



MATILDE

Migration Impact Assessment to Enhance
Integration and Local Development in
European Rural and Mountain Regions

TURKEY POLICY BRIEFING ON MIGRATION- RELATED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES

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MATILDE has received
funding from the European
Union's Horizon 2020
research and innovation
programme under grant
agreement No 870831



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Call: H2020-SC6-MIGRATION-2019

Work Programmes:

H2020-EU.3.6.1.1. The mechanisms to promote smart, sustainable and inclusive growth

H2020-EU.3.6.1.2. Trusted organizations, practices, services and policies that are necessary to build resilient, inclusive, participatory, open and creative societies in Europe, in particular taking into account migration, integration and demographic change

D3.1/D4.1 COUNTRY-BASED POLICY BRIEFING ON MIGRATION-RELATED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES: NATIONAL REPORT TURKEY

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Date of completion: 30.11.2020

Approved by Work Package Manager of WP3 and WP4: Jussi Laine, University of Eastern Finland (FINLAND); Simone Baglioni and Maria Luisa Caputo, University of Parma (ITALY) on January 29th, 2021

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.5905761

This document was produced under the terms and conditions of Grant Agreement No. 870831 for the European Commission. It does not necessarily reflect the view of the European Union and in no way anticipates the Commission's future policy in this area.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ACRONYMS	5
1. OVERVIEW OF EXISTING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATED POLICIES REGARDING INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS (PARTICULARLY SYRIANS UNDER TEMPORARY PROTECTION) INTEGRATION AND IMPACT IN TURKEY IN GENERAL AND KARACABEY, BURSA IN PARTICULAR.....	6
1.1. HEALTH POLICIES	7
1.2. EDUCATION POLICIES	7
1.3. POLICIES ON SOCIAL SUPPORT AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE	9
1.4. ECONOMIC POLICIES: PARTICIPATION TO LOCAL ECONOMY AND LABOR	9
2. OVERVIEW ON EXISTING ANALYSES AND ASSESSMENTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES	11
2.1. RIGHT TO HEALTH.....	11
2.2. RIGHT TO EDUCATION.....	12
2.3. SOCIAL SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE	14
2.4. ECONOMIC POLICIES.....	16
3. ASSESSMENT OF THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF POLICIES THROUGH SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS.....	18
FINDINGS.....	18
MIGRANT POPULATION IN KARACABEY, BURSA	18
LOCAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND THE ROLE OF MIGRANTS IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	18
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES REGARDING MIGRANTS, PARTICULARLY SYRIANS.....	20
DIFFICULTIES OF HARMONIZATION.....	21
4. CONCLUSION	23
4.1. CONCLUSION FOR SOCIAL POLICIES	23
GOOD PRACTICES	24
4.2. CONCLUSION FOR ECONOMIC POLICIES	25
GOOD PRACTICES	26
BIBLIOGRAPHY	27
ANNEX I – TABLE ON SELECTED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES AFFECTING FOREIGNERS AND MIGRANTS IN GENERAL AND SYRIANS (TEMPORARY PROTECTION STATUS) IN PARTICULAR.....	32
ANNEX II – DATA COLLECTION	41

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFAD	- Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
AFIP	- Act No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection
CCTE	- Conditional Cash Transfer for Education
COVID-19	- Coronavirus Disease 2019
DAFI	- Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative
DGMM	- Directorate General of Migration Management
ESSN	- Emergency Social Safety Net
EU	- European Union
FRIT	- Facility for Refugees in Turkey
FRIT	- Facility for Refugees in Turkey
GDLL	- General Directorate of Lifelong Learning
GDP	- Gross Domestic Product
ILO	- International Labor Organization
IPA	- Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
IPC	- Istanbul Policy Center
MoH	- Ministry of Health
MoNE	- Ministry of National Education
NGO	- Non-Governmental Organization
PEC	- Public Education Center
PIKTES	- Promoting Integration of Syrian Children into the Turkish Education System
RWPFTPS	- Regulation on Work Permit for Foreigners under Temporary Protection Status
SOYBİS	- Social Assistance Information System
SPI	- Small Projects Istanbul
TCN	- Third-Country National
TEC	- Temporary Education Center
TL	- Turkish Lira
TÖMER	- Turkish and Foreign Languages Center of Ankara University
TPR	- Temporary Protection Regulation
TPS	- Temporary Protection Status
TRC	- Turkish Red Crescent
UNDP	- United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	- United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WHO	- World Health Organization

1. OVERVIEW OF EXISTING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATED POLICIES REGARDING INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS¹ (PARTICULARLY SYRIANS UNDER TEMPORARY PROTECTION) INTEGRATION AND IMPACT IN TURKEY IN GENERAL AND KARACABEY, BURSA IN PARTICULAR

Turkey has always been a country of migration. The population movements from rural to urban which started in the 1950s have continued; migration to European countries began in the 1960s in the form of labour migration and was followed by various forms of commercial migration. Thus since the early 1990s, Turkey has also been experiencing in-flows of transit migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, diverse forms of irregular migration and increasing number of foreign residents. Turkey has now become both a country of emigration and immigration (İçduygu & Kirişçi, 2009; Erdoğan & Kaya, 2015). This overview generally considers existing national policies, although the province of Karacabey, Bursa is the selected MATILDE region. Considering the highly centralized governance in Turkey, any separate urban-rural/mountain linkages with the national policies is hard to be raised at this level.

Since 2011, with Syrians, Turkey for the first time has to adopt its policies as a migration receiving country. Syrians, escaping from an internal war and searching for a safe place since 2011, were accepted as “guest”, with no legal status (Uyan-Semerci & Erdogan, 2016). Contrary to right-based approach, humanitarian support to Syrians were first maintained by charity, most of the time with religious references, by state agencies and NGOs. Thus, as the numbers and duration of their stay increase, their status and the rights including access to basic rights had to be rearranged and Syrians are granted the “temporary protection” status in 2014 by Act No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection and Temporary Protection Regulation (AFIP). Syrians under temporary protection status benefit from health, education, access to labour market, social assistance, and interpretation services which will be provided according to these regulations.

As of 07.10.2020, the number of Syrians under temporary protection is 3,627,481, and then almost a decade after, in line with their legal status, they are still regarded as “temporary”. The table provided in the Annex (Annex I) contains selected social and economic policies on international migrants, particularly Syrians under temporary protection status. With the rising anti-immigrant attitude, there is still a long way to reach harmonization, integration of migrants, especially Syrian refugees, to education system since 2014 and access to minimum healthcare for all residents, including the undocumented should be noted as positive developments, as part of Turkey’s new integration policies. Thus still, international migrants are excluded from conventional political participation in Turkey.

Overall, regarding the high increase in human mobility due to the instability in the region and therefore the flow of Syrians towards Turkey and, therefore the intensive policy-making process in last ten years; this review centre mostly upon the policies and regulations on Syrian population. Nevertheless, although most of the policies and regulations seem to be indexed for Syrians under temporary protection, some determine the rights of foreign population, either resident or under international protection, and provide for general rules for the functioning of related policies.

¹ TCNs are not an applicable term in the Turkish context. Therefore, instead all international migrants are considered.

1.1. HEALTH POLICIES

Access to health care is a constitutional right, in parallel with the international consensus on the recognition of health as a fundamental right (Diker, 2018). The General Health Insurance Scheme, introduced in 2006 with its new version (Act No. 5510) to create a unified health insurance, covers most of the population in Turkey, including foreign residents who do not have social security coverage in their home countries (Bilecen & Yurtseven, 2018).

The health care for foreign nationals has gone through a comprehensive change over the last ten years with a number of regulations specifically for Syrian migrants. At first, since Syrians were regarded as “guests”, the issue was handled in terms of an emergency (Uyan-Semerci & Erdogan, 2016). In this conjuncture, Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) was the initial authority responsible of regulating all services, including health, for Syrian migrants (Bilecen & Yurtseven, 2018).

The major step was the adoption of the Act No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection (AFIP), which provides that those under international protection status who are not covered by any medical insurance and do not have the financial means to do so to be covered by Turkey’s general health insurance scheme. So, asylum-seekers and persons under international protection status has currently covered within the General Health Insurance coverage (Act No. 5510) with a change adopted in AFIP (AFIP 4/4/2013-6458/123 art.). Although the AFIP does not specify the case of Syrians, the Article 91 introduced a legal basis to the adaption of Temporary Protection Regulation (TPR) which applies to migrants arriving from Syria. The Article 27 of TPR (Regulation No. 29153) specifies the health services to be provided to those under temporary protection. Accordingly, all Syrian refugees both inside and outside the camps can have free access to medical treatment, but only on the condition that they have to be registered by Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) (Bilecen & Yurtseven, 2018; Syrians in Turkey, 2018).

Primary health care services are provided by existing Public Health Centers (PHCs) and Family Health Centers (FHC). The system based on the long-term residence seemed essentially insufficient for irregular migrants and asylum seekers who frequently had to change their residence places. In this sense, establishment of the Migrant Health Centers (MHC) as an additional unit to PHCs was the subsequent step to follow in 2015 (MoH, 2015c). Each MHC is envisaged to serve 4,000-7,000 Syrians in places where Syrians under temporary protection live collectively (Özkul, 2020; Yıldırım et al., 2019). Each of these centers have a translator to ease the health service delivery.

