on the Syrian refugees conducted by Kaya (2017), Bulut (2019), Gökçearslan et al. (2016), Çatak (2020) and other researchers, demonstrated crucial findings. These studies have been a guide to the research method preference.

2.1. Information on Field Study

Furthermore, the semi-structured interviews included 21 main questions and 5 core sections. Firstly, some questions related to the migration experience of the participants took place. Interview questions English and Turkish versions were given in Appendix A and Appendix B. Furthermore, Turkish version of the mentioned participant answers in Case Analysis: Çamdibi chapter, was shared in Appendix C. In Case Analysis: Çamdibi chapter, the participant comments were translated from Turkish to English.

The participants were asked for the date they or their families have migrated to Turkey, the reasons for this migration, etc. In addition to these questions, some questions on whether they or their families have ever experienced any sort of discrimination in the first years in Turkey were asked. The purpose of these questions was to make them remember their memories and analyze whether they would find any similarities with the migration experience of the refugees. "If they would find, how and in which ways they can relate to each other these two experiences faced with two different groups" sort of evaluations took place in the study.

Secondly, the interview includes some questions to measure the connection and communication between the Balkan immigrants and Syrian refugees. In order to evaluate these relations, it was asked whether they have Syrian neighbors, which displayed the level of connection and sharing a location. Furthermore, questions like *"Should Syrians be granted Turkish citizenship? Under what conditions? Why is that?"* and *"What do you think about the political and economic decisions followed for Syrian refugees in Turkey?"* helped regarding the general thoughts towards the refugees.

In the third part of the interview, the ideas on the Syrian refugees' cultural backgrounds have been asked to the participants. Questions were general and open to their own interpretations of the Balkan immigrants. Therefore, they could recall the most interesting cultural features of the refugees, regarding their own experiences.

In another section, economy related questions took place in the interview. These questions were about impacts of the refugees on the economy of Turkey, regarding their own comments. In the fifth and the last part, security related questions have been

asked. Firstly, it was asked, *"Do you think there is a security problem in the area you live in? Why is that?"*. This question was not about Syrian refugees: it was about the general environment. After this general question, the other ones related to the Syrian refugees were asked to the participants.

2.2. Sampling

The participants have been chosen with snowball sampling. In Çamdibi, 15 immigrants from the Balkan community took part as volunteers. Average age was 57 and most of the participants were retired. While choosing participants, the criteria was that they or their parents were immigrants from the Balkans to Turkey, especially, after 1950. Thus, their memories would easily answer the first part of personal migration experience questions.

The Balkan immigrants have been chosen to take part in the interviews for two reasons: 1) they are pervasive in Çamdibi, 2) the Balkan immigrants experienced a tough migration process like the Syrian refugees. Although the Balkan immigrants and the Syrians have mostly different cultural, ideological and historical backgrounds, the process of migration was formidable for both groups. One of the purposes of this research is to evaluate whether similar past experiences affect integration processes in that area. Thus, the Balkan immigrants were the most suitable sample for the research.

Relating the location, Çamdibi has been specially chosen for the interviews. First of all, Çamdibi is known for the Balkan immigrants who are the main focus for this study. Furthermore, in Çamdibi, groups with different backgrounds live together and share common places there. Since the rents are less expensive than the other districts in Izmir. Additionally, the location of Çamdibi is advantageous, as it is close to the center of the city and to workplaces like factories or companies. These reasons make Çamdibi preferable by disadvantaged groups like the refugees and immigrants, and there are a significant number of refugee families in Çamdibi as well. Therefore, Çamdibi is really appropriate in order to study integration.

2.3. Research Question and Hypotheses

As mentioned above, the main research question for this study is:

What are the Balkan immigrants', who reside in Çamdibi, approaches towards the Syrian refugees in terms of culture, economics and security?

In order to support this main question, two sub questions taken in consideration:

1)   How does similar migration related difficult experiences affect the approaches towards the refugees, and the integration process?

2)   Does knowledge on the policies Turkey applies and international agreements, Turkey takes part, on the migration process affect approaches towards the Syrian refugees?

Furthermore, before conducting field study, two main hypotheses were formed:

H1: Although two groups have totally different historical and cultural backgrounds from each other, similar difficult migration experiences in the past tend to make them understand each other and simplify the integration process and the recognition of the refugees.

H2: The feeling of the loss of economic gains, space and national cohesion, and cultural differences can remind of/trigger past difficult traumatic migration experiences, therefore, the Balkan immigrants would be more defensive towards the refugees and the idea of recognizing them.

These two hypotheses are the opposites of each, and both can be applicable at the same time. Regarding these research questions and hypotheses, this research is the first paper in the literature in terms of analyzing opinions of one migrated group on the other migrated group. Results of this study have potential to demonstrate the integration process between two migrated groups.

2.4. Ethic Issues

Throughout the research, ethics was taken into consideration properly. Before starting the field work, necessary permissions were taken from the Scientific Research and

Publication Ethics Committees of Izmir University of Economics.

The Syrian refugees did not participate in this research, since necessary permission documents could not be taken from the governmental institutions because of the limited amount of time. Additionally, in this study, the Balkan immigrants' associations were not visited because of the same reason above. The research took place in coffee houses[1], streets and some participants' houses by their consent and invitation.

In the field study, before the beginning of the interviews, Consent Forms and Information Sheets have been distributed to the participants, while giving verbal information on their rights like privacy of their personal information and recordings. Through the permission of the participants recordings were taken and they were hidden into private files in the computer. After the writing process of the thesis, the recordings have been deleted. Lastly, in the results, the personal information of the participants, except age and gender, were not given. The parts in the recordings that expose the personal information (such as address, names of family members, etc.) were not written down and shared into the thesis.

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[1] Kahvehaneler – The local places that men can get together and spend their spare time with drinking tea and playing Okey game.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BALKAN IMMIGRANTS AND SYRIAN REFUGEES

Analysis of the historical background of Balkan immigrants and Syrian refugees tends to be useful in order to grasp why these two groups of people have been chosen for this academic research. When both of Balkan immigrants and Syrian refugees migrated to Turkey, they experienced similar difficulties such as language barriers, economic issues and problems in terms of the process of acculturation, integration and adaptation to new society, although they have bundle of significant differences regarding their cultural patterns, historical and political backgrounds, etc. In this part of the research paper, firstly, the historical background of Balkan immigrants will be discussed. Then, detailed information on the historical background of Syrian refugees will be pointed out.

3.1. Balkan Immigrants

From the age of the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey, the affair of the migration from the Balkans took place a vital part in the history. Hence this migration history has a crucial place in the 19th and 20th centuries. Therefore, dividing migration time periods tends to be useful. This time period streaming can be given in two groups:

1-Migration from the Balkans in the age of Ottoman Empire 1877-1913
2-Migration from the Balkans after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey 1923-2000

Moreover, these two periods can be divided into different subtitles regarding the date and some significant political developments. Before analyzing these time periods in a detailed manner, the reasons behind these migrations should be emphasized; even though there are distinct features specific to the different time periods, some common issues that have been faced by the Balkan immigrants tend to be mentioned.

The most mentioned issue in the literature is the violence towards the Turks and Muslims in the Balkans (Ağanoğlu, 2017). The main reason for this violence has its cores in the political changes and cultural differences. Regarding political changes that

led to the migration, the 19th century was called the age of nationalism in Europe. The spread of nationalism into the Balkans had caused complexity and problems, as a result, the Ottoman Empire was constrained by this new ideology. Actually, the Turks have continued their existence in the Balkans from 378 with Huns, however, the number of Turks and Muslims increased in the age of the Ottoman Empire with the policies which aim to provide safety and the legitimacy of the Ottoman Empire into those lands. Nevertheless, this strategy of the Ottoman Empire did not achieve its purpose properly, so nationalist ideology led to splitting into the Balkans. This split was not just among non-Muslim Balkan nations (Bulgarians, Albanians, Greeks, etc), but also against Muslim nations in those lands. To illustrate, during the rebels in the first quarter of the 19th century, regarding the predictions, hundreds of thousands of people had been killed not just by the soldiers but also by the bandits (Ağanoğlu, 2017). Therefore, before and after the Balkan Wars, there are significant numbers of sources that display the violence towards the Turks and Muslims as the most important reason for the migration from the Balkans to the Ottoman Empire or the Republic of Turkey.

Another occasion for the migration was religious reasons. Especially during the Balkan War, Christian nations have tried to spread their religion as well. According to Ağanoğlu's (2017) research on that topic, Bulgarians, after their invasion, forced Muslim Turks and Pomaks to change their religion in the Balkan Wars. Teams of Bulgarian committee members and pastors went to Muslim villages, after putting people in line, gave them Bulgarian names. Then, they put holy water on the foreheads of each Muslim and baptized them. This process caused distinct issues among Muslim families, as after religion change, they were considered to be divorced, and also, faced with some obstacles regarding family heritage (Ağanoğlu, 2017). Because of all of the above reasons, most of the Muslim Turks and Pomaks preferred to immigrate. This was not a directly forces migration, however, through strategies on ethnic cleansing, the Balkan immigrants were encouraged to migrate to protect themselves.

The last reason was economic problems that were faced during war and after the war period. During the invasions in the Balkan Wars, Muslims' houses, farms, fields and animals (cows, sheep, etc.) were taken from them or/and they were destroyed. Furthermore, Muslims were forced to pay heavy taxes. Similar economic obstacles have continued even after the 1950s. Hence, people cannot afford to live in the

Balkans, so they have chosen to migrate.

The above information on difficulties faced by the Balkan immigrants tends to be valid for both migrations from the Balkans in the age of Ottoman Empire and after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. Nevertheless, these experiences were more difficult during the Balkan Wars.

3.1.1. Immigrants from the Balkans in the Ottoman Period

According to Apak (2019) migrations in this time period are divided into three main groups:

1-1877-1876 migrations before the Ottoman Russian War
2-1877-1878 migrations caused by the Ottoman Russian War
3-1912-1913 migrations following the Balkan Wars

In these time periods, rather than an institutional structure, migrants were placed in appropriate places by means of published instructions for migrants or by adhering to the application system. Furthermore, Trade Supervision (Ticaret Nezareti) provincial managers were the main coordinators of the settlements (Apak, 2019). Also, immigrant affairs were carried on by Şehremaneti in Istanbul as Istanbul generally was the first location that the Balkan immigrants migrated (Ağanoğlu, 2017). In time, the number of immigrants in Istanbul increased, so new solutions and methods have been found. On the 5th January, 1860, Emigrant Commission (Muhacirin Komisyonu) was established in order to facilitate the acceptance process of the immigrants, registration, granting of social benefits and making settlements. Although this commission belonged to Trade Supervision, it worked as an independent institution from 1861 to 1865 (Apak, 2019; Ağanoğlu, 2017).

Although the Emigrant Commission ceased to function in 1877, it was re-established under the name of "Idare-i Umumiye-i Muhacirin Komisyonu" in 1878. The main reason for this re-establishment was the 1877-1878 Ottoman Russian War. After the decline in the number of migrations, this institution was closed as well, and then, all the affairs of the migrants were left to the joint management of the Dahiliye Nezareti and Şehremaneti (Apak, 2019; Ağanoğlu, 2017).

In the Ottoman Period, there were two vital exchange processes. The first of them is 1913 Ottoman - Bulgaria Exchange (Mübadele) and another one is 1914 Ottoman - Greece Exchange. Although the Ottoman Empire did not want to exchange, since the existence of the Turks and Muslims in the Balkans was a necessity in order to claim provision there, the exchanges have been carried out. After these exchanges, Muslim immigrants were resettled in the places of Greeks and Bulgarians sent by exchange (Ağanoğlu, 2017). Furthermore, the immigrants were settled in terms of their talents and occupations. For instance, the Balkan immigrants who were farmers and had knowledge on plants of the Mediterranean climate, were settled in the west side of Anatolia. Through this strategy, the Ottoman Empire's power regarding the population of Muslims in the Balkans, these exchanges increased the number of Muslims in Anatolia which was an advantage for that time period. Hence the Ottoman Empire could justify that these lands belonged to it.

Moreover, regarding accepting the immigrants, Ottoman gave more importance to being Muslim than the Turkish nationality, because the consciousness of nationalism was not internalized. Also, the Ottoman Empire aimed to provide all of the needs of these immigrants and managed this process through some regulations and commissions. Examples of assistance provided: Immigrants have been settled regarding their past occupation in the Balkans, for example, those who knew how to grow grapes were placed on grape farms. Furthermore, family members were placed in the same areas for family integrity. Moreover, if it is possible, artisan immigrants were given a shop. Also, those over the age of 12 were considered as older and 100 coins were given to the elders and 50 coins to the minors. However, it was decided that those who were with their families could manage a cheaper amount, so the elders should be given two, and the minors should be given one wage at a time. Lastly, children and youths who lost their family were helped financially for their daily needs and education. To sum up, even though the Ottoman Empire was not ready for this immigration process at the beginning, through new commissions, instructions and regulations, it tried to manage the process properly and gave importance to the opinions of the immigrants in this period.

3.1.2. Immigrants from the Balkans in the Republic of Turkey

Regarding the data gathered from Ağanoğlu (2017), Duman (2009) and Sert (2015), migration process to the Republic of Turkey can be divided into four periods:

1-1923-1933 the first-term free migrations

2-1934-1938 the settlement migrations (İskân Göçleri)

3-1952-1967 migrations

4-Migrations after 1992

The first years of the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, economic/financial, social, political and psychological issues were pervasive. Turkey needed time to recover from the wars and radical transformations. However, the migration flows from the Balkans to Turkey continued. The most important difference between the immigrant acceptance policy of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire is that Turkey, in the early years of its foundation, started to focus on developing a nationalist identity. Even though there were no sharp classifications and definitions, before migrating to Turkey, the immigrants had to prove their Turkish nationality through different ways such as witness or relative letters who live in Turkey (Ağanoğlu, 2017). Because there was no obvious definition or border about being Turkish, just a witness letter could help the Balkan immigrants to be accepted.

In the first-term migrations without state's financial support (1923-1933), since Turkey had economic problems and it was in the recovery process, Turkey asked Balkan migrants not to claim the right to resettlement. This means that, during migration, they had to take some financial opportunities that would sustain their lives (Duman, 2009). To illustrate, the farmer immigrants who arrived before 1928 entered the country with a significant amount of cash. Hence, Turkey, without expenditure of the settlements of the immigrants, had gained a significant amount of capital (Ağanoğlu, 2017).

After these years, in 1934, it was decided that the Turks in Bulgaria would be taken to Turkey in a planned way. The process from the beginning of migration to becoming a producer was entirely the responsibility of the state and they did not have to comply

with the conditions from previous migration policies (Duman, 2009). Regarding the data Ağanoğlu (2017) mentioned, in this time period, Turkey spent 8.5 million TL for approximately 120.000 immigrants from the Balkans.

After the Second World War, the Balkans experienced crucial political, economic and social transformations. These radical changes, like the spread of socialism, have unfavorably affected the Turks in the Balkans. Therefore, another migration flow from the Balkans to Turkey started (1952-1967). In the first part of these years, generally artisans and merchant classes came to Turkey, and they were placed in large cities such as Istanbul, Bursa, Izmir as skilled workers. Since those who remained until later were poor peasants and farmers, they were not as lucky as the first group in terms of integration process and job opportunities (Ağanoğlu, 2017). An important feature of this period is that the immigrants did not get any financial support from the state, and also, they did not take place in the media as the previous immigrants took in place.

The last group of immigrants are those who migrated to Turkey after 1992. Cultural and ideological pressures in the Balkans led to a new wave from the Balkans to Turkey during this period (Ağanoğlu, 2017). However, because these immigrants could not get an economically sufficient life in Turkey, many of them preferred to return to their homes in the Balkans. According to İçduygu and Sert (2015), these returns have increased after the 2000s, as new opportunities have been created in the Balkans via the European Union (EU). For instance, some immigrants again applied for Bulgarian citizenship in order to benefit from the rights of becoming a citizen of an EU member country. According to İçduygu and Seçkin (2015) the migrants make their decisions based on economic interests and the ethnic kinship ties are secondary for them. In summary, the choice of the country of residence of migrants varies depending on the time, the common ideologies in that time period, also economic and political transformations.

3.1.3. Integration Process of the Balkan Immigrants in Turkey

After migrating to the Ottoman Empire or Turkey, the immigrants both affected the host society and were affected by this society. Ünal (2008) displayed that the immigrants from the Balkans need trust and in order to feel this trust they showed important examples of solidarity. Moreover, they need four main necessities for

harmony and integration: 1) having a house with their families, 2) work opportunities, 3) being a part of the different functions of the society, and 4) accessing the services provided by the state or some other organizations (Ünal, 2008). Nevertheless, this integration process had mutually tough features as well. In this section, the mutual influence of the groups (the immigrants and natives) and the problems the immigrants faced will be discussed.

First, although the immigrants from the Balkans have similar cultural backgrounds, such as the same religion with the natives, these similarities were not enough to provide an exact sufficient support for the integration process. The main reason for this notion is that in these times the states (both the Ottoman Empire and Turkey) were in economically poor conditions. Hence the idea of sharing scarce financial sources with the immigrants was not totally endorsed by the natives.

Another vital reason for this challenging integration process was language barriers. In both the Ottoman Empire and Turkey periods, the immigrants did not know Turkish properly. These language barriers were one of the most common obstacles in terms of social life (Ağanoğlu, 2017). They did not understand some procedures, norms or they could not communicate even their basic needs and issues because of this barrier. Moreover, these language differences made the natives think that the immigrants are foreign (non-Turkish). In one of the interviews Ağanoğlu (2017, p.253) shared, an immigrant mentioned that:

> "*When we came here, there were very few native Turks. They called us gavur.*"

Regarding the Ottoman period, specifically, the immigrants from the Balkans experienced hostility also from non-Muslim groups in Anatolia. Because these non-Muslim groups were afraid of losing their lands to the immigrants, so some problems like slandering, armed conflicts and blamings were experienced by the immigrants. Nevertheless, there were some issues caused by the immigrants as well. There were also Balkan immigrants who did not like the place where they settled, stole animals, occupied land, behaved inconsistently in terms of customs, norms, and law. Thus, it is obvious that for both sides, the integration process was difficult.

