Municipality of Osmangazi-Bursa Intercultural Profile

This report is based upon the visit of the CoE expert team on 13 & 14 February 2018, comprising Irena Guidikova, Anne Bathily, Nihal Eminoğlu and Phil Wood. It should be read in parallel with the Council of Europe's response to Osmangazi's ICC Index questionnaire, which contains many recommendations and pointers to examples of good practice.

1. Introduction

Osmangazi is the central metropolitan district of the city of Bursa in Bursa Province, as well as being the fourth largest overall municipality in Turkey. Osmanağzı Municipality has 136 neighborhoods and a population of approximately 813,262 as of 2014. On its own, it would be the 8th largest city in Turkey. The population of Bursa Province is 2,787,539 (2014), and metropolitan Bursa is 1,854,285 (2015) and like all Turkey's larger cities it is one of the fastest-growing in the region.

Bursa is, par excellence an immigration city taking in at various times refugees from the former Ottoman Empire, workers from the rest of Turkey and now refugees from the further afield, and thriving on its ability to deliver jobs, housing and a civic identity to the newcomers.

The main sources of business and employment are the automobile industry, textiles, footwear, agriculture, furniture, leather, plastics, machinery and hardware production, electrical motors, casting, carpentry, welding machinery, and cutlery. Osmangazi is the most economically and culturally developed district of Bursa, and has the highest level of literacy.

Bursa was the first capital of the Ottoman Empire so unsurprisingly it is rich in cultural heritage. Osmangazi is thus a district of tourism with historical riches, mountains and springs, and landscape. This includes the Reşat Oyal Culturepark which is the symbol of Bursa, Kozahan spreading over wide area between İnkaya Çınarı, Tophane Slopes, Ulucami and Orhangazi Mosque, which is considered as a natural monument for over 500 years, Emirhan built by Orhan Bey in 1340. The Muradiye Complex, Hüdavendigar Mosque, which is composed of madrasa, school, imrathane, gushane, hamam and camii, is one of the most important examples of multi-domed mosque plans in Ottoman architecture. Other public attractions include the Merinos City Park, Botanic Garden and Soğanlı Zoo.

The current Mayor of Osmagazi is Mustafa Dündar, who represents the Justice and Development Party (AK Party).

2. Background to Cultural Diversity in Turkey

Historically, the Ottoman Empire spanned three continents and a rich diversity of ethnicities, and it was managed through the distinctive form of the 'Millet System', which some scholars have described as an early model of multiculturalism.[1]

Millet is a Turkish term for confessional communities in the Ottoman Empire, deriving from the Arabic word millah ('nation'). Subject populations such as the Christians were classified by their religious affiliations. Their civil concerns were settled by their own ecclesiastical authorities delegated to them by the Sultan. This was the way the government secured access to the non-Muslim populations.

Beside the Muslim millet, the main millets in the Ottoman Empire were the Greek, Orthodox, Jewish, Armenian and Syrian Orthodox populations. The millet system worked efficiently until the age of nationalisms when the Ottoman Empire began to dissolve. Under the Millet interaction between Muslims and non-Muslims had been circumscribed. Thus, non-Muslims, though they were allowed to maintain their own religious and cultural heritage, were subject to certain rules, including limits on intermarriage and special taxes in lieu of military service. Therefore, the acceptance of millets was dependent on their willingness to abide by the regulations of the Empire, which encouraged conformity. The political system did not perceive members of the millets as individuals but rather as a part of a collective non-Muslim identity. Nevertheless, when strictly applied, it maintained the principle of equality and freedom from oppression and discrimination.

For much of the 20th century, Turkey was best known as a country of emigration. Migration from Turkey flowed largely to Western Europe, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, and the former Soviet Union. Labour migration agreements in the early 1960s with Western European countries, most notably Germany, led to historic outflows of Turkish labourers. When the need for labour migrants in these countries lessened in the 1970s, Turks continued to migrate for family reunification. From the mid-1970s onward, Turkish labour migrants headed principally to MENA and CIS countries. Today, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimates more than 5 million Turks live abroad, a population equal to 6 percent of the country's total inhabitants.