When the COVID-19 epidemic broke out in March 2020, the most important development in access to health care is that testing for and treatment of the virus was included in the ‘emergency’ scope on April 9, 2020. Afterwards, by the President’s Decision No. 2399 dated April 13, 2020, all personal protective equipment, tests, kits and medicines to be supplied and distributed under the scope of pandemic are included in the scope of exemption on healthcare spend as of March 1, 2020.

1.2. EDUCATION POLICIES

Turkish education system, briefly, points to a strong authority of the state (McCarthy, 2018; Sunata & Abdulla, 2020), despite long-standing controversial issues such as native language education, religious education, and privatization (Sunata & Abdulla, 2020, p. 4). The Ministry of National Education (MoNE) is responsible for planning, implementing, monitoring and inspecting education and training services at all levels.

Within the already-vulnerable context for children in Turkey (Uyan-Semerci et. al., 2013; Uyan-Semerci & Erdogan, 2017; 2018), more than 1,500,000 Syrians under TPS are children. Whereas the school age-population for Syrians for the 2019-2020 academic year was 1,082,172 (DGMM, 2020). The total number of Syrian children in formal education was 684,728 (UNICEF & MoNE, 2019).

Following the first wave in April 2011, the socio-political discourse of temporariness was reflected in the manner towards the access of Syrian children to the education in Turkey (Sunata & Abdulla, 2020, p. 4). Through the early regulations issued by MoNE, the education for Syrian refugee children was only envisaged for those in the camps. The courses were also conducted in Arabic through the Temporary Education Centers (TECs).

However, upon the prolongation of Syrians' guest status, MoNE issued two separate circulars in 2013 to make regulations on the education facilities in and out of camps. Education is defined as a right for those under TPS by the Temporary Protection Regulation. In order to eliminate the barriers in front of the foreigners in accessing formal and non-formal education services, MoNE issued a Circular No. 2014/21 on "Education and Training Services for Foreigners" on 23 September 2014. This circular set the standards for educational services to be offered to Syrians which will be evaluated in the part of literature review.

Moreover, in order to coordinate and respond the education needs of Syrians, the Department of Migration and Emergency Education was established and the MoNE has adopted the approach through which it ensures that all children under temporary protection receive the same standard and quality within the formal Turkish education system (UNICEF & MoNE, 2019). To this end, TECs established for Syrian children have been gradually closed since 2017.

The numbers of Syrian students under temporary protection in higher education/universities during the 2018-2019 academic year were 27,034. The majority of those enrolled in higher education are following a BA program in universities (75%) (UNICEF & MoNE, 2019). Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative (**DAFI**) and **IPA scholarships** are scholarship programs that have been provided to Syrian students who are having formal education at the level of bachelor's degree at the state universities (in total only around 15% of Syrian university students receive a scholarship) (Erdoğan, 2020).

There are a number of projects concerning educational support for the Syrian children. The Project on "Promoting Integration of Syrian Children into the Turkish Education System" (**PIKTES**) is implemented by the MoNE and funded by a direct EU grant within the scope of the Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT) agreement.² A national social assistance program implemented since 2003, The **Conditional Cash Transfer for Education**³ (CCTE) was extended to Syrian and other refugee families in mid-2017. In addition to formal education, several channels have been

² See more <https://piktes.gov.tr/Home/IndexENG>

³ Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE) Programme for Syrians and Other Refugees, <https://www.unicef.org/turkey/en/media/10876/file> (latest access, 15 October 2020).

provided by both the MoNE and also municipalities as well as civil society organizations. **Public Education Centers (PECs)** are the ones operating across the country and conducting age-specific Turkish language modules for foreigners and developing modules for language proficiency levels. Free vocational trainings are provided by PECs and funded by the General Directorate of Lifelong Learning (GDLL) in the MoNE.

1.3. POLICIES ON SOCIAL SUPPORT AND SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

Currently, social support activities for refugees and migrant groups are carried out by different ministries and municipalities. Moreover, since the early period of Syrian crisis social assistance has also been one of the largest domains of NGO emergency field activity, while their social assistance programs differ in their perspective and scope (Yilmaz, 2018).

The launch of the aid program called **Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN)**, an EU-funded cash assistance, is considered a shift in the center of gravity from NGOs to domestic public actors (Yilmaz, 2018). The ESSN is a multi-purpose cash transfer program for vulnerable refugees living outside of the camps across Turkey to cover their basic needs.

Humanitarian assistance programs are still provided in sense of emergency support for Syrian refugees in Turkey, although the current situation in Turkey can no longer be treated simply as an emergency situation (Yilmaz, 2018). With the fragmented structure of social services in Turkey, there has still been a structure in lack of integrity or a holistic approach. This problem has been tried to be solved by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Policies through SOYBİS (Social Assistance Information System). However, the absence of municipalities in this system continues the risk of duplicates in social aids (Temel & Tüfekçi, 2018, pp. 88–89), as municipalities have been at the forefront of providing public services and support for the Syrian refugees and they developed varied responses (Betts et al., 2020; Coşkun & Uçar, 2018). To overcome financial constraints, actively engaged municipalities seek external funding through establishing partnerships with NGOs and international actors.

1.4. ECONOMIC POLICIES: PARTICIPATION TO LOCAL ECONOMY AND LABOR

In terms of migrants' participation in the local economy and the labour force, TCN's are not part of the natural actors in the labour market. Therefore, they need to pass through a formal recognition procedure to be able to enter into the labour market regardless of their residence status. The recognition of the right to work, covering both employment relationship and self-employment, may be deemed as the primary policy device in this regard.

Under Turkish law, there exists different category of rules applicable to different migrant statuses:

- migrants with Turkish origin,
- regular economic migrants,
- migrants under international protection regimes such as refugees, conditional refugees, subsidiary protection status
- temporary protection status beneficiaries

- turquoise card for qualified foreigners.

Regarding the access to the labour market, the Regulation on Work Permit for Foreigners under Temporary Protection Status (TPS) issued in 2016 is one of the major policy instruments that directly condition the impact of Syrian migration on the economy. To access the labour market, temporary protection status beneficiaries need to obtain either a work permit or a work permit exemption. An overall look at the access of Syrian immigrants to the labour market under an employment contract reveals a multilayer restriction mechanisms:

- Spatial restrictions: Work permits may be granted only in provinces wherein they are allowed to reside. Therefore, the right to have access to the labour market is restricted with their right to reside.

- Quota system: There exist different quotas aiming to control the number of temporary status beneficiaries at workplaces and sectors. Thus, the number of temporary status beneficiaries cannot exceed ten per cent of the number of Turkish citizens working at the workplace. If the number of employees is less than ten at the workplace, maximum one TPS beneficiary may be granted a work permit. Quotas also exist for work permit exemptions.

Seasonal agriculture and live-stock works are exempted from the work permit requirement. TPS owners also need to proceed with a formal exemption certificate. These works fall, in principle, out of the scope of Labour Act providing the most extended protection to workers. Nevertheless, the Ministry is also authorized to set quotas to the number of TPS beneficiaries wish to work in seasonal agriculture and live-stock works (art. 5/5 of RWPFTPS). Unlike EU regulations, not all seasonal works but seasonal agriculture works are exempted from work permit. Therefore, for example, those who wish to take a seasonal job in the tourism sector need to have a work permit. And not all TCN but only TPS beneficiaries may benefit from this exemption. Therefore, we could detect an implicit policy of placing TPS beneficiaries in jobs less preferred by locals.

TPS beneficiaries do also need a work permit to start a business as self-employed, however restrictive regulations do not apply to self-employed TPS owners.

To sum up, forcibly displaced migrants and TCNs are subjected to similar rules in respect of their access to the labour market under an employment contract. Nevertheless, reading between the lines of regulations, we may detect the aim of protecting local workers against the vast Syrian recruitment at workplaces and sectors. Thus, the main economic policy may be deemed the “controlled integration” of TPS beneficiaries into the labour market.

2. OVERVIEW ON EXISTING ANALYSES AND ASSESSMENTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES

This review handles the existing analyses and assessments of social and economic policies within a general and centralized perspective without making a separation between central and local policies. This is mainly because, as briefly emphasized in the first section, the Republic of Turkey has a unitary structure in terms of public administration. Local administrations were established to provide services by the governors and other senior public officials appointed by the central government and the mayors, who govern the municipalities, are elected. Formal social policy in Turkey includes, basically, the state-provided free education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, and a combined public health and pension system associated with employment status (Buğra & Keyder, 2006, p. 213).