On the other hand, the Balkan immigrants found different ways to overcome these issues. They have created migrant networks and organizations to enable solidarity among themselves. Through these networks, they could help each other, and also, successfully adapt to the new country. According to Ünal (2012), the immigrants and natives have executed mutual cultural capital and social sharing. Furthermore, even though the Balkan immigrants have learnt Turkish language, social norms and Turkish identity, they combined these things with their own culture. To illustrate, musicians of Çamdibi ceremonies still strengthen their cultural identity through songs that belong to Balkan culture (Akar and Özkan, 2015).

3.2. Arab Spring and Syrian War

Syria and Turkey have had deep ties in the past, but the recent migrations are the point of this study. In this part of the research, information on the historical background of the Arab Spring and Syrian refugees will be pointed out.

The roots of the Arab spring are rooted in the traditions of civil resistance in the Middle East. The ideology of the Arab Spring has similarities regarding human development with the Damascus Spring that began in 2000, Green Movement of 2009 in Iran and the Cedar Revolution of 2005 in Lebanon in that region (Mallat and Mortimer, 2016). The Arab Spring, which includes Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain and Syria, began at the end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011 (Mallat and Mortimer, 2016; Zuber and Moussa, 2018). The main purposes of these civil resistances were overthrowing the regimes which were violent and staying in power for a long time period. Moreover, many countries in the Middle East struggled financially because of the declining oil prices, high unemployment, and corruption among political elites (Robinson, 2020).

Zeynel Abidin Bin Ali has a key position in this subject. He was the president of Tunisia from 1987 to 2011 which means that authoritarianism was dominant in Tunisia, rather than a democratic one. Because of these reasons mentioned above, in December 2010, Tunisian street vendor Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire outside a government office in the town of Sidi Bouzid to protest these economic and political problems (Robinson, 2020). Zuber and Moussa (2018) claimed that there were three

main reactions towards these strikes, rallies and demonstrations: resignation of country leaders, political, economic and social developments that the society demands and using the violence in the mass range which caused civil war in some countries like Syria.

In Syria, the date of the first revolt was in March 2011. The purpose of these revolts was to change the regime of President Bashar Al-Assad who ruled since 2000. Consequently, the conflict between the society and the president led to the uprising on March 15, 2011 (Zuber and Moussa, 2018). Furthermore, Zuber and Moussa (2018) claims that sectarianism is an important part and feature of the civil war in Syria. The conflict between the ruling Alawite sect and the Sunni majority with other minorities was the main core of this civil resistance for the western-based analysts.

On the other hand, Malantowicz (2013) analyzes the Syrian War with the "New Wars" term rather than just sectarianism. He claims that since there is an ideological and political agenda, such as ensuring broader political participation and lifting the emergency law, rather than greed and identity politics, this civil war tends to be part of "New Wars" term. Furthermore, the main aim of this resistance has been started with the freedom speeches which means that sectarian conflict is not the first focus in the Syrian civil war. These groups wanted a political transition from authoritarian regime to more democratic one.

The spreading civil resistances in Syria has become an international subject, and other countries took part in this civil war. Regarding international inclination into this civil war, sectarian approaches should be taken into consideration. To illustrate, Turkey, Qatar and Saudi Arabia chose to be part of the rebels against Assad, as these countries consist of Sunni majority in their nations (Zuber and Moussa, 2018). Nevertheless, this sectarian division is not applicable for the other countries: Russia preferred to be in Assad's side in terms of its own political and economic interests, and the US has supported the group against Assad in this war. During the civil war, a considerable number of people were killed and others experienced problems in terms of their economic, health, education and psychological conditions. Thus, millions of them migrated to other countries like Lebanon, Turkey, and Germany, even though migration was dangerous, and they did not know how to survive in other foreign

countries.

3.2.1. Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Syrian refugees started their migration process to Turkey and other countries in 2011 because of the mentioned chaotic environment in their country. At the beginning, it was estimated that this civil war in Syria would end in a short time. Therefore, rather than changing regulations and policies, the government responded to this migration flow with emergency management (Erdoğan, 2018). Camps were established and support for the basic needs of the immigrants was provided. The main focus was the developments in Syria in order to return the Syrians. However, the war in Syria has perpetuated its political and social chaotic conditions, moreover, as mentioned above, this war environment was flourished by the new actors and international interventions. Thus, the number of asylum-seekers increased in time. As of April 21, 2022, the total number of Syrians with temporary protected status registered in Turkey was approximately 3,8 million.

While the EU decided to externalize this process, Turkey instrumentalized the crisis for the negotiations with the EU (Erdoğan, 2018). This means that, firstly, Turkey was a country of transit to Europe, but then, must become a country of destination. In that case, the EU and international organizations provided necessary financial aid for the immigrants in Turkey. According to Erdoğan (2018) Turkey is considered as a "cheap buffer zone" by the UE and this situation led to an increase in anti-Western tendencies in Turkey.

Since the war continued and the EU countries preferred to keep the immigrants in Turkey, the question of integration has risen. The Syrian refugees have faced similar problems with the Balkan immigrants. They experienced and kept experiencing some economic and social pressures in Turkey. Moreover, Bulut (2019) pointed out that some of the refugees live in 2-room houses with crowded families which means 6-7 people have to share a small house. Furthermore, the refugees have dealt with other problems such as labor exploitation, the lack of knowledge of the Turkish language, stereotypes and the lack of education facilities for the refugee children (Kaya, 2017). Bulut (2019) declared that the refugees thought that they were isolated by the natives through the lack of communication. This lack of communication complicates the

integration process.

Another vital qualitative research was conducted by Erdoğan (2016) that includes interviews with the Syrians. The study displayed different opinions of the refugees: some of them are happy to be in Turkey and feel gratitude towards Turkish society. Moreover, there are significant numbers of refugees who would accept Turkish citizenship and want to meet requirements for the right to work. Additionally, Kaya (2017) found that just 1,6% of the refugees in Istanbul consider going to EU countries, which means that they prefer to stay in Turkey.

On the other hand, "open door policy" of Turkey and the idea of aiding Syrians are not that much supported by the natives in Turkey, regarding the research conducted by Gökçearslan Çiftçi, et al. (2016). Also, Saraçoğlu and Bélanger (2021) emphasized through their study that, regarding the Syrians, the native community established limits, norms and regulatory codes. The main reasons for these xenophobic attempts towards the refugees can be the fear of loss of economic gains (as the refugees are cheap labors), loss of urban space and loss of national cohesion (Saraçoğlu and Bélanger, 2019). Çatak (2020) discusses that the refugees who are violent and have tendencies to create disharmony cause the rise of prejudices towards all of the immigrants. The host community perceives all of the Syrians harmful because of these rare immigrants. This means that the host community has a tendency to generalize the immigrants, so any problem tends to feed hostility towards the Syrians. In conclusion, the Syrian refugees faced economic and social problems like the Balkan immigrants. These issues obstructed the integration process which was discussed in a detailed way in this research.

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Migration is a concept as old as human history and, in the literature, a considerable number of studies demonstrated varied qualities of migration as a subject. Regarding the data from International Organization of Migration (IOM) (2020), approximately 272 million people are in the category of integration migrants in 2019. This value equates to 3.5 per cent of the global population, furthermore, this value does not include illegal immigrants which can make this percentage higher.

Lee (1966), known by his "Push-Pull Theory", described migration as a permanent or semipermanent change of residence. Regarding the push pull theory, both country of origin and country of destination have pros and cons. Individuals who prefer to migrate from their country of origins, give their decisions through these advantages or disadvantages. Individuals that migrated for education reasons can be given as an example, as educational opportunities of the country of destination created a pull effect. Then, Lee (1966) added that there is no restriction in terms of the distance of the move or voluntary or involuntary nature of the act. Furthermore, migration tends to be external and internal. Therefore, categorization of the migration processes is harder than supposed to, this categorization can be achieved through perspectives and methodologies. Erbaş (2019) gives an instance for this notion: the distinction between forced migration and optional migration types is not effective because the boundaries between optional migration and mandatory migration are vague.

On the other hand, Erbaş (2019) discusses two levels of migration types which are internal structural level and international structural level. Internal structural level refers to migration from a region/city in a country to the different region/city of the same country. The reason for these internal migrations can be economic, educational, health related, social, tourism, etc. On the contrary, the second level of migration is more about from one country to another country. Depending on this level of migration, its causes or sources, there are many more different types of migration than the first-level type of migration. Asylum seekers and refugees are one of the types of international structural level migration.

Moreover, Richmond (1993) claimed that the migration tends to be classified into two cases: proactive migration and reactive migration. Regarding this opinion, asylum seekers and refugees are the types of reactive migration. Additional to this classification, Richmond (1993) investigated reactive migrations and found some main determinants of these movements. Regarding these analyses, there are six main determinants that are related to each other: political, economic, environmental, social and bio-psychological determinants. To illustrate, by taking these determinants as guide, Syrian refugees and asylum-seekers belong to the "Political/political" determinant which refers to any migration caused by external invasion or internal civil war. Furthermore, Adelman (1995) divided these refugee groups into two groups: Convention Refugees and Humanitarian Refugees.

In terms of the migration theories, Marxian theories of migration are really pervasive in the literature. Castles and Kosack as Marxist researchers mentioned that immigrants are seen as "divided working class" and "reserve army labor" (Castles and Kosack, 1973). This is because immigrants are seen as "cheap labor" in the host country. Since they do not have formal identities or they do not know the regulations and their rights in the host country, their labor is exploited most of the time. These concepts were discussed in almost all of the research on Syrian refugees, and also in the results that are discussed later in the paper.

As in the labor market, the flow of labor maintains even though it transforms into different time periods, Castles and Miller demonstrates three tendencies regarding the migration (Castles and Miller, 1993):

● Globalization of migration tendency which will affect most of the countries,

● Acceleration of migration tendency which refers the migration that continues to increase despite of all the obstacles,

● Differentiation of migration tendency which is led by qualitative differences of the migration (and the maintenance of the creation of new migration types).

These Marxian theories have guided us in order to interpret some of the results of this

study. Especially, terms like divided working army and reserve army of labor, illuminates some vital relations between the refugees, and host community and country (Erbaş, 2019). Especially the asymmetrical power and economic relations among the host community and the refugees in workplaces displayed some reserve army of labor examples as most of the refugee workers do not have any insurance or the same rights with the host community.

Nevertheless, Marxist approaches, while focusing on economic relations, ignore the cultural and political side of the migration and integration process. Hence non-Marxist approaches toward migration exist as well. These non-Marxist social scientists utilize some terms like "coloration of class patterns" rather than "new under class", and the term of "multicultural society" rather than the term of "threshold communities". These different perspectives on the migration subject were displayed in this research report.

4.1. Modernist/Positivist and Postmodernist Approaches

Erbaş (2019) discussed the main differences between modernist/positivist approach and postmodernist approach towards migration.

● Firstly, the modernist approach supports that immigration and emigration is a concluded and therefore easily comprehensible empirical reality in all aspects. On the contrary, the postmodernist approach claims that immigration and emigration is not a concluded empirical reality, it is an ongoing situation.

● Furthermore, regarding the modernists, migrations are continuously similar to each other, and they always have the same reasons. On the other hand, regarding the postmodernists, migrations have different reasons and forms from each other, and they cannot be generalized.

● Another difference between these two approaches, while the modernist side defends that the causes of migration are of a detectable variety, the postmodernist side supports that it is almost impossible to detect the migration as it has considerably different types.

● Moreover, the modernist approach follows the idea that migrating groups are homogeneous, and the forms of migration are similar. However, the postmodernist approach rejects this statement and claims that migrating groups are heterogeneous and there are a significant number of migration types or forms.

● Positivist/modernist social scientists follow the idea that migrations might be explained by just one theory. On the contrary, postmodernists reject this notion and support that it is impossible to make theorizing the migrations, however, explanations can be made only in the case of the examined sample.

● Lastly, the modernists/positivists aim to reveal the similarities, not the differences of migrations, as the main ones. Nevertheless, postmodernists' purpose is to reveal the differences of the migrations.

Postmodernist approach tends to be more useful in today's globalized world, as everybody or every group has different sorts of reasons and processes in terms of their migration experiences. Also, in this research, the data is valid for only one location (Çamdibi) and specific time period (2022). The results cannot be generalized for the other locations or other time periods.

4.2. International Regulations on Migration

As mentioned before, migration has an old history, furthermore, through technological improvements, globalization, political changes and other reasons, this subject has gained more importance. Thus, international regulations and agreements are used as a tool of providing peace and order. Responsibility for the protection of the right to asylum from human rights have been given to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). According to Pazarcı (2005), 1) a person requests protection and asylum from another state instead of his own state, 2) the state requesting asylum accepts the asylum request, 3) allows the asylum seeker to enter the country, and 4) ensures that the asylum seeker resides in the country is covered by the right to asylum.

Regarding the rights of the refugees, according to the 1951 Refugee Convention, refugees have the right to the recognition of rights granted to host citizens. Some of

these rights are the right to work, the right to establish a company in the fields of agriculture, industry, art and commerce, the right to a passport, the right to education, the right to social assistance and the right to social insurance and the right to benefit from labor legislation (UNHCR, 2010).

There are some conventions and protocols that includes the right of asylum: 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, 1967 Protocol to the Refugee Convention, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) (1966), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (1966) and Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1987). Regarding these conventions and protocols (Tatlıcıoğlu, 2019):

● In the context of human rights protection, states are responsible not only for their own citizens, but also for other people.

● There should be no discrimination regarding the right to asylum.

● Individuals or groups who have endured the borders of the country with the danger of persecution should not be sent back across the border.

● Initial interviews with asylum seekers or groups should be conducted by experts in the field such as psychologists and social workers.

● The urgent basic needs of asylum seekers must be met at the initial stage.

● The right to asylum is a right that can be applied for when a state violates or does not protect fundamental rights of the asylum seeker(s).

● Applications of asylum seekers must be made in a transparent manner. Furthermore, the processes of resettlement to a third country should be carried out under the supervision of international organizations.

● Asylum seekers, except those who are war criminals and have committed crimes against humanity, are not sent to their country if they have a risk to be tortured

when they are returned to their country.

On the other hand, although asylum-seekers can be protected from the violence in their countries, they might have some problems in the host country as well. In order to eliminate these issues, like exploitation and abuse of the asylum seekers and refugees in terms of labor or something else, the Global Migration Group (2013) referenced other instruments:

● The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW)

● The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)

● The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

● The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

● The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

Another mentioned instrument discussed by GMG (2013) is the International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions on labor migration which includes:

● Migration for Employment Convention 1949 (No. 97)

● Convention on Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) 1975 (No. 143)

For instance, ICRMW consists of some rights such as (GMG, 2013):

● The right to leave any country and to return to one's country of origin (ICRMW Art 8)

● The right to life (Art 9)

- Prohibition of torture, cruel, Inhuman or punishment (Art 10)

- Prohibition of forced labor and slavery (Art 11)

- The right to liberty and security of persons/workers (Art 16)

- Right to recourse to consular or diplomatic protection (Art 23)

- Recognition as a person before the law (Art 24)

- Right to equality in social security if they fulfill requirements (Art 27)

In terms of Turkey's policies on immigrants, Turkey has ratified the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol but with the optional geographical limitation. This means that Turkey applies the Refugee Convention only to refugees from European countries (Skribeland, 2021). Turkey's regulations on the Syrian refugees were detailly discussed later in the paper.

4.3. Integration

Migration might be regulated and controlled through various national and international regulations, policies, and agreements. Nevertheless, since the integration process has micro and macro dimensions, just pointing out the macro level approaches (national and international regulations and policies) are not enough to grasp this process. Furthermore, integration is one of the debatable topics in the literature as there are different sorts of approaches towards it: multiculturalism and liberalism are one of these ideological approaches.

Migrants and refugees are both creators/actors and agents in their new environment/country of destination. Migrants try to establish their own living space by blending the structural and non-structural conditions in the country of origin and the country of their migration. When the conditions in the old environment/country and the conditions in the new environment are combined, new cultural and social

patterns emerge which is an important part of integration (Erbaş, 2019). Furthermore, Modood (2013) describes integration as two-way processes of social interaction in which members of the majority community or host community as well as immigrants and ethnic minorities are responsible to do something. Furthermore, Göksel (2019) emphasized the two-sidedness of the integration process between the immigrants and the host community, even though it seems a one-sided process. If the integration was one sided, it would be described as an assimilation process in which the host community and institutions do the least change in themselves for the immigrants. This means that the new coming society/immigrants must be the only side that adapts to the host community and institutions, and the host country does not need to change or transform anything in order to simplify the integration process. For instance, making the native language mandatory, interfering belief systems and customs of the immigrants are some of the assimilation policies.

On the other hand, multiculturalism is against this assimilation approach and supports two sided policies. Modood (2013) explained that, in terms of the political idea of multiculturalism, the recognition of group differences in a country or society is a necessity. In this perspective, even though multiculturalism differs from integration in terms of its recognition of the social reality of groups and not just of individuals and organizations, multiculturalism is helpful for the reciprocal integration process.

In terms of the relationship between liberalism, multiculturalism and integration, Modood (2013) claimed that although multiculturalism is a child of liberal egalitarianism, it is not a faithful reproduction of liberalism. Therefore, multicultural models, which impact integration processes, might form some challenges in liberal societies and states. In liberal democracy, the idea of homogenizing the citizens is given importance to protect the order and secure the community. On the other hand, this approach obstructs the existence of some other minorities like immigrants and refugees. Therefore, in the literature, there is a debate on whether the liberal democracies can allow and succeed multiculturalism, or whether they assimilate different cultures and minorities into a unified national culture. This argument on integration, multiculturalism and assimilation will illuminate the main theory for this research which is the Theory of Recognition, because this theory supports that individuals and minorities should be recognized by the majority and the states.

