

Everyday Politics of Forced Migration

Refugees, Host Community Members, and the Local Context

This dissertation adds to and broadens the literature on forced migration by explaining how everyday politics influence new social dynamics in cities of arrival. Most of the existing research focuses on the Western context and highlights the cultural differences between the host community members and the refugees who arrive from outside of Europe and North America. To analyse whether these findings are applicable in non-Western contexts, I examine a South-South forced migration context through the case of Çarşamba. I argue that everyday politics has been overlooked in the literature and explain why everyday politics is important to understand the new social dynamics following a refugee influx that leads to sudden demographic changes. I analyse the dynamics of everyday politics between host community members and refugees and their perceptions of local state authorities through two research streams: local governance and intergroup encounters and engage them with the role of urban public spaces in everyday politics. I theorise that both host community members and refugees engage in micro manifestations of implicit and explicit reactions to sudden demographic change in their everyday lives. The results show that everyday politics is a key aspect in explaining why social conflict is not specific to South-North forced migration contexts and can also be observed in South-South contexts.



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DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE



UNIVERSITY OF
GOTHENBURG

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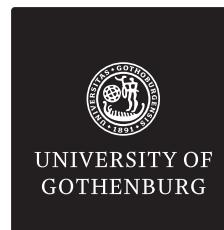
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DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

*For my grandparents,
Zehra and Recep*

Abstract

This dissertation adds to and broadens the literature on forced migration by explaining how everyday politics influence new social dynamics in cities of arrival. Most of the existing research focuses on the Western context and highlights the cultural differences between the host community members and the refugees who arrive from outside of Europe and North America. To analyse whether these findings are applicable in non-Western contexts, I examine a South-South forced migration context in which both groups share the religion (Islam) but not the language (Turkish vs Arabic) through the case of Çarşamba (a district of the province of Bursa in Turkey). I argue that everyday politics has been overlooked in the literature and explain why everyday politics is important to understand the new social dynamics following a refugee influx that leads to sudden demographic changes. I analyse the dynamics of everyday politics between host community members and refugees and their perceptions of local state authorities through two research streams: local governance and intergroup encounters. I expand these research streams by engaging them with the role of urban public spaces in everyday politics. I theorise that both host community members and refugees engage in micro manifestations of implicit and explicit reactions to sudden demographic change in their everyday lives. I demonstrate this in three different research papers. In the first paper, I study the role of positionality in conducting interviews with host community members as a host community member in a forced migration context. In the second paper, I analyse the relationship between intergroup encounters in urban public spaces. In the third paper, I study local refugee governance practices to analyse their influence on the everyday lives of refugees. I thereby make methodological, theoretical, and conceptual contributions to forced migration studies. The results show that everyday politics is a key aspect in explaining why social conflict is not specific to South-North forced migration contexts and can also be observed in South-South contexts.

Sammanfattning på svenska

Den här avhandlingen bidrar till och utvidgar litteraturen om tvångsmigration genom att förklara hur vardagspolitik påverkar nya sociala dynamiker i ankomststäder. Tidigare forskning har till stor del fokuserat på den västerländska kontexten och belyser de kulturella skillnaderna mellan värdssamhällets medlemmar och flyktingarna som ankommer utifrån Europa och Nordamerika. För att analysera huruvida dessa fynd är applicerbara i icke-västerländska kontexter, undersöker jag en Syd–Syd tvångsmigrationskontext i vilken båda grupper delar religionen (Islam), men inte språket (Turkiska vs Arabiska) genom fallet Çarşamba (ett distrikt i provinsen Bursa i Turkiet). Jag argumenterar att vardagspolitiker har blivit förbisedda i litteraturen och förklarar varför vardagspolitiker är viktiga för att förstå de nya sociala dynamiker som åtföljer en invandringsström som leder till plötsliga demografiska förändringar. Jag analyserar dynamikerna i vardagspolitiken mellan värdssamhällets medlemmar och flyktingar och deras perceptioner av lokala statliga myndigheter genom två forskningsströmmar: lokal förvaltning och tvärgruppsmöten. Jag utvidgar dessa forskningsströmmar genom att sammankoppla dem med rollen av urbana offentliga utrymmen i vardagspolitiken. Jag teoretiseras att både värdssamhällets medlemmar och flyktingar engagerar sig i mikromanifestationer av implicita och explicita reaktioner till plötsliga demografiska förändringar i sina vardagliga liv. Jag demonstrerar detta i tre olika forskningspapper. I det första pappret studerar jag rollen av positionellitet genom intervjuer med medlemmar av värdssamhället som medlem av värdssamhället i ett tvingat migrationssammanhang. I det andra pappret analyserar jag relationen mellan tvärgruppsmöten i urbana offentliga utrymmen. I det tredje pappret studerar jag flyktlingsförvaltningspraktiker för att analysera deras inflytande på flyktingars dagliga liv. Jag lämnar därmed metodologiska, teoretiska och konceptuella bidrag till studier om tvångsmigration. Resultaten visar att vardagspolitik är en nyckelaspekt i att förklara varför sociala konflikter inte är specifika för Syd–Nord tvångsmigrationskontexter utan kan även observeras i Syd–Syd kontexter.

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Introduction

'We left Syria one day after the chemical attack', said one of the interviewees in Çarşamba, Bursa, Turkey. She is one of the many Syrian refugees who settled in Çarşamba, a district that has undergone an immense demographic change in the last decade since the arrival of Syrian refugees in 2011. She is also one of the three and a half million Syrian refugees in Turkey, whose arrival led to demographic changes in many cities. At the beginning of their arrival, Syrians settled in refugee camps near the Turkish–Syrian border. Yet, within a few years, parallel to the sudden refugee influx with increasing numbers of arrivals, Syrians started to spread across the country and settle in cities. What happens when a new incoming population comes to settle in cities?

The arrival of new immigrants and refugee groups into cities marks a watershed of significant change (Clayton, Ferwerda, and Horiuchi 2019). This change is even more palpable when the arrival occurs in large influxes, which involves people moving to particular city areas in large volumes within a relatively short period¹. This kind of large-scale influx has a substantial impact on the existing social dynamics that can lead to either functioning multiculturalism (Howard and Andreouli 2016; Wessendorf 2014) or intensified fractionalisations between groups (Kaufmann 2014; Putnam 2007). Either way, new social orders emerge and social negotiations

¹ Jacobsen (1996: 657) defines refugee influx as that 'which occurs when, within a relatively short period (a few years), large numbers (thousands) of people flee their places of residence for the asylum country'. Hopkins (2010) argues that seven percent change in the past decade can be considered 'sudden'; a term that he also applies to his study. Based on these approaches, although I take percentage change into consideration, I find Jacobsen's term more appropriate because 'sudden' depends on the context.

between host community members (HCMs) and refugees shift with population influx. These new social orders that were formed subsequent to a demographic change in the cities are significantly under-explored in the forced migration literature.

Given that the incoming population, as much as the local policies and refugees, also influence the HCM population². Having analysed these new social dynamics, Bansak, Hainmueller, and Hangartner (2016, 2017) have argued that when it comes to refugees, HCMs have acceptance preferences for 'more similar' cultures, like Christians over Muslims and European immigrants over their Middle Eastern counterparts (For instance see Bansak, Hainmueller, and Hangartner 2016, 2017). These results coincide with the increasing racism and symbolic threat deriving from cultural differences as perceived by European HCMs, which in return have had a significant impact on the widespread opposition to refugees and migrants. Thus, the assumption should be that cultural similarities would lead to more acceptance and fewer conflicts when there are more commonalities (Byrne 1971). Hence, this indicates that we cannot expect the findings to be similar with countries in the Global North and the Global South, considering most of the migration movements in the Global South happen within neighbouring countries (Zhou 2021).

Yet, the tenth anniversary of the arrival of Syrian refugees in Turkey has demonstrated that this has not been the case. Over the years, there has been increasing opposition to Syrian refugees by the HCMs that has led to social conflicts (Şimşek 2015; Terzioğlu 2017; Toğral Koca 2016). This increase is reflected in one of the latest national polls conducted in July 2019, where 82% of the respondents agreed with the statement 'all Syrians must be sent

back, and I do not approve of the policy of the government regarding Syrians' (Kirişci 2021). The studies on Syrian refugees in Turkey revealed how previous studies failed to expand the contextual analysis not only beyond the Global North but also beyond the existing focus on local refugee governance and intergroup encounters. Departing from this inference, I decided to inquire what hitherto has been overlooked in the literature.

In this dissertation, I address this inquiry by presenting the concept of everyday politics in the forced migration literature. In that regard, I define everyday politics as a concept explaining how interactions between HCMs and refugees shape everyday behaviours, both implicitly and explicitly, following their encounters in demographically changing areas in the aftermath of a refugee influx. These behaviours cover various social dynamics of everyday life within the contexts of forced migration in which everyday life influences one's psychology, perception of others, and navigation of possible interactions (Billig 1995; Howarth 2017). Therefore, I argue that to develop an in-depth analysis of the new social dynamics following demographic changes, we need to understand the role of everyday politics within forced migration.

Existing literature on everyday politics describes it by involving not only the individuals but also the social change that revolves around them that is 'rooted in everyday settings' (Boyte 2005: 4). Kerkvliet (2009) puts peasant societies at the centre of his analysis and describes everyday politics as the system in which ordinary citizens manifest their everyday political behaviour in their interpersonal relations. To do so, the author sets out official politics, which involves authorities and policies, and advocacy politics, to describe the relations of citizens with authorities. He further argues that everyday politics is the manifestation of political acts in a subtle form towards authorities (Kerkvliet 2009: 231–233). This approach

² I use the term 'HCMs' to refer to the entirety of the host community to be more inclusive. I explain the use of this term more in detail in the 'Turkey as a Case Study' section.

overlaps with Bayat's (2013) definition of everyday politics in which ordinary citizens adopt forms of encroachment to resist the authorities through daily practices that can have the potential to change macro-level policies. Yet, everyday politics in these studies is mainly limited to citizens' use of their agency, their democratic practices through political participation in public life to demand, directly or subtlety, political rights from authorities through struggle (See Arampatzi 2017; Hobson and Seabrooke 2007; Mitchell 2005; Yates 2015).

In migration studies, on the other hand, everyday politics is mostly discussed in relation to the everyday life dynamics of diversity (Peters and Haan 2011), experiences and perspectives on the difference (Fox and Jones 2013; Piekut and Valentine 2017; Wise 2016), and living in a multicultural city (Amin 2002; Wessendorf 2014). Everyday life is also analysed in relation to the macro-migration policies as bordering, deportation, and sanctioning (Borelli 2019; De Genova 2002; Gilbert 2009; Varsanyi 2008). The studies on everyday life and the micro-outcomes of macro-level policies highlight attitudes of HCMs towards the changes in their social environment and how these changes are perceived. Furthermore, these studies encapsulate migrants' interactions with the authorities and how migrants experience these interactions in their everyday lives. As the core aspect of migration studies concerns the HCMs and the incoming population, the need to analyse the social dynamics between these two groups becomes more evident. However, the current migration studies are focusing on either the HCM and migrant relations or the migrants' relations with authorities.³ Yet, these studies fall short of taking everyday politics as the context in which interactions of all actors occur, in addition to the

interpersonal relations in this context through the daily practices of HCMs and migrants.

Despite the gaps in the literature, I argue that one thing becomes clear: by overlooking the role of everyday politics, we risk the potential to unravel the impact of daily social dynamics in the micro-level outcomes. I aim to fill this gap by unravelling the social dynamics of everyday life in forced migration studies. Therefore, I adopt everyday politics as a term and distinguish it from the existing descriptions in two ways.

First, I involve everyday politics in forced migration as the central concept to disentangle the behaviours of individuals, both HCMs and refugees, in their interaction with each other and with the surrounding context. Therefore, cognizant of everyday political behaviour and not being able to 'opt in or opt out of everyday politics' (Kerkvliet 2009: 240), I analyse the behavioural outcomes of HCMs and refugees in areas undergoing demographic change by examining HCM and refugee behaviours directed to both one another and authorities. Hence one can observe everyday politics as an umbrella concept that captures various aspects of everyday life in which individuals find themselves ubiquitously in these contexts.