However, behind this headline there has been a long history of immigration too. This might be characterised within three broad movements: the consolidation of ethnic Turks within the boundaries of the Republic after various waves of departure or expulsion from former territories of the Ottoman Empire, known as the Muhacir; the arrival of expatriates choosing to live, work or do business in Turkey; and the arrival of involuntary movements of non-Turkic people either in transit or seeking refuge in Turkey.

Regarding the first of these, the term Muhacir has been coined to refer to an estimated 10 million Ottoman Muslim citizens, and their descendants born after the onset of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, (including Turks, Albanians, Bosniaks, Circassians, Crimean Tatars, and Pomaks) who emigrated to Anatolia from the late 18th century until the end of the 20th century, mainly to escape ongoing persecution in their homelands. Today, between a third and a quarter of Turkey's population are the descendants of these Muhacirs.

Initially, approximately 5-7 million Muslim migrants from hostile regions arrived in Ottoman Anatolia from 1783 to 1914. The influx of migration during the late 19th century and early 20th century was due to the loss of almost all Ottoman territory during the Balkan War of 1912-13 and World War I.

[1] Kaya, A. (2013). 'Multiculturalism and minorities in Turkey', in Raymond Taras (ed) *Challenging multiculturalism: European models of diversity*, 297-317. Edinburgh University Press.

These Muhacirs, or refugees, saw the Ottoman Empire, and subsequently the Republic of Turkey, as a protective "motherland".

Thereafter, with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, a large influx of Turks, as well as other Muslims, from the Balkans, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Aegean islands, the island of Cyprus, the Sanjak of Alexandretta (Hatay), the Middle East, and the Soviet Union continued to arrive in the region, most of which settled in urban north-western Anatolia (including Bursa). By the 1930s migration accelerated as another two million Muslims settled in Turkey. The bulk of these immigrants were the Balkan Turks who faced harassment and discrimination in their homelands. New waves of Turks and other Muslims expelled from Bulgaria and Yugoslavia between 1951 and 1953 were followed to Turkey by another exodus from Bulgaria in 1983-89, bringing the total of immigrants to nearly ten million people.

More recently, Meskhetian Turks have emigrated to Turkey from the former Soviet Union states (particularly in Ukraine - after the Annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation in 2014), and many Iraqi Turkmen and Syrian Turkmen have taken refuge in Turkey due to the recent Iraq War (2003-2011) and Syrian Civil War (2011–present).[2]

As the Turkish economy has stabilized and begun to grow over recent years, Turkey has become a place of attraction for expatriates and their families. For example, there are at least 34,000 Britons in Turkey, mainly of people married to Turkish spouses, British Turks who have moved back into the country, and students and families of long-term expatriates employed predominately in white-collar industry. There are also over 50,000 Germans, primarily people married to Turkish spouses, employees, retirees and long-term tourists who buy properties across the Turkish coastline, often spending most of the year in the country.[3]

Finally there are the more recent, but highly significant, effects of forced migration to or through Turkey from other countries in the region. Turkey is currently the country in the world hosting the highest number of asylum seekers and refugees. It is also the most important transit country in the context of the current migration to Europe. There has consequently been intense European focus in the past year on enhancing cooperation with Turkey and, in particular, on exploring legal avenues to return to Turkey asylum seekers, refugees and migrants who transited through Turkey to Europe.

The table below gives details of almost 3.5 million people who have arrived in Turkey and have achieved some form of residence permit from the government. However, it can be imagined that there is a much larger number of people who have not been formally recognised by the State, or who have had their request for status rejected.