Furthermore, nationalism has an important role in Turkey, regarding the integration process. Through the migration of the Syrian refugees to Turkey, nationalist part of the society might feel under threat. To evaluate the relation between the nationalism in Turkey and the integration of the Syrians, nationalism in Turkey and its features should be analyzed historically. Al (2019) highlighted three critical shifts in regard to nationalism: (1) the shift from the Ottoman millet system to the official state policy of Ottomanism, (2) the shift from supranational Ottoman identity to assimilation based national Turkish identity in 1920s, and (3) in early 2000s, the attempts to promote minority languages such as Kurdish language through official television channel and elective courses in public schools. Especially, the second shift has an important role in the identity forming of Turkishness. Al (2015) claimed that spread monolithic Turkishness over an ethnically pluralistic society obstructed the expressions of other identities. In Turkey, some of the citizens are still prone to assimilation-based nationality, and the Balkan immigrants are one of these communities. Because of this nationalist approach, recognition process of the Syrians tends to be obstructed, since these newcomers are seen as a threat because of their national, cultural and historical backgrounds.

4.3.1. Hegel's Theory of Recognition

Honneth's theory of recognition is crucial to achieve fair and mutual integration. Therefore, Honneth's recognition theory is at the center of our research in order to grasp the integration process among the Syrian refugees and Balkan immigrants. Through this theory, the supported idea is that every individual and every minority group desired to be recognized by others and a successful and mutual integration could be achieve just through this way. Hence, the Syrians' integration, their recognition by the citizens must be evaluated.

Before analysis of Syrians' recognition in Çamdibi, to understand Honneth's theory of recognition, the logic of Hegel's theory of recognition should be mentioned, as Honneth's theory of recognition feeding from the cores of Hegelian recognition approach.

Hegel emphases the importance of the process of self-actualization via collective

identities. According to Anderson (2009) Hegel mentions two impacts of collective identities: firstly, collective identities can be vital horizons of judgment and values for the individuals. On the other hand, these collective identities have a negative impact on self-actualization in terms of causing discrimination that limits individuals. Moreover, Hegel connects self-actualization with theory of recognition which endorse each other.

Anderson (2009) discussed that there are some specific reasons that make Hegel's theory of recognition significant in the literature. Firstly, Hegel presents an appropriate conception of recognition which is "spiritual unity in its doubling". Furthermore, Hegel displays recognition to necessitate mutuality and to depend upon the cultivation of recognitive understanding (Anderson, 2009). Secondly, Hegel mentions the necessity of freedom which refers to the ability to determine one's will. Hegel discusses further, recognition should be performed not just in private relationships, like family and love relationships, but also in public life (Anderson, 2009). This means that individuals should decide their own wills when they take place in the public sphere. Regarding freedom in the public sphere, Hegel emphasizes the importance of ethical bonds as well. In order to make individuals feel "at home", ethical bonds are needed so the individuals can express their own will which links to freedom. The third reason is that theory of recognition includes the recognition of differences as well. This supports the right of particularity in which individuals can acknowledge and affirm their differences. As a result of this approach, Hegel offers a particular arrangement of social and political institutions, since all of these tend to help mutual recognition among social members (Anderson, 2009).

In addition to the theory of recognition, Hegel mentions that liberty should be discussed in order to grasp and describe the theory of recognition. According to Hegel, there are two types of liberty: negative liberty, freedom from coercion by others, and positive liberty, which is the freedom to realize one's own limits and to be self-actualizing (Anderson, 2009). In other words, the positive liberty is achieved by the wish of being his/her own master. Therefore, the positive liberty and recognition process might support each other. In summary, according to Fraser (2003) recognition projects an ideal mutual relation between subjects in which each sees the other as its equal and also as separate from it (right of particularity).

4.3.2. Honneth's Theory of Recognition

After summarizing Hegel's theory of recognition, Honneth's theory of recognition has its core from Hegelian background. Honneth mentioned the distinction between three types of recognition: (1) love, (2) rights and respect and (3) social esteem (Honneth, 1995). These three normative requirements provide, firstly, a safe environment in which one's needs, values and beliefs are respected (family and friendship), secondly, the perception that the subject is equal to everyone (respect through legal equality). Lastly, mutual approval of one's contribution to public spare (reputation through the principle of success) is provided (Göksel, 2019).

First of all, love, as the first recognition type, presents the conditions for creating trust, so individuals can be able to connect with others. According to Honneth, individuals want to be recognized mutually, and even babies experience this recognition process with parents (Honneth, 1995). Furthermore, Fleming and Finnegan (2010) mentioned that in that sphere of recognition, individuals develop their self-confidence. Nevertheless, in order to exist in society without shame in terms of individual values and needs, subjects need other two recognitions which are respect and social esteem. Regarding the recognition in terms of respect, there should be respect between the state and the citizens. All citizens should be provided the same rights to express their own will and values. One of the main purposes of the recognition theory is to establish the necessary conditions for individuals to consider themselves politically equal (Göksel, 2019). In that case, respect through legal equality must be provided or maintained in civil society. Regarding the data presented by Fleming and Finnegan (2010), schools have vital roles to make individuals recognize their legal rights and to improve their self-respect.

In addition to these types of recognition, to achieve self-actualization, self-esteem is needed to make people exist in social life and express themselves. On the other hand, without political rights, it is considerably difficult to obtain self-esteem, which means that individuals' self-esteem and mutual recognition processes should be supported by the political tools. Furthermore, on social esteem, performance of an individual's freedom and autonomy through work should be taken into consideration (Fleming and Finnegan, 2010). Regarding the data shared by Fleming and Finnegan (2010) society

(including adult and higher education) has a significant role to make individuals recognize the contribution of others and to improve their self-esteem.

Individuals or a group of people that could achieve self-confidence through love and care, self-respect through recognition of legal rights and self-esteem through recognition of the contribution of others, can achieve a successful integration process. Without any of the types of recognition, the integration process is going to have some obstacles.

4.3.3. Immigrants, Theory of Recognition and Integration

Immigrants or refugees must be mutually recognized in order to successfully integrate in the country of destination. On the other hand, this integration experience is not always mutual or in a smooth way. For instance, it is challenging to integrate, if these groups of people have considerably different cultural, ethnic and political backgrounds.

Cultural and ethnic differences among the host community and immigrants or refugees tend to obstruct reciprocal recognition, or these differences can lead to misrecognition. Because of these challenges, distinct sorts of conflicts and factions might be observed. Regarding the creation of different factions, Göksel (2019) gave "ethnic enclaves" as an example. If a society could not achieve totally successful integration through mutual recognition, the immigrant group can prefer to choose a specific geographical area/location in order to maintain their own values, culture and ethnic features. With these ethnic enclaves, these migrated minority groups have a chance to get connected with people from their own culture as well. Çamdibi was one of these ethnic enclaves in which the Balkan immigrants maintained their cultural features such as their values, norms, historical background and customs, and connected with other Balkan immigrants. These ethnic enclaves might be helpful for the first stages of integration process, on the other hand, in the long run, these different cultural and ethnical grouping can cause delays in integration as both groups would be less interested in learning about and communicating with individuals from other group and form more prejudices about them.

On the contrary, Honneth mentioned that dominant groups (host community or the natives) do not have objective standards to measure and recognize the ethnic identity and cultural background of the minorities (the immigrants or refugees). This means that reciprocal recognition is not easy to properly achieve (Göksel, 2019). Therefore, Honneth supported that an individual should be recognized through his/her success and accomplishments rather than their identity. As an example, this means that individuals should not recognized just by being Muslim, Christian, Turkish or Syrian (Gülay, 2019). An individual can be recognized through his/her occupation and some of their abilities.

Nevertheless, Allport claimed that if the level of the prejudices towards a group is as high as it is difficult to overcome, people would prefer to be far away from the individuals belonging to the minority group or strangers (Çatak, 2020). This displays that the host community, in the first stage, identifies the immigrants in terms of their cultural identities that consist of historical heritage, religion, language, ethnic affiliation and traditions. In order to emphasize the importance of historical heritage and culture, Schütz highlighted that "cemeteries and memories can neither be transferred nor owned" (Çatak, 2020). This means that the stranger can never exactly be part of the dominant group, and this is one of the reasons for the integration issues.

Furthermore, if the host community has built up vigorous prejudices about the identity of the strangers (immigrants or refugees), they would be less interested in the successes and abilities of the individuals from minority groups. Therefore, identity might be more effective and considerable than individual accomplishments and abilities, as a first impression of the newcomers. This prejudicial approach was explained by Ahmed with this sentence "a stranger is not someone we have difficulty to identify, but someone we have already identified" (Çatak, 2020). Additionally, Castles and Miller (1993) claimed that the host community believes that their community is culturally homogenous, and the immigrants are a threat for their so-called homogenous community. Therefore, cultural features of the immigrant group, such as language and belief systems, might cause discriminative reactions towards them.

Moreover, because of this unfavorable first impression and the feeling of threat, the host community tends to put the immigrants and refugees in the position of scapegoat.

In the research conducted by Çatak (2020), which was executed in Mersin both with the Syrian refugees and the Mersin natives, the native participants had a tendency to blame the Syrian refugees for the theft, economic crisis, environmental problems and conflicts in their community and neighborhood. To illustrate, some of the participants mentioned conflicts with the refugees in their neighborhood as there has never been a conflict in their neighborhood before the refugees came to their city.

In addition to this, Allport (1988) pointed out that it is easier to form categories that are reduced to a single type than categories that contain differences. Thus, the host community tends to categorize the immigrants or refugees in just one group and ignore the differences among them. Hence, any negative experience with the immigrant group can lead to general assumptions about them. For instance, in Çatak's (2020) research, it is found that, any experience with the Syrian refugees, in which the native group harmed in different ways like murder or theft, has turned into general prejudices on all of the refugees. After these cases, some of the participants defined all of the refugees with generalized negative adjectives such as aggressive and dirty (Çatak, 2020).

Alongside generalizations of strangers (the immigrants and refugees), Allport mentioned that if the frequency of coincidences with strangers increases, the level of prejudices and hostility can increase as well. This means that regular encounters with the strange group strengthen the negative assumptions towards them (1988). Furthermore, regarding the social interactions, Park (1950) claimed that with the increase of social distance, the influence of groups on each other decreases. On the other hand, Sennet mentioned that because of this social distance, the life of others can be called a mystery, and everyday knowledge about others is replaced by fantasies (Çatak, 2020).

Consequently, The Syrian refugees were recognized by the government as temporary guests, therefore, this could not count as complete recognition as they do not have the same rights as the natives. Even though the main rights of immigrants or refugees are under the protection of international and national regulations and policies, they do not have the proper amount of respect and social esteem in order to achieve recognition. Because of the war or the difficulties faced in the migration process, some of them cannot achieve even the first stage of recognition which is love from family and other

close relationships. This proves that the micro level of interactions (everyday life connections between the natives and immigrants or refugees) should be taken into consideration as much as the macro level of prevention and support in order to analyze the integration process. Mentioned issues regarding the recognition of micro-level social relations in everyday connections, might lead to obstructions in terms of mutual integration in the country of destination. Because of the mentioned possible issues in integration process, "us-them" segregation can be occurred, and this discrimination is one of the obstacles in from of the recognition of the immigrants and the refugees. Therefore, while observing the integration relations in Çamdibi and evaluating the field study, these mentioned points were given attention.

4.4. Policies in Germany

After the Syrian War, many Syrians decided to migrate to other countries like Turkey, Lebanon, Egypt and some European countries. In terms of the number of Syrian refugees, Turkey took the first place in the world (UNHCR, 2022). In Europe, the most welcoming country is Germany. Also, Lebanon has a critical place regarding the number of Syrian refugees. These countries applied various and distinct policies and regulations in order to solve both the problems and needs of the refugees and the possible problems that can occur in the host country after the flow of migration.

Germany is the most preferable European country for the Syrian refugees because of Germany's social support system. Germany and civil society in Germany displayed a vast amount of needed care work and solidarity with refugees (Funk, 2016). Nevertheless, the question of whether Germany accepted too many refugees was discussed as well. Risks in terms of safety, security and the social order were discussed, and it has been a national debate in Germany.

Germany decided to apply "Welcome Politics (Willkommenspolitik)" for the Syrian refugees, in 2015-2016. Furthermore, Germany formed an "Integration Politics", and for about one month, opened its border to refugees. Funk (2016) stated that German refugee policy was successful in terms of fulfilling moral duties to refugees, and this policy is based on Paragraph 16a of the German Basic Law which was named as the Asylum Law and the Integration Law. Through this humanitarian admission, the

Syrian refugees are accepted either asylum or protected refugee status for three years. Furthermore, the refugees could stay in Germany with the subsidiary protection for one year (Funk, 2016). It was explained that, in order to be accepted as an asylum or protected refugee, the Syrian refugees should deal with a justified fear of oppression and persecution in their country of origin. This persecution can be in terms of race, religion, nationality, political ideologies or membership of a specific social group (Paragraph 3). On the other hand, subsidiary protection is given to the people who have a risk of suffering serious harm in their country of origin because of international or internal armed conflict (Paragraph 4).

Regarding the needs of these refugees, they often stay in state funded housing run by private organizations. Moreover, empty airports, sports centers, former city and state buildings, containers and school gyms in cities have been opened for the Syrian refugees (Funk, 2016). Furthermore, Germany helped the refugees via medical care and giving minimum living expenses which consist of approximately 390 Euros or needed consumer goods. In addition to this help, Germany provided job training and language courses as an "Integration Policy". Through these courses, labor market integration (job training and job-related language courses) and social life integration (German language, legal and social norms) of the refugees have been supported in Germany (Bailey et al., 2022).

Although the German integration model was useful and helpful for the refugees, integration still was an issue in social life. German citizens were threatened by the Muslim culture. For example, in terms of gender norms and women's rights, Syrian culture and German culture have different approaches. Therefore, this difference has caused public fears and insecurity (Funk, 2016). According to Jackle and König (2017), in Germany, violence against foreigners increased with the refugee inflows in 2015, because of the mentioned insecurities and fears. Therefore, intervention of the German state was needed in that sense.

In summary, the Syrian refugees have been recognized by the laws and political authorities. However, they were not recognized by the civil society. Therefore, there was no mutual recognition in that case. Funk (2016) mentioned that even the German citizens who help the Syrian refugees, tried to make these people recruit or frightened.

Moreover, German Integration Policy was generally one-sided. Hence, lack of recognition of the refugees led to integration issues in Germany. This means that policies and regulations were not exactly enough to achieve successful integration, since cultural differences and the host community's prejudices and fears obstructed mutual recognition. As a consequence of this, Germany sent back over 16,000 refugees to their country of origin in 2016 (Funk, 2016).

4.5. Policies in Lebanon

Lebanon, politically, has a distinctive model in comparison to Turkey and Germany. Carpi et al. (2016) emphasized that Lebanon had a decentralized system since the Ottoman Empire. This decentralized system still is valid today; through this system, municipalities in Lebanon were empowered by giving financial autonomy and authority. Especially in the 1977 Law on Municipalities, it was stated that any public related work, which is for the benefit of the specific area, are under the jurisdiction of the municipal council (Carpi et al., 2016). Thus, the municipalities have had the most significant role regarding the Syrian refugee related issues. On the other hand, the central government did not completely stop controlling the local authorities, but also undertook inspections.

In terms of the refugee crisis, Lebanon is not a part of any European agreement such as the 1951 Refugee Convention and 1967 Protocol. This means that there is no international agreement to consult about this refugee crisis. On the other hand, Carpi et al. (2016) mentioned that UNHCR has had bilateral agreements, through which it could take a role in terms of the refugee crisis by providing some solutions and financial support, with the government. However, the latter was not successful, and their mandate was informal, as Lebanon is not signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention of Geneva (Carpi at al., 2016).

Firstly, the Lebanon government's role was mostly unofficial, and the government adopted the idea of "policy of no policy" (Carpi and Şenoğuz, 2018). Nonetheless, over time, the government's role and actions have gained significance regarding the refugee flows. The Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA) was established by the Council of Ministers in order to play a central role (Carpi et al., 2016). Although the central

government, international organizations and local authorities took some positions, it was needed to include the host community in this process as well. In order to achieve this collaboration, the first LCRP (Lebanon Crisis Response Plan 2015-2016), drafted by the government and the UN responding agencies, has been developed. The LCRP is a multi-year plan to mention stabilization challenges in the country, in terms of the key protection and humanitarian issues and countering threats to security (Carpi et al., 2016). The last plan, the 2022 LCRP, consists of 126 partner organizations in order to support more than 3.2 million people who were affected by the crisis like the war in Syria (UN, 2022). The UN (2022) released that:

> *"US$3.2 billion is required to meet urgent needs and provide protection and immediate relief assistance to 1.5 million displaced Syrians, 1.5 million vulnerable Lebanese, 29,100 Palestinian refugees from Syria and 180,000 Palestine refugees in Lebanon."*

Despite all of these plans and financial support systems, the Syrian refugees in Lebanon had to deal with some issues regarding the living conditions and social integration process. High birth rates, child marriage, insufficient financial and health care support, poor sousing conditions because of the high tenancy rates are some of these problems (Carpi et al., 2016). Furthermore, although some of the host community members were helpful as there were some of their relatives among the refugees, the Syrian refugees experienced hatred and persecution as well. In addition to these issues, feelings of isolation and fear of detention and deportation are the other psychological and social pressures that Syrian refugees deal with (Carpi et al., 2016). Unlike the integration problems in Germany, in Lebanon, even though the refugees and Lebanese citizens share some similarities regarding the cultural backgrounds, some sect and cultural differentiations influenced the integration process negatively. Thus, an exactly successful and mutual integration model and conditions could not be provided in Lebanon, in terms of the Honneth's three types of the recognitions.