Second, I include everyday politics as a concept to understand the dynamics of forced migration. I offer a novel way of thinking about a phenomenon that carries the potential of becoming political and seeing what is politically significant. Beveridge and Koch (2019) state the political potential of everyday life in our socio-spatial relations is a source that individuals thrive from. Once again, since one cannot opt in or out of everyday politics in areas undergoing demographic change, I argue that everyday politics manifest itself in the immediate spatial proximity of an individual's

³ I further discuss the studies that detail HCMs, migrants, and local authorities within the migration studies in detail in 'Theoretical Framework' section.

life, whether an HCM or a refugee, and should be considered politically significant in forced migration contexts.

Thus, I focus on the urban public spaces within neighbourhoods where 'everyday life' unfolds, overlaps, and results in expression of new sentiments, feelings, and opinions in the day-to-day utterances and practices of ordinary people (Bayat 2013: 14). Neighbourhoods include the immediate spaces where individuals interact with others and where they can observe and experience each other's everyday lives (Petermann 2014; Peters 2010; Valentine 2008). This also coincides with the understanding of urban public spaces as spaces of 'a social instance' that brings together 'economic, cultural, ideological, and political instances' (Capanema Alvares and Barbosa 2018: 2). I treat these immediate surroundings and networks as areas where political behaviours are shaped (Amin 2008) and focus on a particular context that reveals which aspects of everyday life become salient in migration studies (Wimmer 2004).

Everyday politics is not a new concept but combining the two aspects stated above and recognizing the individual and her surroundings to have a role in her daily behaviours in forced migration contexts is recent. Hence, in my research, I set out to answer: *How does everyday politics manifest itself in the social dynamics of neighbourhoods that are undergoing a demographic change following a refugee influx within a South–South context?* By addressing this question, I use the concept of everyday politics to demonstrate the interactions between individuals in contexts marked by demographic change, to describe everyday politics as it happens in these contexts, and how everyday politics is manifested through individuals' behaviour. Thus, I show how individuals' behaviour becomes part of everyday politics in the context of forced migration

through the interactions they have with one another in urban public spaces.

Furthermore, this dissertation makes a novel empirical contribution to the literature by exploring a South–South forced migration context: HCMs of Turkey and Syrian refugees. I conduct my analysis based on the case of the Çarşamba district in the Bursa province of Turkey and adopt an in-depth qualitative approach that offers an exploratory empirical analysis. Moreover, as Turkey has hosted the highest number of Syrian refugees in the last decade (the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] 2021), it serves as a critical case study by offering insights into the strategic importance of sudden demographic change (Flyvbjerg 2006: 229; Gerring 2006: 115).

On that account, there lie two prominent reasons behind my selection of Turkey as a case study for my research. The first reason is the potential of critical cases in offering a nuanced view of reality through the description. Therefore, studying them allows for a detailed demonstration of variations based on theoretical interest (Seawright and Gerring 2008: 296). The second reason is that critical cases allow for an in-depth analysis of causal mechanisms rather than causal effects. This enables researchers to expand existing theories by offering theoretical propositions and generating hypotheses through the detailed knowledge gained through exploratory analysis. Therefore, I present 'an intensive study of a single unit for the purpose of understanding a larger class of (similar) units' (Gerring 2004: 342). Thus, the findings on everyday politics in Turkey will be valid for cases in areas that have been through similar demographic changes associated with a sudden refugee influx and that are comparable in their case characteristics (Small 2009). These findings will also present a compelling case about the

influences of refugee influxes in countries with developing migration regimes.

I operationalise everyday politics through (1) the social context of forced migration, (2) the actors, (3) the micro-level outcomes of these actors' interactions, and (4) the local governance practices within this context. I approach everyday politics and its elements through the *politicised places hypothesis* developed by Hopkins (2010). This hypothesis suggests that the local context is important when a sudden demographic change involving incoming waves of immigrants, accompanied by salient national rhetoric, influences the attitudes of individuals in that area because 'they will find it easier to draw conclusions from their experiences' (Hopkins 2010: 43). Moreover, analysing individuals' behaviours as part of everyday politics demonstrates what happens in human interaction when it occurs in the context of forced migration. Therefore, I argue that the context in which everyday politics unfolds becomes a crucial part of the analysis of everyday life for it helps portray the local perceptions and casual encounters.

As an addition to this hypothesis, I argue that the analysis of everyday politics also unveils the everyday dynamics that influence HCMs and newcomers. For the contextual focus of this dissertation, I select a geographically defined area that consists of multiple neighbourhoods (see the 'Case Study, Methodology and Ethics' section). Neighbourhoods are areas where individuals influence each other due to spatial proximity and the local effect of demographic change is observable (Huckfeldt 1986). Thus, I define the social context of forced migration as the neighbourhoods and certain areas in cities undergoing demographic change following a large refugee influx. I focus on a case with one dominant newcomer group rather than multiple diverse groups living together. This allows me to dig deeper into the contextual factors over time as long

as the influence of the sudden demographic change persists, while using everyday politics as an umbrella term to cover all the interactions that happen in this context.

The actors that I focus on within this context are the HCMs and newcomers. The sudden shift in demographics in local contexts reveals itself through visible indicators during the encounters between intergroup members (Wright and Citrin 2011). These indicators comprise racial, religious, and ethnic elements, among others. Thus, within a politicised context, I base my analysis on the concept of *group membership*, that is, 'objective inclusion in a group and does not necessitate an internalised sense of membership' in which 'group members need to share common interests or at least perceive that they do' (Huddy 2013: 738, 750). This is not to downplay the importance of identifying differences between individuals or groups in terms of class, religion, ethnicity, and so forth. Yet, I situate my analysis under the assumption that identities are embedded in social contexts (Howarth et al. 2013).

I propose that group membership is as likely to be influenced by social dynamics of everyday life as other identities within the social context of forced migration. This is also not to ignore the differences in how individuals identify group membership. However, I do not analyse why some individuals identify more with certain groups than others. Therefore, I rely on the assumption that individuals bring something, explicitly or implicitly, to the interaction related to their group, which influences their political behaviours (Huddy 2013).

I conceptualise these political behaviours as *micro-manifestations* of everyday behaviours, which I define as the micro-level behavioural outcomes of micro-encounters of intergroup encounters that derive from everyday politics and that occur within the social context of forced migration. It has been already put forth

that micro–encounters between HCMs and immigrants influence macro–level outcomes such as trust in institutions (Dinesen and Sonderskov 2015), immigration policy preferences (Enos 2014; Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014; Hangartner et al. 2019), immigrants' rights and access to welfare systems (Finseraas and Kotsadam 2017), and political party preferences that mainly increase support for right–wing parties (Dinas et al. 2019). However, one possible drawback of such focus in the literature is that it discourages scholars from analysing the micro–level outcomes of micro–encounters.

In addition to the above–mentioned research, I add the reflections of micro–manifestations towards local refugee governance operating in this context. Migrants' and refugees' influence in the city is as important as the city's influence on refugees, who are participants in all aspects of city life (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009). Due to this mutual influence, it follows that while the city gains a pull factor for migrants; arriving migrants simultaneously influence the socioeconomic and sociocultural elements of the city through their everyday life activities and interactions with HCMs. Therefore, I argue that everyday politics should also incorporate perspectives of refugees towards local governance in the social context of forced migration when demographic change influences locally developed refugee policies.

Hence, I analyse and present my findings on everyday politics within the social context of forced migration in three papers. The first paper focuses on the methodological aspect of the study by analysing how intergroup encounters affect the data collection process. In this paper, I raise the following question to contribute to the positionality debate in the literature: *How do HCMs perceive a researcher who shares a local origin with them when the interview questions are about the refugees residing in the same local*

context? The findings of this paper amount to a methodological contribution to migration research when the interviewees perceive the researcher as 'one of them'. I term this position as the 'assigned insider' and place it on the insider/outsider spectrum. This paper also offers an in–depth insight into how I conducted the interviews with HCMs. Positionality constitutes a widely discussed topic of interest in migration studies due to its role in the researcher–interviewee dynamics during interviews. By introducing a new category that appends one more layer to the positionality spectrum, I aim to provide a roadmap for the researchers conducting fieldwork as migration researchers in their country of origin against the potential challenges shaped by the local dynamics and the topic of interest.

In the second paper, the main question I raise is the following: *How do HCMs restructure their spatial behaviours in urban public spaces in their everyday lives following a large refugee influx?* In this paper, I introduce the concept of 'spatial strategies' to demonstrate the variations in HCMs' everyday behaviours in different urban public spaces in a refugee influx area. This concept links the attitudes of HCMs towards refugees to behaviours and demonstrates why an increasing number of outgroup members might not increase positive contact. I find that, first, there are different types of urban public spaces according to HCMs when evaluating refugees' use of these different spaces. Second, moving from attitudes to behaviours, I demonstrate that while HCMs can have different attitudes towards refugees, manifesting these attitudes in a spatial manner can occur in similar behaviour. Third, analysing a South–South context, I find that symbolic threat perceptions of HCMs deriving from ethnic differences in urban public spaces, both leisure– and need–based, are also triggering for HCMs when there are commonalities. These findings have the potential to identify the mechanisms in migration studies that explain why, in contexts of a

large refugee influx, an increasing number of outgroup members might not increase positive contact between ingroup and out-group members.

In the third paper, I raise the question: *How do refugees perceive the regulations of government officials in their neighbourhoods?* In this paper, I introduce the concept of 'everyday regulations' and define it as all formal and informal practices implemented by local authorities to manage, organise, and control the daily lives of refugees within neighbourhood spaces. I argue that studying the everyday politics of local refugee policies in neighbourhood spaces, especially through the everyday regulations imposed within neighbourhood spaces, enables the differentiation of the operative areas of local actors and, thus, the aspects of refugee life that they aim to regulate. Focusing on local refugee governance in relation to everyday politics, I demonstrate that Syrian refugees regard everyday regulations as both discriminatory and acceptable. As a theoretical contribution, I argue that understanding the dynamics of everyday politics can potentially explain why some local refugee policies work better than others through detailing the differences in refugee perceptions towards local refugee governance.

Through the abovementioned theoretical and methodological contributions, I demonstrate three main reasons why understanding everyday politics is crucial for analysing any social context of forced migration. First, overlooking the micro-level outcomes of intergroup encounters carry the risk of drawing insufficient conclusions regarding why conflicts persist. Analysing the role of everyday politics that shape individuals' everyday lives, which constitutes an important political element, further disentangles the intergroup encounters. Second, studying everyday politics in forced migration contexts enables us to understand individuals' behaviours

in addition to their attitudes, which are crucial elements of everyday politics that combine all aspects of intergroup encounters. Third, analysing everyday politics within local policymaking highlights the approaches to local refugee governance in contexts that have undergone or are undergoing demographic changes. In this dissertation, I present empirical evidence to support these arguments to analyse the current and potential governance of and intergroup encounters in forced migration. In that regard, the findings of this study carry the potential to contribute to future research and policymaking in forced migration.

This introductory chapter is organised as follows. The second section describes the theoretical framework of the dissertation and defines the core concepts in more detail. The third section details the context of the case study. The fourth section provides an overview of the methodology, and the fifth section discusses ethics. The sixth section summarises the findings of each paper in the dissertation. The seventh and final section discusses the research implications of this study for forced migration studies, policymaking, and future steps.

2

Theoretical Framework

Constructing the core of the social dynamics of everyday politics, the theoretical overview of this dissertation focuses on two research areas: local governance of forced migration and intergroup encounters in the context of forced migration. In various cases, these two areas are treated as separate, complementary, or mutually influential. By bringing everyday politics into forced migration studies, I show how these two research streams are actually intertwined, how their influence mutually permeates in everyday life, and why studying everyday politics in reference to both streams is important.