[2] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhacir
[3] https://science-train.com/w/Minorities_in_Turkey/Ethnic%20minorities.html

	Syrians	Afghans	Iraqi	Iranians	Somali
Registered as applicant	N/A	118.116	130.076	31.592	3.463
Recognised/temporary protection status	2.834.441	3.423	30.398	6.966	2.239
Overall number of residence permits	48.738	20.148	55.983	16.000	-
With short term residence permit	20.280	12.453	25.222	7.839	-
With family residence permit	4.813	-	-	-	-
With student residence permit	3.367	3.803	3.438	3.333	-
With work residence permit	7.053	-	-	1.746	-
With other residence permit	-	-	-	15.092	-

Figure 1 Residence permits for Syrians, Afghans, Iraqi, Iranians and Somalians[4]

Regarding discrimination against foreigners and minorities, there is a mixed picture. According to ECRI (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) one of the main challenges facing Turkey would appear to be the need to reconcile the strong sense of national identity and the wish to preserve the unity and integrity of the State with the right of different minority groups within Turkey to express their own sense of ethnic identity, for example through the maintenance and development of linguistic and cultural aspects of that identity.[5]

ECRI's most recent report on Turkey (in 2016) commended the government on making positive steps in a number of fields, including: the establishment of the Ombudsman Institution was established which has started carrying out investigations into police misconduct; the adoption in April 2016, the Law on the Turkish Human Rights and Equality Institution, providing for the establishment of a new body and, for the first time, comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation. However it also urges the need for further progress, namely that Turkey should ratify Protocol No. 12 to the European Convention on Human Rights and bring its criminal law into line with ECRI's General Policy and offer firm guarantees that the new Human Rights and Equality Authority will fully independent.

As Turkey does not systematically record complaints or incidences of racial discrimination or hate crime it is difficult to give an evidence-based assessment of the situation. However, against a backdrop of several terrorist atrocities and dynamic population change it would not be a surprise to find there was an upward trend. One way of measuring the position is the recording of incidents of hate speech in the media:

[4] Compiled by: Huddleston, Thomas & Tanczos, Judit (2017) *Comparison between Turkey and European Union Countries: Harmonisation is the Way to Protection.* Migration Policy Group (MPG) & İltica ve Göç Araştırmaları Merkezi(IGAM). Drawing upon the following date sources: *http://www.unhcr.org/turkey/uploads/root/eng(65).pdf* and *http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik3/residence-permits_915_1024_4745*. *(Where data is missing, the nationality was not listed among the publicly available data for the Top 10 nationalities.)*

[5] https://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/ecri/country-by-country/turkey/turkey_cbc_EN.asp

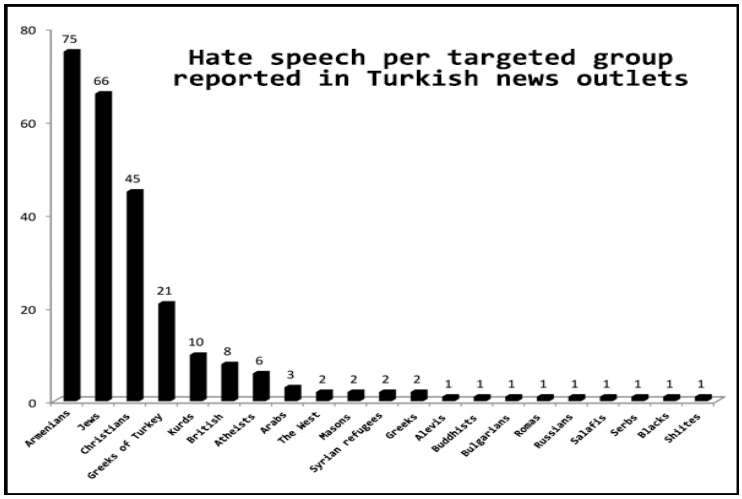

Figure 2 Hate speech in Turkish news outlets according to the January-April 2014 Media Watch on Hate Speech and Discriminatory Language Report by Nefret Soylemi and the Hrant Dink Foundation (http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/HDV_ocak-nisan2014_rapor.pdf)

A 2014 study[6] conducted in 18 cities shows that only 17% of the Turkish population feels that they share the same culture as Syrians, while 50% do not want to be neighbours with them. 52% of those who do not want to be neighbours with Syrians fear that Syrians would cause them or their families harm. During the study visit, most people confirmed the general perception that Europe is doing everything to keep the Syrians away, which exacerbates the situation.

