

Syrians in Istanbul and Post-war Syrian Ghettos

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Executive Summary

Ghetto is a concept that portrays the parts of a city which have not been integrated with or caused to be segregated from other living spaces. The concept also describes an urban area where the social and residential factors intersect through clustering formed by idiosyncratic lifestyles and sociocultural affinities where homogenous areas are created, promoting social and residential segregation within the heterogeneous structure of the city.

Until the 1980s, the ghetto concept was rather a product of ethnical, religious, and social segregation. Thereafter the concept was used in a larger context than that of its original meaning. The ghetto concept became a reference to the socioeconomically poor parts of a city deprived of infrastructure and any social facilities. Then by the 2000s, closed communities/secure housing estates, which emerged as a part of the consumption culture and an urban segregation model, became the modern or rich ghettos. This shift in conceptualizing ghetto, especially after 1980, dropped the reference to the akin nature of ethnical, religious, sectarian, and cultural homogeneities, and turned to a symbol and a tool of class separation.

Beginning 2010 a number of uprisings broke out in the Middle East and North Africa. Encountering the uprisings triggered waves of forced displacement, the largest of which concerns the 5.6 million Syrians who are scattered in the neighboring counties. The relocation of Syrians, however, brought along a new feature: post-war ghettos, namely in Turkey. The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey in cooperation with Heinrich Böll Stiftung Turkey Representation undertook the responsibility of navigating the post-war ghetto phenomenon in three districts of Istanbul: Fatih, Sultanbeyli, and Sultangazi

The primary purpose of the study is to identify the reasons behind the ghettoization process in the aforementioned districts, highlight the socioeconomic dynamics in the pilot destinations, underline the level of interaction between the new arrivals and the hosting communities, showcase the role of stakeholders, mainly localities and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), in the emergence of the ghettos, and propose a set of policy recommendation on the prospects of post-war ghettoization at the local and national levels.

The results of the study are based on field visits where in-depth interviews took place with 370 individuals to verify the presence of the five basic parameters of ghettoization: i) isolated area, ii) residential segregation, iii) homogeneous relations, iv) social exclusion, and v) population density, which are present in both Fatih and Sultangazi, effectively turning certain areas within the districts into post-war ghettos. On the other hand, the characteristics of ghetto are absent in Sultanbeyli, allowing a space of comparison while considering the historical formation and economic structures of the three districts.

I. Introduction

- 1. Sociocultural, social, and residential segregation practices give a heterogeneous identity to cities within the multidimensional and complex structure of the urban life.** This heterogeneous look of cities brings about urban areas woven with networks of homogeneous relationships covering sometimes socioeconomic similarities, sometimes ethnical and religious convergences, and cultural and sectarian homogeneities. The networks of homogeneous relationships appear in urban areas in the form of living spaces: ghettos.
- 2. The ghetto concept until the 1980s was rather a product of ethnical, socio-cultural, and sectarian segregation, and treated as a sperate homogenous integrity.** Thereafter, the concept covered a larger context than that of its original meaning. It became a referance to areas of a city sheltering minority groups of with low socioeconomic level who share a common origin.
- 3. The closed communities/secure housing estates, which emerged in the 2000s as part of the consumption culture and an urban segregation model, started to be called modern or rich ghettos.** Therefore, the ghetto concept stopped being a sign of sociocultural separation by religion, ethnics and sect, and turned to be tool of class segregation.
- 4. The waves of forced displacement in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, especially the one from Syria, carried millions to new urban settings.** Seeking a fresh start in different surrondings, Syrians brought along socioeconomic and cultural traditions practiced within specific quarters of the greater urban structures. These traditions and practices are, from one end, an extension of a certain lifestyle and from the other end, a result of outcasting phenomenon.
- 5. The study hereafter is structured under five sections.** The first sections covers the historical developments of the ghetto concept in the literature. The second sections addresses the basic characteristics and distinctive variables of the ghetto concept, emphasizes certain common keywords that stress the original context of ghetto, and underlines the distinctive parameters that differentiate a ghetto from other living spaces. The third section includes a discussion on the ghetto by reference to exemples in Turkey. In this part, which covers the ghettoization process and the way the interpretation of the concept in Turkey, will cover a historical context spread over three periods: 1940s-1960s, 1960s-1980s, and post-1980s. The examples from the the aforementioned periods are Balat, a Jewish quarter that emerged during the Ottoman era until the birth of Israel in 1948; –Sulukule, a 1000 year-old Roma quarter, (iii) Gaziosmanpaşa quarter, a result of the sectarian pressure and social exclusion of Alleviates in the 1960s, (iv) İzmir Mavişehir housing compound, an outcome of the neoliberal economic policies that emerged in Turkey in the 1980s, , and (v) Önder Quarter in Ankara, formed by Syrians who forcibely migrated to Turkey

as a result of the ongoing war. The evaluation made in relation to Balat, Sulukule, Gaziosmanpaşa, and Mavişehir are under the general findings of the literature. The one with regard to Önder Quarter is based on field research conducted prior to this study in the neighborhood. The fourth part of the study elaborates on the findings obtained from Fatih, Sultanbeyli, and Sultangazi districts. The fifth and last part presents a number of policy recommendations.

II. General Evaluation

Literature review

- 6. A Ghetto refers to the urban area where people of a certain religion, race, culture or ethnic root live together** (Karimi, 2011: 37). With regard, the term ghetto which was first used for the Jews living in Europe in 14th Century is used to describe areas where people of a certain religion, race, culture or ethnicity live voluntarily or involuntarily in isolation (Cardillo 2003: 55-56). In fact, the word ghetto comes from the word foundry because in the 10th century the Jews in Venice were forced to live in an old foundry (foundry corresponds to the word ghetto or ghèto in Venetian dialect), and were confined to that area and not allowed to go out (Ateş 2010: 60). The ghettos that continued to exist until the French Revolution and thereafter were known as quarters where minorities, notably the Jews, were forced to live in order to control them (Vaughan 1997: 24-26).
- 7. The ghettoization process through history is shaped by the culture and socioeconomic characteristics of every country.** Take for example the Jewish ghettos in Lodz and Warsaw during the 1940s of the last century. These ghettos sheltered a high number of people in small settlement areas and were bound to lead a quite life of low standards. As a result, communities of free slaves surfaced (Ghetto 2016). The emergence of ghettos, however, has different reasons across the Atlantic. In the United States, ghettos generally refer to the places abandoned by white Americans to black Americans, largely in Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Washington, and Harlem in New York. The rejection of Black Americans, who account for approximately 14.4 percent of the US population today, combined with the nature and living conditions, turned these places into centers of rebellion and opposition to an exploitative and discriminative society and pockets of resistance against assimilation and the loss of ethnical and cultural characteristics (Ghetto 2016 and Census Black Population Estimates 2016).
- 8. Ghetto is a concept linked with certain values.** One of which is demographics. In order to describe an urban space as a ghetto, a minimum of 60 percent of the clustering must be formed by the same religious, racial, sectarian or ethnic groups living within that area (Vaughan 1997). Similarly, a ghetto describes "a set of neighborhoods where an extensive social group lives" (Massey and Denton 1993). What is more, the social superiority of the greater homogenous

population triggers the establishment of a ghetto as an involuntarily spatially concentrated area used by the dominant society to separate and to limit a particular population group, externally defined as racial or ethnic, held to be and treated as inferior (Marcuse 2005). Moreover, when ethnically and socially homogeneous universe characterized by extreme levels of physical and social insecurity come together, the "hyper ghetto" surfaces (Wacquant 1997). Furthermore, members of a ghettos possess certain lifestyles, construct strong ties with one another, lead homogenous relationships, and suffer from severe discrimination (Wirth 1927). The latter bases homogenous relationships particularly on the set of values regarding the sharing of a common social life. Accordingly, homogeneity increases isolation and exclusion between the residents of the area and the rest of the society. Homogeneous relationships in ghettos, where vocation-, class-, ownership- or religion-oriented minority groups live, could be addressed also in terms of solidarity and trust dynamics. The exclusion of certain minority groups due to a prejudice increases solidarity- and trust-driven solidarity between these groups (Luis Small Mario 2008: 389-398). Thus, and according to the aforementioned reviews, ghetto is no longer a term used to describe a settlement officially created for Jews. Rather, a ghetto is an idiosyncratic way of accommodation as a local cultural area in which a minority is effectively dominant, and a homogeneous living unit which develops in cities with an urban culture of a multidimensional and complex structure (Wirth 1927).

9. Equally important is identifying whether ghettos emerge voluntary or involuntary. A ghetto could arise from voluntary or involuntary separation of racial, ethnic, religious, sectarian or other minorities in several cities (Gans 2007: 176-184). On the other hand, while Jewish ghettos in Europe emerged involuntarily, as abovementioned, the ones in the United States did so voluntarily in particular areas as a result of restrictions on rights, opportunities, and activities of Black-Americans (Wirth 1927). Furthermore, there is a reference to the fact that compulsion brings along social inclusion. The continuity of undertaking activities, which produce the ethno-cultural identity, solidarity, and trust in each other are taken into account within this context (Duman and Alacahan 2012: 73). Additionally, Mario (2008) argues that what underlies this phenomenon is not the forced or involuntary segregation, but the presence of limited sets of choice. David Harvey (2016) describes ghettos as living units arising from racial, cultural clustering, layering and polarization which develop voluntarily or involuntarily. In other studies, a ghetto is defined as an area where people from a specific ethnic background, culture, or religion live in seclusion, voluntarily or more commonly involuntarily with varying degrees of enforcement by the dominant social group (New World Encyclopedia 2017). Evidently, it is difficult to distinguish between the voluntary and involuntary reasons behind the development of a racial-, cultural-, religious- and sectarian-driven segregation.

10. The term ghetto generally refers to a community created by political and social dynamics, and a clustering of excluded and isolated communities of individuals with the same social

and origin, showing, in return, homogeneity rather than a reflection of historical experiences. Moreover, clustering created by sociocultural similarities in the same settlement areas, and the practices maintained in these structures should be evaluated in the context of ever-expanding meaning of the ghetto concept. Accordingly, it will be meaningful to describe the ghetto concept as an urban area with its own lifestyle and institutions, which has been subject to discrimination due to religious, ethnic, sectarian, and socioeconomic situations compared with the greater society, constituting an urban practice where the social and spatial factors intersect.

The Ghetto Concept Reinterpreted in 1980s onward

- 11. Neoliberal economic policies, which developed particularly in the 1980s, changed the interpretation of the term ghetto to become as a reference to areas with poor service and social facilities.** For instance, Marcuse (2005), reinterpreted the term ghetto after 1980 to be an involuntarily, spatially concentrated area, used by the dominant society to separate and to limit a particular population group, externally defined by racial or ethnic measures, and held to be, and treated as, inferior, and subject to discrimination and characterized by poverty. Wilson (1997), on the other hand, describes ghettos as areas with a weak infrastructure, insufficient amenities, where disadvantaged and low-income populations dwell. Hence, ghettos became areas with inadequate facilities and shaped by the outcome of the economic organization after 1980. Since then, ghetto started to lose its reference to an ethnical, cultural, religious and sectarian homogeneity, and became an indication of class segregation.
- 12. In the 1980s, the phenomenon of poverty became the pivot in discussions about conceptual analysis of the ghetto concept.** Consequently, the question to answer became: "To what extent poverty corresponds to the original context of ghetto?" For instance, Wacquant (1997) first of all discusses correlation of ghetto with deep and widespread poverty (Duman and Alacahan, 2012: 57). He examines the relationship of ghetto with the urban setting viewed as poor. As a result, Wacquant arrives at the conclusion that ghettos are not urban settings where poor families and individuals live. Instead, Wacquant states that ghetto should be understood as an institution, not accumulated pathologies, underlining the fact that ghettos are places organized by different principles in the framework of structural and strategic limitations. Accordingly, ghetto is an institutional form. A definition that emerges from compulsory or voluntary concentration of homogeneous communities consistent with the historical experience. Therefore, poverty is not one of the basic characteristics of the ghetto concept. Moreover areas described as ghettos in many cities are the richer parts of the city in terms of welfare. Similarly, Sema Erder (2006) arrives at the same conclusion. In her study, Erder examines the Bronzeville ghetto in Chicago, US, where Afro-Americans live. Bronzeville is the place where the socioeconomically richest segments of the city of Chicago have settled. Similarly, Erder who examines the ghettos in Rinkeby Quarter in Stockholm, Sweden, where dominantly Turkish immigrants live, states that although these are

ghettos, the houses are not bad, and people are not poor. (Erder 2006: 6 and Duman and Alacahan 2012: 57).

Figure 1: Ghettos in Bronzeville, Chicago (left) and Rinkeby in Sweden (right)



Source: Ghettos in Bronzeville, Chicago and Rinkeby in Sweden (Wolf, J. (2017), <http://newsroom.ucla.edu> / Pitts J. (2013). www.afropean.com)

13. The mechanization process of the 1990s increased the demand for qualified employees. Under a similar demand, job opportunities and living areas expanded beyond cities. As a result, it became necessary to redeploy public services, effectively leading to re-interpreting ghettos as a reference to the inner parts of the cities where the unemployed, the poor, and dangerous people live (Wilson 1997: 28-35). During that period, the term ghetto also assumed the meaning of "slum areas". Almost in any developing country, we see the slum phenomenon: jakale in Mexico, rancho in Panama, favela in Brazil, macambo in Argentina, gourbeville in Tunisia, casbah in Algeria, bidonville in Morocco, and bustee in India (Keleş 2014: 363-421). A slum area can be simply defined as an urban area with dense population characterized by substandard housing and lack of maintenance. Appropriate to the purpose, "squatting" appears in the urban setting when the population that migrate to the city cannot afford their accommodation needs through legitimate means. Therefore, the social and cultural living spaces in a ghetto do not constitute a general character of a slum area (UN-HABITAT 2007). As mentioned above, the ghetto concept does not necessarily mean unplanned, disorganized settlement areas where low qualified, poor groups live. Ghetto is a homogenous living space within a homogenous urban structure where homogeneous social characteristics are concentrated (Yavuz 2003: 84). For this reason, the slums in Turkey and developing countries do not correspond, in real sense, to the ghetto concept in literature. Nevertheless, slum areas are not regions pushed by the city, but 'resting pools' for immigrants. Immigrants undergo an integration process in "attached-cities" formed around the city borders and make a soft transition to the city in time (Kılıncı and Bezci 2011: 327). Slum areas are an urbanization problem rather than places reflecting an ethnical, religious, cultural or sectarian homogeneity. Having enjoyed an increased awareness with the

second half of the 20th century and accommodating a large population rather in the cities of developing countries, the slum phenomenon, is at its core, a migration and settlement problem (Çakır 2011: 211-212).

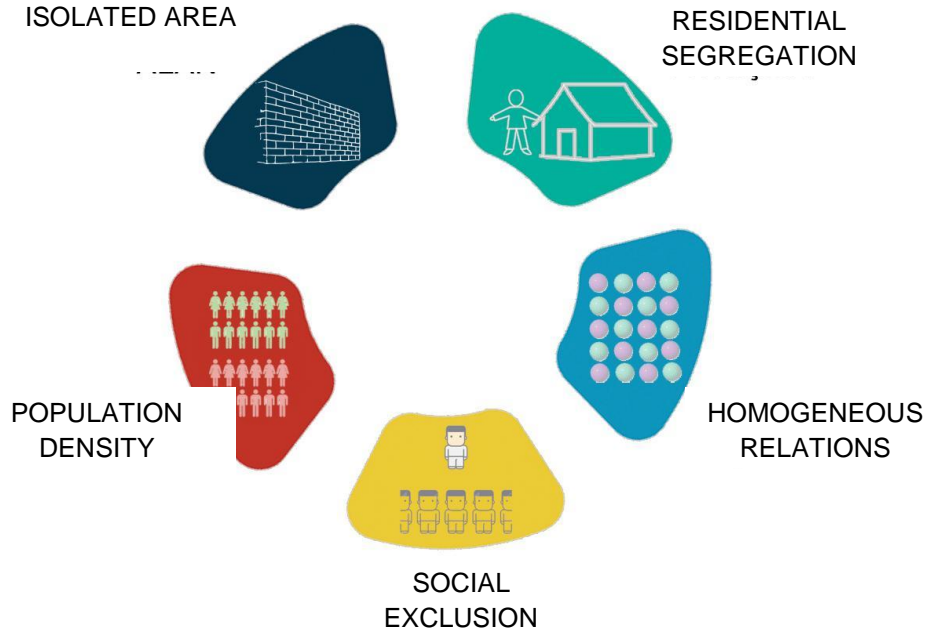
14. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the concept of ghetto was reinterpreted to reflect the life habits of the new middle class. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, added a new dimension to the term “ghetto” to reflect the new living habits of a new middle class. The new middle class escaped pollution and crowd of the urban areas and set up living circles with others of the same income-level. This escape also created ‘gated communities’ or ‘modern ghettos’ which are space productions of the consumer culture where housing is an important status indicator (Marmasan, 2014:221). However, these areas do not meet the actual use of the ghetto term. The main factor that differentiates these gated communities or modern ghettos from the classical ghettos is that the ghettos are dependent on socio-cultural values; luxury sites are based on the spatial reflection of consumer culture.

15. In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, we see the emergence of post-war ghettos formed by forcibly displaced people who sought refuge in other countries. The new living areas or post-war ghettos, as termed by the authors of this study, are urban areas woven with homogenous relationship networks covering sociocultural, ethnical, religious, cultural, and sectarian homogeneities. These areas are inhabited by refugees who were forced to leave their homeland. In doing so, refugees created living spaces similar to the ones they are familiar with and fall directly under the scope of the ghetto concept in its original context. Post-war ghettos share similarity to the Jewish ghettos in the sense that it bring together a population that leads its daily life within the ghetto limits, as segregation being a major characteristic of ghettoization, and the phenomenon of becoming introverted. The following parts of the study will demonstrate how these areas correspond to the original meaning of the ghetto concept in the light of the field findings.

The Basic Characteristics and Distinctive Variables of the ‘Ghetto’ Concept

16. There are distinctive parameters to differentiate ghetto from other living spaces. These keywords and distinctive variables stress the real context of ghetto and differentiate it from other living spaces (see Figure 2). These keywords and distinctive variables were analyzed by various sociologists such as Louis Wirth who examined the concept in depth.

Figure 2: The Basic Characteristics and Distinctive Variables of the 'Ghetto' Concept



17. There are distinctive parameters to differentiate ghetto from other living spaces.

Sociologists such as Wirth, Park, and Burgess, emphasized five main variables which are a cornerstone in the study of the ghetto concept. These are i) isolated area, ii) residential segregation, iii) homogenous relationships, iv) social exclusion, and v) population density. The variables are considered as measures reflecting the basic and intertwined characteristics of the ghetto concept.

18. The first distinctive variable of the ghetto concept is the isolated area. According to Robert Park (1915: 577-612), an isolated area is the separation of an area from physically neighboring ones and the determination of its boundaries by walls or similar physical separators. In addition, isolated areas have the least contact with the remaining parts of a city. Moreover, isolated areas in a city protect its residents from the general settings of urban life (1915: 577-612). According to Roth and Petropoulos (2005: 304), residents of a ghetto who live in isolated areas are not alienated from the urban life. These isolated areas make it easy to share their sociocultural experience among themselves and protect them against external factors.

19. The second variable at the core of the discussions over the ghetto concept is the residential segregation. The latter distinguishes a ghetto from other residential areas. What is more, residential segregation is a concept, in sociocultural terms, referring to an urban area where people of a certain religion, sect, race, culture or ethnic root live together (Karimi 2011: 37). With regard, residential segregation depends on religion, sect, race, culture or ethnical root

As also noted by Marcuse (2005), ghetto could be a residentially concentrated area segregated from the dominant social class by race, ethnical root and similar sociocultural characteristics. Equally important is sociocultural segregation; all kinds of segregation and classification based on race, ethnical root, religion, etc. (Wirth 1927).

20. The third variable that defines the ghetto concept is the homogenous relations created in the urban areas. Homogeneity in urban areas depends on a set of values related to the quality of social life. This homogeneity strengthens the relationship between the residents of the area, but increases the segregation from the rest of the society (Gans 2007: 176-184). Homogenous relation, as an expression of socialization in general norms, describes a homogenous culture among the residents of the ghetto and re-generates the homogenous culture (Gellner 1987). Additionally, a homogenous relation is a relation directly formed among the ghetto residents. Hence, reflecting the area's common customs, traditions, and cultural homogeneity. The established homogenous relations lead to a homogeneous society as widely discussed in sociology. Thus, a homogeneous society is one formed by people who are of a common tradition and root, and who have very little social segregation between themselves. Therefore, homogenous relations formed between ghetto residents with similar sociocultural values create a homogenous society in that area (Bauman 2003: 88). Homogeneous relations within the ghetto include, inter alia, the preference of the residents to use each other for shopping rather than external parties, to use their own language, to marry from each other, and to prioritize intra-commercial activities.

21. The forth variable of the conceptual discussion over ghetto is social exclusion. Social exclusion is defined as the process through which residents of a ghetto are restricted or not allowed to exercise or benefit from various rights, opportunities, and resources. Social exclusion also describes lack of basic needs in which interrelated and multidimensional social ties become important (Silver 1994: 531-578). Additionally, social exclusion refers to insufficient access to services, lack of social protection and basic services, and exclusion from institutional relationships despite increased welfare and urban life quality (Tartanoğlu 2010, 1-13). Wirth (1927) states that a high level of social exclusion prevails in ghettos while underlining the necessity that exclusion should not be associated with poverty. Vašečka (2012) notes that ghettoization consists of various stages that serve as both reasons and consequences of the ghettoization process, namely; exclusion of ghetto residents by other segments of the society, deprivation of ghetto residents of some rights and services voluntarily or involuntarily, or social exclusion. According to Wirth and Vašečka, social exclusion experienced in ghettos gives rise to transforming these areas into pockets of violence, poverty and narcotics. Wacquant (1997:345) reports that ghettos became areas marked by subclass behaviors such as violence, anomy, crime, dropouts, divorce, sex, and pregnancy at young age due to social exclusion (Duman and Alacahan 2012: 58). According to Wacquant, basic social exclusion problems behind ghettoization are i) economic

needs and financial poverty, ii) social insecurity iii) class-related prejudices arising from lack of equal opportunity and racial/ethnic antipathy, iv) failure to meet basic needs due to inefficient and ineffective rendering of public services, and v) residential-symbolic stigmatization (Wacquant, 1997: 345, Duman and Alacahan 2012: 58).