4.6. Policies in Turkey

Turkey is one of the signatories of the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol. Nevertheless, Turkey used the option of geographical limitations, which

means that Turkey will accept the immigrants or refugees just from the European countries. According to Skribeland (2021), the vital reason behind this geographical limitation is the vulnerability of Turkey in terms of any possibility of mass migration and any threat to national security. On the contrary, the European Union (EU) wanted to give Turkey the role of the "first country of asylum" or a "safe third country".

Despite these geographical limitations in the Refugee Convention, updated data shows that Turkey took the first place in the world regarding the number of refugees (Çatak, 2020). Turkey has accepted the Syrian refugees under the name of "conditional refugee". The difference between the immigrants from the European countries and the conditional refugees is that conditional refugees have a limited set of rights. Additionally, conditional refugees are not seen as permanent immigrants in Turkey, therefore, they have a chance to stay in Turkey until the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) resettles them in the third country (Skribeland, 2021).

In order to adjust and control the migration flow from Syria, Turkey enacted the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP), Law No. 6458, in 2013 (UNHCR, 2017). This law contains refugee and conditional refugee statuses, and a subsidiary protection beneficiary status which was taken from EU law (Skribeland, 2021). Furthermore, the LFIP consists of important articles on entry into and exit from Turkey, needed documents, international protection types, entry bans, permissions given to the refugees, removals, and rights and obligations etc (UNHCR, 2017). Moreover, to plan and control refugee and migration problems, The Presidency of Migration Management was established by the "Law on Foreigners and International Protection" No. 6458 in 2013. Article 103 of Law No. 6458 regulates the establishment of the General Directorate (Presidency of Migration Management, 2022).

Alongside the LFIP and the presidency, Turkey passed its own Temporary Protection Regulation in 2014 (Skribeland, 2021). National Legislative Bodies / National Authorities (2014), in Article 1, explained the aim of this regulation as:

> *"The objective of this Regulation is to determine the procedures and principles pertaining to temporary protection proceedings that may be*

provided to foreigners, who were forced to leave their countries and are unable to return to the countries they left and arrived at or crossed our borders in masses to seek urgent and temporary protection and whose international protection requests cannot be taken under individual assessment; to determine proceedings to be carried out related to their reception to Turkey, their stay in Turkey, their rights and obligations and their exits from Turkey, to regulate the measures to be taken against mass movements, and the provisions related to the cooperation between national and international organizations under Article 91 of the Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection of 4/4/2013".

In summary, Turkey recognized the Syrian refugees as short-term guests and most of the regulations were based on this assumption. Through these mentioned regulations, Turkey, with the help of EU and international organizations, provided financial support, shelters and some other services such as health care and education for its Syrian guests. To illustrate, in January 2021, UNHCR announced the completion of a three-and-a-half-year project on the 'Reinforcement of Turkey's National Asylum System', intended to support Turkey's capacity-building efforts (Skribeland, 2021).

However, some mentioned research with the Syrian refugees illustrated that the number of the Syrians who want to stay in Turkey is higher than estimated number. Therefore, integration became the vital subject among social scientists, as if these people do not prefer to return to Syria or go to European countries, there would be social crises without successful integration models. Alongside the national level regulations and factors, Memişoğlu and Yavçan (2020) claimed that local level policy should be taken into consideration for the integration process. They mentioned that integration occurs in local areas, so municipal actors might create favorable opportunities to support the integration process. Furthermore, Akar and Erdoğdu (2018) stated that the active integration between the refugees and the host community is a complex and progressive process with legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions, and it is vital to inform the refugees about the host country language, culture and the history. Nevertheless, as mentioned in research papers in the Historical Background chapter, these national and local integration attempts were not totally

successful, in Turkey. Syrian refugees experienced discriminations and hostility alongside the economic issues.

Regarding the differences and similarities between policies of these three countries, Lebanon, systematically, has a different model, although it accepted some support from the EU organizations. On the other hand, Turkey follows the EU agreements while forming its own policies on the Syrian refugees. The point that makes Turkey special is that Turkey is located on the border of European countries, therefore, EU countries and Turkey have to act together for this refugee crisis.

In conclusion, even though the Syrian refugees do not plan to go to the EU countries and some of them plan to live in Turkey, they are not completely recognized even by the government that created crucial regulations and institutions for the Syrian refugees. The government and host community sees Syrian refugees as guests and this perspective obstructs to recognize the Syrians wholly, as they are supposed to be temporary in Turkey.

This macro level influences on the integration in a local area was examined in the field study for this research, since, as Honneth's second type of recognition, recognized by the state or having the same rights with the other have important role for the recognition of and individual or group of people by majority. Yıldız and Uzgören (2016) stated that the lack of a clear maximum time limit for temporary protection and the restrictions in accessing to a refugee status determination mechanism tend to lead to an unclear path for future status and prospects of the refugees. This point displays the importance of the regulations and policies on the Syrian refugees. Therefore, while properly analyzing the Syrians' integration process in Çamdibi, macro level expressions, decisions and interactions must be taken into consideration.

CHAPTER 5: ÇAMDİBİ DISTRICT OF İZMİR AS THE CASE STUDY

Field study was conducted in Çamdibi with the Balkan immigrants, to investigate the Balkan immigrants' approaches towards the Syrian refugees in terms of cultural, economic and security variables. With 15 participants, eight of them were women and seven of them were men, semi-structured interviews were conducted.

On demographic information, the age average was approximately 57 and 11 participants were retired. Furthermore, most of the female participants were housewives except retired female participants who worked as factory workers in the past. Regarding the male participants, all of them were retired, and in the past, they worked as factory workers or craftsmen in different sectors. Moreover, participants belong to the middle class and they or their families migrated from Bulgaria, old Yugoslavia, Albania, Macedonia or Greece.

Questions on their migration experience and identity, general opinions on Syrian refugees and some other questions based on culture, economy and security were directed to the participants. Then, the collected data analyzed thematically.

5.1. The Balkan Immigrants' Migration Experiences and Identity

Through the first section questions, it was aimed to collect data on the migration experiences of the Balkan immigrants. In order to simplify recalling the memories, generally, the Balkan immigrants who migrated to Turkey after 1950 have been chosen as a participant. Hence, 12 of them or their families migrated to Turkey after 1950, and three of them mentioned some stories of their parents who migrated to Turkey between 1930-1935.

Regarding the identity, the participants mentioned that they describe and feel themselves as a Turkish individual. Furthermore, Turkish nationalism is really common among the Balkan immigrants, and they see Turkey as their homeland. On the other hand, they continue their customs and culture from the Balkans by mixing them with culture they adapted in Turkey. Furthermore, within themselves, they

introduce themselves or others in terms of their Balkan identities such as Bulgarian, Yugoslavian, Albanian, etc.

> *"When we migrated, we had nothing. If you asked the others, they would say, "The state helped the Balkan immigrants". But the state did not help us, but those who came before us. Our family came to Turkey without money, without knowing the country, without knowing the Turkish language. But… Turkey is our home; we have returned to our home! But we also had a lot of difficulties. Alongside poverty, we did not know language... Well, if you're an immigrant, you didn't have as many rights as the citizens/natives! Our labor was exploited because we have no guarantees. But we are glad to be back on our land." (Male Participant, Age 57)*

> *"I am not one of the immigrants. My parents have migrated, but we grew up with their stories. Of course, they had lot of difficult experiences. Lack of money was their biggest problem. Look, do you see these houses? All of these were made by the Balkan immigrants who first arrived here. Now it has been renewed. You should see them! Sloppy slums…" (Male Participant, Age 53)*

> *"We immigrated to Turkey in 1951. We came by the exchange regulations. My family had a lot of difficulties there, the Bulgarians committed psychological violence. When my parents came here, they had the most trouble about the place to live and settle. We did not have any money and we had to start a wholly new life" (Male Participant, Age 57)*

The participants, as the main reasons for the migration, emphasized that in Balkan countries they had to deal with wars, political transformations, and psychological and financial pressures. They stated that they experienced discrimination because of their nationality and religion in the Balkans. Therefore, as a result of ethnic cleansing policies in the Balkans, these people preferred to migrate to Turkey which is a home for them.

The early years in Turkey, the Balkan immigrants or their children mentioned that they experienced difficulties getting shelters, earning money and other finance related problems. Another most mentioned problem they dealt with was the language barrier in Turkey. They stated that they did not have much information on the Turkish language, political system and also the culture of Turkey. Because of this lack of information, rather than connecting with the natives and integrating properly, at the beginning, the Balkan immigrants chose specific geographical areas, like Çamdibi, to live with their families and other members of the Balkans. Therefore, Çamdibi can be called as ethnic enclave for the Balkan immigrants.

Furthermore, the participants mentioned that they learned Turkish in the schools of Turkey, and before knowing Turkish language, they faced issues in social life. To illustrate, they said that they could not defend their rights and could not communicate their needs because of the language barrier. Furthermore, this barrier obstructed their chance of finding appropriate occupations and knowing their responsibilities came with Turkish citizenship. This caused a disconnection between the natives and the Balkan immigrants.

> *"Of course, we experienced discrimination! I was a kid when we came to Turkey. At the beginning we didn't come to Izmir. We came to Istanbul first, Manisa from there, and Izmir last. I was a child when we migrated from one city to another... If you're a child, you want to play games. No one from the locals/natives would want to play with me. They were children as well, how can they think this much bad! Their parents taught them things like (The Balkan immigrants came from somewhere else; they are dirty, they are strangers) etc. The children would also stay away from me with prejudice, some of them insulted me. I didn't really understand what they were saying, I did not know Turkish... Then we came to Çamdibi, it was good. There were a lot of immigrants like us here, we did not feel strange. I met my husband here. There was no marriage with the locals for a while, our immigrants always married each other." (Female Participant, Age 70)*

Moreover, the Balkan immigrants experienced discrimination in Turkey as well. Regarding the reasons for these discriminations, participants claimed that the natives had some prejudices against them because of the economic distress in that time period. The natives thought that the government gave financial support and houses for the immigrants, on the contrary, the immigrants, after 1950, did not get any financial support from the government. This misinformation caused a delay in the integration process. Additionally, according to the participants, the natives believed that because the Balkan immigrants were used as "cheap labor", they were restricting the job opportunities of the locals. Furthermore, language difference was another reason for the discrimination. Even though the Balkan immigrants are Turkish by origin, the fact that they communicate in Balkan languages other than Turkish has strengthened the perception that these immigrants from the Balkans are foreigners. However, some of the participants mentioned that they are not angry at the natives, as they would react similarly if they were the natives. Consequently, the Balkan immigrants dealt with discriminations both in the Balkans, as they were Turkish and Muslim, and Turkey since they were foreigner and restricted the financial sources of the natives and the state.

*"Of course, when we arrived here, **we were living like the refugees**, is not it! There were ten of us in a tiny house like them, living together. We did not have any money, and we lived in a crowded house with all the members of the family! We used to work for a little amount of money, we would give all the money to the eldest man, who was the head of the house. And he would give us money according to what our needs were. We did not separate our money from each other... The money was not much, but it was enough for us, it was enough for everything. At that time, a whole family could get along with the money that only one person won."* (Female Participant, Age 65)

*"We used to be cheap workers, **too.** The factories fired the locals to hired us as workers. We were uninsured, we worked with low salaries. We did not have any choice, we had to afford our fundamental needs! Every member of the family must have worked, earn a little amount of money and give it to the family. **So, I understand the Syrian refugees**,*

but I would like them to leave when the time comes. We stayed here because this is our country. Let them return to their land, to their home!" (Male participant, Age 65)

*"We are Bosnians, my parents came from Yugoslavia. They came a long time ago when there was a war there. They had a lot of difficulties. **Just as the Syrians** who have difficulties now, my family has also had difficulties. Turkish was not spoken by my parents, and they could speak only Bosnian. They have learnt everything (language, the country, etc.) later. Then Atatürk gave them goods and gave them fields." (Female Participant, Age 89)*

One of the vital results of this field study is that some of the Balkan originating participants could realize and express the similarities between their migration process and the Syrian refugees' migration experiences. These similarities were based on financial problems and labor exploitations. Also, mentioning these common experiences made them empathize with the Syrian refugees.

In summary, the Balkan immigrants faced with discriminations and financial distress in both the Balkans and Turkey. The most mentioned issues faced in Turkey were lack of knowledge on Turkish language and culture, poverty, and labor exploitation. Because of these issues, they preferred to connect and live with other Balkan immigrants, so Çamdibi became their ethnic enclave where they can maintain and reproduce their culture from the Balkans. However, they feel at home in Turkey and Turkish nationality is considerably common among the immigrants. Lastly, in terms of experience of poverty and labor exploitation, some of the participants made contact between their first-year experiences in Turkey and the Syrian refugees' experiences.

Table 1. Similarities and Differences of the Balkan Immigrants' and Syrian Refugees' Experiences in Turkey After Migration

	Balkan Immigrants in Çamdibi	Syrian Refugees in Çamdibi
Poverty	✓	✓
Language barrier	✓	✓
Exploitation of labor	✓	✓
Lack of information on politics and legal system in Turkey	✓	✓
Discrimination	✓	✓
Financial assistance from the state	✗	✓
Feeling at home in Turkey	✓	✗

In Table 1, in terms of the perspectives of the participants, the similarities and differences of the Balkan immigrants' and Syrians experiences in Tukey after migration was given. Rather than information from the literature on migration, this table consists of just the opinions of the participants. Furthermore, regarding the similarities, this table was formed by the opinions of the participants who have regular connections with the Syrians or who share the same neighborhood with them. As already mentioned, the participants who do not have regular contact with the Syrians did not mention these sorts of similarities in terms of the early year experiences of two different groups in Turkey. Thus, to realize similar experiences of the newcomers, regular connection was needed in this case.

5.2. General Ideas and on Syrian Refugees and Connections

In this part of the interview, general questions on the refugees were asked to the participants. Through these questions the level of their interactions in daily life was investigated. The answers given as to the whether or to what extent the Syrian refugees have been recognized in Çamdibi. Thus, it was easier to analyze the level of integration and issues in this process. Firstly, because most of the participants migrated to Turkey

after 1950, they were not seen as native as prior residents in Çamdibi. After the flow of refugees, their social positions increased in terms of the level of being native. Thus, it was observed that they started to feel more confident against the refugees. Moreover, Balkan immigrants felt threatened by the Syrians, as they did not want to lose control of Çamdibi which is ethnic enclave of the Balkan immigrants.

Furthermore, from this part of the paper, the ideas separate in terms of regularity of the communication with the refugees and based on how often they share the same space in Çamdibi.

> *"Some of the refugees are very good people, but some are bad! Every community has its better or worse. I am angry with them about the war, they should have not left their country. And they leave Turkey on holidays, they come back again. If there is no war, stay in your country, why are you coming here again!" (Female Participant, Age 65)*

> *"Look at Ukraine! "The men who are over-18s can't leave the country, they will fight for the state" the state said. What did the Syrians do? They left their elders in the middle of the war, their young people came here. And our children/soldiers are dying there, on the other hand, the Syrians are here (in Turkey) on the beaches!" (Female Participant, Age 65)*

Firstly, the participants pointed out several times that the Syrian refugees do not protect their homeland and they are not nationalist as the Balkan immigrants are. Because the refugees are not patriotic, the participants found this trait inappropriate. Most of them (both male and female participants) mentioned that if they were refugees, they would not leave their country. They claimed that the elders, women and children could migrate to Turkey, however, the young men should have stayed in Syria and protected their homeland.

> *"Some of them emigrated out of necessity. My daughter met with Syrians through translators, at her university event. The Syrian woman they interviewed with lost her husband, children, and family in the war.*

She had to come here by force. Most of them were educated. But the educated ones went mostly to European countries. I mean, no one was happy about it, I understand it." (Female Participant, Age 50)

There were some participants who tried to empathize with the Syrian refugees. They mentioned that it is difficult to survive in the war, so they have the right to leave Syria. Also, they added that the Syrians are not totally bad individuals, they have great and fine people among them as well. However, they emphasized that at the time the war finished in Syria, these refugees should return to their countries. There were just three participants who were not opposed to the idea of accepting the refugees in Turkey permanently.

"There are no Syrians on our side of this neighborhood. They mostly choose places where there are old houses. But there was a Syrian family I knew, we helped them. We gave them my boy's old clothes. And when the sacrificial meat was cut off, we gave it to them. Also, we financially supported them. And then when their kids started working, they moved out of here. But I don't want them to become citizens! They can stay here as guests, and then go to their own country, Syria. They should defend their own country. Because they're blocking our children in terms of occupations or education opportunities." (Female Participant, Age 53)

"I don't have any Syrian neighbors, but I had very little communication with one of them. I also hear from some people, among the Syrians, there are also good people. They are not all bad. In every society, there are good people and there are bad people. There are also good and bad people among our Balkan immigrants. As for the help, I helped a few women (they had a lot of children, it is common in their culture)." (Male Participant, Age 78)

In the field study, it was observed that female participants felt more empathy towards the refugees than the male participants. Even though they do not share the same neighbor with the refugees, they are more open to understand them and help them

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financially. However, they mentioned that they can understand the difficult conditions of Syrian children and women, but not Syrian men. On the other hand, just one male participant mentioned that he financially assisted a Syrian woman. Even though male participants thought that Syrian women and children could be acceptable in Turkey for a short time, they did not prefer to aid them as they were furious at the Syrian men and the economic results they caused.