2.1. RIGHT TO HEALTH

The existing literature (Önder, 2019; Bilecen & Yurtseven, 2018) focus on three main stages for Syrians' access to health services from the beginning: (1) initial responsibility of AFAD to regulate all services including health for those living in camps, (2) expansion of Syrians' access to the health services to those locating in the eleven provinces bordering Syria⁴ (AFAD Circular, 2013/1 No. 374), and (3) in the final stage, broadening to cover all 81 provinces (AFAD Circular, 2013/8 No. 12816). But the field researches in that period revealed that especially access to follow-up visits was problematic except for the emergency services (Dinçer et al., 2013). During this period, several NGOs were involved in providing health services mainly to those non-registered and living outside the camps (Dinçer et al., 2013; Önder, 2019).

In the meantime, as mentioned above, the major step was the adaption of the AFIP in 2014 introducing a legal basis to the adaption of TPR which applies to migrants arriving from Syria (Diker, 2018). Under the regulation, Syrians have direct access to medical treatment for primary and emergency health services without paying patient contribution fee. But to access secondary and tertiary services, Syrians can be treated with referral certificates (MoH, 2015b; Alp et al., 2018; Assi et al., 2019; Bilecen & Yurtseven, 2018).

Residence location is an important determinant to access healthcare services for Syrian migrants. Those under temporary protection and living outside the camps can go to healthcare institutions in the city of residence where they are registered. This obligation prevents refugees living outside the city where they are registered for any reasons such as job opportunities, family visits and education, from accessing health (Özkul, 2020). **Lack of information** is another problem because the rules change frequently. For these reasons, Özkul (2020) indicates that many refugees prefer to apply the health care when their health situation deteriorates rather than accessing routine health check. Assi et al. (2019) also states effectiveness of healthcare services for refugees is limited by **language barriers** (Mardin, 2017), **mobility** of the refugees and some **legal restrictions**. They conclude that the current migration rules do not enable refugees to access all human rights, mainly due to the increase in number of refugees. They suggest a multi-dynamic refugee-friendly system, the provision of preventive health care and increasing the number of both national and international organizations may help improve the health of refugees.

⁴ Hatay, Osmaniye, Kilis, Kahramanmaraş, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman, Adana, Mersin, Malatya, Batman.

The field report conducted by the Association for Migration Research (GAR) with the support of Citizens' Assembly (Sevinin, 2020) indicates the complications of the Turkish healthcare **bureaucratic system** and the lack of multilingual and multicultural rights-based approaches. Accordingly, this makes it more difficult to navigate the system for those unfamiliar with the system. Their observations also show that the current healthcare system systematically excludes **migrant communities except for those who are under temporary protection**. Faced with these problems, immigrant communities that seem to be deterred from applying to formal health services develop their own alternative strategies. Also, Önder (2019) states the necessity of a permanent solution, alternative to the temporary protection policy, in the long run. She points out that by ensuring that Syrians also take responsibility for their lives, integration can be accelerated. Specifically, in the field of health, it will be possible to reduce costs.

Besides the obstacles, Sevinin (2020) remarks **migrant networks** which play a crucial role not only in providing and disseminating information about healthcare services but also in establishing solidarity networks such as creating an informal insurance fund for healthcare expenses, accompanying each other to hospitals and offering translation services. Also, Özçürümez & İçduygu (2020), in their study, draw attention to the contributions of **MHCs** in terms of overcoming the language barrier through the translation service and, of providing employment to the migrants by employing Syrian health personnel.

As regards to the **pandemic process**, right before the COVID-19 pandemic, a bill (Law No. 7196) amended the Article 89(3)(a) of the AFIP. Accordingly, those who have no medical insurance and do not financial means to pay, are subject to the provisions of General Health Insurance (GSS) as to be limited to one year after the registration for international protection. This decision **differentiated access to health care** between those who have international protection status and those not. Upon the amendment, many national, regional and local associations prepared a joint assessment (MÜLTECİ-DER, 2019) to indicate that such a provision would limit the right to health of thousands of individuals who cannot obtain work permits, have no regular income, and who are subject to physical and psychological problems because of forced migration; and it will cause serious injustice and violations.

Many migrants who has not currently have work permit and regular income did not have access to health when the epidemic broke out in March 2020. Although COVID-19 testing and treatment was included in the 'emergency' scope on April 9, 2020, and protective equipment, tests, kits and medicines to be supplied and distributed under the scope of pandemic are included in the scope of exemption on healthcare spend as of 1 March by the President's Decision No. 2399, fieldwork researches displays that irregular migrants are afraid of being deported, being fired or dispossessing, so they do not want to go to health institutions (MUDEM, 2020; Özkul, 2020). However, in their field research, Sevinin (2020) finds out that the main problem migrant communities faced during the pandemic was less health-related than economic.

2.2. RIGHT TO EDUCATION

Turkish education system, briefly, points to a strong authority of the state. Research findings display that the **highly centralized governance** does not allow much rapid response to external changes as it has been at play during the Syrian refugee crisis and the lack of local-to-national

policy alignment causes hindering refugee education development (McCarthy, 2018; Sunata & Abdulla, 2020).

The main issue is how the existing rights and provided facilities turn into **actual capabilities**. Considering the financial vulnerability of refugee families, as Uyan Semerci & Erdoğan (2018) indicates, **material conditions** in which the child lives define her propensity to fail to start, to continue and to complete her education. The conditions such as income and education levels of Syrian families, employment status of parents and language ability play a role even in immigrant children's school participation.

The **language barrier** is among the serious obstacles to integrate the Syrian refugees into the education and social cohesion as well as social integration (Özçürümez & İçduygu, 2020). In addition to formal education, several channels has been provided by both the MoNE and also municipalities as well as civil society organizations. Each channel targets different groups in a broader sense. For instance, Public Education Centers (PECs) are the ones operating across the country and conducting age-specific Turkish language modules for foreigners. Nevertheless, access to Turkish language courses in PECs is seemed to be limited. The main problem is stated that most children who have participated in language courses have only reached the first stage of basic proficiency and therefore require further support (UNICEF & MoNE, 2019). Nimer (2019) also emphasizes the capacity rarely meets demand, also resources are often limited, and the waiting times between the courses are long. According to her research results, students find the duration of the courses too short, especially in more advanced levels. More importantly, the certificates provided by the centers are recognized nationally but not by universities, in higher education. On the other hand, accessing language education in private centers (e.g. TÖMER, Turkish and Foreign Languages Center of Ankara University) is costly and so it is inaccessible for many Syrians, especially for those who have difficult financial situation and those supporting family members by working. Nimer (2019) states that this is particularly difficult for those who needed to study at TÖMER centers to pursue their studies. Although the duration of courses is longer and provide enough time to learn Turkish in advanced level, the course duration does not offer enough time flexibility and opportunity for those who work.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) are also involved in language education through supporting the formal channels (Nimer, 2019). At first, in an ad hoc manner, a variety of CSOs offered language instruction at the beginning as part of emergency response. However, particularly due to the state of emergency in 2016, on one hand many CSOs were shut down and the government began to control all educational activities provided to Syrians, including language instruction. According to a circular issued in 2017, all educational activities by CSOs with international funding require approval from the ministry (Ibid., pp. 13–14). Permission for the language courses for foreign organizations is given for only one year; it requires renewal for every year while for the local ones this period is up to three years. Collaboration with CSOs can take different forms in collaboration with municipalities or PECs. However, this is believed to be inefficient, because the new procedure resulted in a loss of funds and lack of quality control; on other hand it seems to be under better control though. This process is also described “as a shift toward a more centralized system” through protocols and “more support to existing organizations seems to be favored by actors in state institutions” (Nimer, 2019, p. 15). This brings a criticism on that once the funding stops, the state's centralization efforts are not sufficient to ensure **long-term sustainability** (Ibid., p. 16).

Regarding the **unaccompanied minors** and education, access to up-to-date statistics on unaccompanied minors is currently not possible. Although there is no information about the current numbers of unaccompanied children in Turkey, especially with regard to highly predictable increase in following the Syrian flow to Turkey, Düzcel and Alış (2018, p. 261) indicates the number of unaccompanied minors who sought asylum between 2005 and 2012 is 352 mostly from Afghanistan, Somalia and Iran. According to an information provided by a stakeholder, in February 2018, the vast majority of unaccompanied children applying for international protection in Turkey originate from Afghanistan. Unaccompanied minors over age 18 remains outside the protection system provided to unaccompanied children in Turkey. They fall in more disadvantaged position for both extending protection and therefore for their education. The related law on the placement of Turkish children under protection into a job (Art. 66 of LFIP) also does not cover unaccompanied children after the abolition of their protection. In that sense, Beyazova (2019) emphasizes the importance of providing **vocational education** to the unaccompanied minors before the age of 18. Despite this fact, there is a considerable need for capacity building for vocational education and a need for raising awareness in this sense among the unaccompanied youth. This seems a challenge for accessing vocational education.

