Social Cohesion in Turkey: Refugee and host community online survey, rounds 1-2-3
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1. Introduction and Methodology

Situated at the crossroads of Europe, the Middle East and Africa, Turkey plays a vital role as a transit and receiving country for international migrants – particularly for Syrians. Since the crisis broke out in 2011, Turkey has hosted more Syrians fleeing the conflict than any other country in the world. It now accommodates over 3.5 million along with about 365,000 asylum seekers from other countries, such as Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia. Under Turkish legislation these people are considered under Temporary or International Protection. For brevity, they will be called refugees in this report.

The vast majority of the registered Syrian refugees (more than 90%) live in cities across the country. According to the Directorate General of Migration Management, 80% are concentrated in just 10 of Turkey’s 81 provinces. Half live in the south-east of the country, bordering Syria, and almost 20% are in the country’s largest city, Istanbul.

Having such high numbers of refugees settling in a few urban areas over a short period of time has prompted inevitable challenges. These include changes in the social composition, crowding of schools and hospitals, the introduction of cheaper labour creating competition for jobs, and municipalities struggling to provide the extra services required. If social cohesion and stability are to be maintained, supporting refugees to adapt to their new lives within Turkish society must be a crucial part of the refugee crisis response.

While Turkey has a long history of accepting migrants and refugees into the country, they were mainly of Turkish origin and culture, and hence did not challenge a national identity that relies on one common Turkish culture. According to the 1934 Law on Settlement, only a ‘person of Turkish descent and who is attached to Turkish culture’ could migrate and settle in Turkey or acquire refugee status (Kirişçi 2001:73). The 2006 law on settlement adopted during the EU accession process preserved this definition, but it only referred to the admission and settlement of migrants, not refugees.

While the current legal framework does not provide refugee status to any of the recent population influx, the vast majority of these people are arriving from crisis locations. The secondary data indicates that these migration flows are not positively perceived by many Turks, making social integration more difficult. The European Social Survey data from 2008 indicated that 37% of Turks would not welcome any migrants into the country, even if they were of the same race or ethnicity as the majority in the country. The percentage rose to 44% for migrants coming from poorer countries outside Europe.

In the context of this relative intolerance toward migrants existing before the influx of Syrian refugees, and in order to gain an understanding of the perceptions of the Turkish host community and the refugee community today, WFP conducted a series of online social cohesion surveys. These surveys have been implemented as a part of the monitoring framework of the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) programme. The Turkish name for the ESSN is Sosyal Uyum Yardım Programı, which translates as Social Cohesion Assistance programme. The name reflects the programme’s intention to support longer-term social cohesion by providing refugees with basic needs assistance.

Turkish and Arabic speaking (non-Turkish) internet users participated in the online surveys in July-August 2017, October 2017 and January 2018. The perceptions of Syrian refugees and their Turkish hosts were examined under four themes in the survey: 1) daily social interactions; 2) economic implications, 3) assistance provision, and 4) safety, security and stability.

The survey helps build an accurate picture of the impact that refugees are having on social, cultural and economic aspects of Turkish society. It allows the host community and refugees to express their opinions and feelings about issues related to social cohesion anonymously. In the absence of surveys that track changes in refugee and host community perceptions, this report provides fresh data that sheds light on how ongoing social and economic shifts have affected perceptions of Syrians and the host community. To provide further in-depth information on the topic and capture insights about refugees’ experiences of interacting with the local community, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were also conducted.

These surveys have been conducted by WFP Turkey’s Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping and Monitoring & Evaluation (VAM/M&E) unit. WFP is responsible for monitoring within the ESSN, and VAM is responsible for providing the evidence required to plan and adjust programmatic interventions within WFP. The results are intended to be used for ESSN programmatic adjustments and by external stakeholders. This report reflects the results of the survey findings and do not reflect the opinions of the World Food Programme.
WFP conducted three rounds of the online social cohesion survey in July/August 2007, October 2007, and January 2018. This report has drawn upon the data from all three survey rounds.

The RiWi Corporation implemented the data collection process, using its patented Random Domain Intercept Technology (RDIT), which allows for anonymous data collection from a random sample of internet users within a specified location. This platform builds on previous work between WFP and RiWi globally, providing a cost-efficient way to collect data from specific populations within a targeted geographic area.

The survey consisted of two questionnaires: the Arabic version for refugees and the Turkish version for the host community. Wherever possible and logical, the same questions were posed to each group to allow for a comparison between the two. The questionnaires were comprised of simple statements with five-point Likert scale response options, ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”. At the end of the survey, the questionnaires included an open-ended question for exploratory purposes. The responses to this question have been incorporated throughout this report to help illustrate the quantitative data. The questions and the scales were identical in each survey round, to allow for tracking of trends over time.