To show how these streams are situated in my research, I first review the literature on the local governance of forced migration, both at arrival and after arrival. Then, I review the literature on intergroup encounters to demonstrate the occurrences after the arrival of refugees and focus on the interaction of governance and intergroup encounters while pinpointing the gaps in the literature. Finally, I bring in urban public spaces, theorised through the concept of the right to the city, to show the nexus of these research areas to develop the contribution of everyday politics.

2.1 Local Governance in Forced Migration

Castles (2003) states that forced migration includes refugee flows, asylum seekers, internal displacement, and development-induced displacement that result from political persecution, ethnic conflict,

limited access to resources, and human rights abuse. Refugees are recognised and protected by the 1951 Refugee Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. This Convention defines a refugee as 'someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion' (Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees 1951: 3). The individuals who fall under this category enter the queue of asylum and stay within designated areas defined by the host country or aid agencies until they legally become refugees. As not all countries are party to the Convention, different approaches to refugee governance are being adopted at national and, particularly, local levels.

The local level involves the scalar and spatial dimensions in the discussion around urban refugees. Its scalar dimension concerns different actors from different governmental levels gathered through various networks and interactions, such as the national and local or the international and local (Brenner 2000; Swyngedouw 1992). Its spatial dimension ties the local level to its geographical standing. At the local level, this dimension considers the area of focus to be fixed, but the interactions within the local limit to be nested, interactive, and mobile (Bin Wong 2006; Collyer 2014). Thus, the local level becomes the area in which local refugee governance occurs.

Almost up until a decade ago, most migration and asylum policies had been debated within the sphere of national policy (Arnold-Fernández 2019). Parallel to the increasing importance of cities in the last decade, the 'local turn' in migration governance has gained more attention, which focuses on how local authorities address diversity through local problem-solving immigration policies

(Caponio and Borkert 2010; Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, and Scholtens 2017). Diversity is a context where 'individuals and communities from different cultures continually encounter one another' (Allen and Cars 2001: 2204). Hence, diversity is mostly evaluated at the local level, specifically in neighbourhoods, where it is observed firsthand. The literature that focuses on diversity mostly involves studying everyday politics in the neighbourhood spaces of diversity. This approach highlights the importance of the contextual elements of the locality when considering local policymaking. As the requirements of different contexts vary, so does the local governance of diversity.

The same applies to local refugee governance. Refugee governance is defined as the governance mechanisms targeting newcomers' incorporation, access to rights and services. It also involves reception policies with various actors from different levels, border controls, controls on the lives of newcomers in cities, and settlement and integration policies that shape the lives of refugees in cities (Şahin Mencütek 2020). Local refugee governance involves the extension of these governance patterns while responding and adjusting to the features of the local context. This mainly becomes evident in local integration policies of refugee governance.

Local integration policies focus on the city-level incorporation of refugees that is presented as a durable solution to the protracted refugee situation. This situation includes all the events wherein 'refugees find themselves in a long-lasting intractable state of limbo' (UNHCR 2004). In that regard, local integration for refugees can be defined according to its legal, economic, and social aspects. The legal aspect aims to grant rights to acquire citizenship of the host country; the economic aspect aims to achieve sustainable self-reliance and livelihood; and the social aspect aims to address topics related to refugees' inhabitance with the host

community (Meyer 2008: 6–7). Everyday politics is particularly concerned with the social aspect of local refugee governance, and its social aspects are mostly discussed in relation to diversity management due to the spatial proximity of different groups (Cook, Dwyer, and Waite 2011).

In the literature, both diversity and local refugee governance are predominantly studied in the contexts of North America and Europe. While this provides much insight into understanding the local, it also overlooks the potential differences that can arise from contextual variations as the South–South forced migration governance has been understudied. Primary examples of South–South migration literature emerged parallel to the development of forced migration studies. These studies highlight the shifting contexts of the governance of forced migration and migration policies, such as in Nairobi (Campbell 2006), Malawi (Callamard 1994), and Uganda (Kaiser 2006) and put forth that, unlike in the contexts of North America and Europe, local integration occurs through de facto means since not all countries recognise arriving individuals as refugees.

Jacobsen defines the de facto local integration of refugees as 'when they are not in physical danger, are not confined to camps and settlements, have the right to return to their country, are able to sustain livelihoods, can support themselves and their families, have access to education or vocational training, health facilities, housing, and are socially networked into the host community' (2001: 9). This is particularly important in the countries that host refugees without offering them the option of being legally integrated into the country. This leads refugees either to stay in designated areas until the UNHCR resettles them or to become self-settled refugees. Self-settled refugees are the ones who act on their own initiative to settle outside the designated areas without

official assistance (Jacobsen 2001). Studying South–South migration expands the knowledge on the conditions of refugees and shows how this shift in focus to South–South migration can offer a different understanding of local refugee governance.

The focus on South–South forced migration regained importance parallel to the exodus of Syrian refugees, as many scholars started to pay attention to migration and refugee governance dynamics, particularly concerning Syrian refugees and their places of arrival. These studies focus on forced migration management in the Global South (Adamson and Tsourapas 2020; Tsourapas 2019); municipal governance of Syrian refugees and local politics in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey (Betts, Ali, and Memişoğlu 2017; Carpi and Senoguz 2018; Mourad 2021); migration policy changes and developments in North Africa and Turkey (Mourad and Norman 2019; Norman 2019, 2020); and multi-level governance of refugees in Arab states (Fakhoury 2019). Yet, despite this growing literature, there are still many issues that need to be studied regarding South–South forced migration. This dissertation aims to contribute to the field by introducing the approach of local refugee governance and everyday politics.

2.2 Intergroup Encounters

In the literature, intergroup encounters have been analysed through encounter type and context. Within the context of migration, intergroup encounters involve HCMs and newcomers, where newcomers can be the members of the same group or various groups that eventually lead to ingroup and outgroup differentiation (Tajfel 1978). Thus, in this study, I define intergroup encounters as all the interactions that occur between the HCMs and the newcomers. Intergroup encounters fall under three categories: positive contact, negative contact, and exposure (Allport 1954; Barlow et

al. 2012; Dinesen and Sonderskov 2015). These encounters occur in contexts on various geographical scales ranging from the national to the neighbourhood level. In this section, I review the literature by focusing on the types of encounters and incorporating the role of context into these encounters.

According to the contact theory (Allport 1954), which regards contact as positive contact, intergroup contact reduces prejudice. Nevertheless, the hypothesised effect is operatively conditional, where prejudice reduction occurs if the following conditions are met: the parties have (1) equal group status within the situation, (2) common goals, (3) intergroup cooperation, and (4) the support of authorities, law, or customs (Pettigrew 1998). Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) argue that prejudice reduction occurs through the mediating role of increasing knowledge about and empathy for the outgroup and decreasing anxiety about intergroup contact. These studies revealed that the conditions and ways of prejudice reduction apply differently to ingroup and outgroup members, stronger for the former and weaker for the latter (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005). These differences signal variations not only in the impact of contact on different group members but also in the content of the contact.

Thus, scholars building on this theory state that not all contact occurs positively, concluding that when the contact does not manifest itself as positive, it has a deteriorating impact on the outcomes of the encounters (Barlow et al. 2012). This has been categorised as negative contact, which leads individuals to deepen their existing prejudices resulting from an unpleasant encounter that manifests itself as 'awareness of their group membership' (Paolini, Harwood, and Rubin 2010: 1724). These manifestations lead to avoidance of intergroup contact in everyday contexts, wherein an opportunity to establish contact presents itself but is

not taken by the individuals, which eventually leads to negative perceptions dominating positive ones (Paolini et al. 2018).

However, what happens in the absence of contact? To address this, rather than positive or negative contact, scholars have focused on exposure as another form of encounter resulting from the interaction. 'Contact' refers to an intimate form of social interaction between different ethnic groups, while 'exposure' means casually being around different ethnic groups (Dinesen and Sonderskov 2015). The difference derives from the assumption that while contact might only occur in certain contexts, exposure is very likely to be experienced by every individual in any context. For instance, while the level of interaction might increase with exposure, this does not necessarily mean that there will be contact. Thus, the level of interaction might stay at the level of 'coexistence without mixing' (Laurence 2014: 1331) while exposure remains constant.

The exposure approach adopts intergroup threat theory to measure the influence of threat on the outcomes of intergroup encounters. Intergroup threat theory suggests that an increase in the number of outgroup members creates adverse attitudes and behaviours in the ingroup members towards the incoming group, generated by realistic and symbolic threats (Blalock 1967; Riek, Mania, and Gaertne 2006). Although realistic threats are operative in intergroup encounters, such as in labour market competition (Kunovich 2017; Quillan 1995), other threats manifest themselves more often in 'symbolic' terms due to the nature of the differences between group members. Symbolic threat results from clashing values and norms (Blalock 1967; Blumer 1958; Bobo and Hutchings 1996). Symbolic threat perceptions are shaped by how anxiety comes to reflect upon the intergroup encounters, and it is mostly triggered by anxiety, which has three components: affective (feelings of uneasiness and stress), cognitive (fear of misunderstanding,

fear of discrimination, and fear of disapproval by the individual's ingroup members), and physiological (impact of anxiety on the bodily functions) (Stephan 2014). Although realistic and symbolic threats are often intertwined, Hainmueller and Hopkins (2014) argue that symbolic threat perceptions override realistic threat perceptions in terms of HCMs' attitudes towards immigrants because immigration often involves different ethnic groups.

As mentioned earlier, the context in which the encounter occurs has a significant impact on the type and the outcomes of the encounter. It has been shown that intergroup encounters naturally occur in contexts where there is an increase in the outgroup size (McLaren 2003; Pettigrew, Ulrich, and Oliver 2010; Schlueter and Scheepers 2010; Schneider 2008; Semyonov et al. 2004; Van Assche et al. 2014; Von Hermanni and Neumann 2019). Outgroup size can be defined in objective or subjective terms. While the former refers to the actual number of outgroup group members within a given area, the latter looks at the perception of HCMs and how many outgroup members they think there are within a given area. The above-mentioned studies found that a subjective increase in the outgroup size is sufficient to influence the attitudes of HCMs towards newcomers. How this influence occurs depends on contextual elements that render contact and threat salient (Pettigrew, Wagner, and Christ 2010).

Similar to the literature on migration and refugee governance, the literature on intergroup encounters focuses, maybe even more heavily, on South–North migration contexts in North America and Europe (see exception Grabska 2006). Thus, the South–South context of intergroup encounters remains relatively understudied. However, the exodus of Syrian refugees, as in the context of forced migration governance, shifted the attention of scholars to study the attitudes towards refugees (Alrababah et al. 2020). There also exist

similar studies on host community members and Congolese refugees in Rwanda (Fajth et al. 2019), Burmese refugee camp residents' social structures in Thailand (Bochmann 2018), Ivorian refugees in Liberia (Hartman and Morse 2020), and attitudes towards refugees in Sub-Saharan Africa (Rosenzweig and Zhou 2021). Yet, these studies focus either on the host community side or on the refugee side of the subject. In this dissertation, I contribute to the literature by focusing on both HCMs and refugees within the South–South forced migration context.

2.3 Everyday Politics in Forced Migration

As outlined earlier, I define everyday politics as the various social dynamics of everyday life that form one's perception of others. The reflections of these perceptions are observed in the immediate areas of spatial proximity in an individual's life within everyday spaces. Thus, I focus on the role of urban public spaces in reference to the right to the city to analyse the simultaneous reflections of HCMs and refugees onto everyday areas within everyday life.

Lefebvre (1996) describes the right to the city as a right that 'can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life... by all those who inhabit'. This brings in the concept of inhabitance, a status gained by simply living in the city and acting as the basis to enjoy this right. Therefore, the right to the city becomes a practice 'rooted in the everyday practice of inhabiting in urban space' (Purcell 2013: 561) and is enjoyed in the 'routines of everyday life in the spaces of the city' (Purcell 2002: 102). Thus, urban public spaces become the key part of everyday life for all the inhabitants of the city and are the areas in which everyday physical encounters between various individuals and groups occur (Amin 2002; Carr et al. 1992; Van Eijk 2012). It is in these spaces that

individuals can exercise their 'everyday spatial practices' (Valentine 2008: 325).