Turkey has a patriarchal culture; therefore, the Balkan immigrants generally maintain patriarchal social and gender roles under the name of culture and tradition. This means that women often prefer to stay in the house or neighborhood in their spare time or be a housewife. On the contrary, men are the ones who have to earn money and are more active in the field of home economics. Although there are women who earn money, the economic control of the home is mostly under the responsibility of men. Therefore, the fact that Syrians were exploited as cheap labor bothered male participants more than women, as men's business/work opportunities have narrowed with the arrival of Syrians. Moreover, male participants mentioned the subject of "honor" and "protection of women", since they mentioned that the male refugees behaved inappropriately towards the women in Çamdibi. They perceived these issues as a threat to their masculinity. Hence, the chance of being recognized by the male Balkan immigrants has become more difficult for the refugees.

> *"No, I don't have a Syrian neighbor, and I don't want that to have a Syrian neighbor. I didn't help them at all either. If I help, I'll help the natives and citizens of Turkey. Isn't that right, though? I don't want them to become citizens. We'll take care of ourselves, let them get out of here." (Female Participant, Age 51)*

> *"I don't have any Syrian neighbors; we don't let them into the neighborhood. We don't have any communication, and I'm not thinking about communicating with them. I didn't help them, or I didn't intend to. We need help more than they do." (Male Participant, Age 57)*

Regarding the data collected from the field study, participants who do not have Syrian refugees in their neighborhood had more prejudices and strict perceptions

towards the refugees than who have Syrian neighbors. Also, they were prone to generalize the whole refugee community through just one negative experience. This proved that regular communication and sharing an area simplify the recognition and integration processes. Moreover, the participants who had more social distance with the refugees have a more negative attitude towards them. Furthermore, these participants were able to make harsher judgments, since they made themselves believe that all the refugees are harmful and bad people. The core of this belief was their fantasies based on representation of the refugees in the media, such as crime news that refugees committed or the news about financial support given to the refugees by the government, and false information they heard about the refugees.

"I rented my house to Syrians; they are very nice people. They live right next to me. They always ask me, "Do I need something?". Sometimes she brings meal. This girl is about 25 years old, young, and tall. They are very clean, she washes the stairs, sweeps them. They are also very good to me; they are humans like us. And they always pay the rent in time. The husband of this woman is also a language teacher of Syrian children, he teaches them Turkish. I mean, they are educated! The whole neighborhood loves them. Two other homeowners in this neighborhood have rented their homes to Syrian families. They are also very happy; they don't want them to leave at all. They give us the rent on time, clean it up, and when they make a meal at home, they immediately share with us. They are also very hospitable, friendly. Whoever you ask would be happy with them here. Of course, there are also bad ones, but thank God, the ones here are very nice. We're used to each other now." (Female Participant, Age 89)

"Yes, I have a Syrian neighbor. I also have communication, I am sincere with everyone, I will be running for headman soon! Our relationship with the Syrians is also very good, I am not complaining at all. For example, two tenants came here from Syria, if they still saw me on the way, they would invite me to their homes. I am very happy with the Syrians! Most of the neighbors said, "Don't let the Syrians into your houses," but they were all very glad when they accepted them into their

house, now they don't want to take them out. The Syrians are very hospitable. Look, if they cook, they'll share with you. And if you say you don't want to eat, they will insist. Look, there was a wall over there! When I said, "I do not want to join their meal", they were saying, "you have to come." Whatever they have in their houses, they share it with the neighbors. They are also very respectful, I have never seen their mistakes, I have never heard their bad words. But my neighbors were educated: the guy was a lawyer, and the woman was a literature teacher. They were educated, so they were good and nice." (Female Participant, Age 55)

On the contrary of the previous group, the participants who rented their houses to the refugees were considerably glad about the refugee renters. The most mentioned adjectives to describe Syrians were generous, sharing, polite, hardworking (for the female refugees) and clean. Moreover, the participants mentioned that these renters pay their rent in time, and they are really clean in terms of chore. In addition to that it was observed that the participants gave importance to the education level of the refugees in order to categorize them whether they are good or bad, and reliable or unreliable. If they like some features of the Syrian renters, they connected these positive sides of the refugees with their education level or occupations they had in Syria. This finding on education levels is vital; as Honneth (2007) claimed that recognition should not be about the identity, but the accomplishments of the stranger should be taken into consideration, the participants could recognize the accomplishments of the Syrians, and this simplified the integration process in a way.

Nevertheless, they emphasized that being good or having a high education level is not a valid reason to accept them staying permanently. The cultural differences and the refugees' lack of knowledge on the history of Turkey (especially on Mustafa Kemal Atatürk) led to fear among the Balkan immigrants. Thus, even the participants who have regular connections with Syrians did not recognize them properly and they supported the one-sided temporary integration process.

"I find Turkey's policies on Syrians unnecessarily helpful. We already have our own citizens' problems. It is said that Turkey does not provide

financial assistance to Syrians, external assistance is coming from European countries, but I think this is not true and the state assistance is being provided. Maybe they have help from the European countries, but I don't think they (European countries or organizations) help that much.” (Male Participant, Age 57)

In the literature review part, it was highlighted that macro level policies have an important influence on the micro level integration process. Knowing the policies Turkey followed and international agreements would be an answer for the questions the participants have in their heads. However, none of the participants knew Turkey's policies on the refugee or the international support agreements and organizations. Just two of the participants knew that the Syrians get financial support from the EU, but they did not know this support system properly. The participants tried to analyze Turkey's policy on refugees through what they heard in the media or what they heard from the Syrian refugees they have communication with. This misinformation or lack of information led to more prejudices towards the refugees and obstructed both recognition and integration processes.

“His sister came from Syria to our neighborhood, and they immediately went to take out the identity card. I don't know if it's an ID card or a residence permission. And I'm not against them becoming citizens. They are humans like us.” (Female Participant, Age 89)

“In my opinion, as our Balkan immigrants have adopted the Republic of Turkey, as we have followed the rules, traditions and laws of Turkey, refugees should also follow. I think they can also become citizens.” (Male participant, Age 52)

“I can't say anything about them getting citizenship. They're human, too! They have right to live, too. For example, your grandparents are immigrants, and we came here from somewhere else. We learned the country and the language here in schools. They're just like us, they're here, but they don't have any information. It would be unfair if I commented negatively about them.” (Male Participant, Age 78)

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In terms of the acceptance of the refugees as Turkish citizens, just three participants mentioned that this idea can be acceptable. However, the participants were abstaining as the Syrian refugees do not have enough information on the culture and history of Turkey. Therefore, their citizenship can be accepted if they receive education on the Turkish language, culture and history. On the other hand, these participants did not think that the refugees might adapt to Turkey properly, and some of the participants were anxious that the Syrians would be insistent on their own culture so that it could destroy the culture of Balkan immigrants. This approach was another proof that participants support one sided integration and recognition processes.

5.3. Approaches towards Culture of the Syrian Refugees

In the mutual recognition process, reciprocal knowledge on each other 's cultural features has a crucial role. In this section of the research, data on the ideas on the culture of the Syrian refugees was collected. Alongside the culture questions, the question whether they would allow their family members marry a Syrian was asked as well. This question crosschecked the validation of positive approaches towards the Syrians as well. Through the taken answers, the level of integration, prejudices that hinder this process and the future of this integration process can be examined.

> *"They don't have women rights there. On a marriage certificate, a man is supposed to have 4 wives. And they have a lot of children. Since they arrived, they have made 5-6 more children. Her husband tells us this number can go to 20-25 children. They say a woman must give birth to 26 children." (Female Participant, Age 65)*

> *"I have been in Syria a lot when I was a long-distance driver. We had a break there. We saw a Syrian there smoking a hookah. That man stayed in Istanbul for 4 months, he knew Turkish. He came to us right away. I said, "Why are there so many children here", he told me, "Girls get married here at the age of 12-13". It's a sin to be protected there. It's a sin to have a miscarriage or to have an abortion. They have a*

child-bearing record, too. Look, girls your age have at least 6 children. And I've never seen a fat woman there. They give birth to so many children, they eat, they drink, but they're still thin. They're not like us here, we have a lot of overweight mashallah!" (Male Participant, Age 78)

Firstly, the most common answer for the cultures of the refugees was *"I do not know any information on their culture, but we are different"*. This statement was common among the participants who did not share the same neighborhood with the refugees and who did not communicate with any member of this community. Furthermore, although they claimed that they do not know anything about them, the participants highlighted that they have totally different cultures and do not have any similarities.

While asking about the cultural features that the participants observed or knew about the refugees, the most common answers were on lack of women rights and the rate of giving birth among Syrian refugees. They mentioned that women in Syria do not have as many rights as women have in Turkey. Furthermore, all of the participants, firstly, recognized that the Syrian refugees have many children and they found that weird and a critical difference between two cultures. Also, because Syrian refugees take financial help per child, some of the participants thought that they give birth a lot in order to get more financial support.

Furthermore, it was observed that the first thing that came to their minds was not religious similarities. They did not mention being Muslim or common Islamic rituels as common points between the host community and the refugees. The main reason behind it, the participants claimed that the two communities have a distinctive approach towards religion, and they are not as conservative as Syrians are. Conservative attitudes of the refugees were one of the reasons that hinder the recognition and integration process. To sum up, the Balkan immigrants gave more emphasis to national and historical background as parts of a culture, than similarities on religion.

"My two Syrian tenants lived very luxuriously. And they were very clean. Friday was the day for barbecue party. They used to have a

barbecue on Friday every week. And they have 26 child obsessions. They have to have 26 children! Three tenants came and left here. Someone came here with 3 children, went out with 5 children. He said to me, "We need to have 26 children!". One of those obsessions seemed interesting to me, but they are very hospitable and sharing, they are generous. Their women are also very active, hardworking. One of my neighbors gave birth. The very next day after the birth, she cleaned the floor. I said, "You've just given birth, go to bed and rest" she says, "No, we don't have any rest, the house should be cleaned up." They are so clean and hardworking. Our brides go to bed for days after giving birth though." (Female Participant, Age 55)

Participants who have regular daily relationships with the Syrians, again firstly, mentioned the excessive amount of birth giving. Nevertheless, they used more adjectives such as generosity, cleanliness and diligence, while defining the culture of the refugees. The participants could find a more positive side of Syrian culture than the participants who did not have regular connections with the refugees. To illustrate, these participants had a chance to observe daily rituals of the refugees and stated that Syrians are sometimes indulging in comfort and luxury. They are not afraid of poverty and spend their money how they want. This behavior came interesting for the participants, as they preferred to save their money and spend it just for the main needs in their early years in Turkey.

These statements displayed that regular communication is a crucial part of the recognition of the refugees. Nevertheless, even participants that regularly communicate with the refugees could not find important cultural similarities with the refugees and mentioned that they have exactly a different cultural background from the Balkan immigrants.

"Their culture is very different. It's like they live in a cave, neither their curtains open nor their windows. They're always closed! I do not have communication with them, I don't know them." (Female participant, Age 70)

"I don't think they're very good people because they have Arab ancestry." (Male Participant, Age 57)

Nevertheless, participants who do not have regular connection with the refugees, could not find descriptive and detailed answers for the questions on Syrian culture. By the way, they used more negative adjectives, such as closed community, conservative, aggressive and dirty for the refugees. Furthermore, it was observed that nationalist approaches of the participants tend to turn into racism and chauvinism towards the Syrians. These racist and chauvinist ideas obstruct the recognition of the refugees, since they strengthened the prejudices and lowered the desire of communicating with the refugees.

"I would never want my son to marry a Syrian. Both our cultures are different and some of them are very strange. Let's say they got married... My son won't be with just his wife in that house! Her mother is coming, her relatives are coming, they are living together. Look, we don't know how many families live in the same house over there. They have a mother-in-law, but who knows how many brides, how many boys, how many grandchildren there are there!" (Female Participant, Age 55)

"I can't say anything about marriage either. If any member of my family loves a Syrian, gets married, I can't obstruct them." (Male Participant, Age 78)

"I would not prefer that one of my family members marry a Syrian. Our cultures are very different; our food is different; our customs are different. We can live together, but I'm not sure about uniting families!" (Female Participant, Age 89)

Regarding the question on marriage with Syrians, just one participant stated that his family member can marry a Syrian, if s/he wants to. This participant detailed his answer by saying discrimination is not needed, and the Balkan immigrants were discriminated and experienced tough issues as well so they can empathize with the refugees. Nevertheless, even participants who have regular relations with the Syrians

did not accept this idea. They claimed that it is acceptable to live together, but there is no need to unite families through marriages. The only reason behind these answers was cultural differences. Crowded families, different customs and traditions are frightening for them, and they do not want to combine the Balkan culture with the Syrian culture.

These expressions displayed that even though communication is a critical key to achieve mutual recognition, cultural background and ethnic identities have an important role in recognition and integration processes as well. The participants, rather than analyzing the refugees individually, had a tendency to categorize or describe them in terms of their group and ethnic identity. Hence recognition through individual achievements and accomplishments could not be exactly successful in Çamdibi. Group identity took the first place as a first impression or recognition tool.

> *"No! I wouldn't want one of my family members to marry a refugee. Call it a cultural difference, call it prejudice, whatever you say!" (Male Participant, Age 52)*

> *"No, I don't want one of my family to find a Syrian for marriage. If I have one eye, I say it can come out (I can give my family member up)!" (Female Participant, Age 70)*

> *"And I don't want any of my family to marry them. If I have two arms, one of them may break, I don't care. I'll give my children up in such a situation. I have a daughter about your age, and I haven't even hurt her, not even a strand of her hair, until now. But in such a situation I will break her legs, there is no possibility to marriage with a Syrian man! A person who sells his homeland! Why don't they look at Ukraine for a while! Men and women are protecting their homeland." (Male Participant, Age 57)*

The main difference between the participants who have connection with the Syrian and those who do not, although both groups mostly gave negative answers regarding the marriage question, the one who did not have any communication with the refugees

expressed their refusal in a sharper way. This means that prejudices straightened negative approaches and ideas against the refugees. The main reason to reject this idea was cultural differences. The participants did not want their children in a crowded family, give lots of births or be one of the four wives of a man.

Table 2. Comparison of Cultural Features

Balkan Immigrants in Çamdibi	Syrian Refugees in Çamdibi
Mostly prefer to live in nuclear family	Mostly live in the crowded families
The birth rate is relatively low	The birth rate is relatively high
Nationalist	Non-nationalist
Modern	Conservative

In summary, Table 2 displays Balkan immigrants' ideas on differences between the Syrian culture and their culture. Family structures, birth rates, nationalism and modernity were the most mentioned notions that the participants recalled and emphasized in terms of the distinctiveness of two culture. Importantly, the participants did not mention religious background as similar cultural pattern, even though both groups are generally Muslims, and claimed that similar religious background could not simplify the integration process. Regarding the culture comparisons, nationality and daily life routines were given more importance than religion by the participants.

Additionally, in terms of the gender based thematic analysis, women (especially who had regular connections with the refugees) preferred more smooth and mild ways to express their ideas on the Syrian culture or to the question based on marriage with the Syrians. Moreover, female participants could describe the cultural background of the refugees in a more detailed way with various adjectives. This means that spending more time in the neighborhood and neighbors enabled them to acknowledge and observe the refugees. On the other hand, these connections could not achieve exact recognition of the identity and culture of the refugees, as the Balkan immigrants felt under threat which was described in the chapters on economics and security.

5.4. Approaches on Economic Effects of the Refugees

Alongside knowing policies about the strangers (the refugees), economic conditions have a critical role in recognition of the refugees. If there is a resource shortage or belief in the resource shortage in an area, this would feed the prejudices and discriminations against the refugees. In this chapter, the influence of the economic findings of the migration flows to Turkey on the recognition and integration processes of the refugees investigated.

"They necessarily affected the economy. For example, while we were working for 10 TL and 15 TL, many people were unemployed because the Syrians work for peanuts. My people (citizens in Turkey) don't have insurance, they don't have a job, but the Syrians are provided with more opportunities because their labor is cheap." (Male Participant, Age 52)

"I think that the Syrians have a negative impact on the economy. About 60% of the employees at the Ayakkabıcılar Sitesi are Syrian. For instance, if we are paid for 1000 TL for a day, the employer dismisses us when he finds a Syrian who will work for 300 TL. A lot of people are unemployed in Çamdibi." (Male Participant, Age 57)

"They disrupted the economy, and unemployment rate increased. They work just for a place to stay or for peanuts. We can't get what we deserve either, the bosses somehow found the cheap worker. They've fired a lot of people when the employers found Syrians. The refugees also receive assistance from the state, and they have been given a lot of rights. In this story, just the citizens have been harmed! The government didn't help us when we first arrived (the Balkan immigrants after 1950)." (Male Participant, Age 56)

In terms of the economic effects of the refugees, the male participants who were retired or workers expressed their thoughts in a more detailed way than the female participants did. This means that, as a patriarchal approach, men dominated in the field of economics and work-related topics among middle age Balkan immigrant groups in

Çamdibi. Therefore, they experienced the change of the working environments, by the refugee flows, more directly than women felt. To sum up, the male participants felt like their space was occupied by the refugees. Furthermore, it is crucial to mention that among participants, there were no employer participants. Therefore, just the viewpoints of the employees demonstrated in this research paper.

The most mentioned issue was "cheap labor" and increasing unemployment among the host community in Çamdibi. They emphasized that if employers find someone with cheaper labor without any insurance, they replace their workers with others. Furthermore, two of the male participants stated that because of the refugees, they had to lower their expectations in order to be able to compete with the Syrian refugees.

> *"The salary they have been given… And even in the hospitals they have more opportunities than us! Universities are entered without exams by the Syrian students. I've already said that there are too many opportunities and concessions presented to them!" (Male participant, Age 52)*

Alongside the cheap labor issue, the participants complained about the support on health care and education given to the refugees by the government. Financial support that refugees get from different organizations was seen as a problem by both male and female participants. On the other hand, female participants complained about education support given to the refugees more than male participants did. They claimed that their children and grandchildren will not achieve what they deserve in terms of universities because of these given education supports. Moreover, elder participants highlighted that they could not get sufficient health service because of the opportunities provided to the refugees. These statements displayed that the participants did not have proper information on the policies applied for the refugees. Therefore, they interpreted the support packages given to the Syrians through what they saw in the media and what they heard from other people.