Three regions of the country – Istanbul, Southeast, and Aegean/Central Anatolia – were selected for comparison purposes. The minimum required number of participants per region was calculated to provide a 90% confidence interval and 5% margin of error. The calculations resulted in a minimum sample size of 272 per region per round, however the number of survey participants far exceeded this minimum requirement.

A total of 6,142 participants completed the online surveys. This includes 1,574 respondents in first round, 1,994 respondents in the second round, and 2,574 respondents in the third round. All children (anyone who reported they were under 18 years old) were excluded from the survey.

![Figure 1: Map of regions and survey participants](image)

Population weights were used whenever the data was aggregated across the three regions. The provinces included per region are displayed above in Figure 1.

Alongside these surveys, WFP and TRC field teams conducted Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) in October 2017 in order to provide some complementary qualitative data for the findings of the surveys. The FGDs aimed to understand how the ESSN programme is affecting social cohesion and refugee integration into the host community. Teams conducted 14 FGDs with a total of 126 people in seven provinces: Istanbul, Ankara, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Mersin and Burdur. Only the refugee population took part in the FGDs and 57% of participants were female.

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6Detailed information regarding RDIT technology can be found on RiWi’s website: (https://riwi.com)
LIMITATIONS

Three key limitations are important to note when considering the results of the survey:

1) The internet modality of data collection means the potential survey participants are restricted to people who use the internet. According to the Turkish Statistical Institute, 75.1% of males have internet access in Turkey, compared with 58.7% of females, although no corresponding data is available for refugees in Turkey. This discrepancy in internet access is reflected in the sample, which is predominantly comprised of young, male respondents. Additionally, since the surveys are self-administered, only literate people can participate.

2) While the Arabic questionnaire is intended for refugees, and the Turkish questionnaire for the host community, anyone who speaks the survey language can respond to that survey. To reduce the size of error, a question on nationality was added in the second and third round of the online surveys. This question revealed that in the second round, 6.6% of people who responded to the Arabic survey identified their nationality as Turkish, rising to 8.6% in the third round of the surveys. And 6.7% of respondents to the Turkish survey identified their nationality as either Syrian, Iraqi, Afghan or other in the second round, rising to 7.7% in the third round. Logically, the survey should be categorised by the nationality of the respondent, rather than the language of the survey. However, the first survey did not include this question. To ensure consistency of analysis across the three rounds, all Arabic surveys are simply categorised as ‘refugee’ and all Turkish surveys are simply categorised as ‘host community.’ This 6-8% discrepancy is a limitation. However, this shortcoming will be taken into consideration in future social cohesion surveys.

3) The surveys were only available in Turkish and Arabic; no other language options were provided. Therefore, the perspectives of refugees or the host community who do not speak either of these languages were not captured.

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1 Turkish Statistical Institute, Household Information Technologies Usage research, August 2017 (http://www.tuik.gov.tr/HbPrint.do?id=24862)
2. Respondent Profile and Reliability

As noted above, 1,574 respondents participated in the first round, 1,994 respondents in the second round, and 2,574 respondents in the third round. All children (anyone who reported they were under 18 years old) were excluded from the survey. The sample was heavily dominated by young (18-34 years) males, for the host communities they represented more than 60% of the sample and for refugees more than 70%. As described in the methodology, this profile of respondents is a result of a sampling frame restricted to internet users. While there is some variation in the gender and age of respondents across the three samples, there are no large changes; this is simply a result of small changes in the demographics of those who chose to respond to the surveys. These changes are unlikely to have any impact on the comparison of results across round.

To test the reliability of the survey results, a statistical test known as Cronbach’s Alpha is applied. The reliability coefficient is 0.822 for the Arabic survey, and 0.832 for the Turkish survey, indicating that in both surveys, the statements have relatively high internal consistency. These coefficients were 0.811 and 0.852 for the second round of the surveys in October 2017, and 0.816 and 0.801 for January 2018, referring to the Arabic and Turkish questionnaires, respectively. These results demonstrate that all three survey rounds have high internal consistency – meaning respondents appear to be consistent in their answer patterns, and the data should be considered reliable.

Table 1: Respondents by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Respondent</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>1153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1219</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Respondents by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Respondent</th>
<th>18-34 years</th>
<th>35-64 years</th>
<th>65+ years</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Round 1 Turkish</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1061</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Respondents by gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender of Respondent</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>2096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>2547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Respondents by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of Respondent</th>
<th>18-34 years</th>
<th>35-64 years</th>
<th>65+ years</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Round 2 Turkish</td>
<td>1184</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>1512</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender of participants as per cycle

Age groups of survey participants per cycle

To test the reliability of the survey results, a statistical test known as Cronbach’s Alpha is applied. The reliability coefficient is 0.822 for the Arabic survey, and 0.832 for the Turkish survey, indicating that in both surveys, the statements have relatively high internal consistency. These coefficients were 0.811 and 0.852 for the second round of the surveys in October 2017, and 0.816 and 0.801 for January 2018, referring to the Arabic and Turkish questionnaires, respectively. These results demonstrate that all three survey rounds have high internal consistency – meaning respondents appear to be consistent in their answer patterns, and the data should be considered reliable.