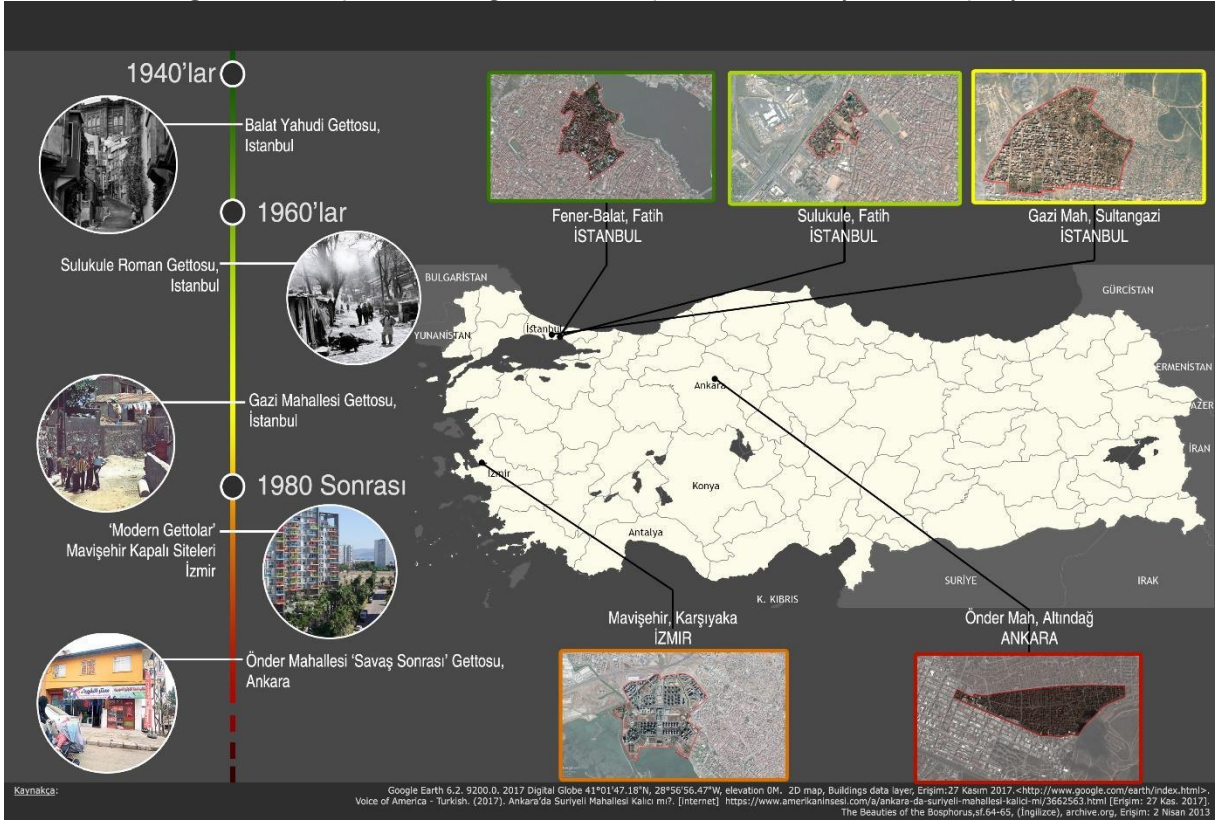
22. The fifth and the final variable of the ghetto concept is population density. As mentioned in the previous section, there is a relationship between demographics and ghetto. For example, Vaughan (1997) underlines the fact that a minimum of 60 percent of homogeneous groups should live in the same urban area in order to describe that area as a ghetto. Marcuse (2005) correlates ghetto with demographics and defines ghetto as spatially concentrated areas of a dominant population that have similar sociocultural characteristics. According to Massey and Denton (1993: 18-19), ghetto is described as a "set of quarters where mainly a certain group resides". Vaughan (1997) considers ghetto as a "clustering related with population density". According to Wilson (1997) who defends similar ideas to those of Vaughan; the population density of a ghetto must be at a minimum of 40 percent and over. Consequently, population is regarded as an important measure in evaluating whether an area can be described as a ghetto, considering the homogenous relations and the sociocultural accumulation.

III. Discussions on Ghetto in Exemplary Field Studies in Turkey

23. Historically speaking, the ghettoization concept that developed in Turkey with both similar different designations and identities to those that formed Jewish ghettos. The same way ghettoization has been interpreted differently in literature, the concept has also changed in time. This part of the study covers the ghettoization process in Turkey over a historical context with reference to five exemplary practices during 1940-1960, 1960-1980, and post-1980 periods. Doing so will take into account the international literature and the above mentioned parameters to verify whether there has been ghetto examples in Turkey. The examples chosen are respectively, (i) Balat Quarter where the Jewish lived during the Ottoman Period until 1948, the year when the Israeli State was founded; (ii) Sulukule Quarter which reflects a 1000-year-old Roma Culture, (iii) Gaziosmanpaşa Quarter heavily populated by the Alleviate population, which was formed in the 1960s due to sectarian pressure and social exclusion, (iv) İzmir Mavişehir modern closed housing estates which emerged in the 2000s composed of isolated and luxury housing estates with security services, , and (v) Önder Quarter in Altındağ District, Ankara, where Syrian refugees live. While the evaluations made in relation to Balat, Sulukule, Gaziosmanpaşa, and Mavişehir are interpreted with findings from the literature, the evaluation made in relation to Önder Quarter depends on the results obtained through field research. In order to achieve an objective assessment of ghettoization, all the ghetto examples that have been chosen shall be considered from the standpoint of common concepts (segregation, social exclusion,

homogenous relationship, urban heterogeneity) with a view to analyzing to what extent these areas can be described as ghettos. If an area was found to be meeting 3 parameters in the field research, it is concluded to be a ghetto.

Figure-3: Interpretation of ghettoization process in Turkey via exemplary events



The Jewish Ghetto of Balat in Istanbul

24. In the Ottoman period, ghettoization appeared in the form of quarters segregated by language, religion, and ethnic origin. The most typical example of this is Balat quarter. Owing to its 2000-year history, the quarter is on UNESCO's World Heritage List (UNESCO 2008). Balat is a quarter located on the west bank of the Golden Horn between Ayvansaray and Fener. This historical quarter has been known as an area mainly settled by the Jewish community since the Byzantine era. Historically, the Jewish population was shaped by immigrants from Spain, Macedonia, Portugal, Bulgaria, and Italy. The Jews who escaped the said countries created a closed living area within the city walls. The characteristics of Balat include traditional architectural, specific occupations such as rabbinate and shoemaking, certain social activities, customs, and traditions religious holidays, and relations with other ethnical communities (Aytar 2015: 1-3). The Jewish population in Balat increased particularly in the 16th and the 17th centuries. In the 16th century, the Jews who lived in Balat accounted for only 20 percent of the community in Istanbul. In the 17th century, only Jews resided in the entire quarter (Kaya 2016).

25. The quarter had been the preferred area for the Jewish community in Istanbul from the Byzantine era to 1940s. The quarter experienced physical and socioeconomic change as a result of the 1894 earthquake and the trade activities between the banks of the Golden Horn. Until that time, the quarter was called 'a bustee within the city walls', 'ghetto', 'enjoyful neighborhood', 'a minority quarter of Istanbul', 'a modest settlement area where officials, tradesmen, and craftsmen who lead similar lives reside' (Aytar 2015: 4-5). At those times, Jews had limited relationships with their Muslim neighbors, and the Muslims did not prefer much to be in contact with the Jews. However, this did not apply to Muslim tradesmen in Balat who preferred to live in harmony with the Jews and respected the working hours and consumption habits of the Jews (Kaya 2016). The earthquake and its aftershocks in 1894 turned many buildings into ruins (Akyalçın 2003). After the earthquake and the fires that followed, many wealthy Jews moved to other parts of Istanbul, mainly Hasköy and Galata on the other bank, and those who remained could not re-construct the buildings in ruins (Gritsiuk 2015). With the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948, the vast majority of the Jews left the old quarter and moved to their new country (Toktaş 2006: 505-519). It is estimated that the quarter where 95 percent of the population was Jewish in 1930s was home to 10,000 people. However, no Jewish families remained after the 1950s due to the great fire and also because the quarter lost its commercial importance (Kaya 2016). After a general evaluation of Balat's history, an answer has been sought in Table 1 to the question whether the area was a ghetto in the years prior to 1950s and at present. The evaluation takes into consideration the basic characteristics and the distinctive parameters of the ghetto concept discussed in the previous section and leads to the conclusion that Balat Quarter constituted an important symbol for a religion-based ghetto, but could no longer be described as one since the 1950s onward.

Table-1: Transformation of Balat Quarter

Characteristics of Ghetto	Balat (Until 1950s)	Explanation (Until 1950s)	Balat at Present	Description
Population density	√	Until mid 20 th century, the Jewish population was the dominant population in the area, and accounted for 95% of the population.	X	Today there is no Jewish minority in Balat whose present population is 13,000.
Residential Segregation	√	It is a region where the Jewish population is dominant.	X	Today there is no Jewish population in Balat Quarter.
Isolated Area	√	In the context of physical isolation, the area is located within the original city walls.	√	In the context of physical isolation, the area remains still within the original city walls.

Homogenous Relationship	√	Characteristics from traditional architectural texture to specific occupational areas such as rabbinate and shoemaking, from social activities to customs and traditions, and religious holidays show that homogenous relations are strong.	X	No homogeneous relation between the residents of the quarter is observed today.
Social Exclusion	√	The residents of Balat quarter were subject to social exclusion during that period. There is a boundary between the Jewish and Muslim populations.	X	The residents of Balat quarter are not subject to social exclusion today.

The Romani Ghetto of Sulukule in Istanbul

26. Sulukule is one of the residential areas with a historical and cultural importance. The quarter is located within Istanbul city walls between Topkapı and Edirnekapı. Gypsies (Romanis) who originate from India, settled in Sulukule (Göncüoğlu and Yavuztürk 2009: 108-109) and sources indicate that Romanis have been living in Sulukule since the 11th century (Çubukçu 2011: 83-106). Until the 2000s, Romanis constituted around 95 percent of the population in Sulukule. The most important heritage Romanis inherited from their Indian ancestors is entertainment. 'Entertainment Houses' created by the Romanies in Sulukule are based on traditional music and dancing which were pillars of entertainment in the Ottoman Empire. These houses continued to exist after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. In particular, the gypsies of Sulukule made a living by working in the entertainment houses, where approximately 3,500 people were employed. (Akçura 2007). The increased tension and hard political environment after the establishment of the Republic put increased pressure on Sulukule Quarter. As a result, most of the entertainment houses that constituted the basic value of the Romani culture were demolished by 2006. After this repression, the residents of the quarter moved to other ones. According to David Harvey, who combines geographical and sociological approaches with spatial perception, such demolition meant really a loss of social space and perception for the Romanis of Sulukule (Çubukçu 2011: 89). With the closure of entertainment houses in the 1990s, gypsies

had difficulty in finding jobs in other sectors. Consequently, some gypsies started to engage in illegal businesses, and some started to collect plastic and paper waste, and others worked in marginal sectors such as fortune-telling and hawking. The deteriorating social and economic problems gradually turned the neighborhood into a poor urban area.

27. Sulukule seized to be a a ghetto as a result of the urban transformation projects introduced after the 2000s. The Romani population in Sulukule decreased by 80 percent after the Urban Transformation experience during which the residential areas within the city center, organized as slums or became obsolete, were declared as renewal areas to be demolished and re-built, and were made ready for a new user profile. The original residents of the neighborhood were convinced by force or special laws and pushed outside the quarter. Today, the number of Romanis who live in the historical area of Sulukule is only 17 percent (Tunaet al 2005).

Figure 4: The spatial change in Sulukule Quarter from 2001 to 2017.



Source: Google Earth PRO, 2018

28. Taking into account the basic characteristics and the distinctive parameters of the ghetto concept, Table 2 shows the change of Sulukule Quarter from being a ghetto to normal district. The direct intervention in Sulukule's social, cultural and residential dynamics during the 2000s transformed the quarter into an area with modern erected buildings while erasing reference to thousands of years of heritage. 2.

Table 2: Transformation of Sulukule Quarter

Characteristics of Ghetto	Sulukule (Until 1950s)	Explanation (until 2000s)	Sulukule at Present	Description
Population density	√	Until the 2000s, the Romany population was and accounted for 95% of the population.	X	Approximately 17% of the residents in Sulukule are Romanies.
		It is an area where		Today only 17% of the

Residential Segregation	√	mainly Romanis live.	X	population living in Sulukule is Romany.
Isolated Area	√	In the context of physical isolation, the area remains within the original city walls.	√	In the context of physical isolation, the area still remains within the original city walls.
Homogenous Relationship	√	Music, dance, shopping, professions, religious holidays, traditional architecture constitute homogenous relations.	X	No homogeneous relations between the residents of the quarter has remained today.
Social Exclusion	√	The closure of all entertainment houses is an outcome of urban transformation.	X	After the civil conflict in the Middle East in 2010, Syrians moved to this neighborhood where they face discrimination

A Sectarian Ghetto: Gazi Neighbourhood Quarter in Istanbul

29. The history of Gazi Neighbourhood started in the late 1960s and early 1970s when Anatolian Alawites immigrated to the metropolis. The Alawite population in the quarter is above 60 percent and lead economic and social relations with each other. One the one hand, the settlement of people of a certain ethnic or sect/belief groups in a quarter or neighborhood makes it possible for these people to re-generate their own culture and identities, and on the other, and due to the former, they could be stamped and excluded by the greater society (Erman 2010: 6-13).

30. In Gazi Neighbourhood, conflicts and disagreements have been experienced due to sectarian, political, and authoritarian pressure between the police and outlawed political groups. The most important event was the armed attack on the Alawites on March 12, 1995. Considering the basic characteristics and the distinctive parameters of the ghetto concept, Gazi is a quarter that bears traces of the ghetto phenomenon as a residential area, which has a history of 60 years, and mainly inhabited by the Alawite population, according to Table 3,.

Table 3: Whether Gazi Quarter is a Ghetto

Keywords in terms of "Ghetto"	Gazi Quarter	Description
Population density	√	60% of the people residing in Gazi Quarter are Alawite.
Residential Segregation	√	It is a quarter which is mainly inhabited by the Alewite.
Isolated Area	X	Unlike other quarters in Sultangazi, the quarter is not physically isolated.

Homogenous Relationship	√	Economic and social relations exist among Alawites
Social Exclusion	√	Due to political authorities, an exclusion is observed against the Alawites both on a national and local scale.

Modern ghettos: Mavişehir's closed luxury housing estates in İzmir

- 31. The urban texture of İzmir started to deteriorate with the construction of eight-story buildings in the city center during the 1950s. As such, new settlement areas emerged at the outskirts of the city starting from the 1980s.** Local administrations and private cooperatives endeavored a solution to the accommodation shortages triggered by intensive internal immigration, increased population, and poverty. The particular expansion of the consumption culture between the 1990s and the 2000s made the housing industry to change and reshaped the perimeters of the city. While the closed luxury housing estates produced by the consumption culture became an important status indicator for the new middle class, the estates were interpreted as luxury, secure, and prestigious closed housing communities addressing the needs of the upper income groups (Özdemir and Doğrusoy 2016: 359-371). Driven by the neo-liberal policies of the Turkish governments in 1980s, and following the example of Europe, Mavişehir settlement, which had more functional and residential conditions, started to be constructed within that scope. After the application of the zoning plan, the high income segments of the city settled in residence buildings and triplex villas built around the city's perimeter.
- 32. The buildings in the Mavişehir are surrounded by high walls, equipped with security gates, shopping centers, giant swimming pools, social facilities, schools, sports facilities, playgrounds, and park areas.** However, as emphasized before, luxury compounds do not fit the actual context of ghetto. Particularly, these areas appear to be isolated only from the other sections of the city. As mentioned by Landman and Schönreich, the physical boundaries of closed luxury housing estates only separate them from their vicinity and create special quarters within the urban texture (Landman and Schönreich 2002; 71-85). Closed housing estates, which increase social segregation, are defined as "settlements that can only be used by their inhabitants, and where the public area is privatized" (Özdemir and Doğrusoy 2016: 359-371). Furthermore, people living in a closed housing estate have neither social nor physical relation with their environment and the only relation with the environment around is when they use the main transportation routes (Özdemir and Doğrusoy 2016: 359-371).
- 33. Mavişehir luxury housing estates do not possess the ghetto characters.** Looking at the basic characteristics of the ghetto concept in table 4, high-income groups who live in Mavişehir do not indicate a population density. Moreover, the residents of Mavişehir have a poor connection or relation with each other and the surrounding urban areas. Finally, residential segregation,

homogenous relation and social exclusion parameters are irrelevant for Mavişehir. In short, although some sociologists assert that closed luxury housing estates are modern ghettos, Mavişehir is not really a ghetto and does not bear a ghetto character.

Table 4: İzmir's Mavişehir qualifications of a ghetto

Characteristics of Ghetto	Mavişehir	Description
Population density	X	There is no ethnical, racial or religious difference compared to the other regions of the city.
Residential Segregation	X	There is no ethnical, racial or religious difference compared to the other regions of the city.
Isolated Area	√	The quarter is isolated with separating walls and controlled gates.
Homogenous Relationship	X	There is no economic and social relations between the residents of the neighborhood.
Social Exclusion	X	Some homeowners outside the area see Mavişehir as a separate world. However, this is not an indicator of exclusion. This isolated area is only separated from its vicinity.

Post-war ghetto: Önder Quarter in Ankara

34. Forced migration was one of the results accompanying Arab Spring outbreak in 2010. The victims of the ongoing war in Syria had to abandon their places for security and peace. Today, Turkey hosts 3.6 million Syrians (DGGM, 2019). Ankara, the Capital, hosts 97,718 Syrians, and Önder Quarter in Altındağ District, in the northeast of the Capital, is home to a high Syrian population. Moreover, Önder Quarter is in close location to a furniture manufacturing site called Siteler.

35. A field research took place in Altındağ District of Ankara using in-depth interviews to validate a post-war ghetto. The field research is based on a total of 20 in-depth interviews with Syrians, citizens of the Republic of Turkey, and local authorities. The interviewees consisted of an officer from Altındağ District Municipality, a police officer, 15 Syrians, and 3 Turkish citizens residing in Önder Quarter. 19 of the interviewees were males, and one was female. The female interviewee was an officer from Altındağ District Municipality.

Figure 5: Number of People and Institutions with whom In-depth Interviews were Held in Önder Quarter

Number of People and Institutions Interviewed in Önder Quarter

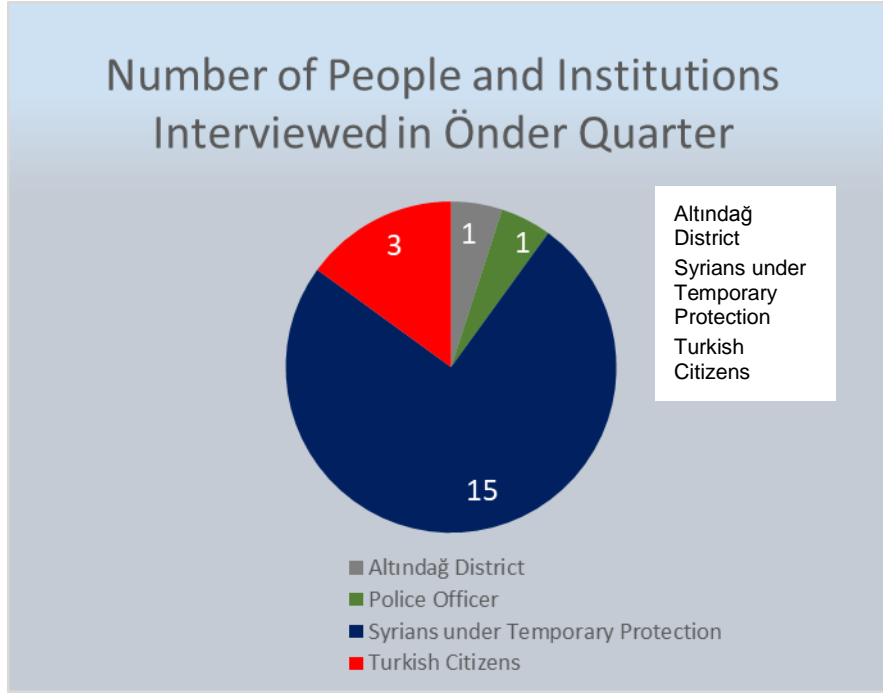
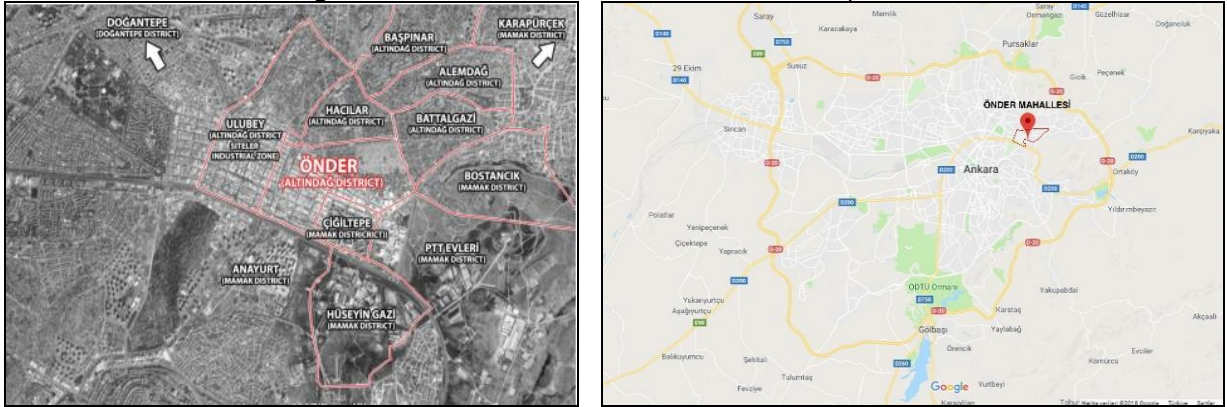


Figure 6: Location of Önder Quarter on the Map



Source: Google Earth PRO, 2018

Figure 7: Population of Önder Quarter



Source: www.yerelnet.org.tr

36. The area of Önder Quarter is 43 hectares and 90 percent of the residents are Syrians. After Ankara Metropolitan Municipality declared Önder as an urban transformation and development

project area in 2013, a severe decline was observed in the population of Önder Quarter. After the decision, Ankara Municipality demolished 2,150 buildings within the Quarter's boundaries, and laid the foundation of mixed-function buildings including 40 workplaces and a shopping center. After that decision, 6,000 people of Önder Quarter, whose population was around 9,000 between 2013 and 2017, moved to other quarters and neighborhoods.