Considering **education during COVID-19 pandemic**, the overall analysis on the distance education indicates the main problems arising from the difficulties in accessing television, computer and/or the internet to participate in distance education and also having no suitable studying environment at home. According to a survey, 48% of the children enrolled in schools did not have access to distance education (SGDD-ASAM, 2020). In another research (Beyazova et al., 2020) conducted during the first quarter of 2020 during the pandemic, it is observed that refugee families are under intense pressure due to unstable economic conditions, cannot afford food and rent expenses, and feel high anxiety about their near future. Refugee families, who generally live on the ground floors of apartments with insufficient ventilation and sunlight, often share their homes with others due to high rents. These conditions make it difficult for Syrian refugees to take the protection measures taken during the Covid-19 process. These conditions also negatively affect the children to follow distance education from home. Also, one of the mentioned difficulties during this process is that Syrian children have not been able to get enough support from their parents because their Turkish language levels are not good enough. Özkul (2020) also states that problems in education also negatively affected those who took the High School Transition System (LGS) exam in Turkey.

2.3. SOCIAL SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE

Social assistance have traditionally been one of the least developed policy domains of Turkey's welfare system (Yilmaz, 2018). Buğra & Keyder (2006) describes that in the absence of meaningful social assistance schemes, many have no choice but to rely on family ties in risk situations. The family still continues to be the pillar of Turkish welfare regime; however, the state, too, historically an important player as employer and provider. Formal social policy in Turkey includes, basically, the state-provided free education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, and a combined public health and pension system associated with employment status (Ibid., p. 213). Since the early period of the 2000s, there has been an increase in the share of public expenditure on social assistance schemes, and their scope has been extended. Still, Yilmaz

(2018, p. 8) defines that “the main feature of social assistance programs in Turkey is their categorical feature targeting ‘the deserving poor’”, which implies a targeted social policy.

In terms of the social support for migrants and refugees, it is difficult to talk about the existence of an institutional social support regime until 2011. Temel and Tüfekçi (2018) examines the changes and transformations in the social assistance policy for immigrants and refugees in Turkey. They states that social aids provided to migrants and refugees were carried out in tandem with poverty assistance programs in terms of welfare state regime. The legal status of migrants and refugees is considered for the first place in the field of social assistance. Priority is given to cognates who migrated to settle in Turkey (Ibid., pp. 93-94).

Temel and Tüfekçi (2018) point out the **fragmented structure of social services**; and from a legal perspective, they underline that the social assistance system is not regulated through the lenses of absolute right. In this sense, while it is observed that there is an effort to build a system for social aids provided by different units for migrants and refugees, there has still been a structure in lack of integrity or a holistic approach. The existence of many different institutions leads to the recurring of aids.

Municipalities have been at the forefront of providing public services and support for the Syrian refugees and they developed varied responses (Betts et al., 2020; Coşkun & Uçar, 2018; Kaya & Kırac, 2016). The services covering a wide range of activities have already been provided by many municipalities under the poverty aid for Turkish citizens living in their district; and, with the arrival of Syrians, they were extended to Syrians (Kale & Erdoğan, 2019). In time, the emergency response activities turned into local efforts in order to support social cohesion between the local people and refugees. In the absence of a clearly defined understanding of social cohesion, Kale & Erdoğan (2019, p. 229) states the general understanding was to keep *solidarity* among fellow citizens or avoid tensions.

However, due to the vagueness of their specific mandate towards refugees, or non-Turkish citizens broadly (Betts et al., 2020; Kale & Erdoğan, 2019), municipalities affected by the Syrians’ arrivals have faced two main challenges (UNDP, 2018; Betts et al., 2020; Coşkun & Uçar, 2018; Kale & Erdoğan, 2019). The first challenge is the **ambiguity of the legal framework**. The political authority of municipalities concerning refugees are not formally laid out in the legislative framework. To respond to the needs of refugees, many municipalities have acted with reference to the maximalist interpretation of Art.13 of the Municipality Law (No. 5393), defining any resident of a town as a “fellow citizen” (hemşehri) who has the right to get municipal aid. The second challenge is about the lack of a specifically delegated central-government funding for refugees. Since the amount of the budget allocations from the national budgets are indexed to the Turkish population, the presence of refugees does not lead to an increase in allocations. Moreover, in terms of their own budgets as the second way of revenues for municipalities, the handicap is that refugees do not contribute to the municipalities’ budgets because they do not pay local taxes since they are not citizens (Coşkun & Uçar, 2018). So, the limitation on the **financial resources** becomes a critical issue. The researches have pointed out, for instance, an increase in demand for infrastructure services such as garbage and wastewater that have to be compensated without any extra budget (Coşkun & Uçar, 2018); and the concerns of municipalities about criticisms from local residents who do not feel comfortable with the usage of municipal resources for non-citizens (Kale & Erdoğan, 2019). As emphasized earlier in the first section, through establishing partnerships with NGOs and international actors, actively engaged municipalities seek external funding to overcome financial constraints.

2.4. ECONOMIC POLICIES

Even though no study has been done on the impact of the Syrian migration on the overall economy of Bursa, the research so far seems to indicate that the impacts are similar to those on the Turkish economy in general. A recent econometric analysis by Tunaer-Vural (2020) shows that the overall impact of the Syrian migration on the GDP of Turkey is positive. A one per cent increase in the population is found to be associated with a rise in production by nearly 1,2 %. The impact of forced migration on general employment is found to be insignificant. This result is in line with the findings in some previous work (Akgündüz et al., 2015; Del Carpio and Wagner, 2015).

The inflow of Syrian migrants in the labour market seems to have no significant effect on either the wage rate or the unemployment rate in Bursa (Saraç & Keskin 2019). This seems to confirm the general conclusion that there is no serious competition between the Syrian migrants and the domestic workers in the formal economy. However, the availability of a cheaper alternative in the market is always a factor that creates downward pressure on wages.

The main reason why the formal employment figures seem unaffected is that more than 95% of the migrant workforce are employed in the informal sector (Erdoğan 2019). As of May 2019, employment in the informal sector makes up 34.3% of the total employment in the Turkish economy (Ibid). The informal economy renders all above-mentioned restrictions useless. Also, the informality endangers migrants' social security needs not only for today but also for the future. Act No. 5510 describes long term insurance branches as those of invalidity, old-age and survivors insurances. To be entitled to old-age, invalidity or survivors' pensions, Act No. 5510 foresees a system mainly based on two variables: the duration of the insured period; and the numbers of days that the insured person paid contributions. The absence of contribution payments will certainly make their entitlement to pensions more difficult. That will affect not only their income level but also their access to health care in the future, while pension receivers and their dependents are considered as universal health insurance holders and receive health care services without being obliged to pay any health insurance contributions.

We must emphasize the fact that the two major policy tools that condition the impact of the Syrian migration on the economy, namely, the Regulation on Work Permit for Foreigners under Temporary Protection Status and The Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) seem to have a direct bearing on the scope and extensity of informal migrant labour. ESSN aid is given to each member of the migrant family provided that none has a formal employment. This is believed to prevent many Syrian refugees who are eligible for ESSN aid from applying to jobs in the formal sector. In a similar vein, the spatial limitation imposed by the work permit regulation prevents many refugees from applying to jobs outside the provinces they are registered in. This is especially the case for the Syrian migrants who are employed in the seasonal jobs in the agricultural sector.

Saraç & Keskin (2019), analyzing primarily the impact of Syrian migrants on the textile sector in Bursa, argue that the migrants entered the sector both as workers and entrepreneurs and both were highly welcomed. Even though no data is available, the interviews mentioned below in this policy analysis implicate that the employment of Syrian migrants in the sector is substantial. The main reason for this is the unwillingness of the local population to work in the sector. The working conditions in the sector are considered to be rather harsh and the noise pollution and widespread use of chemicals in almost every stage of the production are important factors that create the

unwillingness of the local population. It is also argued that local population prefers to be employed in the services sector (mostly in malls) where the wages are not lower than they are in the textile sector. Another factor that contributed to the substantial employment of Syrian migrants in the sector is the fact that many are already skilled and had been working in the textile sector in Syria. The employers in the sector are reported to say that they are extremely happy with the coming of the Syrian migrants because they close the deficit not only in the supply of unskilled labour but of the skilled labour as well.

Saraç & Keskin focus on the Syrian migrant entrepreneurs in the textile sector as well. Again it seems that many of them preferred Bursa specifically because it has a developed textile sector. With 77 foreign firms with Syrian partners, Bursa is the forth province, as of 2019, among those that host the most Syrian-invested firms. As mentioned before, the Syrian entrepreneurs brought not only capital but their business web as well. As a result, most of the firms they set up are exporting textiles to the Arabic countries. Furthermore, the inputs of these firms are mainly supplied by domestic firms.

3. ASSESSMENT OF THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF POLICIES THROUGH SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

To assess the strengths and weaknesses of policies with regard to the integration in Turkey and the selected case Karacabey, Bursa, semi-structured interviews with eight actors were conducted in November 2020 (Annex II). Applying purposive sampling, interview persons were selected based on their competence regarding the themes of the policy brief and comprised policy makers, public officers and representatives of professional associations as well as practitioners and organizations working on migration-related fields. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, four interviews were conducted by using the conferencing tool Zoom and the remaining four were conducted as face-to-face interviews. After having received the interviewees' consent, all interviews were audio-recorded. Afterwards, they were transcribed verbatim and were analysed using thematic analysis.