MülteciDer's 2015 report "Reception Conditions and Refugee Access to Rights and Services in Turkey,"[7]which is based on interviews with 93 people of Iraqi, Iranian, Afghan, Syrian, Palestinian, Sudanese and Egyptian origin, reveals valuable details in this respect: Interviewees generally report being treated badly, humiliated or being seen as beggars, terrorists or potential criminals. Some report not going to local centres that provide social assistance and services because of such treatment, while others report keeping their children at home to avoid trouble. Many state that Turkish landlords are generally unwilling to rent out to asylum seekers and refugees or may demand higher amounts, and that it can be very difficult to secure housing unless they get help from other people with the same background. The Sudanese report being denied work and housing because of their skin colour (and other research confirms this about both the Somalis and the Sudanese), those with non-Muslim and non-Sunni backgrounds also report being discriminated against, and yet others report hiding their religion/sect. Increase of both anti-Arab and anti-immigrant sentiments in the last few years (following the Syrian arrivals) negatively affects the lives of asylum seekers and refugees in general.

Turkey did not have an overtly racist political party until the formation, in December 2017, of the Ötüken Union Party. It has announced policies to stop the refugee influx, cancel the citizenships of those who have migrated to Turkey from abroad, to have Turkish-only soldiers and police officers, and to ban marriage to foreign citizens. Upon the possibility that it comes to power, it would only

[6] See "Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration Research" from December 2014, p.31, available at http://www.hugo.hacettepe.edu.tr/TurkiyedekiSuriyeliler-Syrians%20in%20Turkey-RaporTR-EN-19022015.pdf

[7] "Türkiye'de Mültecilerin Kabul Koşulları, Hak ve Hizmetlere Erişimleri" [Reception Conditions and Refugee Access to Rights and Services in Turkey], available at http://multeci.org.tr/DosyaIndir.aspx?t=dokuman&Id=104

allow "pro-Turkish lawmakers". In addition, the party has singled out Turks as a superior race, but its support so far is small and it is merely one of 88 political parties registered in Turkey.[8]

3. National Policy Context

Ottoman 'multiculturalism' was usually coupled with the term 'tolerance', which has a long history in the Turkish context tracing back to the early days of the Ottoman Empire. It is also found in everyday popular usage in modern Turkey. Turks are generally proud of the millet system of the Ottoman Empire, which is often celebrated as the guarantor of tolerance and as respecting the boundaries between religious communities.

With the demise of the Ottoman system, the defining feature of the early Republic was Turkification policies that sought the dominance of Turkishness and Sunni Islam in every walk of life, from the language spoken in the public space to citizenship, national education, commerce, public-sector employment, industrial life and even settlement laws

In the aftermath of the 1980 military coup, Kemalist ideology was challenged by multiculturalist claims raised by ethnocultural and religious groups.

The EU perspective offered at the European Union Summit in December 1999 radically transformed the political establishment in Turkey, opening up new prospects for ethnic, religious, social and political rights of Kurds, Alevis, Islamists, Circassians, Armenians and a number of religious and ethnic groups in Turkey.

Since 2001 successive Turkish governments have taken initiatives to raise the status of the civil and cultural rights of non-Muslim minorities through a variety of legal amendments. In accordance with the Copenhagen political criteria, constitutional amendments extended individual rights and liberties to every citizen and overhauled structures to promote democratic consolidation and the enhancement of the rule of law and human rights For example the ban on establishing associations for the preservation and diffusion of languages and cultures other than Turkish and traditional to minorities was lifted. Specifically, there has been a debate around Article 66 of the Constitution which defines Turkish citizenship this way: 'Everyone bound to the Turkish state through the bond of citizenship is a Turk'. The other major demand by minorities has been to ensure that rights are granted on the basis of citizenship, not on ethnicity which favours the Sunni-Muslim Turks.

Since the assumption of power by the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AK Party), official policy has tended towards the creation of a unitary sense of statehood and nationality, in order to reinforce security in the face of perceived internal and external threats, and this has been welcomed at the ballot box by a majority of Turkish citizens.