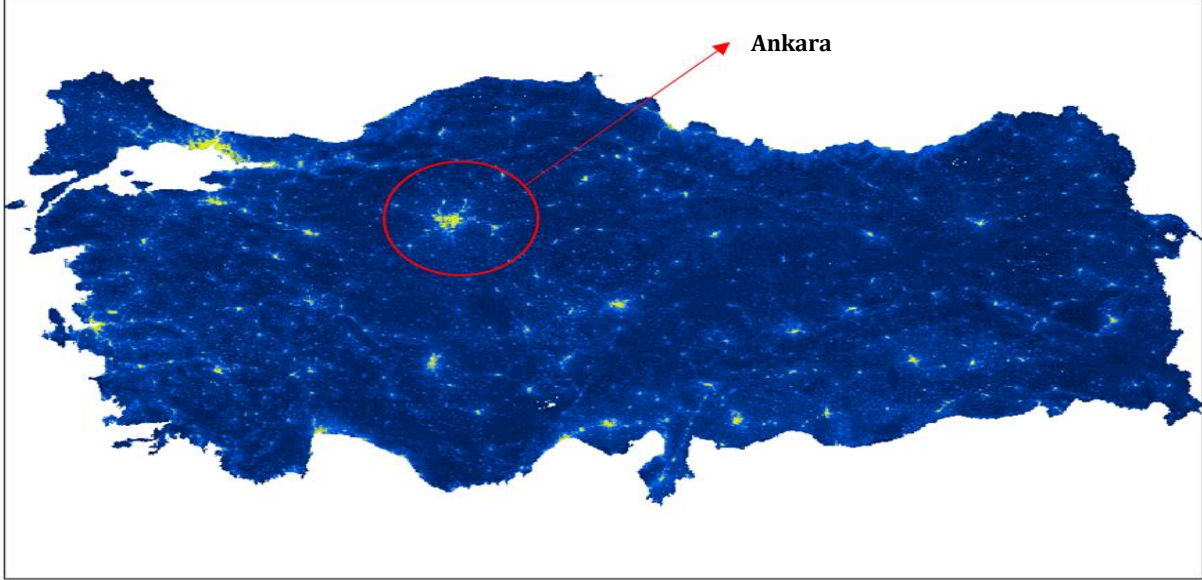
Figure 8: Önder Quarter Before and After Urban Transformation and Development Project (Google Earth PRO, 2018)



Source: Google Earth PRO, 2018

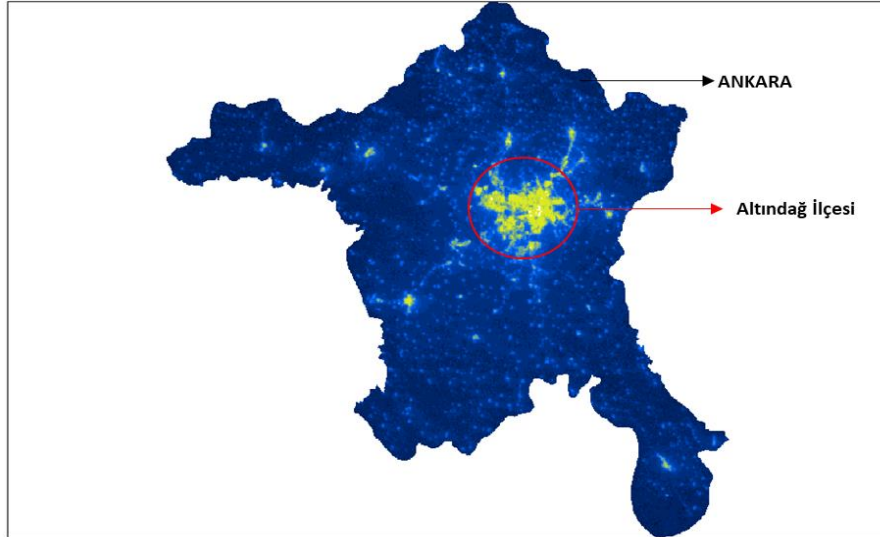
37. Önder quarter is a settlement area with an intensive economic activity due to its vicinity to Siteler. The method of using night lights as a indicator of demographic and socioeconomic activities depends on estimating population and economic liveliness in a region using analysis of night lights that disperse to the space at night (Henderson 2012: 994-1028; Tasöz Düşündere and Başihoş 2016). According to the analysis carried out, the average intensity of the lights in Ankara is measured as 2.4 units, and this number is equal to 21.7 units in Altındağ district. The analysis carried out show that Önder Quarter has an average light intensity of 70.2 units. This indicates that Altındağ district and Önder Quarter are among the important economic centers of Ankara.

Figure 9: Night Light Intensity, March - April 2018, Ankara - Turkey



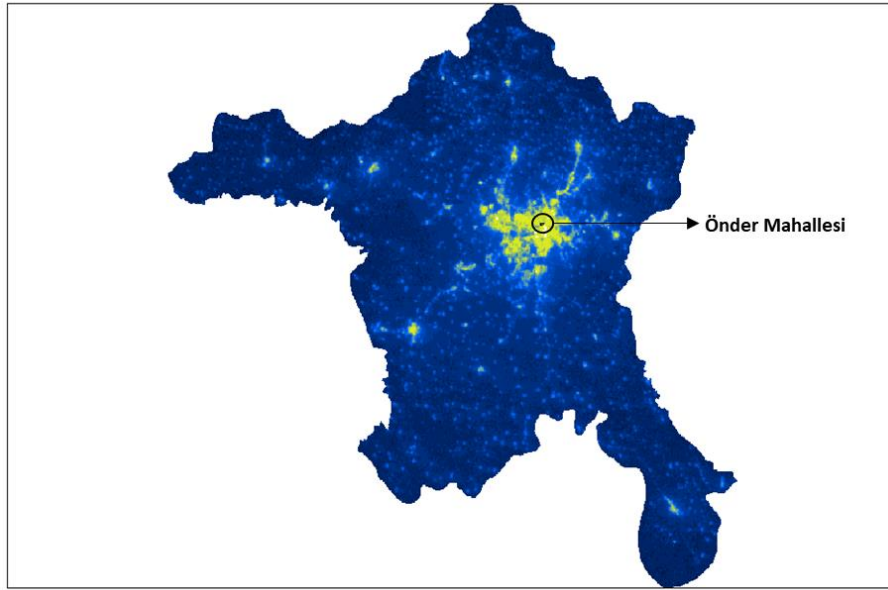
Source: TEPAV Calculations, night light intensity maps have been prepared by Ayşegül Taşöz Düşündere.

Figure 10: Night Light Intensity, March-June, 2018 Altındağ District



Source: TEPAV Calculations, night light intensity maps have been prepared by Ayşegül Taşöz Düşündere.

Figure 11: Night Light Intensity, March-June, 2018 Önder Quarter



Source: TEPAV Calculations, night light intensity maps have been prepared by Ayşegül Taşöz Düşündere.

- 38. The analysis of Önder night lights shows the Quarter to have a higher economic liveliness than the city of Ankara.** The primary reason for this economic activity can be attributed to the proximity of Siteler, an industrial town where both the local people and Syrians work, to Önder Quarter. The second reason can be identified to be the small-scale businesses in Quarter operated and owned by Syrians.

Findings of the Field Research Conducted in Önder Quarter

- 39. In Önder Quarter, where Syrian refugees account for 90% of the settled population, the number of children per household is 3.** An average of 7 people live in a Syrian household, including the relatives. According to the interviews, none of the women work. They rather assume house chores and take care of the kids. 13 out of the 15 Syrians interviewed males work in Siteler and the others engage in trade at the quarter. Virtually all the Syrians interviewed do not speak Turkish, and prefer not to speak Turkish unless necessary. The residents call Önder Quarter as 'Small Aleppo', indicating where they come from in Syria.
- 40. All Syrians emphasized renting houses from Turkish Citizens who used to reside in the quarter, but moved elsewhere after the settlement of Syrians.** The rent of an average flat varied between TL 1000 - 1200. Feeling identity pressure, the remaining Turks in the Quarter hanged Turkish flags from balconies or rooftops or painted the flag as a message of identity.

Figure 12: Houses of Turkish Citizens living in Önder Quarter



Source: Photographs Taken In the Scope of Önder Quarter Field Research

41. The homogeneous relations in Önder Quarter are very strong. Based on observations, Syrians created their own social habits in the Quarter and re-generated their culture by clustering under insecure conditions. The fact that the residents name Önder Quarter as 'Small Aleppo' is one of the most important indicators of this observation. A Turkish citizen who lived in the Quarter said that the Syrians spoke only Arabic and shopped only at Syrian grocery stores. The homogeneous relations pushed Turkish business owners out of the quarter. Thus, there are only two shops operated by Turks; a butcher and a hairdresser. The remaining 15 shops are operated by Syrians (green grocer, grocer, tailor, restaurant, hairdresser, etc.). The overtaking of businesses by Syrians led to tension between the groups. All the businesses operated by Syrians use Arabic signboards. Almost half of the shops run by Syrians were not officially registered, meaning easier manipulation of prices. Moreover, every Tuesday, smuggled goods from Syria are sold in Aleppo Bazaar.

Figure 13: Trade Enterprises operated by Syrians in Önder Quarter



Source: Photographs Taken In the Scope of Önder Quarter Field Research

According to the representative of Altındağ District Municipality, sidewalk and garbage collection services are rendered at regular intervals. The officer pointed out that services are offered much more effectively and efficiently after the decision of the urban transformation. He emphasized that, although the municipality's budget did not increase to accommodate the needs of the additional residents, free bread is distributed at 11 o'clock every Monday morning to Syrians. The municipality also, established an education and culture centers for the Syrians. The education center offers Turkish language, vocational training, and skills development classes to approximately 100 Syrian women. Strickingly, most of the Syrians in the quarter were not registered under Temporary Protection, and thus, could not benefit from the centrally-offered training and health services.

Figure 14: Altındağ District Municipality Education and Culture Center



Source: Photograph Taken In the Scope of Önder Quarter Field Research

42. Residents of Önder Quarter have a closed circuit of their social lives. Based on the interviews, 15 of the 17 people living within the boundaries of the Quarter did not prefer to go step out of Önder except for when running bureaucratic chores.. The same people also said they spend their spare times in their houses with other Syrian neighbors. The primary social activity of women is to go to the Aleppo Bazaar and to the education and culture centers of the district municipality.

Figure 15: The Aleppo Bazaar set up every Tuesday in Önder Quarter



Source: Photograph Taken In the Scope of Önder Quarter Field Research

43. Crime rates in Önder were very high. According to the information given by a police officer, the crime rate is over 80 percent. An average of 100 complaints were lodged on a daily basis. The complaints were mostly about theft and drug trafficking. However, no legal proceedings could be initiated due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of Syrians were not registered under Temporary Protection. What is more, sometimes violent quarrels occur between Turks and Syrians in the Quarter, and the police officer strongly stressed the need to increase the capacity of the police station in Önder.

Figure 16: Önder Quarter Police Station



Source: Photograph Taken In the Scope of Önder Quarter Field Research

44. According to the findings of the field research, Önder Quarter is a ghetto.. The detailed assessment of the Quarter which can be described as a ghetto according to the basic characteristics and distinctive parameters of the ghetto concept is presented in Table 5 below.

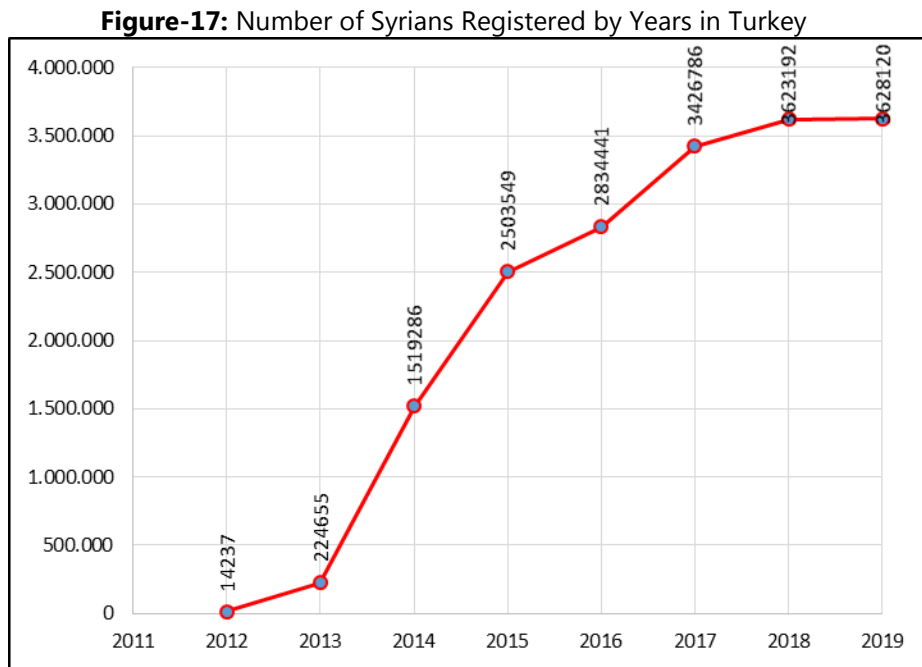
Table 5: Önder Quarter in Ankara as a ghetto

Keywords in terms of "Ghetto"	Önder Quarter	Description
Population density	√	Syrians account for 90% of the population.
Residential Segregation	√	After the Syrian War in 2011, Syrian refugees started to settle in the area.
Isolated Area	X	The quarter is not isolated by any structure. However, the quarter created an invisible isolated area by itself.
Homogenous Relationship	√	Syrians have a gentlemen agreement regarding economic transactions and use Arabic alphabet in their signs.
Social Exclusion	√	Quarrels between Turks and Syrians

IV. Post-war Syrian Ghettos in Istanbul

State of play of Syrians in Turkey

- 45. The political strife in Syria quickly turned into a civil war as one of the most unfortunate crises of humanity** Nine years into the war, more than half of the 22 million pre-war Syrian population is displaced of whom 5.6 million sought refuge in neighboring countries..
- 46. The number of Syrian refugees registered under Temporary Protection in Turkey has reached 3 million 630 thousand 767 people.** The statistics of the Directorate General of Migration Management indicate that 3,490,934 million Syrians are scattered in urban settings covering the 81 provinces and 139 thousand 833 people live in 13 camps located in 8 provinces. With regard to gender breakdown,



Source: Ministry of the Interior, General Directorate of Immigration, 04.04.2019

there are 1 million 968 thousand 401 males, representing 54,21 percent, and 1 million 662 thousand 336 females, representing 45.78 percent of the overall Syrians. (According to the data system dated April 4, 2019). Further demographics about Syrians in Turkey are in table 6.

Table-6: Age and Gender Rates of Syrian under Temporary Protection in Turkey

Age Group			Number (Thousand)	Age	Male	Female	Total	Rate
0-4	Newborns		500	Total	1.968.401	1.662.366	3.630.767	100%
5-18	School Age Children		1,161	0-4	258.806	241.782	500.588	%13,79
15-65	At Working Age		2,168	5-9	258.248	243.111	501.359	%13,81
65 +			72	10-14	201.405	186.654	388.059	%10,69
Total			3,630	15-18	148.970	123.195	272.165	%7,50
* Number of Total People Under Temporary Protection is 3.628 thousand. Because, however, the age group between 15 and 17 are both included in the "school age" and "working age" groups, an excess of 198 thousand people appears.				19-24	319.676	229.599	549.275	%15,13
				25-29	207.686	147.234	354.920	%9,78
				30-34	171.811	125.573	297.384	%8,19
				35-39	121.697	95.586	217.283	%5,98
				40-44	80.433	70.737	151.170	%4,16
				45-49	59.582	56.623	116.205	%3,20
				50-54	48.301	46.022	94.323	%2,60
				55-59	33.647	33.840	67.487	%1,86
				60-64	23.588	24.201	47.789	%1,32
				65-69	15.619	16.141	31.760	%0,87
				70-74	8.860	9.458	18.318	%0,50
				75+	10.072	12.610	22.682	%0,62

Sex	Male	Female
Number	1,968	1,662
Ratio	54.21%	45.78%

Source: Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General of Immigration, April 4, 2019

47. One underaddressed issue is the related to the number of Syrians aged 0-4 years. Currently, there are 500.588 infants in the latter age cohort, but this figure does not include Syrians not registered under Temporary Protection. According to a special report "Syrians in Turkey" prepared by the Ombudsman Institution, 276, 158 Syrian babies were born in Turkey between 2011 and 2017 (Ombudsman Institution, 2017). This is a sensitive matter because the near half a million infants are under the risk of being stateless with limited endeavours in the future. **Istanbul is the city that has the highest Syrian population in Turkey with 551 thousand 951 people.** Istanbul is then followed by Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, and Hatay. Bayburt is the city where the lowest number of Syrians live with 25 people. Bayburt is followed by Artvin with 39 people, and Tunceli with 56 people. The top 10 cities with the highest Syrian population, and the density of the Syrians in these cities are given in the table below.

Table-7: Syrian Populations by Provinces in Turkey

Province	Syrian Population	Syrian Ratio
Istanbul	555.951	%3,69
Şanlıurfa	449.019	%22,06
Hatay	435.955	%27,08
Gaziantep	428.779	%21,14
Adana	236.901	%10,67
Mersin	204.253	%11,26
Bursa	169.487	%5,66
Izmir	143.008	%3,31
Kilis	116.387	%81,65
Konya	106.345	%4,82
Turkey	3,630,767	%4.43

Source: Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General of Immigration, 4 April 2019, TURKSTAT 2019

Kilis is the city where the ratio of Syrians to the local people is highest with 80.94 percent. Kilis is followed by Hatay, Şanlıurfa and Gaziantep. Artvin is the city where the ratio of Syrians to the Turkish population is lowest with 0.02percent. There is no city in Turkey where no Syrians live. The list of Syrians under Temporary Protection by Provinces is given in Annex-1.

Figure-18: Cities where Syrians Population is most Dense

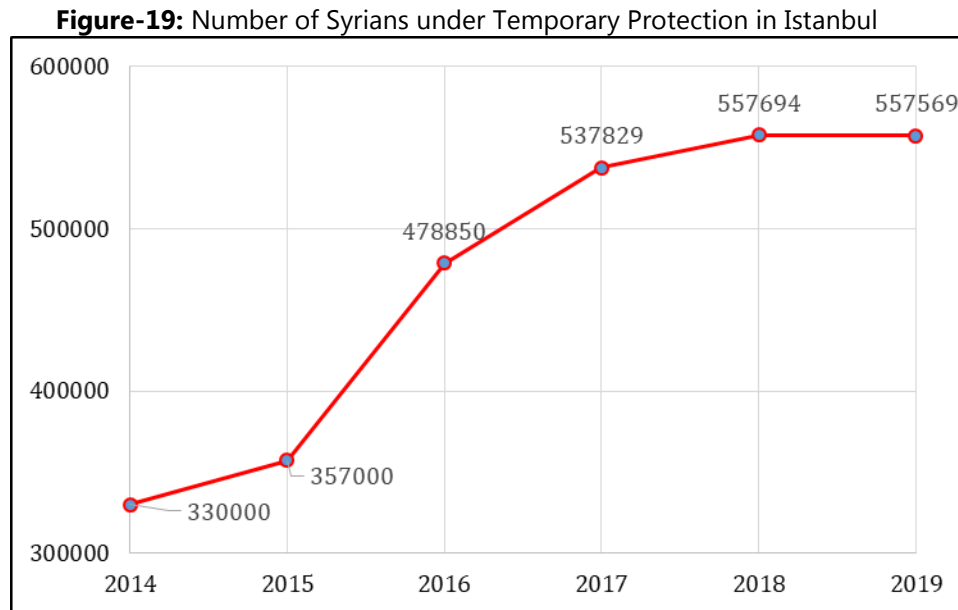


Source: Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General of Immigration, April 4, 2019

48. The Ministry of the Interior declared the number of Syrians who have been exceptionally granted citizenship is 59 thousand 747 as of November 2018. Of those, 31 thousand 747 are between below the age of 18. People who have been exceptionally granted citizenship include doctors, teachers, professionals and artists, and their families are also granted citizenship. Aside from citizenship, according to the statement made by the Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services on November 15, 2018, the number of people granted a working permit in Turkey was 32 thousand 199 people. Again, according to the statement of the Ministry of the Interior, the number of Syrians who returned to their countries as of December 31, 2018 is 294 thousand 480 people.

Syrians in Istanbul

49. Istanbul is of great importance for international immigrants and particularly for refugees. Accordingly, 48 percent of with residence permit in Turkey reside in Istanbul. According to the Directorate General of Migration Management, the number of foreigners with a residence permit in Turkey is 713 thousand 675 and Istanbul is home to 345 thousand 532 people. In addition, there are 557 thousand 569 Syrians reside in Istanbul (15 percent of the total Syrian population). According to the official data, the number of Syrians under temporary protection in Istanbul increased by 227 thousand in the last 5 years. This change is presented in Figure-19.



Source: Ministry of the Interior, General Directorate of Immigration (2014-2019)

50. Syrians under Temporary Protection live in all the 39 districts of Istanbul in different densities and numbers. Data derived from all studies on Syrians in Istanbul carried out by Istanbul Province Immigration Department, Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association, and Union of Marmara Municipalities, show that Syrians are significantly concentrated in the European side

(Erdoğan, 2017, Istanbul Province Immigration Department, 2017, Refugees' Association, 2018). In the light of the data disclosed most recently in 2016 by Istanbul Provincial Directorate of Migration Management, 86percent of Syrians under Temporary Protection in Istanbul live in the European side whereas 14percent live in the Asian side. The results of the interviews held under the scope of this study falls in line with the rates mentioned above: 479,509 (86%) of the Syrians under Temporary Protection live in the European side and the remaining 78,060 (14%) live in the Asian side. The distribution of the Syrian population under TP by the districts of Istanbul is tabulated in **Annex-2**.

Table-8: The top 10 districts where Syrians under Temporary Protection Live in Istanbul

Districts	Number of Syrians (TP)	Syrians TP Ranking	Development Ranking
Küçükçekmece	38,278	1	27
Bağcılar	37,643	2	37
Sultangazi	31,426	3	38
Fatih	30,747	4	15
Esenyurt	29,177	5	35
Başakşehir	26,424	6	6
Zeytinburnu	25,000	7	25
Sultanbeyli	22,396	8	39
Esenler	22,678	9	34
Avcılar	19,554	10	20

Table-9: The top 10 districts where Syrian under Temporary Protection is highest in Istanbul

Districts	Ratio of Syrians under TP	Rate Ranking	Development Ranking
Zeytinburnu	8.77%	1	25
Fatih	7.04%	2	15
Sultanbeyli	6.83%	3	39
Arnavutköy	6.59%	4	17
Başakşehir	6.18%	5	6
Sultangazi	6.0%	6	38
Şişli	5.57%	7	1
Beyoğlu	5.14%	8	26
Bağcılar	5.13%	9	37
Esenler	5.10%	10	34

Source: Istanbul Province Immigration Department, 2018, Refugees' Association, 2018, TURKSTAT 2019.

Findings of the Post-war Syrian ghettos in Istanbul

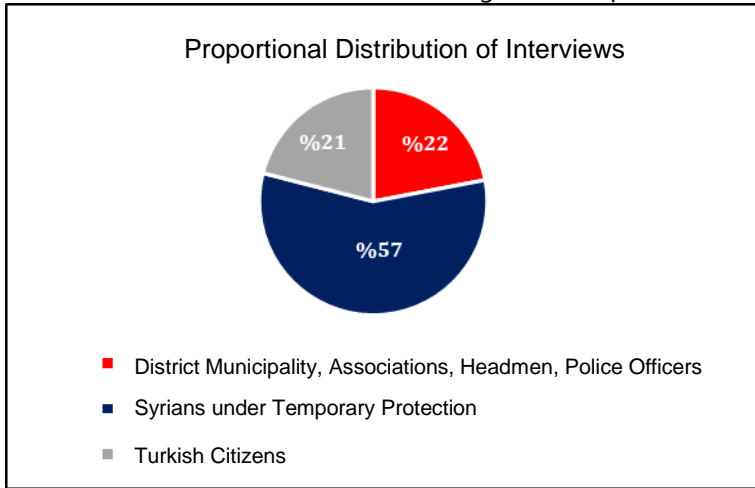
- 51. This study was carried out between 01 November 2018 and 15 Dcember of the same year by the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey in cooperation with Heinrich Böll Stiftung Turkey Representation.** The primary purpose of the study is to investigate whether a post-war ghettoization as described in the literature has occurred in Fatih, Sultanbeyli, and Sultangazi where there is a dense Syrians population. The final purpose of the study is to develop a policy recommendation on post-war ghettoization at the regional and national levels after an analysis of the current situation on ghettoization in the aforementioned districts., and to prepare a foundation for a policy dialogue between the stakeholders involved in the process.
- 52. For the interviews 23 semi-structured questions were prepared for the field visits covering the pilot districts.** The questions prepared were designed based on the characteristics related to ghettoization. The questions were developed under the 5 basic parameters of ghettoization, i.e. i) isolated area, ii) residential segregation, iii) homogeneous relations, iv) social exclusion, and v) population density. The question form is presented in **Annex-3**.