FINDINGS

MIGRANT POPULATION IN KARACABEY, BURSA

Bursa, fourth most populous and industrial city located in northwestern Turkey, is a city of migration. With its closeness to Istanbul, not only with the current Syrian migrants but different migration flows from the Balkans, the Crimea and the Caucasus and internal migrants have been part of city as stated in almost all the interviews.

Thus the current migrants, profile of Syrians, are described with low levels of education and rural background in all interviews. The place of origin, the qualifications and the jobs they had in Syria play a role in their current capabilities and network:

“The Syrian population entering Turkey from the border is a population coming from the north of Syria, already from the rural area, and this population’s relation with means of living has always been based on rural activity. It’s based on agriculture, on farming; only very few of them, especially those who come from Aleppo are able to get into trade. Of course, we can see that the traders are establishing a trade network here. But for the agricultural workers, we see that they are in a partial idle state. Because they don’t have their own land, or a land which they can cultivate. Those who can work as seasonal agricultural workers do work but this has no social security nor guarantee.” (Country & Regional level, INGO, Informant 4)

The business sectors Syrians work in Bursa are textile; automotive and furniture. However, as Syrian workers mostly work informal and unregistered, they are working in the workshops or small ateliers, or in seasonal agriculture.

LOCAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND THE ROLE OF MIGRANTS IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

With its developed industrial, agricultural and service sectors, Bursa’s economy is among the top four cities in Turkey. This is one of the main reasons why the province has historically been very attractive to immigrants. There are three big companies; Tofaş, Renault and Bosch. These big

companies feed sub-industries. Gemlik district has the free zone which has its advantages. There is industry and agriculture in Karacabey, Kemalpaşa regions.

Thus, immigrants particularly prefer Karacabey, the Matilde local region, due to the availability of job opportunities. Whereas rural Karacabey hosts Syrians who come to the region to work as seasonal agricultural workers, mainly tomato, the rural area mainly hosts permanent migrants who work in factories and workshops. Some immigrants also work in jobs which locals do not want to. However, lack of exact data is underlined in the interviews, stating that there are recently Afghans who have started to come to work in husbandry.

“As for Karacabey, it’s a place that receives seasonal agricultural labor migration. But they have conducted this through the workers mostly from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, such as Diyarbakır, Urfa and Mardin. However, it is said that Syrian refugees are also included within this population recently. But I will remark again, unfortunately there’s no clear data. We don’t know this clearly; are these Syrians currently resident in Bursa or are they the ones who come with local people from Diyarbakır, Urfa and Mardin, who are resident there?” (Country & Regional level, INGO, Informant 4).

None of the interviews provides any facts or narratives regarding a negative impact on the economy of Karacabey or Bursa. Thus, this can be explained with the profile of the interviewees, e.g. policy implementers affiliated in Provincial Directorate and Metropolitan City of Bursa, or in local level, Karacabey. The positive economic impacts, on the other hand, are more visible. The interviews make it clear that the availability of migrant labor for those sectors not preferred by the locals, such as agriculture and textile, seems to have been very fortunate for those sectors.

“It is said that Syrians are the drivers of the furniture industry there. They say that before they came, the shortage of intermediate staff was very serious; that they couldn’t find a person to work anymore but now this gap is closed. (...) Syrian people prefer to establish small independent businesses in their own way. Or they prefer to participate in small activities that will revitalize Arab tourism, such as translation. This is also valid in other provinces. Apart from that, we can say that they almost closed the intermediate staff gap in textile industry. (...) Arab tourism has been developed.” (Regional level, Provincial Directorate, Informant 1)

“The blow to the textile industry that started gradually after the crisis in 2012 affected Bursa very much, many workshops and people were also affected. But I can say that with the migration, Syrians have made them a little more active. (...) The Syrians’ engagement in this process, either as an additional job or as a resource, has mobilized the textile industry. They have made positive contribution. (...) With the Syrians, an alternative workforce was established in all those areas. (Regional level, Bursa Metropolitan Municipality, Informant 2)

Another channel through which Syrian migrants positively affected the local economy is their transfer of capital and business relations to Turkey. It is also raised during the interviews: *“They have entered the textile industry with their own capital. This also provided mobilization, contributing to the dynamism of this process” (Informant 2).* The entrepreneurial capacity, particularly in trade is really high. With a technical and legal support, some establish their own company and have a comparative advantage of having access to Middle Eastern network.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES REGARDING MIGRANTS, PARTICULARLY SYRIANS

The unitary and centralized character of the state and non-inclusive character of policy-making are noted in the interviews. Furthermore, as elaborated in the quote below, both public and private perceptions and implementation of regulations are shaped and reshaped through this:

“In fact, the processes related to migration are very connected with the central policies. I saw that it was the same in other provinces within the framework of some other projects. I mean, especially the Syrian migration continues in a more political conjuncture. That is why, within the framework of the state policy and the expansions it envisioned, I think that both the provincial administrators and economic leaders, sectoral leaders don’t act outside the vision of the state policy. This situation is the same in terms of both public and private sectors. Therefore, it cannot develop a policy as a city. In other words, there is no policy regarding the dynamics of your own city, neither in the context of adaptation nor attitude...” (Informant 2)

The limited resources and their distribution, with the existing number of Syrians and also local population who need social assistance and social services, is stated as one of the key problems:

“(...) perhaps a more holistic and long-term planning is required to be sufficient (...) But it is important for the European Union to move forward with a long-term projection and a more sustainable financing...”

Each municipality has its own resources. The needs of using this resource may differ, at this point prioritizing the needs of the local people, more precisely voters, may be a political choice since they are the groups that come to power through an election.” (Informant 4)

NGOs therefore are crucial for providing support in Bursa, similar to other localities in Turkey.

Work permits are crucial as it means a real integration to labor market with social security, however as the following quotes demonstrate neither small business owners nor farmers can go over the procedures, financially and/or bureaucratically. Particularly in agriculture, workcover insurance does not exist:

“Of course, informality is the common practice in terms of employment. Governorships and district governorships are working on this. Last year, as best practice, a study was carried out, there was a circular of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in order to raise awareness about Syrians, employers were reached together with the personnel from the institution, and they were reminded that work permits should be obtained. It was said that administrative sanctions would be applied to those who do not have work permits, but the pandemic started in the following process. (...) Of course, there are different reasons for this informality. What are the reasons? It is difficult to get a work permit. A process is required to get work permit. Also, the places where Syrians work may not be very institutional. They usually work in the service sector, and therefore small businesses. There may be cases that the employer does not want to deal with it. Generally, employing informally can be in favor of the employer; this is the situation.” (Regional level, ISKUR policy implementer, Informant 8)

DIFFICULTIES OF HARMONIZATION

As summarized in the second part of the report, temporary protection status provides legal foundation for accessing the rights, however there are obstacles to turn the rights into the capabilities, real opportunities people enjoy. In the conducted interviews; language, competition among the poor, and social exclusion have been stated as obstacles.

The most stated obstacle, at least in four interviews with respect to different policy areas, including health, is the language. The following quote reflects an example of a good practice “health mediators” for overcoming language barrier:

“When we say health mediators - who are selected among Syrians, who are Syrians and who provide that information flow, that is, bringing out the problem in the region where they are located and translating our language to them... that makes them trust us in the field, reaching more people in the field ... ” (Country & Regional level, INGO, Informant 3)

The tension between the locals and the Syrians, particularly among the most vulnerable groups is an issue that needs be carefully handled:

“At first, there was tension between those who lived on social assistance, saying “they get our bread, what we need to buy”. Were they wrong in that? Frankly, we tried to deal with that, but they were actually right. Because in the first wave of migration, all social assistance was directed to Syrians. And local people in need of social assistance could not benefit from this. But it has been overcome immediately after a year, with the transfer of other sources.” (Informant 2)

For the harmonization, there is still a long way to go. Although the Provincial Directorate of Migration Management prioritize, there is still a long way to social cohesion. The emphasis on how Syrians are living in a closed circle, with limited or no contact to locals demonstrate the lack of social cohesion.

“They are very comfortable, but not with the locals. They are with their own inner groups... It is not possible to talk about a harmony or coexistence, but they do not have any trouble creating their own space. There is no pressure. So I think Bursa has that culture from the past, too. Because the city is used to different cultural groups anyway.” (Informant 2)

Although the common culture is underlined, the lack of contact is also stated as “living as two separate groups”⁵, “no such thing as getting use to them”:

“There are small grocery stores and shops selling clothes. They are very nationalists and always go there. For example, there are Turkish grocery stores here, but they go to theirs even if it is far away.” (Local level, Karacabey, Informant 5)

Education is an important policy area for social cohesion. Thus, as observed in the field, education can be inclusive or exclusive. PIKTES is an example of good practice whereas bullying, combined with discrimination, is an example of reasons for drop-outs. An expert from Bursa Provincial Directorate also indicated the effectiveness of the project as well as the need of its improvement

⁵ For more debate about the relevance of cultural similarities between the Syrians and the locals in Turkey see (Rottmann & Kaya, 2020).

in approach by stating that *“There is a PIKTES project for education and it has been effective for a long time (...) maybe one further step could be done about the trainers. Children who need social adaptation, who cannot learn languages persistently, may be approached with more care than forcing them to continue to school, because there are children who are still traumatized, or the effects of the trauma emerge long afterwards. Counseling activities in schools can be expanded.” (Informant 1)*

Furthermore, all the tensions and the problems are resulted in further exclusion and sometimes blaming the Syrians (Uyan-Semerçi & Erdoğan, 2020).