> *"The state gives all the help to them. For instance, it gives us 1,000 TL for the bairam holiday, but it gives them 1,500 TL. They are paid per person, and we are paid per family! But the Syrians are not guilty; if*

someone gives you money, won't you take it, you'll get it! Naturally, they also take it." (Female Participant, Age 55)

"The government doesn't give them any help. I talked to the woman. Europe has helped them a lot, given money to Turkey; 150 dollars per person. But here they were given only 150 TL per person. (Female Participant, Age 70)

I heard it from a Syrian neighbor, a few years ago: both Turkey was giving 1000 TL per person and 1000 TL was coming from Syria. But the state won't give this financial assistance to us!" (Female Participant, Age 70)

Furthermore, since information pollution is common among the host community, there were plenty of different ideas on the financial supports provided to the refugees. Furthermore, as female participants have more connection with the refugees, their interpretations were based on little information gotten from the refugee women. Through these communications, because of language barriers, two sides (Balkan immigrants and Syrian refugees) cannot not express themselves or understand each other properly. Hence, the Balkan immigrants added their own interpretations on given information and spread it to the neighborhood. In the process of distribution, the content of the information changed shape, therefore, different ideas about the financial help for the refugees were collected in the field study.

"They have better living conditions than us! They have barbecue parties every week. A variety of dishes every day… They're richer than us. Both the state gives financial support, and they work without insurance. However, we can't get anything when we go to the bazaar." (Female Participant, Age 65)

"They have had a very negative impact on our economy. Look, we can't get anything, but their hands are full! How do they buy clothes? They have everything. We can't afford what they can afford!" (Female Participant, Age 51)

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Another important result, participants thought that financial conditions of the refugees are better than the Balkan immigrants. They stated that the refugees have barbecues at least once a week and they are well-groomed and have more money than the host community. They emphasized these observations and then added that they were not like that in their early years in Turkey.

In summary, the Balkan immigrants expressed their ideas about the influences of the refugees on the economy with the information they got from the gossip/common false information, media, little conversations with the refugees and their own experiences in the workplace. In this section of the interview, both male and female participants and participants who have communication with the refugees and the one who do not, agreed that the refugees negatively affected both the state economy and their home economics. Nevertheless, they did not look at it from the perspective of an employer and the state properly, so they could not recognize some economic benefits the refugees provided. Consequently, these negative approaches and thoughts on this subject led to problems in the process of integration and mutual recognition. Because participants thought the refugees took away financial and work opportunities from them, they were not keen to recognize the Syrian refugees.

5.5. Comments on Security

Lastly, in the field study, questions based on security are asked to analyze the possible security issues that obstruct the integration or impact the Balkan immigrants' approaches towards the refugees. Through the interview, as much as possible, open questions were asked for the first connotations and possible threats that came to mind of the participants.

> *"The Syrians have negatively affected the security of the neighborhood I live in! It's getting extremely violent around here. I don't have a Syrian neighbor, but I heard about it. For example, our Bosnians had a fight with them. I heard that the Syrian men said bad things to the Bosnian women, so there was a fight at Çınar Park." (Male Participant, Age 52)*

"There's fight going on in the neighborhood. The reason for the fights is the rudeness of the Syrians; they are talking about our daughters. There are also those who steal something. There are more problems than I can mention! They don't know how to communicate, the way they communicate is awful. They make people feel like everybody has to help them. And when you say the opposite thing, they become rude." (Male Participant, Age 57)

"Nothing happened to me, but I heard that 4-5 Syrian children beat up our children. But I didn't see it, and there were no problems in the neighborhood where I live." (Male Participant, Age 78)

Regarding the security questions, the participants who do not share the same neighbor mentioned that they experienced violence because of the refugee men. On the other hand, the participants who share the same neighbor stated that they did not witness any violence. Participants who do not have Syrian neighbors justified this violent fighting as claiming that the refugee men are rude, pervert, aggressive and annoying. On the contrary, the participants who have Syrian neighbors claimed that Syrians are silent, closed but friendly. The common point among the opinions of the participants was the inappropriate actions of refugee men towards the female Balkan immigrants.

When you walk around, men look at you as if they have never seen a woman in their lives! They close their women, and when they see an open (without hijab) woman outside, they look at her. There used to be no such rape, harassment! It's been a mess since they have arrived." (Female Participant, Age 65)

"There's been a lot of fighting, a lot! They talk to our girls, our women, and we get together with other Balkan immigrants/natives and fight with them. Someone needs to stop their inappropriate behaviors towards our women. Who knows what they will do to our daughters if we don't oppose it! And sometimes we warn their women so that they may warn their husbands and their sons. Would it be nice if we could do the same thing to their women! But now we're going to do that, too,

Syrian refugee men's inappropriate actions were perceived as an important threat by the Balkan immigrants. Female participants claimed that they do not feel safe and cannot act as freely as they did before. Furthermore, the male participants described this as an "honor" issue. This means that refugee men's verbal or physical harassment was perceived as a threat for the masculinity of the Balkan immigrant. Male participants mentioned that the only reason they have fights in Çamdibi is the harassment of the refugee men. This "honor" problem is one of the reasons that the Balkan immigrants were not enthusiastic about recognizing Syrian men and integrating with them.

Additionally, all participants claimed that they do not have any problem or tension with Syrian women. Syrian women were described as helpful, friendly, generous and sometimes victims of both the war and Syrian culture which does not give enough value to women. Moreover, another threat for the participants was the Syrian child, as they, especially Syrian boys, could be aggressive and have a tendency to attack other children in schools, parks or the neighborhood. One of the participants mentioned that because of war trauma and discriminations, these boys are very aggressive, and they should be provided psychological services. Otherwise, these children will traumatize and harm the native's children as well.

> *"One day, we were at the same hairdresser with a Syrian woman. We talked to the woman; she doesn't even know that Ataturk founded this country! She thinks that Turkey has been established with the current government. They think that the current government has brought things like monogamy, the right to divorce, women rights, etc. They don't know anything about the history of Turkey. This made me very angry and scared. Imagine a society that is constantly growing and does not know the history of Turkey! In the future, their number will exceed our number, we will become foreigners in our homeland, they will throw us out of here!" (Female Participant, Age 70)*

"In addition, the security of the country is at stake! God forbid that if there was an internal disorder in Turkey, people of other nationalities could provoke it with different ideologies." (Male Participant, Age 57)

"If they are granted citizenship, they will make here like Syria. They will arabize Turkey (Turkey will be like Arab countries and its culture will change as well). They don't care about women, nor our cultures! It could be dangerous for us if the refugees stay here in the long run. They're fine as guests, they're nice, but they should go back to their countries when the time comes." (Female Participant, Age 55)

As pointed out before, the Balkan immigrants are considerably nationalist and the first thing that comes to their mind is their nationality regarding the identity questions. Moreover, most of them admire Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and follow his path in terms of politics, economics, etc. Even though they give importance to their religious background, their nationalist approach tends to sometimes stand out more. Furthermore, this nationalist approach might turn into racism and chauvinism against the Syrians. Both male and female participants emphasized that Syrians do not know the history of the Republic of Turkey and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. This was one of the most mentioned fears that the participants have. They were afraid of losing their national identity and becoming Arabized. Furthermore, some of the participants stated that Syrians can turn into a problem for the state and cause internal chaos, as they will have different ideologies than the natives and if they started to defend their own ideologies it would be an important internal issue for Turkey. Lastly, three of the participants claimed that there is a possibility that these Syrians (especially boys and men) might be terrorist against Turkey in the future. In summary, the Syrian refugees do not feel safe because of environmental chaos and possible national threats caused by the Syrians.

"You'll see, they'll exile us out of here in the future! It's our teenagers' fault too! They can't protect our culture; our culture was damaged already! Of course, if we don't take care of our culture, they'll take what's ours! (Female Participant, Age 65)

Balkan immigrants still have a war and migration trauma inside themselves. They are afraid of being deported to another country and losing their relatives or what they have. Therefore, the participants have a fear of being culturally, demographically and politically dominated by and exiled because of another group of people. Because of this fear, they see the Syrians as a threat because they can give more birth than the Balkan immigrants give. The participants believed that if the Syrians dominate them demographically, the Balkan immigrants' cultural and national solidarity will be destroyed, and they will become stateless again.

Consequently, the Balkan immigrants had more than one reason and threat that led them to feel insecure and keep their guard against the Syrians: honor related problems, cultural dominance, economic issues, political and national threat and threat of neighborhood violence between the Syrians and Balkan immigrants. Except just one participant, all of the participants mentioned similar fears and insecurities. Furthermore, male participants stated some phases that prove these integration processes triggered their masculinity in terms of economic and honor related threats. To sum up Balkan immigrants are not volunteering to recognize the refugees and integrate completely because of these mentioned topics. Even though some of them, who have regular communications with the Syrians, could empathize with and recognize them to some extent (as they experienced similar problems in early years in Turkey and the war trauma), they prefer to see the refugees as temporary guests.

Table 3. Comparison of the Participants Who Have Regular Contact with Syrians and the Participants Who Do Not Have Regular Contact with Syrians

	Participants Who Have Regular Connections with The Syrians in Daily Life	Participants Who Do Not Have Regular Connections with The Syrians in Daily Life
Firstly, Recalling and Mentioning Positive Features (like generosity) of the Syrians' Culture	✓	✗
Firstly, Recalling and Mentioning Negative Adjectives (such as closed community) of the Syrian's Culture	✗	✓
Realizing and Mentioning Similar Migration Related Difficulties	✓	✗
Realizing Cultural Similarities	✗	✗
Emphasizing Cultural Differences	✓	✓
Accepting the Idea of Marriage with Syrians	✗	✗
Complaining of Negative Economic Influences of the Syrians	✓	✓
Emphasizing Local Security Problems (violence in the neighborhood) with Syrians	✗	✓
Mentioning National Security Problems (such as ideological differences) with Syrians	✓	✓
Accepting the Syrians' Turkish Citizenship in the Future	✗	✗

In summary, Table 3 shows that even though regular contact with the Syrians simplify and help the integration process and recognition of the Syrians by the Balkan immigrants, this connection was not exactly sufficient to recognize the Syrians. There are different reasons behind it; firstly, the Balkan immigrants are the under the effects of assimilation-based Turkish identity politics in the 1920s. This means that nationalism is the most important part of a community and country. Therefore, a community from different nation has threatened them and led to the fear of losing national cohesion. Secondly, because the participants did not have any idea on the policies Turkey and the EU countries applied on the refugees, common wrong information has been spread in Çamdibi, this made it difficult to recognize the Syrians. Moreover, one of the critical observations from the field study was that there was fear of being minority among the Balkan immigrants because of the high birth rates of the Syrians. This proved that cultural differences threatened the participants. Lastly, because of the competition between the Syrians and Balkan immigrants in labor market, some of the participants rejected the idea of integration and recognition of the Syrians.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The Syrian refugee crisis became a critical study field to evaluate integration processes and possible future findings. Turkey, as a signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol, has been in the center of this crisis by hosting Syrians (Skribeland, 2021). Although, in mentioned convention and protocol, Turkey signed for the geographical limitations which means that just the immigrants from Europe can be called as immigrants, Turkey did not apply non-humanitarian border governance towards the Syrian refugees and accepted them as temporary guests. According to Erdoğan (2018) Turkey is considered as a "cheap buffer zone" by the UE and they supported Turkey financially in order to keep the Syrian refugees there.

At the beginning, Turkey was a country of transit in order to migrate to European countries for the refugees. Nevertheless, Kaya (2017) found that just 1.6 per cent of the refugees considered traveling to EU countries. This means that Turkey became one of the countries of destination. Also, some other research demonstrated that an important number of Syrian refugees do not plan to return to Syria, even after the end of the war. Hence, planning and supporting successful integration models and observation of this process have become a necessity.

In order to observe the integration process, understanding the needs and problems of both the refugees and the host community should be taken into consideration. Bulut (2019) pointed out that some of the refugees live in 2-room houses with crowded families which means 6-7 people must share a small house, moreover, the refugees thought that they were isolated by the natives through the lack of communication. Gökçearslan Çiftçi et al. (2016) pointed out that the host community thinks that assists to Syrians are not approvable. Furthermore, the refugees have dealt with other problems such as labor exploitation, the lack of knowledge of the Turkish language, stereotypes and the lack of education facilities for the refugee children (Kaya, 2017). On the other hand, the host community felt under a threat in terms of loss of economic gains, urban space and national cohesion (Saraçoğlu and Bélanger, 2019). Rising unemployment among host community members, because of the cheap labor and Syrians' labor exploitation as they do not have citizenship rights, working class among

the host community guarded against the refugees (Çatak, 2020).

Moreover, in this research, as a guiding theory, Honneth's theory of recognition which took its core from Hegel's theory of recognition was mentioned. Honneth mentioned the distinction between three types of recognition: (1) love, (2) respect and (3) social esteem (Göksel, 2009). These three normative requirements provide, firstly, a safe environment in which one's needs, values and beliefs are respected (family and friendship), secondly, the perception that the subject is equal to everyone (respect through legal equality). Lastly, mutual approval of one's contribution to public life (reputation through the principle of success) is provided. Mutual recognition has an important role in the integration process, therefore, Honneth's theory of recognition was used. This research displayed that there are some critical obstructs regarding the second and third types of recognition of the Syrians in Çamdibi.

In the light of these findings and theories, a field study was conducted in Çamdibi, in order to grasp the Balkan immigrants' approaches towards the Syrian refugees in terms of culture, economics and security. Semi-structured interviews were applied to the Balkan immigrants, and then, thematic analysis was used while analyzing the obtained data. Regarding the hypotheses, this research had two hypotheses: (1) although two groups have totally different historical and cultural backgrounds from each other, similar difficult migration experiences in the past tend to make them understand each other and simplify the integration process and recognition of the refugees, or (2) the feeling of the loss of economic gains, space and national cohesion, and cultural differences can remind of past difficult traumatic migration experiences, therefore, the Balkan immigrants would be more defensive towards the refugees and the idea of recognition them. Field study displayed that both hypotheses are applicable in Çamdibi. Furthermore, some of the participants, individually, had opinions that proved mentioned both hypotheses at the same time.

Firstly, because most of the participants migrated to Turkey after 1950, they were not seen as native as previous residents in Çamdibi. After the flow of refugees, their social positions increased in terms of the level of being a native. Thus, they started to feel more confident against the refugees. Also, Balkan immigrants felt threatened by the Syrians, as they did not want to lose control of Çamdibi which is ethnic enclave of the

Balkan immigrants.

In addition to this, the most important result of the study was that sharing the same neighborhood and having regular communications with the Syrians decrease the prejudices against them to some extent. On the other hand, the participants who did not have a Syrian neighbor, or who did not communicate with any of the refugees, had more prejudices and were more able to comment negatively on them. As Allport (1988) claimed that host community has a tendency to generalize the newcomers or strangers, in Çamdibi, generalization of the Syrians was common, especially among the participants who did not have regular contact with the Syrians.

Moreover, in terms of descriptions of the refugees, the first group use the adjectives which are "generous, sharing, polite, hardworking (for the female refugees) and clean". On the contrary, the second group of participants uses "closed community, conservative, aggressive and dirty" as adjectives for the refugees. Çatak (2020) gave a reference from Sennet, in her research, that because of social distance, the life of others can be called a mystery, and everyday knowledge about others is replaced by fantasies. This was confirmed by this field work, as the participants that did not have any conversation with the Syrians, found them a closed community and used their imagination while describing characteristic or cultural features of the refugees.

The participants who had Syrian neighbors were emphatic towards them and found some similarities between their migration experiences. To illustrate, the participants mentioned that they experienced poverty, problems based on lack of language and social issues such as discrimination as the Syrians are experiencing nowadays. This approach simplified the recognition of the refugees to some extent. These participants tried to communicate with them, help them or understand them. This progression could not be observed among the participants who did not have any relation with the refugees and rejected connecting.

In terms of gender of the participants, women were more emphatic towards the Syrian refugees than men were. The main reason for this finding was that women spend more time with the refugees because their neighborhood relations were stronger than men's neighborhood relations. Male participants spend their time generally in coffeehouses

where they do not allow the Syrians to spend their time. Hence, they do not have common places with the refugees in order to recognize them. Nevertheless, there was just a male participant who had conversations with the refugees, and he was understanding towards the Syrian.

Furthermore, the Balkan immigrants are considerably nationalist and the first thing that comes to their mind mostly was their nationality regarding the identity questions. Additionally, they admire Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and follow his path in terms of politics, economics, etc. Even though they give importance to their religious background, their nationalist approach tends to sometimes stand out more. Al (2019) stated that, in the 1920s, assimilation-based national Turkish identity was formed. This research demonstrated that the Balkan immigrants are still under the influence of this nationalism, and this internalized assimilation-based Turkish identity obstructs the recognition of the Syrians. As an effect of this nationalism, the participants were frustrated those Syrian men did not protect Syria, but they preferred to migrate to Turkey and do nothing for their homeland. They gave Ukraine examples many times and claimed that Syrian men should have done the same thing. It was observed that all of the participants supported that Syrian women, children and elders could be accepted by Turkey, however, the Syrian men should not have been accepted in Turkey. Therefore, the Balkan immigrants rejected the recognition of Syrian men and their integration possibilities. These statements displayed and proved that Balkan immigrants evaluated the conditions of the refugees through their patriarchal and nationalist perspectives.