Findings Related to Demographic Characteristics of Research

- 53. The study conducted 370 in-depth interviews in the pilot districts.** The research population consisted of individuals in Fatih, Sultanbeyli, and Sultangazi. .As a result of calculations performed, taking into account the margins of error and accuracy as to the total Syrian population in these districts, according to the official records obtained from the district municipalities and the district police departments, in-depth interviews were held with 370 people during the field research. The interviews were held with 243 people in 12 of a total of 57 quarters of Fatih district, 66 people in 4 of a total of 15 quarters of Sultanbeyli district, and 61 people in 3 of a total of 15 quarters of Sultangazi district. The quarters selected and visited were chosen in the framework of the findings and suggestions of municipalities, police units, association employees, and headmen. The sample tables showing the number of people interviewed in the 3 districts and the quarters are presented below. The in-depth interviews held in Fatih, Sultanbeyli, and Sultangazi districts were performed in three stages. The first stage of the interviews consisted of the local administration and non-governmental organizations. The second stage covered Syrians and Turkish citizens. The third stage included members of the police departments.

Table-10: Interviews held using the in-depth interview method

Districts	Municipality	Association	Police	Headman	Syrian	Turkish	Total
Fatih	4	17	11	3	152	56	243
Sultangazi	7	1	1	1	31	20	61
Sultanbeyli	2	34	1	0	27	2	66
Total (people)	13	52	13	4	210	78	370

Table-11: Interviews held using the in-depth interview method and proportional distribution

22% of the all interviews were held with the local administration, non-governmental organizations and the members of the police department; 57% were held with the Syrians under temporary protection within the district boundaries, and 21% were held with the Turkish Citizens residing within the boundaries of the district.

Districts	Quarters Where Interviews were Held
Fatih	Aksaray Quarter Akşemsettin Quarter Ali Kuşçu Quarter Atikali Quarter Balat Quarter Derviş Ali Quarter İskenderpaşa Quarter Molla Fenari Quarter Molla Gürani Quarter Topkapı Quarter Zeyrek Quarter Yavuz Sultan Selim Quarter
Sultanbeyli	Mehmet Akif Quarter Orhangazi Quarter Abdurrahmangazi Quarter Yavuz Selim Quarter
Sultangazi	Uğur Mumcu Quarter İsmetpaşa Quarter Zübeyde Hanım Quarter

54. The gender breakdown of the respondents composes of 349 men and 21 women.

Table-12: Distribution by gender of interviews held using the in-depth interview method

Districts	Male (people)	Female (people)	Total
Fatih	232	11	243
Sultanbeyli	60	6	66
Sultangazi	57	4	61
Total	349	21	370
Ratio (Total)	94%	6%	100%

** The number of women interviewed is low because women were less likely to accept holding an interview.

55. Taking into account the age distribution of the people interviewed, participants between 26 and 40 years of age constituted the highest rate with 57.6 percent. This was followed by people in the age cohort 41-60 with 25.9 percent (96 people) and people in age cohort of 18-25 years of age with 13.8 percent (51 people). The lowest interview participation rate belonged to individuals aged 60+ with 2.7percent (10 people).

Table-13: Distribution by age group of interviews held using the in-depth interview method

Age Range	Fatih (people)	Sultanbeyli (people)	Sultangazi (person)	Total (people)	Total Ratio (%)
18 - 25 years	40	4	7	51	13.80%
26-40 years	127	51	35	213	57.6%
41- 60 years	71	9	16	96	25.90%
60 years and over	5	2	3	10	2.70%
Total	243	66	61	370	100%

56. The majority of respondents, or 74.1 percent, consisted of tradesmen and small merchants. They are followed by association employees with 14.1 percent housewives with 3.8 percent, and police and municipality staff with 3.5 percent. Headmen have the lowest ratio with 1.1 percent among the interviewed sample.

Table-14: Distribution by working status of interviews held using the in-depth interview method

Working Status	Fatih District		Sultanbeyli District		Sultangazi District		Total	
	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)	Number	Ratio (%)
Municipality staff	4	1.6	2	3.0	7	11.5	13	3.5
Association employees	17	7.0	34	51.5	1	1.6	52	14.1
Police	11	4.5	1	1.5	1	1.6	13	3.5
Headman	3	1.2	0	0.0	1	1.6	4	1.1
Housewives	10	4.1	2	3.0	2	3.3	14	3.8
Tradesmen / small merchants	198	81.5	27	40.9	49	80.3	274	74.1
Total	243	100	66	% 100	61	100%	370	100%

Research Findings Regarding Ghettoization

This part of the study offers a historical background and economic structures of Fatih, Sultanbeyli, and Sultangazi districts to shed light on the ghettoization phenomenon. Then, findings obtained from the field research follow for each district under the 5 basic parameters of ghettoization

Overview of Fatih District

57. Fatih district is one of the oldest places of settlement in Istanbul with its 8,500-year-history. The fact that Fatih district is located in the historical peninsula and at a point which connects Europe and Asia gave it a strategic importance. Located at the central position of Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman Empires throughout the history, Fatih is also home to numerous historical works and assets. Also thanks to Haliç Port, the district is a big economic center. Fatih, which had a cosmopolitan structure in the Ottoman era, reflects this structure also today with material and immaterial cultural heritage assets. With its historical heritage, the district has been home to Christian, Jewish and Romany populations. Located in the European side of Istanbul, Fatih is a district that involves quarters such as Fener/Balat, Sulukule which had a ghetto character in the past, and has a strategic position, where the Istanbul Governorate and the administrative centers of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality are found (Fatih District Municipality, 2015-2019 Strategic Plan, p. 20-30).

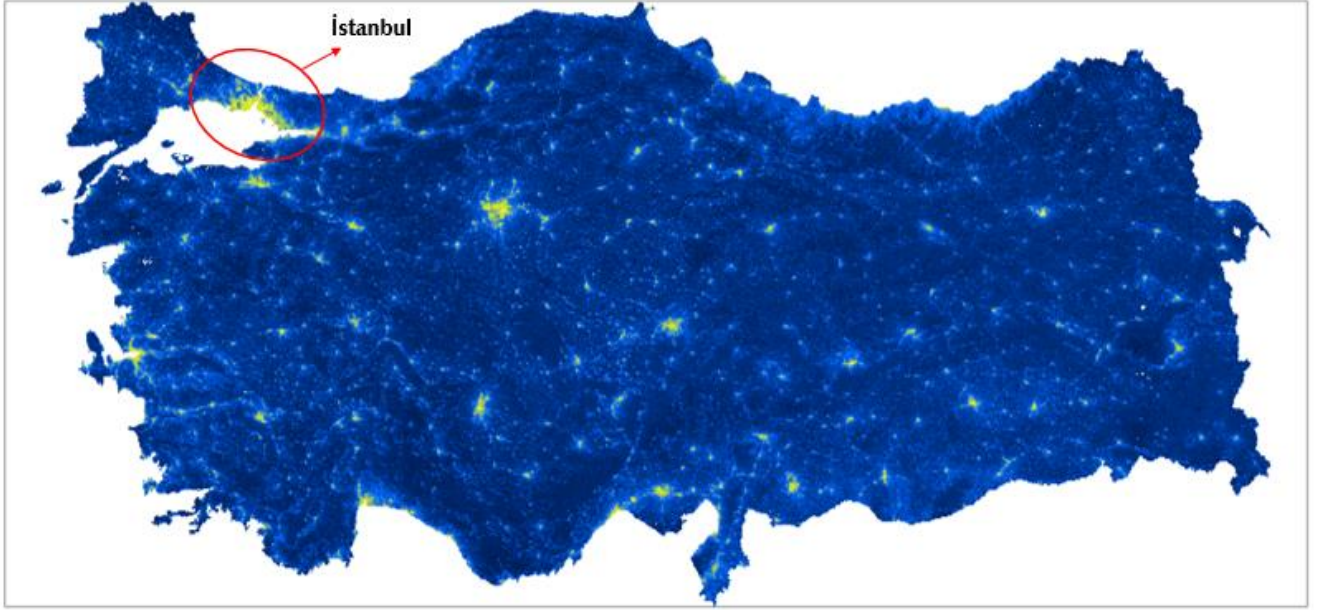
Figure 20: Location of Fatih District



Source: Geographical Information System, 2019.

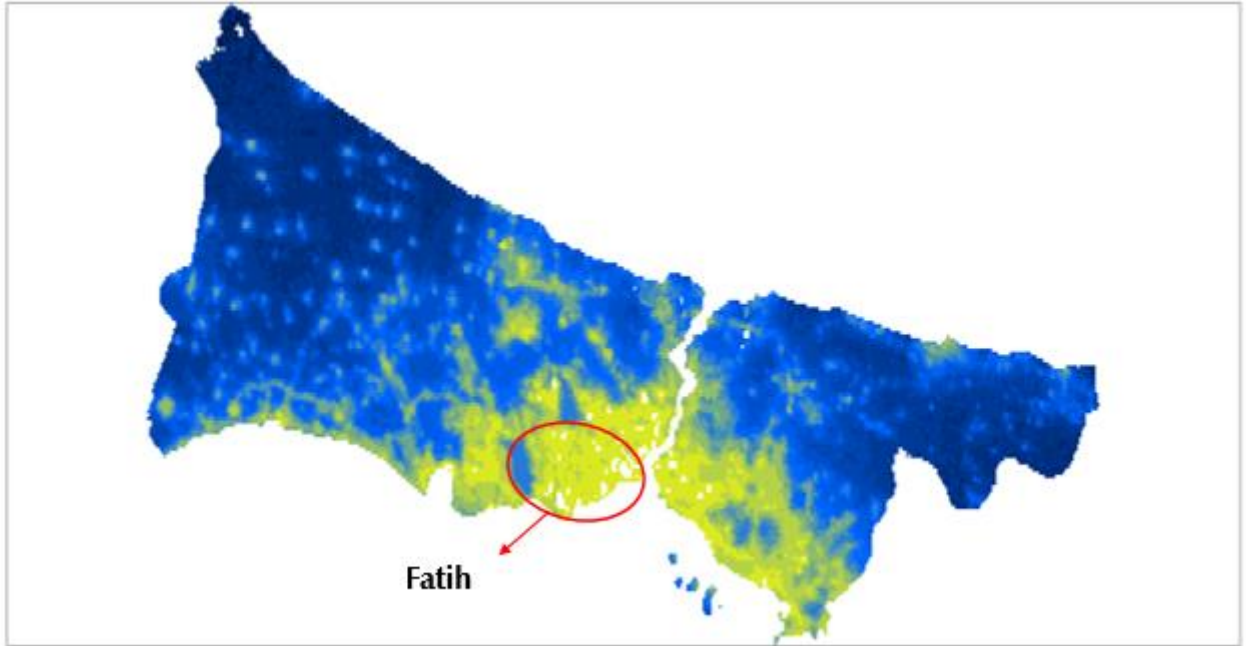
58. According to the light map analysis, the district is a settlement area with intensive economic activity due to its location and for being a tourism attraction. According to the analysis carried out, the average intensity of the lights in Istanbul is measured as 13.4 units, and this number is equal to 95.1 units in Fatih district. This indicates that Fatih district is one of the important economic centers of Istanbul.

Figure - 21: Night Light Intensity, November 2018, Istanbul-Turkey



Source: TEPAV Calculations, night light intensity maps have been prepared by Ayşegül Taşöz Düşündere.

Figure 22: Night Light Intensity, November 2018, Istanbul - Fatih District



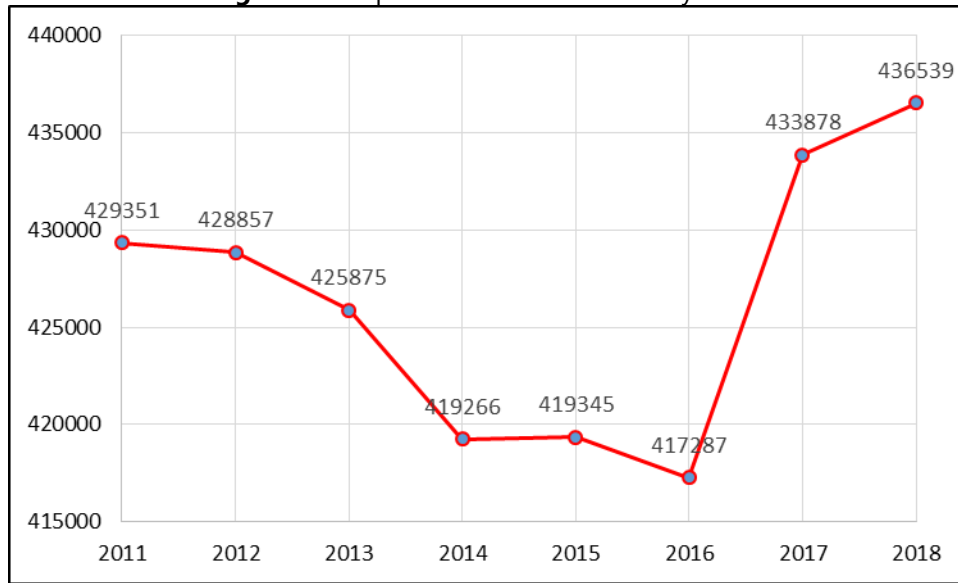
Source: TEPAV Calculations, night light intensity maps have been prepared by Ayşegül Taşöz Düşündere in the scope of TEPAV Calculations.

59. The analysis of night lights shows that Fatih District had a higher economic liveliness than the other provinces in İstanbul. The primary reason for this economic activity is the fact that the region is one of the tourist attraction points of Istanbul. The secondary reason is found to be the economic centers in the District according the findings obtained from the interviews

Research in Fatih district

60. According to Fatih's district municipality and the district police department, Fatih District hosts 30,747 Syrians under Temporary Protection. This number corresponds to 7.04 percent of the district's population. In addition to that, the two aforementioned institutions estimate the number of unregistered Syrians to be around 25,000 unregistered. Therefore, it is estimated that the number of Syrians stands at 55,747. The Turkish Population, on the other hand, living in the district declined due to the influx of Syrians after 2011 (figure 23). Nevertheless, the number of thlocal population bounced back after 2016 and surpassed the 2011 populatio, mainly due to the increase in economic activity of the district. The interviews revealed that locals who moved out Fatih settled in Beylikdüzü, Başakşehir, and Esenyurt .

Figure 23: Population of Fatih District by Years



Source: TURKSTAT, 2019.

The 30.747 Syrian population living in Fatih cluster in Akşemsettin, Aksaray, Ali Kuşçu, and Molla Gürani quarters. According to the information obtained from Fatih's district municipality Cultural and Social Relations Department of Fatih's district municipality, 90 percent of the 30,747 Syrians under Temporary Protection live in the aforementioned quarters. The district municipal authorities underlined the fact that they did not have a data system regarding the number of registered Syrians in Fatih and that they obtained these figures from research conducted in the district.¹ This also shows lack of interest on the municipality's behalf in building cooperation with the

¹The data given are presented in line with the field visits and field researches by the district municipality. In this context, quarters where Syrian population is concentrated, and the associated avenues and streets are presented in the scope of the above table. In the light of the interviews held, 12 of 57 quarters in Fatih district were visited, and 11 streets and avenues of these 12 quarters were also observed during the field research.

related authorities, namely with Fatih Directorate of Migration Management, which is two blocks away from the municipality.

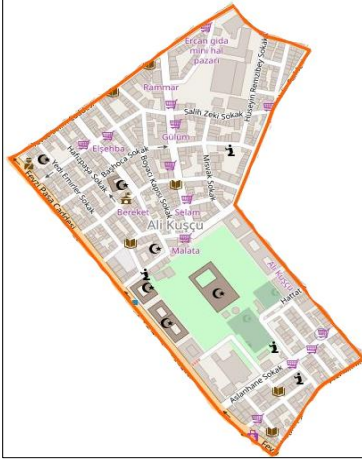
Figure 24: Istanbul Fatih District



Source: Open Street Map, 2019

Figure 25: Map of Ali Kuşçu, Akşemsettin, Aksaray and Molla Gürani Mahalle Quarters

Ali Kuşçu
Mahallesi



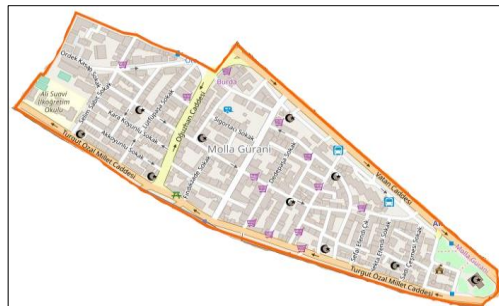
Akşemsettin
Mahallesi



Aksaray
Mahallesi

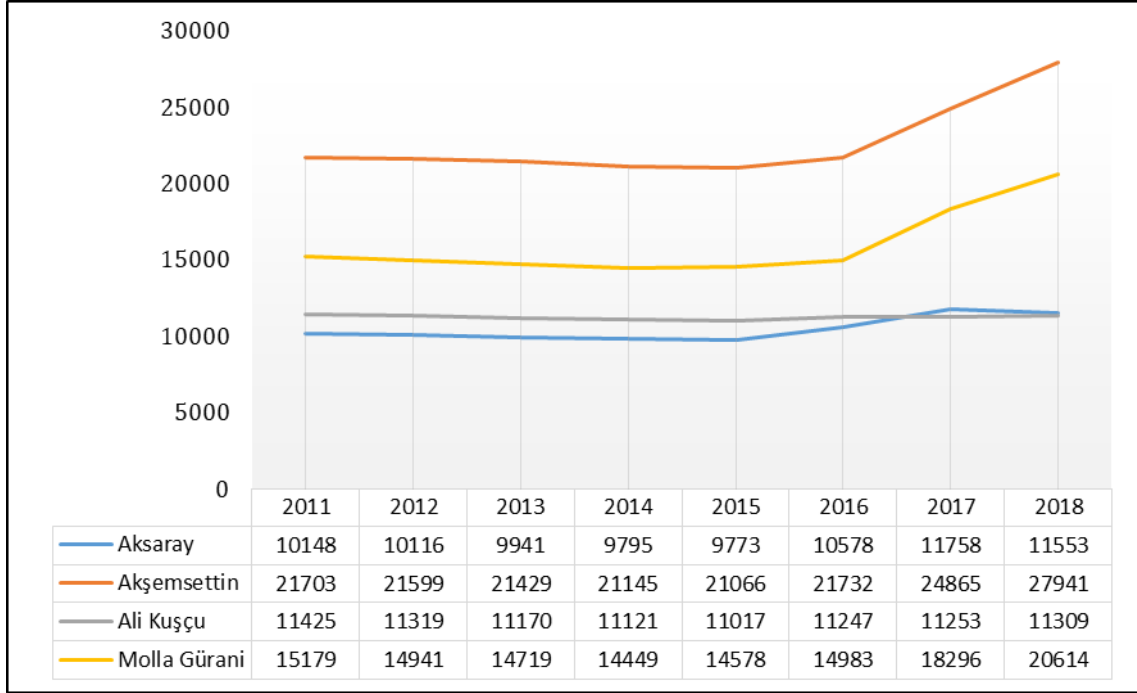


Molla Gürani
Mahallesi



Source: Open Street Map, 2019

Figure 26: The graph of population change in quarters heavily populated by Syrians in Fatih District



Source: Fatih District Municipality, Cultural and Social Relations Department and TURKSTAT 2019.

61. The Syrian population living in Akşemsettin Quarter are close to the settled Turkish population. Akşemsettin Quarter hosts 15,000 Syrians. This figure however, does not include the unregistered Syrians. According to the authorities, around 20,000 Syrians, including those unregistered, are residing in Akşemsettin Quarter. With regard, the Syrian population living in Akşemsettin Quarter correspond to approximately one-third of the total Syrian population, both registered and unregistered, living within the boundaries of Fatih district.

62. Akşemsettin Avenue, which is located in Akşemsettin Quarter, is called the "Syrian Avenue". The latter is located within the quarter's boundaries and was one of the research observation points. Akşemsettin Avenue is a central avenue with high user circulation. Based on the information given by the district municipality and the observations made in the field, 90 percent of traders in Akşemsettin are Syrians: 65 of the 70 small-size enterprises located in the street are operated by Syrians. The avenue, where the food sector is dominant, is observed to have 40 restaurants, 10 supermarkets, 5 real estate agents, 2 jewelers, 3 barbers, 2 cafes, and 3 bakeries. According to in-depth interviews with 30 Syrian traders who have workplaces in the avenue, all of them are living within the boundaries of the quarter. The Syrian businesses operating in the Avenue use Turkish and Arabic signboards. Pursuant to a regulation issued in 2018 by Fatih's district municipality, Syrian businesses are obliged to use both Arabic and Turkish

languages in their signboards in certain ratios². Syrian businesses, however, do not comply with the rule and use the aforementioned languages in equal ratios on the signboards.

Figure 27: Map of Akşemsettin Avenue



Source: Photographs Taken In the Scope of Akşemsettin Quarter Akşemsettin Avenue Field Research

63. Ali Kuşçu in Fatih district is another quarter heavily populated by Syrians. The Malta Bazaar, located within the quarter's boundaries, is now called "Syrian bazaar". According to the information received and the field observations, the historical Malta Bazaar, adjacent to the west side of Fatih Mosque, turned into a bazaar dominated by Syrian tradesmen since 2013. For this reason, the bazaar is recently known as the "Syrian Bazaar" where, 25 of the 30 businesses operating in the bazaar are run by Syrians. The remaining 5 businesses are run by Turkish citizens. In the bazaar, businesses selling spices and ice-cream, in addition to restaurants, jewelers, and bakeries are dominant. The signboards of all the businesses (except the Turkish businesses) are in Arabic, a clear violation of the aforementioned rule regarding the signboards. According to in-depth interviews with 15 Syrian tradesmen who have workplaces in the bazaar, 95 percent of the tradesmen are living within the boundaries of Ali Kuşçu Quarter. Based on the information given by the tradesmen interviewed and the municipality authorities, 80 percent of the bazaar visitors is Syrian. During the interviews with the 5 Turkish tradesmen who remain in

² Under the "Rules for Signs Used by Entities and Institutions" prepared by the Turkish Standards Institute (TSE) dated March 19, 2018, it is essential to use Turkish Words in advertisings, signs and promotions. If statements in a foreign language are to be used, they should be written in points equal to 25% of the Turkish word in size.

the bazaar, they emphasized employing a Syrian apprentice to establish a communication channel with Syrian customers for being the majority.

Figure 28: Ali Kuşçu Quarter - Malta Avenue



Source: Photographs Taken In the Scope of Ali Kuşçu Quarter Malta Avenue Field Research

64. Yusufpaşa Avenue in Aksaray district is another region with a high Syrian population.

Yusufpaşa Avenue located in the old Aksaray Quarter of Istanbul has become a place where Syrians are intensively doing business since 2014. According to the information given by the headman of Aksaray Quarter, almost 85 percent of the tradesmen are Syrians. Yusufpaşa Avenue, where 27 of the 30 businesses are operated by Syrians, attracts students and families particularly in the evening. There are 18 restaurants, 5 supermarkets, and 4 bakeries in the Avenue that are run by Syrians. The headman of the Quarter pointed out that the vast majority of the Syrian tradesmen did not reside in Aksaray due to expensive rents. Furthermore, the social life of Aksaray Quarter, according to Syrians, is not conservative and has a negative perception in the media. Thus, Syrians prefer to live in more affordable houses in Esenyurt, Beylikdüzü, and Küçükçekmece districts where the social settings are more convenient. Similar to the previous two quarters, the signboards of the business in Yusufpaşa Avenue are mostly in Arabic.