4. CONCLUSION

4.1. CONCLUSION FOR SOCIAL POLICIES

Inequalities and regional development gaps in Turkey cause limitations on the capabilities of the citizens (Karatay et. al., 2016). Poverty; informal economy; child labor and access to qualified education for all have been major problems prior to the arrival of Syrians (Uyan-Semerçi et. al., 2013; 2014 and Uyan-Semerçi & Erdoğan, 2017). 1950s onwards, rural-to-urban migration developed and caused the informal sector to expand. From the 1990s onwards, more urban problems have also emerged due to forced migration, mainly from Southeastern Anatolia (Erder, 1995). A number of very basic infrastructural problems still remain especially for socially excluded groups which also threaten child well-being (Uyan Semerçi et al., 2012; 2013; UNICEF, 2013).

Turkish welfare regime, similar to the Southern European model, regards the family as main actor, with different informal supports. The family still continues to be the pillar of Turkish welfare regime; however, the state, with its unitary character, too, historically an important player as employer and services provider (Buğra & Keyder, 2006). Although the current situation in Turkey can no longer be treated simply as an emergency situation with respect to Syrians, humanitarian assistance programs and the implementation of different policies and projects are still provided in sense of emergency support in the public view. And as expected, competition among the most vulnerable groups with respect to social assistances and job opportunities in the informal labor market create tensions, however the increasing anti-immigrant attitude is not only a result of this economic threat perception.

Although with the temporary protection status, the rights are legally defined, still access to these rights is limited with the existing conditions in the field. Not only in terms of availability of resources, which is definitely crucial, but also the perception of people at every level is important for developing and implementing policies for harmonization. The current situation in Turkey can no longer be treated simply as an emergency situation but meanwhile the change from emergency aid policies to integration policies is not easy.

Humanitarian assistance programs are still provided in sense of emergency support for Syrian refugees in Turkey (Yılmaz, 2018). The role of the public sector increases especially in social assistance and health care. Despite the vagueness of their specific mandate towards refugees, or non-Turkish citizens broadly, municipalities also take active role.

Local authorities cooperate with civil society organizations in order to provide free services and orientation to Syrians about education, health services, and training opportunities. To overcome financial constraints, actively engaged municipalities seek external funding through establishing partnerships with NGOs and international actors. In other words, they have found out some “bypass methods” (Betts et al., 2020; Coşkun & Uçar, 2018). Local governments have no legal, financial, or political-administrative responsibility and authority. Although they are not active in the formulation and implementation of policies to tackle the refugee issue (Coşkun & Uçar, 2018), they are still important actors in the field.

Schools are crucial for current and future social cohesion, however, the conditions such as income and education levels of Syrian families, employment status of parents and language ability play a role in immigrant children’s school participation. Similar to the competition among the most vulnerable groups for receiving social assistance, the schools that are mostly populated with

children of Syrian families are located in most disadvantaged neighborhoods and have limited resources. In order to realize the goal of inclusive education, there is a need to support schools at every level, from supervision to teachers to curriculum change.

Right to health is crucial, considering the vulnerabilities and existing risks even before COVID-19, thus particularly those Syrians who work informally in seasonal agriculture or in other sectors, most of the time work in other cities than they are registered. The risks one faces by going to a hospital might seem to be more than by living with an illness and/or not getting health care. COVID-19 already puts enormous pressure on the available resources to health, including health workers. Another aspect to be underlined is the claim causing great tension that Syrians enjoy more rights and that they, without payment, have access to healthcare, whereas citizens of Turkey have to pay more. Non-Turkish citizens, mostly Syrians, are regarded as scapegoats (Uyan-Semerci and Erdoğan 2020). They are to blame for the unemployment or insufficient social support.

Overall, Syrians are still not accepted as permanent part of the current and/or future society in Turkey and this dominant perspective has an effect on policy making and policy implementation. Thus, it is urgent to develop short, middle and long-term strategies for harmonization and the policy-making process should also be inclusive.

GOOD PRACTICES

The following two projects are good practices that are observed in the field and also underlined in the interviews:

“Health for Rural, Support to Rural” Project for refugees- Ministry of Health and UNFPA: Language barrier and lack of information are some of the key deterrents to the access to the right to health. Here, health mediators can be given as an example of good practice, as the right to health does not guarantee access to the right. Health mediators, chosen from the Syrian population, do not only make translations but also act as a mediator to solve communication problems and reduce socio-cultural barriers.

The Project on “Promoting Integration of Syrian Children into the Turkish Education System” (PIKTES) is a project in education sector/an education project implemented by the MoNE with a view to contribute to the access of Syrian children to education provided in state schools /to education. PIKTES is funded by a direct EU grant within the scope of the Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT) agreement. The project was launched on October 3, 2016 and is still in operation in 26 provinces. PIKTES Project, which started its second phase in December 2018, will continue until the end of 2021. Within the large scope of the project, supports are provided to children, families, and schools in a variety of forms as well as cross-cutting services such as social cohesion activities⁶ are enabled.

⁶ See more <https://piktes.gov.tr/Home/IndexENG>

4.2. CONCLUSION FOR ECONOMIC POLICIES

Nation states have wide sovereign power not only in deciding on who will enter and stay in their territories but also on who will work in their labour markets. The protection provided by international law as well as national legal regulations contains subtle differentiations and restrictions as regards the labour rights of forcedly displaced persons. Work permit regulations applicable to Syrians under temporary protection status reveal the priority of local workers over displaced migrants in the labour market except for seasonal agricultural and live-stock works. However, in terms of independent commercial activities, receiving independent work permits seems much less compelling. These observations confirm the argument that among many reasons causing the vulnerability of migrants in the labour market, the most striking is the law, itself, is becoming a source of vulnerability. (Mantouvalou, 2015, 49-51; Doğan Yenisey, 2019, 271).

As mentioned in the report, the impact on Turkey's GDP of the Syrian forced migration has been calculated to be positive as the theory predicts. Even though there is no calculation for the local level, the available research and the fieldwork carried out for this project implicitly show that GDPs of Bursa and Karacabey, too, were positively affected. This is especially true for the textile, furniture and agricultural sectors in which the Syrian migrant labor covered a deficit in labor supply. Similarly, the field work makes it clear that the contribution of the Syrian migrant entrepreneurs in the textile sector and some services like tourism and shopping is substantial.

The impact of the Syrian migration on the general price level, or more particularly on inflation, is positive and significant. The food and housing sectors are especially important because the demand shock hit those sectors directly and immediately. Even though the housing inflation in Turkey turned out to be affected by the shock, food prices do not seem to have been affected. It seems that the supply shock in the agricultural sector has played a compensatory role to stabilize the food prices. This also seems to be the case for Bursa and Karacabey because there is no mention of a rise in the food prices as a result of the migration of Syrians but one interviewer mentions that the rents have increased in districts where the migrants settled in great numbers.

As emphasized above, the impact of the Syrian migration on the formal labor market has been rather limited due to widespread shadow employment. The unemployment figures and wage rates in the formal sector have been found to be unaffected by the inflow of Syrian migrants. This seems to be the case for the local economy as well. Even though some interviewers expressed concern over a possible negative effect of migrant employment on local workforce, many have explicitly acknowledged the employment enhancing investments by the migrant entrepreneurs and the positive contribution of the migrant labor on the employment rate in the sectors not preferred by the local population.

An overwhelming proportion of the migrant workers are employed in the informal sector. The controlled integration policy does not work in practice. This may have important consequences both in the short run and in the long run. Some of the short-run effects seem to be advantageous to both the migrants and to the local population. Firstly, the migrant workers can avoid the restrictions imposed by the work permit regulations. Bypassing the spatial restriction, sectoral restrictions and the quota system they can find work more easily and almost in any sector and in any region. Secondly, the informal sector generally comprises jobs that are not much attractive to

the local population. Hence there occurs less competition in the labor market and hence less friction in social life between the migrants and the locals. However, not all Syrians benefit from good job opportunities even in the informal sector, the majority of them find themselves working dirty, dangerous and demeaning jobs under highly precarious and unsafe work environment. In the long run, such informality may also affect all social security rights of migrants, once the “temporary” nature of their stay is ruled out.

GOOD PRACTICES

To support refugees and host communities gain a living in decent working conditions, the ILO in Turkey is implementing the “Refugee Response Programme”. It is guided by a Programme of Support spanning from the years 2017 to 2021. The achievements of the programme include:

- Supporting employability of more than 23,000 refugees through skills development
- Gender equality supported through provision of gender-sensitive training
- 900 entrepreneurs trained and 150 micro grants awarded to support innovative business ideas
- More than 600 SMEs supported through business advisory services
- 2,340 Syrians. In total over 4,500 refugees and host community members have been employed formally with the support of the ILO
- 15% of all social security auditors, 20% of all labour inspectors and 20% of all labour and social security judges trained in the legal framework protecting refugees in the labour market.

