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Resilience for refugees, IDPs, returnees and host communities
in response to the protracted Syrian and Iraqi crises

SOCIAL COHESION

BÜYÜKŞEHİR
GAZİANTEP

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Güçlendirilmesine Destek" projesi
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FİNAL RAPORU

GAZİANTEP
ODAKLI
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FINAL REPORT

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**GAZIANTEP
2022**

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Conducting surveys is a challenge in and of itself, and overcoming the challenges requires good teamwork, well-planning, effective time-management, reliable information, and adopting approaches based on the right perspectives. Without the contribution and help of many people from the planning step of the research to the application and writing and sharing with other scholars and interlocutors, this survey would have been much harder to conduct. This survey went through many phases, many people spared no effort on their contributions and not mentioning them would be unthinkable.

We are thankful to the team of GIZ QUDRA programme for providing us with the opportunity to conduct this survey. We would like to extend our gratitude to Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality Deputy Secretary General Dr. Abdullah AKSOY for always giving us strength through his support and trust.

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In large-scale surveys, it is impossible to advance without the understanding and cooperation of the local official institutions; and in this respect, Gaziantep Province is special. We

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September 2022

Dr. Mehmet Nuri GÜLTEKİN

On behalf of the Project Team

INTRODUCTION

The issue of Syrian refugees in Türkiye and the world is still one of the most dynamic topics. In the 2010s, humanitarian crises became more noticeable and quickly spread thanks to new technologies and means of communication. Until the 2010s, humanitarian crises such as wars, migration, and refugees in Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, Europe, and Asia were becoming visible and being announced through the traditional devices. However, the severity of the Syrian Civil War and its consequences —such as the extent of the refugee wave, footage of the humanitarian catastrophe and migration, and the news and comments— have been engraved in people’s minds. The development level, prevalence, and novelty of new technologies and means of communication have not eased the pain of humanitarian crises but they have made the issue more visible and provided the issue of migration and refugees to be discussed more frequently and seriously.

While humanitarian crises have been discussed in the world, people in Syria, witnessing one of the most violent political and humanitarian crises of the 21st century shaped by the Arab Spring, have escaped to various countries in the world. Syria has become an area where many humanitarian and political considerations are involved. Although the issue of Syrian refugees has been overshadowed by the issue of Ukrainian refugees that emerged Spring 2022, they are still in the middle of the daily life, politics, and economical and legal disputes of many countries including Türkiye.

In 2022, Türkiye is one of the countries that still deals with the issue of Syrian refugees in all aspects. Therefore, focusing on some aspects of this complicated social issue, which set off over 10 years ago, surely makes it easier to understand the social reality despite the whole political arguments and the chaos in daily life.

Although the topic of Syrian refugees in Türkiye and the world cannot be separated from global migration and refugees, the issue of migrants and refugees of each country has unique qualities. In other words, the issue of Syrian refugees in the world is both similar to and different from the other refugee waves. It means, in terms of the refugee issue in Türkiye, Syrians under temporary protection and other migrants and refugees (e.g., the Afghans, the Iraqis, the South Asians, or the Africans) do not necessarily have many similarities. Likewise, Syrians under temporary protection in different provinces of Türkiye have both similar and distinct features, i.e., Syrians under temporary protection living in different provinces show various patterns akin to those of the local people. All qualities of general social patterns, such as class differences and ethnic and regional distributions, are also valid for Syrians under temporary protection.

By mid-2022, there are 3 million 651 thousand Syrians under temporary protection¹ in Türkiye. Surely, some common features of this population are undeniable. For instance, according to the data provided by the Ministry of Interior Presidency of Migration Management at different times, around 50% of the registered Syrians under temporary protection in Türkiye live in border

¹ <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638> Access: 17.08.2022

provinces like Gaziantep, Hatay, Kilis, and Şanlıurfa. Additionally, half the population is under 18. Nevertheless, just like the local population, this Syrian population is also composed of people with different class, economic, and cultural backgrounds.

According to the August 2022 data, the number of the registered Syrians residing within the borders of Gaziantep Province is 465,183. This number means that Gaziantep Province is second only to Istanbul in terms of hosting the highest population of Syrians under temporary protection. Almost 18% of the whole population of Gaziantep province (2,130,000) is composed of Syrians under temporary protection. Therefore, Gaziantep Province is among the cities with the densest population of Syrians under temporary protection (SuTP), along with Hatay, Kilis, and Şanlıurfa.

The data provided in July 2022 by the Gaziantep Governorate Provincial Migration Management Directorate reveals that 274,078 out of the 465,183 Syrians under temporary protection are registered in the neighborhood of Şahinbey district, which is one of the two central districts. 108,277 SuTP are registered in Şehitkamil. The other 83,000 are registered in the other districts of Gaziantep Province at various rates. These data show that 82% of the Syrians under temporary protection registered in Gaziantep Province live in the two central districts, Şahinbey and Şehitkamil. About 61% of all the SuTP registered in the metropolitan city center reside in Şahinbey, whereas the rest are in Şehitkamil. Just as the distribution of this population to these two districts is unequal, the distribution to the neighborhoods also varies. Similar to the local population's socio-economic patterns in these two districts, the Syrians of the low-income class, too, are encountered more frequently in the low-income neighborhoods. This socio-economic situation also represents the most basic result of being a migrant or refugee.

Purpose, Scope, and Methodology

The main purpose of the survey *Gaziantep Monitor 2022* is to reveal the general life patterns of not only the Syrians under temporary protection but also the locals assumed to have social and physical conditions similar to SuTP, and their social cohesion in daily life. For this reason, the topics of the survey include daily life relationships, neighbor relations, employment experiences, income and expenses, access to educational and health services, and relations with official institutions. Another aim of the survey is to indicate the household patterns of both Syrians under temporary protection and locals. During the past eleven years, many problems, prejudices, and daily or periodical political considerations and arguments have emerged. Despite this fact, coexistence and social cohesion find a way in daily social practices. Therefore, this survey intends to find out what enables daily life to continue despite various arguments and worries.

The population this survey examines is made up of 382,355 Syrians under temporary protection officially registered in Şahinbey and Şehitkamil and the locals living in the same neighborhoods (even in the same streets), since understanding the social relationships between the SuTP and the locals means to get information on over 80% of the SuTP registered in the province.

Moreover, this project on the Syrians under temporary protection and locals in Gaziantep Province is a follow-up to the surveys conducted by Gaziantep University Department of Sociology since 2017. *Syrians in Gaziantep: Adaptation, Expectations, and Challenges*, conducted in 2017

and published in 2018 in three languages (Turkish, English, and Arabic), focused on the Syrians under temporary protection in the city center. The follow-up research project, documentary, and book called *Syrians in Gaziantep: Success Stories* were dedicated to the comprehension of social cohesion in the city and dynamics behind “success”. *Gaziantep Monitor 2020*, which was conducted in 2020 and published in 2021 in three volumes, was an attempt to understand social cohesion and coexistence through the daily life of the Syrians and locals in Gaziantep Province city center. Similarly, *Gendered Implications of COVID-19 in Southeast Turkey* was carried out in Gaziantep, Kilis, and Şanlıurfa city centers in 2021 to learn about the pandemic experiences of the Syrians under temporary protection and host community members. Another subsidiary study is the workshop dedicated to determining the problems with the participation of the Syrian students to higher education. At the end of the workshop, a report called “Integration of Syrian Students to Higher Education” was published. Accordingly, *Gaziantep Monitor 2022* can be viewed as a follow-up to these projects.

Gaziantep Monitor 2022 started officially after the protocols with Gaziantep Metropolitan Municipality and Gaziantep University Technology Transfer Office (TARGET) were signed on July 27, 2022. The primary concern of the survey is to take a close look at social cohesion among the Syrians under temporary protection and between the host community members and Syrians under temporary protection living in the city center. This survey aims to examine the dynamics behind social cohesion and how it has reflected on daily life in the past ten years.

To this end, the number of officially registered Syrians under temporary protection by neighborhoods and districts was requested first from Gaziantep Governorate. Then, the objective was obtaining data from 3,000 persons (1,500 Syrians and 1,500 locals) at first. This decision was reconsidered scientifically, statistically, and methodologically. Accordingly, it was decided to conduct interviews with at least 1,500 households. Taking the statistical distribution of the Syrians under temporary protection by the numbers as a reference point, it was estimated that carrying out interviews with 750 Syrian and 750 local households would be mathematically and demographically enough to obtain data about 3,000 people. However, to avoid possible unfavorable situations that may emerge in the field, 10% of the agreed upon number was also included in the survey. As a result, 1,644 households were visited, and 7,336 people filled in the questionnaires during the process of data gathering that began on August 3 and ended on August 15. While 3,952 out of 7,336 respondents were Syrians under temporary protection, 3,384 of them were host community members. However, some of the interpretations in the next chapters do not include all data about the 1,644 households. The data selected in accordance with the characteristics of questions and evaluation were interpreted.

Before data gathering started, the approval of Gaziantep University Social and Human Sciences Ethical Committee and the license of Gaziantep Governorate were obtained, which was a requisite for the interviewers’ safety.

The trainings of the students that would conduct the interviews were given by the Gaziantep University Department of Sociology on July 29, 2022. In the trainings, the interviewers were informed about necessary methods and introduced to the software KoBo Toolbox. Additionally, they were informed about field interactions, behaviors, and communication ways as well as health and hygiene topics.

During the selection process of 21 students to do the interviews in Turkish and Arabic, gender distribution was considered. The neighborhoods where the survey would be conducted were divided into six categories in accordance with TurkStat data, houses' current market value, and socio-economic information on the city. The six categories of neighborhoods are made up of 2 upper-income level, 2 middle-income level, and 2 low-income level neighborhoods. However, since the main objective of the survey is to indicate social cohesion of the Syrians, neighborhood and sample distributions were arranged according to the residence information provided by Gaziantep Governorate Provincial Migration Management Directorate. This information points out low, middle and low-income neighborhoods. Therefore, the following analyses indicate that most of the Syrians and locals reside in the neighborhoods are in low and middle-income socio-economic groups.

During the distribution of the 1,644 household interviews, the socio-economic level in the two central districts of Gaziantep Province and the density of the Syrian population under temporary protection were considered. Most of the Syrians under temporary protection live in the low-middle and low-income neighborhoods. Therefore, prioritizing this kind of neighborhoods in the survey sample is a methodological necessity based on demographic reasons. The neighborhoods where the data was obtained from 1,644 households and 7,336 respondents was distributed as²: 7 households in the high-income neighborhoods, 11 in the high-middle-income neighborhoods, 286 in the middle-income neighborhoods, and 1,340 in the low-income neighborhoods.

Apart from collecting data via questionnaires, 12 focus group discussions (FGDs) were held during the survey. Considering equal distribution of the Syrians and the locals, age groups, and gender, 67 persons in total were interviewed. 12 FGDs were held in total, and five of them were with locals, whereas seven of them were with Syrians under temporary protection. The moderator was an academic in each discussion. Also, two research assistants, one interpreter (when necessary), and reporters attended each meeting. To provide a more comfortable environment for the FGDs, all meetings were held in Narlıtepe Ensar Community Center. The required transportation service was provided so that the respondents living in farther neighborhoods could arrive in the Community Center. FGDs were kept in different categories. Three of the 12 FGDs were with local women, while two were with the local men. Two were held with the Syrian men, the remaining five with the Syrian women. It was prioritized to not mix genders in the FGDs, which proved to be an appropriate strategy. The respondents participating in the FGDs were 67 local and Syrian people from 22 different neighborhoods which are Narlıtepe, Fırat, Barak, Aktepe, Vatan, Yeditepe, Değirmişem, Kolejtepe, Çıksorut, Mavikent, Şehreküstü, Aydınbaba, Konak, Mevlana, Cumhuriyet, İstiklal, 60. Yıl, Deniz, Seyrantepe, 23 Nisan, Gazikent, and Hoşgör. Including the meetings for the FGDs, a consent form was read to the respondents during the interviews for the survey, and the signed consent forms were taken from the 67 respondents in the FGDs.

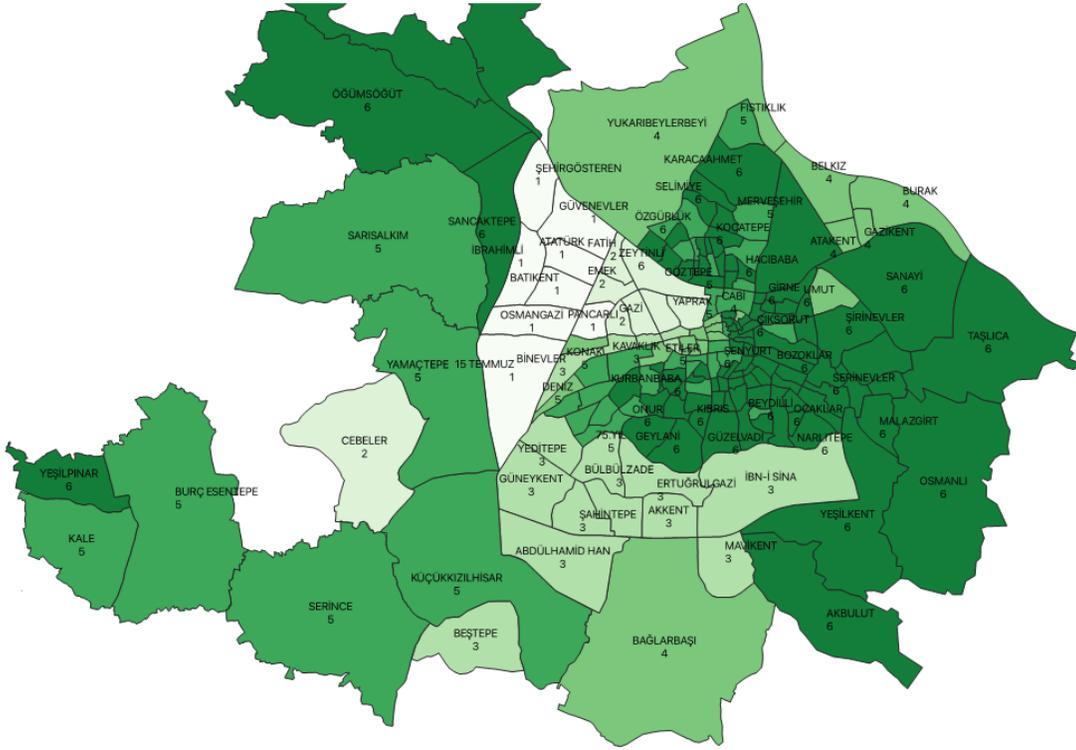
Gaziantep Monitor 2022 intends to learn about the daily life interactions of the Syrians under temporary protection and locals who live in the neighborhoods in Gaziantep Province city

² The list in which the neighborhoods were classified into six groups is in attachment as APPENDIX at the end of the report.

center. Another objective of this survey is to gather information on the social relations of Syrians under temporary protection with their neighbors, official institutions, the employment life, economic activities, and their access to services such as housing, health, and education. To these ends, 204 questions were categorized under certain titles and asked by giving options for answers. The questionnaire forms were filled in on the data collection software, KoBo Toolbox. The questions were translated into English and Arabic in advance to collect reliable data. The FGDs aimed to collect data that could not be gathered through the questionnaire forms.

The social cohesion-focused survey and related focus group discussions were conducted through the questions categorized under some titles that are general demographic information, education, employment and work, household livelihood, household members, education and school, housing, relations with neighborhood and city, health, future expectations, free time activities, friendship, neighbor relations, and problems with the current agenda.

MAP OF THE SURVEY FIELD



Distribution of the Neighborhoods' Socio-Economic Levels (Gaziantep Province in General)

Socio-economic Level

No. 1: High Socio-Economic Level

No. 2: High-Middle Socio-Economic Level

No. 3 and 4: Middle Socio-Economic Level

No. 5 and 6: Low Socio-Economic Level

DEMOGRAPHIC FINDINGS

The responses of 7,336 participants point out a balanced distribution, which is suitable with the aim of the survey. Whereas the number of the Syrian respondents is slightly more than that of the locals, the ratio of men to women is fair.

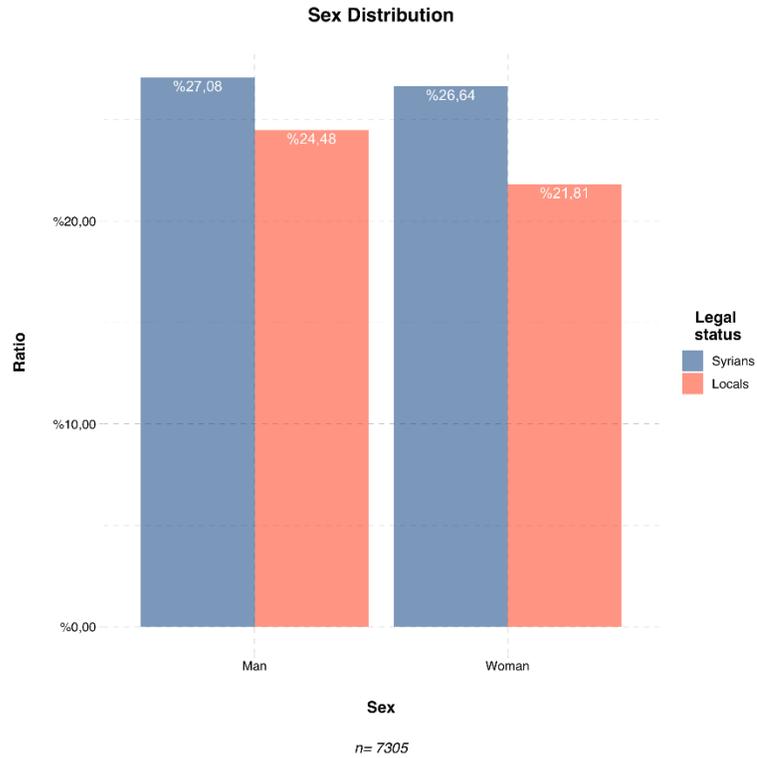


Figure 1: Gender Distribution

As for the age distribution, the findings are compatible with the demographics of Türkiye. The age average of 3,600,000 Syrians under temporary protection living in Türkiye is younger than the local population³. The same difference is also inferred from the sample of this survey. The age average of the Syrian respondents is 19, while it is 26 for the locals.

³ <https://multeciler.org.tr/turkiyedeki-suriyeli-sayisi/> Access: 01.09.2022

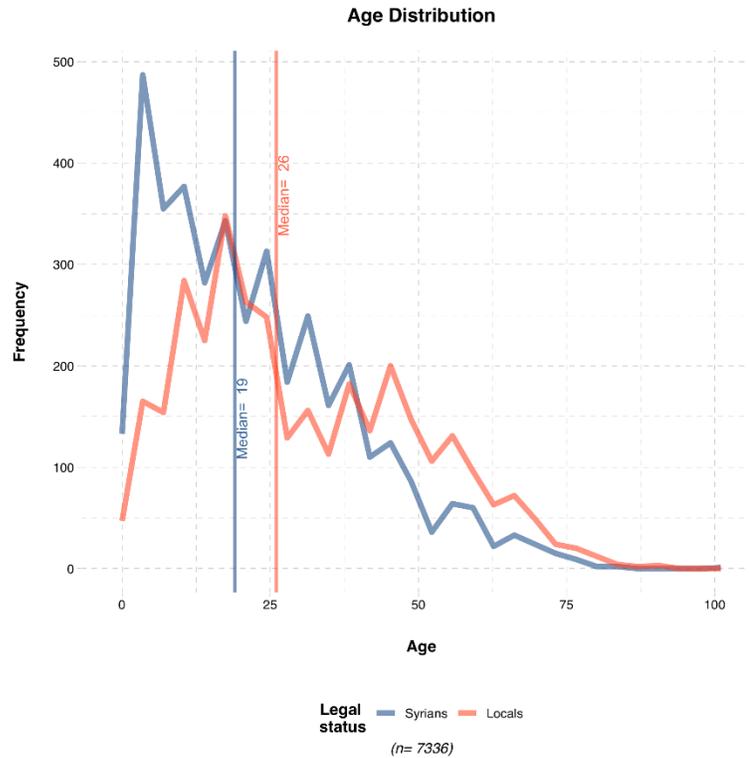


Figure 2: Age Distribution

The general age average of the 7,336 respondents indicates the presence of a relatively young population in Gaziantep Province. Regardless of nationality, the median age of the respondents is 22, which means a young population. This gives an opinion on some possible tendencies concerning daily life interactions such as social cohesion, coexistence, education, and health services, since these demographic findings prove the necessity of making policies that address the socio-cultural expectations of the young population.

The results collected from the field provide important clues about the age distribution of household patterns. Whereas the median age is 19 for the Syrians under temporary protection, it is 26 for the local households. Considering this survey includes the Syrian and local households in the same streets, the Syrian population in the province is younger.

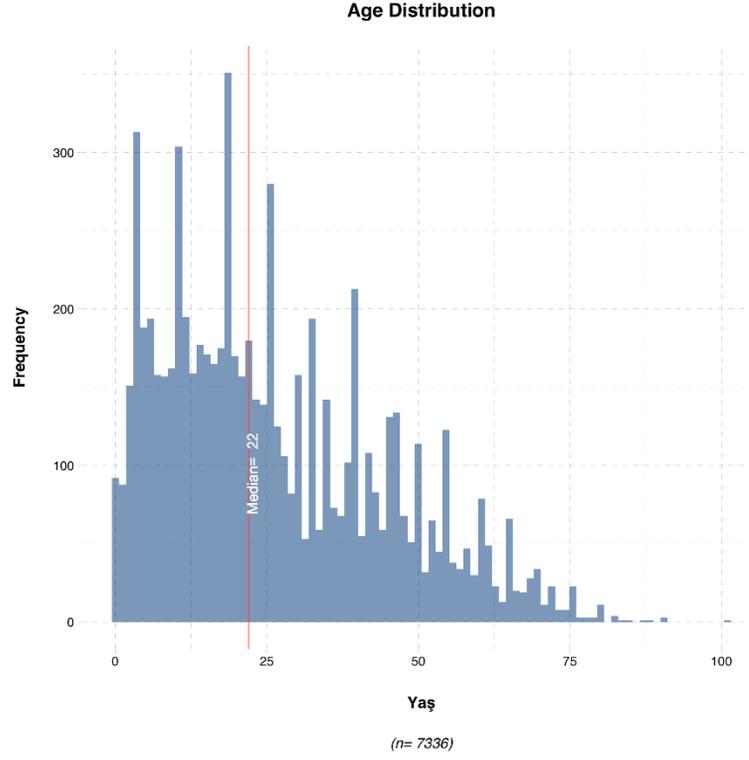


Figure 3: Age Distribution (Syrians under temporary protection and Locals)

Evaluating the median age of the SuTP and locals together, the average in Gaziantep Province is relatively younger than in Türkiye. The median age in Türkiye is 33.1 according to the official statistics⁴, while it is 26 for the locals and 19 for the Syrians under temporary protection.

⁴ <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Adrese-Dayalı-Nüfus-Kayıt-Sistemi-Sonuçları-2021-45500&dil=1> Access: 02.08.2022

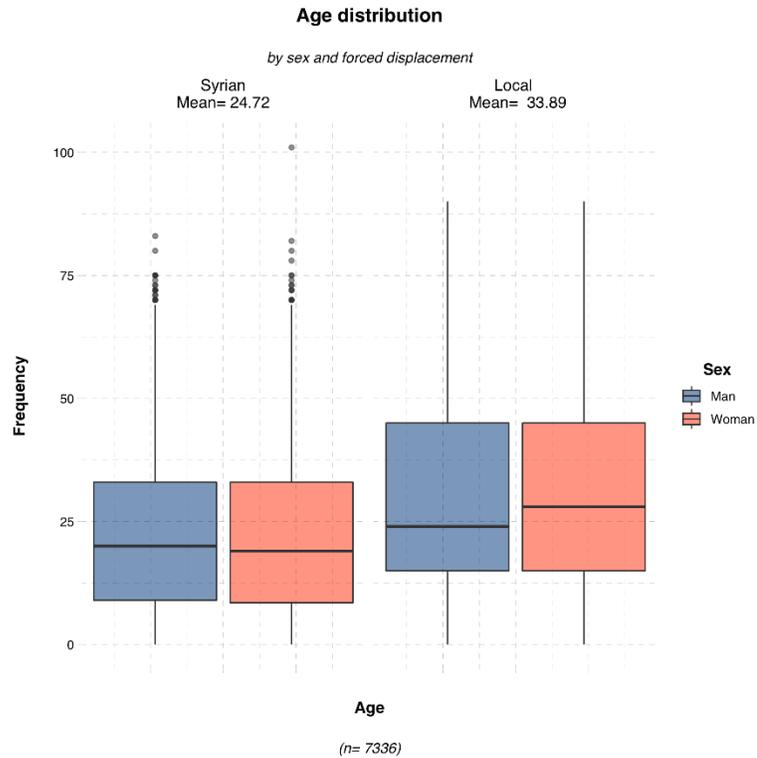


Figure 4: Age Diagram of Syrians under temporary protection and Locals

Taking a look at the ages of the household members, the average of the Syrian households is also much younger than the locals' just as the median. The average is under 25 for both Syrian men and women under temporary protection, and the average of both genders are close to each other. On the other hand, the age average is 33.8 for the local households, and women's age average is slightly higher than the men's.

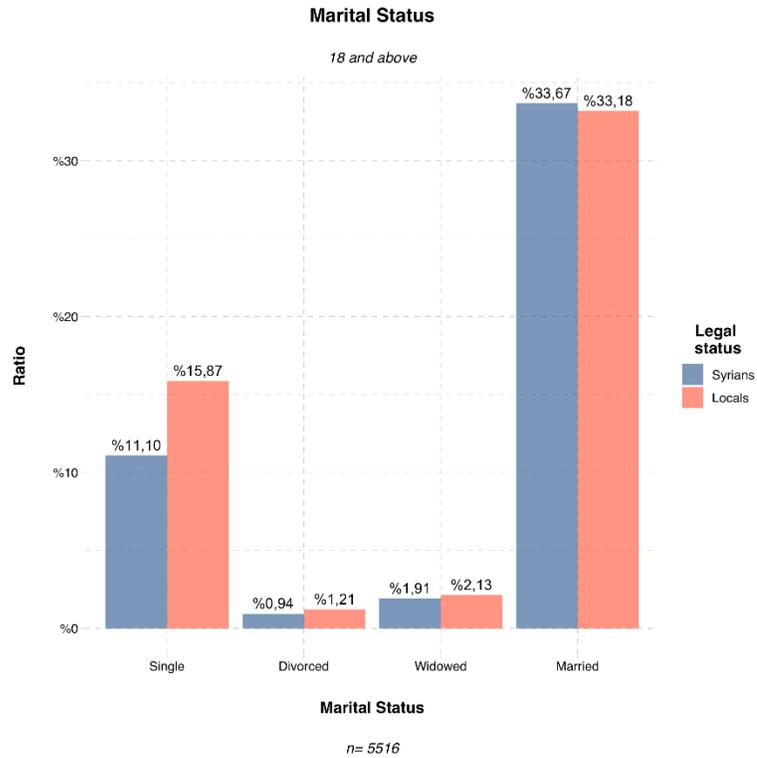


Figure 5: Marital Status

The data about the marital status of the respondents are similar to the ones obtained in the previous surveys. Most respondents- 74.3% of the Syrians under temporary protection and 65.7% of the locals- are married. Also, 18.2% of the Syrians and 25.1% of the locals are single. The divorced population corresponds to 2% for both Syrian and local respondents, while the rate of the widowed is 5.2% for the SuTP and 6.2% for the locals. Therefore, the fact that the Syrian population is younger affects their marriage rates as well.

EDUCATION

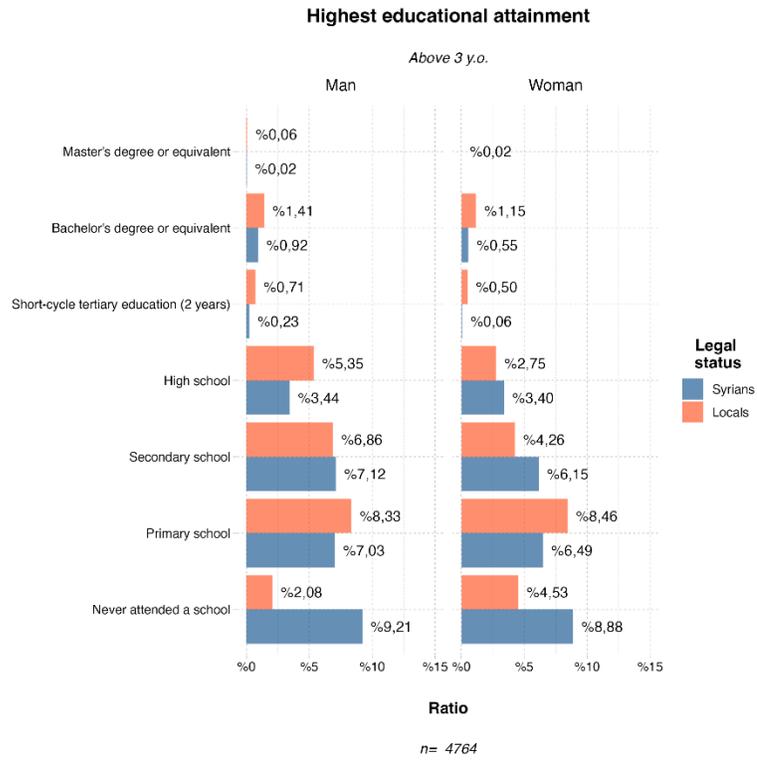


Figure 6: Highest Educational Attainment

As for the level of education, there are some similarities and differences between the Syrians under temporary protection and locals. Those who never attended school are more common in the Syrian group than in the local group. However, women of both groups are more disadvantaged. Furthermore, comparing the rates of Syrian and local women who never attended school, Syrian women are almost twice as much disadvantaged. As for the male respondents, Syrian men are four times more disadvantaged than the local men in terms of attending school. Therefore, the education pattern for the Syrians is more unfavorable than for the locals. At all educational stages, except for secondary school, locals are more advantaged than Syrians. Although the rates of primary school attendance and continuation of the education support social cohesion and social integration, a totally positive scenario is yet to be seen. However, there is no doubt that if the Syrian primary and secondary school students continue their education in high schools and universities, social cohesion and social integration will be much easier for them.

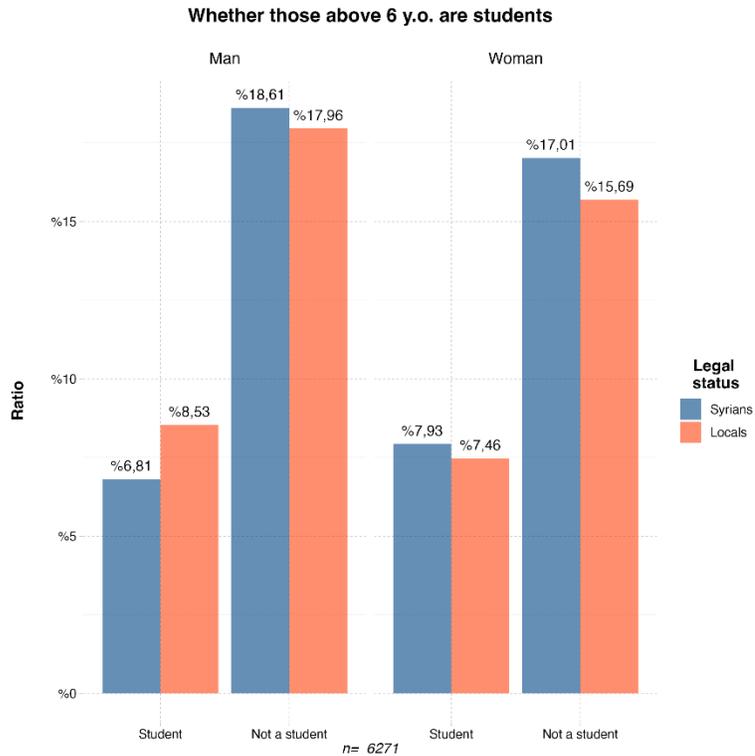


Figure 7: Whether Those Above 6 Years Old Are Students

The present education patterns indicate that most household members are not school-age. According to survey results, the schooling rates of the Syrians under temporary protection and locals have started to become similar after 11 years. Since the schooling at primary school level started being taken more seriously after 2017, the rates of attendance in primary school are similar for both groups.

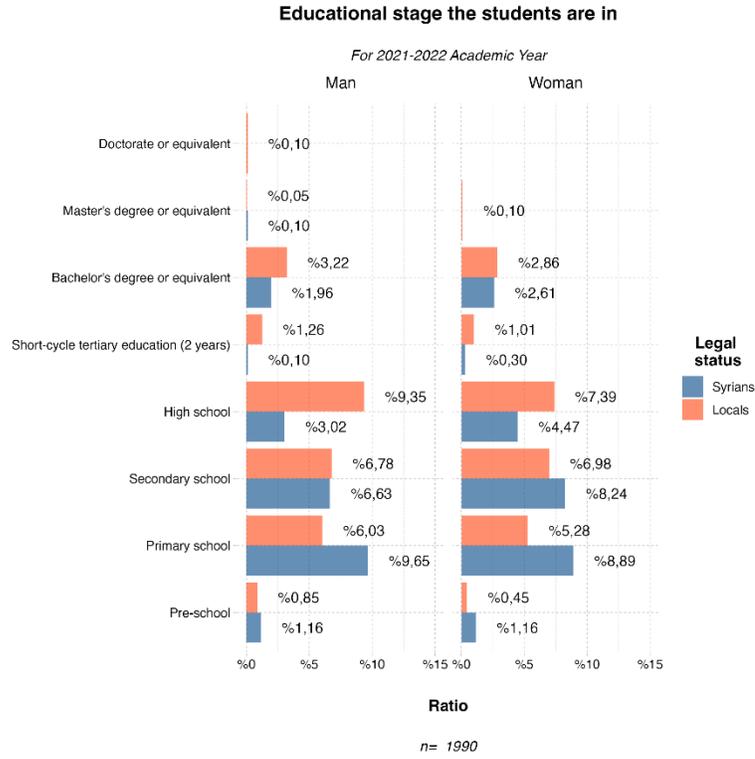


Figure 8: Educational Stage the Students Are in

As a result of the survey field being mostly composed of the low-income neighborhoods, a differentiation between the SuTP and locals is observed for the period just after secondary school. However, one of the two most noticeable issues is the schooling rates in pre-school. It is too low for both groups. The other is the disadvantaged situation of women. Nevertheless, in the survey field, around two thousand persons are in one of the educational stages, and the rates for primary and secondary school stages are relatively high. Therefore, this is a promising result.