Figure 29: Aksaray Quarter - Yusufpaşa Avenue



Source: Photographs Taken In the Scope of Aksaray Quarter Yusufpaşa Avenue Field Research

65. Fındıkzade and Millet Avenues in Molla Gürani Quarter are other regions where Syrian tradesmen are doing business. Similar findings obtained in the scope of Yusufpaşa Avenue also apply to Fındıkzade Street and Millet Avenue in Molla Gürani Quarter. According to the information given by the headman of Molla Gürani Quarter, Millet Avenue, in particular, is where 70 percent of the tradesmen are Syrians. It is observed that both Turkish and Arabic are used in most of the signboards of the businesses operated by Syrians. Based on the information received from the headman of the quarter, the vast majority of the Syrian tradesmen doing business in the Avenue reside in Esenyurt, Beylikdüzü, and Küçükçekmece districts due to affordable rents.

Figure 30: Molla Gürani Quarter - Millet Avenue



Source: Photographs Taken In the Scope of Molla Gürani Quarter Millet Avenue Field Research

66. The number of children per household of Syrians living in Fatih District is 5. According to the information received from the district municipality and the field observations, an average of 10 people live in a Syrian household. The number of children per household of is 5 and beside the parents, there could be relatives, too, living in the same household. However, the interviewed Turkish citizens stated that Syrians lived in groups of 15 - 20 people in a given flat which they either purchased or rented. The interviews held with the real estate agents appear to confirm the views of the Turkish citizens. Real estate agents pointed out that Syrians live in groups of 15-20 people in the flats they rented, and the flats became unusable after they move out. Consequently, leading to increase in the flat rents of the region.

67. The rent per square meter (m²) in Fatih District ranges between TL 18 and 20 depending on the location in the neighborhoods. As for workplaces, the price per square meter (m²) ranges between TL 30 and 80. The price per square meter (m²) of houses for sale ranges between TL 3,000 and 5,500, depending on the location in the neighborhood. Similarly, the price per square meter (m²) of workplaces for sale ranges between TL 3,000 and 6,200. In this framework, table 15 below shows the house and workplace rent/sale prices in the regions where Syrians predominantly work and live within the boundaries of the district.

Table-15: House and workplace prices on a m2 basis in Fatih District by quarter (for rent and sale)

Quarter	M ² TL Value of Houses for Rent	M ² TL Value of Workplaces for Rent	m ² TL Value of Houses on Sale	m ² TL Value of Workplaces on Sale
Aksaray	TL 21	TL 35	TL 3,941	TL 3,400
Akşemsettin	TL 27	TL 32	TL 5,038	TL 6,111
Ali Kuşçu	TL 29	TL 40	TL 5,844	TL 5,000
Molla Gürani	TL 25	TL 29	TL 5,416	TL 6,105

Source: Derived from the data obtained from real estate agents in Fatih District and "tapusor.com" (31.12.2018).

Based on the information received from the headman of the quarter, the vast majority of the Syrians working in Molla Gürani and Aksaray Quarters reside in Esenyurt, Beylikdüzü, and Küçükçekmece districts due to lower rents. For purposes of comparison with Fatih District, the price per square meter (m²) for rent/sales prices in Esenyurt, Beylikdüzü, and Küçükçekmece districts are presented in the table 16. As evident from the table, the prices of the houses in Esenyurt, Beylikdüzü, and Küçükçekmece districts correspond to nearly half of those in Fatih district.

Table-16: The m² rent/sales prices in Esenyurt, Beylikdüzü and Küçükçekmece districts (for rent and sale)

Quarter	M ² TL Value of Houses for Rent	m ² TL Value of Houses on Sale
Esenyurt	TL 7	TL 1,390
Beylikdüzü	TL 11	TL 2,000
Küçükçekmece	TL 13	TL 3,555

Source: Derived from data obtained from "tapusor.com" (31.12.2018).

68. There has been an increase in the income level of Syrians living in Fatih district. Accordingly, 60 percent of the 152 Syrians who were interviewed in Fatih stated that they lived in Akşemsettin and Ali Kuşçu quarters, and had businesses in these quarters. Interviewees emphasized that they were engaged in trade activities before they moved to Turkey. Furthermore, this group pointed out that they paid a house rent of TL 2,500 - 3,000 per month and a workplace rent of TL 4,000 - 6,000. Appropriate to the purpose, 15 interviewees stated

purchasing a property - house or a workplace - within the boundaries of the province. The remaining 45 interviewees preferred living in Esenyurt, Beylikdüzü, and Küçükçekmece districts due to more affordable living conditions, since house rents averaged between TL 700 and 1200 per month.

69. The majority of women living in Fatih district are housewives. Indeed, 90 percent of the Syrian women interviewed did not work, but assumed house chores and took care of kids. As for men, 20 of the 152 Syrians interviewed worked as employees outside the boundaries of the district; 40 of them made a living with the aid of the Kızılay Card and did not work, and the remaining 82 were tradesmen with businesses in the boundaries of the district. Interestingly enough, almost all the Syrians interviewed understood Turkish, but preferred to speak Arabic.

70. The primary reasons why Syrians chose Fatih include the conservative nature of district, recommendations of relatives and close circles, and the fact that Fatih resembles certain neighborhoods of Syria. All the Syrians interviewed during the in Fatih were registered under Temporary Protection and arrived in Istanbul between 2012 and 2013. Moreover, 30 Syrians stated entering Turkey through Gaziantep or Kilis and after living for a short while there, they moved onward to Fatih. When the interviewees were asked why they preferred Fatih, almost all of them cited, beside the aforementioned reasons, the abundance of education and job opportunities in Fatih and in Istanbul in general.

71. As for repatriation, Syrians do not want to return. When the interviewees were asked if they wanted to return back to Syria or not, 90 percent replied negatively, citing happiness and peaceful living in Turkey. In addition, they had no hope that the civil conflict in Syria will come to an end. The remaining 15 people stated considering repatriation only if the war is completely over.

72. The homogeneous relations among Syrians living in Fatih district are very strong. Based on the observations, Syrians created their own social habits in the quarters and re-generated their culture by clustering in these quarters. One of the most important indicators of this is the fact that the quarters where Syrians mostly reside are called "Small Syria" or "Syrian Bazaar".

73. The Syrians in Fatih prefer not to speak Turkish, avoid establishing contact with Turkish citizens, and rather do their shopping at Syrian businesses. The Turkish tradesmen and Turkish citizen who lived in the quarters where predominantly Syrians reside said that the Syrians spoke only their own language, and did their shopping only at Syrian shops in the quarters. It was also underlined that this has been an important factor for the former Turkish residents of the quarter to leave their neighborhood. For example, one of the factors that cause tension between Turks and Syrians was stated to be the high number of Syrian tradesmen in Akşemsettin Quarter and the fact that Syrians do their shopping only at those places. Aside from that, it is observed

that a vast majority of the businesses operated by Syrians use Arabic signboards instead of Turkish signs. During the interviews, it was emphasized that almost half of these enterprises had licensing problems, and this meant that Syrian enterprises are not in a level playing ground with the Turkish counterparts, further exacerbating economic and social tensions between the two parties.

74. During the field research within the boundaries of Fatih district, no visible wall or barrier separateds the quarters heavily populated by Syrians from other quarters. However, invisible isolated areas are felt in Akşemsettin Quarter (Akşemsettin Avenue and Akdeniz Avenue) in Fatih, Malta Bazaar in Ali Kuşçu Quarter, and in Atikali Quarter (Fener), Derviş Ali Quarter (Draman), and Molla Gürani Quarter (Millet Avenue). According to observations, Syrians speak Arabic in the quarters where they predominantly live and work, dress differently, and reflect their daily living habits and cultures in the places where they live and work, and all these bring together invisible isolated areas.

Figure 31: Daily lives of Syrians in Fatih District



Source: Photographs Taken In the Scope of Fatih District Field Research

75. It was observed that Fatih municipality has a limited area of service for Syrians. According to the Cultural and Social Relations Department, the services oriented toward Syrians are carried out by 25 NGOs. The district's municipality offers only rooms for associations' activities, refreshments, and transportation services. This shows that Fatih' district municipality does not have a direct service for Syrians, but offers minimal support to associations working with them.

76. The second most important problem in Fatih district has been determined to be: Syrians. According to the information given by an officer of Fatih's district municipality, questionnaires are held with Turkish citizens at regular intervals by the district municipality. According to the most recent questionnaire conducted on March 31, 2018, the "Syrians" issue has been determined as the second most important problem after "economic hardships". Based on the information given, Fatih's district municipality gives priority to certain services to produce solutions for the

complaints of the Turkish Citizens about the Syrians such as i) reducing the number of Syrian beggars, ii) monitoring Syrians who disturb the peace in public areas and keeping running patrols for 24 hours, iii) carrying out integration studies for Syrians, and addressing the importance of issues such as traditions of the Turkish people, neighborhood law during these activities, iv) performing audits on Syrian businesses by the district municipality, municipal police and license department against complaints due to hookah, oil and spice odors spread from the Syrian businesses, failure to abide by noise, hygiene and sign rules, etc., and if necessary canceling their licenses, and v) imposition of fines by the Environmental Protection Department for pollution in front of the businesses. This shows that the district municipality does not produce any direct service in the scope of social harmonization/integration of Syrians, but gives priority to services designed to solve the complaints of Turkish Citizens about Syrians.

77. The general problems of Syrians relate to "residence, education, and social integration".

Yet no services have been developed to deal with these issues. Fatih's municipality prepared a study in November 2017 to highlight the basic problematic areas of Syrians in Fatih. Accordingly, "residence, education and social integration" were identified as the top issues. However, no policies were developed for any of the highlighted problems. According to the information given by Fatih district municipality, the basic problem areas which are addressed under "residence" are as follows:

"Those who recently arrived in Turkey do not have identity cards for 1 year. They have identity issues. No white identity, i.e. temporary identity, is issued. Therefore, they cannot have their children enrolled in school. They cannot rent a house. They cannot go to a hospital. Some do not have identity cards. They cannot renew identity cards. Those who have been registered in other provinces cannot be employed in Fatih. They cannot benefit from hospitals. Those who have a temporary identity do not have a residence permit. Those who have a temporary identity cannot re-enter the district if they go abroad. However, those who have a tourist residence permit can go abroad. They cannot visit their families, spouses abroad. They cannot go to funerals. These permits need to be issued. In order to obtain a tourist residence, they need to exit and enter the country. However, those who exit are not admitted to Turkey again. There are problems related to the places where Syrians stay. They do not have residence permits. Those who do not have a residence permit have to stay at hotels. They stay at houses as the hotel rates are high. Houses are turned into apart hotels in time. There are scientists among those who arrived in Fatih in the last 1 year. Some are surgeons, doctors, engineers. They cannot move or work anywhere when they do not have an identity card."

As for addressing "education":

"The decision to admit Syrians to official schools recently has been very useful. However, those who have arrived in the last one year or those who have come from other cities do not have their children enrolled in school. Also, Syrian students suffer from poverty. They cannot meet food, stationery, and similar needs. Can financial support be offered to girls

who attend the high school? Families take their girls from schools and send them to textile mills. Students who are eligible for attending a university should undergo Turkish language courses that provide education at the quality standards of Tömer. Only daily speech is taught in ordinary courses."

Finally, for addressing "integration":

"They have integration problems at school. Students presently cannot properly speak Turkish. They cannot communicate with their school mates. Younger children are better in integration. However, Syrians attending junior high and high schools have problems of integration. They have an aggressive attitude due to post-trauma stress disorder. They cannot get along with their friends. Those Syrian families that fail to adapt return to Syria if they do not have a child who is at military service age."

78. The interviews held with the associations that offer outpatient clinic services to Syrians in Fatih confirm the view that the services of the district municipality regarding Syrians are insufficient. The representatives of the associations confirmed that prioritize education and health services of Syrians. They pointed out offering ambulatory treatment to 100 Syrians per day, and Turkish language courses for 10 hours a month to Syrians who do not speak Turkish. However, in order to render services to Syrians more effectively and efficiently, they stated the need for funds, which were difficult to secure. The most important problem specified by the associations is lack of inter-organizational cooperation and coordination. In addition, the associations pointed out that unless a common integration strategy is determined for Syrians between non-governmental organizations, the services offered will remain, at best, as temporary solutions.

79. The Turks in Fatih district stated that they are not happy to live with the Syrians. In contrast to all the interviewed Syrians stated being happy to live with Turks, 95 percent of the interviewed Turkish citizens stated unhappiness to live with the Syrians. When asked about the reasons behind it, Turks stated that Syrians have more rights than they did. Moreover, when they were asked what those rights were, Turks emphasized that Syrians enjoyed an easier and better access to services such as health, food, and financial aid. In addition, citizens of Turkey also highlighted that the Syrians increased the crime rates in the country at large and caused disturbance.

80. Interviews held with the Fatih's police department show that the crimes involving Syrians declined compared to the previous years. According to the information given by the police department, the crime rate attributable to Syrians in the previous years was 40 percent, but a decline of 10 to 20 percent had been seen in the last one year. With regard to the sorts of crimes, the authorities stated that crimes involving Syrians in 2017 and 2018 included purse snatching, bodily harm, and drug trafficking. Furthermore, 70 percent of the crimes committed in Fatih district in 2018 were committed by foreign nationals, and crimes mainly included arms and drug trafficking, and purse snatching. Of the crimes committed, 40 percent was arms trafficking by

Algerians, 20 percent was drug trafficking by Iranians, and 10percent was purse snatching, theft, and drug trafficking was by Syrians.

81. Syrians formed clusters in the avenues and streets of Akşemsettin, Aksaray, Ali Kuşçu, and Molla Gürani quarters in Fatih district, and these places carry the common characteristics and distinctive parameters of the ghettoization concept. With regard, these areas can be described as "Post-war Syrian Ghettos". Taking into account the basic characteristics of the ghetto concept, Fatih district consists of quarters that bear traces of the ghetto phenomenon as areas which are mainly inhabited by a Syrian population as shown in table 17.

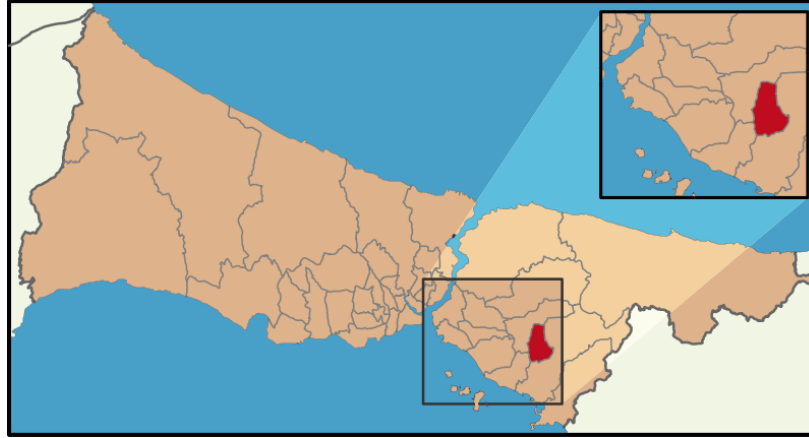
Table 17: Brief description of 5 distinctive parameters regarding formation of ghettos on a district level

Keywords in terms of "Ghetto"	Fatih District	Description
Population density	√	The vast majority of the population in the avenues and streets of Akşemsettin, Aksaray, Ali Kuşçu and Molla Gürani Quarters is Syrian.
Residential Segregation	√	Syrians have started to settle in the district since 2012.
Isolated Area	X	Although the quarters are not isolated with any structure, they have created invisible isolated areas within themselves.
Homogenous Relationship	√	The homogeneous relations established by Syrians among themselves are strong.
Social Exclusion	√	Social exclusion is present within the boundaries of Fatih District Municipality. This is confirmed by the deprivation of Syrians from municipal services and the attitude of Syrians and Turks against each other.

Overview of Sultanbeyli District

82. The history of Sultanbeyli district can be traced back to very old times. Sultanbeyli was a civilian administration center in the Roman and Byzantine eras. The district hosted Jewish and Bulgarian immigrants in the early 20th century. The immigrants were settled in the 7,500-hectare area allocated to them within Sultanbeyli. The district has achieved the present structure due to the TEM Highway, fast construction, and migration. Officially designated as a village in 1957, Sultanbeyli became a municipality in 1987 with the effects brought along by TEM Highway, and gained the district status in 1992. The district located in the Asian side of Istanbul has an area of 35 km². The district is divided vertically into half by the TEM Highway. There are a total of 15 quarters within the boundaries of the district. Neighbor to Kartal, Sancaktepe, and Pendik districts, Sultanbeyli is surrounded by the historical Aydos and Teferrüç Mountains (Sultanbeyli 2015-2019 Strategic Plan, p. 33-34).

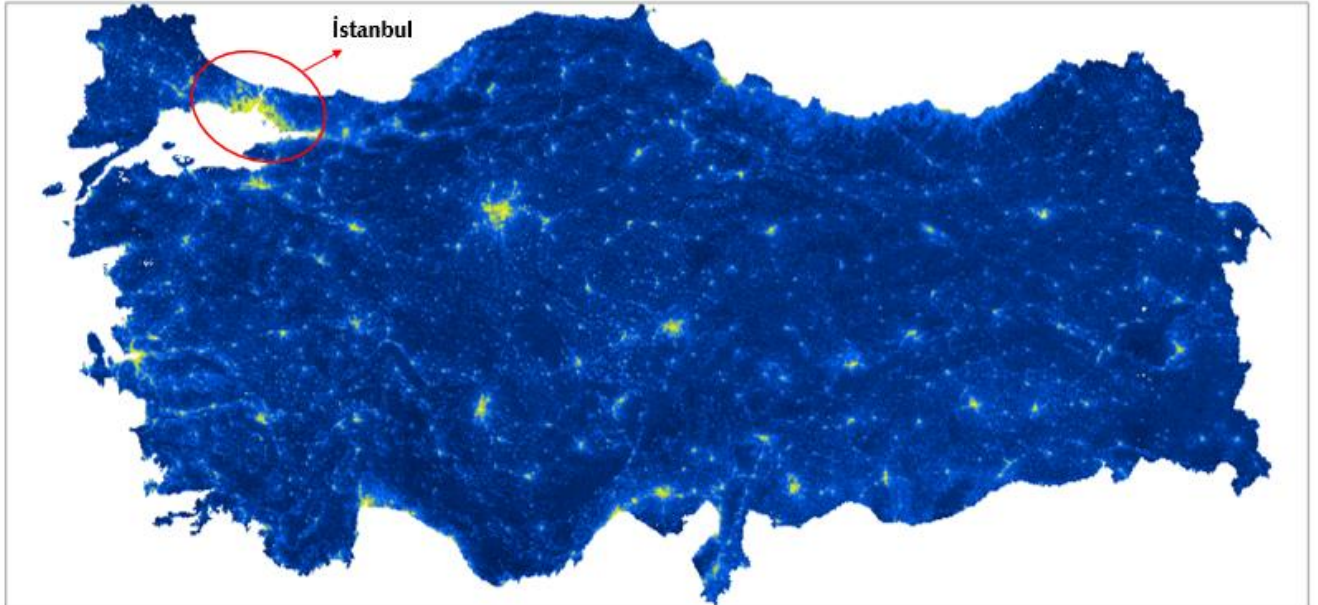
Figure 32: Location of Sultanbeyli District



Source: Geographical Information System, 2019.

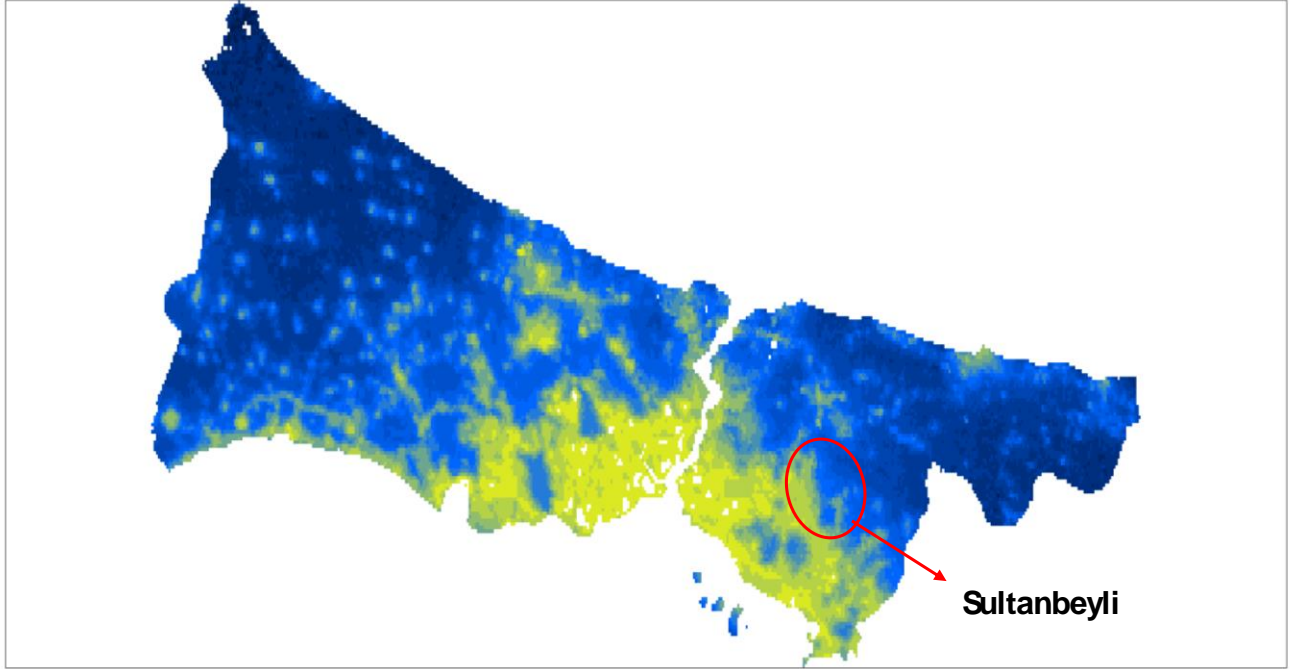
83. According to the light map analysis, Sultanbeyli is a settlement area with intensive economic activity. According to the analysis carried out, the average intensity of the lights in Istanbul is measured as 13.4 units, and this number is equal to 95.1 units in Fatih district, and 38.3 units in Sultanbeyli district. This shows that Sultanbeyli district is center of higher economic activity compared to Istanbul at large. However, the level of economic activity is lower than Fatih's.

Figure 33: Night Light Intensity, November 2018, Istanbul-Turkey



Source: TEPAV Calculations, night light intensity maps have been prepared by Ayşegül Taşöz Düşündere.

Figure 34: Night Light Intensity, November 2018, Sultanbeyli District



Source: TEPAV Calculations, night light intensity maps have been prepared by Ayşegül Taşöz Düşündere.

84. According to the official records obtained from Sultanbeyli's district municipality, Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association and the district's police department, Sultanbeyli hosts 19,156 Syrians registered under Temporary Protection. Accordingly, the Syrian population living in Sultanbeyli corresponds to 6.83 percent of the district population. The District's municipality and police department stated that more than 4,000 Syrians who made a preliminary registration were living within the boundaries of the district. As a result of the interviews, a total of 23,000 Syrians, registered and unregistered, were living within the boundaries of Sultanbeyli.