Cronbach’s Alpha is a common measure of internal consistency, often used to test the reliability of Likert Scale questionnaires. Summary explanations of the test’s formula and statistical application can be found at the following link (https://stats.idre.ucla.edu/spss/faq/what-does-cronbachs-alpha-mean/)
3. Survey Results

As noted in the introduction, the results of the questionnaires are grouped into four sections: 1) social interactions; 2) economic implications; 3) assistance; and 4) safety, security and stability.

Social interactions

Participants responded to a variety of statements regarding social interactions – six statements in the Arabic questionnaire and five statements in the Turkish questionnaire. Openness to interacting socially increased for both refugees and host communities from July 2017 to January 2018, especially in the Aegean & Central Anatolia region, as well as for refugees in the South-east and for host community members living in Istanbul. Overall, across the three survey rounds the refugees showed more openness to engage socially with the host community than vice versa.

Social interactions

The first statement included in the survey is, “I am happy to work side by side with [Turks/Syrians]”. Both groups showed an increasing tendency to agree with this statement between July 2017 and January 2018. The proportion of refugees agreeing with this statement increased by 6% to 84% between round 1 and the other two rounds, while the proportion of the host community respondents in agreement increased by 15% to 45% by round 3. A possible explanation for this improvement is simply increased time and exposure to the other group in the workplace, reducing friction over time.

The focus group discussions also revealed an increasing willingness on behalf of refugees and the host communities to work alongside each other. The refugees in the focus groups stated that they had a good relationship with their co-workers, even though they did not socialize with them outside work. The problems they faced in the workplace were often associated with their employers rather than colleagues, relating to unequal treatment and salary payments between themselves and local workers.

The increase in Turkish respondents stating that they would work side by side with Syrians was particularly notable in Aegean & Central Anatolia (19% increase) and Istanbul (12%) between the first and third rounds of the surveys. By the same token, the proportion of refugees stating ‘they would not be happy to work with Turks’ fell between July 2017 and January 2018, particularly for women refugees: falling from 8.5% to 4.9% for male refugees and from 13.6% to 6.2% for female.

“*The Turkish people are nice, hospitable and peaceful*”

الشعب التركي لطيف و يحب الضيوف ومسالم
Although host community members shifted their perception considerably on sharing a work environment with refugees, 31% still did not want to work alongside Syrian refugees in January 2018 (a decrease of 11% since July 2017).

The proportion of Syrian and Turkish respondents agreeing to the second statement "I like, or would like, to share my apartment building with [Turks/Syrians]" also increased in six months, across all three survey rounds. From July 2017 to January 2018, both the refugees and the host community who indicated that they would share the same apartment building with the other group increased by 8% for both groups; to 79% for Syrian respondents and to 39% for Turkish. These findings demonstrate a growing openness to engage with each other in a more long-term way. Again, the Aegean & Central Anatolia region stood out as the area with the most pronounced sense of increased openness, with a 17% increase in the proportion of Syrians and an 11% increase in the proportion of Turks who were willing share an apartment building.

The gap between refugee men and women ‘not wanting to share an apartment building’ with Turkish families narrowed over the six months for both genders. By January 2018, the proportion of refugee women not wanting to share an apartment building with the host community had decreased by 13%.

This improvement in neighbourhood relations was also evident in the focus group discussions. Refugee participants reported that their neighbours helped them with food baskets, clothing and furniture when they first arrived. Some of them reported that their neighbours helped them in medical emergencies. The refugees in the focus groups also stated that they invited their neighbours and co-workers to wedding ceremonies and other celebratory events.
Social interactions

As further evidence of refugee and host communities having become more comfortable with each other socially, there has been an increase in the proportion of both groups agreeing with the third statement, "I would be happy for my children to have [Turkish/Syrian] friends" between July 2017 and January 2018.

The proportion of Syrians who would be fine with their children having Turkish friends increased by 5% to 86%, rising by 8% in South-eastern Turkey. The proportion of Turkish respondents who were comfortable with their children being friends with Syrian children increased by 3% to 46%, peaking at an 8% increase in the Aegean & Central Anatolia regions. These results are almost identical to the first statement about working alongside each other.
Social interactions

The statement “I find Turkish people helpful to Syrians” was only available in the Arabic questionnaire to gauge the perception of the refugees on the host society. In each of the three rounds almost three quarters of refugees agreed with this statement, indicating a sense of appreciation for the host community’s support. There was a notable difference between male and female refugees’ perceptions of how helpful Turkish were to Syrians when the survey was first introduced in June 2017. However, with a 7% drop among the refugee women who considered Turkish people not helpful to Syrians by January 2018, the difference between male (9%) and female refugees (11%) became less pronounced. This finding also supports the overall trend of Syrian women becoming progressively more open to social interaction.