The many dynamic movements in migration have demanded legislative response from the Turkish State. The original legal framework of the Republic was founded in the Settlement Law of 1934, which stated that "only persons of 'Turkish ethnic descent and Turkish culture' could immigrate, settle in Turkey and eventually receive Turkish citizenship".[9] This remained the guiding principal for over seven decades even though the nature of Turkish society had changed profoundly in the interim, particularly in the growing presence of many non-ethnic Turks in the country. One scholar

[8] http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/first-racist-political-party-founded-in-turkey-in-2017-turks-presented-as-superior-race-125310

[9] Kirisci, K. (2009). *Mirage or reality: Post-national Turkey and its implication for immigration* (CARIM Research Reports, Vol. 14). San Domenico Di Fiesole: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

has suggested that this was tenable because the integration of immigrants "tends to be seen as a non-existent or minor issue by most Turkish people".[10] However, in 2013 the whole situation was reformed and brought up to date by the adoption of the new Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP or in Turkish YUKK) and the establishment of a Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM)

In general, the YUKK specifies the rules regarding the entry, stay and exit from Turkey for non-nationals in addition to the information on the organization, responsibilities and competences of the DGMM. The YUKK is also exemplary in the sense that the leading immigration and law experts, domestic NGOs and the international agents such as the International Organization for Migration were included in the process of the making and discussion of its draft. The YUKK is acknowledged by some commentators as being in line with international human rights, international agreements and the European Union legislation at the headline level, although not necessarily the same in the detailed application.[11]

Under Article 96 of the YUKK, Turkey's immigrant integration strategy is identified as 'harmonisation' or 'adaptation' (*Uyum* in Turkish) and its meanings seem to have a slightly different connotation than the European notion of 'integration':

> *"(1) The Directorate General may, to the extent that Turkey's economic and financial capacity deems possible, plan for Harmonisation activities in order to facilitate mutual Harmonisation between foreigners, applicants and international protection beneficiaries and the society as well as to equip them with the knowledge and skills to be independently active in all areas of social life without the assistance of third persons in Turkey or in the country to which they are resettled or in their own country."*

Interestingly, the website of DGMM states that Harmonisation *"is neither an assimilation nor an integration. It is rather a voluntary harmonisation resulting from mutual understanding of each other between the migrants and the society"* and that *"a migrant-oriented approach will be embraced*".[12]

As Turkish policy evolves there can be seen to be a blend of historic Ottoman and Islamic principles of tolerance and hospitality combined with a Western rights-based approach – a model entirely distinctive to contemporary Turkey.

Presently DGMM has a working party tasked with producing a 5-year strategic plan for adaptation of migrants. It is expected that this Plan will cover all issues of migrants under key headings such as education, accommodation, health services, social aid etc. On the ground however there remains a rather complex set of practices, as the table below indicates:

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[10] Tolay, J. (2015). *Discovering immigration into Turkey: the emergence of a dynamic field*. International Migration, 53(6), 57-73.
[11] Göksel, Gülay Uğur (2015) *Post-Immigration Policies in Turkey: Integration versus Harmonization*. Turkish Migration Conference 2015 Selected Proceedings. London: Transnational Press London.
[12] http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/about-harmonisation_917_1066_1411_icerik

Turkish statuses	Comparable EU statuses	Nationalities most likely with this status
applicants	asylum seekers	Afghans, Iraqi, Iranians, Somali
refugees	refugees from Council of Europe countries	
conditional refugees	refugees outside of Council of Europe countries	Afghans, Iraqi, Iranians, Somali
persons under subsidiary protection	persons under subsidiary protection	Designed to offer legal basis for the extended stay of Afghans, estimated to be granted in practice to around 5-6 persons
persons under temporary protection	persons under temporary protection	Syrians and a few number of Iraqis
persons with a humanitarian residence	national humanitarian protection statuses	Iraqi (typically arrivals before 2015), Afghans (typically arrivals before 2013)

Figure 3 Protection Statuses in Turkey compared with the EU[13]

This in turn leads to a patchwork of provision across different aspects of the rights and responsibilities of, and services to foreigners. The table below was compiled as an exercise in comparing Turkey to the standards it would be required to attain were it to join the European Union (albeit recognising that not all current EU member states fully comply with all of these principals in practical reality):