85. Unlike other districts of Istanbul, Sultanbeyli district has developed a strong municipal policy regarding the Syrians. In 2014, Sultanbeyli district municipality mobilized the public institutions and the Non-Governmental Organizations in the district. The "Immigrants and Refugees Aid and Solidarity Association" which was established to render effective and efficient services to Syrians, started project-based activities with the support of the World Welthungerhilfe (Organization for a World Without Hunger and Poverty) and GIZ (German International Cooperation Organization). Hence, the "Multipurpose Refugees' Community Center", in other words, Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association, was founded. The Community Center is a pillar among the NGOs of Istanbul and Turkey by carrying out activities for Syrians. The success of Association comes as a result of the involvement of different stakeholders such as the private sector, non-

governmental organizations, and public institutions in order to support all vital needs of refugees and to ensure that they quickly integrate with the society. The Association has mainly 4 fields of activity: i) Community Center, ii) Child and Youth Center, iii) SUKOM Software and Online Database and iv) SUKOM Database Statistics.

86. Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association established is among the best practices in Istanbul in terms of services rendered to Syrians. Inaugurated in 2014 for the purpose of finding solutions to the problems of refugees and immigrants who live in Sultanbeyli, the Refugees' Community Center offers free support to other refugees and immigrants, including Syrians in particular, in areas such as health, accommodation, education, culture, law, translation, and employment. The Refugees' Community Center and the Child and Youth Center provide the following activities under the auspices of the Association: i) social services, (ii) protection, iii) health services, iv) physical therapy, v) legal consultancy, vi) psychological consulting and guidance, vii) employment, (viii) working permit and licensing, ix) child-friendly area, x) Turkish language education, xi) vocational courses, xii) social integration activities, xiii) refugee councils, xiv) women's guest house, xv) hospital appointment system, xvi) call center, xviii) psychological support and xviii) education services (Refugees' Association Interview Notes, December 15, 2018, Refugees' Association Activity Report, 2017).

Figure 35: Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association



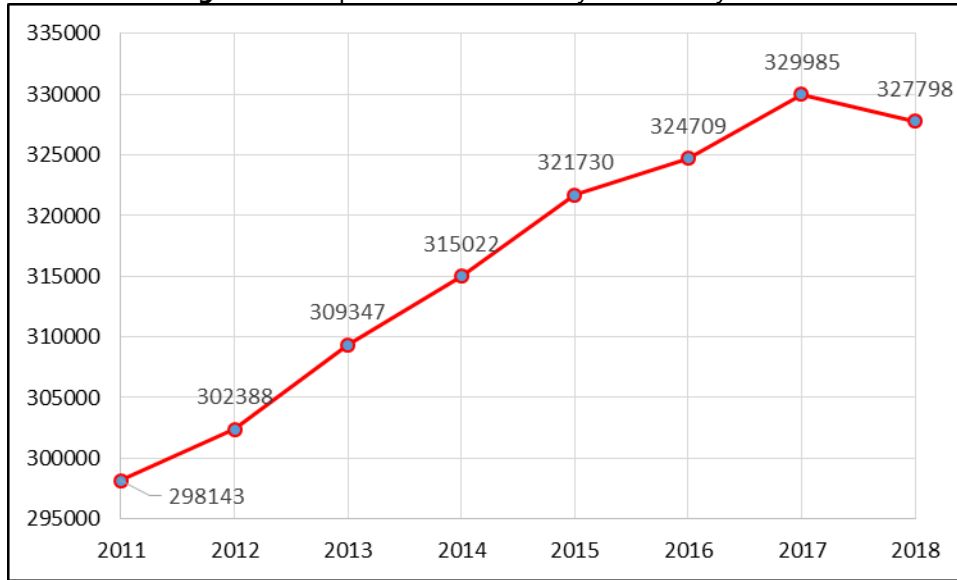
Source: Photographs taken at Sultanbeyli District Refugees Association

Deeming it a necessity to produce solutions to many ambiguities regarding the ever-increasing Syrian population, Sultanbeyli's municipality has achieved a phenomenal success in this area by establishing the Refugees' Association.

87. The most important achievement of Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association is the development of an in-house built software: SUKOM. The software was developed by the Refugees' Association in order to solve the registration problem of refugees who have sought refuge in Turkey, , keep track of their needs, and to ensure that these needs are covered at a single center. The SUKOM software is a web based data system through which modules follow the association's units and the subsequent studies. Each registration is integrated to the relevant modules and consequently connected to the association's areas of service (financial aid, health, psychological support, etc.) As a result of the field studies carried out by the Refugees Association since 2014 and the applications submitted, the registrations of 19,156 persons had been finalized and preliminary registration procedures of 3,240 people are in progress.

88. In the scope of the interviews held with Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association and Sultanbeyli's municipality, no decline in Turkish population was observed despite the influx of Syrians after 2011.³ The most important reason behind it is the failure of applying a strategy/policy to distribute the Syrian population equally in the quarters with the aim of strengthening social integration of the Syrians and to avoid clustering.

Figure 36: Population of Sultanbeyli District by Years



³ Since the interview was held before the date when TURKSTAT's 2018 census was announced (February 1, 2018), the change in the population of 2018 was not included in the interpretation.

Source: TURKSTAT, 2019.

89. Syrians within the district's boundaries are equally distributed in the quarters of Sultanbeyli and there are not forms of clustering. In order to strengthen the social integration of Syrians in the district and to prevent formation of clusters in the quarters, SUKOM Database method is used in cooperation with Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association and Sultanbeyli district municipality. The Refugees' Association keeps on a quarter basis and shares regularly with the public the records of the association which include the demographic data of Syrians living and thinking of settling in the quarters within Sultanbeyli's municipality. We do not encounter such and similar applications in other municipalities of Istanbul and other refugees' associations. The demographic data of the Syrians living in each quarter are given in the table below in line with the records received from Sultanbeyli Refugees Association as per SUKOM records.

Table 18: Syrians living in each Quarter of Sultanbeyli according to SUKOM Records

Name of the Quarter	Number of Male Syrians	Number of Female Syrians	Total Number of Syrians	Ratio of Syrians to Total Population (%)	Total Population of the Quarter
Abdurrahmangazi	689	652	1341	4.6	29,276
Adil	241	224	465	2.2	20,853
Ahmet Yesevi	897	837	1734	5.9	29,261
Akşemsettin	362	334	696	5.5	12,581
Battalgazi	947	893	1840	5.8	31,820
Fatih	1039	962	2001	9.3	21,541
Hamidiye	852	725	1577	5.8	27,189
Hasanpaşa	480	446	926	5.3	17,450
Mecidiye	844	752	1596	6.9	22,972
Mehmet Akif	1144	1047	2191	8.0	27,515
Mimar Sinan	500	442	942	5.2	18,158
Necip Fazıl	419	380	799	5.0	15,937
Orhangazi	419	381	800	5.1	15,748
Turgut Reis	687	602	1289	6.4	20,178
Yavuz Selim	501	458	959	4.9	19,506
Total	10,021	9,135	19,156	5.7	329,985

Source: Developed in the light of data obtained from Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association (31.12.2018) the data obtained are derived from 2017 Population Graph of Sultanbeyli District

90. The majority of the Syrians within the boundaries of Sultanbeyli district are newborns between 0-4 years of age. According to SUKOM records disclosed by Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association, the number of infant Syrians exceeds 2,900. It is worth mentioning that unregistered Syrians are not included in this number. The aforementioned age cohort is followed by children

aged 5-9 who correspond to 14.3 percent of Syrians in Sultanbeyli. The 5-9 age group is followed by the 10-14 age group with 11.9 percent (2,289 people). Table 19 below provides further age breakdown of Syrians in Sultanbeyli.

Table 19: Distribution by age of Syrians living in Sultanbeyli District according to SUKOM Records

Age Group	Number	Distribution by age of Syrians living in Sultanbeyli	Total (People)	Rate (%)
0-4	Newborns	2,931		
		6,694		
5-18	School Age Children	9,252		
15-65	At Working Age	279		
65 +		19,156		
Total				
** 15.30% of the Syrian population in Sultanbeyli District (2931 people) consists of newborns. 34.94% of the Syrian population (6,694 people) correspond to the population at school age. 48.30% (9,252 people) are people at working age.				
		0-4 years	2931	15.3
		5-9 years	2732	14.3
		10-14 years	2289	11.9
		15-18 years	1673	8.7
		19-24 years	2340	12.2
		25-29 years	1509	7.9
		30-34 years	1548	8.1
		35-39 years	1184	6.2
		40-44 years	813	4.2
		45-49 years	685	3.6
		50-54 years	548	2.9
		55-59 years	358	1.9
		60-64 years	267	1.4
		65-69 years	135	0.7
		70-74 years	66	0.3
		75-79 years	40	0.2
		80-84 years	18	0.1
		85-89 years	8	0.0
		90+	12	0.1
		Total	19156	100%

Source: Developed in the light of data obtained from Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association (31.12.2018)

As already emphasized, the population of Syrians in Sultanbeyli district in the 0-4 age group is increasing every passing day as is the case in Turkey at large. This is an important issue for future projections.

91. With regard to education attainment, 42.41 percent of Syrians in Sultanbeyli are primary school graduates. According to SUKOM records, primary school graduates are followed by junior high school graduates who represent 22.64 percent. The ratio of those who have completed undergraduate and postgraduate education does not exceed 2.5 percent. Lastly, the ratio of illiterates is 4.39 percent.

Table-20: Education status of Syrians living in Sultanbeyli District according to SUKOM Records

Educational Status	Total (person)	Ratio (%)
Primary School	8124	42.41
Junior High School	4337	22.64
Preschool	3446	17.99
High School	1566	8.17
Illiterate	840	4.39
Undergraduate	383	2.00
Literate	249	1.30
Associate	166	0.87
Unknown	28	0.15
Master	14	0.07
Ph.D.	3	0.02
Total	19156	100%

Source: Developed in the light of data obtained from Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association (31.12.2018)

92. In relation to the labor market, 34.8 percent of Syrians in Sultanbeyli work in the textile sector. According to SUKOM records, 39.55percent (3,659 people) of the total working age population in Sultanbeyli, 9,252 people, are active in the labor market. As aforementioned, 34.81 percent of the working population are in the textile sector. The latter is followed by a worker age population with 20.1 percent, and dressmaker represent 5.82 percent.

Table-21: Distribution by occupation of Syrians living in Sultanbeyli District according to SUKOM Records

No	Occupation /Sector Distribution	Total (person)	Ratio (%)
1	Grocer	14	0.38
2	Bank	1	0.03
3	Barber /Hairdresser	36	0.98
4	Information and Communication	5	0.14
5	Farmer	6	0.16
6	Other	64	1.75
7	Education	41	1.12
8	Electricity	55	1.5
9	Real Estate	1	0.03
10	Merchant	70	1.91
11	Waiter	11	0.3
12	Food	84	2.3
13	Security	3	0.08
14	Porter	36	0.98
15	Refuse collector	77	2.1
16	Imam	3	0.08
17	Construction	169	4.62

18	Businessman	7	0.19
19	Worker	737	20.1
20	Manager	3	0.08
21	Butcher	12	0.33
22	Welder	12	0.33
23	Stationery Operator	2	0.05
24	Greengrocer	5	0.14
25	Carpenter	110	3.01
26	Masseur	1	0.03
27	Publisher	22	0.6
28	Officer	9	0.25
29	Marble-cutter	18	0.49
30	Architect	2	0.05
31	Cabinetmaker	139	3.8
32	Accountant	6	0.16
33	Engineer	11	0.3
34	Automotive	18	0.49
35	Plastics Industry	204	5.58
36	Psychologist	2	0.05
37	Advertiser	3	0.08
38	Healthcare	22	0.6
39	Secretary	1	0.03
40	Self-Employed	5	0.14
41	Driver	45	1.23
42	Repairer	76	2.08
43	Agricultural Worker	5	0.14
44	Textile	1273	34.8
45	Translator	5	0.14
46	Dressmaker	213	5.82
47	Plumber	15	0.41
Total		3659	100%

Source: Developed in the light of data obtained from Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association (31.12.2018)

93. The number of children per Syrian household in Sultanbeyli District is 4. The average Syrian household in Sultanbeyli consists of 6to 7 members. The number of children per household of is four. As it is the case with Fatih district, Turkish citizens who were interviewed pointed out that in Sultanbeyli, around 15 to20 Syrians reside in some houses. During the interviews held, it was pointed out that the crowded households generally consisted of bachelors, and they preferred to live together in order to divide the rent among themselves. The interviews held with the real estate agents confirmed these findings. What is more, it was pointed out that this has an impact on rent rates in Sultanbeyli.

94. The square meter (m²) price of houses in Sultanbeyli District ranges between TL 6 and 11. The rent prices change from one neighborhood to another. The square meter (m²) prices of

business places for rent, on the other hand, range between TL 11 and 15. With regard to property for sale, The square meter (m²) price of houses on sale range between TL 1,500 and 3,200, depending on the location. The price of workplaces on sale range between TL 2,000 and 5,200. Evidently, prices in Sultanbeyli are half of the prices, whether for rent or sale, in Fatih District.

Table 22: House and workplace prices on a m2 basis in Sultanbeyli District by quarter (for rent and sale)

Quarter	M ² TL Value of Houses for Rent	M ² TL Value of Workplaces for Rent	m ² TL Value of Houses on Sale	m ² TL Value of Workplaces on Sale
Abdurrahmangazi	TL 10	TL 13	TL 3,107	TL 5,192
Adil	TL 11	TL 11	TL 2,802	TL 2,600
Ahmet Yesevi	TL 7	TL 14	TL 2,500	TL 3,417
Akşemsettin	TL 9	TL 12	TL 1,968	TL 7,039
Battalgazi	TL 11	TL 11	TL 2,171	TL 4,109
Fatih	TL 11	TL 11	TL 2,802	TL 2,600
Hamidiye	TL 8	TL 5	TL 1,479	TL 1,982
Hasanpaşa	TL 8	TL 13	TL 2,454	TL 4,155
Mecidiye	TL 8	TL 16	TL 1,914	TL 1,507
Mehmet Akif	TL 9	TL 11	TL 2,361	TL 3,611
Mimar Sinan	TL 8	TL 6	TL 2,213	TL 2,840
Necip Fazıl	TL 8	TL 18	TL 2,134	TL 1,590
Orhangazi	TL 7	TL 14	TL 2,500	TL 3,417
Turgut Reis	TL 7	TL 15	TL 1,733	TL 3,666
Yavuz Selim	TL 6	TL 11	TL 1,479	TL 1,982

Source: Derived from the data obtained from real estate agents in Sultanbeyli District and "tapusor.com" (31.12.2018).

It was observed that all the Syrians interviewed in Sultanbeyli district, 27 people, resided within the boundaries of the district. The municipal authorities stated that the average rent of houses in Sultanbeyli was between TL 650 - 900, and this figure was confirmed by the in-depth interviews held during the field research.

95. Ziya Ülhak Avenue in Mehmet Akif Quarter, also known as the Aleppo Avenue, is a region heavily populated by Syrians. According to the information given by the district municipality and the Refugees' Association, Ziya Ülhak Avenue is where 87 percent, 35 of the 40 stores, of the tradesmen are Syrians. Since the Avenue hosts mostly Syrian businesses, the residents of the district call this place also "Aleppo Avenue". The avenue where the food and textile industries are dominant has 13 restaurants, 5 grocery stores, 2 wholesalers, 15 dress shops. After in-depth interviews with 15 Syrian tradesmen it was found that the Syrian tradesmen were residing in neighboring quarters within the boundaries of the district. It is noteworthy that almost all the businesses operated by Syrians use signboards in Arabic. The customers of the Syrian businesses

consisted equally of Syrians and Turkish citizens. Moreover, 90 percent of Syrian tradesmen possessed poor command of Turkish, but employed Turkish staff for Turkish customers.

Figure 37: Mehmet Akif Quarter - Ziya Ülhak Avenue



Source: Photographs Taken In the Scope of Mehmet Akif Quarter Ziya Ülhak Avenue Field Research

- 96. The Syrian women living in Sultanbeyli execute house chores and look after the kids.** This is case for 80 percent of the Syrian women interviewed. Moreover, interviews showed that 5 of the 27 interviewed Syrians worked as employees outside the boundaries of the district, 15 were tradesmen with businesses within the boundaries of the district, and 7 of their living with the aid of the Kızılay Cart and did not work. It is noted that almost all the interviewed Syrians interviewed understood Turkish, but preferred to speak Arabic.
- 97. The conservative structure of Sultanbeyli and the suitability of the living conditions are among the most important reasons for Syrians to prefer the district.** All the Syrians interviewed declared having Temporary Protection IDs. As for where they arrived when they crossed the border for the first time, 12 Syrians stated entered Turkey through Hatay province, and after living there for a short while, they moved to Sultanbeyli. All of them preferred to live in Sultanbeyli because they found the living conditions in the district suitable. Other reasons for preferring Sultanbeyli district were the conservative structure of the region which had similarities with Syria and the recommendations of their friends and/or relatives.
- 98. Syrians who live in Sultanbeyli do not want to return.** When Syrians were asked whether they wanted to return back to Syria, 85 percent said "they did not want to return back". The reason for which was the fact that they they were happy to be living in Turkey, and that they had no hope that the civil conflict in their country will end. The Syrians who stated that they wanted to return said it would only be possible if the conflict in their country comes to an end, and pointed out that it was hard and expensive to live in Istanbul.
- 99. The homogenous relations among the Syrians living in Sultanbeyli district is not as strong as the one in Fatih.** Based on the in-depth interviews and the in the field, and because Syrians did not cluster in terms of, it is hard to say that there is a homogeneous relation among Syrians

as strong as the one in Fatih. Nevertheless, this does not undermine the complete absence of homogenous relation since the Turkish citizens interviewed during the field visits said that Syrians spoke only Arabic, and did their shopping only at Syrian businesses. Aside from that, it is observed that a vast majority of the businesses operated by Syrians use Arabic in the signboards instead of Turkish. This verifies the finding that there is a certain rate of homogenous relationship between Syrians living in Sultanbeyli, but not to the degree observed in Fatih.

100. There is no visible wall or physical barrier separating the heavily populated quarters by Syrians from others. As already mentioned, the conscious settlement policy pursued by Sultanbeyli's municipality for Syrians, which has enabled to distribute Syrian refugees in a proportionally-equal manner to 15 quarters, is one of the most important indicators of the invisibility of a distinctive barrier. However, what sets the boundaries of an invisible barrier is the fact that the owners of the businesses in Ziya Ülhak Avenue are predominantly Syrians and the differences in the dress codes.

101. According to Sultanbeyli's in-house system, SUKOM, 90 percent of the registered Syrians have access to local services. The authorities emphasized that many services such as food, health, interpretation, education, psychological consulting reach 90 percent of the registered Syrians in the system (17,240 people). According to the information given by the Refugees' Association and the municipality, the services rendered mainly include food, health services, legal consultancy, psychological consulting and guidance, working permit and licensing, and Turkish language education for Syrians.

102. Syrians living in Sultanbeyli stated being happy to live with the Turkish citizens. In line with the interiewes held, interviewed Syrians expressed being happy to live with Turks. Turkish citizens, on the other hand, expressed that they were happy to live with Syrians. It is observed that all the Turkish citizens interviewed described Syrians as "victims of war", "poverty-stricken", "people who came here to escape death". However, the Municipal authorities declared that the level of satisfaction of Turkish citizens decreased in the recent years, which is also supported by the findings of the field research conducted by the municipality itself. According to the survey conducted by Sultanbeyli municipality at regular intervals since 2014 with Turkish citizens living in the district, the level of satisfaction of living with Syrians, dropped from 85 percent in 2015 to 65 percent in 2017. According to the research, the reasons of the decline take root in the negative news circulated in social media and Syrians' reluctance to speak Turkish. On the other hand, Turks perceiving Syrians as victims of war is an important reason for not complaining about living with them. However, when compared with Fatih, it is noteworthy that 65 percent the Turkish citizens in Sultanbeyli are happy to live with Syrians.

103. The crimes involving Syrians in Sultanbeyli have declined compared to the previous years. According to the information given by Sultanbeyli police department, the crime rate

attributable to Syrians in Sultanbeyli is 0,008 one thousandths percent. The most important reason of the low crime rate was shown to be the fact that the services offered by Sultanbeyli municipality and the Refugees' Association are of long-term nature. According to the information disclosed, vocational education and training helps facilitate the employment of Syrians by becoming more qualified and this, in return, proved to be among the factors that prevent high crime rates among Syrians in the district.

104. According to the findings of the field research, Syrian clusters did not form in Sultanbeyli, and the characteristics and distinctive parameters of ghettoization did not emerge. Thus, Sultanbeyli district cannot be described as a "Post-war Syrian Ghetto" as per table 23 below.

Table 23: Brief depiction of 5 distinctive parameters regarding formation of ghettos on a district basis

Keywords in terms of "Ghetto"	Sultanbeyli District	Description
Population density	X	In Sultanbeyli district, the Syrian population is equally distributed to 15 quarters, and does not form clusters in terms of density.
Residential Segregation	√	Syrians have started to settle in the country since 2011.
Isolated Area	X	Although the quarters are not isolated with any structure, they have created invisible isolated areas within themselves.
Homogenous Relationship	√	It is found that there is a certain rate of homogenous relationship between Syrians living in Sultanbeyli but not as strong as that in Fatih district.
Social Exclusion	X	Social exclusion is not present within the boundaries of Sultanbeyli District Municipality. Services given by the Municipality/Association and the relations of the citizens with each other constitute an example of this situation.

Overview of Sultangazi District

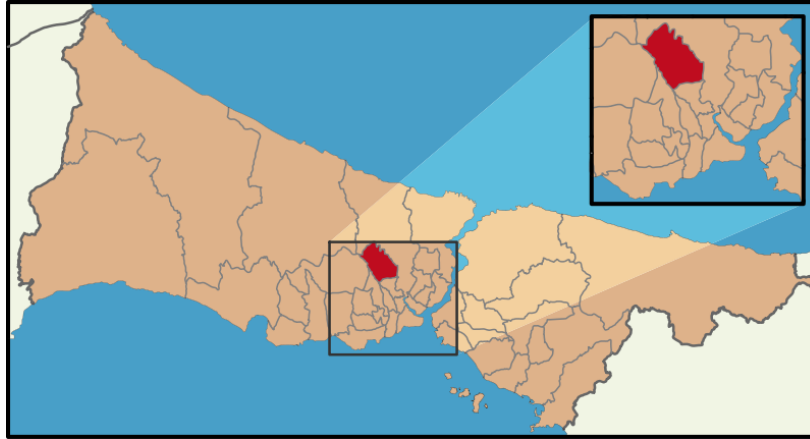
105. The district of Sultangazi is one of the most important places of settlement during the Ottoman era. The archives of the era show that the region is located along the historical water routes. Waters originating from mountains and forests are carried to the Historical Peninsula (Fatih district and its vicinity) through the channels in this region. The population in the region increased with immigrants from the Balkans (Şumnu, Cuma, Lofça) in the 19th century. These immigrants were settled in Cebeci Village and other villages in the region. In addition, Sultangazi was used as a military education and logistics base in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire and during the War of Independence. The region which remained affiliated with Eyüp district for a long time during the Republican Period, gained the district status pursuant to article 24 of the

"Law on Establishment of Districts within the Boundaries of the Metropolitan Municipality and Amendment of Certain Laws" adopted in 2008. The district located in the European side is neighbor to Esenler, Gaziosmanpaşa, and Başakşehir districts. The district has an area of 36.3 km². (Sultangazi District Municipality 2015-2019 Strategy Plan, p. 26-27).

106. Tens of thousands of people, including Syrians, are working in the informal textile, shoemaking, and small-sized industrial sites within the boundaries of Sultangazi district.