On the other hand, the research on Syrians conducted in both Gaziantep Province⁵ and Türkiye⁶ emphasize the educational problems. Although education provides the basic functions

⁵ Gültekin, M.N., Giritlioğlu, İ., Karadaş, Y., Soyudoğan, M., Leyla Kuzu, Ş., Gülhan, S.T., Doğanoglu, M., Utanır, A., Aslan, Ç., İncetahtacı, N., (2018) *Gaziantep'teki Suriyeliler: Uyum, Beklentiler ve Zorluklar (Özet Rapor)*, Gaziantep: Gaziantep Üniversitesi Yayınları (ilerleyen sayfalarda "2018 araştırması" olarak anılacaktır. y.n); Gültekin, M.N., Yücebaş, M., Soyudoğan M., Atasü Topçuoğlu, R., Doğanoglu, M., Leyla Kuzu, Ş., Gülhan, S.T., Aslan, A., İncetahtacı, N., Utanır, A., Aslan, Ç., Karayakupoglu, H.C., Kaya, M., Açıkgoz, Ü., & Özhazar, İ. (2021). *Gaziantep Monitörü 2020: Gaziantep'liler*. SABEV Yayınları; Gültekin, M.N., Yücebaş, M., Soyudoğan, M., Atasü Topçuoğlu, R., Doğanoglu, M., Leyla Kuzu, Ş., Gülhan, S. T., Aslan, A., İncetahtacı, N., Utanır, A., Aslan, Ç., Kaya, M., Karayakupoglu, H.C., Açıkgoz, Ü., Özhazar, İ., (2021) *Gaziantep Monitörü 2020 – Suriyeliler*, Ankara: SABEV Yayınları. (ilerleyen sayfalarda "2020 araştırması" olarak anılacaktır. y.n); Gültekin, M.N., Soyudoğan M., Doğanoglu, M., Yücebaş, S., Leyla Kuzu, Ş., Yücebaş, M., İncetahtacı, N., Karayakupoglu, H.C., Utanır, A., Kaya, M., Açıkgoz, Ü., & Kaya, M. (2022). *Gendered Implications of COVID-19 in Southeast Turkey: The Case of Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa and Kilis, Final Report*. Link: [http://sosyoloji.gantep.edu.tr/upload/files/GENDERED%20IMPLICATIONS%20OF%20COVID-19%20IN%20SOUTHEAST%20TURKEY\(2\).pdf](http://sosyoloji.gantep.edu.tr/upload/files/GENDERED%20IMPLICATIONS%20OF%20COVID-19%20IN%20SOUTHEAST%20TURKEY(2).pdf) (On the next pages, it is going to be mentioned as "the 2021 Survey.")

⁶ Erdoğan, M. (2021) *Suriyeliler Barometresi-2020: Suriyelilerle Uyum İçinde Yaşamın Çerçevesi*, Ankara: Eğiten Kitap Publishing.

for the social cohesion and social integration processes, the Syrian students included in the curriculum of the Turkish Ministry of Education after the cancellation of the Temporary Education Centers continue to have various problems. It is understood during the FGDs that the problem is not caused by access to education, but by in-school interactions. The reason for these educational problems that adversely affect the social cohesion process is not simply being a refugee. The class issue related to the power relations in socio-economical hierarchy and the socio-cultural conditions are also effective. The negative conditions resulting from being a refugee are undoubtedly also valid for educational processes in Gaziantep Province; however, since some problems with education were already prevalent in the neighborhoods even before the Syrians under temporary protection and locals began to live together, the SuTP have become a part of “social cohesion” by experiencing the same problems.

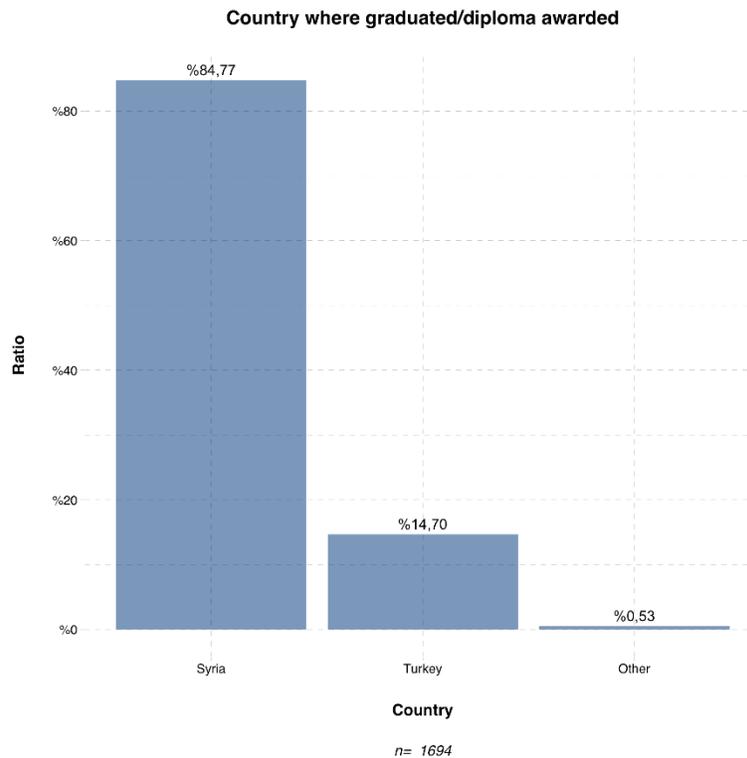


Figure 9: Country Where Syrians under temporary protection Received Their Diplomas

About 85% of the Syrians under temporary protection who have a diploma and live in Gaziantep Province were awarded their diplomas in Syria. The remaining 15% points out the tough conditions experienced in the 11-year period and the high number of children and youngsters in Syrian population. In this period, the Syrians under temporary protection have been able to get involved in education in Gaziantep Province (and Türkiye) to some extent despite the challenges. The involvement of young generations in education system affects both their future and their social cohesion and relations with the social system that they try to be included.

Moreover, in the sample group, there are no Syrian men or women with a doctorate degree. The same applies to local women. Additionally, there are no Syrian women with a

master’s degree. However, the number of Syrian women with a bachelor’s degree is higher than that of local women.

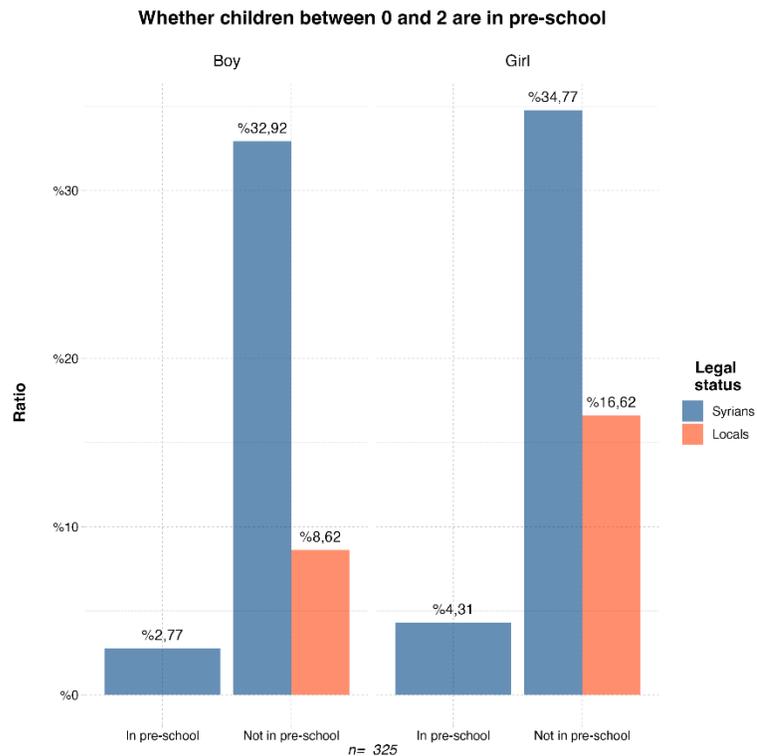


Figure 10: Whether the Children between 0 and 2 Go to Nurseries

This bar chart about the care and education of children between the ages of 0 and 2 provides significant information on education that could, at times, go unnoticed⁷. This data can be evaluated together with some other variables such as household pattern, class, and socio-cultural background. The survey field, which is mostly comprised of the low-income neighborhoods, reveals that care for the children between the ages of 0 and 2 is mostly provided at home and by family members. The fact that only 3% of the children are sent to school or nurseries can be evaluated together with their socio-economic situations. More importantly, there is no significant difference between Syrians under temporary protection and locals on this issue because of the socio-economical similarities.

⁷ This question was posed to the respondents that have children not school age. The institutions meant here are the professional ones where the children between the ages of 0 and 2 are sent because of employment conditions.

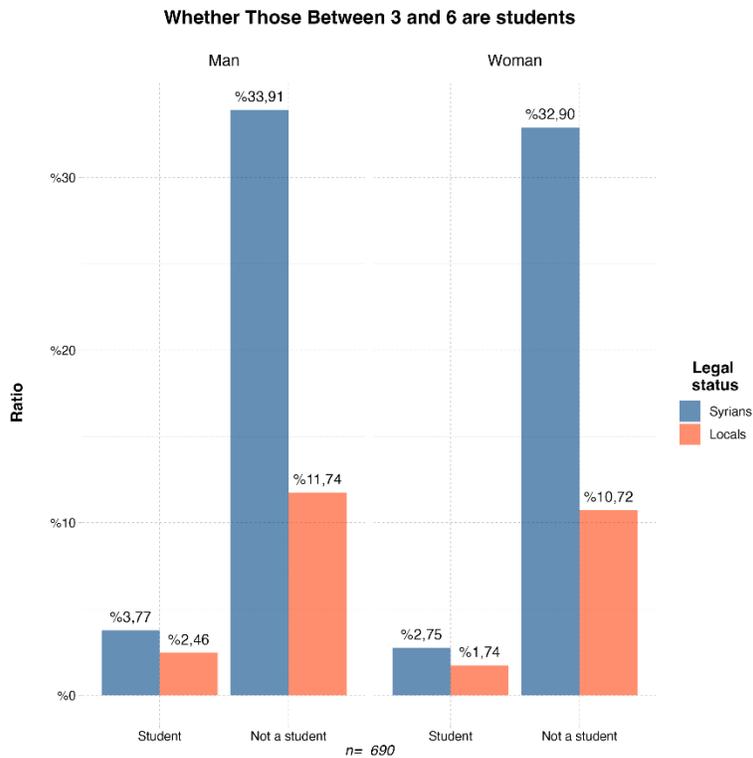


Figure 11: Participation in Pre-School Education

Even though the rate suggests an advantaged position for the local children in pre-school, most of around 700 pre-school-age children (between the ages of 3 and 6) spend their time at home with their families. Undoubtedly, both traditional domestic relations and socio-economic conditions affect this situation.

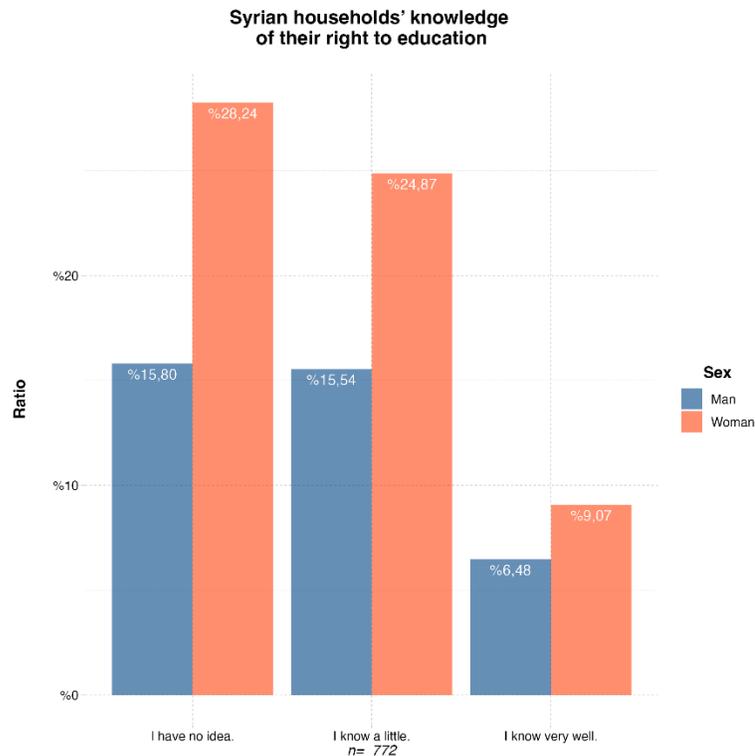


Figure 12: Syrian Households' Knowledge of Their Right to Education

During the interviews, the Syrians under temporary protection, regardless of their legal status, were asked about their knowledge of right to education. According to the data collected from about 800 households, Syrian women in particular have little information on their right to education. Almost 30% of the Syrian women and 15% of the Syrian men have no idea about right to education and stated that they were never informed. Once again, the survey field being mostly the low-income neighborhoods is important here. The need for being informed about the right to education is among other urgent needs.

During the FGDs in the neighborhoods, educational processes were also discussed with Syrians and locals. In social life, no topic can be evaluated without considering other issues. Both Syrians and locals who show similar age and gender patterns sometimes have similar worries about the educational process. This fact indicates that as time has passed, everybody in the province has united through similar concerns about the realities of social life.

NOTES FROM THE FGDs

“My child is going to start 1st grade this year. I have 6 daughters and a son, 5 of them are students. As my friend said, my eldest daughter is starting high school this year. Antep is an awful place because of drug addicts and Syrians. My daughter is successful but I fear. I can’t afford the price of shuttle. My husband is in jail. We are all girls. My son is just 5 years old. These are very bad times. May Allah help us all. On the one hand the Syrians, on the other hand the drug addicts. We aren’t pleased. We can’t pay for our daughters’ shuttle; we can’t send them to school. Life struggle is too difficult.” (Şükriye, 36 years old, Primary school graduate, Local, Woman)

“I’m a sophomore student in the Gaziantep University Department of Nursing now. There is a serious lack of material and infrastructure in education. For example, we have to practice on dummies in applied courses, but

there are 360 students. Together with the Syrian and foreign students. However, there are only 3-4 dummies, which is too few.” (Halis, 21 years old, University student, Local, Man)

“I have no problem with that issue. My children are in pre-school. They attend classes without any problem. They also know Turkish. The health center is very close to my house, I usually go there. There is no problem.” (Ümran, 27 years old, Syrian, Woman)

“I face many problems. My son cannot go outside during break times in school because he is afraid of being beaten up. He detains himself. Recently, some students dragged him outside even though he never leaves the classroom. He was holding on to the doorhandle. He is the only Syrian in the classroom. A group of students has become obsessed with my son and always causes problems.” (Büşra, 40 years old, Syrian, Woman)

The statements on education in the FGDs indicate that there are still social distance and narrow mindsets to be resolved to ensure social cohesion and coexistence. Although the closing of the Temporary Education Centers in 2017 and adding the Syrian children in the curriculum of the Turkish National Education system were a milestone, it is still necessary to strengthen social cohesion, make it more common and work on it seriously.

NOTES FROM THE FGDs

“My siblings haven’t encountered any problems in school. However, I have a friend who lives in Akyol. I want to talk about his/her experience. His/her house is just across the school. Last year s/he went to register his/her daughter at that school. However, they told him/her to wait for the next year and the priority would be for the ones living very close to school. This year, s/he applied there once again. They said that the number of the Syrian children in the school was already excessive; so they couldn’t accept the girl. The distance between his/her house and the school is 20 meters. Also, I have some acquaintances who left school because of racism. These racist attitudes are sometimes from teachers, sometimes from other students. Have you heard of anyone living 300 meters away from the school taking a shuttle? It happens just because people fear that something will happen to their children. One of my friends has 4 children, and s/he does so. His/her children are the ones who sit first in the bus and get off last. They leave home 1 hour earlier and arrive 1 hour late.” (Hasan, 24 years old, High school graduate, Syrian, Man)

“Due to my job, I always contact parents, and I know a huge number of families who are afraid to send their children to school. We know some students bring knives to school. I personally know some children who were stabbed in front of the school door. Children who are 10-11 years old. They were stabbed by students! There are some families in this situation. I have the documents, and they do not send their children to school because of fear. These incidents happen just because of racism. Last week, one of my friends went to Ömer Battal Primary School to register his/her daughter. They told him/her to wait because they would take Turkish students first, and the Syrians later.” (Mustafa, 26 years old, High school graduate, Syrian, Man)

Apart from primary education, vocational trainings and the SuTP’s and locals’ language learning in daily life and higher education are also vital to social cohesion and social integration since they provide social interaction. Despite the physical (spatial) closeness, a serious social distance and prejudices are observed in daily social life.

In terms of education, schooling rates remain at a certain level despite all the problems. 60%⁸ of the Syrian children at the age of primary education are in school. Including the rest in the system is clearly going to be beneficial to social cohesion.

⁸ The data was obtained through the individual meetings with Gaziantep Provincial Directorate of National Education in August 2022.

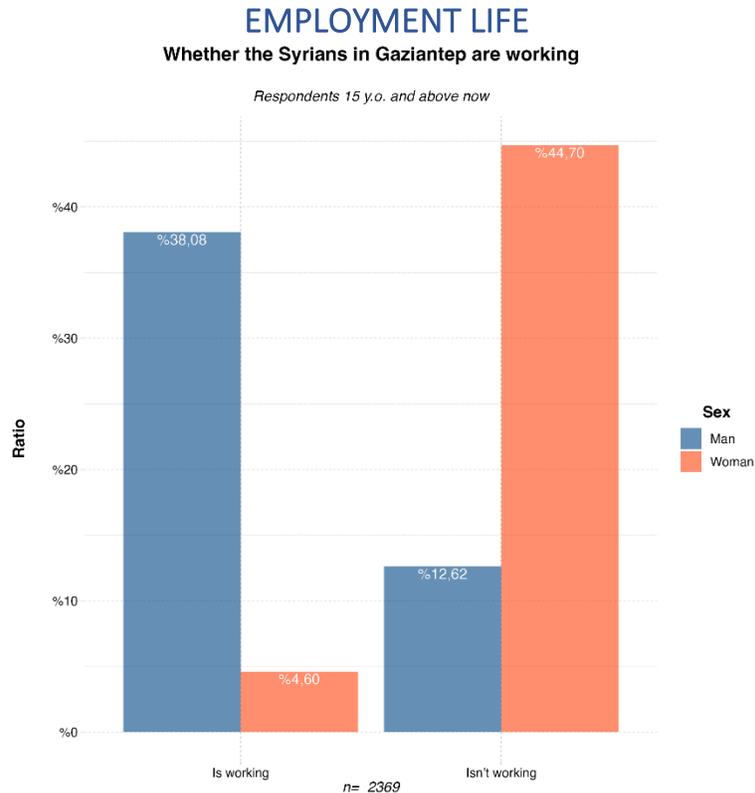


Figure 13: Having a Paid Job (Syrians under temporary protection)

Economic activities, income, expenses and employment life give an insight to people's involvement in social life. The data about employment and working life in Gaziantep Province were also collected in the 2018, 2020 and 2021 surveys. Employment data provide concrete indications about the levels of social cohesion because the dynamics, process, and impacts of financial life inevitably reflect in social life. Therefore, getting data about the SuTP's and locals' employment life in Gaziantep Province provides a prediction for social cohesion policies.

In 81% of the 1,644 households, at least one person has paid employment. This data was collected just after the COVID-19 period that took 2 years and affected the financial and social systems globally. Additionally, the classes and neighborhoods that also take a large part of this survey field are the ones that have been most negatively affected by the pandemic.

Apart from the working patterns of the respondents, there are Syrians under temporary protection and locals who are above 15 years old, the legal working age, and working. Since the survey interviews were conducted in daytime hours, most of the respondents are the ones who do not work. Around 55% of the respondents who represent the local households stated they worked, while the rate for the Syrians with paid employment corresponded to 37%. Employment rates are normal. The vital point lies in the gender of the respondents who work and do not work. 67.5% of the local male and 78.6% of the Syrian male respondents have paid employment, while only 16% of the local female and 11% of the Syrian female respondents work.

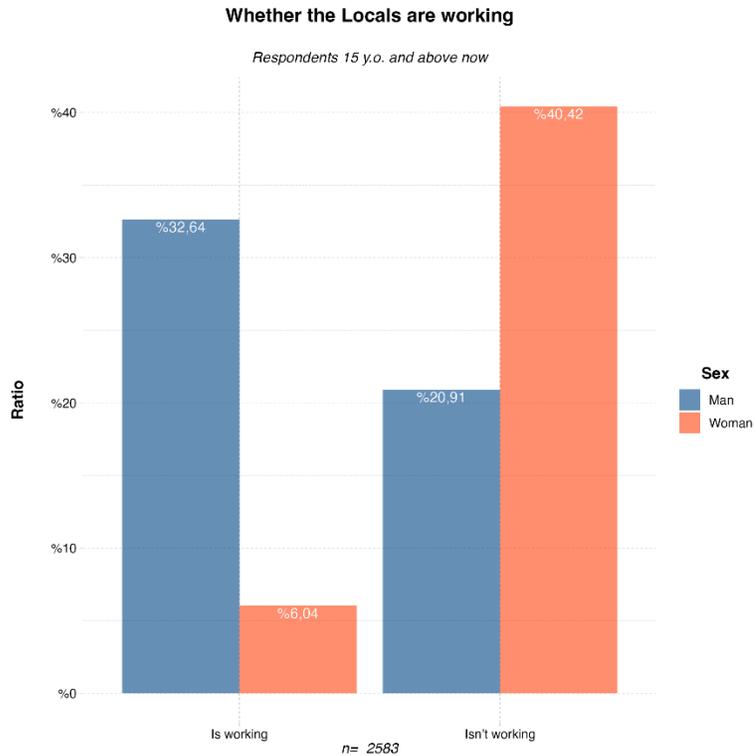


Figure 14: Having a Paid Job (Locals)

The patterns concerning the employment life of the 2,369 locals and 2,583 Syrians under temporary protection —4,952 persons in total—by gender are noteworthy. 39% of the Syrian workers above 15 are men, while 4.5% are women. Although they are the working age, 12.6% of Syrian men and around 45% of Syrian women under temporary protection do not work because of various reasons. The women of both groups are out of labor market due to patriarchal values. Therefore, a radical change observed in employment life during the migration and refugee processes does not favor the Syrians under temporary protection. Putting aside some details such as the generation gap, social cohesion, education, language, and legal permits, it becomes apparent that the employment patterns of the Syrians do not differ in Gaziantep Province from those in Syria.

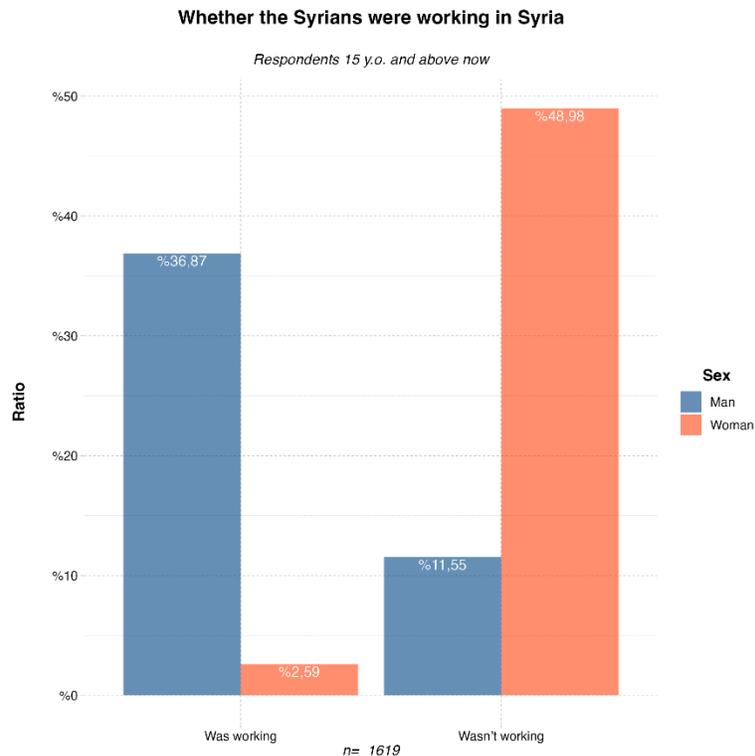


Figure 15: Having a Paid Job in Syria (Syrians under temporary protection)

According to the data collected, 39% of the Syrian men and almost 2.5% of the Syrian women under temporary protection were working when they were in Syria. The pattern related to the SuTP’s work life in Gaziantep Province is similar to that in Syria 11 years ago. However, around twice more Syrian women have a paid job in Gaziantep Province now. The reason for it is the fact that migration and refugee processes cause a change in values and barriers that prevent women from working.

Since it is apparent that most Syrian and local women are not working, there is social cohesion and a similarity between the Syrians under temporary protection and locals in terms of employment. The patriarchal values shaped by many factors such as class, education, cultural structure, and legal status favor both social groups. Three quarters of the Syrian and local men above the age of 15 are somehow in work life, while the average of the women does not correspond to even 15%.

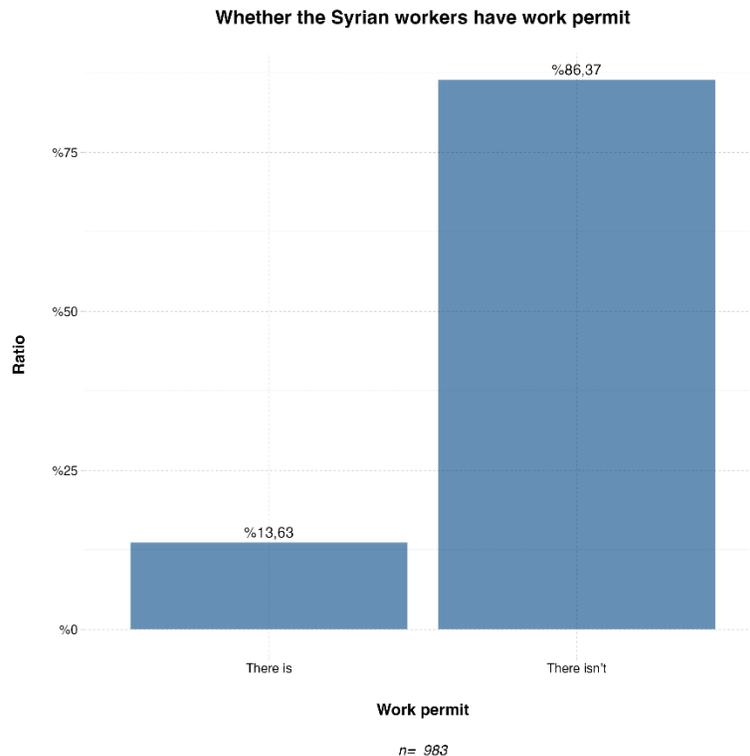


Figure 16: Whether the Syrian Workers Have Work Permits

One of the most common debates regarding the Syrians is their work permit in Türkiye, and of course, in Gaziantep Province. According to the May 2022 statistical data obtained from official institutions and professional organizations such as the Chamber of Industry and the Chamber of Commerce in Gaziantep Province, there are 246 thousand Syrians under temporary protection between the ages of 15 and 64—accepted as the legal age of work—in all Gaziantep Province. Despite this density, the number of the SuTP respondents living in Gaziantep Province who have work permit is 9,197, which corresponds to a mere 3.7% of the Syrian population who are the legal age of work. The work permits mentioned here are the ones given by the 3,000 companies registered to Gaziantep Chamber of Commerce, a hundred factories registered to Gaziantep Chamber of Industry, and 865 merchants registered to Gaziantep Chamber of Merchants and Craftsmen⁹.

Around 13% of the Syrian workers, according to the data collected from the SuTP respondents, have work permits. Compared to the data obtained from the institutions mentioned above, this number appears high. However, it actually indicates that most of the Syrians in the labor market of Gaziantep Province have precarious employment. Secured employment and health insurance also include only this 13% of the Syrians. The data that provide the reality of this issue is only the one that indicates how many of the locals have health insurance.

⁹ The data were collected from the individual meetings with various institutions in August 2022. (A/N).

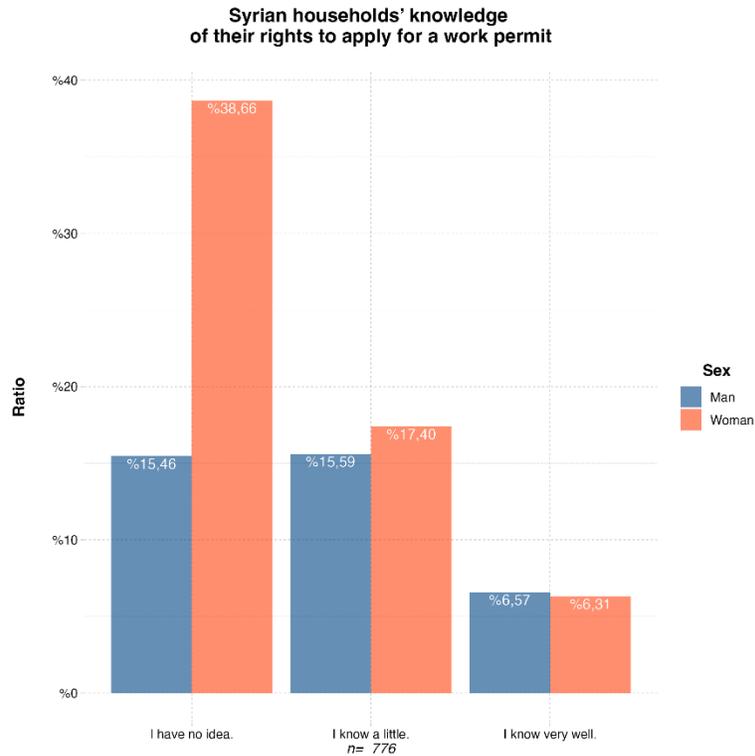


Figure 17: SuTP's Knowledge of Work Permit

Having information on work permit is not enough by itself to explain the informal employment since not only the elusiveness of legal status but also the general characteristics of prevalent financial relations compel the migrants and refugees to work informally. In other words, the Syrians under temporary protection can become a part of the informal economy that is already solid in Gaziantep Province because of the higher profit margin being only an informal element in labor. Therefore, being aware of work permit itself does not have an impact on the high or low number of precarious employment rates.

Nevertheless, data was collected about whether the respondents knew their rights to apply for a work permit. Since most Syrian women do not work, most of them had no idea about the work permit. As for the rate of the SuTP men and women who knew it very well, it is under 10%. Only the knowledge of the rights provided by the legal status cannot explain the unequal relations experienced in labor market. However, the gap between SuTP men and women in respect to knowledge refers to a similarity to the locals in terms of patriarchal values.

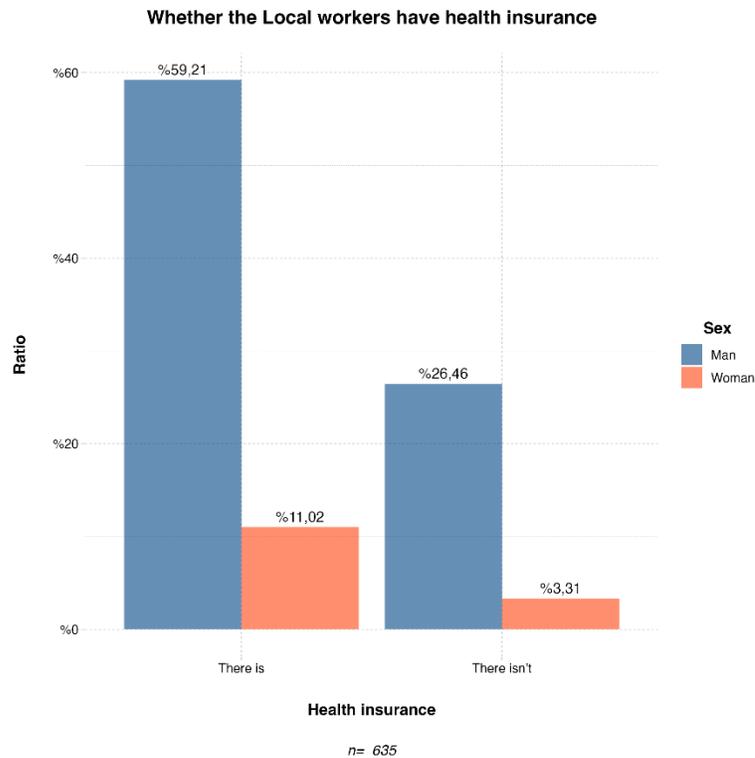


Figure 18: Whether the Local Workers Have Health Insurance

In the sample group, 30% of the locals who have a paid job do not have health insurance. Before comparing this rate to the SuTP’s conditions, it must be evaluated in terms of informal labor force and the effects on labor market. Addressing such a large informal labor market and the effects of the Syrian labor force, this rate seems higher. However, it also indicates illicit and insecure work and the dynamics through which the labor market operates.

The presence of such a large informal labor force market in Gaziantep Province indicates that this type of labor market provides a kind of “opportunity” for migrants and refugees who experience many challenges to participate in the system somehow.

Local women with health insurance are in fewer numbers. However, this actually results from the fact that women’s participation in the labor force is already lower. The rate of the local women who work is approximately 6%; making it obvious that almost half of the local women work without any health insurance. Although the rates of insecure work vary, the Syrians under temporary protection and locals follow similar patterns.

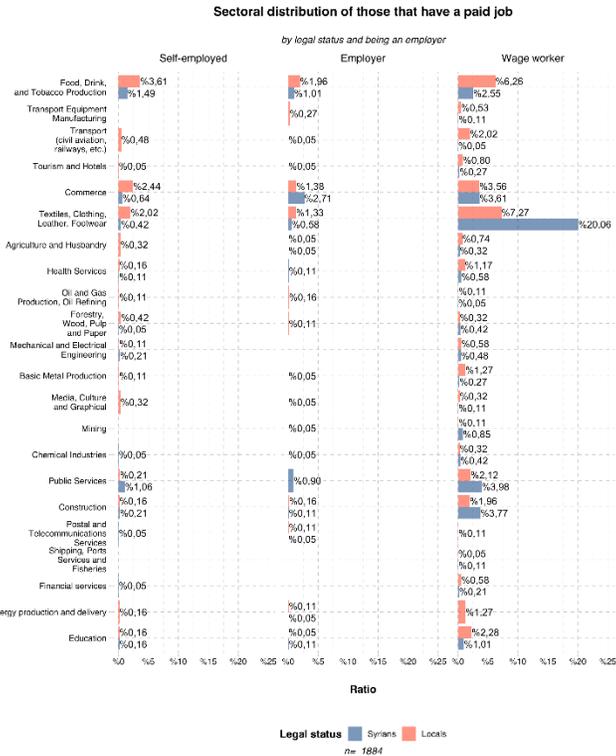


Figure 19: Sectoral Distribution of Those that Have a Paid Job (by Legal Status and Being an Employer)

The Syrians under temporary protection and host community members naturally encounter one another more frequently in employment life. Although the challenges they face change from one group to the other, the 2018, 2020 and 2021 surveys pointed out to this fact as well. Because of the socio-economic similarities, the SuTP and locals who live in economically similar neighborhoods also work in similar sectors. Nevertheless, because of legal status and work permits, the Syrians under temporary protection cannot participate in some sectors, and thus, they pile in other sectors. Since education, energy, banking, and finance sectors require work permits and legal guarantees, there are almost no SuTP in these sectors. However, regardless of their legal status, most people in the survey field are the actors of the wage labor market. The rates of the self-employed and employer Syrians under temporary protection and locals are very low. In other words, most of the Syrians under temporary protection and locals do not have capital, and thus, sell their labor in exchange for a wage. As a result of some legal requirements, the SuTP and locals that are wage workers are frequently seen in some sectors. However, the density of the Syrians under temporary protection in some sectors such as construction, textile, leather, and footwear results from not only their legal status but also their previous knowledge and experiences that they transferred here in Gaziantep Province after 2011. For example, the density of the SuTP in leather and footwear sector is also related to their previous work experiences in Aleppo and its surrounding settlements before the war. The Syrians under temporary protection and locals are coherent here in terms of the relations of production, labor, supply, and distribution.