Another practice that needs mentioning is the “Turkey Resilience Project in response to the Syria Crisis (TRP)” financed by the EU Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian Crisis (EUTF). It is a two-year project with €50m budget focusing on promoting job creation, strengthening local government capacities and municipal services and delivering Turkish language training for Syrians in 11 provinces of Turkey. The Project will benefit 2,000 Syrians and host community members for employment and livelihoods, 52,000 Syrians for Turkish language training, and more than 307,000 Syrians and host community members for improved municipal services.

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ANNEX I – TABLE ON SELECTED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICIES AFFECTING FOREIGNERS AND MIGRANTS IN GENERAL AND SYRIANS (TEMPORARY PROTECTION STATUS) IN PARTICULAR

THEME	POLICY NAME	YEARS OF IMPLEMENTATION	HISTORY & ORIGINATING DYNAMICS OF THE POLICY	SUBSTANCE: PURPOSE AND AIMS	COVERAGE (NUTS LEVEL)	LEADING AND MANAGING ACTORS	ACTORS TARGETED	FUNDING MECHANISM	LEVEL OF IMPLEMENTATION	OUTCOMES AND EFFECTS	CONDITIONS SHAPING THE OUTCOMES
2.1 2.2. 2.3., 2.4	Constitution of the Republic of Turkey	1982 – (Main Amendment s: Act No. 4121 of 995; Act No. 4709 of 2001; Act No. 5170 of 2004; Act No. 5982 of 2010; Act No. 6771 of 2017)	Art. 42: “No one shall be deprived of the right to education.” Art. 49: “Everyone has the right and duty to work.” Art. 60: “Everyone has the right to social security. “	Universality of social and labour rights.	NUTS 0	All state actors and individuals	All nationals and non-nationals	National	ACTIVE		
2.1 2.4	Social Insurance and General Health Insurance Act No. 5510 of 2006, entered into force in 2008.	2008 – onwards (Main Amendment s: Act No. 5754 of 2008; Act No. 6458 of 2013 -	Foreigners who work under a contract of employment or who engage in an occupational activity in an independent manner, are covered by the compulsory insurance system. The new version of the Act aiming at creating unified health insurance covers most of the population in Turkey, including foreign residents who do not have social security coverage in their home countries and, with an amendment adopted in 2013, those under the	Determines the rights of beneficiaries and provides for general rules for the functioning of the insurance system and funding conditions. Also contains provisions on employers and workplaces, short-term and long-term insurances.	NUTS 0	Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services; Social Security Institution	Foreign Residents and migrants under the protection of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection	National	ACTIVE	The equality between nationals and non-nationals in respect of social security rights Access to health care for especially Syrian immigrants who fled to Turkey since 2011.	

			protection of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection excluding the unregistered migrants								
2.1	Regulation No. 2011/1377 on the Center for Disaster and Emergency Management	2011-2013	At first stage, with the arrival of Syrian refugees, since the stay of Syrians was assumed as a temporary situation, the issue was handled in terms of an emergency and the Regulation was issued to affirm that Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) was the initial authority responsible of regulating all emergency services.	In relation to the effective realization of national and local response to disasters and emergencies occurring at home and abroad and related preparatory activities, the Regulation aims to determine the principles regarding the establishment, duties and responsibilities of the AFAD and, disaster and emergency management centers as well as the coordination and cooperation between them.	NUTS 0	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency	Nationals and international migrants	National	ACTIVE	Giving the initial authority to the AFAD of regulating all services for Syrian migrants.	
2.1	AFAD Circular, 2013/1 No. 374, 18.01.2013	2013	With the increase of Syrian refugees living outside the camps, the need to make new arrangements arose.	To expand Syrians' access to the health services in the eleven provinces bordering Syria (Hatay, Osmaniye, Kilis, Kahramanmaraş, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Adıyaman, Adana, Mersin, Malatya, Batman)	NUTS 0	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency	Syrians	National	CLOSED	Syrians' access to health services was provided out of the camps.	
2.1	General Circular 2013/8 No. 12816 on Health and Other Services of Syrian Guests, 09.09.2013	2013	With the increase of Syrian population living throughout Turkey	To broaden the access to health care services for Syrians in all 81 provinces in Turkey	NUTS 0	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency	Syrians	National	CLOSED	Syrians' access to health services was provided throughout the country.	Refusal to recognize the circular and demand payments to cover health care as well as overworked and exhausted hospital workers especially in locations close to the Syrian border

2.4.	Act No. 4817 on Work Permits for Foreigners	2003-2016	The increasing number of economic migrants	To regulate foreigners' access to the labor market through work permit regime.	NUTS 0	Ministry of Labour and Social Security	Foreigners	National	Repealed by Act No. 6458.	The Act established a unified system of work permit and all related administrative procedures.	
2.1 2.2. 2.3 2.4	Act No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection (AFIP) of 4/4/2013	2014-onwards	Geographical and temporal limitations of the concept of "refugee" in the Geneva Convention reveal the need for regulating the international protection statuses. So, the status of the Syrians and their social rights had to be rearranged.	To regulate the principles and procedures with regard to foreigners' entry into, stay in and exit from Turkey, and the scope and implementation of the protection to be provided for foreigners who seek protection from Turkey, and the establishment, duties, mandate and responsibilities of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) under the Ministry of Interior.	NUTS 0	Ministry of Interior; DGMM	Foreigners	National	ACTIVE	The Law establishes a legal framework for all persons in need of international protection in Turkey and affirms Turkey's obligations towards.	
2.1. 2.2 2.3 2.4	Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM)	2013-onwards	DGMM was established with the Law No. 6458 on AFIP. Article 103 of Law no 6458 governs the establishment of the Directorate General.	To implement policies and strategies related to migration; ensure coordination between the related agencies and organizations in these matters; carry out the tasks and procedures related to foreigners' entry into, stay in, exit and removal from Turkey, international protection, temporary protection and protection of victims of human trafficking.	NUTS 0	Ministry of Interior	Foreigners and migrants under international protection, those under temporary protection.	National	ACTIVE	the leading administrative body in charge of migration management	

2.1 2.2 2.3 2.4	Temporary Protection Regulation (TPR)	2014-onwards	The AFIP does not specify the case of Syrians, but Article 91 introduced a legal basis to the adaption of temporary protection status which applies to migrants arriving from Syria.	To determine the procedures and principles pertaining to temporary protection proceedings; to determine proceedings related to their reception to Turkey, their stay in Turkey, their rights and obligations; and the provisions related to the cooperation between national and international organizations under Article 91 of the Law No. 6458 on LFIP	NUTS 0	The Ministry of Interior, DGMM	Syrians under temporary protection	National	ACTIVE	Forming the current legal protection regime for the foreigners, including Syrians who were forced to leave their countries and are unable to return to their countries	
2.1	Directive No 2875 of 25.03.2015; Directive No. 9648 and dated 04.11.2015 on the Principles on Providing Healthcare Services to People under Temporary Protection	2015-onwards	The implementation of TPR	To determine the principles of health services to those under temporary protection status.	NUTS 0	The Ministry of Health	Syrians under temporary protection	National	ACTIVE	Syrians have access to different level healthcare services.	Syrians under temporary protection and living outside the camps can go to healthcare institutions only in the city of residence where they are registered.
2.1	Regulation No. 29258 on the Public Health Center and Related Units	2015-onwards	Due to the system based on the long-term residence, already-existing Public Health Centers and Family Health Centers were essentially insufficient for irregular migrants and asylum seekers who frequently had to change their residence places.	To establish Migrant Health Centers (MHC) as an additional unit to public health centers	NUTS 0	Ministry of Health	Syrians under temporary protection	National	ACTIVE	Establishment of to serve 4,000-7,000 Syrians in places where Syrians under temporary protection live collectively.	Language barriers; distance to the rural areas

2.4	Act No. 6735 on International Labour Force	2016-onwards	The need for a holistic approach to migration and migration management.	To determine and monitor the international migration of labour; to regulate the procedures for the issue of work permits and work permit exemptions; rights and obligations of foreigners in the labour market.	NUTS 0	Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services	All migrants	National	ACTIVE		
2.4	Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners under Temporary Protection	2016-onwards	The increasing need for the procedures in granting work permits to Syrian migrants.	To determine the procedures and principles related to the work permits of those under temporary protection status.	NUTS 0	Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services	Syrians under temporary protection status	National	ACTIVE		
2.4.2.1	SIHHAT (the EU-funded health project titled "Improving the health status of the Syrian population under temporary protection and related services provided by Turkish authorities")	January 2016 (duration of 36 months)	The EU has been funding partners on the ground in response to the refugee crisis since 2011. The project is funded under the Facility for Refugees in Turkey.	To strengthen the provision of primary and secondary healthcare services to Syrian refugees under temporary protection in Turkey, ultimately improving their health status	NUTS 0	The EU Delegation to Turkey, Ministry of Health	refugees and host communities across the country	European	ACTIVE	Within the scope of the project, as of October 2020, 178 migrant health centers provide services. As of 31 March 2020, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 708 doctors, 966 nurses/ midwives; - 11 psychologists, 11 social workers, 13 technicians, 1,144 patient referral guides and 407 support staff, all including Syrians, have been employed; - 10 Community Mental Health Centers have also been opened in provinces with the highest or intensive Syrian refugee population. - Medical equipment support and mobile health services such as cancer screening are also provided. 	
2.1	Refugee Health Programme	...-onwards	From the Country Office in Turkey, WHO has financed the project	To provide culturally and linguistically sensitive health services to Syrian refugees	NUTS 0	WHO, Ministry of Health	Syrians	International	ACTIVE	WHO notifies that almost 2000 Syrian health workers have been trained in 7 refugee health training centers to work in a network of up to 178 refugee health centers throughout Turkey.	