In my research, urban public spaces constitute the areas where 'everyday spatial practices' are exercised within the context of forced migration. I take the urban public spaces of the neighbourhoods as the focal point that enables me to bring together the lines of study that comprise the main theoretical framework of this dissertation while addressing how they operate simultaneously in the everyday politics of forced migration. Neighbourhoods 'are dynamic social entities and their dynamic character is evident with immigration' (Meier 2017: 255). Within the context of this dynamism, intergroup encounters between refugees and HCMs and local refugee governance come together, with neighbourhoods as the key local contexts for everyday life (Robinson 2010).

Building on this, introducing everyday politics into the study of forced migration enables mapping out the complex contextual elements of local governance and intergroup encounters within forced migration in two aspects. First, to analyse the newly established social negotiations in HCM–refugee dynamics in neighbourhood spaces, I study the local governance aspect of urban public spaces following a refugee influx. This allows me to complete the picture of everyday politics and enables me to demonstrate individuals' ways of encountering the local state authorities that take part in local governance. Depending on the context, the actors involved require different mechanisms of governance that need to evolve. Through this evolution, the local refugee governance and related policies also become about the local governance of everyday life.

Second, what happens in everyday life shapes and influences individuals' political behaviours. Previous studies have shown that the context matters in terms of evaluating encounters. The

presence of different groups within the same context increases the likelihood of encounters. However, the type of encounter with which an individual decides to engage remains a choice (Blokland and Van Eijk 2010). This choice is linked to the manifestations of everyday politics in the everyday behaviours of members of different groups. For this reason, *how* these everyday politics occur is as important as *where* they occur. The literature has not yet paid enough attention to neighbourhood spaces to analyse the everyday behaviours of individuals (see exception Petermann 2014). Studying neighbourhood spaces in-depth and understanding the workings of everyday life expand our understanding of what happens on the ground when we walk out our front door.

3

Turkey as a Case Study

3.1 Refugee Policies and Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Turkey has experienced multiple immigration waves, particularly during the 1990s, which consisted of arrivals from Iraq, ex-Soviet countries, Bosnia, Albania, and African and Central Asian countries (İçduygu and Aksel 2013; Kirişci 2014; Parla 2007). During those waves, the immigrants who gained Turkish citizenship were granted it due to being of 'Turkish descent', as described by the Settlement Law of 2006 (Settlement Law [*İskan Kanunu*]). Because those of Turkish ethnic descent accounted for a small portion of the total number of immigrants in Turkey, a relatively small portion of immigrants were naturalised. Those who did not belong to this category either became irregular migrants in Turkey or applied for resettlement in a third country. However, the most recent immigration wave of Syrians constitutes an unprecedented influx due to the high number of arrivals.

Turkey shares its longest land border with Syria (Figure 1). When the Syrian Civil War broke out in 2011, the first response of the national government was to adopt an open-door policy with the belief that the war would be over soon and that Syrians would return to their home country (Gökalp Aras and Şahin Mencütek 2015; İçduygu 2015; İçduygu and Şimşek 2016). Despite being a party to the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Additional Protocol to the Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees, Turkey

ratified the Convention retaining a 'geographical limitation'. This geographical limitation effectively means that Turkey will only grant refugee status to those originating from European countries. Thus, many individuals who arrived in Turkey had to rely on international organisations for their resettlement in other countries.



Figure 1: Map of Turkey and its neighbouring countries (Created by the author in ArcGIS)

Turkey's ' temporality' approach – the assumption that arriving groups will eventually leave – has been the overarching framework of its migration policy. Turkey has adopted a similar attitude for many years towards many groups. Abdelaaty (2019: 2) explains Turkey's approach as follows:

The refusal to designate specific populations as asylum seekers or refugees enables Turkey to opt in or out of what might otherwise appear to be generally applicable to national-level policies. When it is applied to a refugee group, whether in the context of a mass influx or not, the 'guest' label places them outside the normal operation of the law. It thereby enables Turkey's government to discriminate amongst groups who would otherwise belong to the same legal status, treating some better than others.

However, the large volume of Syrians migrating to Turkey after the onset of the civil war created an unprecedented movement of

people into Turkey and led the government to develop new governance structures.

In 2013, Turkey introduced the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM – GİGM per the Turkish acronym), which was instituted in April 2014. This institution was created as the central authority in charge of foreigners in Turkey under the Ministry of Interior. With the same law that established DGMM, Turkey enacted the Law on Foreigners and International Protection to offer a more comprehensive legislative framework to address the situation of Syrians. Article 1 of this legislation states:

The citizens of the Syrian Arab Republic, stateless persons and refugees who have arrived at or crossed our borders coming from the Syrian Arab Republic as part of a mass influx or individually for temporary protection purposes due to the events that have taken place in the Syrian Arab Republic since 28 April 2011, shall be covered under temporary protection, even if they have applied for international protection. Individual applications for international protection shall not be processed during the implementation of temporary protection.

This article allowed large numbers of Syrians to register under the Temporary Protection framework. As of March 2021, there are 3,641,370 Syrians registered under Temporary Protection status (DGMM 2021) (Table 1).

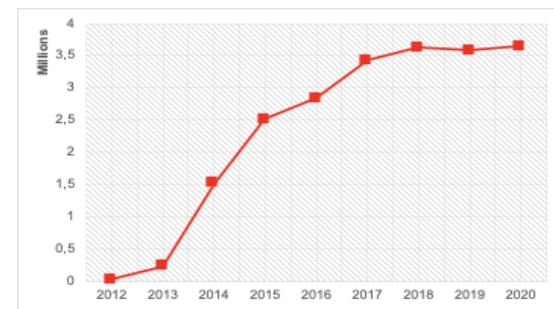


Table 1: Registered Syrians under Temporary Protection (yearly) (DGMM 2021)

All provinces in Turkey have Syrian inhabitants, but Syrian refugees vary substantially across provinces (Figure 2)⁴. Because the DGMM was built on a province-based system, Syrians under Temporary Protection status have access to public services only within their province of registration. For instance, if a Syrian refugee is registered in Bursa, they can access public services only in Bursa. If they wish to change their province of registration, they must apply to the Provincial Migration Management Office in their current province of registration, be granted approval to leave the province, and re-register in the destination province. Most provinces responded to the arrival of Syrian refugees based on their capacity, political motivation, and the resources they could mobilise (Memişoğlu and Yavçan 2020; Sarı and Dinçer 2017; Yıldız and Uzgören 2016). This further increased the discrepancies between cities and resulted in further challenges, the most important of which is the inability to provide accurate statistics on the number of registered Syrian refugees in each province (Adalı and Türkyılmaz 2019).

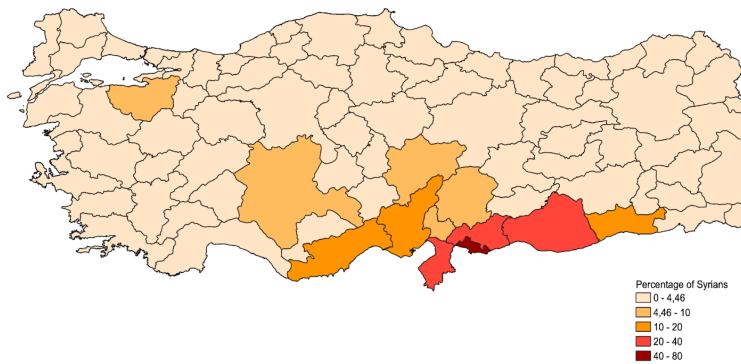


Figure 2: Registered Syrians in provinces (Source: DGMM March 2021) (Created by the author in QGIS)

⁴ Turkey is divided into 81 provinces (*il* in Turkish). Each province is divided into districts. Each provincial government is situated in the central district of each province, for instance the city of Bursa is the central district of the Province of Bursa. The administrator of each province is the Governor (*Vali*), who is appointed by the Ministry of Interior. Most of the time, unofficially, 'province' overlaps with the use of 'city'. However, administratively, 'province' is the official unit.

The available information on the demographics of Syrian refugees in Turkey suggests that Arabs comprise the majority, with the remainder being Turkmen, Kurdish, and other ethnic groups, with an almost equal share of males and females (Erdoğan 2019). The majority are Sunni Muslims, though there are also Alevis and Christians among them. A reported 22.55% of the Syrians are between the ages of 15 and 24, and the Syrians within active working-age are estimated to be around two million (Erdoğan 2019).

Regulations have been introduced to the work-permit legislation and employment conditions of Syrians as well. Most of the Syrians work in the informal sector (Kirişçi and Uysal Kolasin 2019; Yılmaz, Karatepe, and Tören 2019). The 2016 Law on Work Permits for Foreigners under Temporary Protection opened the way for Syrians to get work permits. The law allows registered Syrian refugees who have resided in Turkey for more than six months to apply for a work permit. It also requires employers to employ Syrians only when no Turkish citizen is qualified for the job, and it mandates that no more than 10% of the employees can be Syrian. These restrictions discouraged employers from applying for work permits for Syrians (Kaya, Weidinger, and Yılmaz-Elmas 2020).

3.2 Host Community Members in Turkey

When referring to the citizens of Turkey, I use the term 'HCM' to refer to all citizens living or working in refugee-receiving cities. The term 'HCM' covers all individuals who were there before the arrival of Syrians, unlike the terms like 'local' and 'resident', which carry different connotations. 'Resident' is not sufficient to cover the HCM population because there are people who merely work in a certain location and would not be considered residents in specific contexts, for example, regarding their eligibility to vote for the neighbourhood representative in local elections. The term 'local' is also

insufficient because some HCMs residing in a given area migrated from places both inside and outside Turkey.

The population of Turkey is 83,614,362 (Turkish Statistical Institute [TUIK] 2021). The working-age (15–64) population amounts to 67.7%. The majority of Turkey's population is Turkish, and the largest minority of citizens is of Kurdish ethnicity (19%) (Central Intelligence Agency Factbook 2021). There are also Armenian, Assyrian, Laz, and other minorities. The majority of the population is of Muslim faith (99.8%), composed of mostly Sunni Muslims. Orthodox Christians and Jews make up a small portion of the population (0.2%).

Starting in 2011, the influx of Syrian refugees in Turkey coincided with the gradual growth of social and political polarisation, deepening economic hardship, and weakening political institutions (Aytaç, Çarkoğlu, and Yıldırım 2017; Tansel 2018). Since March 2011, when the first group of Syrians arrived in Turkey, two presidential elections, four general elections (one of which was held simultaneously with one of the presidential elections), and two local elections were held. The Gezi protests in 2013 and the coup attempt in 2016 were the major polarising events that had important ramifications for broader Turkish politics during that period. Moreover, constitutional amendments resulted in a shift in Turkey's political regime through replacing the parliamentary system with a presidential one was approved with the constitutional referendum held in 2017.

Against a backdrop of these developments, which resulted in the prolongation and expansion of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's power, refugee reception and accommodation were conducted almost single-handedly by the President himself⁵. As a

⁵ Turkey is a highly centralised unitary state. Over the past fifteen years, this centralisation has intensified under the rule of the Justice and Development Party (AKP per the Turkish acronym). During these years, two events in particular contributed to the increase in political centralisation and executive

result, the handling of Syrian immigration further fuelled polarisation. Welcoming Syrians has become associated with the Justice and Development Party (AKP per the Turkish acronym) and its discourses of religious solidarity and humanitarian duty (Karakaya Polat 2018). Since the first arrival of Syrians, Erdoğan has declared Syrian refugees as 'our brothers', feeding into the Sunni Muslim rhetoric (Hansen 2016; Letsch 2013). Thus, the support for Syrians' presence in Turkey evolved into a partisan character. However, the latest surveys demonstrate that, especially since the summer of 2019, the extent to which the AKP base supported Syrian refugees has declined over the years despite still being relatively more accepting towards them compared to the base of other parties (KONDA 2016, 2019). This decline is likely a reflection of a shift in the discourse and policies of the authorities, who in 2019 stated that 'those who voluntarily want to go back to Syria can benefit from procedures allowing them to return to unspecified safe areas' (Human Rights Watch 2019).