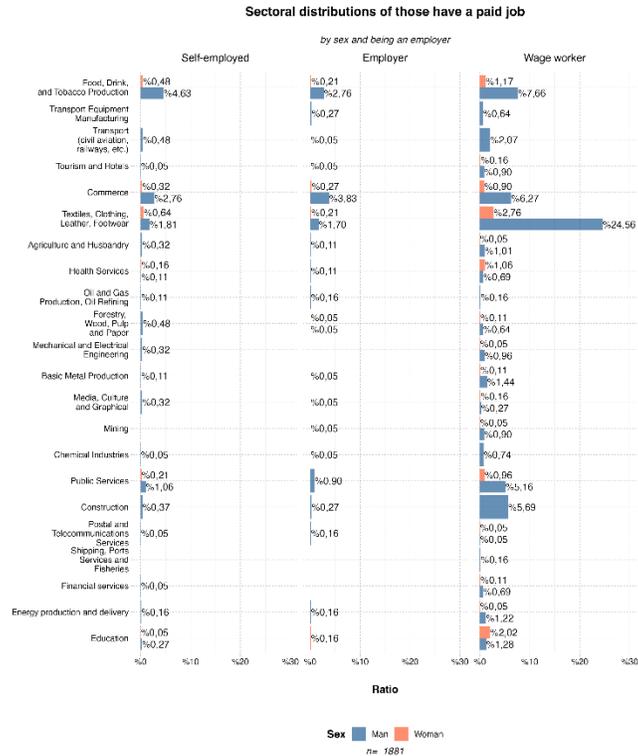


Figure 20: Sectoral Distribution of Those who Have a Paid Job (by Gender and Being an Employer)

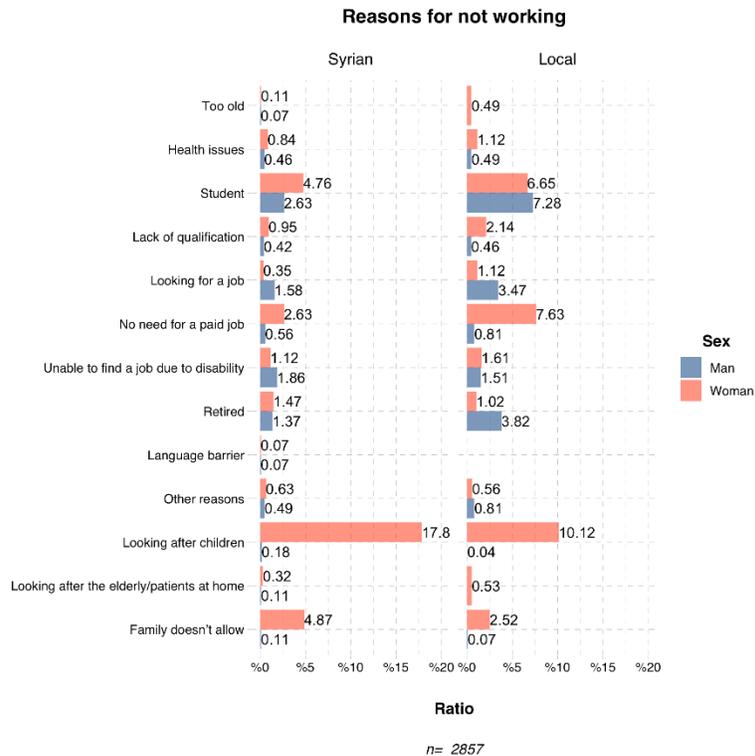


Figure 21: Reasons for Not Working

The reasons why some Syrians under temporary protection and locals do not work are similar, since they have similar socio-economic and socio-cultural structures. The first distinct reason for not working is the domestic relations built upon gender roles. The greatest reason why Syrian and local women are out of labor is the roles assigned to them in the family because of the value system they have and not being allowed by the family (especially the male relatives) to work. Besides, the rate of local women choosing to say they have “no need for a job” is quite high. This result indicates how deep the patriarchal value system is since they do not feel a need for a paid job although the most basic feature of both groups in the survey field is their overt or latent poverty. Another reason for not working is being a student. For the SuTP who wish to work, having a work permit and speaking Turkish are not determinant factors. Labor intensive employment world and cheap and precarious labor supply indicate the multidimensionality of the issue.

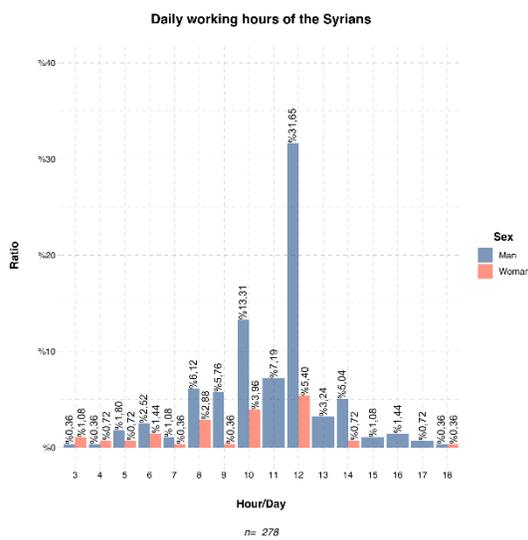


Figure 22: Daily Working Hours (Syrians under temporary protection)

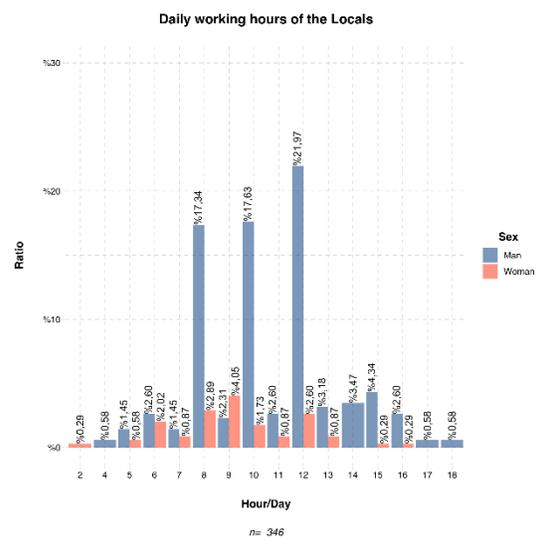


Figure 23: Daily Working Hours (Locals)

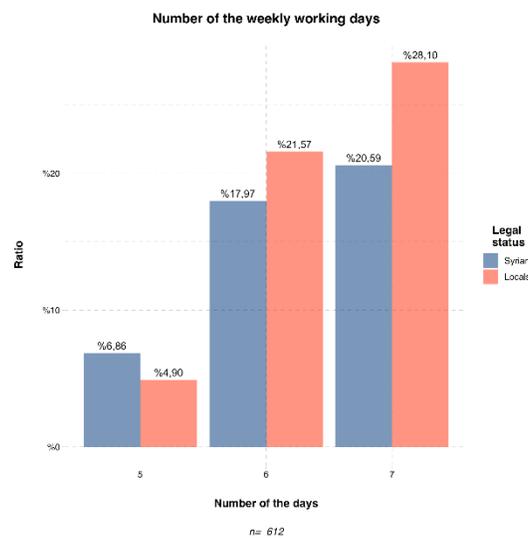


Figure 24: Number of the Weekly Working Days

The majority of SuTP respondents living in Gaziantep Province live in low- and low-middle-income neighborhoods. Therefore, it is observed that the Syrians under temporary protection and locals interact with one another through secure or insecure wage labor market by sometimes resembling and sometimes competing. The number of the workdays and daily work hours reveal the similarities and differences between the two groups.

The most important reason why the rate of the locals who work more days a week could be their legal status, since Syrians under temporary protection generally have more temporary and insecure jobs. This situation causes them to have more inconsistent workdays. However, these data must be evaluated together with the daily working hours. It is known that the survey sample group includes mostly wage workers, and the Syrians under temporary protection have more inconsistent work patterns, compared to the locals. Therefore, Syrians spend much more time at work in a day. Those with minimum wage mostly work 8-12 hours a day in average. 22% of the locals work 8-12 hours, whereas about 32% of the SuTP are at work for 8-12 hours. Only 8% of the Syrians under temporary protection work 8 hours a day, while the rate of the locals is 17%. Working more than 12 hours is substantial for the Syrians under temporary protection.

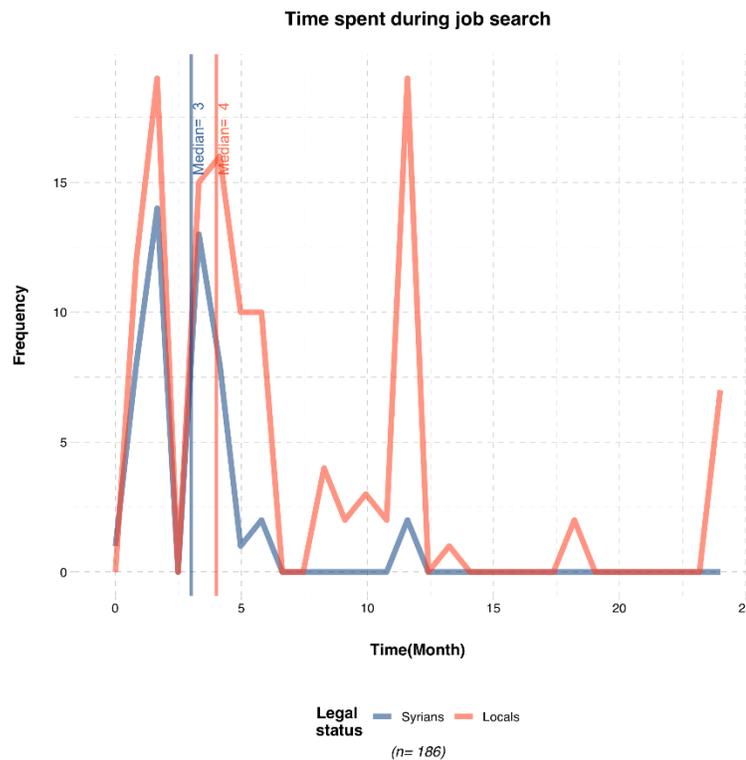


Figure 25: Time Spent During Job Search

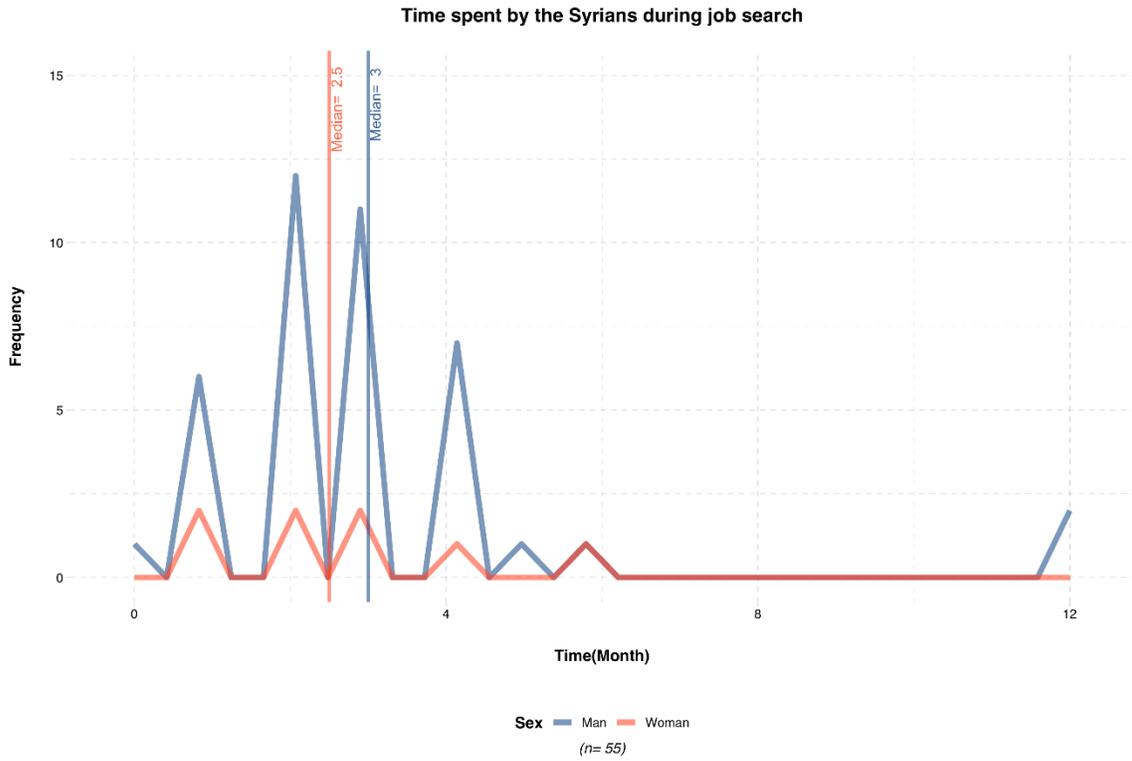


Figure 26: Time Spent by the Syrians under temporary protection During Job Search

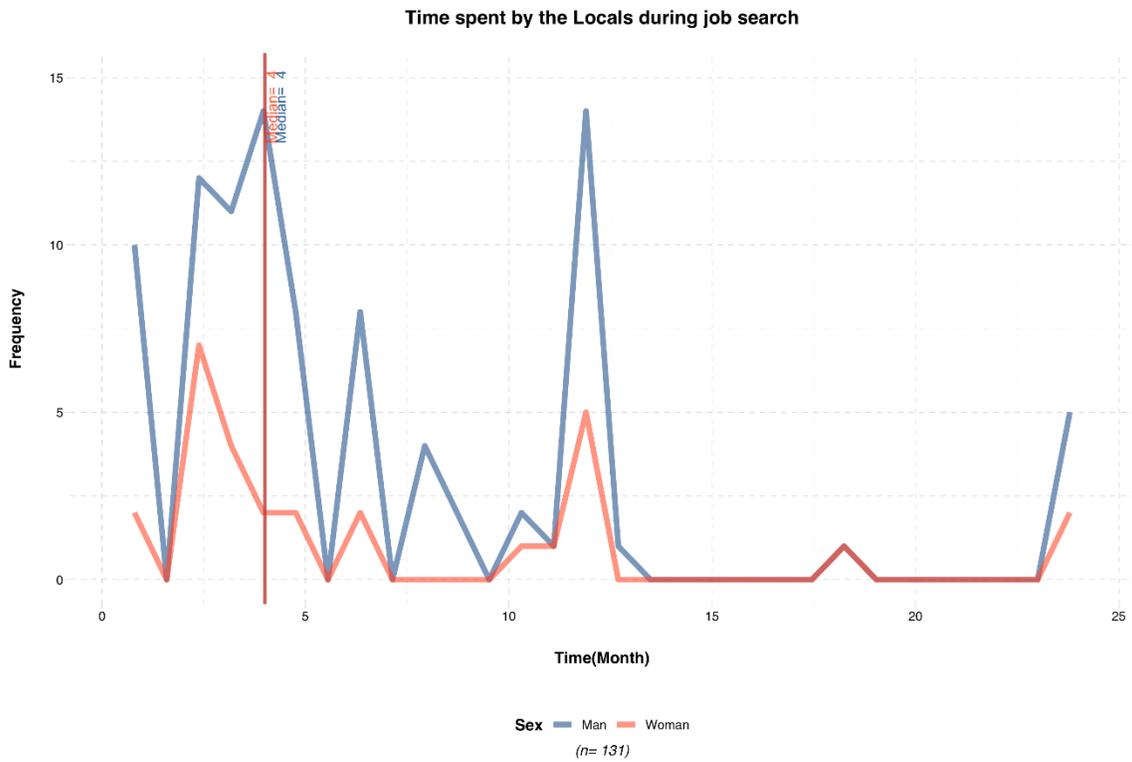


Figure 27: Time Spent by the Locals During Job Search

In the survey field where the Syrians under temporary protection and locals get involved in financial relations mostly through wage labor market, unemployment and changing jobs are significant factors. Due to precarity, inconsistency and the tactics to increase the wages, regardless of being a local or a refugee, the poor segments continuously experience unemployment or look for a new job.

The results concerning the time spent during job search are similar for both groups. The Syrians under temporary protection who face insecure employment more frequently find a job more quickly than the locals who look for a job one month longer. Similar rates were obtained in the 2018 and 2020 surveys as well.

The interactions between SuTP and locals happen mostly through employment and work life. In this area, the similarities and differences between the two groups stand out more.

The results collected through structured questionnaires do not feature the issues of language barrier and legal status too much; however, during the focus group discussions attended by fewer people for more hours, these two issues were brought up frequently. Consequently, regardless of the processes, the financial relations in basic activities such as employment and work life advance intricately among the Syrians under temporary protection and locals.

HOUSEHOLD AND HOUSE PATTERNS

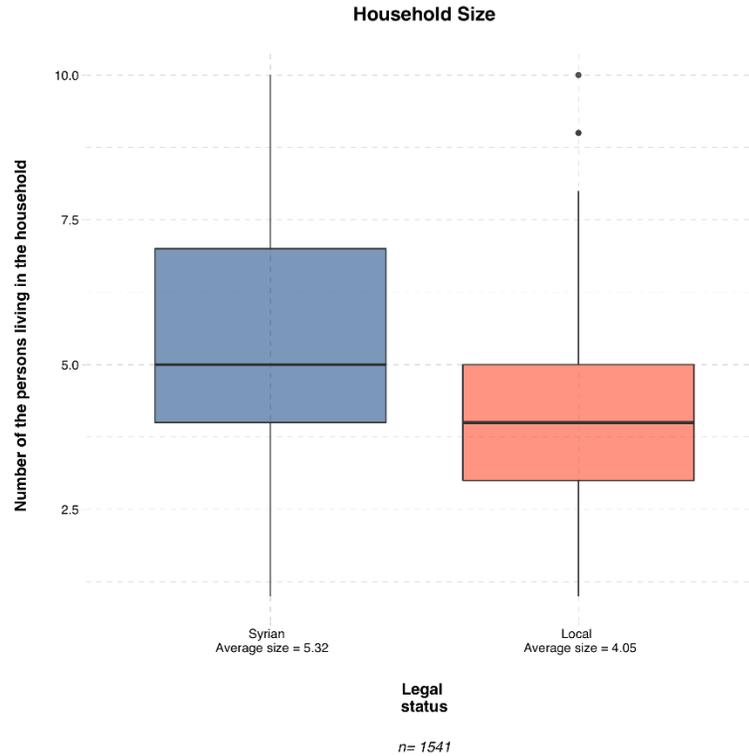


Figure 28: Average Household Size

Survey results show that the average number of persons living in a household is almost same for the Syrians under temporary protection and locals. Whereas the average household size is 5.42 persons for Syrians under temporary protection who live in the socio-economically similar neighborhoods, it is 4.07 persons for local households. Even though the greater number of people in the Syrian households can be interpreted as a kind of coping strategy to overcome the challenges resulting from being a migrant and refugee, it can also be due to the younger and more crowded demographic structure of the Syrian households. In the 2018 survey, the average household size was 6.6 persons. In the 2020 survey, it was 5.9 for the SuTP and 4.4 for the locals. Whereas it was 5.8 for the Syrian households in the 2021 survey, this number was 4.2 persons for the locals.

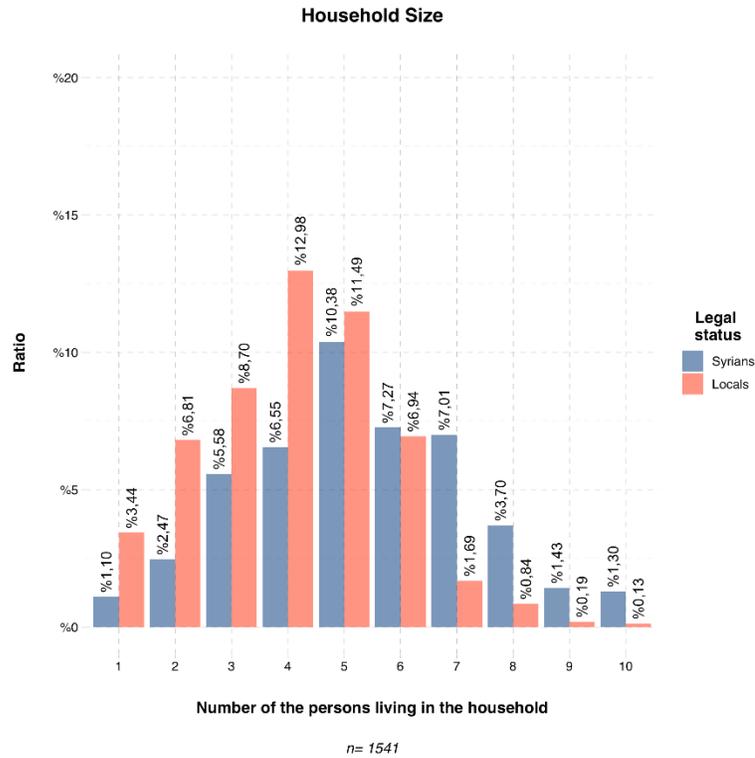


Figure 29: Ratio Distribution of the Household Sizes

Evaluating the household sizes of the SuTP respondents living in Gaziantep Province together with other data makes more sense. In the 2021 survey, the numbers were 5.8 and 4.2 for the Syrians under temporary protection and the locals respectively. The results of the 2021 survey, also covering Kilis and Şanlıurfa, provide an idea about the human geography and cultural region where most of the SuTP in Türkiye live. According to said survey, the household size of the Syrians under temporary protection in Kilis was 5.7 persons, while it was 4 for the locals of Kilis. As for Şanlıurfa, the Syrian household size was 6, and 5.5 persons for the locals. Apart from these numbers, the average household size in Gaziantep Province is above the average for Türkiye according to the survey of households in Türkiye. The average household size in Türkiye is 3.1, whereas it is 3.97 for Gaziantep province¹⁰.

Consequently, although it appears the Syrian households are more crowded, it is possible to suggest that a change in the trend. In other words, a likeness has started as they have experienced similar social life conditions. It is seen that a new pattern of household, formed by leaving the house or moving to another house, employment and marriage has begun to emerge.

¹⁰ <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Istatistiklerle-Aile-2021-45632> Access: 28.08.2022

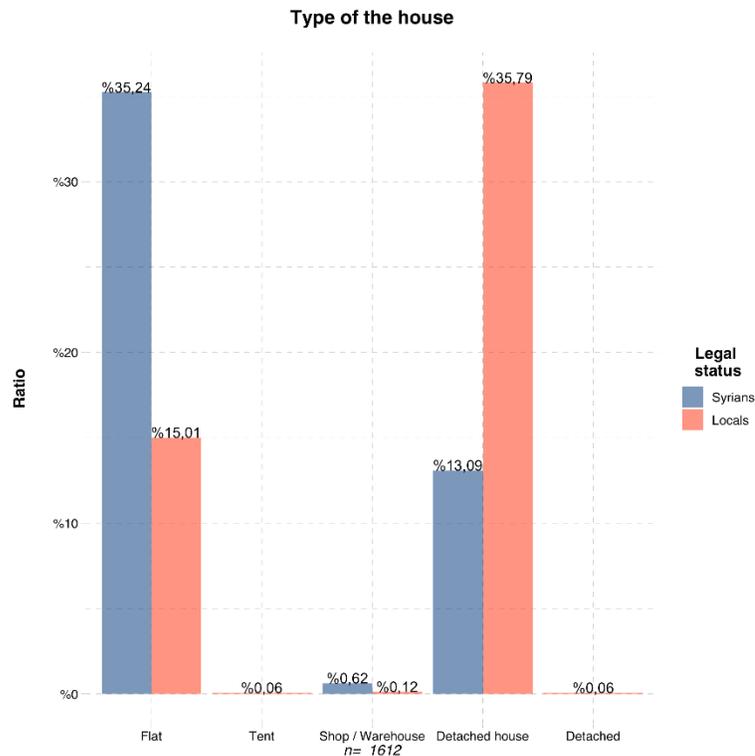


Figure 30: Type of House

Most of the Syrians under temporary protection are tenants. The legal status and the family and solidarity relations of the locals make them relatively more advantaged in terms of buying property.

The important point here is the house type. In consideration of the experiences obtained through the previous surveys, the responses to this question must be evaluated cautiously, since no complex description of house type—flat, detached house, *gecekondü*—was made for the sake of the duration and reliability of the survey. The reason for this is that defining the house type called by the Syrians as apartment or detached houses that are actually the houses haphazardly built upon *gecekondus* really causes a confusion. The knowledge of and observation on the socio-economic levels of the neighborhoods where the Syrians and locals live together remind us to be cautious against this kind of definitions.

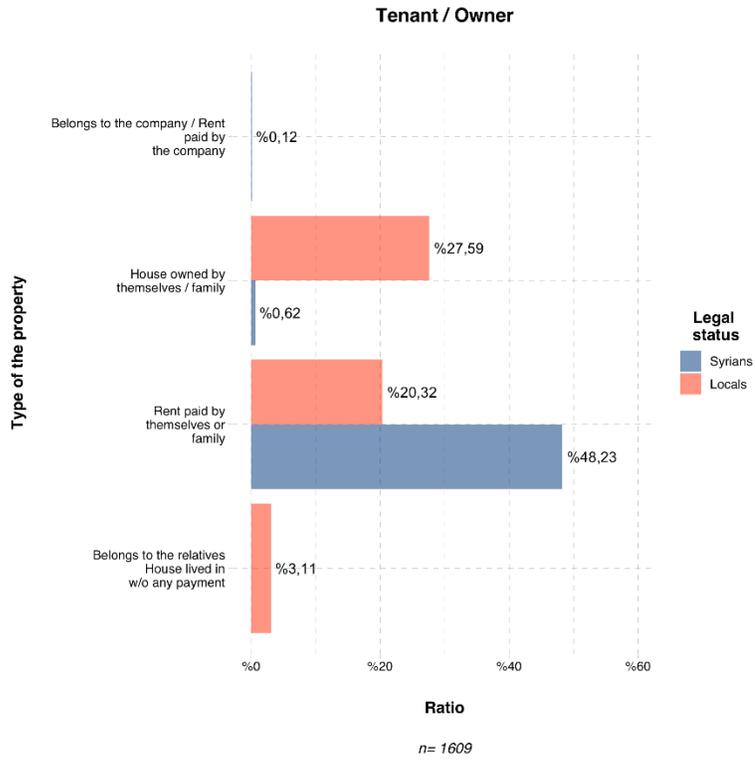


Figure 31: House Ownership

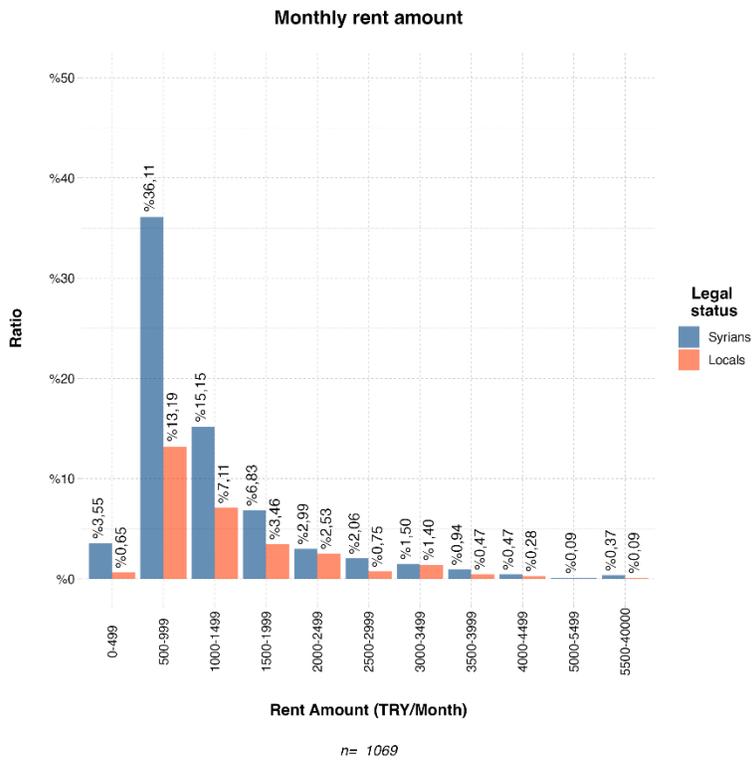


Figure 32: Monthly Rent Amount (TL)

The monthly rent amounts paid by tenants are not stable because of the rapid change in economic conditions. Nevertheless, it is possible to deduce an amount to be paid with the minimum wage from the socio-economic features of the neighborhoods and the fact that most of the household members have paid jobs and income. The rents in the neighborhoods where the Syrians under temporary protection and locals are dense draw a parallel with the income of the social groups in question. For example, the rents were between 1,000 and 2,500 Turkish liras in August 2022, as the survey interviews were still underway. However, it can be argued that these prices are relative.

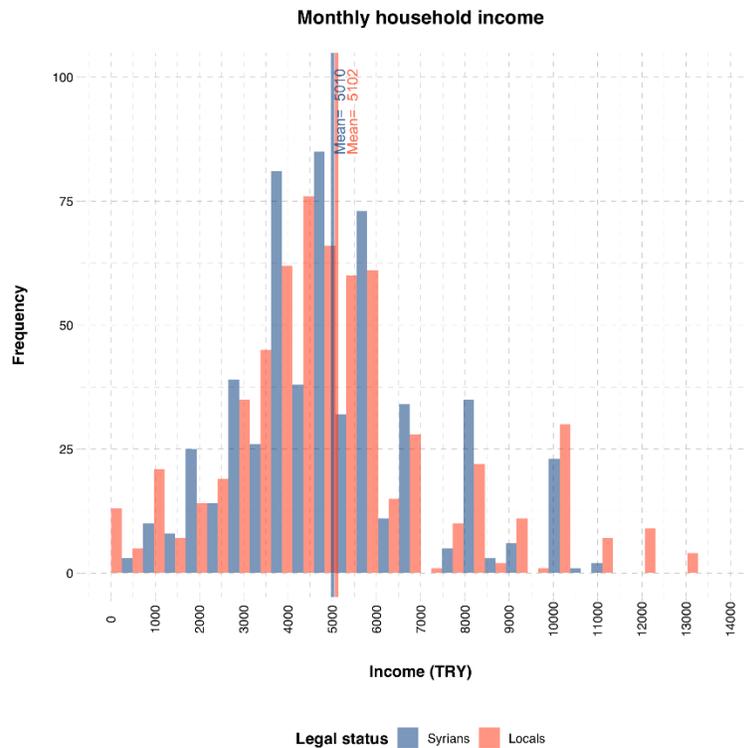


Figure 33: Average Monthly Income of the Households

For both sample groups, the average monthly income of the households is close to each other's. The first indicator of the similarity between the Syrians under temporary protection and the locals is the socio-economic level of the neighborhoods they reside in. One of the major distinguishing characteristics between the SuTP and the locals is the higher number of persons in the Syrian households. As for the indirect factor, it is the rate of the number of children and young individuals in the household to the household size. The lack of a high correlation between the household size and income for the Syrians under temporary protection, compared to the locals, proves so (Figure 34).

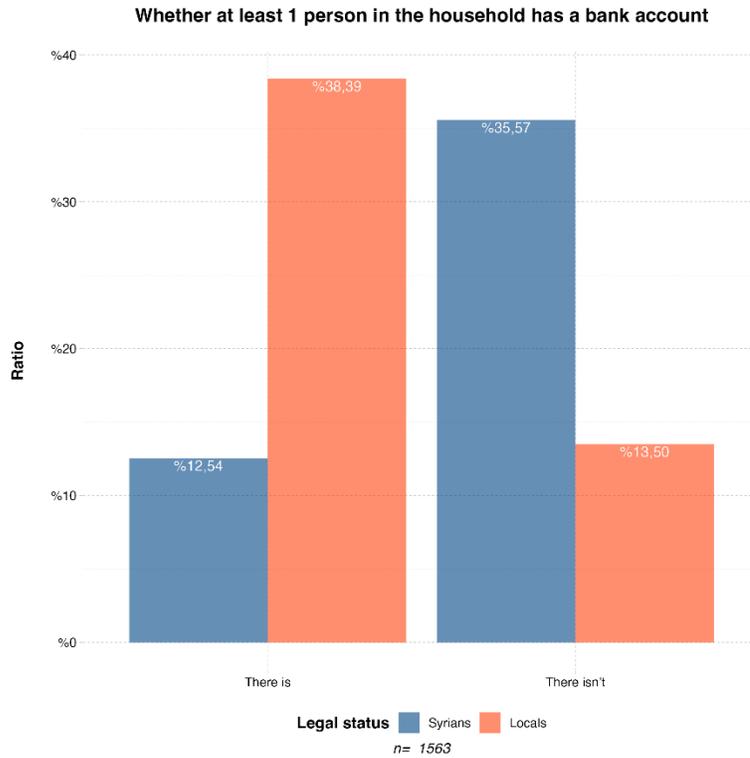


Figure 34: Household Members' Account Ownership at a Bank

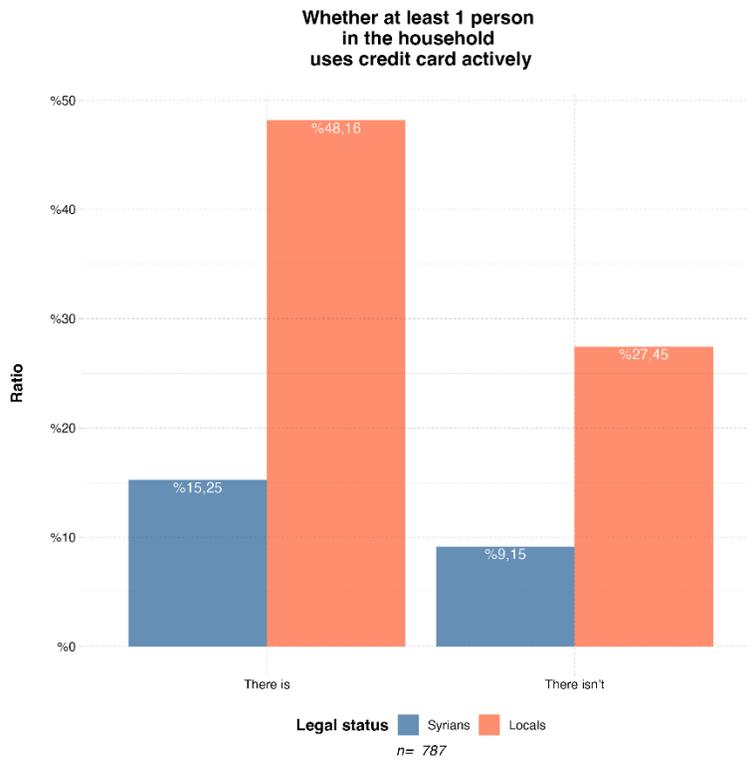


Figure 35: Household Members' Credit Card Ownership

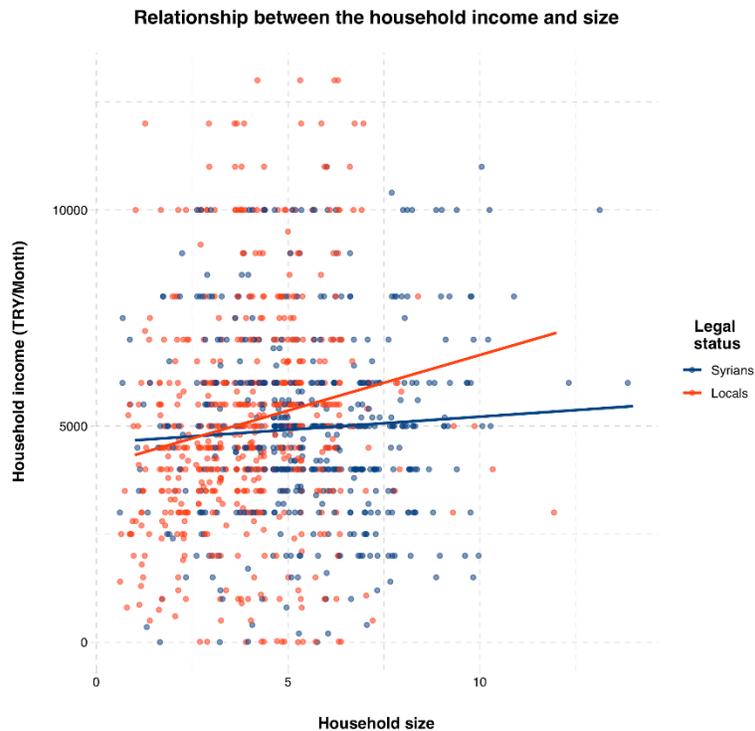


Figure 36: Relationship between the Household Sizes and Monthly Income

Dividing the monthly household income by the household size, it is 1,274 Turkish liras for the local households and 877 Turkish liras for the Syrians under temporary protection. Although the Syrian households have more members and the Syrians who have paid jobs work longer hours, their average monthly income is less than that of the locals, and thus, the income per household member also decreases. This situation could be explained with the presence of younger population in the Syrian households.