2.2	Temporary Education Centers		The first wave of Syrian refugees arriving Turkey and socio-political discourse of temporariness	To provide education to refugee children with the reason behind that Syrian children are able to reintegrate their regular education once returned to Syria	NUTS 0	Ministry of National Education (MoNE), NGOs	Syrians	Local and international NGOs	CLOSED		
2.2	Circular entitled 'Education services for the Syrians under temporary protection' on 16 September 2013	2013		To regulate and standardize educational facilities for Syrian refugee children in and out of the camps	NUTS 0	Ministry of National Education, provincial education authorities	Syrians		ACTIVE	The education services to be provided for Syrians is coordinated and monitored only by MoNE and the staff is appointed by MoNE locally, in an effort to control the unlawful Syrian schools proliferating. The provincial education authorities started taking action in terms of meeting the education needs of Syrian refugees.	
2.2	Circular No. 2014/21 on "Education and Training Services for Foreigners" on 23 September 2014	2014	The TPR regulates education-related issues in Art. 28 through which education is defined as a right for those under temporary protection and the MoNE is authorized to coordinate and audit policies.	To set the standards for educational services to be offered to Syrians	NUTS 0	Ministry of National Education	Foreigners, Syrians under temporary protection		ACTIVE	Eliminating the barriers in front of the foreigners in accessing formal and non-formal education services. In 2015, MoNE gradually started to encourage Syrian children to enroll in Turkish public schools.	
2.2	The Department of Migration and Emergency Education	2016-onwards	It established within the MoNE Directorate General of Life-Long Learning	To coordinate and respond the education needs of Syrians	NUTS 0		Syrians under temporary protection		ACTIVE		

2.2	Early Childhood Education Programme		Turkey-UNICEF Country Programme	To provide students to benefit from preschool education	NUTS 0	UNICEF, Ministry of National Education	Turkish and refugee children	UNICEF	ACTIVE	The programme, including a ten-week summer school programme, reached 16,429 Turkish and refugee children in 2018.
2.2	Remedial Education Programme		Turkey-UNICEF Country Programme	To support the children who are unable to reach expected 3rd and 4th grade basic literacy and numeracy learning achievement levels	NUTS 0	UNICEF, Ministry of National Education	Turkish and refugee children	UNICEF	ACTIVE	A total of 87,003 children including 7,684 refugees benefited from the Programme in 2018.
2.2	Accelerated Learning Programme (ALP)	2018-onwards	Turkey-UNICEF Country Programme; it is implemented in Public Education Centers (PECs)	To providing a second chance to out-of-school refugee children aged 10-18	NUTS 0	UNICEF, Ministry of National Education	Syrian children and adolescents	UNICEF	ACTIVE	The ALP has been implemented in 12 provinces in 76 PECs (Adana, Ankara, Bursa, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kilis, Konya, Mersin, Şanlıurfa). By October 2019, 16,176 children have benefited from the programme.
2.2	PIKTES (The Project on Promoting Integration of Syrian Children into the Turkish Education System)	2016-2021	The direct EU grant within the scope of the Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT) agreement	To support MoNE in its efforts to increase integration of Syrian children and access to quality education, the project has an overall objective of increasing the enrolment and attendance rates of Syrian children and youth in quality formal education.	NUTS 0	Ministry of National Education	Syrian children	European Union	ACTIVE	Within the large scope of the project, the supports are provided to the children, to the families, to the schools in a variety of forms as well as cross-cutting services such as social cohesion activities. It is in operation in 26 provinces.
2.2	The Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE)	2003-onwards (extended in 2017)	It is a national social assistance program implemented by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services since 2003 and was extended to Syrian and other refugee families in mid-2017.	To encourage enrolment and improve school attendance of children	NUTS 0	The Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services, the Ministry of National Education, the Turkish Red Crescent, UNICEF	Nationals, Syrians and other refugees	ECHO, the Government of Norway, the United States	ACTIVE	The families receive cash support every two months through Kızılaykarts on the condition that the child has attended school regularly. As of August 2020, the total number of beneficiary students are 624,553.

2.2	Public Education Centers (PECs)	2014-onwards (for foreigners)	PECs were actually founded at the beginning of the Republic as a national initiative to teach reading and writing and republican values. Under the MoNE Lifelong Learning Department, as of 2014, these centers started to offer for foreigners.	To provide free of charge language education courses as well as vocational courses	NUTS 0	Ministry of National Education, Provincial Directorate of National Education	Nationals and foreigners including Syrians	National	ACTIVE	Between 2015 and first ten months of 2019, a total of 348.665 Syrians, including children and adults, under temporary protection benefited from these language courses.	capacity, duration of the courses, waiting times between courses
2.2	Türkiye Scholarship Programme	2015-2016		higher education scholarship	NUTS 0	Presidency of Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB)	students coming mostly from the developing world, including Syrians	National	CLOSED	The students are provided with 1-year Turkish training, monthly scholarship, education fee, accommodation and transportation assistance. Number of Syrian students awarded with this scholarships in 2015-2016 period is 1.148	
2.2	DAFI (Scholarship program of Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative)	2015-2016		higher education scholarship	NUTS 0	YTB, UNHCR	Syrian students	National, international	CLOSED	It reached 82 together with 70 applicants awarded with a scholarship in the period of 2015-2016.	
2.2	IPA scholarships		within the scope of EU-Turkey financial cooperation, as one of the components of the Instruments for Pre-Accession Assistance	higher education scholarship	NUTS 0	YTB	Syrian students	European Union	ACTIVE	It has provided to Syrian students who are having formal education at the level of bachelor degree at the state universities in Turkey. 1.600 Syrian students benefited in 2014-2015 academic year.	
2.2	Opportunities for Lives	2018-2020		To deliver vocational training to the groups between the ages of 14-29	NUTS 0	International Labor Organization (ILO), Directorate-General for International Labour Force of the Ministry	Turkish citizens and Syrians under temporary protection	European Union	ACTIVE	It delivers vocational, entrepreneurship and awareness training and promoting entrepreneurship through incentives. The target provinces are Ankara, Istanbul, Bursa, Konya, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Adana, Mersin and Hatay. It has been	

						of Family, Labour and Social Services, IOM				planning to reach out 13,000 Syrians under temporary protection, 5,000 Turkish citizens, 350 public officials from relevant agencies, 500 representatives and 500 businesses from workers' and employers' organizations as social partners.	
2.3	Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN)	2016	In November 2015, the Facility for Refugees in Turkey (FRIT), is established by the EC and it envisioned a comprehensive assistance with a budget of 1.4 billion euros for humanitarian needs and a further 1.6 billion euros for longer term structural support. Under this Facility, the ESSN was launched in November 2016 as a single humanitarian aid project in the history of the EU to date	A multi-purpose cash transfer program for vulnerable refugees living outside of the camps across Turkey to cover their basic needs	NUTS 0	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), Turkish Red Crescent (TRC); Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services	Syrians under temporary protection	European Union	ACTIVE	Each eligible family supported by the ESSN receives a debit card, called Kizilaykart, loaded monthly with 120 Turkish Liras for each household.	still provided in sense of emergency support

ANNEX II – DATA COLLECTION

ID Study code	Stakeholder type/ Policy Level	Nationality	Affiliation/role	Working position
Informant 1	Policy implementer/ Regional	Turkish	Provincial Directorate	Expert
Informant 2	Policy implementer/ Regional	Turkish	Metropolitan Municipality	Expert
Informant 3	INGO/ Country&Regional level	Turkish	UN affiliated INGO (group interview)	Field Associate
				Social worker
				Nurse
Informant 4	INGO/ Country&Regional	Turkish	INGO providing humanitarian assistance	Programme Coordinator
Informant 5	Policy implementer/ Local	Turkish	Mukhtar in the local region	Local governor
Informant 6	Policy implementer/ Local	Turkish	Mukhtar in the local region	Local governor
Informant 7	Policy implementer/ Local	Turkish	Mukhtar in the local region	Local governor
Informant 8	Policy implementer/ Regional	Turkish	Institution of Providing Jobs and Employees (ISKUR)	Department manager