3.3 The Case of Çarşamba, Bursa

Bursa, located in the northwest of Turkey and distanced roughly two hours to the south of Istanbul by ferry (Figure 3), is one of the industrial centres of Turkey, especially regarding the automotive, textile, furniture, and canned food industries. The city also ranks fourth in Turkey in terms of economic development, and it is one of the largest contributors to GDP (Kaya, Weidinger, and Yılmaz-Elmas 2020). Bursa is the fourth largest province in Turkey, with

aggrandisement. The first was the coup attempt in July 2016 that resulted in a 'state of emergency', which allowed the President to issue decrees with the power of law. This increasing political centralisation has also influenced the migration-related governance of Syrian refugees and intergroup relations. The second was the referendum held in April 2017, in which citizens were asked to approve the amendments changing the regime from a parliamentary system to a presidential one in Turkey. This referendum also solidified the previous attempts for executive aggrandisement. Thus, the President has enormously expanded his influence in recent years, leaving very little autonomy to other actors. Intertwined, these changes constituted a long, gradual incumbent takeover process (Laebens and Öztürk 2020).

3,101,833 million residents (TUIK 2021), and it hosts the second largest population of Syrians (excluding border and near-border provinces), following Istanbul (DGMM 2021).



Figure 3: Location of Bursa with province borders in Turkey (Map created by the author in ArcGIS)

Bursa has also been home to numerous waves of migrants throughout the history of the Turkish Republic: from Eastern and South-Eastern Turkey (Kurds), the Balkans (Muslims and ethnic Turks from Greece, Bosnia, and Bulgaria), and – the biggest wave of all until the arrival of the Syrians – the forced migration of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria in 1989 (Council of Europe 2018; Kaya, Weidinger, and Yılmaz-Elmas 2020). Therefore, it is fair to assume that most of the HCMs of Bursa either have an immigrant background (individually or in the family) or know someone with an immigrant background.

As of March 2021, there are 179,201 registered Syrians in Bursa, constituting 5.86% of the province's population (DGMM 2021). Most of them are from Aleppo, and they predominantly work in the agriculture, textile, and service sectors or have seasonal work (Kaya, Weidinger, and Yılmaz-Elmas 2020). All district municipalities in Bursa have registered Syrians, but there are three areas

especially considered Syrian hubs, two of which are in the periphery of the city (Emek and Yıldırım). The third, Çarşamba district, is within walking distance from the city centre (Figure 4) and has been referred to as 'Little Aleppo' since 2016 (Özdal 2017).

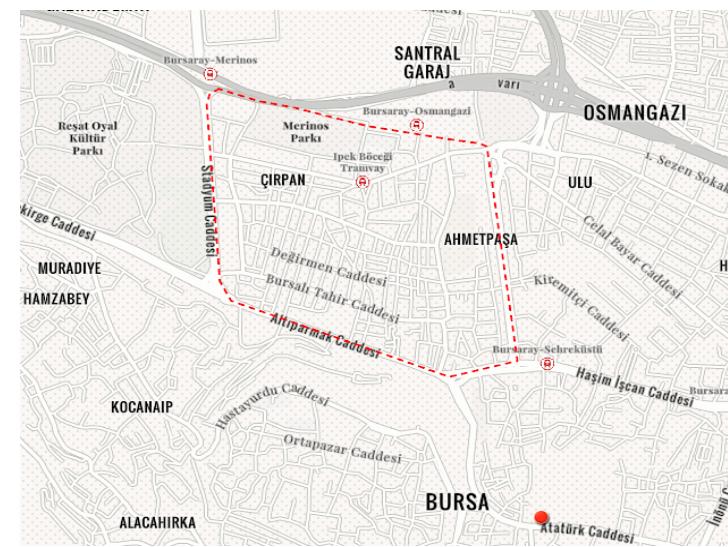


Figure 4: Çarşamba in Bursa (Map created by the author in ArcGIS)

Based on the latest population registry, Çarşamba has an HCM population of approximately 24,000 residents (TUIK 2021). It consists of eight neighbourhoods: Çırpan, Hocahasen, İntizam, Selimiye, Altıparmak, Ahmetpaşa, Aktarhüssam and Şehabettinpaşa. In Çarşamba, there are seven mosques, one big bazaar area, and one big park (Merinos). Moreover, there are many small park-like areas scattered all over the area and multiple playgrounds. Walking from the north to the south of Çarşamba takes twenty minutes, as it does from the west to the east. The centre of Çarşamba (marked with red dashed lines in Figure 4) is twenty

minutes on foot from the city centre (the red dot in Figure 3 indicates the same place as the red dot in Figure 4).

Çarşamba has experienced waves of demographic changes as a result of populations moving to and from the city. The interviews I conducted for this dissertation describe a process of demographic change in Çarşamba, starting with the moving out of upper-middle-class apartment owners to the western parts of the city during the 1980s. The transformation continued with the arrival of sex workers and Roma people as tenants during the 1990s and 2000s. As housing complexes were established in other parts of the city, some tenants moved out to those areas, leaving Çarşamba with a supply of empty apartments and shops. Therefore, when Syrians arrived in Bursa, Çarşamba became an attractive site for its proximity to the centre and the availability of housing options.

3.4 Scope Conditions

The findings of this research underscore the implications of everyday politics and its variations in intergroup encounters. Yet, the case selection is a trade-off (Collier and Mahoney 1996). With a focus on the case of Turkey, I offer in-depth insight with conceptual validity. Both theoretically and empirically, Turkey as a case selection offers three compelling outcomes for generalisation. First, by allowing for an analysis of everyday politics at the intersection of intergroup encounters and local governance, Turkey offers a case that allows tracing how this intersection unfolds. Everyday encounters between HCMs and refugees and how they are reflected in local refugee governance are likely to vary from context to context depending on the composition of groups, refugee influx features, and other elements inherent to the context of encounters and local governance. Yet, I propose contributing to forced migration literature by using everyday politics to expand the intergroup

encounters and local refugee policies. Therefore, the findings of this dissertation will have implications for the local contexts that go through similar forced migration movements.

In that regard, the results of my analysis are generalisable to similar local contexts, to the extent where everyday politics of the HCM population and elements of the incoming refugee population are going through sudden demographic changes. For instance, while Çarşamba is a district with a long history of migration, the findings of my research indicate that the role of the sudden demographic change is more pivotal. These findings can also be tested in similar local contexts as they address variations and identify patterns of behaviours and attitudes. This is not to ignore the contextual elements of Çarşamba. However, as the dissertation unpacks the dynamics of everyday politics through intergroup encounters and local governance simultaneously to understand how they reflect on the behaviours of individuals, I expect the results to hold in contexts with sudden demographic changes of forced migration.

Second, analysing a South–South forced migration context enabled me to contribute to the literature that is more focused on cases where there are some distinct differences but not all. Therefore, the results will be generalisable for the cases in which the arriving refugees share the religion but not the language. For instance, Syrian refugees being Muslim but speaking Arabic signalled the further potential role of linguistic differences to be researched in the future. This also signals to the scholars that, as much as religion, language can be of great importance in shaping the behaviours of HCM populations towards refugees. Thus, I propose that testing the results in contexts where migration movements between neighbouring countries with linguistic and religious similarities will be particularly important. Testing the theoretical propositions in these contexts will offer insights into various

combinations of demographic differences among group members within the local context.

Third, Turkey offers a typical case example of a country that is going through a transition in its migration regime policies with its geopolitical location that serves both as a destination and transit country. While Turkey had many incoming migrant waves, the arrival of Syrian refugees obliged the government of Turkey to develop new refugee policies. Therefore, the case of Turkey helps demonstrate the direct outcomes of everyday politics at the local refugee governance on a day-to-day basis. I propose that the findings of this dissertation will offer guidance to the countries that are going through similar demographic changes that lack or have insufficiently developed refugee policies in addition to countries that are developing refugee policies.

4

Methodology

I employed a qualitative method and combined it with a single-site case study to develop an analysis that is ‘inductive and human-centred and is driven by a desire to learn about the potentially multiple social realities that characterise the setting and its “actors” (or “members”)’ (Yanow, Schwartz-Shea, and Freitas 2008: 114). During the seven field trips I took in the course of two years (December 2017, July 2018, October–November 2018, January 2019, March 2019, July 2019, and September–October 2019), I conducted interviews with both HCMs and Syrian refugees. Interviews are a qualitative method and explore the study of individuals or groups about concepts of interest (Devine 2010: 197). I utilised interviews to collect data and understand ‘how subjective factors influence political decision-making, the motivations of those involved, and the role of agency in events of interest’ (Rathbun 2008: 686). This allowed me to explore the nuances that I aimed to uncover within the selected context.

In total, I conducted 108 semi-structured interviews, 60 of which were with HCMs, 40 of which were with Syrian refugees, and eight of which were with people in positions of power at the local level that served as key informants. As preliminary fieldwork, I conducted interviews with key informants who were selected based on their position at the local government offices, their expertise on the subject of forced migration, and their knowledge of the Syrian refugees in Bursa in December 2017. All following interviews were

conducted over two years in different periods (July 2018, October–November 2018, and September–October 2019). To maximise variation, I used snowball sampling for the HCMs through different key interviewee channels. However, for Syrian refugees, I established a map of streets with Syrian stores to be able to reach the maximum number of individuals. These entail the potential of selection bias, which I address in each paper through discussing my interview selection. Semi-structured interviews allow researchers a certain degree of control over the interview (Fife 2005: 94). During the interviews, I asked twenty-eight questions about the everyday life of HCMs and Syrian refugees (Appendices 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, and 2.2). The semi-structured form of the interviews provided the interviewees with the flexibility in responding to the questions while ensuring that I stay on topic. I provide further information regarding how I conducted interviews in relevant papers.

Additionally, I quite often conducted informal group interviews following the interviews with the HCMs and refugees. I gained much information during these informal group interviews because they could reveal information that might not have come up during the individual interviews (Fife 2005). These group interviews were most often with four to seven individuals who came to listen during the interview and wanted to ask questions or state their opinions about the topics brought up after the interview. Everyone had different opinions, and their discussions among themselves provided substantial and detailed information.

To complement these data, I relied on national and local news and newspaper articles, as well as personal observations from my field notes. The former helped me develop a broader understanding and knowledge beyond the academic literature. For instance, reading columns in local newspapers detailing the demographic change and transformation in Çarşamba was particularly

helpful for developing context-specific questions to both fact-check and further develop the events. I also took extensive field notes, which involved writing down anything and everything I observed during the field studies. They were particularly helpful for reflective thinking (Pacheco-Vega 2019).

In coding my interviews, I followed Saldaña's *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (2012). Relying on synthesis during data analysis (Major and Savin-Baden 2011), I developed a codebook detailing what I aimed to achieve with each code. Codes involve words, sentences and paragraphs that link collected data to their meaning by adding nuance. Their interpretation makes the codes subjective; nonetheless, creating a codebook with explanations can guide readers to understand how patterns were developed. Patterns involve similarity, difference, frequency, sequence, correspondence, and causation (Saldaña 2012: 6). Thus, the pattern-development process involves coding and recoding, in multiple rounds, until the data is refined and appears in the form of concepts. In that regard, I first coded the answers based on questions, which is known as 'structural coding'. Afterwards, I recoded the answers according to their similarities and differences. I recoded twice or, where needed, three times.

After the first round, I also carried out 'simultaneous coding' to allocate data with multiple codes embedded in the answers, which requires more than one code. Then, in the second cycle of coding, I read each code and its components. I checked whether there were patterns while narrowing my focus to several questions in the codebook through 'sub-coding', which is 'a second-order tag assigned after a primary code to detail or enrich the entry' (Saldaña 2012: 77). I accompanied this with 'elaborative coding' to develop the theory further. This is used for coding based on existing theories and concepts, which allowed me to address the gaps in

the literature. Then, I refined, improved, and introduced new patterns. Based on these patterns, as the final step, I developed concepts. Throughout the coding process, I relied on the ATLAS.ti software. In each paper, I reflect on the questions I asked and the concepts I focused on, in addition to discussing my positionality.