The daily financial life and informal and formal work relations can be traced by checking ownership of a bank account and a credit card. There is a huge gap between the Syrians under temporary protection and the locals in terms of a bank account/credit card ownership. However, from 2018 to 2022, the SuTP started to participate in formal financial relations such as having a bank account or a credit card. Syrians under temporary protection have become more rapidly and deeply adapted to the locals and formal system via economic relations. In the 2018 survey, the credit card ownership was around 5%, while it now corresponds to over 10%. Additionally, this fact indicates that although the Syrians under temporary protection densely exist in informal sectors, they are also in need of the relations with formal sectors; making a completely informal financial life impossible.

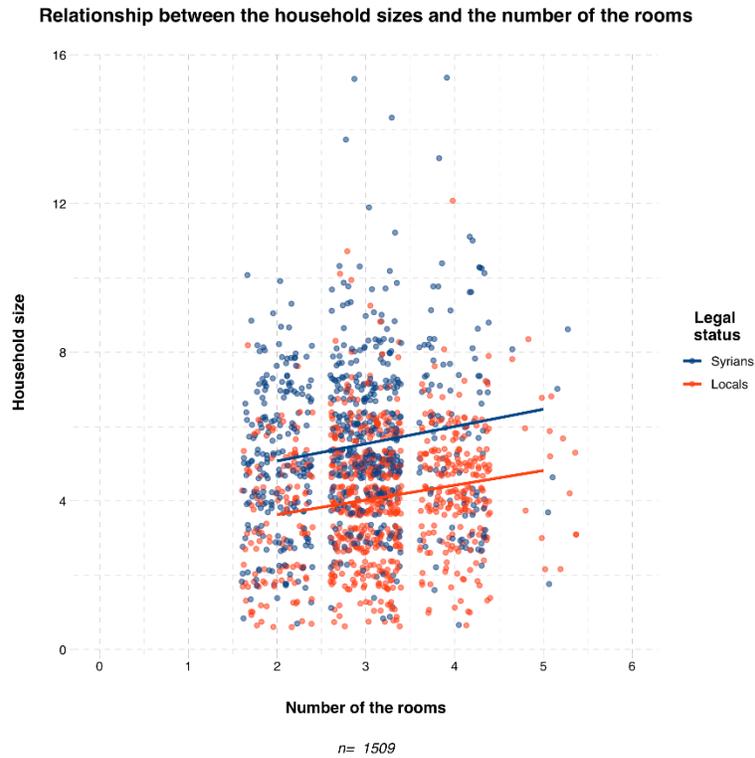


Figure 37: Relationship between the Household Sizes and the Number of the Rooms

Albeit not strong, there is a positive correlation between the number of the rooms in the household and the number of the persons in the household. As can be seen on Figure 37, the households mostly have 2, 3 or 4 rooms—excluding kitchens, bathrooms, and detached toilets. As time has passed, Syrians under temporary protection have begun to live in similar houses to those of the locals, which can be predicted to be a lasting trend.

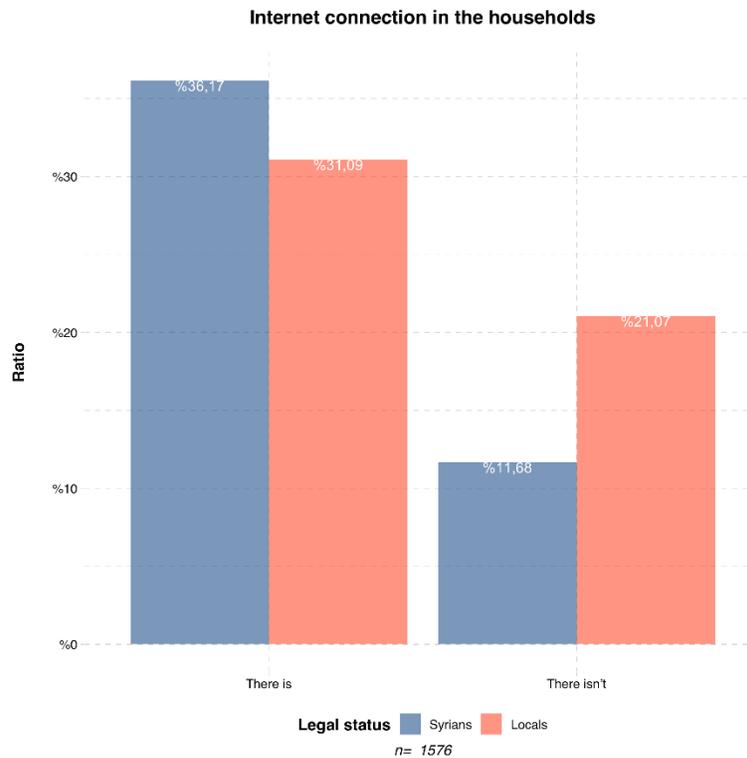


Figure 38: Internet Connection

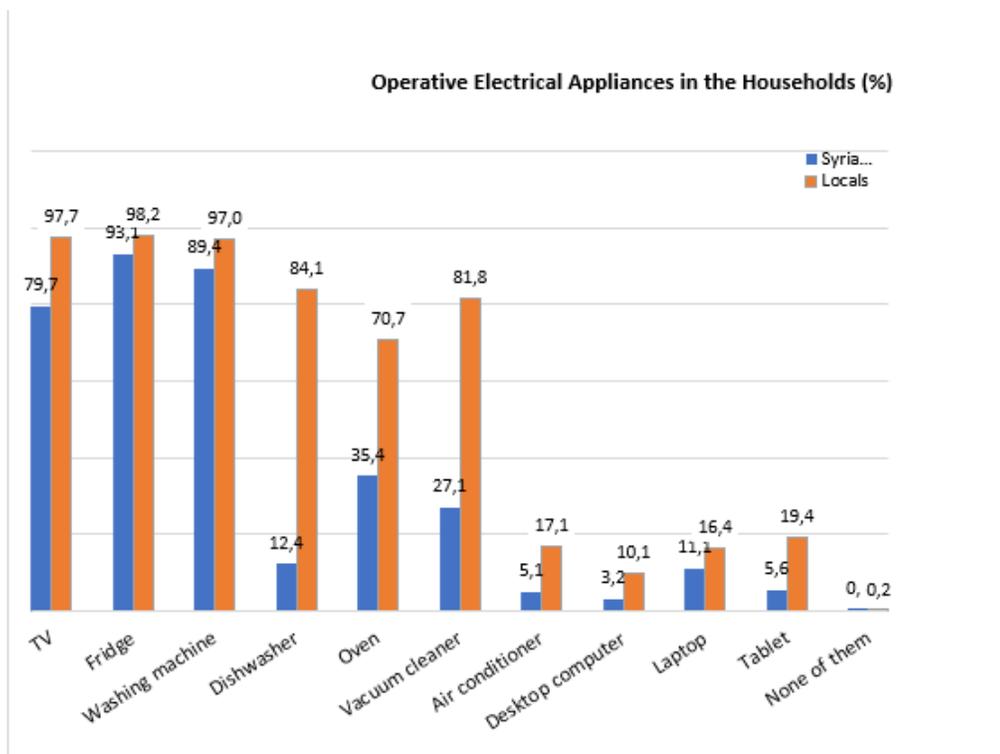


Figure 39: Operative Electrical Appliances in the Households

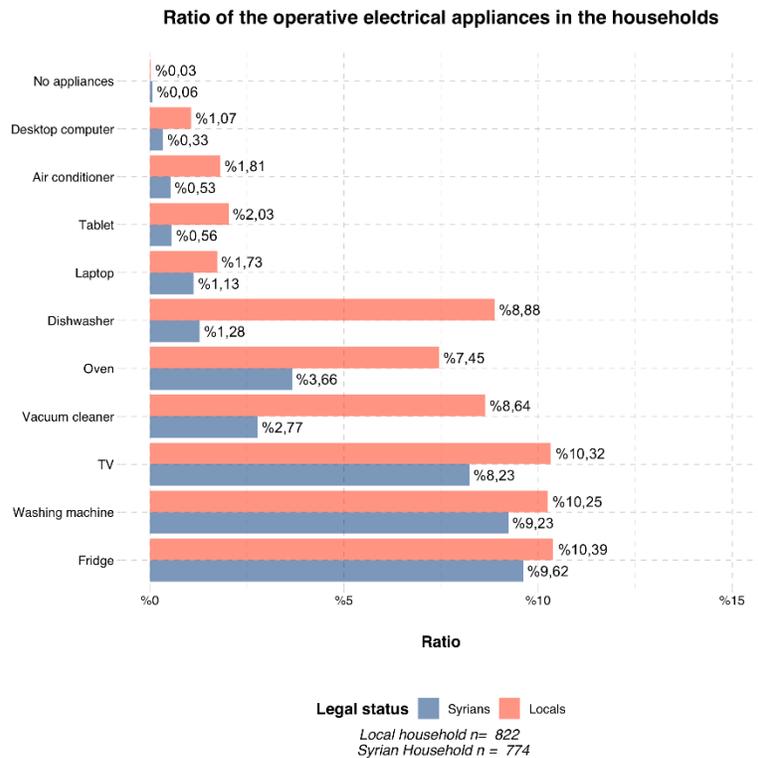


Figure 40: Rate Distribution of the Operative Electrical Appliances in the Households

During the survey interviews, questions were asked about the electrical appliances and internet connection. The number of Syrian households with a cable-internet connection is more than that of the local households. According to the results obtained from almost 1,600 households, the local households are more advantaged than the Syrian households in terms of owning electrical appliances, except for cable-internet connection. The numbers regarding not only the ownership of some appliances indicating a better socio-economic level such as dishwasher, oven, and vacuum cleaner, but also appliances that can be accepted as basic needs—such as fridge, television, and even washing machine—are clearly in favor of the local households.

Besides, although possession and use of electrical appliances themselves are inadequate to explain the inequality in gender roles that work against women, the insufficient number of electrical appliances in the Syrian households certainly increases the workload on the backs of Syrian women under temporary protection.

Furthermore, the imbalance between the Syrian households and the local households in terms of the possession of desktop computers, tablets, and laptops implies the consequences of the events of remote education during the pandemic.

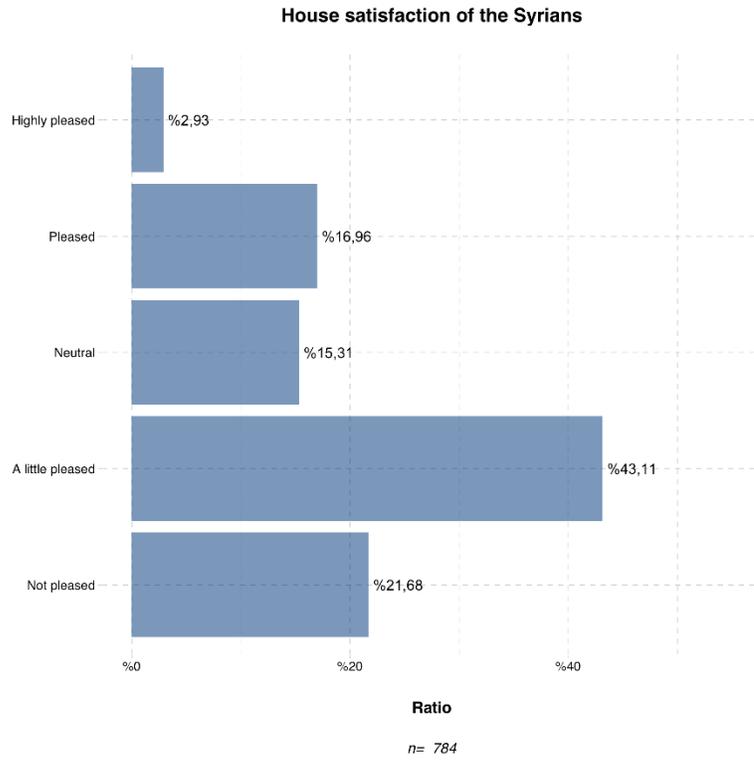


Figure 41: House Satisfaction (Syrians under temporary protection)

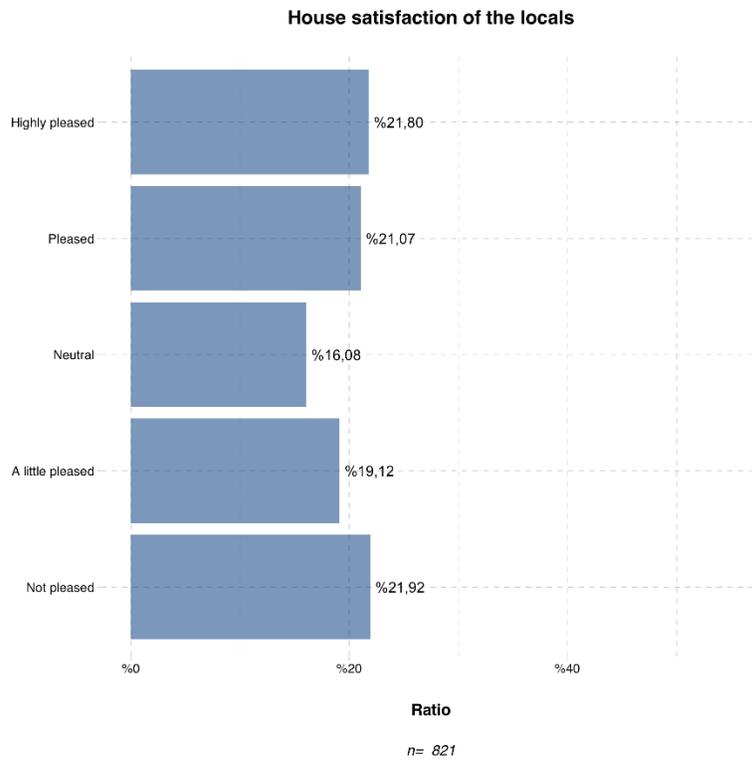


Figure 42: House Satisfaction (Locals)

The extent of house satisfaction reveals that SuTP are less satisfied with their houses. Even though the Syrians under temporary protection and locals do not have very similar socio-cultural backgrounds, they live together in the same neighborhoods where the similar socio-economic classes apply. Many reasons, such as rents, income levels, and physical conditions of houses cause the Syrians under temporary protection to feel this way. Since almost all of them are tenants, and they encounter problems with their neighbors and especially landlords while living in these rental houses, their satisfaction understandably decreases. However, evaluating these data collected in a short time together with the FGDs, the situation is not totally pessimistic, and some gray areas have started to arise thanks to interactions in the neighborhoods. If policies on social cohesion benefited from these gray areas, they would become more rational and applicable. Therefore, the FGDs and statistics must be considered together during the policy-making processes.

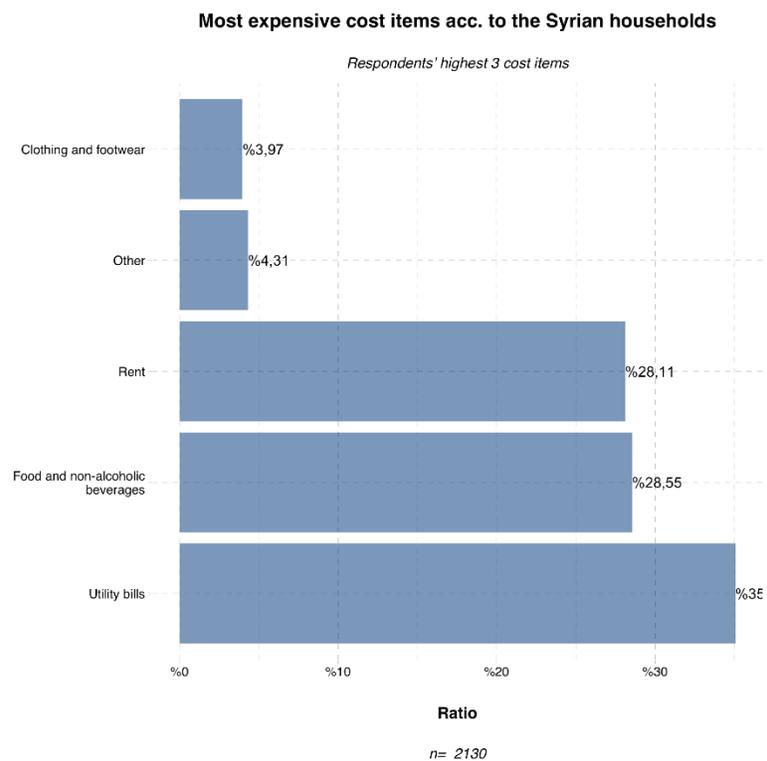


Figure 43: Most Expensive Cost Items (Syrians under temporary protection)

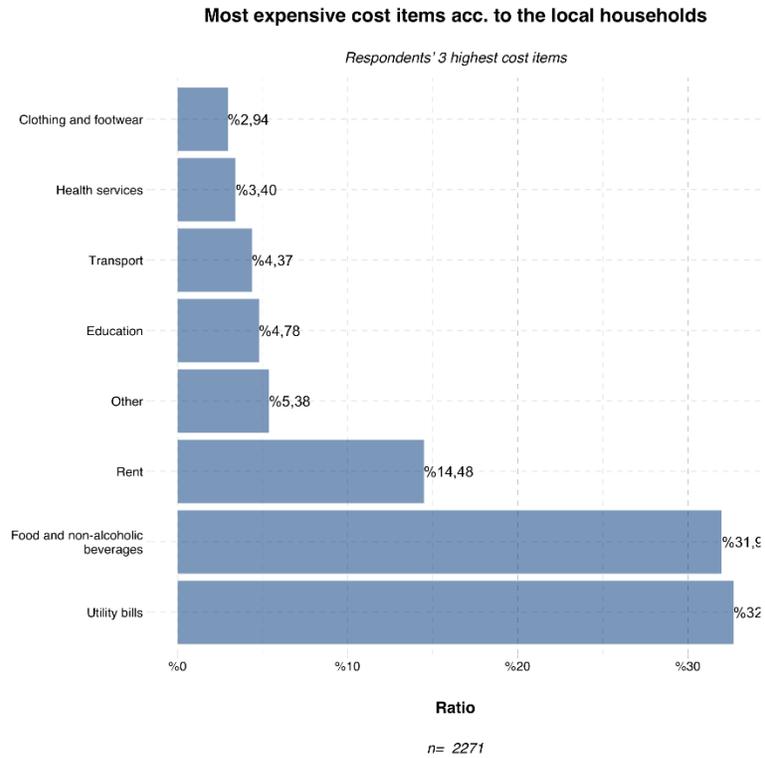


Figure 44: Most Expensive Cost Items (Locals)

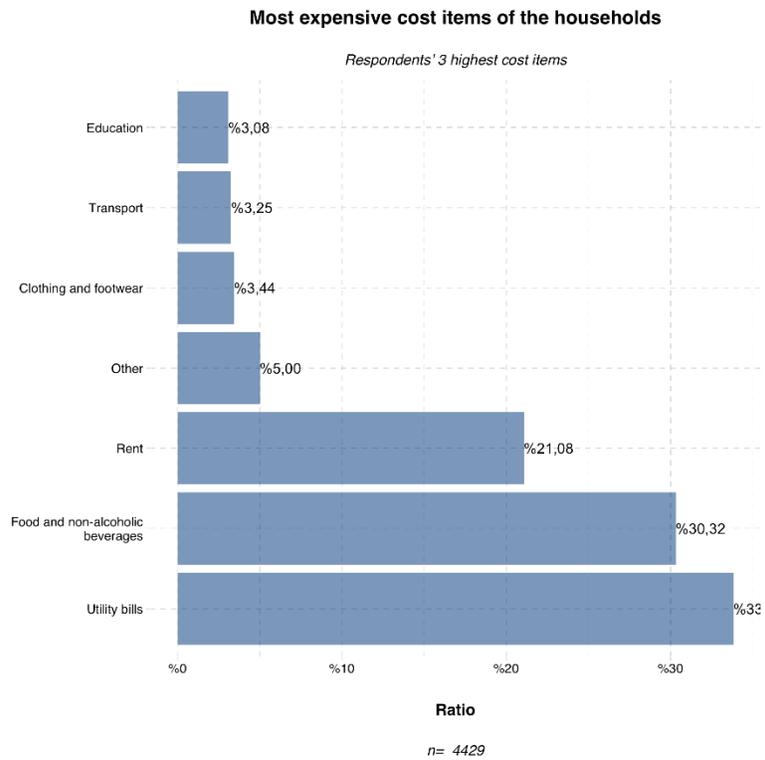


Figure 45: Most Expensive Cost Items (Generally)

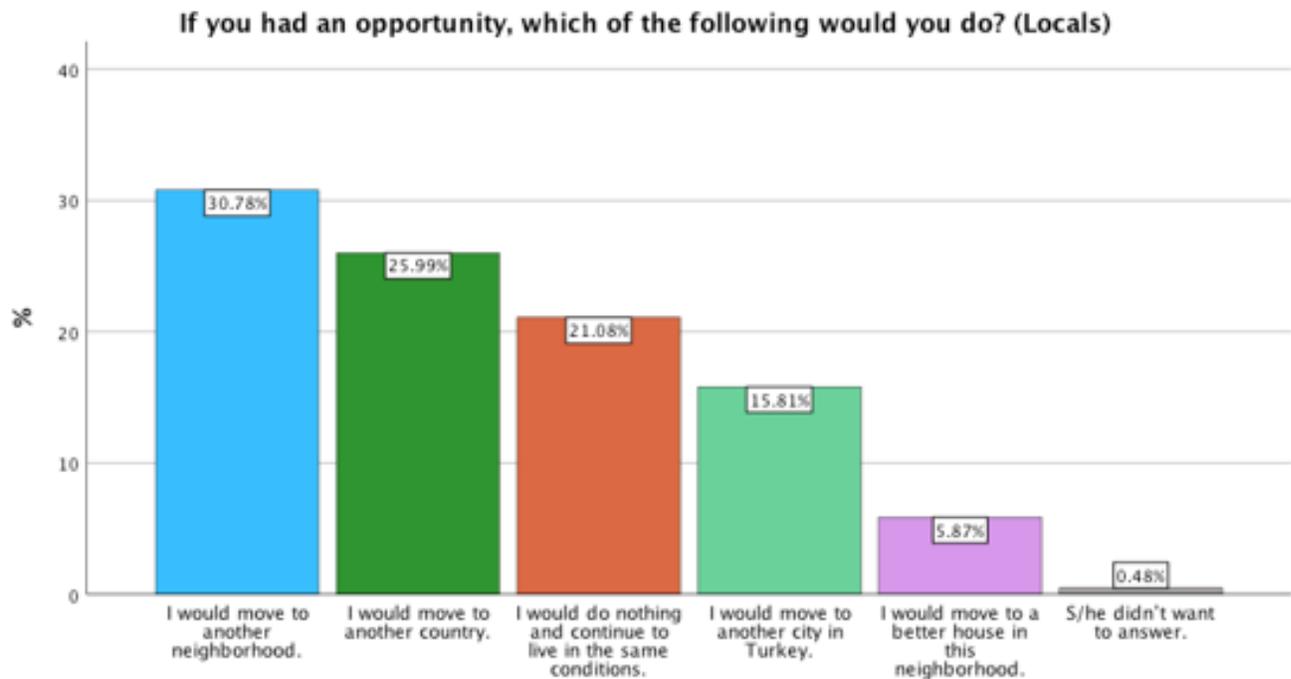


Figure 46: If you had an opportunity, which of the following would you do? (Locals)

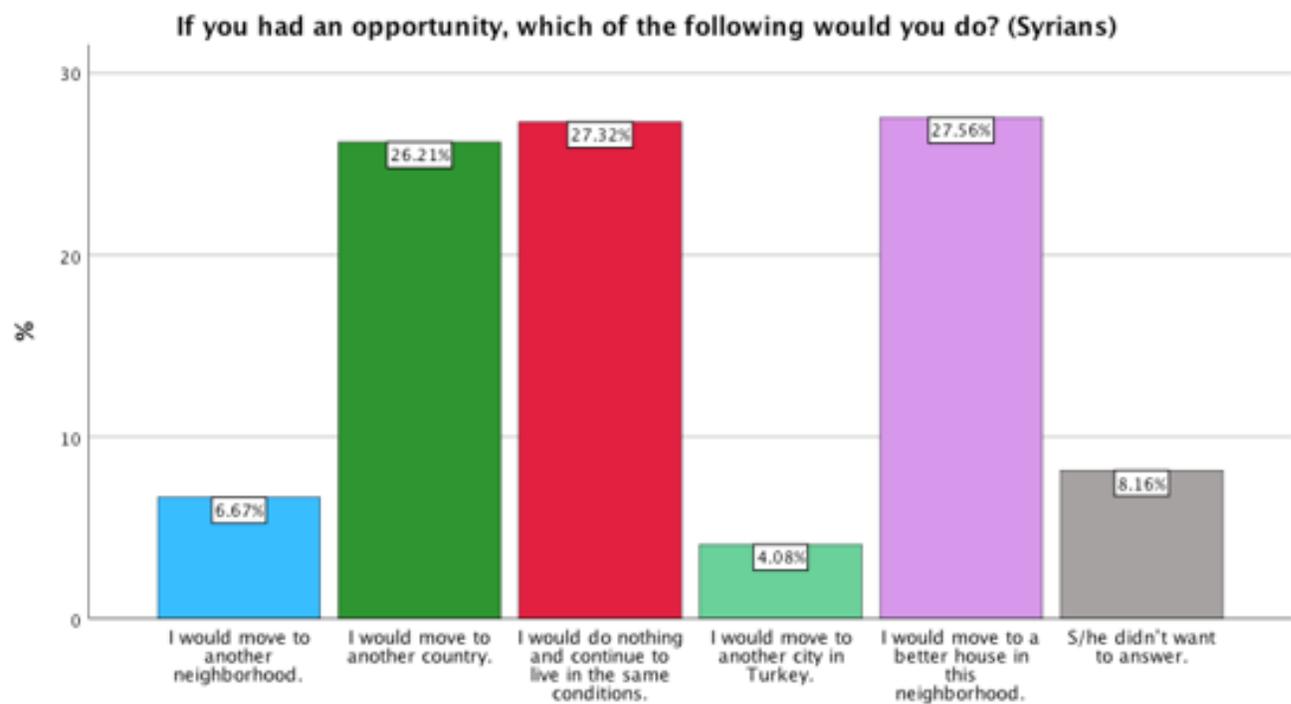


Figure 47: If you had an opportunity, which of the following would you do? (Syrians under temporary protection)

The wishes of both groups living in the same neighborhoods also change with their experiences. Because of the physical conditions they are in, Syrians under temporary protection mostly desire to move into a better house in the same neighborhood. On the other hand, the locals would like to move to other neighborhoods. Since both groups want to move to another country at approximately same rates, their extent of life satisfaction is not much different.

The main problem experienced by the social classes which the Syrians under temporary protection and locals are also in mostly results from financial issues such as employment, work, income, and expenses. The factors that trouble the Syrians and locals are similar and they result from economic activities, the imbalance between the household income and expenses and being a member of the low-income class that is harshly and first affected by the pandemic and the economic crisis.

Some similar questions were also put forward in the 2018 and 2020 surveys to learn about the cost items that strained the households. In the 2018 survey, the most expensive cost item was rent for the Syrians under temporary protection, while it was in the second rank in the 2020 survey. For the locals, utility bills (gas, electricity, etc.) were in the front rank in the 2020 survey, while rents were in the third. After two years, the cost items that are hard to afford have not changed significantly, since the same cost items are still putting a strain on the households in the survey field, where the socio-economic levels have not significantly changed since the previous surveys. Although, in this survey, rents are in the third rank for both groups and it was understood during the FGDs that there are arguments and tension because of the increase in rents. Utility bills and food expenses continue to be challenging due to the increasing prices and decreasing wages. The most noteworthy point about the most expensive cost items that trouble the households is that educational expenses (school, private teaching institutions, student expenses, etc.) are important for the local households, while this cost item is not prominent for the SuTP. This situation does not certainly mean that Syrians under temporary protection attach less importance to education but indicates that they experience poverty more profoundly. Almost all the respondents in the FGDs, regardless of their nationality, and mostly the women, stated their concerns for their children's education and future. However, it is observed that there are also strong prejudices against the Syrians in the topics of the Syrian households' expenses and educational processes. Clearly, the fact that immediate humanitarian aid was provided for the Syrians in the first few years following 2011 is engraved in the memories of other poor neighbors living in the same neighborhoods. Even though the support activities only favoring the Syrians were discontinued later, the structured perception maintains to be sensed as a "fact."

NOTES FROM THE FGDs

"(...) My daughter is an 11th grader. Shuttles are free of charge to the Syrians... There is nothing for us. I can't pay for a shuttle for my daughter. The Syrians go to the cafeteria with their food cards and eat for free... My children don't eat. They go and eat there, they have shuttles... My daughter brings her own food with herself but the school says not to bring her own food and buy some from the cafeteria. But they give the Syrians food for free... Why do you discriminate against these children so much? This isn't justice. We have challenges. (...)" (Emine, 38 years old, Primary school graduate, Local, Woman)

"Well, I have nothing new to say. There are too many drug addicts currently. We are satisfied with our house but not with the neighborhood. Well, raising children now... Well, even little children say such words that... There are

no manners, no morals. Families don't teach manners to their children. Well, too many problems, nurturing is very problematic." (Gülsüm, 25 years old, Secondary school graduate, Single, Local, Woman)

"I'm also happy with this city. If I had a second chance, I would choose to live in Antep again. Our city is very nice. I wish the residents in the neighborhood would attend social activities. You know, there are too many drug addicts nowadays, and these are in very front of our eyes. People sell drugs in front of our eyes. Well, I wish these would not happen. And talk about theft... It happens once every other two-three days, once a week, once a month... Well, we hear about it a lot. I wish they wouldn't happen. I wish people would attend social activities, be more educated, and that kind of people [drug addicts] would stay away. Or, I sometimes think if only we could live in a place where that kind of people didn't exist." (Hayriye, 30 years old, High school graduate, Married, Local, Woman)

"If I had a choice, I would move to another place, to a better place. My brother lives in a better neighborhood, for example. Akkent or İbrahimli where my cousins live, for instance, are more beautiful and comfortable. I don't know. As my friend said, there is drug trade in this neighborhood. The morals of children are perverted, they change and conform inevitably. I'm not pleased, frankly. There's a serious drug problem. Even my husband sees it because of the environment he is in, and yes, our children see it too because drugs are sold in front of our eyes. Well, yesterday I thought in the kitchen that if only the police frequently patrolled in the neighborhoods. Well, at least it would be slightly better. Sir/Ma'am, they sell drugs very easily. It is called meth or something. There is something like that, all adolescents use it. All youngsters... There is nobody that never used it. It is the reason for most divorces." (Nurcan, 45 years old, Primary school graduate, Local, Woman)

NOTES FROM THE FGDs

"Our neighbors are nice but we don't visit each other so often. I also have a Turkish friend but we aren't in the same neighborhood." (Zehra, 18 years old, Student, Syrian, Woman)

"Generally, life is good. We face some problems, of course. Lately, someone mugged my newly-wed son and stole his phone and ring but what can we do? Luckily, he came to us safe and sound." (Melike, 37 years old, Secondary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

"Well, I'm happy with the house and the neighborhood I live in. My neighbors are very nice. Regardless of Turkish or Syrian, they are nice people. The thing I want to change first is racism as my friends also said. Secondly, when I wait for the doctor in the hospital, they make me feel with their gazes as if I was singled out and unwanted. (...) My neighbors are very nice but there are differences in manners. For example, they generally sit in front of the door. They always invite me to sit with them but I'm not used to it. Sometimes, I sit with them in the house. Our landlord is very nice. The other day, s/he invited us to his/her house." (Ahlam, 24 years old, High school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

"Fortunately, I'm happy with my house. I have been living in the same house and neighborhood for 5 years. The neighborhood is quiet. As for the problems in Gaziantep, we can say discrimination. For example, when I walk in the market, some children call behind me "Syri, Syri!", and I shrug it off saying that's shame and we're brothers and sisters. Generally, those doing this are children but if they didn't hear it from their elders, they wouldn't say that. (...) I sometimes drink a coffee with my landlady when I go to pay the rent. When I see she is tired, I invite her to my house. She sometimes wants me to buy a few things for her from the supermarket. As for the other neighbors, we aren't so close." (Sima, 33 years old, Secondary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

"My neighbors and I say hello to each other; however, we don't visit one another's house. We do that only with our landlady. She gives us food, we give her some too. (Left 1: When my landlady comes to give us food, I know that she wants something. She will increase the price of either the bills or the rent.) (Yasemin, 38 years old, High school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

“Our landlady is an old woman living alone. We give her food and eat with her. However, she mostly speaks Kurdish, and we can’t understand each other so much. We were very close with our previous landlady’s family. We had picnics with them. They attended our wedding ceremony.” (Hatice, 18 years old, Primary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

“I agree with my friends. They always single us out. They say we took their houses, and that the rents increased because of us. They also say we are handed out financial support. However, that’s not true. Indeed, we aren’t. Some think we were given 35 thousand Turkish liras. If we were, would we live in this house/neighborhood? Would we put up with all these troubles? At least, we would buy a house. The house I live in isn’t worth its price, but if I wanted to move into a better house, I would have to pay twice more. Now, I pay 750 Turkish liras for a shack. And I can’t move to another neighborhood because of the population registry. I have been in this house for 4 months, and the house will be pulled down soon. We wanted to paint the house while renting it, but they didn’t allow us because it will be pulled down. They will build a new building for the municipality, instead. (Many participants together: Yes, the landlords benefit from this situation.) Also, our landlord makes us pay the half of the utility bills although we, four people, live together, and his family is 8 people. I cannot leave the house either, finding this one wasn’t easy. I cannot change the population registry either.” (Zekiye, 30 years old, Primary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

ACCESS TO HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

One of the most substantial aspects of being a migrant or refugee is access to health services. Especially after the period of providing urgent needs was over, and they started to live in a social environment, refugees' access to health and social services becomes related to other complex factors such as social cohesion and social inclusion.