Regarding the economic conditions after the flow of migration, participants claimed that unemployment around their environment has increased, because of the cheap labor of the Syrian refugees. Erbaş (2019) discussed that the asymmetrical power and economic relations among the host community and the refugees in work places displayed some reserve army of labor examples as most of the refugee workers do not have any insurance or the same rights with the host community. This was observed in Çamdibi, especially in Ayakkabıcılar Sitesi. The people who complained the most about this problem were the male participants, because men were more dominating in industrial services. This finding supported Bulut's (2019) research which showed that the local workers have strict reactions towards the Syrian workers because of the cheap

workforce.

Moreover, Balkan immigrants have a patriarchal culture even though it is not as harsh as the Syrians have. Therefore, earning money has a critical position in terms of the masculinity of the Balkan immigrants. These problems on unemployment and depreciation of the value of labor of the Balkan immigrants threatened the masculinity of the male participants. Thus, they reacted to the economic influences of the refugees in a stricter way than female participants did.

Another threat to their masculinity was the honor issue. The participants mentioned that Syrian men try to communicate with the Balkan immigrant women and behave inappropriately towards women. Female participants claimed that this is because of the cultural difference as Syrian women are not as free as Balkan immigrant women and Syrian men think that they have the right to do anything if a woman is without a hijab. On the other hand, men were more sensitive on this subject and the only reason they became violent towards the Syrian men is this "honor" subject. Furthermore, some of them stated that if Syrian men maintain this behavior, they will act towards "their women" (Syrian women) like Syrian men act towards native women.

In terms of the security issues, it was observed that just the participants who did not have a Syrian neighbor mentioned they heard some violent fighting among the Balkan immigrants and the Syrian men because of the mentioned problem based on "honor". The participants who have Syrian neighbors stated that they did not experience any argument with them. Furthermore, the participants pointed out they have other security related doubts and threats like loss of culture, loss of national cohesion and possible ideological crisis in the future. Adamson (2006) stated that migration flows have both advantageous and disadvantageous sides and one of the negative sides is that migration flows are able to provide resources that help to fuel internal conflicts, and also, international terrorism. The male participants especially emphasized this point several times and supported that these refugees should be deported. Moreover, the participants highlighted that the Syrian refugees do not know anything about the history of Turkey and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and this is one of the reasons they do not feel safe for the future. Thus, they completely rejected the idea of integrating with them and living together permanently because of these issues.

Also, as Saraçoğlu and Belanger (2019) mentioned in their research on the relations between Turkish citizens and Syrian refugees, there was an asymmetrical relation between these two communities. In Çamdibi, some participants expressed that they obstructed the refugees not to live in their neighborhood because of the discussed reasons. These strict reactions were common among the participants who did not have regular connections with the refugees. The ones who had these connections were more understanding towards them (especially towards the Syrian women and children), although they also did not accept their permanent existence in Turkey and proper mutual integration with them.

Lastly, it was found that macro level policies and approaches towards the refugees influence the micro level integration process and the second and third types of recognition (respect and self-esteem) of the refugees in the local area. This point was emphasized by Göksel (2019), the media and political speeches make the Syrian refugees invisible by mentioning cultural, religious and traditional similarities, and Turkey's hospitality. Because of these statements, many participants thought that the government gives all of the financial support to the refugees, rather than support its own citizens, and the participants did not know anything about international agreements that supports for the refugees in Turkey. Furthermore, participants claimed that they did not believe that international organizations or other EU countries help Turkey to deal with the refugees. As a proof, they mentioned what they saw on the TV or social media, or what they heard from others. This situation was one of the obstacles in front of the mutual integration in Çamdibi.

In conclusion, this study displayed that the even though Balkan immigrants' approaches varied in terms of frequency of their interactions with the Syrian refugees. The participants who have regular interactions with the refugees validated the first hypotheses which was that they could approach emphatically towards the refugees because they could link some similarities of their own migration experience and the Syrian's migration experience. For this reason, they recognized the refugees to some extent, by listening to their migration stories, family backgrounds, sharing, and spending time with them in the neighborhood. Through this recognition, they could define them with positive adjectives such as clear and generous. On the other hand,

there were some other indicators that hinder this integration process, such as negatively changed economic conditions and security related issues. In addition to this, from the participants' both verbal and physical expressions, it was observed that the Balkan immigrants felt more confident after the Syrians' arrival in Çamdibi, because they are not the latest arrivals in Turkey anymore. Also, the field study demonstrated that macro level policies and strategies influenced the local level recognition and integration policies. This research showed that having similar difficult experiences could help recognition of the stranger (the refugees), however, the subjects like culture, historical background and economic conditions are more important and effective on integration. Therefore, the refugees could not be recognized completely in Çamdibi by the Balkan immigrants, and there is a resistance in terms of the integration with the Syrian refugees.

6.1. Limitations

This field study displayed crucial results for the literature, however, it has some points to be improved. First of all, even though integration is a mutual process, in that research, just one side of the process could be included because of the limitation of the time for the necessary permission documents in order to interview Syrian refugees. Furthermore, sampling could be enriched, by including participants who have more various backgrounds. To illustrate, in this research, just retired individuals and employees took place, and interviewing with an employer could provide a distinctive approach. Moreover, there were no female participants who currently work, so working women's ideas on this topic could not be gotten.

This field study proved that economic consequences of the refugees influenced the Balkan immigrant male employees negatively and damaged their masculinity, however, this field study could not display how working Balkan female immigrants think about the refugees in workplaces and how they would react to this.

These mentioned parts and the research can be improved through conducting it with a broader sampling and necessary permissions taken from authorized institutions, in the future studies on this subject. Nevertheless, this version of the research has also made important contributions to the literature.

6.2. Contributions

Regarding the conditions of the Syrians and their integration process, political science and international relations, sociology and psychology literatures have plenty of research and data. Yıldız and Uzgören (2016), Saraçoğlu and Bélanger (2019), Çatak (2020) and Koca (2016) are some of the researchers that point out Syrians refugees' integration and the host community' reactions towards the Syrians.

In addition, there are plenty amount of research and data on the Balkan immigrants as well. For instance, Ünal (2012), Akova (2012) and Ağanoğlu (2017) have crucial data on the Balkan immigrants' integration and the problems they faced with in both the Balkans and Turkey.

However, there was no data the integration process between the Balkan immigrants and the Syrians refugees in the mentioned literature. This research contributed the political science and international relations, and sociology literatures in terms of investigating an immigrant community's approach and perspective towards a refugee community. Because Çamdibi is an ethnic enclave for the Balkan immigrants, the chosen location has a critical position in this research as well. In terms of the subjects of interaction of two migrated groups and integration of two minority communities, this research has a significant contribution to the literature.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: English Version of Interview Questions

Interview Questions

Can I record our interview? (Your name or any private information like address will not be used in any part of the report.)

Personal Questions

1-How old are you and what is your profession?

2-How would you describe yourself? (Turkish, immigrant, Balkan immigrant, etc)

3- In what year and where did you or your family immigrate to Turkey?

4-What was your reason for immigrating to Turkey?

5-What kind of difficulties did you encounter in the first period after emigrating to Turkey? (Language barrier, economic difficulties, exclusion, etc.)

Questions Related to Syrian Refugees

6-Do you have any Syrian neighbor(s)? How are your neighbor relations?

7-Do you have any communication with the Syrians? Why?

8-Have you ever helped Syrians in different matters? (Money, food, clothing, etc.)

9-Should Syrians be granted Turkish citizenship? Under what conditions? Why is that?

10-What do you think about the political and economic decisions followed for Syrian refugees in Turkey?

On Culture

11-What do you know about the Syrians' culture (traditions, lifestyles) and what do you think about their culture?

12- At what points do you think the culture of the Syrians and yours are similar and different?

13-What kind of thoughts or feelings do the differences in the culture of the Syrians arouse in you?

14-Would you approve of someone from your family marrying a Syrian?

On Economics

15-Are there any Syrian refugees in your work environment? If yes, how is your connection?

16-Do you think that the Syrians affect your/your family's economic life? If yes, in which ways?

17- How do you think the Syrian refugees affected the country's economy? Why is that?

18-What do you think about the aid campaigns and economic aids for Syrian refugees?

On Security

19-Do you think there is a security problem in the area you live in? Why is that?

20-Do you think that the Syrians affect the security of the region in any way?If yes, in which ways?

21-How do you think the arrival of Syrians in Turkey affected the security of the country? If positive, why? If negative, explain in what ways it affects negatively.

22-Do you think there are security problems faced by Syrians in Turkey? If yes, in which ways?

Appendix B: Turkish Version of Interview Questions

Mülakat Soruları

Mülakatımızın kayıt altına alınmasına izin veriyor musunuz? (Rapor içerisinde isminiz ve size ait adres gibi kişisel bilgiler hiçbir şekilde yer almayacaktır.)

Kişisel Sorular

1-Kaç yaşındasınız ve mesleğiniz nedir?

2-Kendinizi nasıl tanımlıyorsunuz? (Türk, göçmen, Balkan göçmeni...)

3-Türkiye'ye siz veya aileniz kaç yılında ve nereden göç ettiniz?

4-Türkiye'ye göç etme sebebiniz neydi?

5-Türkiye'ye göç ettikten sonra ilk dönemler ne tür zorluklarla karşılaştınız? (Dil bariyeri, ekonomik sıkıntılar, dışlanma, vb)

Suriyeli Mültecilerle İlgili Genel Sorular

6-Suriyeli komşunuz/komşularınız var mı? Komşuluk ilişkileriniz nasıl?

7-Suriyeliler ile iletişiminiz var mı? Yoksa neden?

8-Daha önce hiç Suriyelilere farklı konularda yardımcı oldunuz mu?

9-Suriyeliler Türk vatandaşlığına alınmalı mı? Hangi şartlar altında? Neden?

10-Türkiye'de Suriyeli mülteciler için izlenen politik ve ekonomik kararlar için neler düşünüyorsunuz?

Kültür Üzerine

11-Suriyelilerin kültürü (gelenekleri görenekleri, yaşam biçimleri) hakkında neler biliyorsunuz ve kültürleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

12-Sizce Suriyelilerin kültürü ile sizin kültürünüz hangi noktalarda benzerlik ve farklılık gösteriyor?

13-Suriyelilerin kültüründeki farklılıklar sizde ne tür düşünceler ve hisler uyandırıyor?

14-Ailenizden birinin Suriyeli ile evlenmesine onay verir misiniz?

Ekonomi Üzerine

15-Çalıştığınız ortamda Suriyeli mülteciler yer alıyor mu?

16-Suriyelilerin sizi ve aile ekonomisini etkilediğini düşünüyor musunuz? Evet ise, hangi açılardan?

17-Sizce Suriyeli mülteciler ülke ekonomisini nasıl etkiledi? Neden?

18-Suriyeli mülteciler için kurulan yardım kampanyaları ve ekonomik yardımlar hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Güvenlik Üzerine

19-Yaşadığınız bölgede bir güvenlik sorunu olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Neden?

20-Suriyeliler bölgenizin güvenliğini herhangi bir şekilde etkilediğini düşünüyor musunuz? Evet ise, hangi açılardan?

21-Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye gelmesi sizce ülkenin güvenliğini nasıl etkiledi? Olumlu ise neden? Olumsuz ise ne açılardan olumsuz etkilediğini açıklayınız.

22- Sizce Suriyelilerin Türkiye'de karşılaştığı güvenlik sorunları var mı? Varsa neler

Saha Çalışması Transkripsiyonu

Bölüm 1: Balkan Göçmenlerinin Göç Anıları

Biz göç ettiğimizde hiçbir şeyimiz yoktu. Sorsan "Devlet onlara yardım etti" derler. Ama devlet bize değil, bizden önce gelenlere yardım etti. Bizim ailemiz parasız pulsuz, yer bilmeden, dil bilmeden gelmiş Türkiye'ye. Ha.. Türkiye bizim yuvamız, yuvamıza döndük! Ama çok da zorluk yaşadık. Parasızlık bir yandan, dil bilmediğin için hor görülmek bir yandan… Ee göçmensen öyle çok hakkın da yoktu! Çok emeğimiz yendi, güvencemiz yok diye. Ama topraklarımıza döndüğümüz için mutluyuz. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 57)

Tabi kızım biz de ilk geldiğimizde aha şu anki mülteciler gibi yaşıyorduk! Yalan mı? Onlar gibi küçücük bir eve on kişi birden doluşuyorduk, iç içe yaşıyorduk. Para yok pul yok, haydee tüm aile beraber! Üç kuruş para için çalışırdık, tüm parayı evin reisi olan en büyük erkeğe verirdik. O da ihtiyaçlarımız ne ise ona göre para verirdi. Yoktu öyle senin paran benim param… Para azdı ama bereketliydi, her şeye yeterdi. O zamanlar tek kişinin kazanması ile bir bütün aile geçinebiliyordu. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 65)

Ben göçenlerden değilim. Annem babam göçmüş ama hikayeleri ile büyüdük. Tabii çok zorlanmışlar. Parasızlık en büyük sorunlarıydı. Bak bu evleri görüyor musun? Bunların hepsi imece usulü ile ilk gelen Balkan göçmenleri tarafından yapıldı. Şimdi yenilendi. Eski hallerini görsen! Yarım yamalak gecekondular… (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 53)

Türkiye'ye 1951 yılında göç ettik. Devletin takası ile geldik biz. Orada ailem çok zorluk çekmiş, Bulgarlar psikolojik şiddet uygulamışlar. Annem babam buraya geldiklerinde en çok kalacak yer konusunda sıkıntı yaşadılar. Para yok, eşya yok, sıfırdan hayata başlıyorsun. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 57)

Biz de eskiden ucuz işçiydik. Fabrikalar bizi çalıştırabilmek için yerlileri işten çıkarırdı. Biz sigortasız, az maaş ile çalışırdık. Ne yapacaksın, ekmek parası! Ailenin her ferdi çalışırdı, iki üç kuruş kazanırdı ve aileye verirdi. O yüzden anlıyorum Suriyeli mültecileri ama zamanı gelince gitmelerini isterim. Biz kaldık, çünkü burası bizim toprağımız. Köylü köyüne, evli evine… Onlar da dönsün toprağına, evine! (Erkek katılımcı, Yaş 65)

Dışlanmaz olur muyuz sine! Ben çocuktum buraya ilk geldiğimizde. İlk İzmir'e gelmedik. İlk İstanbul, oradan Manisa, en son İzmir'e geldik. Oradan oraya çocuk halimle… E çocuksun canın oyun oynamak istiyor. Yerlilerden kimse benimle oynamak istemezdi. Onlar da çocuk nereden bilsin iyi kötü! Aileleri öğretmiş "Onlar başka yerden geldi, pisler, yabancılar" vb şeyler öğretmişler. Çocuklar da önyargı ile benden uzak dururlardı, bazıları hakaret ederdi. Çok da anlamazdım ne diyorlar, dil yok… Sonra işte Çamdibin'e geldik, iyi oldu. Burada bizim gibi göçmen çoktu, yabancılık çekmedik. Eşimle tanıştım burada. Bir süre yerlilerle evlilik olmadı, bizim göçmenler hep birbirine kız alıp verdi. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 70)

Biz Boşnak'ız, ailem Yugoslavya'dan gelmiş. Çok önceden gelmişler, daha harp varken oralarda. Bayağı zorluk çekmişler. Nasıl Suriyeliler zorluk çekiyor şimdi, benim ailem de öyle zorluk çekmiş. Türkçe bilmiyormuş benim ailem de, sadece Boşnakça biliyorlardı. Hep sonra öğrenmişler. Sonra Atatürk mal vermiş, tarla vermiş onlara. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 89)

Bölüm 2: Suriyeli Mültecilerle İlgili Sorular

Benim kanaatimce, bizim Balkan göçmenleri nasıl Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ni benimsedilerse, nasıl Türkiye kurallarına, geleneklerine ve kanunlarına uydularsa mülteciler de uymalı. Bence vatandaş da olabilirler. (Erkek katılımcı, Yaş 52)

Suriyeli komşum var ama ilişkimiz yok. Merhaba, merhaba selam veriyoruz. Ama öyle sıkı komşuluk yok. Yine de yardım etmişliğimiz var. Erzak olsun, elbise olsun. Kızım mesela giymediği elbiselerini verdi. Yardım ederiz ama vatandaş olmalarını istemem. Herkes kendi vatanında barınsın! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 50)

Bazıları mecburiyetten göç etti. Kızım üniversitesindeki etkinliğinde tercümanlarla Suriyelilerle görüştü. Savaşta eşini, çocuklarını, ailesini kaybetmiş. Mecburen buraya gelmek zorunda kalmış. Çoğu da eğitimliymiş. Ama eğitimli olanlar daha çok Avrupa ülkelerine gitmişler. Kimse keyfinden gelmemiş yani, anlıyorum. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 50)

Hayır, Suriyeli komşum yok, olmasını da istemem. Onlara da hiç yardım etmedim. Yardım edersem kendi insanıma yardım ederim. Doğru değil mi ama? Vatandaş olmalarını istemem. Biz bize bakalım, onlar gitsin buradan. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 51)

Suriyeli bizim bu mahalle tarafında yok. Daha çok eski evlerin olduğu yerleri seçiyor onlar. Ama tanıdık bir Suriyeli aile vardı, yardım ettik onlara. Benim oğlanın eski giysilerini verdik. Kurban kesince de oraya verdik. Paralarımızı da verdik. Sonra çocukları çalışmaya başlayınca taşındılar buradan. Ama mesela vatandaş olmalarını istemem! Misafir olarak kalsınlar, sonra gitsin kendi ülkesine. Kendi ülkesini savunsun. Çünkü burada bizim çocuklarımızın önünü kapatıyorlar. İş konusunda olsun, eğitim konusunda olsun… (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 53)

Ukrayna nasıl yaptı! 18 yaşından büyükler çıkamaz, onlar savaşacak dedi. Suriyeliler ne yaptı? Yaşlılarını savaşın ortasında bıraktılar, buraya gençleri geldi. Bir de bizim çocuklarımız ölüyor orada, onlar burada plajlarda! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 65)