5

Ethics

Ethics in political science is always vital because research involves 'human subjects' (Fujii 2012). Considering that I conducted interviews with HCMs in a politically unstable context and with Syrian refugees living under constantly changing structures, it is crucial to address the ethical challenges. In this section, I first elaborate on the research clearance process and data protection process within the context of ethics discussion. Then, I discuss the recruitment of my research assistant, a Syrian refugee residing in Istanbul. Finally, I reflect on the ethical challenges I encountered throughout the research.

To obtain research clearance, I decided to follow the recommendations of the DGMM since the procedure concerning Syrian refugees is not clear. In that regard, I submitted a petition to the DGMM detailing my research topic, the duration of my studies and the objective of my research, along with my drafted interview questions. In response, I received clearance to conduct my research for the entire dissertation period, that is, until the end of my doctoral studies. This clearance helped me not only to conduct interviews with HCMs but also to work with a research assistant when interviewing Syrian refugees. The permission also enabled me to apply for a travel permit for my assistant, which allowed him to stay in Bursa during the interview process without putting him at risk of deportation.

I adopted two approaches during the data collection process: taking handwritten notes instead of recording interviews and requiring verbal consent instead of written consent. I adopted both approaches with a similar motivation: to demonstrate that I intend to protect the confidentiality of the interviews and the anonymity of the participants while maintaining the integrity of the data. Anonymity protects what has been said by interviewees and prevents it from being traced back to them (Saunders, Kitzinger, and Kitzinger 2015). Knowing that what they said would only be noted by hand during the interview and that there would be no risk of someone recognising their voice from the recorded interviews resulted in more open responses. I also refrained from disclosing any information that could lead to their identification, such as the location or type of the shop and replaced this sort of information with more general terms while maintaining the integrity of the content of the interview. Throughout the dissertation, I use the first section of the interview codes while referring to interviewees.

Furthermore, after stating that the interview would be anonymous, it would be contradictory to ask for written consent. This has been notably debated more in recent years (Clark-Kazak 2017; Fujii 2012). This is also one of the underlying reasons that I sought verbal consent. A potential concern that may arise during the informed consent process is participants not adequately understanding what they consent to (Van Liempt and Bilger 2018). There are various reasons for this, such as not being able to say no to the researcher, who may appear to be an authority figure in specific contexts, and not understanding what consent entails. To overcome these risks to a feasible extent and to create the utmost comfort during interviews, I offered the participants my personal information, including where I work, what I do, how they can reach me, and what I would be doing with the data I collected.

When recruiting a research assistant, I was concerned about the dynamics among Syrians. At first, I considered working with a person whose HCM language is Arabic and who is not Syrian. However, considering the variations in the Arabic language and its many dialects, I decided to work with a Syrian who had experience in research and interpretation and translation for researchers. I met my research assistant through my connection to a community centre for Syrian refugees in Istanbul. We had multiple informal meetings. Upon agreeing to work together, I provided him with training on conducting interviews, taking notes, what to ask at which moments, how to transcribe interviews, and potential psychological effects the interviews might have on the interviewer. Choosing a research assistant from Syria enabled faster rapport-building with Syrian refugees.

During my preliminary and actual fieldwork, the political situation in Turkey exacerbated for both its citizens and Syrian refugees. This politically unstable nature of the field I am studying rendered considering the ethical issues of conducting fieldwork even more crucial for my research. In political science, most work is born in dynamic contexts, whether in politically stable or unstable countries. However, unstable political contexts also have additional elements that must be acknowledged both during the data collection process and in the aftermath of the fieldwork (Knott 2019).

Moreover, politically unstable contexts might create compromising situations for the interviewees. Therefore, I had my reservations regarding whether this would be a discouragement for the participants. This was reflected in some potential participants declining my offer to be interviewed so they would 'not get into any type of trouble'. For those who participated, acknowledging that their answers would be anonymous and that there would be no voice recordings enabled them to speak more openly. When they

wanted to talk about something more sensitive or more controversial, they either lowered their voice or asked me to go somewhere quieter where no one else could hear them. Some participants, who were open about their political views, also argued with each other, which was an outcome that I, as the researcher, was responsible for mitigating.

At the same time, the political context of Turkey acted as a source of motivation for HCM interviewees to participate in the interviews. Their eagerness was prompted by the topic of the interviews and its political salience. Indicatively, many expressed the sentiment that 'finally somebody is asking what we think rather than just imposing what authorities want to do'. Moreover, although the context was tense, it was easier for me to build rapport with the interviewees because I was also from Bursa. Interviewees welcomed me into their houses, to their neighbourhood chats, and teahouse discussions. The participants even encouraged others to be interviewed, saying, 'it is safe and there is nothing to worry about'.

While the political context has had both positive and negative outcomes for HCMs, this has not been the case for Syrian refugees, for their status differs fundamentally from that of HCMs. This issue has been raised many times in the literature regarding the discussions about working with vulnerable groups. The vulnerability aspect requires researchers to focus on migrants' personal security concerning their legal status; the precarious and demanding conditions they might be in; their surroundings and living conditions; the power relations with the researcher, authorities, and HCMs; deportation possibilities; and so forth (Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz 2019). Considering these hierarchies, when interviewing Syrians, I disclosed every step I took in my research frankly and acknowledged their reservations if they had any.

Overall, transparency and honesty constitute the main pillars of my ethical approach. Therefore, I adopted 'reflexive openness', which Knott (2019: 148) defines as 'a form of transparency that is methodologically and ethically superior to providing access to data in its raw form, at least for qualitative data'. Transparency improves the quality of the study and enables the researcher who adopts a qualitative approach to enhance their skills while increasing accountability. Similarly, I offer detailed explanations of every step of my research in my papers, including the decisions made before, during and after the fieldwork.

6

Papers in the Dissertation

6.1 Paper I – Broadening the Positionality in Migration Studies: Assigned Insider Category

In this paper (Irgil 2020), I focus on the role of the interviewer's common traits with the interviewees and its influence on the data collection process as a methodological aspect of everyday politics. The existing literature defines this as *positionality* and mainly focuses on contexts in which the researcher is an outsider without a migrant background and is studying a migrant community, or in which the researcher is a migrant studying a migrant community that they belong to or studying a different migrant group. These studies highlight the importance of the issues and ethical elements when researching migrant communities. However, what is mostly overlooked in the literature are the positionality concerns arising in the study of HCMs when the interview questions are about a migrant group and the researcher shares a local origin with the HCMs.

Contributing to the literature on intergroup relations from a methodological perspective, I argue that who asks the questions is as important as the questions themselves when studying migration with an HCM community. Through the logic of inference based on my analysis of the interviews and my observations during these interviews, I find that HCMs develop certain expectations from the researcher based on the commonalities they share with them when the questions concern a migrant community. I coin the term

describing the position ascribed to the researcher under this context as *assigned insider* and propose that this position emerges when (1) both the interviewees and the researcher are of the same local origin; (2) the researcher is considered ‘an insider of the host community’; and (3) the interview questions are about a migrant group.

The assigned insider category has two particular elements that distinguish it from previously existing categories. The first is the *shared local origin*, which operates as an overriding feature beyond ethnicity. In the case of sharing a local origin, I highlight the importance of both the HCMs and the researchers having similar experiences from the local context to draw from. The second element is related to ethics because the interviewees, in this case, do not constitute a vulnerable group, as would be the case for immigrants and refugees. Therefore, I address the need for a new category, *assigned insider*, which does not fit into the existing positionaliities described by scholars in migration studies.

In the paper, I untangle the manifestations of interviewees’ reactions under two types. The first type of reaction, *active discontent*, manifests itself as verbal statements of confrontation, either questioning the researcher’s intentions or ‘correcting’ the researcher to act according to interviewee expectations. The second type of reaction, *passive discontent*, manifests itself as non-verbal reflections such as mimics, gestures, and long pauses during the interview, signifying abstention from answering the questions. The efficacy and reliability of interviews as a research method have long been questioned. Various improvement methods have been introduced to develop better interview analysis methods because interviews carry the potential to unravel social dynamics and negotiations throughout the interview process (Fedyuk and Zentai 2018; Rathbun 2008; Silverman 2017). Thus, with this positionality, I

address a method of improvement for the quality of the interviews to overcome shifting intergroup dynamics.

6.2 Paper II – Interethnic Encounters in Urban Public Spaces: Spatial Strategies of Host Community Members Following a Refugee Influx

Building on contact theory and group threat theory, in this paper⁶, I demonstrate that HCMs develop various strategies to restructure their behaviours in their everyday lives depending on the type of encounter and urban public space. Current literature focuses on how contact with and exposure to immigrants and refugees affect HCMs’ trust in institutions, their preferences for macro-level migration policies, and their attitudes towards migrants. These studies demonstrate how encounters at the micro-level influence the ways HCMs evaluate the presence of migrants and how the change in the number of migrants plays a role in the above-mentioned outcomes. However, they overlook the influence of everyday politics while analysing the attitudes of HCMs in contexts where spatial proximity plays a role.

Contributing to the existing literature on everyday politics, I show how attitudes are linked to behaviours as micro-level outcomes of encounters in various urban public spaces. I categorise encounters as positive contact, negative contact, and exposure. I argue that during these interethnic encounters, the type of urban public space where the encounter occurs and HCMs’ perceptions of refugees’ use of different urban public spaces explain the variations in HCMs’ spatial strategies. Hence, I introduce the concept of *spatial strategies*, which are the behaviours adopted by HCMs in their everyday lives while using urban public spaces in contexts of

⁶ This paper is in the ‘Revise and Resubmit’ stage.

sudden demographic changes. By introducing this concept, I move from attitudes to behaviours. For instance, HCMs are less likely to avoid encountering refugees in need-based urban public spaces, such as bazaars and mosques. Yet, in leisure-based urban public spaces, such as parks, playgrounds, and streets, HCMs are more likely to prefer avoiding refugees. There are also HCMs who do not change their behaviours and continue to use the urban public spaces as before the influx of refugees.

I divide spatial strategies into four behaviour patterns: (1) restrictive withdrawal, (2) non-restrictive withdrawal, (3) restrictive participation and (4) non-restrictive participation. The withdrawal behaviours are observed in urban public spaces of leisure, where HCMs can avoid refugees, and within the context of exposure. The first pattern encapsulates the behaviours of HCMs who prefer not to use leisure-based public spaces and prefer that refugees do not use them either. The second pattern also involves HCMs who do not prefer to use these spaces, but they do not oppose refugees using them. Symbolic threat perceptions that have been previously addressed in the literature concern both strategies of withdrawal. The difference I show indicates that the same behaviour can house different attitudes towards refugees.

The participation behaviours involve the HCMs who continue to use the need-based urban public spaces and have negative or positive contact in these spaces. In restrictive participation, HCMs use mosques and bazaars and enter into direct encounters with refugees, whom they cannot avoid. In this type of behaviour, HCMs harbour discontent while using these spaces, which derives from the involuntary contact as described by negative contact. HCMs prefer that refugees do not use these spaces, but because the spaces correspond to a certain need, the HCMs cannot dictate that refugees not to do so. In non-restrictive participation, HCMs

continue to use urban public spaces regardless of the type of encounter they have with refugees. These HCMs acknowledge the presence of refugees as it is and base their reasoning on understanding the use of these spaces on a humanitarian basis.

I find that, first, there are different types of urban public spaces according to HCMs when evaluating refugees' use of these different spaces. Second, I demonstrate that while HCMs can have different attitudes towards refugees, manifesting these attitudes in a spatial manner can occur in similar behaviour. Third, I find that symbolic threat perceptions of HCMs deriving from ethnic differences in urban public spaces, both leisure- and need-based, are also triggering for HCMs when there are commonalities. Altogether, spatial strategies detailed the variations in HCMs' attitudes and how they manifest themselves as behaviours. These variations offer a comprehensive understanding of the potential mechanisms behind why an increasing number of newcomers may not increase positive contact.