Although the immigrants and refugees in Türkiye have faced many daily life problems in various aspects, access to health and social services is one of the areas that is not against them.

The SuTP respondents living in Gaziantep Province can benefit from the basic health services prominently, and this fact is important in terms of social cohesion and social integration. The number of the Syrians under temporary protection and locals who are registered with family doctors and primary health care centers is great, which is quite positive. For example, three fourths of the Syrian households are registered with family doctors. This number is noteworthy. It appears that 85% of the persons in the Syrian households are somehow registered with family doctors. Only 15% of the Syrian household members do not have any registration with a family doctor or health center. However, it does not mean that this remaining group has never got health service.

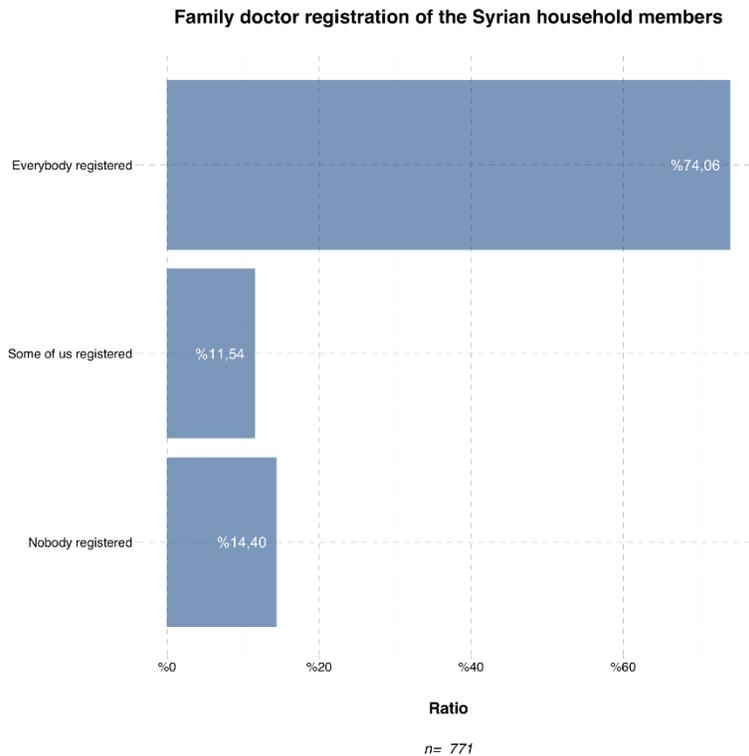


Figure 48: Family Doctor Registration (Syrians under temporary protection)

The rate for the locals registered with a family doctor or a health center is almost 100%. Only less than 1% stated that they had no registration. However, the sample of this survey is

comprised mainly of low-income neighborhoods. For this reason, these rates of access to primary health services can be interpreted optimistically in terms of social cohesion and social integration.

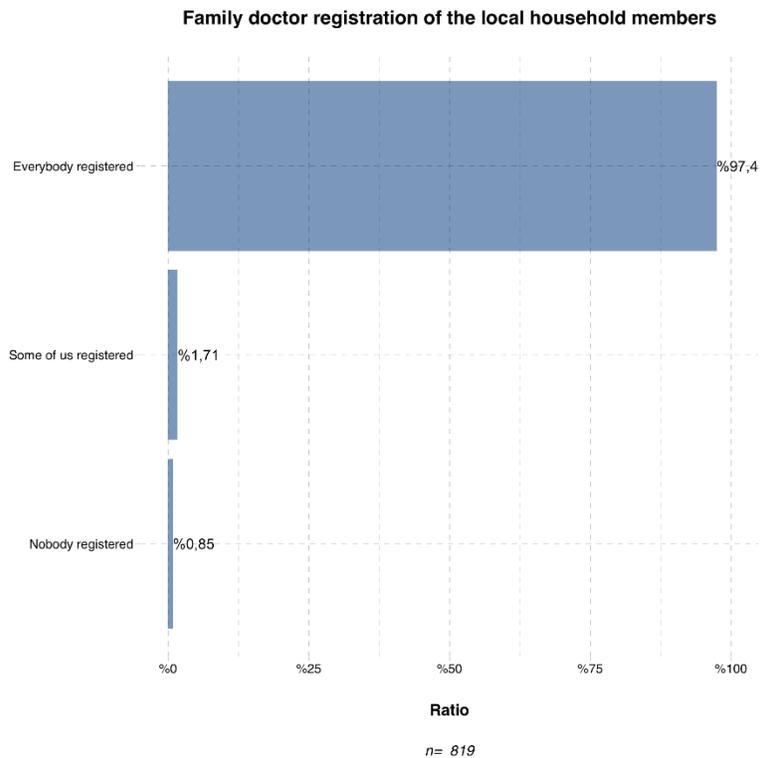


Figure 49: Family Doctor Registration (Locals)

The rates of not only the SuTP's but also the locals' access the health services are high. Apart from the number of registrations with family doctor, the high rates of vaccination and the low rates of baby and child deaths are also promising.

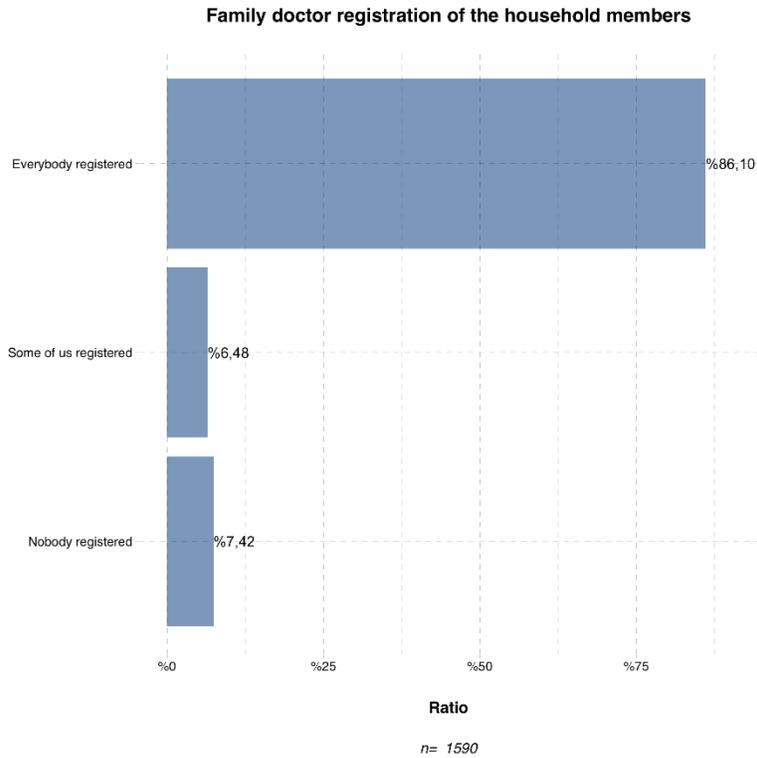


Figure 50: Family Doctor Registration (General)

The fact that 86% of the Syrians under temporary protection and locals in total are registered with a family doctor is a highly positive result. The rates of family doctor registration reflect positively in the numbers of vaccination, obstetric, mother-child health, and child death.

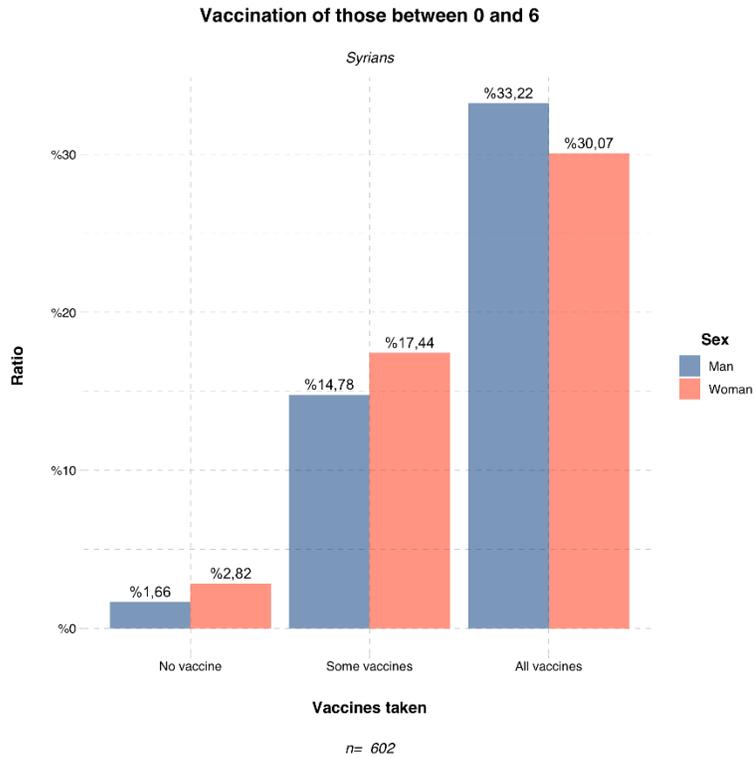


Figure 51: Vaccination of the Children between 0 and 6 Years Old (Syrians)

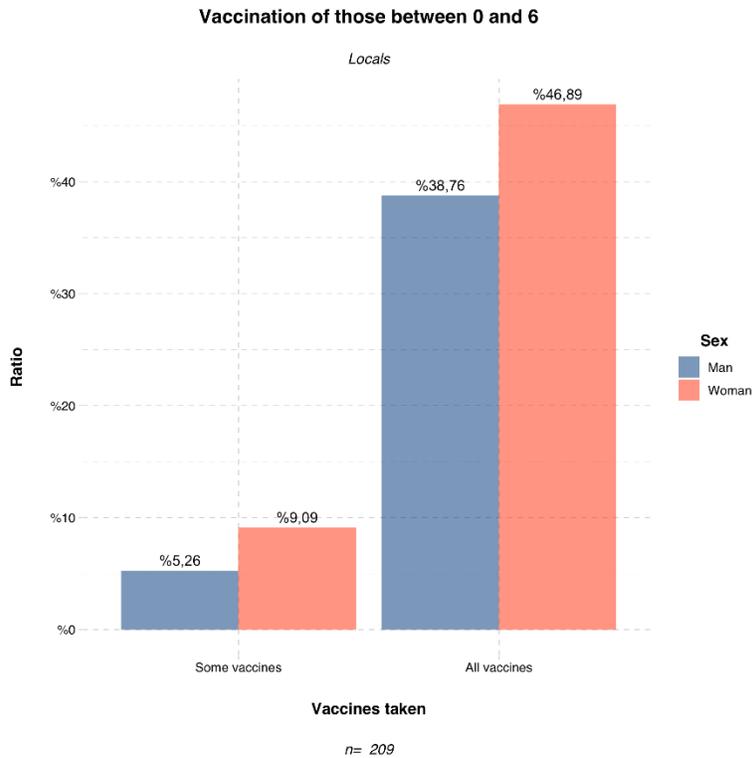


Figure 52: Vaccination of the Children between 0 and 6 Years Old (Locals)

As seen on the figures, the rate of the unvaccinated is around 0% for the locals, and the rate of the vaccination of the Syrians under temporary protection is also promising despite their experiences of uncertainties and difficulties. This trend is very positive without giving rise to speculations rapidly spread especially on social media.

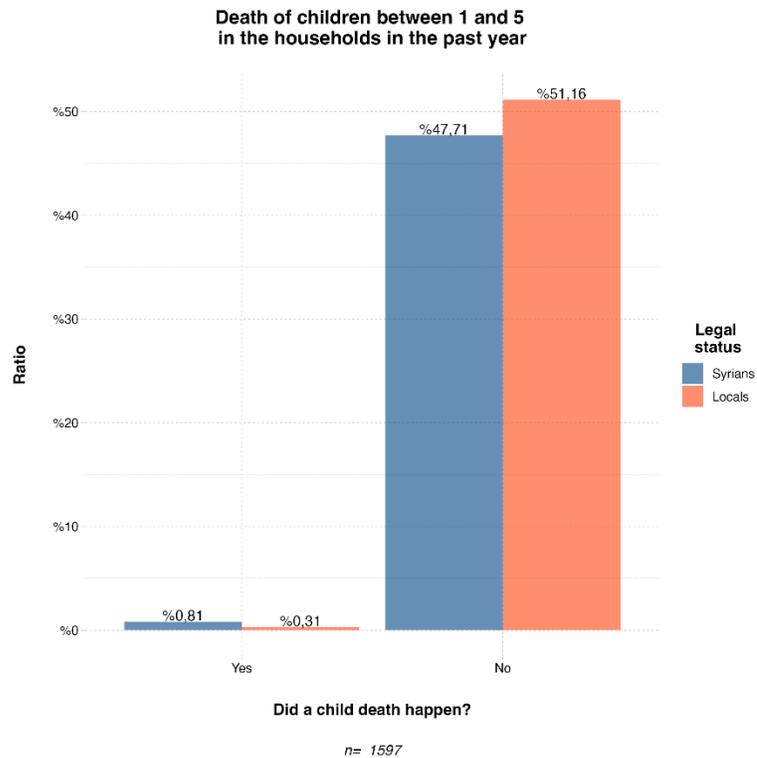


Figure 53: Death of the Children between 1 and 5 in the Past Year

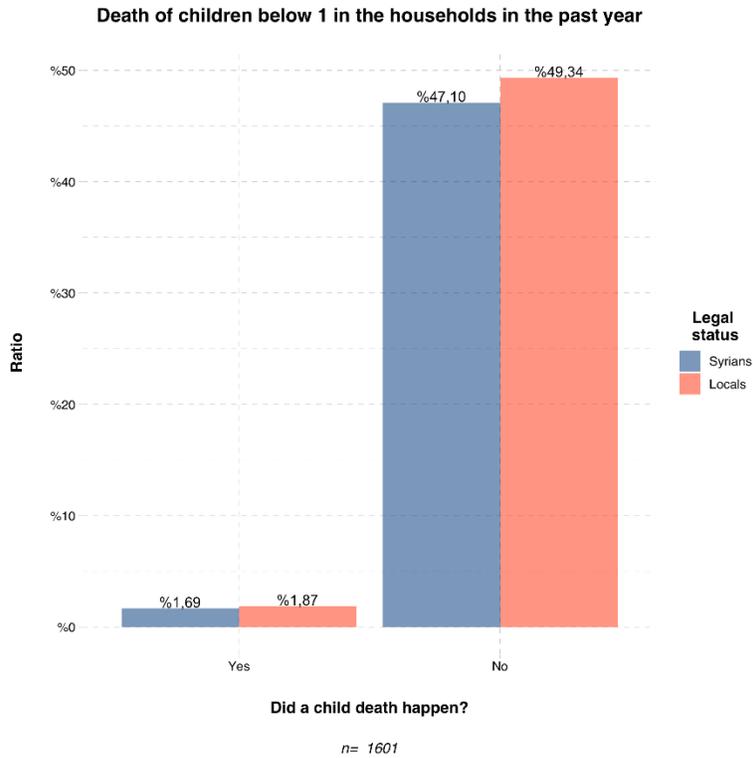


Figure 54: Death of the Children under 1 in the Past Year

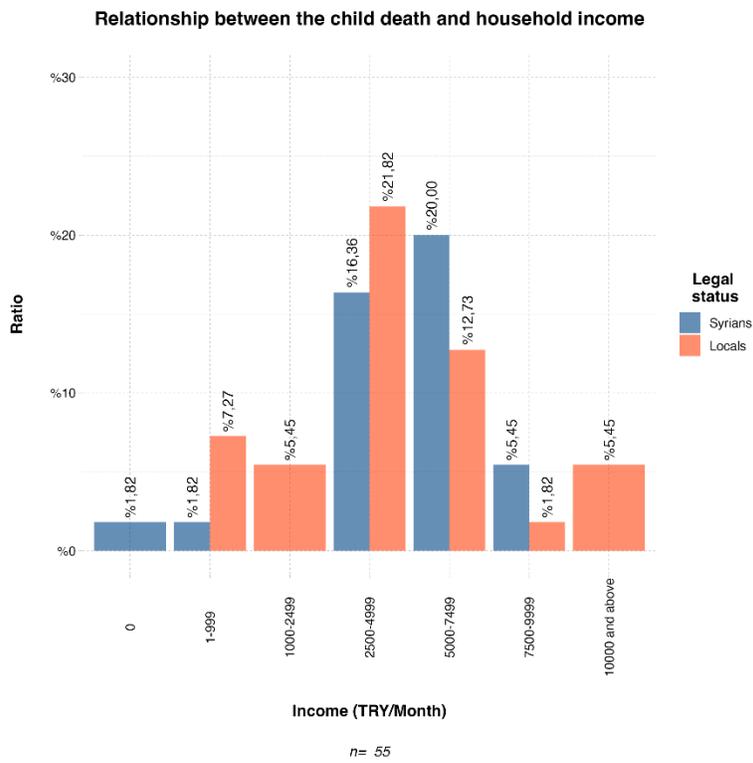


Figure 55: Relationship Between the Child Death and Household Income

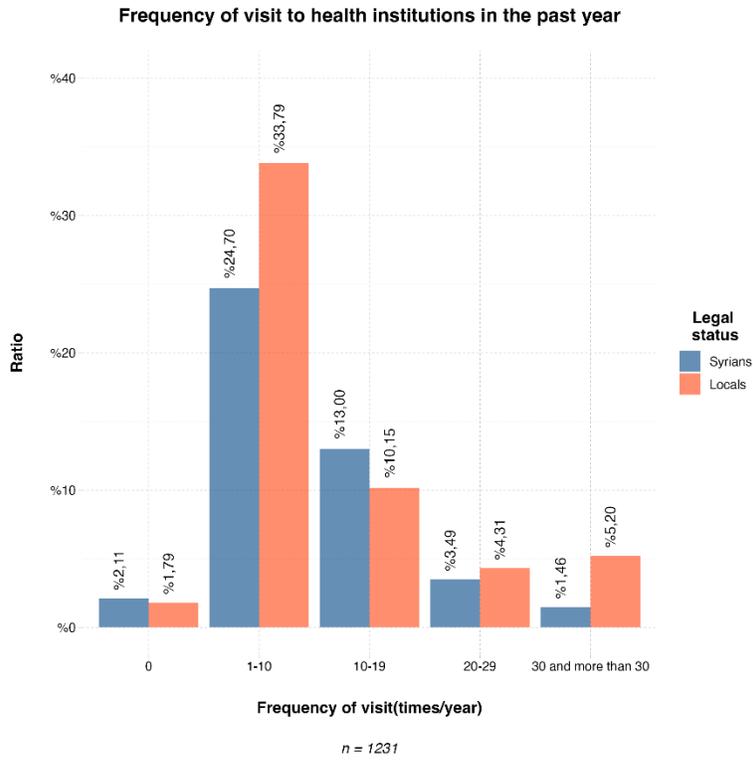


Figure 56: Frequency of Visit to Health Institutions in the Past Year

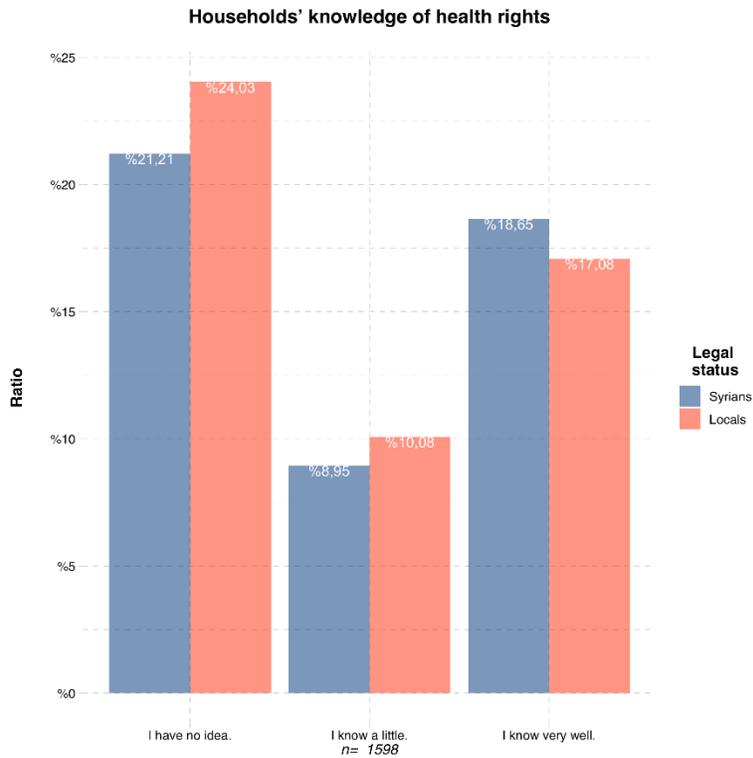


Figure 57: Households' Knowledge of Their Health Rights

Although the rate of access to health services has high values for both SuTP and locals, their knowledge of their rights to access health services is around one-fourth. This situation indicates that practices of getting health services go before the awareness of rights.

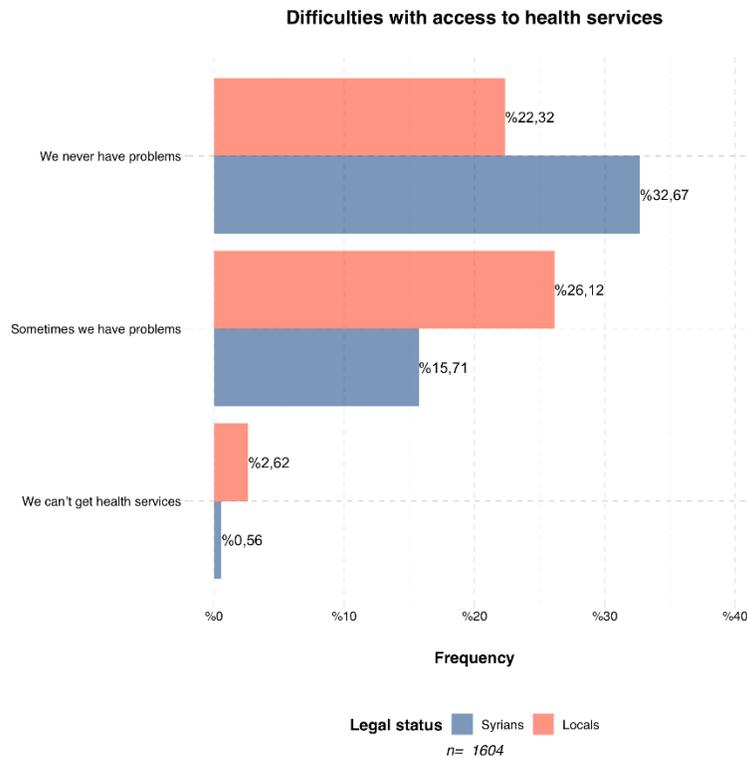


Figure 58: Difficulties with Access to Health Services

Despite all the faults, the complaints reported by the Syrians under temporary protection and locals are in small quantities. During the FGDs, it was brought up that the SuTP had only minor problems with their access to health services.

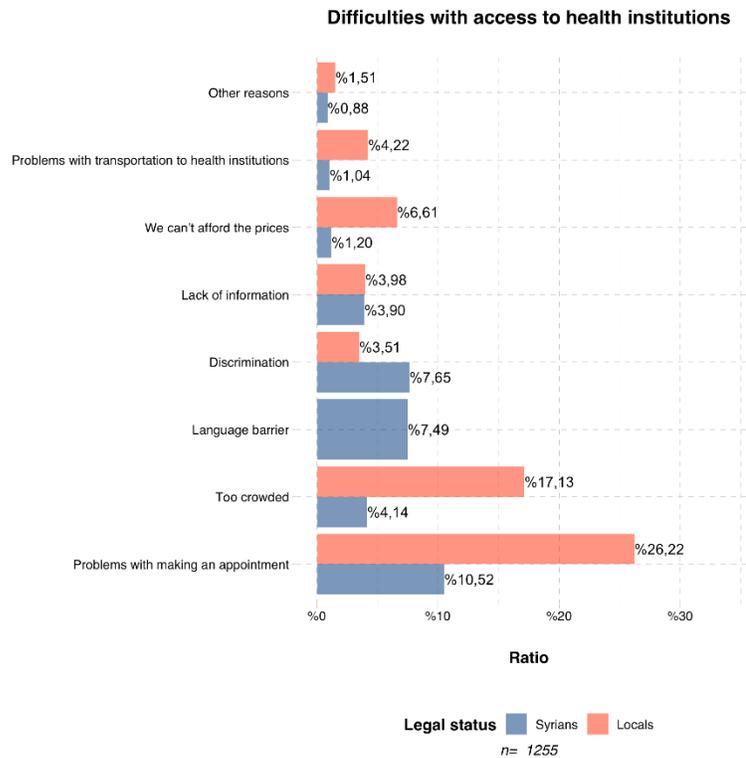


Figure 59: Types of the Difficulties with Access to Health Services

The problems experienced by the Syrians under temporary protection and locals regarding access to health services are sometimes different, sometimes similar. The locals mostly complain about making an appointment online, whereas the SuTP mostly have problems with getting appointments, language, and discrimination. Besides, increasing privatization of health services, except for the basic ones, and prices are common issues of complaint.

Moreover, a third of Syrians under temporary protection need interpreting services while getting health services. Most of those who got interpreting services do not speak Turkish. However, the fact that even those who can speak Turkish to some extent get interpreting services could be explained by the bureaucratic complexity of health services and the SuTP's unfamiliarity with the medical terminology in Gaziantep Province or Türkiye.

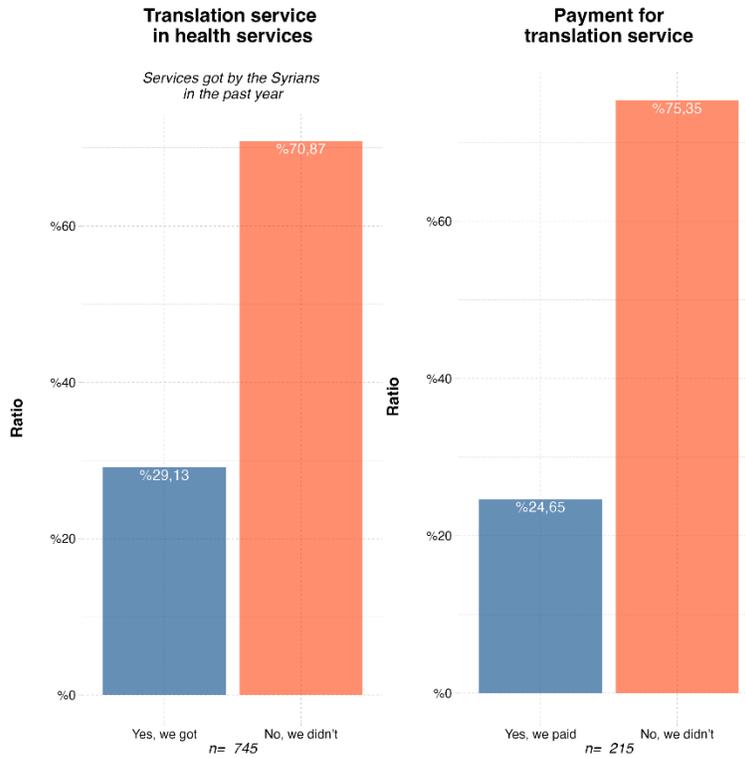


Figure 60: Interpreting While Getting Health Services (Syrians)

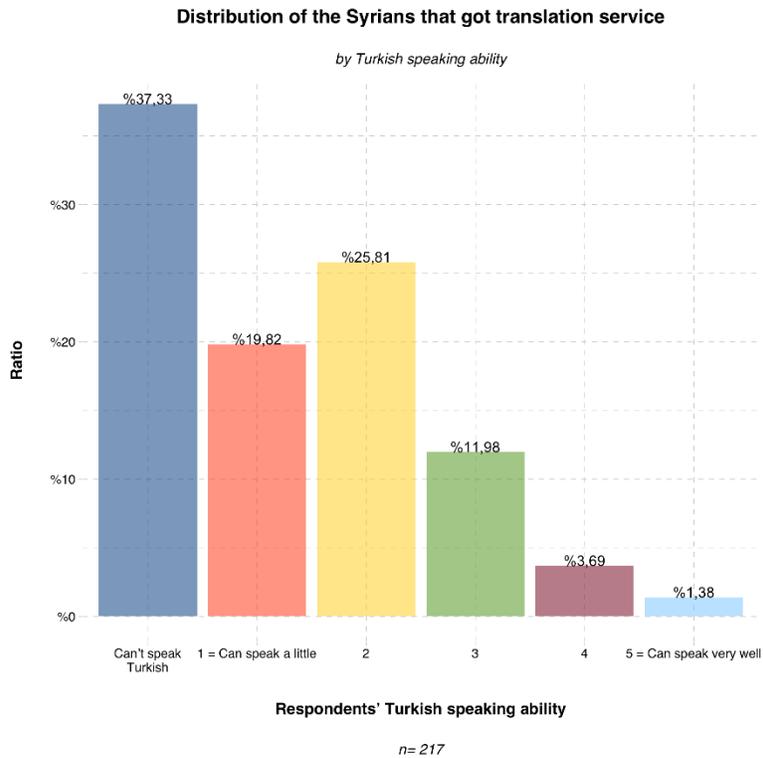


Figure 61: Turkish Language Levels of the Syrians Under Temporary Protection Who Got Interpreting Services

Examining both groups' problems regarding access to health services by income levels, it is apparent that most of the locals with any income level complain about appointments and the crowd in health institutions. As for the Syrians under temporary protection, they have difficulties making an appointment, speaking Turkish, and face discrimination.

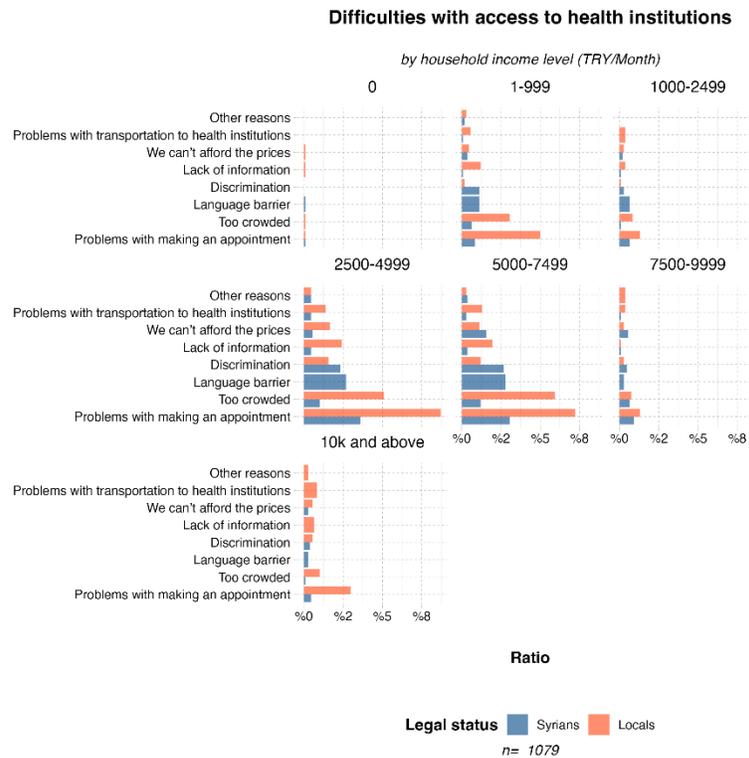


Figure 62: Difficulties with Access to Health Institutions (by Income Level)

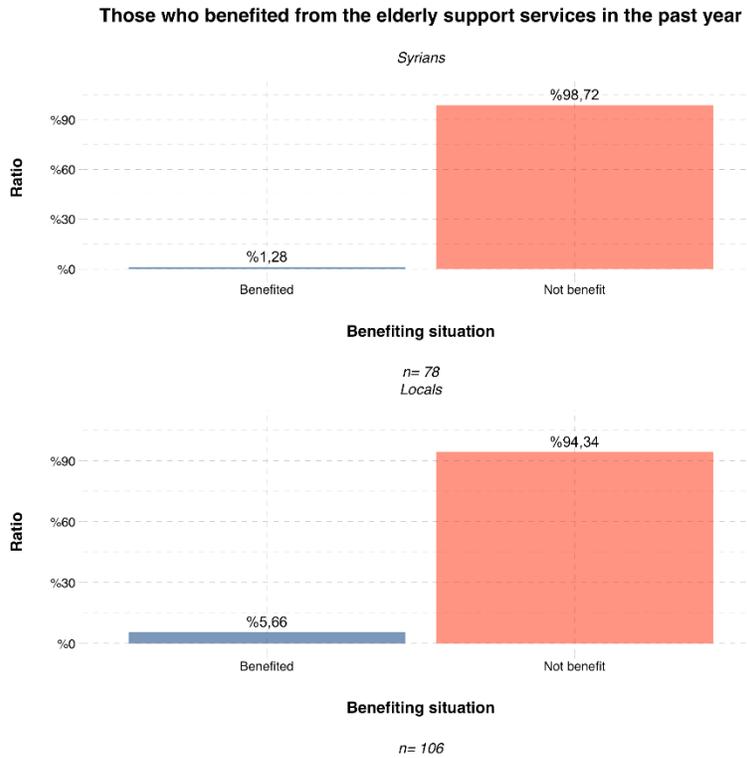


Figure 63: Those Who Benefited from the Elderly Support Services in the Past Year

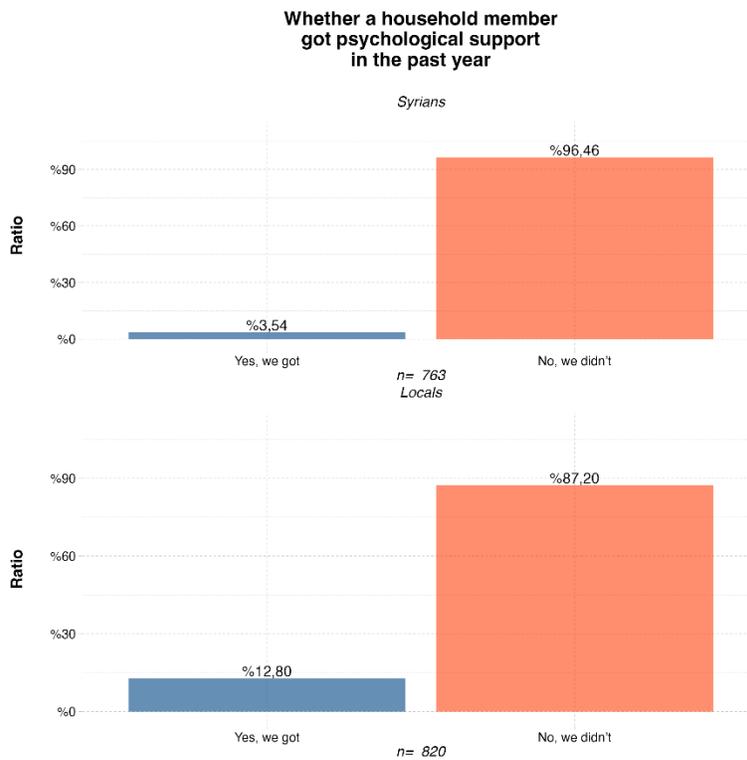


Figure 64: Those Who Got Psychological Support in the Past Year

In the survey field, two important questions about health services were asked to both SuTP and locals. Clearly, urbanization revolutionizes the domestic relationships and household patterns by different socio-economic levels. Considering that the Syrians under temporary protection experience urbanization and being a refugee at the same time, it cannot be expected that their statuses and domestic relationships and roles adopt to these radical transformations within a 11-year-period. Therefore, the advent of new social patterns is expected because of the interactions between rapidly changing concrete conditions and slowly altering values and attitudes.