People who were harmed by the war should be assisted.

Savaştan zarar görmüş insanlara yardımcı olunmalı.

To observe the attitudes of the host country towards the refugee population, the Turkish questionnaire included a statement, “Syrians should live only in the camps.” The proportion of people who supported that statement dropped by 6% from 39% in June 2017 to 33% in January 2018. This finding indicates an increasing acceptance for Syrians living among the host community. Specifically, in South-eastern Turkey and Aegean & Central Anatolia, there was a slightly higher (6%) increase in the proportion of Turks who opposed the idea of refugees “living only in camps”. Even though they were in the minority, across all three rounds, Turkish men were more inclined than Turkish women towards having Syrians living only in the camps. This might be related to a fear of having Syrians competing for jobs in the male-dominated labour market.

Syrians should live only in camps

Agree: “Syrians should live only in camps”

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Social interactions

Social interaction is a substantial contributor to social cohesion between host communities and migrants. The two-way interaction is only possible with the contribution of both parties. While the efforts of the refugees to integrate into the host society is necessary, the host society also plays a significant role by providing an accepting environment for the refugee integration process. In a survey conducted globally in 2018, Gallup found that in 134 out of 140 countries, personally knowing a migrant significantly increases a person’s acceptance of migrants, when compared to people who do not know any migrants. A different research paper from 2016 indicates that being exposed to refugees in person not only reduces bias and prejudice, it even shifts the attitudes of people who prefer to take political action against refugees; studies find that support for anti-immigrant parties is reduced when the host community contacts with refugees.

The findings in this online social cohesion study also indicate a slight but positive increase in the attitudes of both refugees and host society that may be due to ongoing daily encounters in neighbourhoods, at work, and in public institutions.

Lastly, as it facilitates social integration, language abilities were also included in the questionnaire. Thus, the question “I speak Turkish or am willing to learn Turkish” was included in the Arabic questionnaire. The proportion of refugees who reported speaking Turkish has decreased by 7% from July 2017 to less than half (44%) in January 2018. Despite an overall decrease in the proportion of refugees speaking Turkish, the proportion of people willing to learn has increased by 4% from July 2017 to January 2018. The 45-54 age group were most likely to be willing to learn Turkish, perhaps because of the need to take care of their families.

The proportion of refugees who said that they could not speak the language increased by around 10% in Istanbul and in the South-eastern region. Given that the time period covered by the surveys is not enough to account for trends in language learning – which is a long term process – the decrease in speaking Turkish still needs further investigation. Maybe the question about refugees’ ability to speak Turkish relates more to confidence and perceptions, which can shift. In addition, a higher proportion of new arrivals may have completed the survey.

In each round of the survey, a higher proportion of male refugees claimed to be able to speak Turkish than female, with a steeper decrease for women (11%) from July 2017 to January 2018. This could be due to the fact that men are more likely to go out to work where they need to communicate verbally, while women can manage daily household and childcare tasks without Turkish verbal interaction.

Refugee participants in FGDs said they found it particularly challenging communicating in Turkish in hospitals, schools, police stations, and DGMM offices. They preferred to use translators in government offices to ensure any official paperwork or documentation is completed accurately. The inability to communicate clearly and effectively possibly negatively affects their perception of staff in these institutions. Many refugees found the mukhtars (elected neighbourhood representatives) – the most helpful government officials, possibly due to having more frequent interaction with them. The ability to speak Turkish differed between ages as well. On average, 18-24 year-olds were most likely to speak Turkish (53%) followed by ages 55-64 year-olds (48%) and ages 25-34 year-olds (47%).

Courses should be made available to refugees where necessary to help them adapt to living in Turkey and to teach them Turkish culture and way of life.”

Mültecilerin Türkiye’ye uyum sağlaması için gerekli yerlerde onlara özel Türk kültürünü ve yaşam tarzını öğretici kurslar açılmalıdır.

Fleming et al., 2018.
Economic implications

A few statements on the cost of living and wages were included in both the Arabic and Turkish questionnaires. This was intended to explore further findings from the World Bank\textsuperscript{11} and the Centre for Middle Eastern and Strategic Studies\textsuperscript{12} that indicated the influx of refugees in Turkey have mixed effects on the economy. Economic indicators directly or indirectly influence social cohesion between the host and refugee communities. For instance, the above noted reports state that labour market competition, increases in rent prices, inflation, and child labour have been real problems which may have implications on social cohesion.