6.3 Paper III – When the Government Comes into the Neighbourhood: Everyday Regulations and Syrian Refugees' Encounters with Local State Authorities

Focusing on the outcomes of dynamics of everyday politics between refugees and local authorities, in this paper⁷, I analyse the reflections of refugees concerning the regulations imposed on them by local state authorities within the context of local refugee governance. The literature on civic integration shows that receiving states try to regulate the behaviours of immigrants and refugees through regulations introduced at the national or local level. Yet,

⁷ This paper is in the 'Revise and Resubmit' stage.

regulating practices beyond civic integration and refugees' perceptions about these regulations have been understudied.

I analyse all formal and informal practices that aim to manage, organise, and control refugees' everyday lives and behaviours in neighbourhood spaces under, what I term, *everyday regulations*. Acting as part of everyday politics, everyday regulations differ from civic integration policies in that these regulations prioritise public order rather than the integration of refugees. Moreover, it focuses on the regulations that go beyond the practices of government offices as visa renewals. In detailing these practices, I focus on (1) the municipal police (*zabıta*) and their visit to refugee-run shops to control the shop signs and (2) the provincial directorate of security and the printed handouts distributed by them to refugees on the social norms of the HCMs. These are examples of regulations operating on a local level that are in place to shape the behaviours of refugees in neighbourhood spaces, and they differ from the existing categorisations of regulations through their focus on everyday life.

To understand how these influence refugees' everyday lives, I focus on refugees' reflections on everyday regulations. I find that refugees perceive these regulations as both discriminatory and acceptable. Discriminatory reflections are derived from their perceptions of the discriminatory treatment they have received from the local authorities during the implementation of the aforementioned regulations, such as targeted controls. Acceptable reflections involve their perceptions about the content of the everyday regulations. The most important finding is that refugees who deem regulations acceptable assert that they learned about the norms and behaviours of HCMs through them and that it is understandable for a country to have its own rules. Detailing these perceptions in the analysis of local refugee governance has the potential to offer

guidance on understanding the operational success of certain regulations over others. Thus, analysing everyday regulations as part of everyday politics provides examples of local refugee governance that can be observed in other similar contexts of sudden demographic change.

6.4 Bringing Papers Together

In all three papers, I show that everyday politics should not be neglected when studying forced migration in a local context because everyday politics involves various social dynamics through interactions in the nearest spatial vicinity. The three papers highlight different aspects of everyday politics concerning different intergroup encounters. These encounters make up an important part of local refugee governance. In the first paper, I demonstrate the implications through a methodological perspective. In the second and third papers, I rely on individuals as the empirical focus with reference to their groups. The results show the theoretical importance of everyday politics in understanding the social dynamics in neighbourhood spaces and how everyday politics shape individual agency in forced migration. Thus, combined, the papers provide a strong in-depth analysis of a unique data collection of individual political behaviours in urban public spaces through the introduction of everyday politics as a concept integral to forced migration.

Conclusion

7.1 Implications for Forced Migration Studies

This dissertation provides multiple reasons to explain why a previously understudied area of everyday politics within forced migration requires further attention. The theoretical framework developed by this dissertation applies to understanding individuals' behaviours vis-à-vis each other and towards local governance authorities within the context of sudden demographic change. Therefore, it adds everyday politics as another dimension to consider while studying the structural outcomes of forced migration.

Throughout the dissertation, I relied on multiple theories and concepts to establish the theoretical framework. I based it on the complementary theories approach, which enables researchers to adopt various theories to develop innovative concepts rather than testing one or the other (Blatter and Haverland 2012: 145). This helps to understand political and social occurrences and guides the researcher to follow the potential mechanisms of uncovering the results of mixed evidence cases. The theory of the right to the city brought forward the roles of urban public spaces and everyday life. I combined contact theory and group threat theory to analyse the outcomes of encounters in everyday life within urban public spaces. I relied on refugee governance literature to detail its application to organise the everyday behaviours of newcomers. Together, these theories allowed me to detail the distinctions

between attitudes and behaviours while situating the new concepts I introduce within the broader field of migration studies.

Applying a combination of theories enabled me to develop concepts to demonstrate nuances in the existing literature and expand their analytical focus (Ceobanu and Escandell 2010). Moreover, the concepts I introduce in this dissertation enables the measurement and understanding of everyday life in more detail. For instance, the methodological contribution I make in the first paper will allow the researchers who are from the same place as the field study to be aware of the potential challenges as well as the value thereof in the future studies to be conducted in the field. Similarly, through the theoretical contributions on intergroup encounters and local refugee governance, future scholars will be able to identify and demonstrate the differences in encounters in a more detailed way. This will add further mechanisms to explain why encounters with newcomers may not result in desired positive contact and why refugee policies are better implemented in certain contexts than others. Overall, everyday politics facilitates a better understanding of the immediate dynamics of forced migration.

7.2 Policy Implications

To be able to involve all aspects of forced migration in formulating local refugee policies, policymakers should incorporate everyday politics into the process. This dissertation presents two major policy implications of everyday politics for policymakers who aim to design long-term, sustainable migration policies following the settlement of a large influx of refugees.

The first policy component details how policymakers can develop context-specific policies for areas that have undergone a demographic change. In areas where social life is renegotiated, it is crucial to understand what type of micro-level policies can be

adapted to assist HCMs and refugees. This can be done through analysing and understanding the everyday politics that affect the area.

The second component involves the input of both HCMs and refugees in micro-level interactions that shape their everyday lives and affect the policymaking of the regulatory state authorities. Receiving the input of these parties, or more, will enable policymakers to consider the characteristics of the contexts in question and the reactions of the individuals who have been living in these contexts.

7.3 Future Steps

This dissertation has two major aspects that can shed light on future studies. The first is connecting individuals to group membership within the context of everyday life. This connection demonstrates the equally important roles of the individual and the group, along with what happens when they are operationalised to form our political behaviours. In the short term, this connection demonstrates issues that require immediate solutions. In the long term, understanding the dynamics of individuals and groups offers to unveil the causal outcomes of this connection, which can be tested through different methods.

Second, it would be interesting to research why some elements of everyday politics function in certain contexts while others do not. This can be identified by comparing cases that have been through similar demographic changes, yet where the effect of these everyday politics varies. These comparisons have the potential to reveal even further variations that other in-depth analyses can unveil but are yet to be discovered. For instance, the current movement of Venezuelans to Colombia (and other neighbouring countries) is an important case for studying how the social

dynamics in cities of arrival are changing for both HCMs and newcomers, as it offers another context where the culture is assumed to be similar, accompanied by a shared language.

Yet, the movement of individuals in the aforementioned case has only recently begun, and they are increasing in numbers each day. In February 2021, the Colombian government granted 'temporary status' to one million Venezuelans (Treisman 2021), but xenophobic attacks have also been reported against Venezuelans (Otis 2020). In the current outlook of the case, Venezuelan refugees in Colombia are very similar to Syrian refugees in Turkey. However, this population movement will evolve into yet to be known circumstances while demographic changes are happening in various localities in Colombia. Therefore, to what extent everyday politics plays a role in other contexts of demographic change will be a developing area for future studies.

These two aspects demonstrate only two of the future directions one can take. There are many unanswered questions waiting to be explored as forced migration movements continue to occur. Therefore, in addition to studying cross-country comparisons, the nuanced approach of conducting in-depth case studies carry the potential of revealing the contextual effects and offering a better understanding of the whole picture. And to understand the whole picture of forced migration, one cannot ignore the role of everyday politics.

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Appendix 1.1: HCMs' Interview Questions (English)

R#-DATE-Sex-Age-EduCode-NCode	
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Q#	QUESTION
1	Did you grow up in Bursa? (If no) When did you come to Bursa?
2	What do you do? (Occupation) How long have you been doing this (and where)?
3	How do you perceive your economic situation in comparison to other people in the neighbourhood?
4	In any given day, how much of your time do you spend in the neighbourhood? Do you also live in this neighbourhood? What do you do during your time in the neighbourhood?
5	Who do you spend time within the neighbourhood? What do you do together? Do you meet regularly?
6	When you meet, what do you talk about? And can you give examples?
7	Do you like the neighbourhood? Why?
8	Do you think the neighbourhood has changed in the last five years? If yes, what was the neighbourhood like before? What is it like now?
9	Regarding this change, how do you think the neighbourhood's economic situation has been influenced? Why? Do you think this change is good, bad or both? Why? In what ways it is good and in what ways bad?
10	Regarding this change, how do you think social life in the neighbourhood has been influenced? Why? Do you think this change

	is good, bad or both? Why? In what ways it is good and in what ways bad?	
11	Regarding this change, how do you think the neighbourhood's shared places (public parks and streets) has been influenced? Why? Do you think this change is good, bad or both? Why? In what ways it is good and in what ways bad?	21 Together with fellow citizens of the neighbourhood, do organize anything to integrate Syrians to the neighbourhood? Can you give examples?
12	Regarding this change, do you know anyone who used to live in the neighbourhood but recently moved out of the neighbourhood? Do you know why they moved out? What happened to the apartments/stores that they left behind?	22 Do local government officials, mukhtars, imams, community leaders are organizing activities as a get together for the citizens in the neighbourhood and Syrian residents of the neighbourhood?
13	What do you think about Syrians renting apartments in the neighbourhood? Why?	23 Concerning the topics about Syrians, according to you, who is the most influential and why? Who would you go if you have an issue regarding Syrians?
14	What do you think about Syrians opening shops in the neighbourhood? Why?	24 Do you think Syrians have integrated? Why/Why not?
15	What do you think about Syrians that also live in the neighbourhood spending time in the parks of the neighbourhood? Why?	25 What do you think should be done regarding Syrians? Why?
16	What do you think about Syrians that also live in the neighbourhood coming to the mosque of the neighbourhood for praying? Why?	26 This is not the first time for Bursa to experience a migrant wave, there had been waves from the Balkans and eastern parts of Turkey. Do you think the last wave is different than the previous ones? Why/Why not?
17	What do you think about Syrians that does not live in the neighbourhood but coming to the neighbourhood to coffee shops or parks to socialize or spend their free time? Why?	27 Do you know any Syrians personally? If yes, how do you know them? Do you spend time with them? If yes, with what frequency and what do you do together?
18	What do you think about Syrians that does not live in the neighbourhood but coming to the mosque of the neighbourhood for praying? Why?	28 Is there anything you would like to add?
19	What do you think about Syrians shopping only from each other? Why?	
20	What do you think about Syrians hanging signs only in Arabic? Why?	