Comparison between the situation in Turkey and relevant international and EU standards		Applicants *(numbers unknown)*	Refugees *(<100)*	Conditional refugees *(≈300,000)*	Persons under subsidiary protection *(5-6 persons)*	Persons under temporary protection *(nearly 3 million)*
Residency and citizenship	Facilitating naturalisation as far as possible, in particular expedited procedures and fee reduction (Geneva Convention, Article 34)	N/A				
Family reunification	Respecting the principle of family unity (Final act of the UN Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons)	N/A				
Housing	At least same treatment as accorded to foreigners in general in housing (Geneva Convention, Article 21)	N/A				
	Freedom of movement subject to restrictions applicable to foreigners in general (Geneva Convention, Article 26)	N/A				
Employment	Most favourable treatment accorded to foreigners in employment (Geneva Convention, Article 17)					
Vocational training	At least same treatment as accorded to foreigners in general in education other than elementary education (Geneva Convention, Article 22(2))					
Education	Same treatment as nationals in elementary education (Geneva Convention, Article 22(1))					
	At least same treatment as accorded to foreigners in general in education other than elementary education (Geneva Convention, Article 22(2))					
Language learning and social orientation	Facilitating integration as far as possible (Geneva Convention, Article 34)					
Building bridges	Facilitating integration as far as possible (Geneva Convention, Article 34)					

Red: Major gaps emerge *Yellow: Minor gaps emerge* *Green: No evidence of gaps*

Note: *Not all European countries fully comply with these standards, which leads the European Commission and national and EU courts to call for changes in legislation and practice. The transposition of these standards is an obligation for EU Member States under EU law. Turkey will be able to directly compare itself on all of these indicators after publication of the NIEM results for 15 EU Member States, including updated results for the 4 pilot countries.*

Figure 4 Comparison between the situation in Turkey and relevant international and EU standards[14]

A notable point here is the difficulty for all classes of refugee in achieving citizenship. For example, while foreigners who have continuously resided in Turkey for at least eight years are eligible for a

[13] Huddleston & Tanczos (2017)
[14] Huddleston & Tanczos (2017)

permanent residence permit, the amount of time refugees, conditional refugees and subsidiary protection beneficiaries (as well as humanitarian residence permit holders) spend in Turkey in one of these categories does not count towards the eight-year residency requirement or otherwise entitle them to apply for Turkish citizenship.

The Government position was recently reinforced in the statement by the President of the Republic on 8 February, addressing local province heads at the Presidential Palace in Ankara when he stated that: *"We want our refugee brothers and sisters to return to their land, to their homes. We are not in the position to hide 3.5 million here forever."*[15]

Turkish asylum law[16]

Turkish asylum law and practice differentiate between European, Syrian, and non-Syrian asylum seekers. Two major policy documents: the Law on Foreigners and International Protection[17] (the LFIP), and (ii) the Temporary Protection Regulation (the TPR).[18]

The LFIP (or YUKK) is Turkey's first actual law governing matters of asylum. It provides three international protection statuses, all of which are granted on an individual basis following individual assessment of the applicant:

(i) refugee status, that it is available only to persons seeking asylum "as a result of events occurring in European countries". As Turkey does not typically receive asylum seekers from Europe, there are currently very few (ie, less than a hundred) people with actual refugee status in Turkey.

(ii) conditional refugee status, generally applicable to asylum seekers in Turkey (except Syrians, who fall in a separate category), most of whom are Iraqis, Afghans, Iranians and Somalis. This status entitles its holders to a temporary type of protection with limited rights pending their expected resettlement by the UNHCR; and

(iii) subsidiary protection, available to people who do not qualify for refugee or conditional refugee status under Turkish law but who nevertheless need protection. While, contrary to conditional refugees, subsidiary protection beneficiaries have both family unification rights and the right to work, this status is still not designed to offer long-term prospects in Turkey.

Separate category: The temporary protection regime for Syrians in Turkey

The Syrians in Turkey are not part of the country's international protection system; they are, as a group, subject to the separate temporary protection system. Soon after the first set of arrivals from Syria in March 2011, the Turkish government declared an open-door policy vis-à-vis Syrians taking refuge in Turkey. It was based on the assumption that the situation would soon get better in Syria and these "guests" would go back to their homes.