The statement “In my neighbourhood, landlords charge [more/less/same] rent to refugees as Turkish people” was included in the Arabic questionnaire. The proportion of refugees saying that landlords charged refugees higher rent decreased overall by 7% from 43% in July 2017 to 36% in January 2018, but by more in Istanbul and South-eastern Turkey (both areas showing a 9% decrease).

In July 2017 more than half of refugee women perceived that refugees were charged more rent than Turks. By January 2018 the proportion had halved to 26%. Meanwhile men’s perceptions remained relatively stable regarding this issue and in the last two survey rounds, they were more likely than women to feel refugees were being charged more rent than Turkish tenants.

\textsuperscript{11}The Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Turkish Labor Market. World Bank Social Protection and Labor Global Practice Group, August 2015.
\textsuperscript{12}ORSAM Effects of Syrian Refugees on Turkey Report no: 195 January, 2015
Economic implications

The Turkish questionnaire included the statement, “The presence of Syrians has affected the cost of living in my neighbourhood”, with response options including increase, decrease or no change. More than 40% of the Turkish people agreed with this statement, with a slight decrease in the proportion of people holding this view by round three. While 45% of the people living in the South-eastern Turkey and 42% of those in Istanbul noted an increase in the cost of living in their areas, this proportion dropped to 35% in Aegean & Central Anatolia.

A second statement on economic implications included in the Turkish questionnaire was, “Syrians should be paid the same wages as Turkish people.” The results reveal that Turkish people have become marginally more in favour of equitable wages: while more than 40% of the Turks felt Syrians should receive the same wages across all three survey rounds, the percentage who thought Syrians should not be paid the same dropped by 3%, between July 2017 and January 2018. The decrease was more noteworthy in Aegean & Central Anatolia (5%).

“There is negligence in paying the Syrian workers’ wages and they get paid the least…”

هناك تقصير في دفع أجور العمال والسوريين يتقادمون الأحمر أدناً بواقع

---

**The presence of Syrians has increased the cost of living in my neighbourhood**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Round</th>
<th>Increase</th>
<th>No Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Syrians should be paid the same wages as Turkish people**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Round</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some questions on provision of assistance were included in the Turkish questionnaire. These aimed to understand the host community’s perceptions of the vulnerability of refugees, and their opinions about what assistance refugees should receive and who should provide it.

The responses to the first statement “Syrians families are more vulnerable than poor Turkish families,” did not vary significantly across the surveys from July 2017 to January 2018. More than 40% of the Turkish respondents did not believe that Syrians were more vulnerable than the Turkish poor, while 33% of the Turks thought that Syrians were more vulnerable.

More than half of Turkish respondents agreed that “Syrian people should be assisted to cover their basic needs by NGOs, international organisations and/or foreign governments,” and again there was barely any shift in opinions from July 2017 to January 2018.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syrian families are more vulnerable than poor Turkish families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I think Syrian people should be assisted to cover their basic needs by NGOs, international organisations and/or foreign governments.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Economic implications

Opinions regarding governmental assistance for the refugees was examined through the statement “The Turkish Government should provide assistance to Syrian families so they can meet their basic needs.” From July 2017 to January 2018, the proportion of Turkish people supporting this assistance increased slightly from 41% to 43% with respondents from Aegean & Central Anatolia driving the increase. While a larger share of people agreed than disagreed with this statement, it should be noted that more than one in three still disagreed with governmental assistance. People in the 55-64 age group were the most open to government assistance for refugees (64% agreed with basic needs assistance).

“Syrians should be allowed to benefit from government provided health and education facilities in Turkey” was another statement included in the Turkish questionnaire. With a 4% increase from July 2017 to January 2018 (5% in Istanbul and Aegean & Central Anatolia), half of Turkish respondents agreed that Syrians should benefit from the hospitals and schools in Turkey, while a sizable 28% still opposed Syrians’ rights to use these public services as of January 2018, but this is 5% lower than in July 2017.

“We thank the Turkish government for its generous assistance to the Syrian people…”

نشكر الحكومة التركية لما كدمته من مساعدة للشعب السوري
Safety, security and stability

Statements were included in both the Turkish and Arabic surveys to capture the perceptions of the refugees and the host community regarding safety, security and stability. The statement in the Turkish questionnaire was, "The presence of Syrians has affected the crime rate in my neighbourhood". More than two in five host community members perceived that crime rates had increased in their neighbourhoods because of the presence of Syrians, a slight drop of 3% since July 2017. There was a wide gap between perception and reality in this regard given that official statistics show that only 1.32% of reported security incidents in Turkey from 2014 to 2017 involved Syrians either as perpetrators or victims. These are mostly disputes among themselves.