NOTES FROM THE FGDs

“Due to the pandemic, getting appointments is very hard. In case of an emergency, we cannot go to the health center without an appointment. We need to go to the children’s hospital. That’s problematic for us. Actually, our doctor is very nice. The state hospital is very far. My son got ill and we took him to the emergency department. The same thing also happened to me. Since people around here mostly go to the health center, we get appointments. The health center is very busy. Some other health centers aren’t like that. Ours is too crowded even if we get appointments. But our doctor is very good.” (Sibel, 38 years old, Primary school graduate, Local, Woman)

“My child had a fever recently. I was going to take him/her to the health center, but they asked for an appointment. I had to go to the emergency department. The second one is related to the dentist appointment. It became very hard. It took me a month to get one. On the bairam morning, I went to a private institution and had my tooth pulled, paying 200 Turkish liras. 200 Turkish liras... It’s not cheap. (...) Every day, I go to the university. I’m unhappy with my voice. I had two operations in a month. They were in a private hospital. The doctor said I would lose my voice and suggested inserting a device. I didn’t want it. Then, I went to the university. When I finally found a doctor, it was too late. I have had pains for two years. When I go to the health center, I can get examined. My mind’s at ease.” (Mesude, 34 years old, Illiterate, Local, Woman)

“There is no problem with health services. We go to the health center close to our house.” (Zehra, 18 years old, Student, Syrian, Woman)

“In general, there is a language barrier at hospitals. But there is a Syrian health center, so we don’t have a problem. However, the language issue is still important. If we could tell our issues ourselves at hospitals, it would be better than having an interpreter. The problem with the language... I’m a housewife and don’t use Turkish so much. And also, public transport prices have increased a lot.” (Sima, 33 years old, Secondary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

“Language is, of course, a big problem. Not being able to tell the doctor your problem is very hard. When I was pregnant with my daughter, I went to the hospital, and they took me into the operation before I could figure out what was going on.” (Zeynep, 28 years old, High school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

“Waiting in line for the doctor at the health center takes a quite long time, actually. Either the system breaks down, or they make us wait when it’s too hot. Sometimes, we pay small amounts of money for the drugs.” (Yasemin, 38 years old, High school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

The elderly support services become significant when poverty is added on traditional and modern life conditions. Looking after the family's elderly outside the household or benefiting from social health services regarding the elderly are not common, and it is controversial¹¹.

95% of the locals and 97% of the Syrians under temporary protection stated that they did not benefit from elderly support services. These rates have nothing to do with the elderly population. They are related to either lack of elderly support services or the scarcity of demands.

Similarly, the rates of getting psychological support are low because of its connotations in society. The most significant reason is that accepting psychological support has negative meanings, as does benefiting from the elderly support services. Other reasons could result from inadequacy of elderly support and psychological services.

¹¹ Until recently, the elderly care center in Gaziantep Province was known among the public as "almshouse." This fact reflects the mentioned mindset and values.

LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

One of the indispensable and distinctive features of urban life is the content and quality of leisure times that have, at least should have, significance in the daily life of the residents of a city. The leisure time activities provided by the city institutionally and spatially and accessed by the city dwellers have a role in strengthening social cohesion and social integration in the city since they have many functions such as emphasizing democratic values and providing cultural interactions and multi-culturalism.

The questions about many topics, such as attendance in concerts, visits to the museums, benefiting from the libraries, memberships to the associations and nongovernmental organizations, doing sports individually or in groups, and being informed about the cultural activities in the city, were asked to the SuTP and local respondents. Before commenting on the charts, due the socio-economic structure of the sample group, the Syrians under temporary protection and locals do not differ from each other so much in terms of leisure time activities.

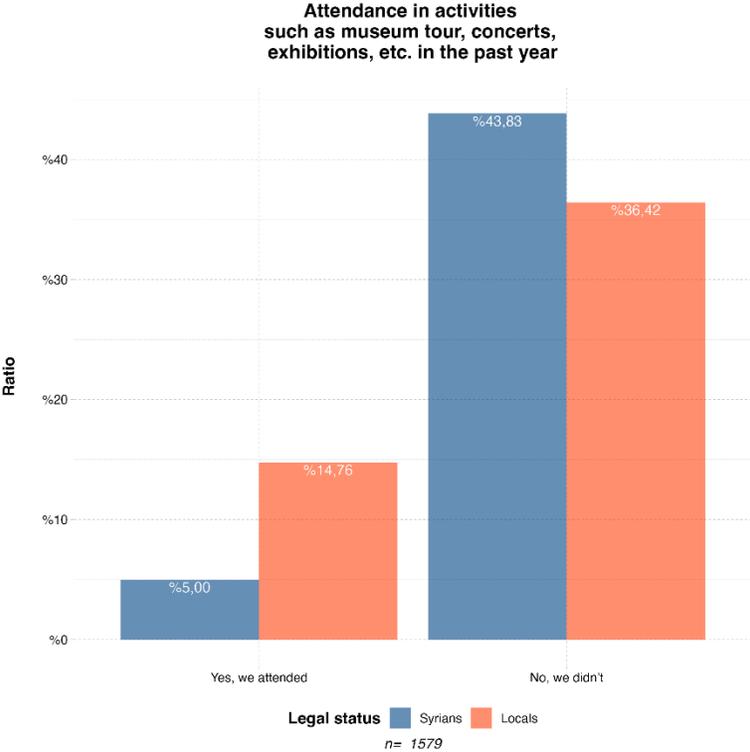


Figure 65: Participation in Activities, Such as Concerts, Museum Tours, Exhibitions, in the Past Year

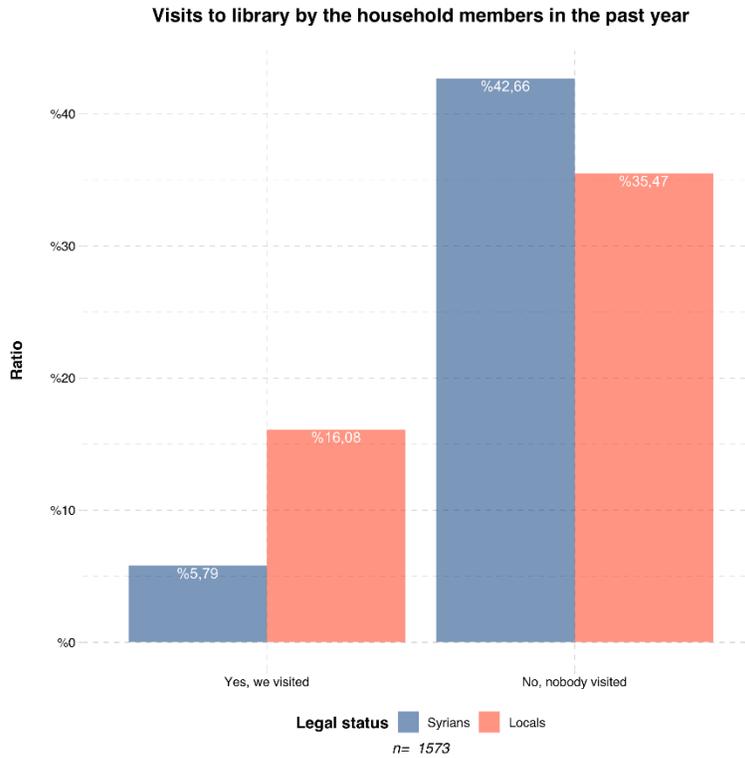


Figure 66: Whether the Household Members Benefited from the Libraries in the Past Year

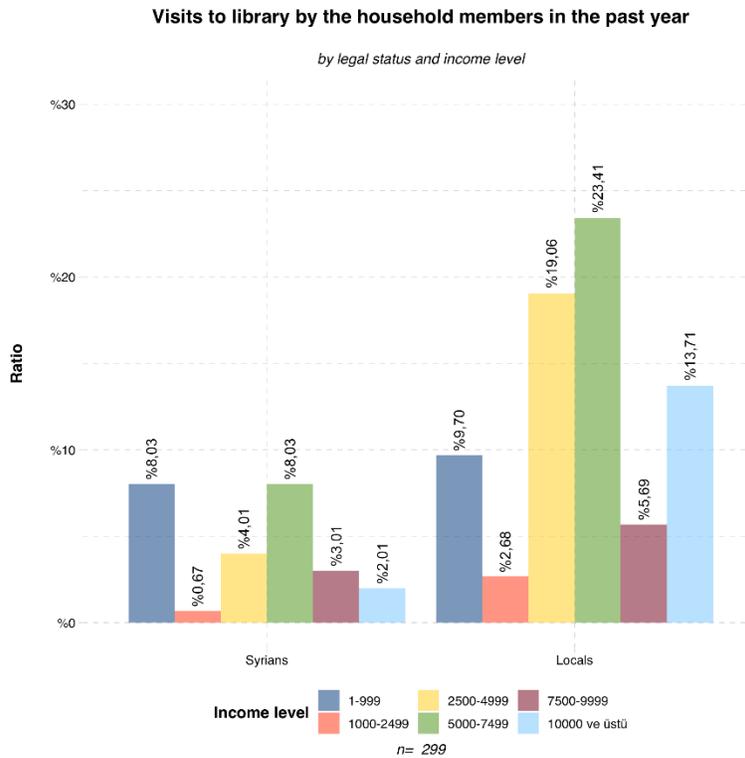


Figure 67: Whether the Household Members Benefited from the Libraries (by Income Level)

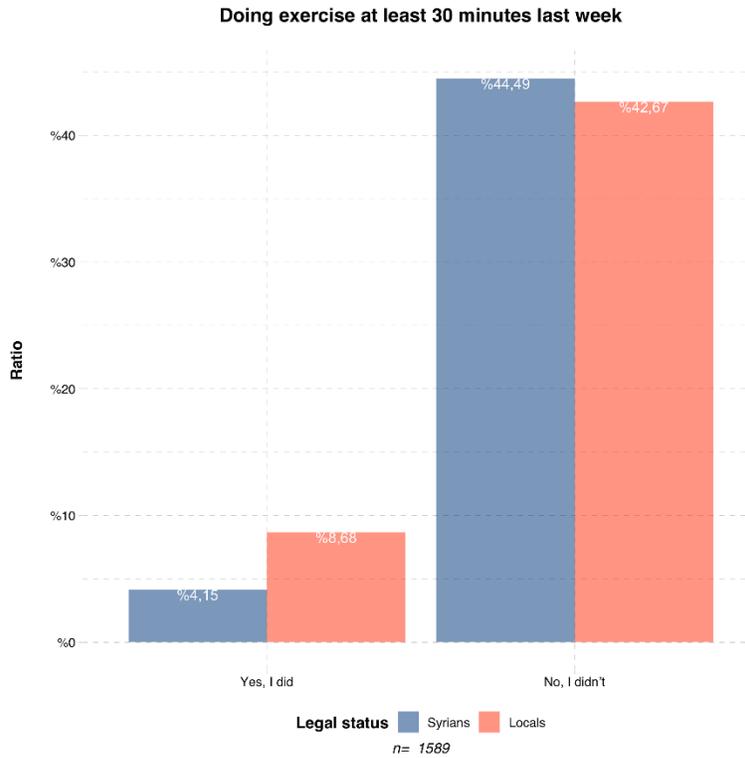


Figure 68: Doing at Least 30-Minute-Exercise Last Week

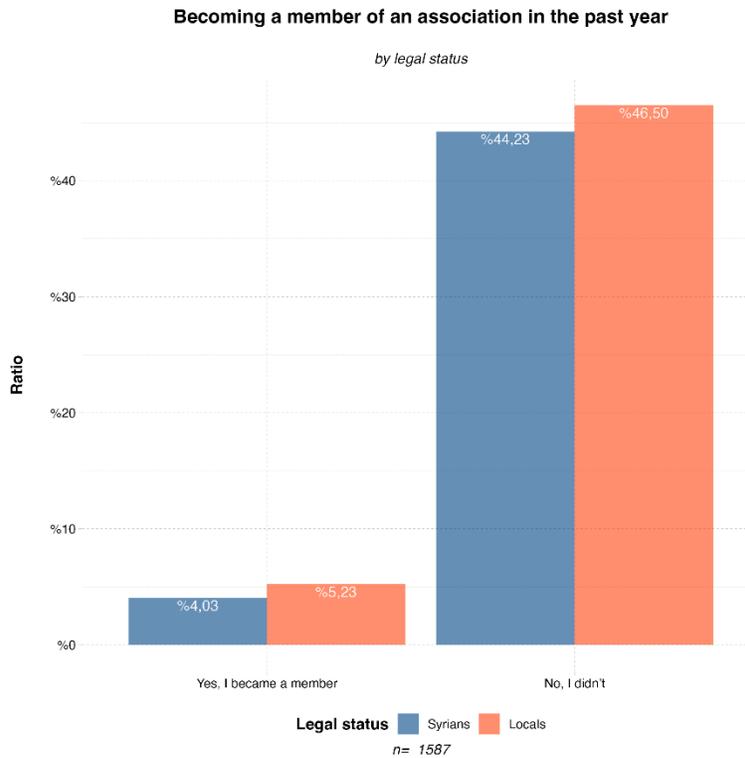


Figure 69: Becoming a Member of an Association/a Club in the Past Year (by Legal Status)

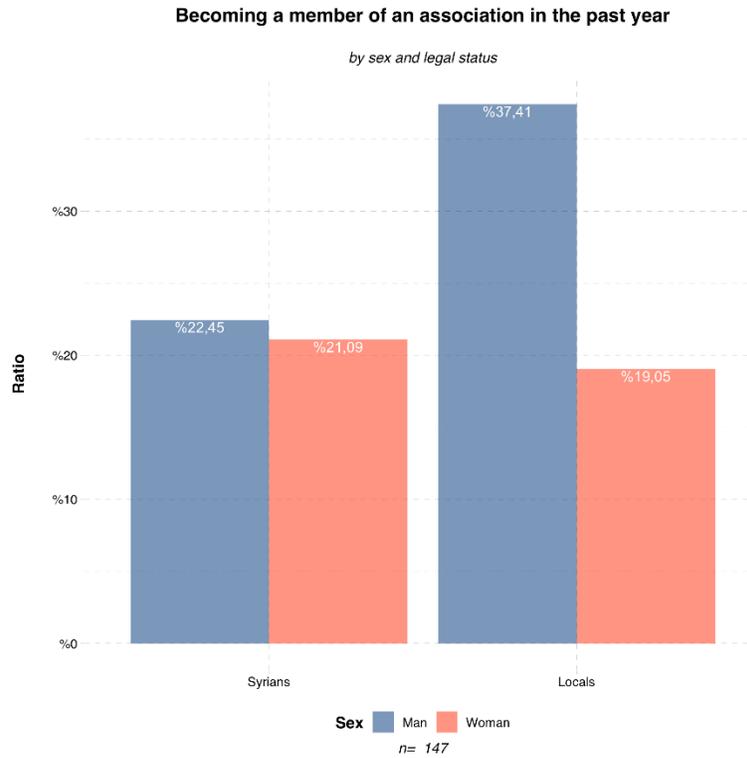


Figure 70: Becoming a Member of an Association/A Club in the Past Year (by Gender)

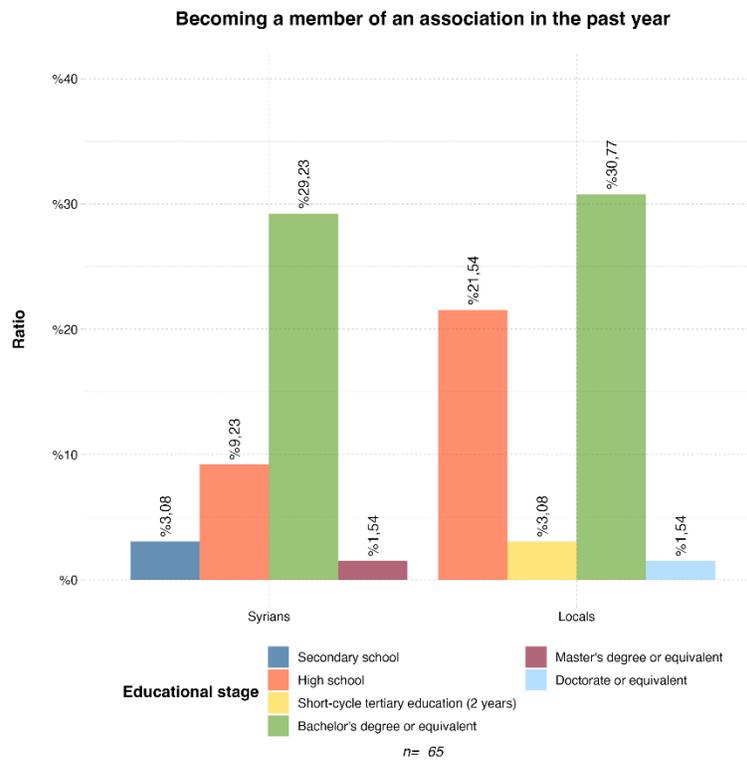


Figure 71: Whether the Students Became a Member of an Association/a Club in the Past Year

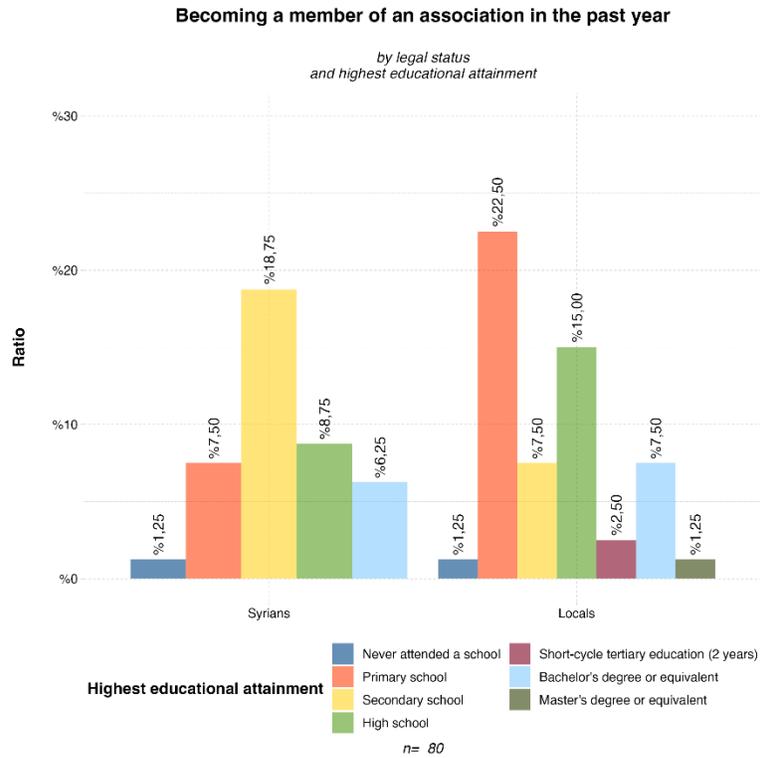


Figure 72: Whether the Graduates Became a Member of an Association/a Club in the Past Year

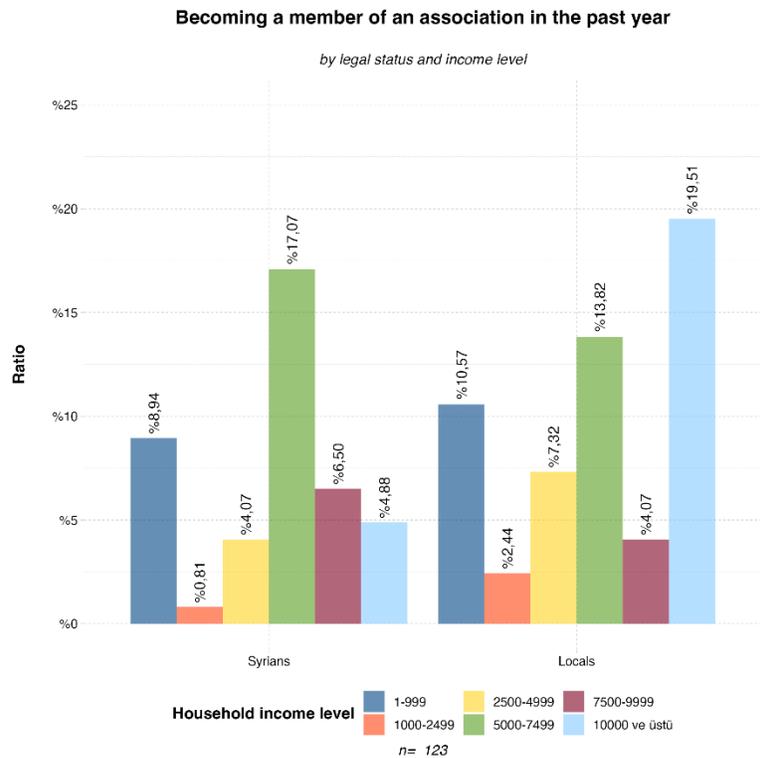


Figure 73: Whether the Household Members Became a Member of an Association/a Club in the Past Year (by Income Level)

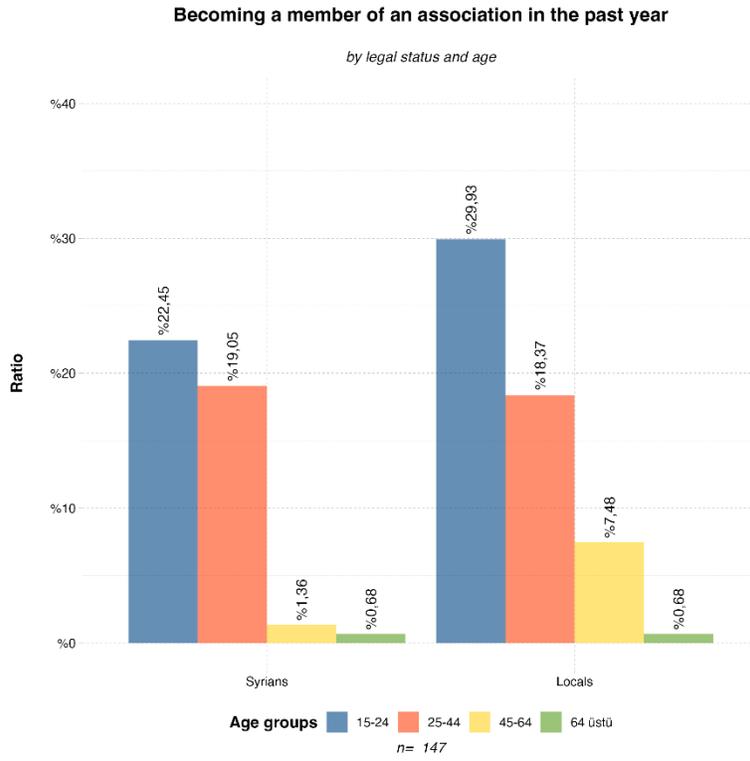


Figure 74: Whether the Household Members Became a Member of an Association/a Club in the Past Year (by Age Group)

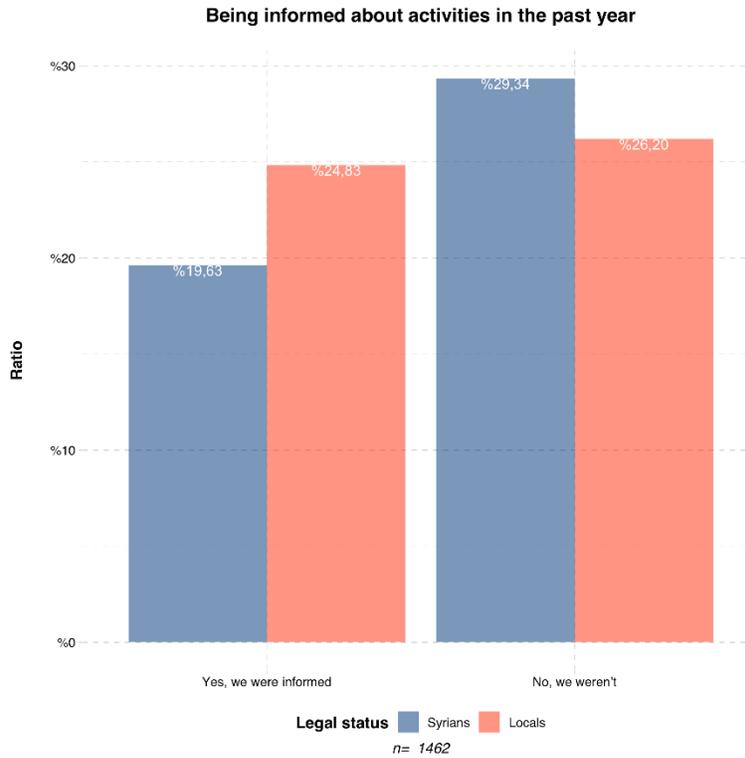


Figure 75: Being Informed About Social Activities in the Past Year

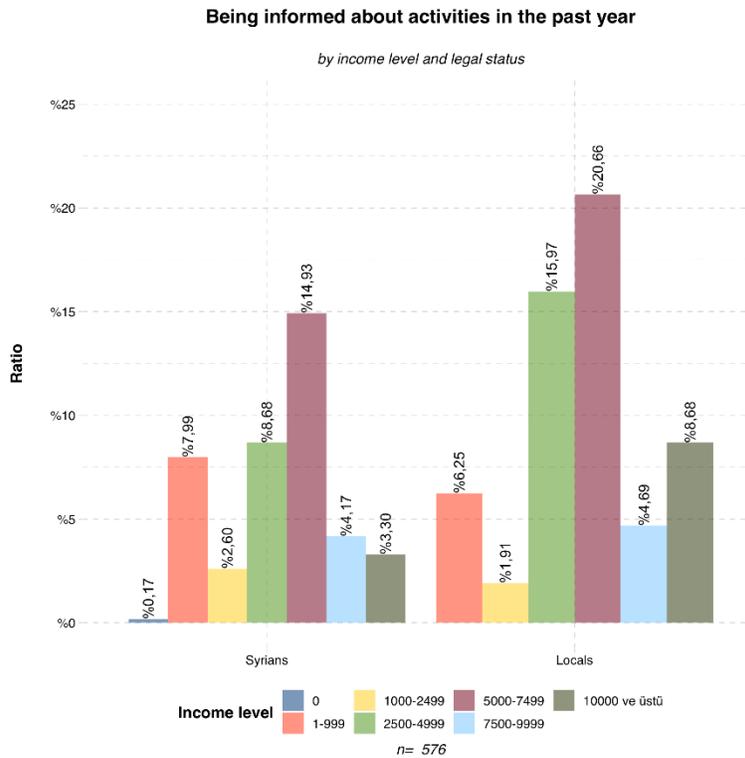


Figure 76: Being Informed About Social Activities in the Past Year (by Income Level)

During the FGDs, both Syrians under temporary protection and locals frequently stated the importance of community centers that work in some neighborhoods. The community centers working thanks to the municipalities and some other institutions add new social aspects to daily life, especially for women. In many areas such as sports, cooking, and literacy and foreign language courses, there are applicable projects ideal for the interactions between the Syrians under temporary protection and locals. It is observed especially in the poor neighborhoods where the weight on the back of women suppressed by the domestic and patriarchal culture is burdensome, the women feel it less even for a few hours, and they, together with their children, can meet the other women in the neighborhood there. Undoubtedly, increasing the number of these community centers and making them more functional contribute to the participation of Syrian women in the city in social life and offer some opportunities to decrease the prejudices between the SuTP and the locals.

NOTES FROM THE FGDs

"I'm pleased with the education in this community center. I wish I could have come here earlier. My progress is good. The teachers are very friendly. When you see these things, you become more enthusiastic about education. You want to learn and know more about everything when you see the teachers here. They are very good examples for us." (Ebru, 23 years old, Secondary school graduate, Single, Local, Woman)

"I come here to exercise. Just to let myself go. There is another GASMEK social center near my neighborhood, Selahattin Eyyubi Social Center, I want to go there to exercise, actually but there aren't any sports teachers there. My friend brought me here to acquire a profession. May Allah bless her. I attended a pastry course, actually just to be busy. It helped me a lot, I learned many things. It is quite good, I wish I could go more frequently. Since I have children, I keep my stays there short." (Nurcan, 45 years old, Primary school graduate, Local, Woman)

"I come here to exercise. I visit my friends. I have no family members here but Allah blessed me with my friends on these foreign lands." (Ümran, 27 years old, Syrian, Woman)

"There are many responsibilities at home. I come here just to exercise. I don't have any relatives here. I feel time passes very slowly. Before starting to come here, I was depressed for a long time and always at home. I didn't go anywhere. I have neither neighbors nor relatives. When I started coming here, I met new people. I'm new around here." (Büşra, 40 years old, Syrian, Woman)

"I hang out with my friend in my free time. I attend the sports and English courses here." (Zehra, 18 years old, Student, Syrian, Woman)

"I come here to exercise. I learn Turkish and memorize the Qur'an. I have these courses but I don't have much free time." (Zeynep, 28 years old, High school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

"I have a lot of free time. I just exercise. I have no children and always sleep. I just sleep, wake up, pray, and exercise, that's all. If I could, I would work. I'm a hairdresser but I can't set up my own shop. When I try to work at home, people want to take advantage of me. They say 'You have no shop, do it for cheaper.' I also have no friends to meet." (Selva, 29 years old, Secondary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

"I don't have much free time. I am the only daughter of my family. I do the housework and help my mother cook. I go to exercise. When I'm at home, I just watch TV and surf the internet, that's all." (Hatice, 18 years old, Primary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

“I come here to exercise too. Except here, I don’t go anywhere. And my family isn’t here. Only my brother is here.”
 (Mahbube, 30 years old, Secondary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

SOCIAL COHESION, SOCIAL INTERACTION, AND PERCEPTION OF DAILY LIFE

Following the daily life interactions between the Syrians under temporary protection and the locals is important in terms of identifying the distance already covered and to be covered in the social cohesion process. The results of many topics, such as knowing the language, friendship, and neighbor relations, obtained from the field points out to a striking social cohesion and social integration pattern.