Suriyelilere evimi kiraladım, çok iyi insanlar. Hemen yanımda oturuyorlar. Sürekli sorarlar bana "Lazım mı bir şey" diye. Bazen yemek getiriyor. 25 yaşlarında bu

kızcağız, genç uzun boylu senin gibi. Çok temiz, merdivenleri yıkıyor, süpürüyor. Bana karşı da çok iyiler, bizim gibi insanlar. Kiramı da hiç aksatmadı. Bu kadının kocası da Suriyeli çocukların dil öğretmeni, onlara Türkçe öğretiyor. Okumuş insanlar yani! Bütün mahalle seviyor onları. Bak bu mahallede iki ev sahibi daha evini Suriyeli ailelere kiraladı. Onlar da çok memnun, hiç istemiyorlar gitsinler. Kiraları zamanında veriler, temizler, evde bir yemek yapınca hemen bizlere de verirler. Bir de çok misafirperver, cana yakınlar. Kime sorsan burada memnundur onlardan. Tabii kötü olanları da vardır ama şükür buradakiler çok iyi. Alıştık artık birbirimize. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 89)

Ablası geldi Suriye'den komşunun, hemen gittiler nüfus çıkarmaya. Artık nüfus mu, oturma belgesi mi bilmiyorum. Vatandaş olmalarına da karşı değilim. Onlar da bizim gibi insanlar, günahlarına girmeyelim. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 89)

Evet, Suriyeli komşum var. İletişimim de var, ben herkesle samimiyim, yakında muhtarlık adaylığımı koyacağım! Suriyelilerle de ilişkimiz çok güzel, hiç şikayetçi değilim. Mesela buraya iki tane kiracı geldi Suriyeli, hala yolda beni görseler, hatır sorarlar ve davet ederler evlerine. Çok memnunum ya Suriyelilerden! Çoğu komşu "Sokmayın Suriyeli evlerinize" dedi ama evine kabul edince de hepsi çok memnun kaldı, şimdi onlar çıkarmak istemiyor. Çok misafirperverler. Bak yemek yapsınlar, mutlaka sana da verir. İstemiyorum dersen de ısrar ederler. Bak şurada duvar vardı, oradan uzatırlardı. Gelmeyeceğim diyorum, "ille de geleceksin" diyorlardı. Evlerinde ne varsa illa komşuları da yiyecek, öyle paylaşımcılar. Çok da saygılılar, hiç yanlışlarını görmedim, kötü sözlerini işitmedim. Ama benim komşularım okumuştu: Adam avukatmış, kadın da edebiyat öğretmeni. Eğitimlilerdi, ondan iyilerdi. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 55)

Bazısı çok iyi ama bazıları da kötü! Her insanın iyisi var kötüsü var. Ben onlara sadece savaş konusunda kızıyorum, ülkelerini bırakıp gelmeyeceklerdi. Bir de bayramlarda gidiyorlar, tekrar geliyorlar. Madem savaş yok, kal ülkende, neden yine geliyorsun buraya! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 65)

Suriyeli komşum yok, mahalleye sokmuyoruz. İletişimimiz de yok, iletişim kurmayı da düşünmüyorum. Onlara yardım da etmedim, etmeyi de düşünmüyorum. Biz kendimiz açız. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 57)

Türkiye'nin Suriyeliler konusunda politikalarını gereksiz buluyorum. Bizim zaten kendi halkımızın sorunları var. Türkiye'nin Suriyeliler maddi yardım yapmadığı, dışarıdan yardım geldiği söyleniyor ama ben bunun doğru olmadığını ve devlet tarafından yardımlar yapıldığını düşünüyorum. Belki yardımları vardır yurt dışından gelen ama çok fazla yardım ettiklerini düşünmüyorum. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 57)

Suriyeli komşum yok, ama çok az iletişimim vardı. Bazı insanlardan da duyuyorum, onların içlerinde de güzel, iyi insanlar var. Hepsi kötü değiller. Her toplumda iyi insan da var kötü insan da var. Bizim Balkan göçmenleri arasında da iyi ve kötü insanlar var. Yardım konusunda, önceden vardı birkaç kadın (onlar çok çocuk yapıyor, çok çocukları vardı) onlara yardım ettim. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 78)

Bölüm 3: Kültürel Temalar

Hayır! Ailemden birinin bir mülteci ile evlenmesini istemem. Kültür farklılığı de, önyargı de, ne dersen de! (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 52)

Bizim gibi değiller. Onların çocukları daha özgür daha bağımsız yetişiyor. Okulda bizim çocuklar onlardan korkuyorlar. Parklarda falan da bizimkiler arka planda kalıyor. Konuşmayı yani dilimizi bilmiyorlar ama kendilerini çok iyi savunuyorlar. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 53)

Kültürleri çok farklı. Sanki mağarada yaşıyorlar ne perdeleri açılıyor ne de camları. Hep kapalılar! İletişim kurulmuyor, tanımıyorum. (Kadın katılımcı, Yaş 70)

Onların orada kadın hakları yokmuş. Bir evlilik cüzdanında bir erkeğin 4 tane karısı olması gerekiyormuş. Bir de çok çocuk doğuruyorlar. Geldiklerinden beri 5-6 tane daha çocuk yaptılar. Kocası diyor bize "20-25" taneye kadar yolu var. Bir kadının 26 tane çocuk doğurması şartmış onlarda. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 65)

Hayır, istemem ailemden biri Suriyeli bulsun. Bir tane gözüm varsa, o da çıksın derim! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 70)

(Çekimser bir şekilde) Ailemden birinin bir Suriyeli ile evlenmesini tercih etmem. Kültürlerimiz çok farklı; yemeklerimiz farklı, adetlerimiz farklı. Beraber yaşayalım ama aileleri birleştirmek konusunda bilemiyorum! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 89)

Benim iki Suriyeli kiracım, çok lüks yaşıyorlardı. Çok da temizdiler. Onların Cuma günü mangal günüydü. Her hafta Cuma mangal yaparlardı. Bir de onların 26 çocuk takıntıları var. İlla 26 çocuk yapmaları lazım! Üç kiracı geldi gitti. Buraya biri 3 çocukla geldi, 5 çocukla çıktı. Bana dedi "Ablacım bizde 26 çocuk şart!". Bir o takıntıları ilginç geldi bana ama çok misafirperver ve paylaşımcılar, elleri de açık. Kadınları da çok aktif, çalışkanlar. Komşularımdan biri doğum yaptı. Doğumun hemen ertesi günü paçalarını sıvamış, yeri temizliyor. Dedim ki "Daha yeni doğum yaptın, yat dinlen", bana diyor "Yook, bizde dinlenmek yok, ev temizlenecek". Öyle temiz ve çalışkanlar. Bizim gelinler olsa doğumdan sonra günlerce yatar. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 55)

Dilimi ısırayım, asla istemem oğlum bir Suriyeli ile evlensin. Hem kültürlerimiz farklı hem de bazıları çok acayipler. Hadi evlendiler diyelim… O evde sadece oğlum eşiyle olmayacak ki! Anası geliyor, akrabası geliyor, iç içe yaşıyorlar. Bak şurada kaç aile aynı evde yaşıyor bilmiyoruz. Bir kaynana var ama kim bilir kaç gelin, kaç oğlan, kaç torun var! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 55)

Arap soyundan geldikleri için çok iyi insan olduklarını düşünmüyorum. Ailemden birisinin onlarla evlenmesini de istemem. İki tane kolum varsa biri kırılabilir, umurumda değil. Siler atarım böyle bir durumda. Senin yaşlarında kızım var, şu zamana kadar ona değil vurmak saçının teline bile zarar vermedim. Ama böyle bir durumda bacaklarını kırarım, yok öyle bir dünya! Kendi vatanını satan insan kız verilir mi! Biraz Ukrayna'ya baksalar ya! Kadınlı erkekli vatanlarını koruyorlar. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 57)

Ben uzun yol şoförü iken Suriye'den çok geçtim. Orada mola verdik. Orada bir Suriyeli gördük nargile içiyordu. O adam İstanbul'da 4 ay kalmış, Türkçe biliyordu. Hemen geldi yanımıza. Dedim "Burada neden çok çocuk var", dedi bana "Burada kızlar 12-13 yaşlarında evlenir". Orada korunmak günahmış. Çocuk düşürmek, aldırmak çok günah. Çocuk doğurma rekoru da onlardaymış. Bak senin yaşlarında kızların en az 6 tane çocuğu var. Bir de orada hiç şişman kadın görmedim. O kadar çocuk doğuruyorlar, yiyorlar içiyorlar ama hala tığ gibiler. Bizim buradakiler gibi değiller, bizde kilolu çok var maşallah! (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 78)

Vatandaşlık almaları konusunda bir şey diyemem, günaha girerim. Onlar da insan! O da can taşıyor. Mesela senin babaannen ve büyükbaban da göçmen, biz de başka yerden geldik buraya. Ülkeyi de dili de okullarda burada öğrendik. Onlar da bizim gibi işte, gelmişler ama bilgileri yok. Onlar hakkında olumsuz yorum yaparsam haksızlık olur. Evlilik konusunda da bir şey diyemem. Eğer ailemdeki kişi bir Suriyeli severse evlenir, ben karışamam. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 78)

Bölüm 4: Ekonomi

İllaki ekonomiyi etkilediler. Biz 10 liraya, 15 liraya çalışırken onlar karın tokluğuna çalıştığı için çok kişi işsiz kaldı. Benim halkımın sigortası yok, işi yok ama onlar ucuz olduğu için daha çok imkan sağlanıyor onlara. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 52)

Onlara hem maaş bağlanıyor hem de hastane bile onlara öncülük tanıyor. Üniversitelere sınavsız giriliyor. Önce de söyledim ya aşırı imkan ve taviz verildi! (Erkek katılımcı, Yaş 52)

Ekonomiyi çok olumsuz etkilediler. Türkiye'de zaten şu anda bir fakirlik var. Onlar da gelince daha da arttı! Nüfus artıyor ama imkanlar azalıyor. Alınan kararlar konusunda kararsızım ama bu şekilde iki taraf da mağdur. (Kadın katılımcı, Yaş 50)

Ekonomimizi çok olumsuz etkilediler. Bak biz bir şey alamıyoruz ama onların Pazar arabaları tıklım tıklım dolu! Kıyafet nasıl alıyorlar, her şeyleri var. Biz alamıyoruz onların aldığını!(Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 51)

İş anlamında çok engel oldular bizlere. Onlar ucuza çalışıyorlar diye bizim eşlerimiz, çocuklarımız eskisi gibi kolay iş bulamıyor. Zaten ekonomimiz kötü, buna gerek var mıydı? Yani ilk geldiklerinde çok merhamet ettik, tabii ölmelerini istemem. Ama artık gitsinler, ekonomik olarak zarar veriyorlar. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 53)

Devlet onlara yardım vermiyormuş. Kadınla konuştum. Avrupa onlara çok yardım yapmış, para vermiş Türkiye'ye; 150 dolar kişi başına. Ama burada onlara kişi başına sadece 150 TL verilmiş. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 70)

Ben bir Suriyeli komşumdan duydum, birkaç yıl önce. Hem Türkiye kişi başı 1000 TL veriyormuş hem de Suriye'den 1000 TL geliyormuş. Ama bize vermezler! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 70)

Onlar bizden iyi geçiniyor kızım! Her hafta mangal, her gün çeşit çeşit yemekler.

Bizden daha zenginler. Hem devlet para veriyor hem de sigortasız çalışıyorlar. Biz ise pazara gidince hiçbir şey alamıyoruz. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 65)

Devlet bütün yardımı onlara yapıyor. Bize bayram için 1000 TL veriyor, onlara 1500 TL veriyor. Onlara kişi başı para veriliyor, bize ise aile başı! Verirseler, alan da olur. Şimdi sana biri para verseler almayacak mısın, alırsın! Onlar da alıyor doğal olarak. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 55)

İşsizlik oranı arttı, onlar gelince. Onlar burada sigortasız çalışıyorlar, bizim gençlerimize iş yok! İşveren de sigorta ödemek istemediği için Suriyelileri sigortasız çalıştırmak için alıyorlar. Bizim gençlerimiz de işsiz kalıyor. Zaten Yeşil Kart ile de hastanede bakılıyorlar. Onlara her şey bedava! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 55)

Suriyelilerin ekonomiyi olumsuz etkilediğini düşünüyorum. Ayakkabıcılar Sitesi'nde çalışanların %60'ına yakını Suriyeli. Atıyorum biz 1000 TL yevmiye alıyorsak, işveren 300 TL'ye çalışacak Suriyeli bulunca bizleri işten çıkarıyor. İşsiz kaldı çok kişi. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 57)

Ekonomiyi bozdular, işsizlik arttı. Kalacak yere veya bir ekmek parasına çalışıyorlar. Biz de hakkımızı alamıyoruz, patronlar nasılsa ucuz işçiyi bulmuşlar. Çok kişiyi işten çıkardılar Suriyeliler gelince. Bir de devletten yardım alıyorlar, onlara bir sürü hak da verildi. Olan bize oldu. Bize devlet yardım etmemişti ilk geldiğimiz zamanlarda. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 56)

Bölüm 5: Güvenlik

Suriyeliler bölgenin güvenliğini olumsuz etkiledi! Aşırı derecede şiddet olmaya başladı buralarda. Benim Suriyeli komşum yok ama duydum. Mesela bizim Boşnaklar kavga ettiler. Birinin kızına mı laf atmış, birinin karısına mı bir şey söylemişler… O

yüzden Çınar Park'ın orada kavga çıktı. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 52)

O gün Suriyeli bir kadınla aynı kuafördeydik. Kadınla konuştuk, ülkeyi Atatürk'ün kurduğunu bilmiyor bile! Sanıyor ki şu anki hükümet ile Türkiye kuruldu. Tek eşlilik, boşanma hakkı, kadın hakları gibi şeyleri sanıyorlar ki şimdiki hükümet getirdi. Hiç bilmiyorlar, Türkiye'nin tarihini. Bu beni çok sinirlendirdi ve korkuttu. Düşünsene sürekli üreyen ve Türkiye tarihini bilmeyen bir toplum! İleride sayıları bizim sayımızı geçer, vatanımızda yabancı oluruz, atarlar bizi buradan! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 70)

Göreceksiniz, yarın öbür gün bizi buradan sürerler! Bunda bizim gençlerin de suçu var! Kültürümüzü devam ettiremiyorlar, ortada kültür falan kalmadı! Biz sahip çıkmazsak onlar da bizim olanı alır tabii! (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 65)

Erkekleri yürürken seni şöyle bir süzerler. Sanki hayatlarında kadın görmemişler! Kadınlarını kapatıyorlar, dışarıda açık kadın görünce de bakıyorlar. Eskiden bu kadar tecavüz, taciz yoktu. Bunlar geldi geleli ortalık karıştı. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 65)

Eğer onlara vatandaşlık verilirse, burayı Suriye yaparlar. Araplaştırırlar. Ne kadına değer veriyorlar, ne de kültürlerimiz benziyor! Onların burada kalması uzun vadede tehlikeli olabilir. Misafir olarak iyiler hoşlar ama zamanı gelince dönsünler ülkelerine. (Kadın Katılımcı, Yaş 55)

Mahallede boyuna kavga olmaya başladı. Kavgaların sebebi adamların terbiyesizliği; kızlarımıza laf atıyorlar. Hırsızlık yapanları da var. Hangisini sayayım! İletişim kurmayı bilmiyorlar, iletişim şekilleri kötü. İnsanlar onlara yardım etmeye mecburmuş gibi hissettiriyorlar, böyle davranıyorlar. Sen zıt bir şey söyleyince de terbiyesizlik yapıyorlar. Ayrıca ülkenin güvenliği de tehlikede! Allah korusun Türkiye'de bir iç karışıklık olsa, başka milletten insanlar farklı ideolojilerle bunu kışkırtabilirler. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 57)

Benim başıma bir şey gelmedi ama duydum ki 4-5 tane Suriyeli çocuk bizim çocuklarımızı dövmüşler. Ama ben görmedim, benim yaşadığım mahallede de sorun yaşanmadı. (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 78)

Çok kavga oldu çok! Kızlarımıza kadınlarımıza laf atıyorlar, biz de toplanıp dövüyoruz onları. Birilerinin bu olaya dur demesi gerekiyor, karşı çıkmasak kim bilir kızlarımıza neler yapacaklar! Bazen onların kadınlarını da uyarıyoruz, gitsinler kocalarını oğullarını uyarsınlar diye. Biz onların kadınlarına laf atsak hoş olur mu! Ama artık onu da yapacağız böyle giderse, görsünler bakalım nasıl oluyormuş! (Erkek Katılımcı, Yaş 56)

Appendix D: Ethics Committee Approval

SAYI : B.30.2.İEÜ.0.05.05-**020**-*185*   27.01.2022 **KONU**
: Etik Kurul Kararı hk.

Sayın Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Serhun Al ve Gizem Dinçseven,

"Göçmenlerin Mültecilere Yaklaşımı: Çamdibi İncelemesi" başlıklı projenizin etik uygunluğu konusundaki başvurunuz sonuçlanmıştır.

Etik Kurulumuz 27.01.2022 tarihinde sizin başvurunuzun da içinde bulunduğu bir gündemle toplanmış ve Etik Kurul üyeleri projeleri incelemiştir.

Sonuçta 27.01.2022 tarihinde **"Göçmenlerin Mültecilere Yaklaşımı: Çamdibi İncelemesi"** konulu projenizin etik açıdan uygun olduğuna oy birliğiyle karar verilmiştir.

Gereği için bilgilerinize sunarım.
Saygılarımla,

Prof. Dr. Murat Bengisu
Etik Kurul Başkanı