The majority of shoes produced in Turkey are manufactured by shoemaking workshops in Sultangazi where 20,000 people are employed and approximately 40,000 people are employed in the informal textile industry. There are also around 10,000 people are employed in industrial sites where furniture manufacturers and car body painters, are operating. Also, Alibey Dam, which is situated within the boundaries of the district, meets a great deal of water requirement of Istanbul. This extensive employment environment and the affordability of housing attracts immigration to Sultangazi. (Sultangazi District Municipality 2015-2019 Strategy Plan, p. 34-35).

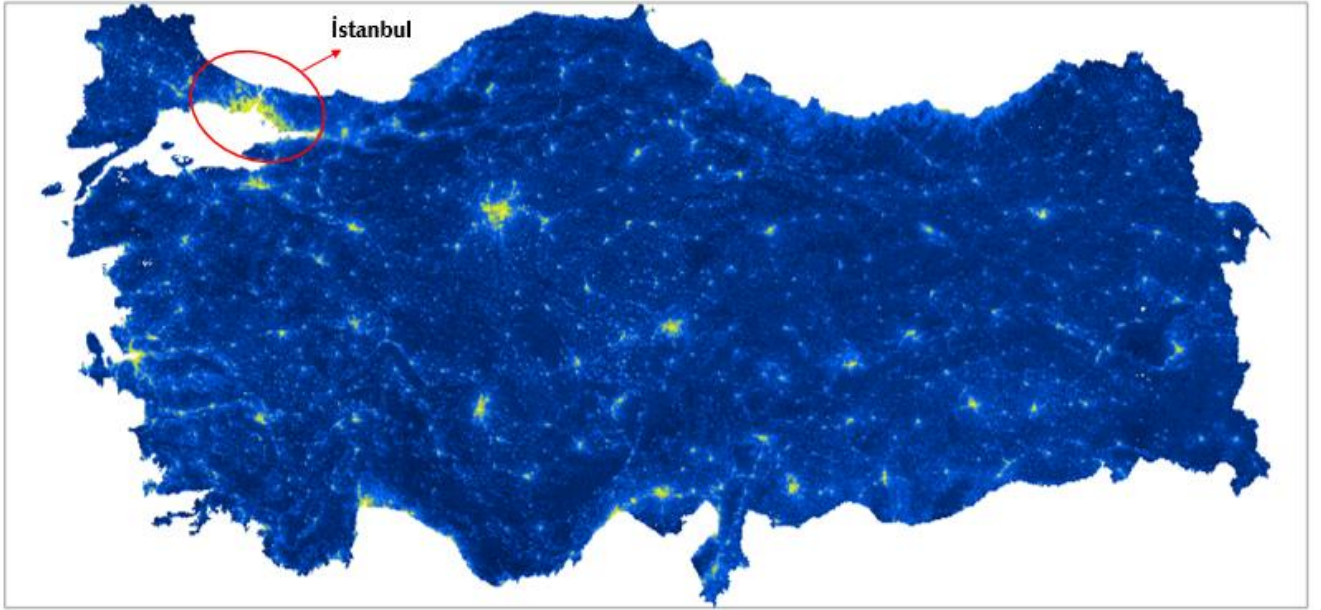
Figure 38: Location of Sultangazi District



Source: Geographical Information System, 2019.

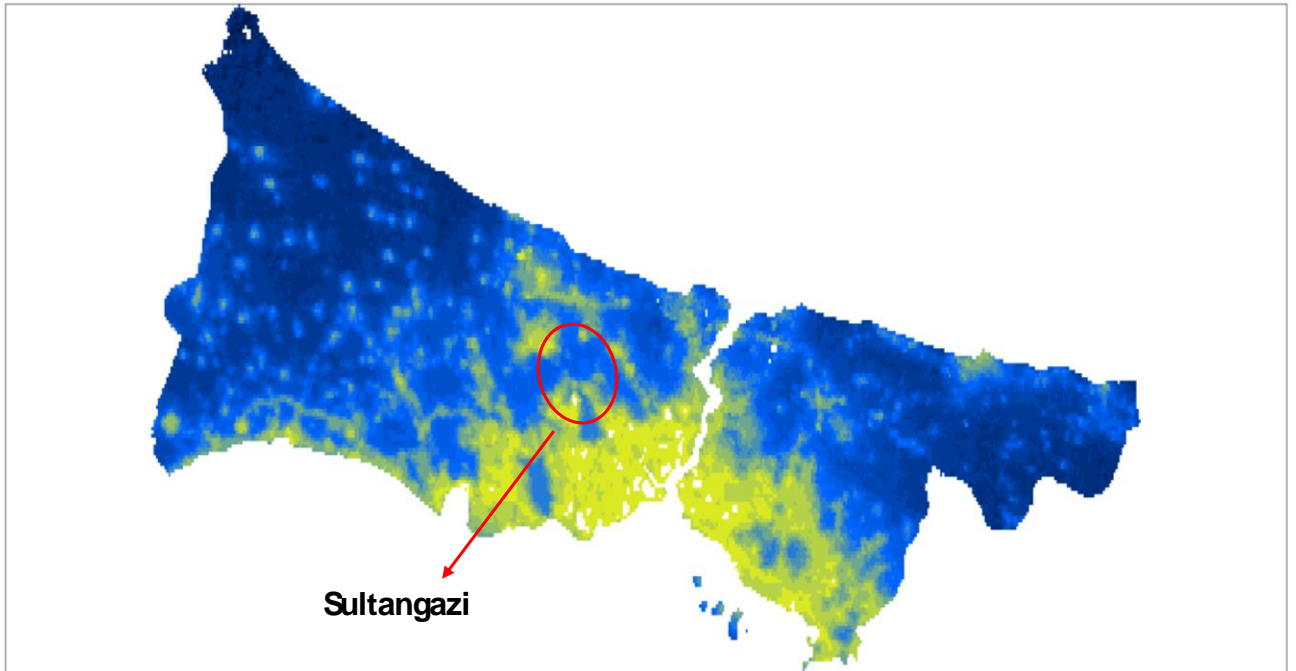
According to the light map analysis, the district looks to be a settlement area with intensive economic activity. The night lights of Istanbul Province and Sultangazi district were compared using this method. The average intensity of the night lights in Istanbul is measured as 13.4 units, and this number is equal to 30.5 units in Sultangazi. This appears to confirm that, like Sultanbeyli District 38.3 units, Sultangazi has an extensive economic activity, but not of a the scale present in Fatih. **Figure 39:** Night Light Intensity, November 2018, Istanbul-Turkey

Figure 39: Night Light Intensity, November 2018, Istanbul-Turkey



Source: TEPAV Calculations, night light intensity maps have been prepared by Ayşegül Taşöz Düşündere.

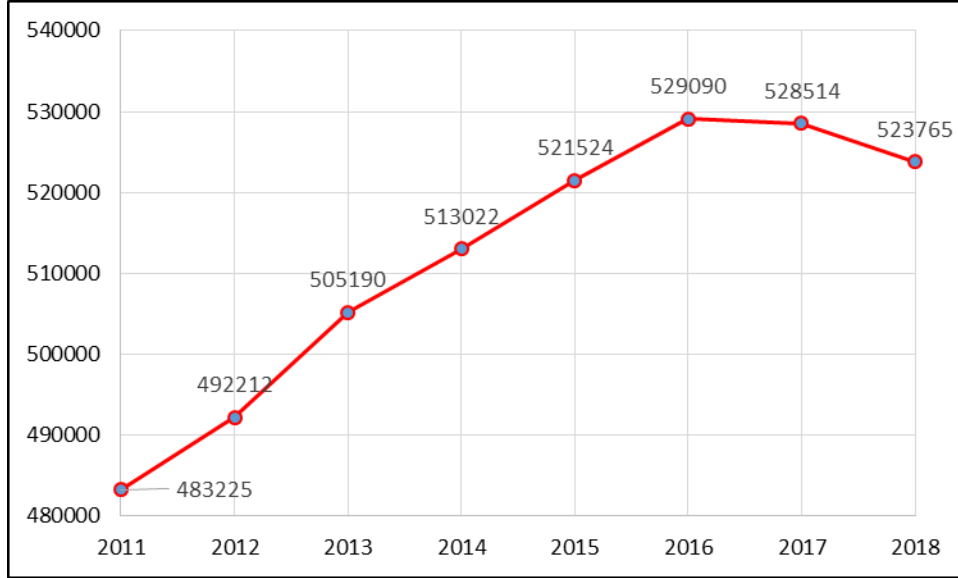
Figure 40: Night Light Intensity, November 2018, Sultangazi District



Source: TEPAV Calculations, night light intensity maps have been prepared by Ayşegül Taşöz Düşündere.

107. According to the official records obtained from Sultangazi municipality and the district police department, Sultangazi is home to 31,426 Syrians under Temporary Protection. According to the information obtained, the Syrian population living in Sultangazi corresponds to 6.0 percent of the district population. The municipality further added that no decline in Turkish population was observed in the district after the influx of Syrians in 2011.⁴

Figure 41: Population of Sultangazi District by Years

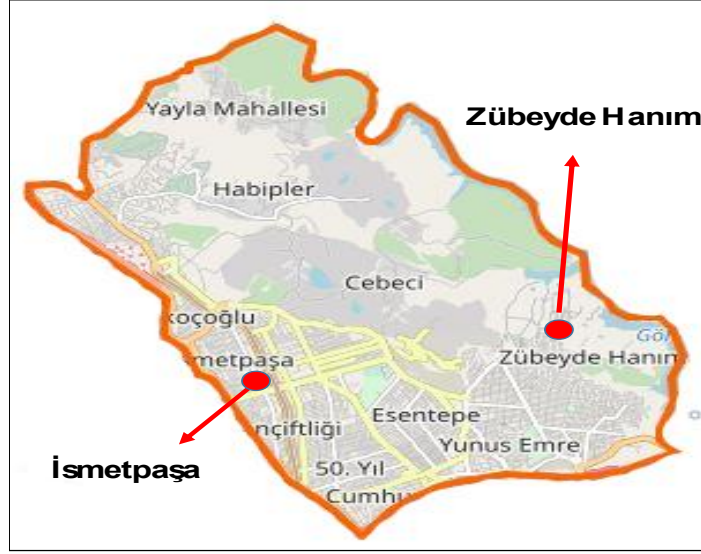


Source: TURKSTAT, 2019.

108. The Syrian population living in Sultangazi clustered in Zübeyde Hanım and İsmetpaşa quarters. Accordingly, 95 percent of the 31,426 Syrians under Temporary Protection who have been registered in Sultangazi are in İsmetpaşa and Zübeyde Hanım quarters. These quarters, however, are living spaces for Syrians. In relation, only 3 of the 31 Syrians interviewed stated that they worked as tradesmen within the boundaries of the quarter. The district municipality authorities underlined the fact that they did not have a data system regarding the registered Syrian population and that they obtained these figures as a result of the field observations conducted at a district level.

⁴ Since the interview was held before the date when TURKSTAT's 2018 census was announced (February 1, 2018), the change in the population of 2018 was not included in the interpretation.

Figure 42: Sultangazi District Map



Source: Open Street Map, 2019.

Figure 43: Maps of Zübeyde Hanım and İsmetpaşa Quarters

Zübeyde Hanım Mahallesi

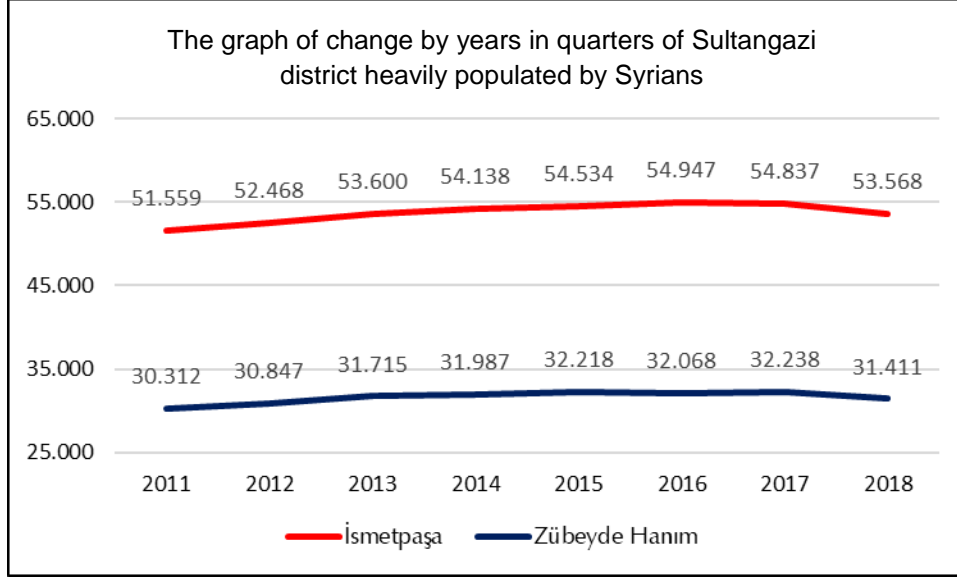


İsmetpaşa Mahallesi



Source: Open Street Map, 2019.

Figure 44: The graph of population change in quarters with Syrian population concentration in Sultangazi District



Source: TURKSTAT

109. The number of children per Syrian household in Sultangazi is 5. According to the information received a Syrian household consists, on average, of 7 to 8 members, including relatives. Similar to the perceptions of Turkish citizens interviewed in Fatih and Sultambeyli, citizens in Sultangazi also pointed out Syrians tend to reside in a group of 15-20 individuals in a single household. Consequently, the real estate agents and Turkish citizens in the district did not prefer to lease/sell houses to Syrians..

110. The square meter (m²) prices of houses in Sultangazi range between TL 7 and 12. Furthermore, the m² prices of the workplaces in Sultangazi range between TL 11 and 22. As for houses to be sold, the m² price ranges between TL 2,200 and 4,200 according to location. Similarly, the m² price of workplaces on sale range between TL 3,100 - 7,600. These prices are half of the house and workplace prices (for rent and/or sale) in Fatih and slightly higher than the ones in Sultanbeyli.

Table 24: House and workplace prices on m² basis in Sultangazi District by quarter (for rent and sale)

Quarter	M ² TL Value of Houses for Rent	M ² TL Value of Workplaces for Rent	m ² TL Value of Houses on Sale	m ² TL Value of Workplaces on Sale
50. Year	TL 10	TL 11	TL 2,296	TL 3,190
75. Year	TL 9	TL 22	TL 2,348	TL 6,041
Cebeci	TL 11	TL 15	TL 2,200	TL 4,250
Cumhuriyet	TL 12	TL 15	TL 4,163	TL 4,000
Esentepe	TL 10	TL 13	TL 2,333	TL 5,000
Eski Habipler	TL 11	TL 15	TL 2,200	TL 4,250
Gazi	TL 9	TL 18	TL 2,091	TL 3,636
Habibler	TL 15	TL 13	TL 2,764	TL 7,500
İsmetpaşa	TL 7	TL 12	TL 2,000	TL 2,200
Malkoçoğlu	TL 9	TL 8	TL 2,381	TL 4,750
Sultançiftliği	TL 10	TL 11	TL 2,368	TL 1,888
Uğur Mumcu	TL 12	TL 13	TL 2,720	TL 6,133
Yayla	TL 10	TL 11	TL 2,368	TL 1,888
Yunus Emre	TL 9	TL 15	TL 2,500	TL 4,230
Zübeyde Hanım	TL 8	TL 12	TL 2,222	TL 2,437

Source: Derived from the data obtained from real estate agents in Sultangazi District and "tapusor.com" (31.12.2018).

It was observed that all the Syrians interviewed in Sultangazi district (31 people) resided within the boundaries of the district. The Municipality authorities stated that the average rent of houses in Sultangazi ranged between TL 700 - 900, and this figure was confirmed by the in-depth interviews held with real estate agents..

111. Syrians living in Zübeyde Hanım and İsmetpaşa quarters are mostly working in shoemaking companies and textile mills. Almost half of the Syrians interviewed in Sultangazi (15 people) stated that they worked in shoe production companies and textile mills operating in the adjacent quarters. The Syrians who stated that they had to work generally for low wages in these industries emphasized that they had to accept working under hard condition due to financial difficulties and hardships in finding jobs. It was found that 3 of the remaining 16 people worked as tradesmen within the quarter, 8 as workers outside the boundaries of the quarter, and 5 of them made their living with the aid of the Kızılay Card and did not work. Interviews held with the municipality and the in-depth interviews conducted during the research, showed that the presence of shoemaking companies and textile mills operating within the boundaries of the district are the main reason for Syrians to choose Sultangazi.

112. Syrians who live in Sultangazi do not want to repatriate. When Syrians were asked whether they wanted to return back to Syria, 80 percent (25 people) said they did not want to.

Explaining the reasons, they stated being happy to live in Turkey and lack of hope in seeing an end to the war. The Syrian who thought of returning back, however, declared that the life in Istanbul was hard and their income was not sufficient to sustain a living in the megacity.

113. The homogeneous relations among Syrians in Sultangazi are strong. Based on the in-depth interviews and observations, Syrians did not have any relationship with the Turkish citizens within the boundaries of Sultangazi district. On the other hand, Syrians developed close neighborhood relations with the other Syrians. Indeed, 27 of 31 Syrians interviewed in Zübeyde Hanım and İsmetpaşa said they spent time with other Syrians after the working hours. In addition, 29 respondents stated that they avoided establishing contact with the Turkish citizen and that they mostly preferred to do shopping at Syrian businesses. During the interviews, however, it was observed that despite living in Turkey for a long time, Syrian in Sultangazi, did not learn Turkish well and preferred not to speak in Turkish.

114. No visible wall or barrier separates the quarters populated by Syrians from other ones in Sultangazi. However, it is felt that there are invisible isolated areas in Zübeyde Hanım and İsmetpaşa quarters. According to the observations while there, the barrier is constructed through Syrians speaking Arabic, dressing differently, and reflecting daily living habits and cultures. These practices in the aforementioned quarters invisibly create isolated areas.

115. The municipality of Sultangazi has given priority to social aid services for Syrians. These include food supply, daily hot meals, and clothing support to people in need. In addition, the municipality provides stationery support to all students at the beginning of the school year without any discrimination to nationality. Furthermore, the authorities of the municipality emphasized that training programs are organized in 50 different branches in Public Education Centers, which operate under the auspices of the Municipality. At the Public Education Centers, integration policies such as school orientation, and lesson course completion are implemented for Syrian students in summer. The authorities pointed out that the Turkish language course program in effect with the support of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, art and vocational training courses (İSMEK) are available. Moreover, and for the upcoming term, there is a plan to open reading and writing courses to meet the demand and need of Syrians. When asked to what extent the services rendered reach people in need, particularly to Syrians, the authorities stated that they did not have the capacity to follow through and that no research or study has been conducted with that respect.

116. The Refugees Consulting Center was established in 2017 as an initiative of Sultangazi municipality. The Center offers interpretation/translation services, psycho-social support, and language courses for Syrians. When asked to what extent the rendered services reach the people in need, including the Syrians in particular, the representative said that, as the Center had been

founded recently, they reached a total of 300 Syrians so far and predominantly offered interpretation/translation and psycho-social support services.

117. The Turks in Sultangazi district stated that they were not happy to live with Syrians. In contrast, all the interviewed Syrians stated to be happy to live with the Turks. However, all of the Turkish citizens interviewed (20 people) stated that they are not happy to live with the Syrians. Reasons stem from the perception that Syrians have more rights. When they were asked to elaborate, the Turkish citizens living in Sultangazi, just like the Turkish citizens living in Fatih, said Syrians had easier and better access to social aid services. During the interviews, the Turkish citizens also added that the Turkish military fought for Syrians, and that the latter should recognize this efforts, and if necessary, urged Syrians to fight in their country to bring peace and return.

118. The crime rate attributable to Syrians in Sultangazi is 1.8 percent. The vast majority of the problems which are described as crimes in the district originate from quarrels between Syrians themselves. The representative of the police department also underlined that the perception of Syrians to have high crime rate was not true.

119. According to the findings of the research, Syrians formed clusters in Zübeyde Hanım and İsmetpaşa Quarters in Sultangazi. These quarters are ghettos. Table 25 below demonstrate the common characteristics and distinctive parameters of the ghettoization concept in the abovementioned quarters.

Table 25: Brief depiction of 5 distinctive parameters regarding formation of ghettos on a district basis

Keywords in terms of "Ghetto"	Sultangazi District	Description
Population density	√	A vast majority of the population in the avenues and streets of Zübeyde Hanım and İsmetpaşa Quarters is Syrian.
Residential Segregation	√	Syrians have started to settle in the country since 2011.
Isolated Area	X	Although the quarter is not isolated with any structure, an invisible isolated area has been formed within the quarter.
Homogenous Relationship	√	The homogeneous relations established by Syrians among themselves are strong.
Social Exclusion	√	Lack of communication between Turks and Syrians and deprivation of services are observed.

Conclusion and General Evaluation

This study entitled "Post-war Syrian Ghettos in Istanbul", covered the development of the ghetto concept, the evolvement of the terminology, and the literature looking at its history. As a result, , ghetto is a concept that describes the parts of a city which have not been integrated with or caused to be segregated from other living spaces. Moreover, the concept is addressed as an urban practice where the social and residential factors intersect through clustering formed by idiosyncratic lifestyles and sociocultural affinities, and as a result, homogenous areas are created by promoting social and residential segregation within the heterogeneous structure of the greater city. Thereafter, the study elaborated on the characteristics of a ghetto with a view to determining its present and future state. Consequently, the ghetto concept has started to be used in a context different than its original one due to the economic structuring brought by the 1980s. Then onward, a ghetto referred to places where the unemployed, the poor, and dangerous groups lived. Accordingly, the arrival of neoliberal economic policies in the 1980s stripped the ghetto concept of its character as a tool of sociocultural separation by religion, ethnics and sect, and thus became a tool of class segregation as result of the consumption culture.

In analyzing post-war ghettoization process in Turkey, this study corresponds to the original context of the ghetto concept in Fatih, Sultanbeyli, and Sultangazi districts of Istanbul where the Syrian population is dense. What is more, and based on the main variables and characteristics of ghetto, it has been determined that are Syrian clusters formed in certain quarters, avenues, and streets of Fatih and Sultangazi districts, effectively reflecting the basic elements and distinctive parameters of the ghetto concept according to social characteristics, homogeneous relations and segregated living conditions. In addition, Syrians in these districts have limited access to local services, particularly in Fatih district. The services, moreover, are looked upon as only temporary solutions. and are rather offered by associations that work within the boundaries of the district. In Sultangazi, efforts have been put in place as late as 2017 to expand the range of services for Syrians in matters pertaining to interpretation/translation services, psycho-social support, and language courses. Unlike other districts of Istanbul, Sultanbeyli has developed a strong policy regarding the Syrians. Because Syrians within the district's boundaries are equally distributed to the quarters and do not form clusters. Hence, forms of density, social exclusion and isolated living conditions were not encountered. In order to strengthen social integration of Syrians in the district and to prevent formation of clusters in the quarters, a comprehensive database is used in cooperation with Sultanbeyli Refugees' Association and Sultanbeyli district municipality. As such, the demographic data of the Syrian population are recorded and updated at regular intervals while offering comprehensive range of services to Syrians

population in cooperation with the district Municipality and the Refugees' Community Center since 2014.

As a result of the field visits, common findings have been identified about Syrians in all three districts. It was found that all interviewed Syrians in the 3 districts were happy to live with Turks. The reasons for preferring the districts included the conservative structure of the hosting community and recommendations of friends and/or relatives. Almost all the interviewed Syrians stated having no hope for war in their country to end soon. Thus, showed no signs of repatriating. In addition to that, the interviewed Syrians understood Turkish, but preferred to speak Arabic. This observation is also noted in the use of shops' signboards. In the 3 districts, the vast majority of the businesses operated by Syrians use Arabic instead of Turkish in the signboards. This combined with a different dress code, and certain daily living habits and practices indicated a strong homogenous relation between Syrians (Table 26).