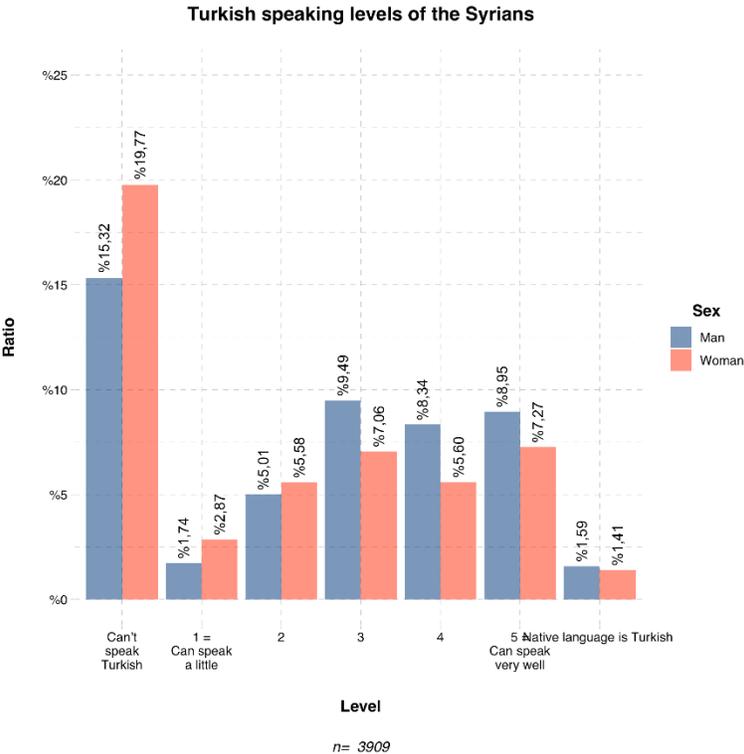


Figure 77: Turkish Speaking Levels of the Syrians under temporary protection (by Gender)

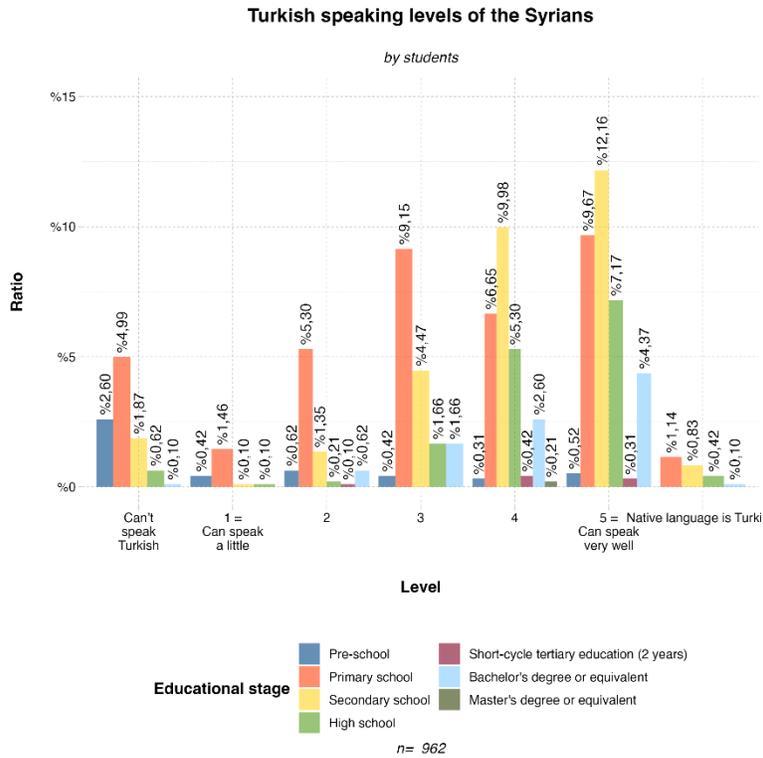


Figure 78: Turkish Speaking Levels of the Syrian Students (by Educational Stage)

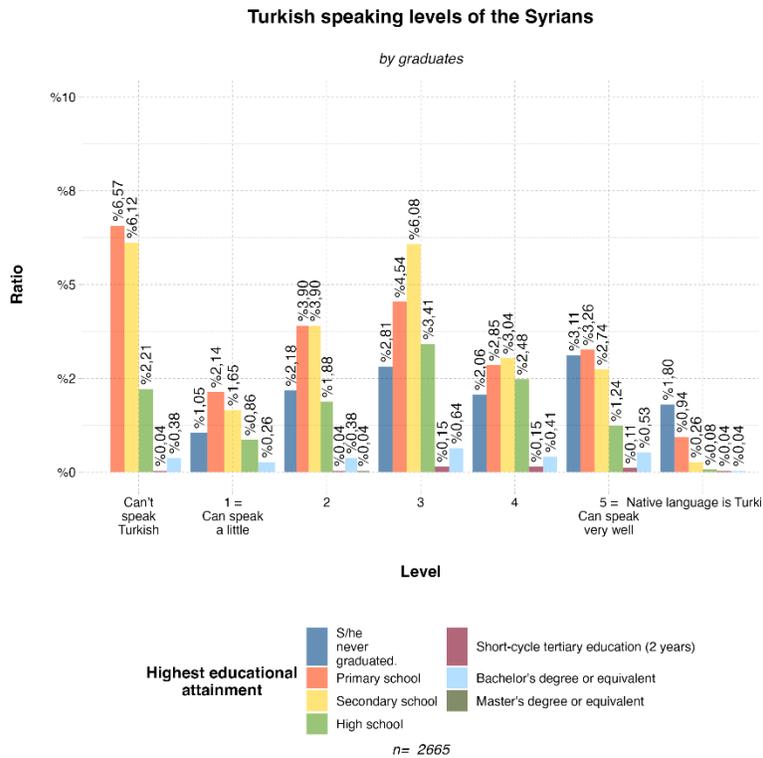


Figure 79: Turkish Speaking Levels of the Syrians under temporary protection (by Highest Educational Attainment)

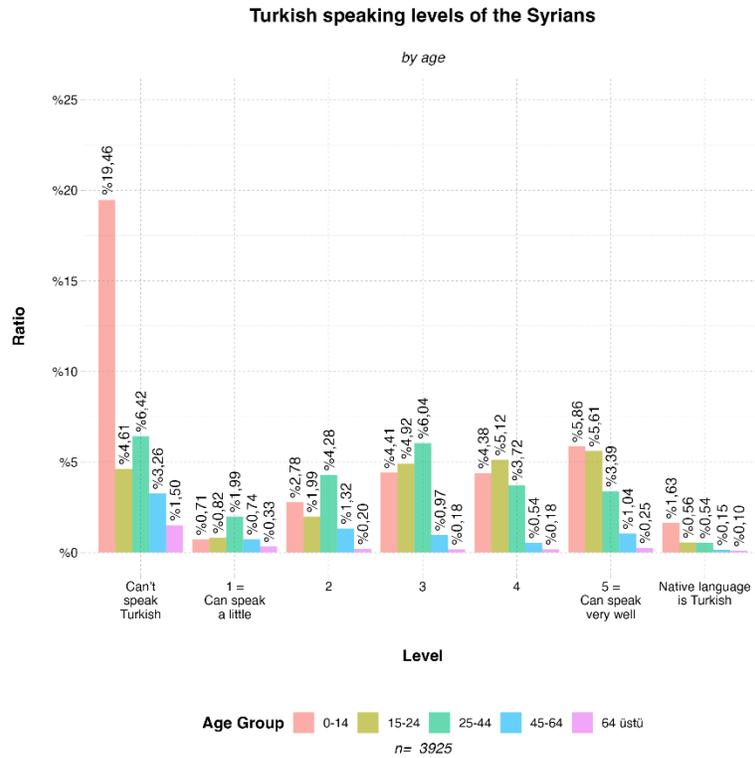


Figure 80: Turkish Speaking Levels of the Syrians under temporary protection (by Age Group)

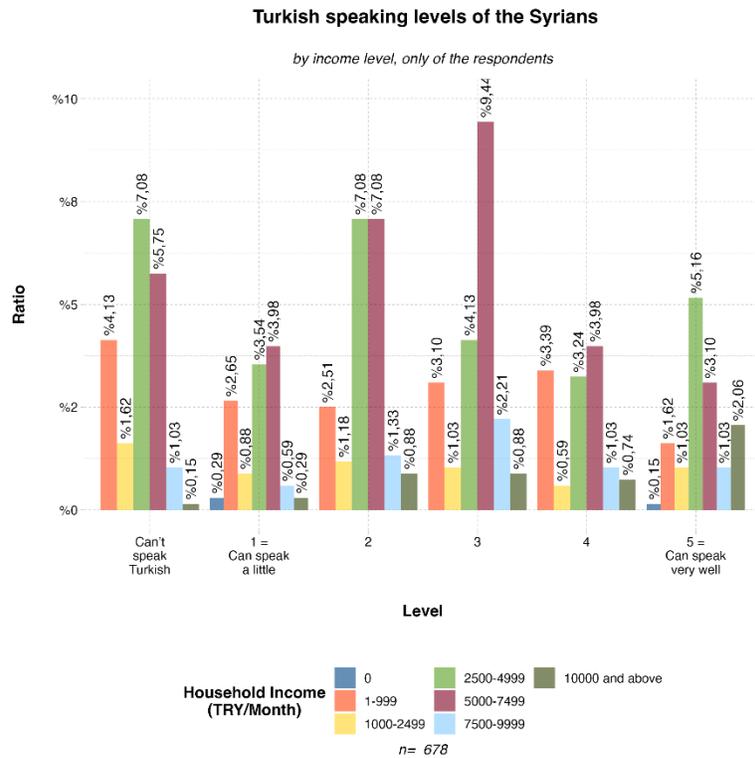


Figure 81: Turkish Speaking Levels of the Syrians under temporary protection (by Income Level)

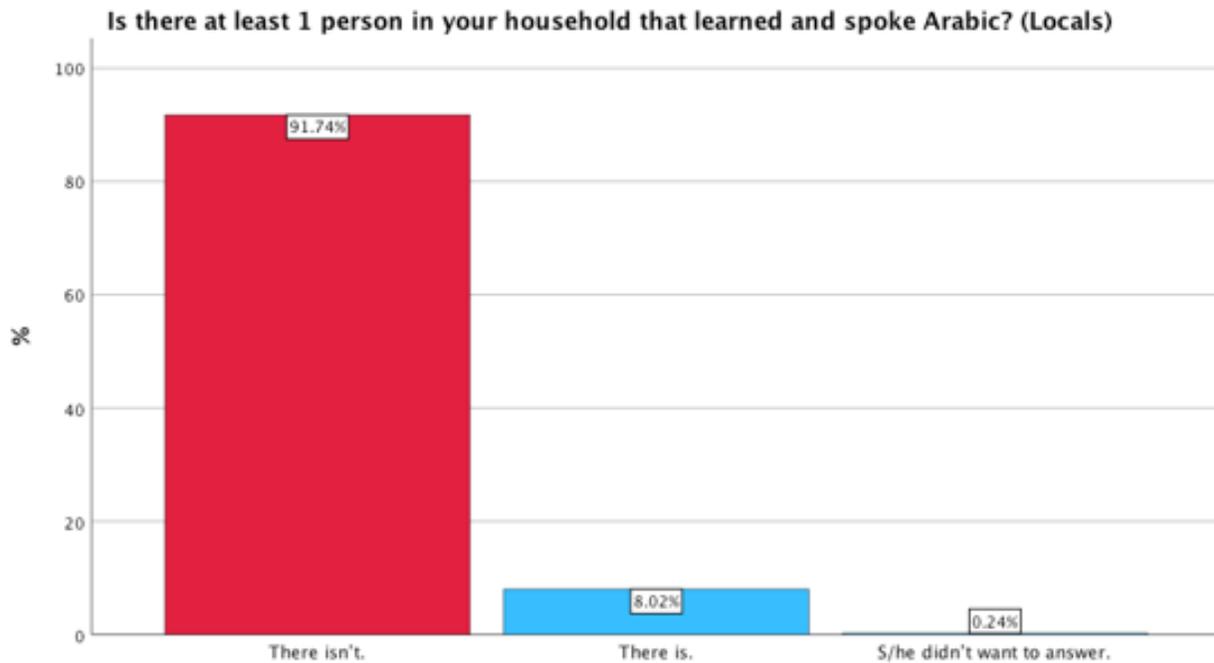


Figure 82: Is there at least 1 person in your household who learned and now speaks Arabic? (Locals)

Knowing a language is the first step in many social interactions, and it helps maintain them. The SuTP’s level of Turkish speaking skills has been affected by many factors such as their previous cultural experiences, the quality of the social classes they are in, their job and workplaces, the success of school-age children in education and its reflection in family and neighborhoods, and the presence of community centers that include many Syrian women and youngsters. Learning and speaking Turkish concern many segments of the Syrians under temporary protection from school children to adults looking for a job, and to women and the elderly who spend most of their time at home and in the neighborhood. It is true that knowing the language—speaking Turkish—itself is not enough for social cohesion and social integration; nevertheless, language skills and teaching are vital to social cohesion and establishing effective social relations.

The rates of the SuTP’s Turkish speaking skills and its effects have been under study since 2018. In the 2018 survey, the rate of those who did not speak Turkish at all was almost 50%, and most of them were from the older generations. In the 2020 survey, the rate of the persons in the household who did not know Turkish at all decreased to 11%. 15% of those who did not know Turkish was comprised of women, older people, and children who were not school-age. As the schooling rates have increased, and the inclusion areas have varied starting from education, the trend in knowing Turkish became upward. As can be inferred from the bar charts, 20% of the Syrians under temporary protection—most of them from younger generations and those

participating in work life—define their Turkish language skills as advanced. Nevertheless, Turkish language level can become lower even among the school-age groups. One of the main reasons for this fact is that teaching Turkish has become an institutional objective after the cancellation of the Temporary Education Centers in 2017. Another reason is that the Syrian children were away from schools that would help them acquire more language skills.

As for Turkish language skills by income level, the number of the Syrians under temporary protection who gain the minimum wage or have income as much as the minimum wage is very frequent. The related bar chart (Figure 81) indicates that even though most of the Syrian labor force participates in the labor market at minimum wage levels, the Turkish language learning process is positively affected by the participation in work life.

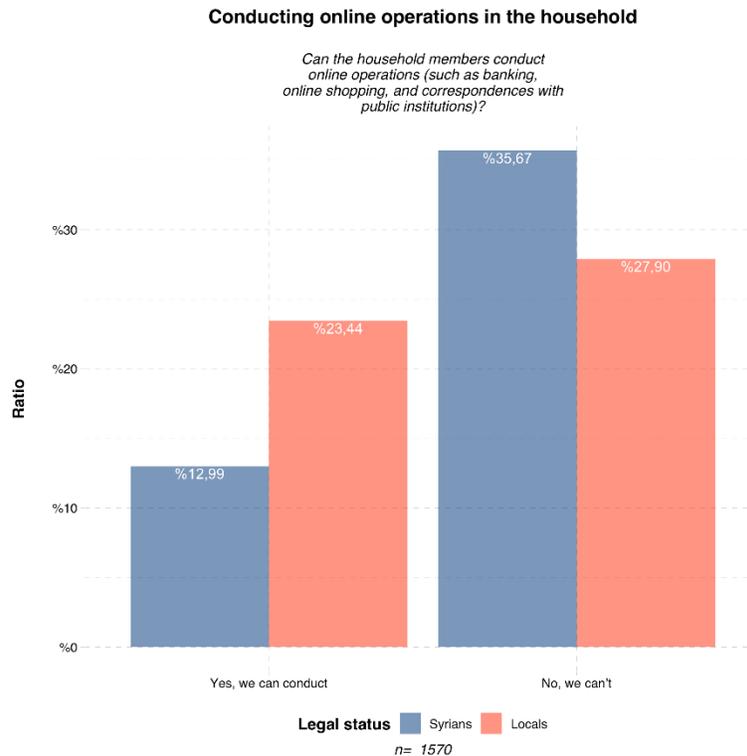


Figure 83: Respondents' Ability to Use the Internet in Some Cases

Apart from knowing another language, using computers in today's internet era has great impacts, especially on relations with certain institutions. Clearly, if there is someone in the household whose knowledge of language and computer/internet operations are great, the duration of bureaucratic processes decreases and the city dwellers can spend their time more effectively. For this reason, some questions about conducting online operations, such as banking, applying to the official institutions, and municipality services, were asked to both Syrians and locals in the survey field. A significant part of both groups can conduct online operations. Still, most of the Syrians and locals appear to be deprived of this opportunity and skill. It seems being a Syrian under temporary protection or a local has no direct effect on this issue. It is observed

that this situation mostly results from the socio-economic level that provides opportunities in this sense.

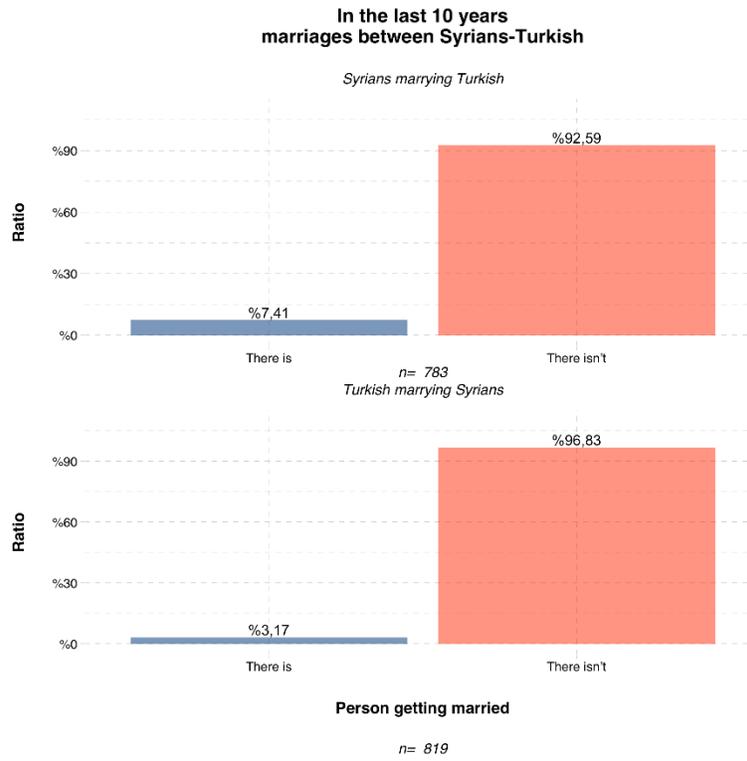


Figure 84: Intermarriages between the Syrians under temporary protection and the Locals (Last 10 Years)

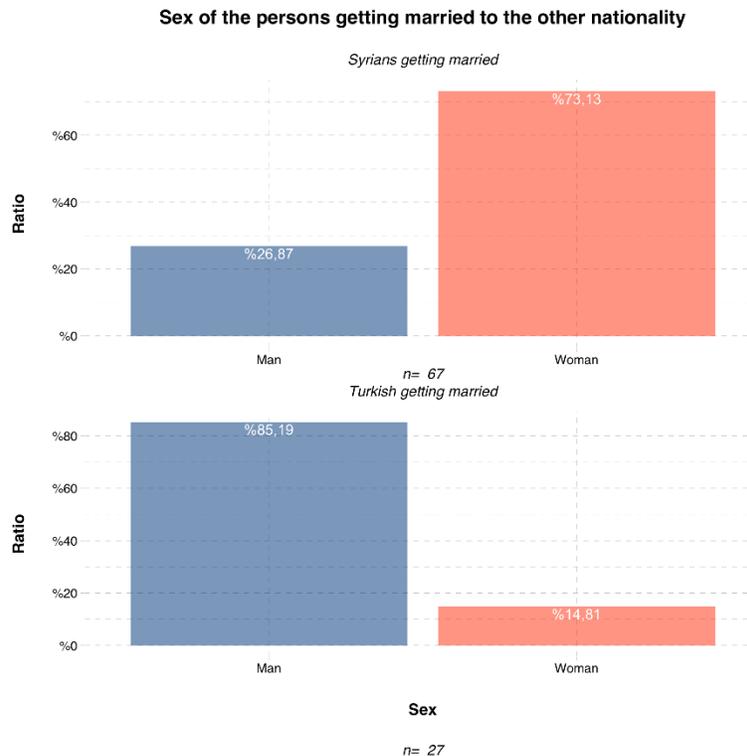


Figure 85: Intermarriages between the Syrians under temporary protection and the Locals (by Gender)

The data about marriages between Syrians under temporary protection and locals are critical to understanding social cohesion and social integration. Since the 2018 survey, data have been collected on this issue. In the 2018 survey, the rate of the Syrian women who were married to local men was higher (in neighborhoods that were socio-economically very similar.) The trend in marriages was also upward in the 2020 survey. The rate of Syrian women married to local men was 75.6%, whereas it was 24% for Syrian men married to local women. In the same survey, the rate of the local women married to a Syrian man was 17.4%, and that of the local men married to a Syrian woman corresponded to 82.6%.

Clearly, the number of the Syrian women married to local men is higher than that of the local women married to Syrian men. These rates reveal that traditional patriarchal values are generally present in migration and asylum conditions, and these two groups have interactions through intermarriages. FGDs featured many perspectives, from the very positive ones to the most rejectionist ones.

NOTES FROM THE FGDs

“The Syrians and Turks don’t match up with each other. They [Syrian women] are too neat and tidy. They don’t do housework or cook. They eat in restaurants. But they look after themselves. Men usually cheat on their wives with Syrian women. I have never heard of somebody around me to be married to a Syrian. They [Syrian women] marry for money and run away by taking the golds. I heard these a few times.” (Rahime, 43 years old, Married, Primary school graduate, Local, Woman)

"There is one [a Syrian] at workplace. I don't know, we have never eaten together. Eating together is one thing but marriage... If two people love each other, I don't care. We should respect it. There is nobody in our family who is married to a Syrian. If there was, I would respect it. I would consent to my daughter's marriage with a Syrian if she wanted so. We work together with that Syrian and we are compatible. I've had no problems with him so far. Maybe they respect me because I'm old. They are respectful, well, I don't know." (Şahin, 49 years old, Primary school graduate, Construction worker, Local, Man)

"Well, there is something like that... Our regions are close to one another, our cuisine a little bit, too. Our clothing style isn't so much but it is close. So I can get married to a Syrian, no problem. However, whatever I want from somebody from here, I would expect the same things from a Syrian woman. There is a problem like that, though... Even if I expect, she cannot give the same things that I want from a woman from here. It wouldn't be enough. I mean culturally... I think the Syrians generally marry here not because of love, but for logical reasons. (...) I usually think like that... Because of the necessities. For example, we have a brother here. He has a Syrian girlfriend, and they will marry soon. He, for instance, is an exception. They love each other but that's not the case for most of them." (Halis, 21 years old, University student, Local, Man)

"Their houses are awful but they look after themselves. The husband of my sister-in-law has 5 children, but he has been chasing after a Syrian woman for 3 years. Because of her paler skin and her eyes, he is in love with her. That's a terrible situation. May Allah protect us. Many marriages ended. If only it didn't happen. If only they didn't come here. We're afraid of our husbands to go out. If they liked a Syrian woman, they would leave us, this is why we fear. If my husband cheated on me, it would be bad for my children." (Mesuda, 34 years old, Married, Illiterate, Local, Woman)

NOTES FROM THE FGDS

"My sister's husband is Turkish. These intermarriages don't bother me." (Nesibe, 30 years old, University student, Syrian, Woman)

"The Syrian men are married to Turkish women as well. The other day, I read a news of something like that on *Facebook*. They are university students. It's very normal to me." (Melike, 37 years old, Secondary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

"Our landlord wanted my daughter but we didn't accept it because my husband doesn't want my daughter to be married to a Turkish man. Additionally, my daughter is 15 years old. We told them that our daughter was too young; it was forbidden in their laws, we did not even understand how they could ask for it. We were shocked. They said our daughter was calm and never went outside the house, and thus, they liked our daughter. We didn't accept because our daughter is too young, and we would never give our daughter to the Turks. Because my husband's cousin got married a Turk, and they got divorced after three months. She was his first wife, but their marriage wasn't registered with the laws." (Sema, 35 years old, High school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

"Some of my friends got married to Turks. One of them has 3 children and they live together happily. But of course, their marriage is legal, and she has a Turkish ID card. One of my friends was also married to a Turk but they got divorced. Their marriage wasn't legal. They have 2 children and their father took the children. I have a relative who is married to a Turk. They have 3 children and she has a Turkish ID card. She has her own house as well. They are happy. I think if s/he is a good person, they can get married but the most important thing is that the marriage must be legal so that there would be no problem. I think being a Turk or an Arab doesn't matter. They should get along well with each other. Their customs might be different but they get will used to it." (Sacide, 28 years old, Secondary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

“One of my mother’s friends got married a Turk. Because of the differences in customs, I don’t approve this kind of marriage. This kind of marriage happens just to take advantage of Syrian women. Either they become a second wife or the marriage is secret. Even if the Syrian woman becomes the first wife, she cannot have the same rights as a Turkish woman, and Syrian women don’t ask for much. If the marriage is legal, I see nothing wrong with it. I have an acquaintance who accepted to become a second wife secretly. They even have children. Then, the wife of the man found out and wanted him to divorce the Syrian woman. They are divorced now, she has no rights over her children.” (Selva, 29 years old, Secondary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

“Yes, I know someone but I think marriage between a Syrian and a Turk is rather hard because a woman I know didn’t speak Turkish when she married. They were speaking using signs. However, our landlord’s sister-in-law is a Turkish man from Syria. She doesn’t have a problem like that because she knows Turkish very well. My acquaintances got married legally, of course; thus, there was no problem.” (Fahriye, 30 years old, Primary school graduate, Syrian, Woman)

“It’s very normal, of course. The sister of a friend of mine is officially married to a Turk. They got married in 2014. Now, they are busy with the application for Turkish citizenship. When they got married, the woman didn’t know Turkish, and the man didn’t know Arabic. However, now they are OK. As for differences and similarities, they depend on people. I don’t think there is a huge difference.” (Mustafa, 26 years old, High school graduate, Syrian, Man)

“It’s very normal to me, and I also have some acquaintances. People should realize that even before the war in Syria, there were Syrian men married to Turkish women, or vice versa. Therefore, when we came here, most of the Syrians already had relatives in this city. Our customs are similar, too. The difference results from the fact that our family relationships are stronger. We visit each other more frequently. Our attitude toward women is better, we indulge them more. I think Syrian women look after themselves. They care about their appearances, dressings, the chats between husband and wife, and spending time together. That was the case in Syria, of course. Now, the importance of these decreased. Some Turks learned Arabic now. For example, my friends know it. They try to act like us.” (Ahmet, 29 years old, Secondary school graduate, Syrian, Man)

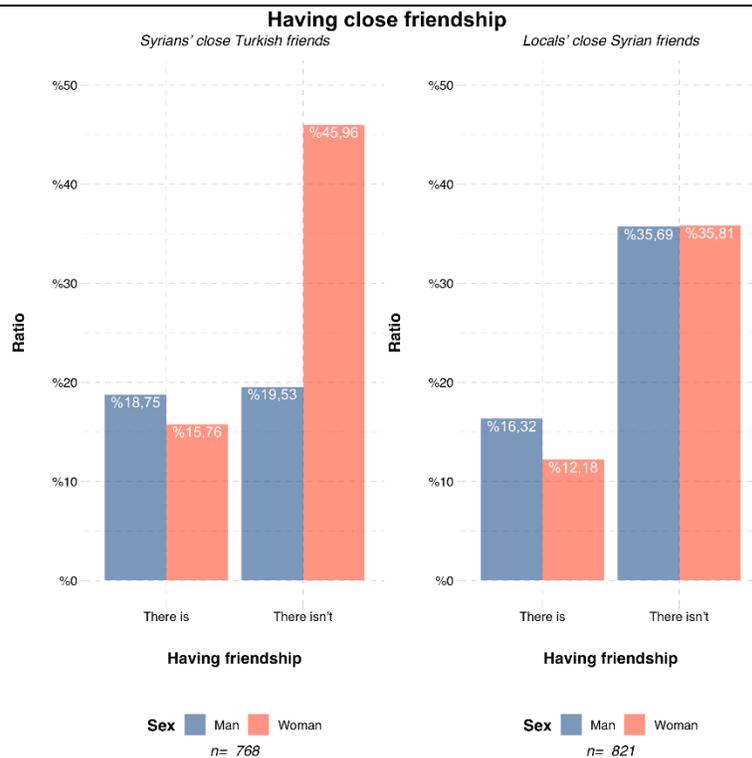


Figure 86: Friendships between the Syrians under temporary protection and Locals

Friendships are one of the most important bases on which social cohesion and social integration can be built. The patterns of friendships between the Syrians under temporary protection and locals are noticeable. As expected, most of the Syrian women do not have close local friends because they do not participate in the employment life much, and their daily life is usually limited within the borders of the house. Therefore, they have fewer opportunities to encounter the locals. However, considering the 2018 and 2020 surveys' results, the situation is not completely pessimistic despite the social distance during the two-year-pandemic.

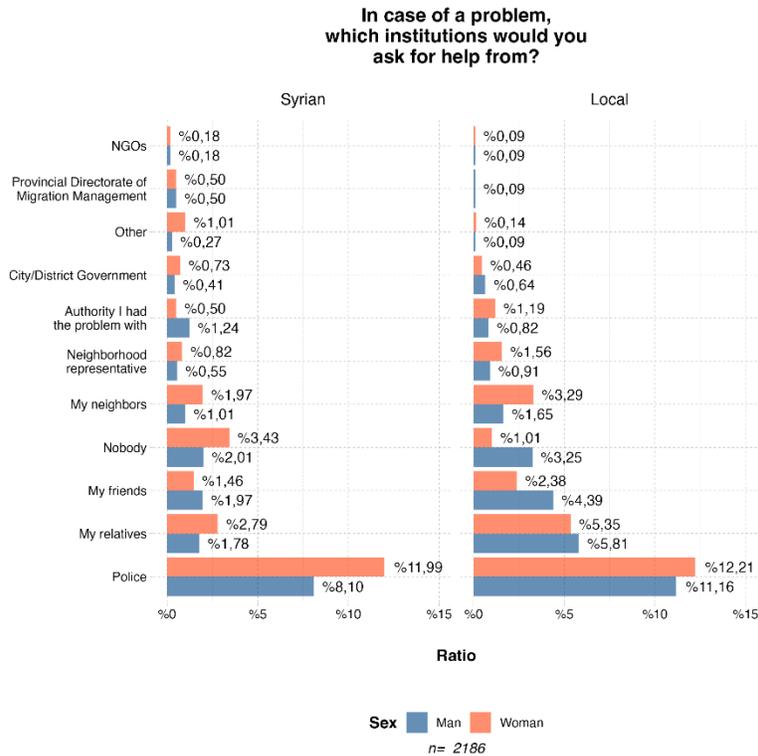


Figure 87: In case of a problem, whom would you ask first for help?

Both Syrians under temporary protection and locals first demand a solution to problems in their daily lives from official institutions, which is a great indication of social cohesion. Since the traditional solidarity relations with relatives and acquaintances are strong in both groups, the rates of the option “relatives” are not surprising. Additionally, the traditional solidarity patterns are frequently observed in the neighborhoods like those of the survey sample.

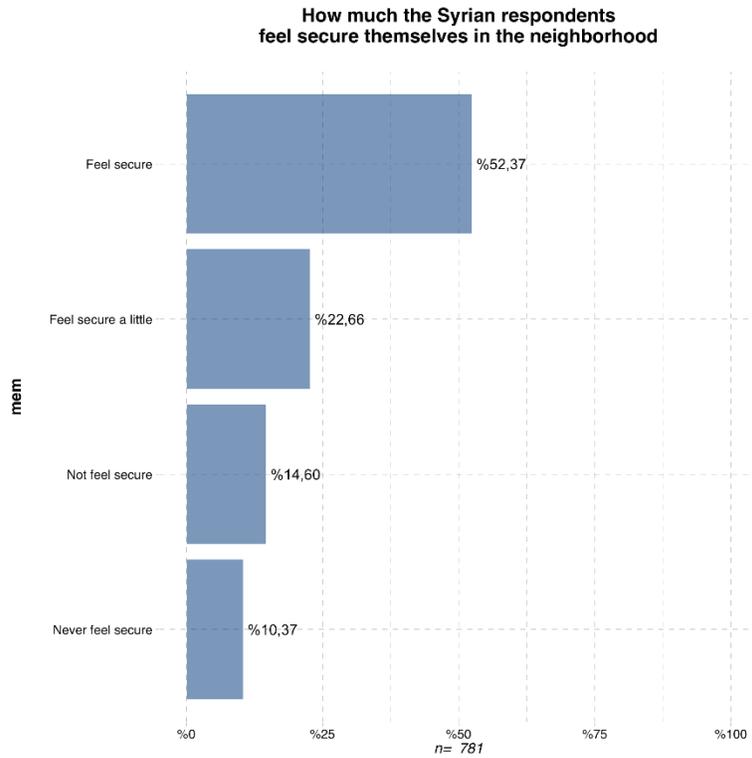


Figure 88: SuTP's Sense of Security in the Neighborhood

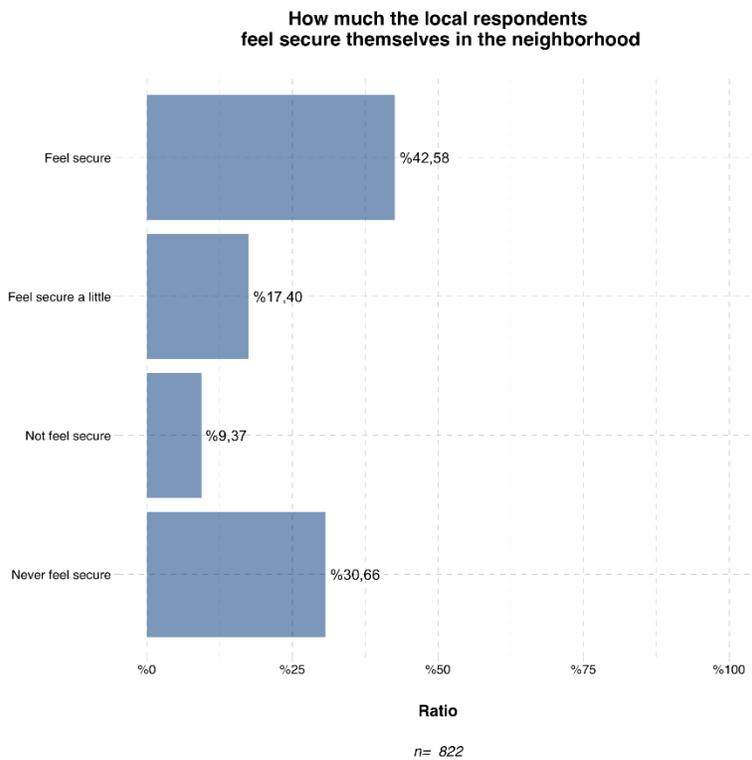


Figure 89: Locals' Sense of Security in the Neighborhood

Respondents were also asked for their opinion about the neighborhoods where they live. According to the results, the locals feel less secure in the neighborhoods they reside in. Furthermore, a third of the locals stated that they felt no safety at all. The total rate of those who do not feel secure is 25%. The rate of the locals who do not feel secure corresponds to 40%.

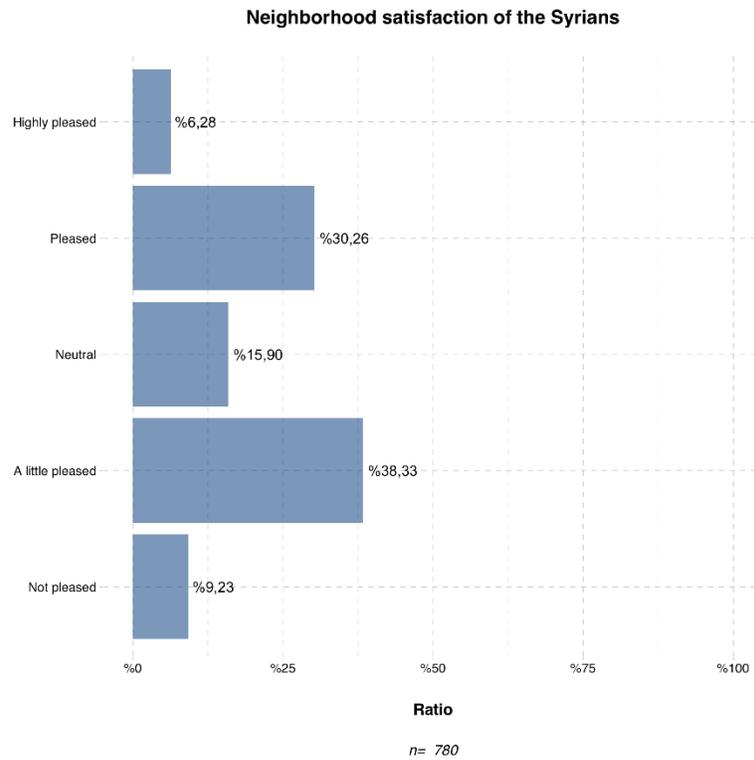


Figure 90: Satisfaction with the Neighborhood They Live in (Syrians)

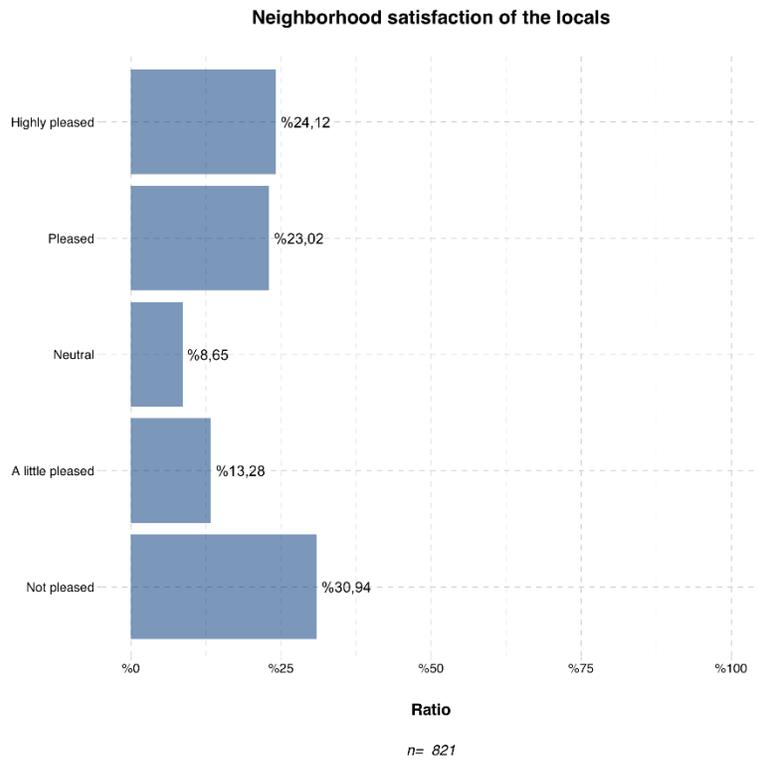


Figure 91: Satisfaction with the Neighborhood They Live in (Locals)

Contrary to the sense of security, satisfaction rates are quite high. It appears that the respondents have embraced the neighborhoods where they do not feel secure. However, due to some social problems (drug addiction, robbery, etc.) that emerged later, their sense of security has changed.