Appendix 1.2: HCMs' Interviews Questions (Turkish)

R#-DATE-Sex-Age-EduCode-NCode	
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Q#	QUESTION
1	Bursa'da mı doğup büyündünüz? (<i>If no</i>) Bursa'ya ne zaman geldiniz?
2	Ne işe meşgulsünüz? Ne kadardır bu işi yapıyorsunuz ve nerede?
3	Kendi ekonomik durumunu mahalledeki diğer insanlarla karşılaşıldığınızda nasıl görüp sınız?
4	Herhangi bir günde, vaktinizin ne kadarını mahallede geçiriyorsunuz? Aynı zamanda mahallede mi yaşıyorsunuz? Bu vaktinizde neler yapıyorsunuz?
5	Mahalledeki vaktinizi kimlerle geçiriyorsunuz? Neler yapıyorsunuz? Ne sıklıkla bir araya geliyorsunuz?
6	Bir araya geldiğinizde hangi konular hakkında konuşuyorsunuz? Buna örnek verebilir misiniz?
7	Mahallenizi seviyor musunuz? Neden?
8	Sizce mahalleniz son beş yıl içinde değişim geçirdi mi? Geçirdiyse, mahalle önceden nasıldı ve şimdi nasıl?
9	Yaşanan değişimi göz önünde bulundurduğunuzda, sizce mahallenin ekonomik durumu bu değişimden nasıl etkilendi? Neden? Sizce yaşanan bu değişim mahalleyi iyi mi, kötü mü, yoksa iki türlü de mi etkiledi? Neden? Hangi açılardan iyi etkiledi, hangi açılardan kötü etkiledi?
10	Yaşanan değişimi göz önünde bulundurduğunuzda, sizce mahallenin sosyal yansımalarını nasıl etkilendi? Neden? Sizce yaşanan bu değişim mahalleyi iyi mi, kötü mü, yoksa iki türlü de mi

	etkiledi? Neden? Hangi açılardan iyi etkiledi, hangi açılardan kötü etkiledi?
11	Yaşanan değişimi göz önünde bulundurduğunuzda, sizce mahallenin ortak alanlarının (parklar, sokaklar) kullanımı bu değişimden nasıl etkilendi? Neden? (Increased competition over shared spaces, changing power dynamics, ...) Sizce yaşanan bu değişim mahalleyi iyi mi, kötü mü, yoksa iki türlü de mi etkiledi? Neden? Hangi açılardan iyi etkiledi, hangi açılardan kötü etkiledi?
12	Yaşanan bu değişim ile mahallede taşınan mahalle sakinleri var mı? Varsa, taşınma nedenlerini biliyor musunuz? Ve de onlardan geri kalan evlere ne olduğunu biliyor musunuz?
13	Suriyelerin mahalleden ev kiralaması ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?
14	Suriyelerin mahallede dükkan açması ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?
15	Mahallede yaşayan Suriyelerin vakitlerini mahallenin parklarında geçirmesi ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?
16	Mahallede yaşayan Suriyelerin mahallenin camisinde ibadete gelmesi ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?
17	Mahallede yaşamayan Suriyelerin bu mahalleye gelip buradaki kahvelerde ya da parklarda vakit geçirmesi ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?
18	Mahallede yaşamayan Suriyelerin bu mahalledeki camiye gelip ibadet etmesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?
19	Sadece Suriyeli dükkanlarından alışveriş yapan Suriyeler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?
20	Suriyelerin dükkanlarına sadece Arapça tabela asması ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?
21	Mahalleli olarak kendi aranızda Suriyelerin mahallenize uyum sağlama ile ilgili bir şeyler yapıyor musunuz? Örnek verebilir misiniz?
22	Mahallede yaşayan Suriyeler ve vatandaşları bir araya getirmek için muhtar, yerel yönetimden kişiler, imamlar, kanaat önderleri aktivite düzenliyorlar mı? Düzenledilerse örnek verebilir misiniz? Bunlar düzenli yapılan aktiviteler mi?
23	Suriyeler ile ilgili konularda, bu kişilerden sizce en etkili olanı kim? Neden? Suriyelerle ilgili bir şikayetiniz olsa kime gidersiniz?
24	Sizce Suriyeler uyum sağladılar mı? Neden?
25	Suriyelerle ilgili sizce ne yapılmalı? Neden?
26	Bu Bursa'nın karşılaştığı ilk göç dalgası değil, daha önce Balkanlardan gelenler ve Türkiye'nin doğusundan gelenler oldu. Sizce bu son dalga öncekilerden farklı mı? Neden?
27	Hiç birebir tanıldığınız Suriyeli var mı? Varsa, nasıl tanışınız? Onlarla birlikte vakit geçiriyor musunuz? Geçiriyorsanız ne sıklıkla ve neler yapıyorsunuz?
28	Sizin eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

Appendix 2.1: Syrians' Interview Questions (English)

S#–DATE–Sex–Age–EduCode–NCode	
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Q#	QUESTION
1	When did you come to Turkey?
2	When did you come to Bursa?
2.1	Did you first come to Bursa when you came to Turkey?
2.2	When and how did you decide to come to Bursa?
2.3	Did you know anyone in Bursa? How do you know them?
3	On a given day, how much time do you spend in the neighbourhood? Do you also live in the neighbourhood?
4	Who do you spend time within the neighbourhood? What do you do together? (Examples)
5	Where do you shop from in the neighbourhood? Why?
6	Do you like the neighbourhood? Why/Why not?
7	Do you think the neighbourhood has changed since you arrived? In what way?
7.1	How did it influence economically?
7.2	How did it influence socially?
7.3	How did it influence its shared spaces?
8	What are the advantages and disadvantages of living in a high Syrian–populated area? Why/Why not?
9	Do Syrians that arrived in different times cooperate and/or coordinate? Why/Why not?

10	Do you use the urban public spaces in the neighbourhood?
10.1	(If no) Why not? What is the main reason?
11.1	Do you go to parks? How often?
11.2	Do you go to bazaar? How often?
11.3	Do you go to the mosque? How often? (Example of "do not enter without socks")
12	Do you feel you can use these spaces freely and comfortably? Why? Do you feel like this towards all the public spaces or there are type of spaces that you feel more uncomfortable compared to others? (Example)
12.1	What time of the day? Is there a difference between your day-use and night-use?
13	Which group of inhabitants are more visible in urban public spaces? (Example) Streets/Parks/Mosques/Bazaar
13.1	Do you do activities with HCMs as well?
13.2	(If yes) For what kind of activities?
13.3	(If no) Why not?
14	Who would you turn to if you have a problem with a Syrian? Why?
15	Who would you turn to if you have a problem with an HCM? Why?
16	Do any of the local authorities (district mayor, mayor, etc.), community leaders, mukhtars, security forces, etc. organize activities to bring together HCMs and the Syrians of the neighbourhood? Can you give examples?
16.1	(If no) If an event is organised for gathering HCMs and Syrians, would you join?

17	Which one of these actors do you think is the most effective regarding the topics relevant to Syrians? Why? (Do you know any Syrian community leaders or Syrian organizations)
18.1	What do you think is the most important problem that needs to be addressed regarding Syrians? Why?
18.2	What do you think is the second most important problem that needs to be addressed regarding Syrians? Why?
19	What do you think should be done regarding Syrians? Why?
20	Do you think the HCMs in the neighbourhood are approachable (if you need to ask something or ask for help)? Why/Why not?
21	Do you know any HCM personally? How did you meet? How frequently do you meet?
22	What do you think about the problems stated by HCMs about Syrians? (Let them think and come up with examples)
22.1	What do you think about Syrians only buying from Syrians and HCMs buying from HCMs? Why?
22.2	What do you think about Syrians hanging signs only in Arabic? Why?
23	Where were you born?
24	How old are you?
25	What is your level of education?
26	What do you do? How long have you been doing this job? Is this the same job you did when you were in Syria?
27	How do you see your socio-economic level compared to other residents of the neighbourhood?
28	Do you think about moving somewhere else? Why?

28.1	(If yes) Where would you like to go?
28.2	Do you think about returning to Syria? Why?
29	Is there anything you would like to add?

Appendix 2.2: Syrians' Interview Questions (Arabic)

S#-DATE-Sex-Age-EduCode-NCode	
١	اي متى جيت على تركيا؟
٢	اي متى جيت على بورصة؟
٢.١	اول ماجيت على تركيا جيت على بورصة؟
٢.٢	اي متى , كيف , ليش اخترت تجي على بورصة؟
٢.٣	كنت بتعرف اي حدا ببورصة؟ مين كانوا هل اشخاص و كيف كنت بتعرفهن؟
٣	في يوم عادي , كم ساعة بتقضى بالحى , شو بتعمل بهاد الوقت هل انت عايش في الحى؟
٤	مع مين بتقضى وقت بالحى؟ كيف يقضوا وقتكم مع بعض, شو هي المواضيع يلي بتحكوا فيها؟ فيك تعطيني مثل
٥	من وين بتتسوق بالحى؟ ليش؟
٦	بتحب الحى يلي ساكن فيه؟ ليش/ليش لا؟شو الشى الايجابي/ سلبي؟
٧	برأيك الحى تغير من وقت وصلت؟ ليش/ بأي طريقة كان التغير؟
٧.١	كيف كان التأثير من الناحية الاقتصادية على الحى؟
٧.٢	كيف كان التأثير من الناحية الاجتماعية على الحى؟
٧.٣	كيف كان تأثير التغيير على الاماكن المشتركة بالحى؟
٨	شو هي مميزات و عيوب العيشة بمنطقة فيها تجمع سورين عالي؟ ليش/ ليش لا؟
٩	هل السورين يلي اجو باوقات مختلفة بيتتساعدوا او بنسقوا مع بعض؟ ليش/ ليش لا؟
١٠	بتستخدم الاماكن العامة في الحى؟
١٠.٢	ليش لا/في اي قيود او اسباب ممكن تفكر فيها؟ (If no)
١١.١	بنروحو على الحدائق العامة؟ كل اي متى؟

١١.٢	بتروح على البزار؟ كل اي متى؟
١١.٣	بتروح على الجامع؟ كل اي متى؟ (لاقفة الدخول بدون جرابات)
١٢	بتشعر انك فيك تستخدم هي الاماكن بحرية و راحه؟ فيك تشرحلي بالي طريقة، ليش / ليش لا؟ بتشعر هاد الشي مقابل جميع الاماكن العامة يلي بتتلحلها أو في اماكن معينة بتشعر فيها براحة اكتر من اماكن اخرى؟ في فرق؟ (مثال)
١٢.١	بأي اوقات باليوم بتستخدم الاماكن العامة؟ في فرق باستخدامها باوقات الليل عن اوقات النهار؟ ليش؟
١٣	في الاماكن العامة برأيك مين بيكون اكتر؟ (مثال) الشارع/الحدائق/الجامع/البزار
١٣.١	بتعمل فاعليات مع المواطنين (الاتراك)؟
١٣.٢	شو نوع النشاطات يلي بتعملوها؟ (If yes) كل ايمت
١٣.٣	ليش لا؟ (If no)
١٤	لمين بتلجم اذا واجهة مشكلة مع شخص سوري؟ ليش؟
١٥	لمين بتلجم اذا واجهة مشكلة مع مواطن تركي؟ ليش؟
١٦	هل تقوم اية من السلطات المحلية (عمدة المقاطعة ، العمدة،) القادة المحليين ، المختار، قوات الامن ، بتنظيم نشاطات لجمع السوريين والاتراك يلي عايشين في الحي؟
١٦.١	اذا تم تنظيم هيك نشاطات بفكر تشارك فيها؟ ليش ؟ (If no)
١٧	بالنسبة للقضايا المتعلقة بالسوريين مين هو اكتر شخص فعل اكتراو يلي بيقدر يعمل شي للسوريين؟ ليش؟ (يتعرف زعيم رأي سوري أو الجمعية سورية؟)
١٨.١	شو برأيك هي اهم موضوع او قضية عم يواجهة السوريين و لازم ينحل؟ ليش؟
١٨.٢	برايك شو هي ثانوي اهم قضية او موضوع عم يواجهة السوريين و لازم ينحل؟ ليش؟

١٩	شو برأيك الاشياء يلي مفروض تتعمل للسوريين؟ ليش؟
٢٠	هل برأيك الاتراك يلي موجودين بالحي قابلين للتواصل بمعنى اخر قريبين عل قلب بنقدر تحكي معهن اذا حاجت؟ ليش/ ليش لا؟
٢١	بتعرف حدا من سكان الحي؟ كيف تعرفتو على بعض؟ كلي اي متى بتشفو بعض؟
٢٢	شو رأيك فيما يتعلق بالمشاكل التي أثارها سكان الحي بخصوص السوريين؟ (Let them think and come up with examples)
٢٢.١	شو رأيك بموضوع السوريين بيشرtero بس من عند السوريين و الاتراك بيشرtero بس من عند الاتراك؟ ليش برأيك؟
٢٢.٢	شو رأيك عن اصحاب المحلات السوريين يلي بعلقو لافتات محلاتهن بالكتابة العربية فقط؟ ليش؟
٢٣	بأي مدينة ولدت؟
٢٤	اديش عمرك؟
٢٥	مستوى التعليم؟
٢٦	شو بتشتغل؟ اديش صرلك بتشتغل بهاد الشغل؟ هل هو نفس الشغل يلي كنت تشغلو لما كنت بسوريا؟
٢٧	كيف بتشفو وضعك المادي مقارنة بسكان الحي؟
٢٨	عم تفكر تتنقل لمكان اخر (مدينة، محافظة)؟ ليش؟
٢٨.١	(If yes) وين بتحب تسافر؟
٢٨.٢	عم تفكر ترجع على سوريا؟ ليش؟
٢٩	في شي تاني بتحب تصيفرو؟