It is noteworthy that the services rendered to Syrians differ by district. Particularly, Sultanbeyli district has a different position from other districts in terms of its data registry system. Aside from this service, Sultanbeyli differs from other districts in terms of Turks' satisfaction about living with Syrians. In Fatih and Sultangazi districts where ghetto characteristics are nounced, Turks are not happy to live with Syrians. The negative perception of is mainly driven by Syrians easier and faster access to basic services such as health, food, and monetary aid, and combined with the false understanding of Syrians increasing crime rates and disturbance. Unlike these two districts, there is a higher sympathy toward Syrians in Sultanbeyli as Turkish citizens described Syrians to be "victims of war", "poverty-stricken", and as "people who came here to escape death" (Table 27).

Tablo26: Common Findings in the 3 districts

Common Findings	Description		
	Fatih	Sultanbeyli	Sultangazi
Population Change	> The districts attracted intensive Syrian population since 2011.		
Happy about living with Turks	> All Syrians are happy to be living with Turks.		
Living Together	> Syrians live in groups of 15-20 people in a single house and this negatively impacts the rent rates in the districts.		
Reasons why Syrians prefer to live in the districts	> The conservative structure of the district, > Word of mouth coming from friends - relatives, > Residential characteristics being similar to that of Syria.		
Syrians do not want to return	> Syrians declared that they feel happy and peaceful about living in Turkey, and that they have no hope that the war in their country will end soon Thus, they do not want to return.		
Shop signboards	> A vast majority of the businesses operated by Syrians use Arabic instead of Turkish in the shops' signboards.		
Command of Turkish language	> Almost all Syrians understood Turkish, but preferred to speak Arabic		

Syrian women	> Syrian women do not work. Rather, they are housewives and look after kids.
Homogenous relationship	> Syrians speak Arabic in the quarters where they predominantly live and work, dress differently, and project daily living habits and practices > Syrians prefer not to speak Turkish, avoid establishing contact with Turkish citizens, and rather do shopping at Syrian businesses.
Crime rate	> Crimes involving Syrians have declined compared to the previous years and those include purse snatching, bodily harm and drug trafficking
Isolated area	> No isolated area separated by physical structure exists in the districts where Syrians live

Table 27: Unique findings in the 3 districts

Different Findings	Description		
	Fatih	Sultanbeyli	Sultangazi
Provision of local services	> Services for Syrians are not effectively and efficiently provided	> Services are provided in cooperation with Sultanbeyli district municipality and Refugees' Association	> Services for Syrians have been set forth since 2017,
Data registry system for Syrians	> No data registry system is available	> SUKOM Data Registry System	> No data registry system is available
Being happy about living with Syrians	> Turks living within the quarter boundaries, are not happy to live with the Syrians.	> 65% of the population are happy to live with the Syrians. > There is a dominant perception that Syrians are victims	> Turks living within the quarter boundaries are not happy to live with the Syrians.
Working status of Syrians	> Syrians are predominantly working in the food sector	>, Syrians are working in textile mills	> Syrians are predominantly working in shoemaking companies and textile mills

Policy recommendations

120. Increasing coordination and cooperation among and between municipalities and international and local NGOs

Although the research has been conducted in 3 districts of Istanbul, but it reflects an overarching limitation of all local administrations with respect to rendering services to asylum seekers, refugees or Syrians under Temporary Protection in Turkey: Municipal Law. The latter emphasizes "service to citizens." This, in return, exerts limitations of duty, both legally and administratively, to extend municipal services to non-citizens of Turkey. Moreover, this also means the budgets are exclusive to the citizen population of any given locality, further exacerbating municipal efforts. There is, however, an alternative to inclusive municipal services. Municipalities could benefit from different capacity building programs which support various activities. Take the municipality of Sultanbeyli for example. Interviews tell us the municipality, budget wise, is the least supported by the central government. The municipality, nevertheless, stands out as a locality best practice. Simply, because the municipal efforts and the activities of the Refugees' Association are the fruits of working closely with relevant stakeholders to overcome administrative and legislative handicaps. This, on the other hand, brings out the lack of a similar vision in Fatih and the late realization of Sultangazi about available opportunities. Best practices do not, however, function as one size fits all. Therefore, municipalities intrigued to execute programs targeting Syrians and others could first and foremost come together under one platform. The platform would take on board also international and local NGOs, and donors with financial capacity to support the needed activities. The main aim won't be to reinvent the wheel. Rather, injecting necessary adjustments to run in accordance with the needs of localities to perform inclusive services while sustaining equal quality to all beneficiaries.

121. Creating data registry systems for Syrians at the local levels

In line with delivering effective services, localities must know the needs of the beneficiaries. Those needs, moreover, could vary according to gender, age, educational attainment, and professional skills. Hence, the more localities know about who serve, the better the support will be. Therefore, localities could utilize an online portal that puts together the needs pending support. Needless to say that constructing the portal could be, at large, a complementary step to build a strong cooperative framework between municipalities and international and local NGOs as mentioned in the first recommendations. After all, and unlike the localities of Fatih and Sultangazi, the two reasons why Turks in Sultanbeyli are happy about living with Syrians and the absence of a ghetto is attributable to the lack of competition on services and the invisibility of Syrians in the district. Both reasons, moreover, find a common root in Sultanbeyli's in-house built software: SUKOM. The

software has been developed to solve a set of hurdles similar, but not limited, to registration and map demographics, educational levels, and professional skills of the Syrians. In addition, knowing the size of the Syrian households helped the municipality and the Refugees' Association to distribute the families in a planned manner, effectively cutting the way in the face of clustering.

122. Creating a "Refugee Service Data System" which collects all district municipalities of Istanbul under the same roof for an efficient and effective rendering of municipal services

It is necessary to create a "Refugee Service Database" which collects all district municipalities of Istanbul under the same umbrella. The database to be prepared should be specific to municipal services. While creating the database, not only short-term but also medium- and long-term activities should be planned by conducting needs analysis of local services, taking into account the privacy of personal data. The municipalities should be allowed to employ interpreters, psychologist, social workers, etc. in order to provide a better service for refugees. To succeed in all these efforts, more investment should be made in basic services and local administrations.

123. Strengthening the inter-community dialogue mechanism

A common denominator among the members of the host communities in Fatih, Sultangazi, and Sultanbeyli was prejudice against Syrians. This feeds the practice of culturally excluding Syrians.. Moreover, the prejudice minimizes dialogue and communication between the two sides. This, however, can be rectified with some practical steps To begin with, holding regular meetings between the headmen of the quarters and Syrian community leaders could be the first initiative to bridge the gap. Youth-related activities could be another measure. This could cover activities similar to study groups, sports, camping, and language exchange courses. Last but not least, Youth activities could cover levels ranging from students at schools to universities. Thus, bringing together the future generation while washing away social tension.

124. Inserting the Requirement of "Being Registered" in Legal Arrangements

There is large uncertainty about the provision of services to non-Turkish citizens by the municipalities in the legislation including in particular the Municipality Law No. 5393. It is necessary to re-arrange the law to place more emphasis on the "fellow townsman" by the municipalities and to expand the service area of the municipalities to include "all citizens living within the boundaries of the municipality and all other individuals provided that they are registered". In order to keep non-registration and displacements under control the requirement of "being registered" must be included in legal arrangements.

125. Preventing Encounter false news about Syrians in the media with awareness campaigns

the public in Turkey is often subject to false perception about Syrians. These include, but limited to receiving salary from the government and , being admitted to universities without going

through an entrance exam. Consequently, generating resentment and adding to social tension. Media outlets, unfortunately, tend to be careless about the accuracy and the details of such news about the Syrians. Therefore, and in order to avoid generating undesired perception, it is necessary to encounter similar publication in the in an accurate and impartial manner. Once again, the Refugees' Association in Sultanbeyli stands out with this regard by taking the responsibility in facing fake news by resorting to social media as a way to curb social tension.

126. Producing policies considering Syrians are in Turkey to stay

Eight years into an ongoing war, many Syrians established roots in many places. Moreover, and as seen through the perception of Syrians, they are happy to live in Turkey. Furthermore, the majority clearly stated unwillingness to return. This means Syrians envision a future in Turkey. While the security conditions seem to have improved in Syria, an overall positive situations remains difficult to foresee. As such, the last eight years managed to address the urgent needs of Syrians in Turkey with a quasi-legal status: Temporary Protection. The latter paved the way for Syrians to benefit from public provisions such as health and education, and to formally access the labor market. Nevertheless, and along the eight years, the perception of the host community has shifted from one of hospitality to one demanding equality. The public nowadays wants Syrians to be taxpayers. The current legal system governing Syrians does not open the door for Syrians to do so. Thus, there is a need, more than ever, to present the public with a comprehensive strategy about Syrians' future. One that contextualizes Syrians out of the contested "guest" image by putting forward the path toward equal rights under the same living space.

127. Creating a Sustainable Mobility Plan

Mobility is the movement of people safely and effectively between places. Within this scope, a user shares the same urban/rural space and uses the same transportation infrastructure. The approaches in the transportation plans of the towns directly affect the mobility of the town-dwellers. For instance, bicycles, walking and public transportation which are the primary models of sustainable transportation are only a few of the policies that facilitate and make it healthier for the user to move between urban settings. Therefore, creating a sustainable mobility plan can be regarded as a step that can eliminate the "ghettoization" factor, when the following frameworks are taken into consideration.

a) Increasing Life Quality

In many studies, a sustainable mobility plan in a town is seen to be directly proportional to increasing life quality in urban spaces. The management, pursuing and evaluation of the created plan will bring the social benefits of mobility policies to the forefront. For example walking areas in the form of accessible networks and public areas connected therewith, road and passenger

safety, emission-free transportation and fewer noise are elements that have a direct positive impact on life quality. Therefore the urban spaces that are described as ghettos under this study can attain high quality living areas with a potentially sustainable mobility plan.

b) A More Livable and Healthy Environment

Creating a sustainable mobility plan is undoubtedly a factor for creating a high quality and healthy environment. Subject to that it may be said that accessible and secure pedestrian or bicycle roads are directly proportional to the health of town-dwellers. The environmental injustice in the urban spaces which are described as ghettos can be minimized by increasing mobility.

c) Direct Relation with Municipal Services

As it is known, in Turkey, urban transportation policies are classified under the heading of local administration services. Therefore, urban mobility (public transportation services, bicycle roads, public pedestrian areas, etc.) is a policy which falls under the responsibility of the municipality. Developing a transportation policy from quarters described as ghettos in Istanbul which is connected to other important urban spaces (city center, commercial centers, cultural and other activity areas, etc.) will mean also improving the mobility network connected to these ghettos.

d) Elimination of boundaries

The "isolated area" concept, an indicator of a ghetto, can be directly related with the mobility problem in urban spaces. Physical barriers/thresholds found in quarters that are described as a ghetto will be overcome by vehicle/pedestrian roads, public transportation routes or bicycle roads, and thereby the 'isolated area' concept will lose its physical (and even in some cases, immaterial) character in that region.

In conclusion, mobility can be adopted as an important policy in both environmental and spatial terms against the ghetto concept when Istanbul is concerned. Of course, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Directorate-General of Istanbul Electrical Tram and Tunnel Enterprises (IETT) will have an important role in planning, managing and pursuing this process in a sustainable manner.

ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: Syrians under Temporary Protection by Provinces in Turkey

Syrians under Temporary Protection by Provinces in Turkey				
	Provinces	Number of Syrians Registered	Total Population	Ratio to the Province Population
	TOTAL	3.630.767	82,003,882	%4,43
1	Adana	236.901	2,220,125	%10,67
2	Adıyaman	24.636	624,513	%3,94
3	Afyonkarahisar	6.274	725,568	%0,86
4	Ağrı	1.038	539,657	%0,19
5	Aksaray	2.807	412,172	%0,68
6	Amasya	677	337,508	%0,20
7	Ankara	90.773	5,503,985	%1,65
8	Antalya	1.647	2,426,356	%0,07
9	Ardahan	137	98,907	%0,14
10	Artvin	39	174,010	%0,02
11	Aydın	7.607	1,097,746	%0,69
12	Balıkesir	4.385	1,226,575	%0,36
13	Bartın	129	198,999	%0,06
14	Batman	22.400	599,103	%3,74
15	Bayburt	25	82,274	%0,03
16	Bilecik	593	223,448	%0,27
17	Bingöl	942	281,205	%0,33
18	Bitlis	951	349,396	%0,27
19	Bolu	2.322	311,810	%0,74
20	Burdur	8.632	269,926	%3,20
21	Bursa	169.487	2,994,521	%5,66
22	Çanakkale	5.237	540,662	%0,97
23	Çankırı	548	216,362	%0,25
24	Çorum	2.578	536,483	%0,48
25	Denizli	12.522	1,027,782	%1,22
26	Diyarbakır	33.708	1,732,396	%1,95
27	Düzce	1.692	387,844	%0,44
28	Edirne	967	411,528	%0,23
29	Elazığ	13.358	595,638	%2,24
30	Erzincan	99	236,034	%0,04

Syrians under Temporary Protection by Provinces in Turkey				
	Provinces	Number of Syrians Registered	Total Population	Ratio to the Province Population
	TOTAL	3.630.767	82,003,882	%4,43
31	Erzurum	1.096	767,848	%0,14
32	Eskişehir	4.532	871,187	%0,52
33	Gaziantep	428.779	2,028,563	%21,14
34	Giresun	161	453,912	%0,04
35	Gümüşhane	95	162,748	%0,06
36	Hakkari	5.380	286,470	%1,88
37	Hatay	435.955	1,609,856	%27,08
38	Iğdır	90	197,456	%0,05
39	İsparta	7.068	441,412	%1,60
40	İstanbul	555.951	15,067,724	%3,69
41	İzmir	143.008	4,320,519	%3,31
42	Kahramanmaraş	88.060	1,144,851	%7,69
43	Karabük	783	248,014	%0,32
44	Karaman	775	251,913	%0,32
45	Kars	169	288,878	%0,06
46	Kastamonu	1.331	383,373	%0,35
47	Kayseri	78.199	1,389,680	%5,63
48	Kırkkale	1.495	286,602	%0,52
49	Kırklareli	2.735	360,860	%0,76
50	Kırşehir	1.333	241,868	%0,55
51	Kilis	116.387	142,541	%81,65
52	Kocaeli	55.874	1,906,391	%2,93
53	Konya	106.345	2,205,609	%4,82
54	Kütahya	784	577,941	%0,14
55	Malatya	29.668	797,036	%3,72
56	Manisa	13.675	1,429,643	%0,96
57	Mardin	88.618	829,195	%10,69
58	Mersin	204.253	1,814,468	%11,26
59	Muğla	14.499	967,487	%1,50
60	Muş	1.369	407,992	%0,34
61	Nevşehir	9.652	298,339	%3,24
62	Niğde	4.471	364,707	%1,23
63	Ordu	679	771,932	%0,09
64	Osmaniye	48.820	534,415	%9,14
65	Rize	901	348,608	%0,26
66	Sakarya	15.899	1,010,700	%1,57

Syrians under Temporary Protection by Provinces in Turkey				
	Provinces	Number of Syrians Registered	Total Population	Ratio to the Province Population
	TOTAL	3.630.767	82,003,882	%4,43
67	Samsun	5.655	1,335,716	%0,42
68	Siirt	3.967	331,670	%1,20
69	Sinop	131	219,733	%0,06
70	Sivas	4.001	646,608	%0,62
71	Şanlıurfa	449.019	2,035,809	%22,06
72	Şırnak	15.250	524,190	%2,91
73	Tekirdağ	13.677	1,029,927	%1,33
74	Tokat	988	612,646	%0,16
75	Trabzon	3.101	807,903	%0,38
76	Tunceli	59	88,198	%0,07
77	Uşak	2.333	367,514	%0,63
78	Van	2.134	1,123,784	%0,19
79	Yalova	3.628	262,234	%1,38
80	Yozgat	4.270	424,981	%1,00
81	Zonguldak	554	599,698	%0,09

Source: Ministry of the Interior, Directorate General of Immigration, April 4, 2019

ANNEX -2 Syrians under Temporary Protection by Districts in Istanbul

Districts	Population (2018)	Number of Syrians (TP)	Ranking of Syrians living under TP	Rate Ranking	Development Ranking	Ratio of Syrians under TP to Population
Zeytinburnu	284,935	25,000	7	1	25	8.77
Fatih	436,539	30,747	4	2	15	7.04
Sultanbeyli*	327,798	22,396	9	3	39	6.83
Arnavutköy	270,549	17,838	11	4	17	6.59
Başakşehir	427,835	26,424	6	5	6	6.18
Sultangazi	523,765	31,426	3	6	38	6.00
Şişli	274,289	15,269	14	7	1	5.57
Beyoğlu	230,526	11,841	19	8	26	5.14
Bağcılar	734,369	37,643	2	9	37	5.13
Esenler	444,561	22,678	8	10	34	5.10
Küçükçekmece	770,317	38,278	1	11	27	4.97
Avcılar	435,625	19,554	10	12	20	4.49
Güngören	289,331	12,727	17	13	23	4.40
Bayrampaşa	271,073	11,004	20	14	21	4.06
Gaziosmanpaşa	487,046	17,709	13	15	30	3.64
Esenyurt	891,120	29,177	5	16	35	3.27
Kağıthane	437,026	14,216	16	17	33	3.25
Bahçelievler	594,053	17,710	12	18	16	2.98
Sancaktepe*	414,143	12,072	18	19	36	2.91
Eyüp	383,909	10,779	21	20	14	2.81

Districts	Population (2018)	Number of Syrians (TP)	Ranking of Syrians living under TP	Rate Ranking	Development Ranking	Ratio of Syrians under TP to Population
Büyükçekmece	247,736	5,555	23	21	5	2.24
Ümraniye*	690,193	14,858	15	22	18	2.15
Beylikdüzü	331,525	6,728	22	23	2	2.03
Silivri	187,621	2,375	26	24	9	1.27
Tuzla*	255,468	2,794	25	25	28	1.09
Adalar*	16,119	167	37	26	11	1.04
Bakırköy	222,668	2,191	29	27	3	0.98
Çekmeköy*	251,937	2,309	27	28	19	0.92
Beykoz*	246,700	1,947	31	29	24	0.79
Pendik*	693,599	4,951	24	30	29	0.71
Çatalca	72,966	428	35	31	12	0.59
Sarıyer	342,503	1,754	33	32	4	0.51
Maltepe*	497,034	2,230	28	33	31	0.45
Şile*	36,516	156	38	34	7	0.43
Kartal*	461,155	1,773	32	35	22	0.38
Üsküdar*	529,145	1,987	30	36	13	0.38
Ataşehir*	416,318	1,436	34	37	32	0.34
Beşiktaş	181,074	277	36	38	8	0.15
Kadıköy*	458,638	650	39	39	10	0.14
Total (Temporary Protection)	15,067,724	479,054				

Districts	Population (2018)	Number of Syrians (TP)	Ranking of Syrians living under TP	Rate Ranking	Development Ranking	Ratio of Syrians under TP to Population
Total (TP + Pre-registration)		557,569				

ANNEX - 3 Semi-structured Interview Questions

Project Title: Syrians in Istanbul and Post-war Syrian Ghettos

Project Author: TEPAV and Heinrich Böll Stiftung Turkey Representation

Purpose of the Project: "Ghetto" is a concept which refers to an urban area where people of a certain religion, race, culture or ethnic root live together (Karimi, 2011: 37). In the literature, ghetto is described as an urban area with its own lifestyle and institutions, which has been subjected to discrimination due to religious, ethnic, sectarian and socioeconomic situations compared with the entire society, constituting an urban practice where the social and spatial factors intersect. As a result of the literature view carried out, it was noted that authors and researchers used certain common keywords to stress the real usage of ghetto, and distinctive variables to differentiate ghetto from other living spaces. These keywords and distinctive variables were analyzed by various sociologists such as Louis Wirth who examined the concept in depth. These variables are determined as **i)** Isolated Area, **ii)** Residential Segregation, **iii)** Population Density, **iv)** Social Exclusion, **v)** Homogeneous Relations. These variables have been examined on a quarter scale by the researchers, and the extent to which a quarter carries a ghetto character has been investigated. Led by TOBB, we, as TEPAV, carried out the first leg of the study in Önder Quarter, Altındağ District, Ankara Province. In line with this purpose, we will discuss to what extent the quarters where Syrians live in Fatih, Sultanbeyli and Sultangazi, the districts which host the highest Syrian population, bear the ghetto character, based on a literature review, and try to prepare a comparative research report.

We would like to thank you once again for your support and interest.

Date of Interview:
Gender of the Interviewee:
Age of the Interviewee:
Working Status/Title and Position of the Interviewee:

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

POPULATION DENSITY
1. Which are the quarters heavily populated by Syrians?
2. How many Syrian refugees are there within the boundaries of your Municipality? How many of them are children and women?
3. What is the ratio of registered Syrians in the quarters heavily populated by Syrians?
4. How many Syrians and Turks reside in these quarters? What percentage of the total population of the quarter do they account for?
5. How has the old and new populations of the quarters heavily populated by Syrians changed since 2010?
6. What is the distribution of the population by gender in these quarters?
7. What is the distribution of the population by age group in these quarters?
RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION
1. What are the average rent prices in the quarters within your Municipality heavily populated by Syrians?

2. In which sectors and how many refugees do you estimate are working in the quarters within your Municipality heavily populated by Syrians? Do the local people react to that? In which business branches are Syrians mostly working in these quarters?

ISOLATED AREA

1. Is any physical separator such as a wall, or barrier that isolates the quarters heavily populated by Syrians from other regions used?

HOMOGENOUS RELATION

1. How are the relations between Syrians and Turkish Citizens living in the same quarter? How do they view each other?

2. What is the level of interaction between Syrians and Turkish citizens in the quarters heavily populated by Syrians?

3. How are the relations (shopping, neighborhood relations) between the Syrians in the quarters heavily populated by Syrians?

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

1. What kind of services do you provide to Syrians in your municipality?

a. Aid

i. Winter aid

ii. Food/supply packages

iii. Hot meal

iv. Clothing

v. Household goods

vi. Stationery

vii. Rent benefit

viii. Cash benefit

b. Interpreting/translation service

c. Transportation service (Transfers to hospital, school etc.)

d. Psycho-social support, healthcare services

e. Referrals to necessary institutions

f. Language courses

g. Vocational courses

h. Education (Syrian schools, temporary education centers, etc.)

i. Other

2. How are the municipal services provided in the quarters heavily populated by Syrians? In which municipal services do concentrations occur?

3. To what % of the Syrian refugees do the municipal services reach?

4. How are the relations between Syrians and Turkish Citizens living in the same quarter? How do they view each other?

5. Does your municipality provide education or social support to disadvantaged groups (Women, Children, Handicapped, Elderly, etc.)?

6. Does your municipality conduct an activity for the education of refugees?

7. Is there a Community Center for refugees that your municipality has established, or is managing or cooperating with? If an, what is the scope of its activities? How many people does it serve?

8	Does your municipality have a contribution to or effect on the settlement process of refugees? (Finding a house, paying the rent, etc.)
9	Is there significant social exclusion in the quarters heavily populated by Syrians?
10	What are the crime rates in the quarters heavily populated by Syrians? Which crimes are the most committed?

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