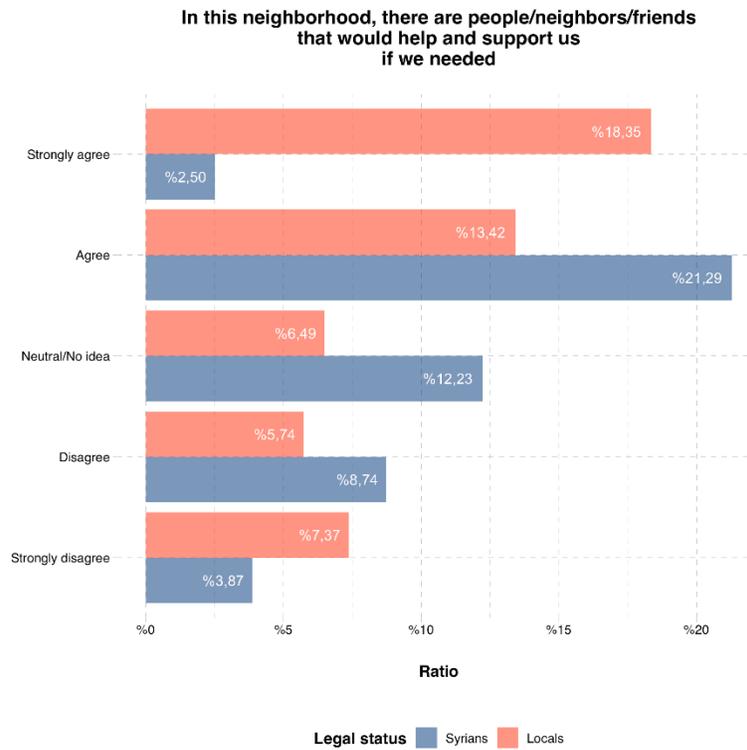


Figure 92: Demand for Help in Hard Times

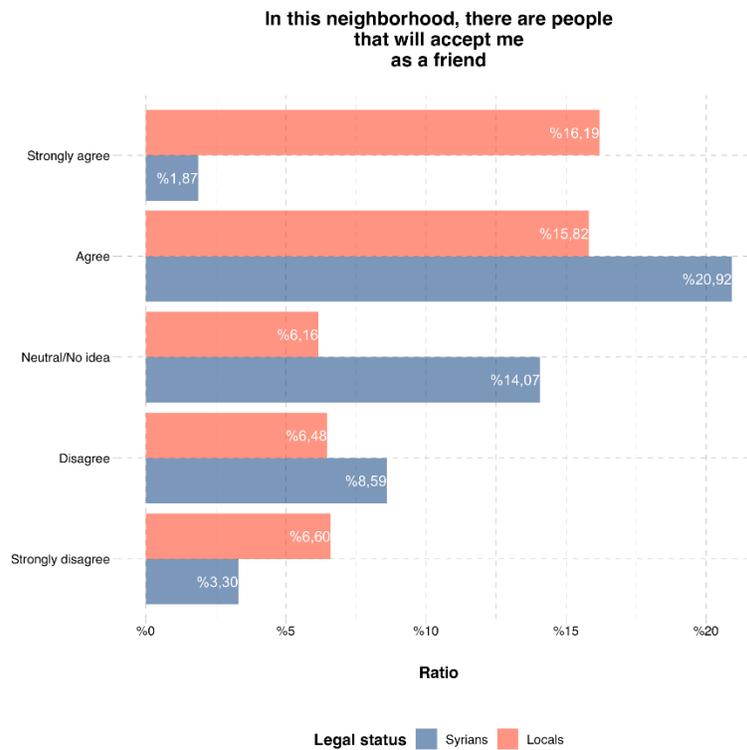


Figure 93: Social Interaction in the Neighborhood

The reason why both Syrians under temporary protection and locals are pleased with their neighborhoods even though they do not feel secure lies in the Figures 92 and 93. The majority of the SuTP and local respondents stated that they had acquaintances, relatives, neighbors, and friends in the neighborhood when they needed to cope with hardships. Therefore, the factor defining the satisfaction rates is not the sense of security but having social interactions in those neighborhoods.

Despite the spatial closeness between the Syrians under temporary protection and the locals, there is a serious social distance. Although the community centers in the neighborhoods play a vital role, whether they alone would become effective in the future must be observed. The Syrian and local men are more tolerant to each other because they work at the same places; however, the prejudices of the local women against the SuTP cannot escape notice.

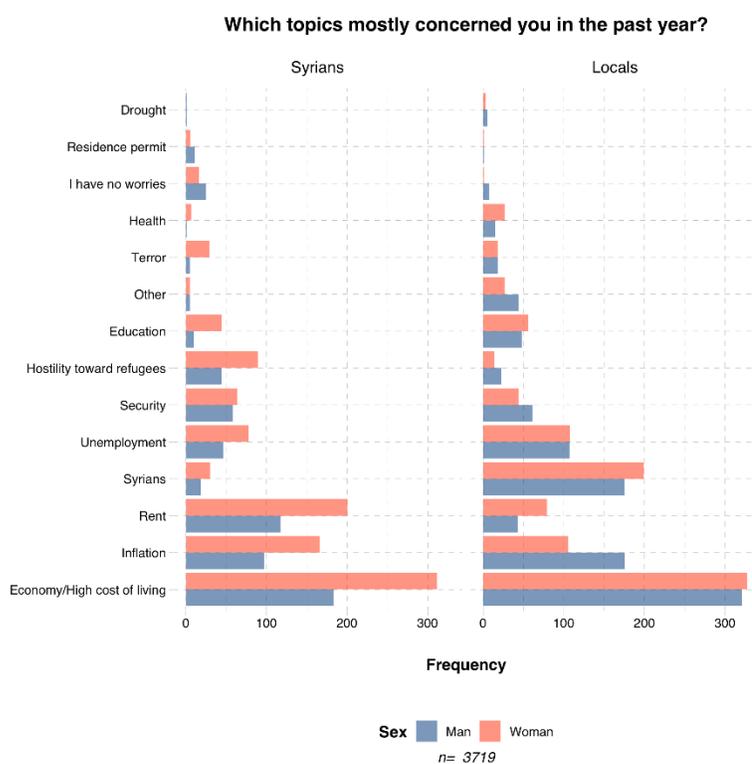


Figure 94: Which topics about Gaziantep Province troubled you most in the past year?

The topics the Syrians under temporary protection and locals are the most concerned with are generally the same. In other words, these worrying experiences bring them closer to each other. Economic problems, inflation, high cost of living and house prices are at the forefront of the concerns. Syrian women are more worried about education than Syrian men. Whereas the Syrians under temporary protection are one of the most significant concerns according to the locals. Hatred against refugees is a crucial reason for the SuTP's worries.

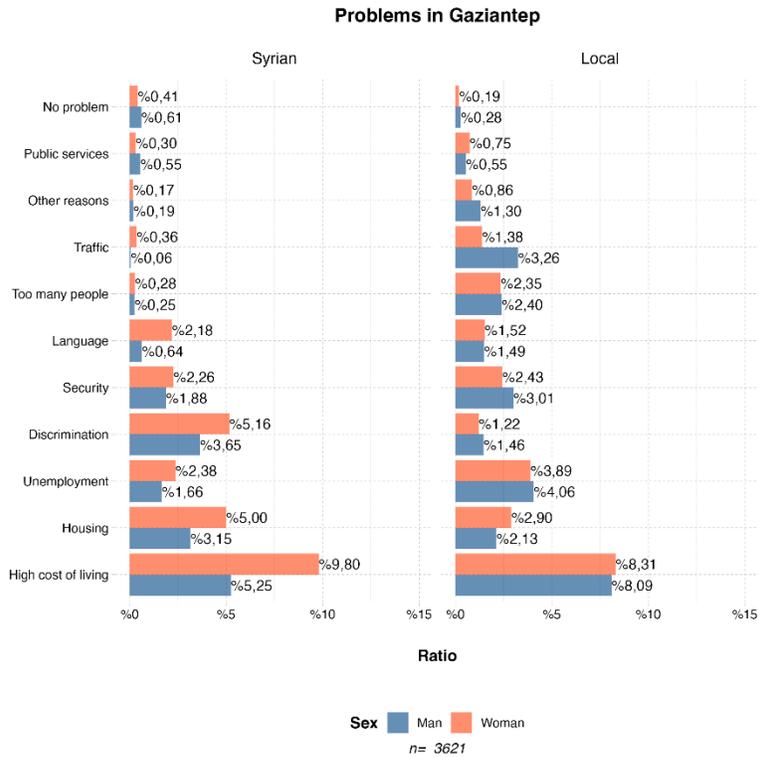


Figure 95: The Biggest Problems in Gaziantep Province According to the Respondents

There is a similarity between the most concerning topics and the most important problems in Gaziantep Province. High cost of living, rents and unemployment are the most problematic topics according to both groups. One of the most striking results is related to domestic relationships. Syrian women are more concerned about some topics such as high cost of living, rents and discrimination than Syrian men.

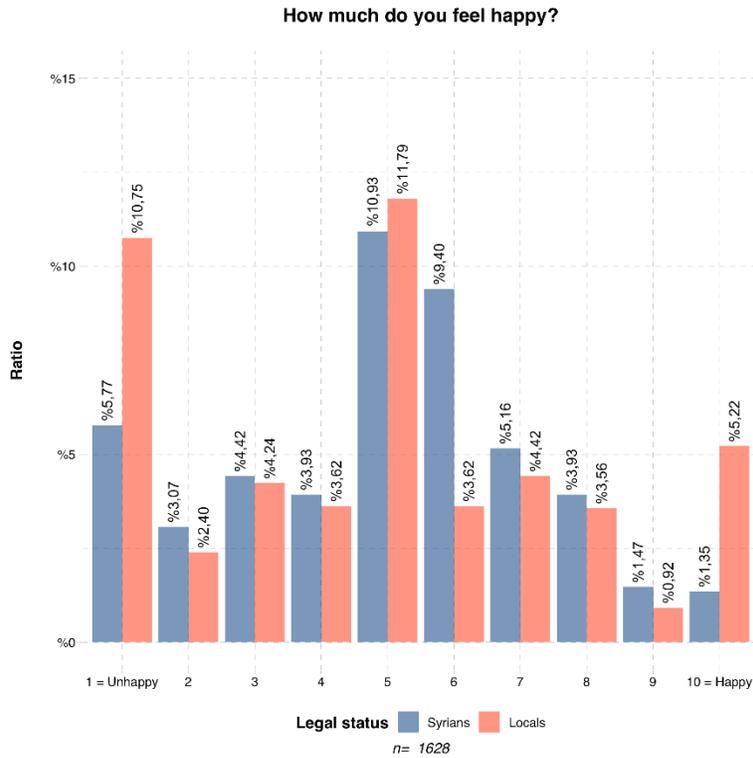


Figure 96: How happy do you feel?

How happy the respondents felt was also asked in the survey field. The locals stated more frequently that they felt unhappy. The unhappiest as well as the happiest ones are the locals; thus, the distribution of the Syrians under temporary protection in this topic is more balanced.

Syrian households' knowledge of their rights to become a Turkish citizen

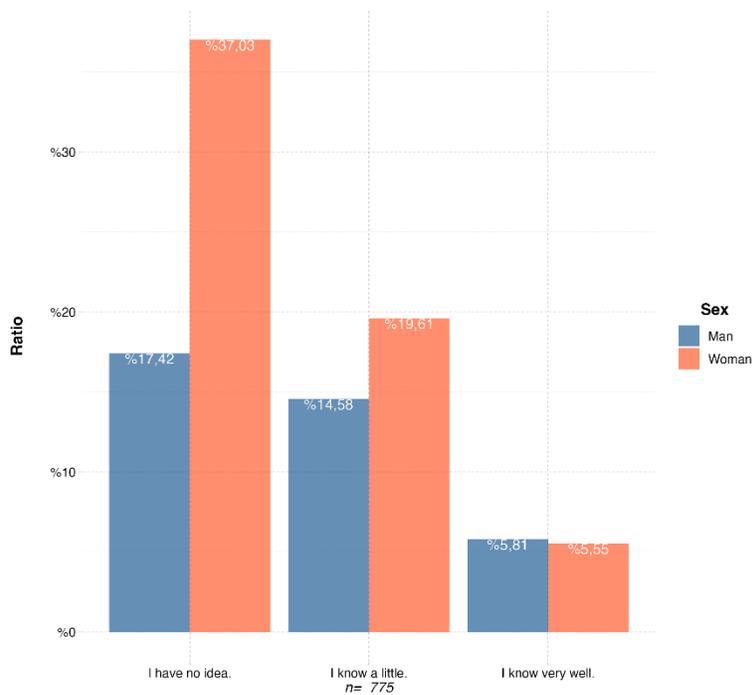


Figure 97: Syrian Households' Knowledge of Their Rights to Become a Turkish Citizen

The most central topic in the argument of Syrians under temporary protection in Türkiye is citizenship. Who can apply for a citizenship—together with how and when— is clearly defined in the law. However, since there are no clear policies or methods for the citizenship of the Syrians under temporary protection, many unfounded news stories circulate. However, the truth in the survey field is considerably different than these news stories. Although some SuTP have Turkish citizenship, it does not mean that all Syrians under temporary protection are knowledgeable about the citizenship process. In the survey field, only 10% of the Syrian men and women in total stated that they were totally aware of the topic, which is the reflection of the truth. Contrary to the rumors, over half of the Syrians under temporary protection have no idea about the issue.

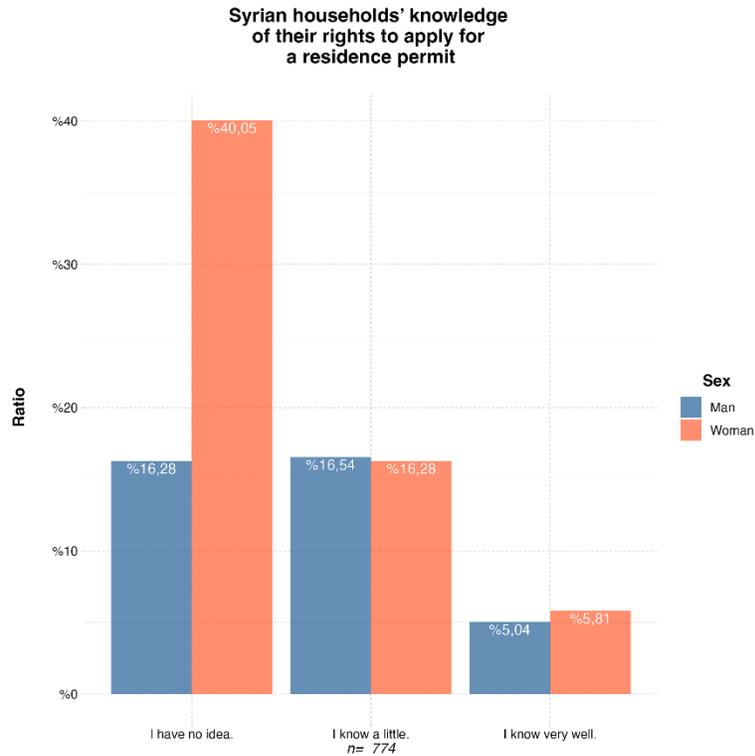


Figure 98: Syrian Households' Knowledge of Their Rights to Apply for a Residence Permit

For residence permits, too, some similar rates are present. This situation can be interpreted as a serious lack of information on citizenship and other legal processes.

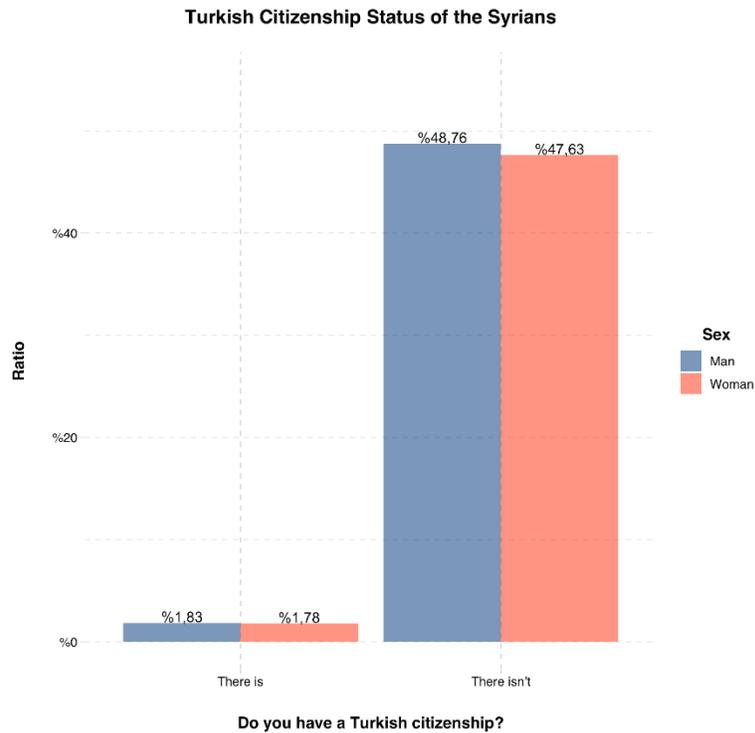


Figure 99: Syrians Under Temporary Protection Who Have Turkish Citizenship

The dominant rumor in the public agenda is undoubtedly that hundreds of thousands of Syrians have or were given Turkish citizenship by some institutions secretly. However, the surveys that have been repeated since 2018 in a city like Gaziantep Province, where 13% of all registered SuTP in Türkiye live, indicate the opposite. In the 2018 survey, only 3.57% of the SuTP respondents stated that they have Turkish citizenships, whereas their rate corresponded to 4.9% in the 2020 survey. In 2021, the rate of the Syrian households in which at least one person has Turkish citizenship is 7.4%. In this survey, as well, only 3.6% of more than 3,900 Syrian respondents have Turkish citizenships. Therefore, making a rough estimate, less than 5% of all SuTP respondents living in Gaziantep Province are (also) Turkish citizens.

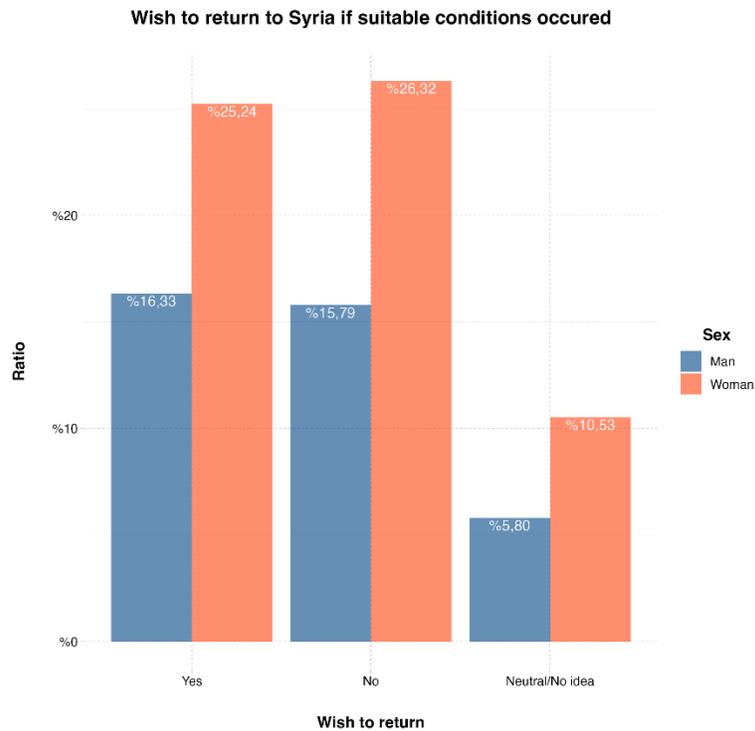


Figure 100: SuTP’s Wish to Return Syria in the Event of Suitable Conditions (by gender)

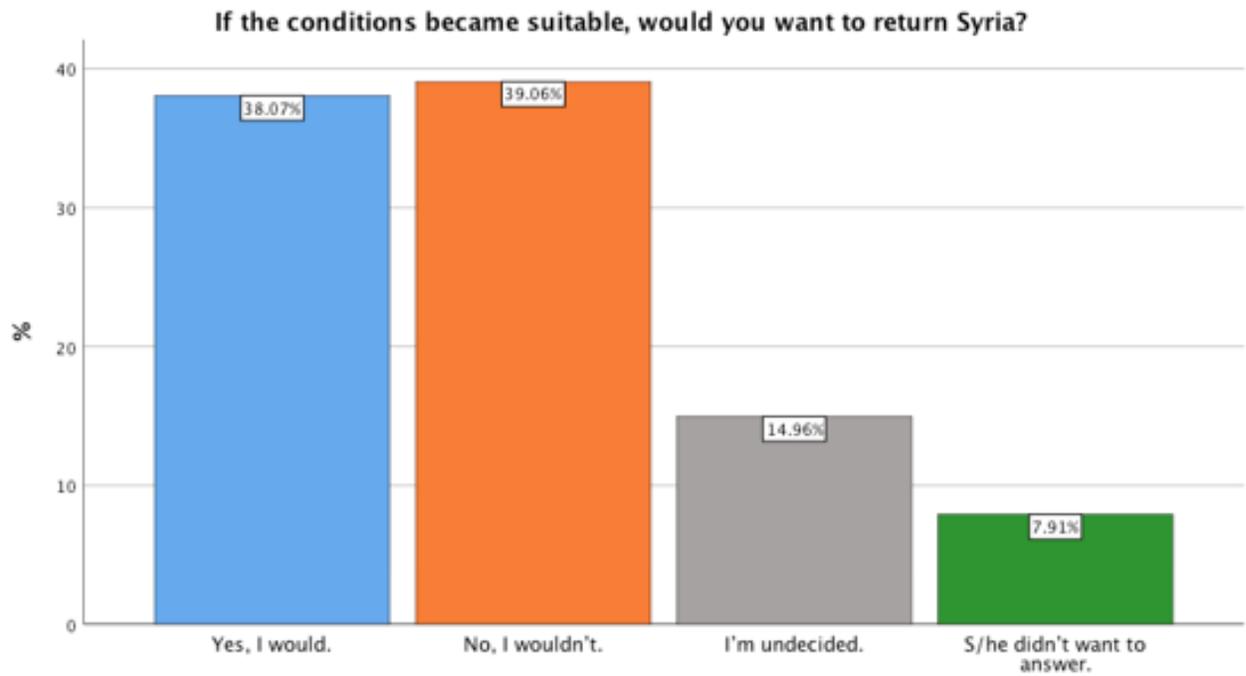


Figure 101: Wish to Return Syria (General)

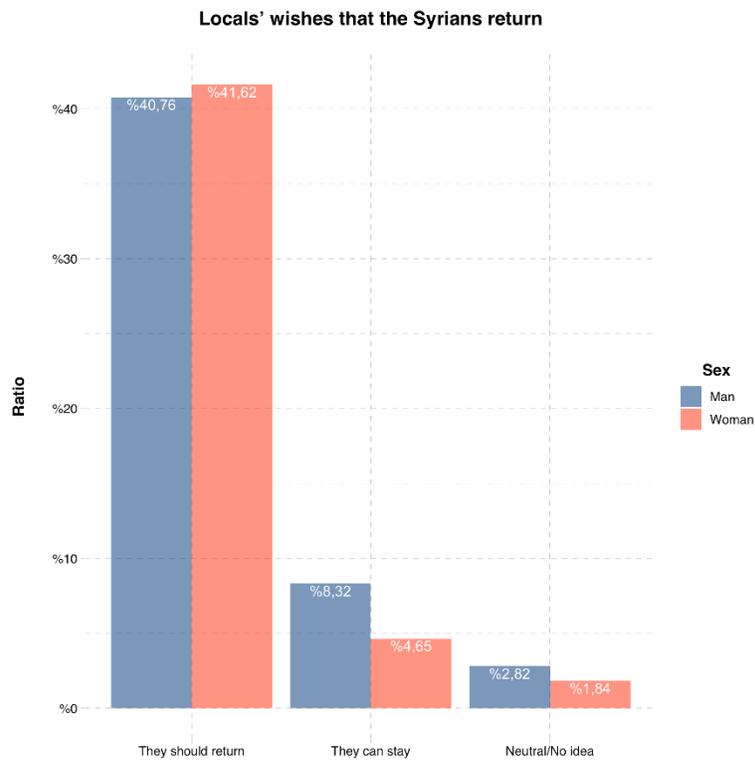


Figure 102: Do you want the Syrians under temporary protection to Return/be Sent to Syria? (Locals by Gender)

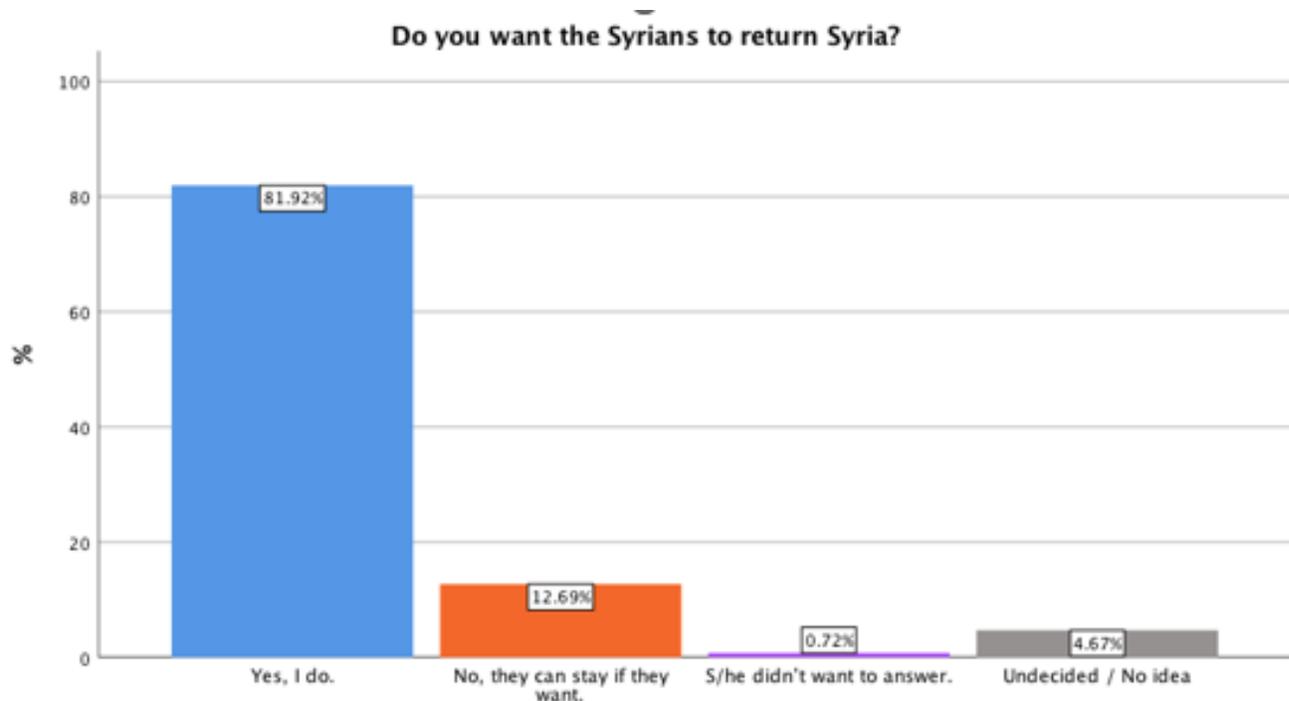


Figure 103: Do you want the Syrians under temporary protection to return/be Sent to Syria? (Locals General)

The SuTP's return to Syria is one of the most important current political discussions in Türkiye. Setting the daily political language aside, the social life that has emerged in its own way throughout the 11 years must be kept in mind; this fact is beyond the populist political promises and inhumane solutions. Indisputably, one of the most emphasized topics of each migration and refugee survey or argument is sending Syrians under temporary protection back. In Türkiye, this issue is closely related to economic, political, and social conditions. Therefore, attitudes that change from one period to another, since extending this topic to all SuTP and locals in Gaziantep Province would be problematic.

In the 2018 survey, 56% of the Syrians under temporary protection stated that they wanted to return Syria. However, in the 2020 survey, which could be conducted when some permissions were given for a short time during the pandemic, almost 65% of the Syrians under temporary protection expressed their wish to return *if* some conditions became suitable. As for this survey, it appears there is a great differentiation between the Syrian men and women. More Syrian women would like to return Syria. Apparently, the grey areas in the previous surveys have become visible in this survey as a result of the time that has passed.

On the other hand, the attitude of the locals toward the question of the Syrians under temporary protection going back or staying in Türkiye is much sharper. Most of the locals would like the SuTP to return. This gap between the wishes of the Syrians under temporary protection and locals causes a serious problem in terms of social cohesion and social integration because

only around 40% of the Syrians under temporary protection would like to return, while a great part, 82% of the locals are against them staying. Therefore, this situation requires careful steps for social cohesion and social integration.

Clearly, these rates are the reflections of the prejudices that were already obvious and were insistently stated by the local women most of the time during the FGDs. This attitude is also a total objection. The local women would like the Syrians under temporary protection to return more often than the local men. Additionally, only 12% of the locals have the view that if the SuTP should be able to stay if they so wish. This is another significant point since two societal facts in Gaziantep Province lies in front of us. Despite the spatial closeness, there is still a huge distance between the Syrians under temporary protection and locals.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The demographic data gathered in the survey field, two metropolitan districts of Gaziantep Province, once more indicate the difference between the Syrians under temporary protection and locals in terms of age average. The fact that the SuTP in Türkiye have a younger demographic pattern was already put forward by the previous surveys in Gaziantep Province as well as the Turkish Ministry of Interior, and the data of this survey are compatible with them. This demographic fact must be kept in mind while making policies on employment, social cohesion, social integration and particularly, education.

Some of the data collected are related to the educational patterns of the Syrians under temporary protection and locals. Within an 11-year-period, the rate of the SuTP respondents living in Gaziantep Province who can participate in formal education has increased despite the difficulties. However, for both groups, the school attendance rates are lower in all educational stages apart from primary education. It can be claimed that this fact is related to the socio-economic levels of the neighborhoods where the respondents live. In this respect, it is possible to state there is social cohesion. It can be predicted that the lower rates of the participation in pre-school education will negatively affect the quality of the future generations' education and life and put especially the women in more disadvantaged situations within domestic labor force. Therefore, in terms of primary education, there is a similarity between the Syrians under temporary protection and locals living in the same social environment. The new studies and policies on education should consider this situation.

Another result of this survey that was reached once more is that most of the SuTP respondents living in Gaziantep Province got their diplomas in Syria before the war. Therefore, it must be targeted to prepare education programs that include the language learning and social integration processes of the Syrians under temporary protection with a diploma from Syria and to decrease the effects of poverty experienced by the Syrians who were once middle-class.

Besides, new long-term educational projects that seriously aim for social cohesion and social integration must begin since the Syrian students and parents encounter ostracization and verbal and physical bullying in school although there is a general satisfaction with education. The importance of social cohesion and social integration that start at educational level and accumulate in time must always be considered. The inclusion of the locals that live together with the Syrians in the same neighborhoods is also crucial to educational processes.

The fact that the Syrians under temporary protection and locals mostly interact with each other in employment life has become obvious once again. Precarious employment largely experienced by the SuTP is also valid for a part of the locals. Even though income and work hours and days are against the Syrians under temporary protection, the gap has started to narrow because of the socio-economic similarity. For now, in the Syrian households, working hours are longer, while income levels are lower. However, it is estimated that they will have the same patterns with the locals as they have spent more time in Gaziantep Province. The results of this

survey have pointed out once again that most of the young and adult Syrian men are participating in employment life to afford the expenses of their households, and the claims as they completely live on financial supports are invalid.

This survey has also indicated that the decrease in the household size of the Syrians under temporary protection has continued. Considering that the mean household size of the SuTP and locals of Gaziantep Province is higher than the average of Türkiye, the number of persons in Syrian households has started to get closer to that of the local households because of many reasons, such as the increase in time spent in Gaziantep Province, difficulties of the urban life, and the mobility of young generations toward other cities and countries. On the other hand, a great transformation in a short time is not probable since economic conditions challenge the Syrians under temporary protection and those residing in the same neighborhoods even more. The reason for this is that although harsh economic conditions could cause household size to decrease, they could reproduce solidarity patterns and increase household sizes. Moreover, it cannot be totally estimated how the SuTP who came in masses and have lived in Türkiye from 2011 to 2022 will be affected by the deep recessions in Türkiye.

Most of those affected by the fragile and inconsistent housing market are Syrians under temporary protection. The SuTP, over 95% of whom are tenants and live in houses in physically bad shape, are negatively affected by the up and downs in housing market. The status of “temporary protection” that brings about uncertainties causes Syrians under temporary protection to be permanent tenants. Policies that are combined with the application of more clear processes of citizenship and residence permit and can provide the poor social class with steady housing are requisite.

The connection between the socio-economic class and the houses where the respondents reside can also be observed through the number and variety of electrical appliances in the households. The bar charts indicated that the rates of ownership of fridges, TVs and washing machines were closer for both Syrians under temporary protection and locals, whereas the situation was against the SuTP in terms of the ownership of dishwashers, tablets, ovens and vacuum cleaners. Although these two groups are similar in terms of socio-economic level, in other words, both being poor, the poverty experienced by the Syrians under temporary protection is tougher, as can be inferred from these rates against them. Therefore, the projects to be carried out for low-income neighborhoods to strengthen them socio-economically must also be considered together with the fact that this kind of projects would also empower mostly women and their labor in their houses. Carrying out such projects that also include the locals of Gaziantep Province would provide long-term and healthier social cohesion and social integration.

The conditions of their houses and the opportunities owned by the households are concrete indicators of the poverty experienced by the Syrians under temporary protection and locals. Even though altering these conditions radically is multidimensional, complex, and beyond the capacity of Gaziantep Province, accomplishing some empowering local policies and projects are still possible. As can be understood from the data collected from the survey field, most of the

Syrian and local women who live in the same neighborhoods are out of the labor force, except for the drudgery of housework. Apart from vocational training courses, some projects could be carried out to include the women of both groups in production processes. It is very clear that the women of this survey field need emancipatory structures that separate house and workplace from each other, more than doing piecework (cracking pistachios, deseeding peppers, sewing, etc.) that increases the amount of time spent and work at home. Although it appears that it is not easy to carry out this kind of projects with only the help of national and local governments, some cooperations with national and international NGOs that work on these topics could provide the necessary solutions.

According to the data gathered in this survey, the topic least complained about by the SuTP respondents living in Gaziantep Province is health services. During the FGDs, too, the mostly complained topic is not the health services themselves but the neo-liberalization of health services in Türkiye and the world.

The language problem experienced by the Syrians under temporary protection is valid in both health services and other areas. Apart from Turkish language skills, treatment processes and online appointments require technical information as well. The complaints in language-related areas could be reduced through effective and sustainable Turkish teaching projects. The importance of life-long learning programs could be considered.

Comparing the results of this survey to those of the 2018 survey, the intermarriages between the Syrians under temporary protection and locals have been gradually rising. Narrowing the social distance between these two groups immediately is impossible. However, as social interactions have increased in every aspect of social life, the prejudices would definitely be dispelled.

As a result of the socio-economic level of the neighborhoods where the Syrians under temporary protection and locals live, the rates for recreational activities are low. Although younger and more educated generations are more interested in recreational activities, this type of activity is undeniably directly or latently affected by the capital of the household members, households, and the social environment they are in. Therefore, other dynamics must also be considered to provide an upward mobility in this area.

Lastly, the community centers in the neighborhoods have vital functions especially for the women and the Syrians under temporary protection. The positive feedback on these community centers given during the FGDs are surprising, and they also point out what must be done for social cohesion and social integration, to increase in the tolerance of living together, to teach Turkish, and to accommodate sport activities, socialization, and human interactions. Therefore, focusing on the benefits of multifunctional community centers must become more significant for local, national, and international institutions.

In conclusion, the data collected from the sample group comprised of almost 7,300 Syrians under temporary protection and local individuals show that there are some remarkable successes

in Gaziantep Province in terms of social cohesion and social integration. On the other hand, some long-term policies on the discussed issues and relevant projects are still required.