Efforts to point out the facts, such as the Ministry of International Affairs press release regarding crime statistics can meaningfully contribute towards overcoming prejudice and building social cohesion between the Syrian refugees and Turkish host community.

In the Arabic questionnaire, the statement regarding safety was "Most of the time, I feel safe in my neighbourhood". The significant majority of refugee participants (79%) agreed with this statement with a 3% increase from July 2017 to January 2018. The proportion of refugee women who did not feel safe fell by an encouraging 6% from July 2017 to January 2018.

Safety, security and stability

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The Arabic questionnaire included two statements related to refugees’ perception of stability in Turkey: “I believe I can stay in Turkey as long as the conflict continues”, and “I feel my children hold a chance of a bright future in Turkey”. The large majority of Syrians concurred with both of these statements with slight increases in the proportion that agreed (by 3% and 2% respectively) between July 2017 and January 2018, indicating a continued sense of stability for refugees. The rise in the proportion of refugees who believed they could stay in Turkey through the continued conflict was most notable in the South-eastern region (4%).

While on average 72% of refugees felt that their children had a bright future in Turkey, across the three survey rounds, women were slightly less optimistic than men with 14% stating that they believed their children do not have a chance of a bright future in Turkey compared to 10% of refugee men.
4. Conclusions and next steps

Results from the social cohesion surveys of July 2017, October 2017 and January 2018 show that refugees continue to have positive and open attitudes about social interaction with the Turkish community. In particular, refugee women’s attitudes regarding their interactions with the host community have evolved in a positive direction. Refugees have a sense of stability and an optimistic outlook, with the majority feeling safe and settled in Turkey and hopeful that their children face a bright future.

The Syrians who participated in the focus group discussions reported that their Turkish neighbours helped them with food baskets, clothing and furniture and sometimes with medical emergencies and that they invited each other to family celebrations. Indeed the overwhelming majority of refugees (on average 73% across all three rounds) said that they found Turkish people supportive. The results also indicate that Turkish attitudes toward Syrians have gradually improved, especially in Istanbul and Aegean & Central Anatolia regions, where Syrians only arrived as refugees after the conflict started. This is in comparison to the South-eastern provinces where Turks have historically mingled with and received Syrians because of their geographic proximity.

The proportion of Turkish people expressing opposition to Syrian integration and equality decreased slightly indicating some progress towards tolerance and harmonious coexistence. Over the six months, both groups showed a slight increasing tendency to feel happy about working alongside each other, an increased willingness to share an apartment building and for their children to be friends. By January 2018, Turks were less likely to believe that Syrians should only live in camps than they were the previous July – although one in three still held this view. And the results reveal that Turkish people have become marginally more favourable towards equitable wages: more than two in five felt Syrians should receive the same salaries.

These findings are particularly important given the aforementioned reticence Turkish society holds towards migrants as revealed in the public opinion research. In addition, the proportion of refugees saying that landlords charged refugees higher rent than they did Turks decreased - also providing evidence of more equitable treatment of refugees.

However, Syrians tended to be more open to their Turkish hosts than vice versa. For example, refugees were considerably more likely to feel comfortable about working with Turks than Turks were with Syrians (84% vs 45% in January 2018) and more likely to want to share an apartment building with Turks than Turks with Syrians (70% vs. 39% in January 2018). The overwhelming majority of Syrians would be fine with their children being friends with Turkish children (rising by 5% to 86% by January 2018) compared to 46% of Turkish respondents.

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Conclusions and next steps

The results from the focus groups discussions indicate that the type of disputes between the Syrian and Turkish neighbours are similar to the issues that can be found between any neighbours globally, such as children making too much noise or leaving rubbish around. However, there was a wide gap between perception and reality regarding crime. More than two in five host community members perceived that crime rates had increased in their neighbourhoods because of the presence of Syrians, while official statistics show that only 1.32% of reported security incidents in Turkey from 2014 to 2017 involved Syrians. To correct such misperceptions, the Turkish community should be presented with clear and accurate facts, which would help break down a social barrier for those Turks who avoid social interaction with Syrians for fear of being victims of crime.

Language remains another barrier to social integration between the host and refugee communities. The survey found that more than half of refugees do not speak Turkish, which also emerged as an obstacle cited by refugees in focus group discussions. These participants said they found it particularly challenging communicating in Turkish in hospitals, schools, police stations, and DGMM offices. They preferred to use translators in government offices to avoid any errors or misunderstanding in legal or formal documentation resulting from the language barrier. Assisting with language learning programmes that are compatible with the working hours of the refugees would ease their daily problems of communicating with both Turkish officials at the institutions, and the society.