While the adoption of the new framework constitutes a positive step for the protection of asylum seekers and refugees in Turkey, as well as for the overall development of Turkey's migration and

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[15] http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/erdogan-syrians-will-not-stay-here-forever-127012

[16] Main source: Özlem Gürakar Skribeland (2016) Seeking Asylum in Turkey A critical review of Turkey's asylum laws and practices, NOAS.

[17] Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu [Law on Foreigners and International Protection], available in English translation at http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/yukk_327_328_329_icerik

[18] 5 Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği [Temporary Protection Regulation], available in English translation at http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma-yonetmeligi_333_336_1473_icerik

asylum law, maintenance of the geographical reservation means that the overwhelming majority of international protection applicants in Turkey, by virtue of not originating from Europe, will continue not having Refugee Convention-level protection or long-term prospects in Turkey.

It is important to note that the TPR is drafted in such a way that it particularly refrains from imposing an obligation on the state in the area of social and economic rights and services, stating in various contexts that services and assistance will be provided as feasible/permitted by resources.

The Turkish Council of Ministers have full discretion to terminate the temporary protection of Syrians at any time, as well as to determine what happens after such termination: Time spent in Turkey under temporary protection does not count towards fulfilment of continuous residency requirements of permanent residence permit and Turkish citizenship, and temporary protection status does not otherwise entitle its holder to apply for Turkish citizenship. This extreme uncertainty puts the Syrians in Turkey in a precarious position and is seen as a major push-factor contributing to many Syrians' decisions to make perilous journeys to Europe, now that the initial hopes of returning back home are largely lost.

Satellite city system[19]

Under the so-called satellite city system, each international protection applicant is assigned to one of 62 designated provinces (out of the 81 provinces in Turkey, excluding big cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Bursa and Antalya). Asylum seekers from countries other than Syria are required to live in assigned cities, and are restricted from moving elsewhere even if there are few job opportunities and limited aid where they are assigned. They must register every two weeks in their assigned city, and must obtain permits even to travel temporarily. Once people are granted conditional refugee status or subsidiary protection (but not those with refugee status), they are subject to similar rules to reside and periodically report in the satellite cities. As a general rule, international protection applicants and status holders are entitled to healthcare, schooling and other services only in the provinces where they are registered and required to reside.

Non-compliance with the reporting requirement (which is typically weekly), or with the requirement not to leave the province without official permission, may have grave consequences for international protection applicants, including potential restriction of their access to services as well as being deemed to have withdrawn their international protection applications.

Asylum seekers who stay in their assigned city may face poverty-related barriers to education, with parents unable to meet associated costs or feeling they have little choice but to send their children to work rather than school. Those who move in search of work lose their legal status, without which they cannot enroll their children in school, leaving them susceptible to child labour. [20]

The precondition to benefiting from *temporary protection* is registering with the DGMM, which, at the time of registration, appoints the temporary protection beneficiary to a particular province, which is typically the province where the registration takes place. The temporary protection beneficiary is then legally required to reside in the appointed province and obtain permission from the DGMM both for formally moving within Turkey (ie, for changing the province of registration) and for leaving Turkey, whether permanently or for temporary travel purposes. Syrians are not subject to periodic reporting requirements and, in the past, they moved within Turkey without such official permission and without resistance from the authorities. This resulted in many of them living without

[19] See http://www.alo157.gov.tr/sss.php

[20] https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/05/31/turkey-education-barriers-asylum-seekers
http://www.dw.com/en/small-hands-big-profits-syrian-child-labor-in-turkey/g-41639691

access to basic services, since, as a general rule, temporary protection beneficiaries are legally entitled to healthcare, education and the other services provided under the TPR only in the provinces where they are registered.

Recent developments point to a major shift in the authorities' approach in this regard and indicate concerted efforts to control and prevent the movement of Syrians within Turkey with a view to preventing them crossing to EU territory. Under the TPR, those who travel abroad without official permission are reconsidered for and may be denied temporary protection on their return.