The three rounds of the social cohesion survey do not provide any evidence or implication that the ESSN program has caused the host population to object to Syrians benefitting from widespread assistance. Although Turks were more likely to feel that Syrian people should be assisted to cover their basic needs by NGOs, international organisations and/or foreign governments (55%) than by the Turkish Government (43%), still half felt Syrians should be allowed to benefit from government-provided health and education facilities in Turkey.

Since responses to the social cohesion surveys indicate slight changes from July 2017 to January 2018, future iterations of this monitoring exercise in 2018 could include different questions to provide value-added information. Given that under the second round of European support, there is likely to be more focus on enhancing refugees’ self-reliance and livelihoods, one possibility is to include questions that would help decide the best way to support self-reliance, such as vocational training, language support or legal services. The extent to which host communities become involved in facilitating refugee integration could also be explored through additional questions.

Furthermore, the social cohesion survey could be revised to include questions that would inform the development of projects that would improve host communities’ livelihoods and how the international community could contribute to such projects.
Annex I Arabic Questionnaire (English)

What is your age and gender?

What is your nationality?
⇒ Turkish
⇒ Syrian
⇒ Iraqi
⇒ Afghan
⇒ Other

I would not mind to work side by side with Turkish people.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

I would not mind to share my apartment building with Turkish families.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

I would not mind my children (or future children) to have Turkish friends.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

I would not mind if my children (or future children) married a Turkish person.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

I find Turkish people helpful to Syrians.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

Most of the time, I feel safe in my neighbourhood.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

I speak Turkish, or I am learning to speak Turkish.
⇒ Yes
⇒ No
⇒ No, but willing to learn

In my neighbourhood, landlords charge the same rent to refugees as to Turkish people.
⇒ Less rent to refugees
⇒ Same
⇒ More rent to refugees
⇒ Don’t know

I believe I can stay in Turkey as long as the conflict continues in my home country.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

I feel my children hold a chance of a bright future in Turkey.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree
ما هي جنسيتك؟
تركي
سوري
عراقي
أفغاني
آخر
أوافق وبشدة.
ليس لدي مانع بالعمل جنباً إلى جنب مع الشعب التركي.
أعارض وبشدة.
أعارض.
محايد.
أوافق.
أوافق وبشدة.
أوافق أن أسكن في بناء يحوي على عائلات تركية أخرى.
أعارض وبشدة.
أعارض.
محايد.
أوافق.
أوافق وبشدة.
أعتقد أن الشعب التركي شعب يساعد السوريين.
أعارض وبشدة.
أعارض.
محايد.
أوافق.
أوافق وبشدة.
اتكلمت اللغة التركية، أو أتعلم اللغة التركية.
نعم.
لا.
لا، ولكن على استعداد للتعلم.
يرفض من المال المال لإيجار من اللاجئين والأتراك في معظم الأحيان.
إيجار للاجئين أقل.
نفس.
إيجار للاجئين أكثر.
إنه لا أعلم.
أعتقد أنني أستطيع البقاء في تركيا طالما استمر الصراع في بلدي.
أعارض وبشدة.
أعارض.
محايد.
أوافق.
أوافق وبشدة.
أشعر أن أطفالي يملكون فرصة مشرقة في تركيا.
أعارض وبشدة.
أعارض.
محايد.
أوافق.
أوافق وبشدة.
أعتقد أن اللاجئين والمهاجرين من أصول乖乖ба نيل.  
أعارض وبشدة.
أعارض.
محايد.
أوافق.
أوافق وبشدة.
أعتقد أن ناسك في بناي يحق على عائلات تركية أخرى.
أعارض وبشدة.
أعارض.
محايد.
أوافق.
أوافق وبشدة.
أعتقد أننا أستطيع البقاء في تركيا.
أعارض وبشدة.
أعارض.
محايد.
أوافق.
أوافق وبشدة.
أعتقد أن اللاجئين يملكون فرصة مشرقة في تركيا.
أعارض وبشدة.
أعارض.
محايد.
أوافق.
أوافق وبشدة.
Annex II Turkish Questionnaire (English)

What is your age and gender?

What is your nationality
⇒ Turkish
⇒ Syrian
⇒ Iraqi
⇒ Afghan
⇒ Other

Do you agree or disagree...

I would not mind to work side by side with Syrians.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

I would not mind, to share my apartment building with Syrian families.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

I would not mind my children (or future children) to have Syrian friends.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

I would not mind if my children (or future children) married a Syrian person.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

Syrians should be allowed to benefit from government provided health and education facilities in Turkey.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

Syrians should be paid the same wages as Turkish people.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

The presence of Syrians has affected the cost of living in my neighbourhood.
⇒ Decreased cost of living
⇒ No change
⇒ Increased cost of living
⇒ Don't know

The presence of Syrians has affected the crime rate in my neighbourhood.
⇒ Decreased crime rates
⇒ No change
⇒ Increased crime rates
⇒ Don't know

Syrians should live only in the camps.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

Syrian families are more vulnerable than poor Turkish families.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

Syrian families should be supported by humanerian assistance organizations for their basic needs.
⇒ Strongly disagree
⇒ Disagree
⇒ Neutral
⇒ Agree
⇒ Strongly agree

How often do you interact with refugees? (e.g. talk to, work with, do business with...)
⇒ Daily
⇒ Weekly
⇒ Monthly
⇒ Never
⇒ Don't know.
Annex II Turkish Questionnaire (Turkish)

Yaşınız ve cinsiyetiniz nedir?

Uyrugunuz nedir?
⇒ Türk
⇒ Suriyeli
⇒ Iraklı
⇒ Afgan
⇒ Diğer

Lütfen asadıdaki ifadeyi katılıp katılmadığınızı belirtiniz...

Suriyeliler ile aynı işyerinde çalışmaktan rahatsızlık duymaz représ.
⇒ Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
⇒ Katılmıyorum
⇒ Kararsızım
⇒ Katılıyorum
⇒ Kesinlikle katılıyorum

Suriyeli ailelerle aynı bina da oturmaktan rahatsızlık duymazsınız.
⇒ Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
⇒ Katılmıyorum
⇒ Kararsızım
⇒ Katılıyorum
⇒ Kesinlikle katılıyorum

Çocuklarınızın, Suriyeli çocuklarla arkadaşlık etmesinden rahatsızlık duymam ya da çocuğum yok ama olsaydı Suriyeli çocuklarla arkadaşlık etmesinden rahatsızlık duymazsınız.
⇒ Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
⇒ Katılmıyorum
⇒ Kararsızım
⇒ Katılıyorum
⇒ Kesinlikle katılıyorum

Çocuklarınızın, Suriyeli biriyle evlenmesinden rahatsız olmam ya da çocuğum yok ama olsaydı Suriyeli biriyle evlenmesinden rahatsızlık duymazsınız.
⇒ Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
⇒ Katılmıyorum
⇒ Kararsızım
⇒ Katılıyorum
⇒ Kesinlikle katılıyorum

Suriyeliler, Türkiye’deki devlet okullarından ve hastanelerinden yararlanmasına izin verilmediir.
⇒ Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
⇒ Katılmıyorum
⇒ Kararsızım
⇒ Katılıyorum
⇒ Kesinlikle katılıyorum

Suriyelilerin, varlığı yaşadığım muhitte hayat pahalılığını etkiledi.
⇒ Hayat pahalılığını azalttı
⇒ Değişiklik olda
⇒ Hayat pahalılığını artırdı
⇒ Bilmiyorum

Suriyelilerin sadece kamplarda yaşamları gereker.
⇒ Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
⇒ Katılmıyorum
⇒ Kararsızım
⇒ Katılıyorum
⇒ Kesinlikle katılıyorum

Suriyeli aileler, fakir Türk ailelere kıyasla daha zor durumlar.
⇒ Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
⇒ Katılmıyorum
⇒ Kararsızım
⇒ Katılıyorum
⇒ Kesinlikle katılıyorum

Suriyeli ailelerin temel ihtiyaçlarını karşılayabilmeleri için insanı yardıma kuruluları tarafından desteklenmeleri gerektirdir.
⇒ Kesinlikle katılmıyorum
⇒ Katılmıyorum
⇒ Kararsızım
⇒ Katılıyorum
⇒ Kesinlikle katılıyorum

Ne sıklıkla Suriyelilerle etkileşime geçersiniz? (Onlarla konuşmak, birlikte çalışmak, birlikte iş yapmak…vs.)
⇒ Her gün
⇒ Haftada birkaç kez
⇒ Ayda birkaç kez
⇒ Hiç iletişimim yok
⇒ Fikrim yok
## Annex III Provinces per Stratum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stratum</th>
<th>1st Round</th>
<th>2nd Round</th>
<th>3rd Round</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Istanbul</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 South-east</td>
<td>Hatay, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa, Adana, Siirt, Batman, Diyarbakir, Mardin</td>
<td>Hatay, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa, Adana, Batman, Diyarbakir, Mardin</td>
<td>Hatay, Gaziantep, Sanliurfa, Adana, Batman, Diyarbakir, Mardin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Central Anatolia and Aegean Region</td>
<td>Ankara, Aydin, Balikesir, Bursa, Denizili, Izmir, Kayseri, Konya, Manisa, Mugla</td>
<td>Ankara, Aydin, Balikesir, Bursa, Denizili, Izmir, Kayseri, Mugla</td>
<td>Ankara, Aydin, Balikesir, Bursa, Denizili, Izmir, Kayseri, Mugla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SAVING LIVES, CHANGING LIVES