4. The Role of Turkish Local Government

The Turkish Republic's first Municipal Law of 1930 brought into being a system of local government that was perceived mainly as an extension of the central government with responsibility for providing local public services in accordance with the national modernisation process. To this end, local governments were seen as apolitical service providers and local public resources and works were placed under the strict control of the central government

The current constitution defines local governments as 'public corporate bodies established to meet the common local needs of the inhabitants of provinces, municipal districts and villages, whose principles of constitution and decision-making organs elected by the electorate are determined by law'. The system has three layers: provinces, municipalities and villages. With the introduction of metropolitan governments for the largest cities (including Bursa) in 1984, another layer of local government was added to this scheme. At the very bottom of the hierarchy are village and urban neighbourhood governments, which function rather like administrative bodies and have no significant political or financial power. They are headed by elected *muhtar*, who tend to be without political party affiliation.

The table below summarises the various levels of Turkish local government:

	Local administrations		
	Geographical		
Regional administrations	Two-layer province-wide municipalities in the 30 most populous provinces	Other local administrations in the remaining 51 provinces	Functional
– The Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) – Regional Development Administrations to manage regional (inter-provincial) development projects stimulated and managed by the central government. They are established in mainly comparatively underdeveloped regions such as the Southeastern or Eastern Anatolia Regions.	– Two-layer province-wide metropolitan municipalities with an elected mayor and metropolitan council – District municipalities with an elected mayor and council.	– SPAs – City and town municipalities with an elected mayor and council – Villages	– State universities – State theaters – State research institutes – Turkish Radio and Television Corporation…

Figure 5 Regional and local administrations in Turkey[21]

[21] Kapucu, N. (2015). 'Civil society and democratic governance in Turkey: Prospects and challenges'. In *Public administration and policy in the Middle East* (pp. 1-23). Springer, New York, NY.

For a metropolitan district like Osmangazi the Mayor is head of municipal organization and is directly elected by voters. Some of the main duties and responsibilities of municipalities are as follows: (Act 5393: Art. 14):

- providing urban infrastructure such as development of the region, water and sewage system and transportation;
- geographical and urban data systems;
- environment and environmental health, cleaning and solid waste;
- security forces, fire brigades, emergency aid, relief services and ambulance;
- city traffic;
- funeral and cemetery services;
- forestry, parks and green areas;
- housing,
- cultural and artworks, tourism and presentation, youth and sporting activities;
- social and aid services;
- marriage ceremonies,
- vocational training;
- and services aimed at development of economy and commerce.

On a discretionary basis municipalities may also provide the following services:

- pre-elementary school education centers;
- maintenance and repair of school buildings belonging to the Government;
- procurement of all kinds of equipment/material for this purpose;
- opening and operation of health facilities;
- protection of cultural and natural resource and places having historical value;
- operation of food banks."[22]

In general Turkish municipalities are only able to raise about 10% of their financial requirement through the levying of local taxation, which makes them subsidiary to and extremely reliant upon central government.[23]

Since 2002, the AK Party governments have passed a number of laws transferring responsibility for the management and/or delivery of public services in certain domains from local governments to local branches of the central administration. There has also been a trend whereby major public services of general economic interest have been gradually taken over by profit-making entities (including municipal companies) through different methods and under the control of the central government.

This is typified in the field of housing where the already limited involvement of municipalities has been subsumed by the recent expansion in the powers of a central agency, TOKİ (Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı or "Public Housing Development Administration"). Central control has been deemed necessary because of the perceived failure of past policies which did not address the needs of new urban dwellers in the burgeoning Turkish cities. In many cases these new populations developed their own solutions, such as illegal settlements, usually on publicly owned land. The *gecekondu* (literally 'built overnight') thus became the main self-help instrument of urban settlers and has, in

[22] Göktolga, O. (2016). *A Local Governance Experience in Turkey: From "Local Agenda 21" s to the City Councils.* Birey ve Toplum Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, 6(2), 107-128.
[23] Zeba, M. (2017). *Local Governments in Turkey: identifying improvements and deficiencies though the lens of the European Charter of Local Self-Government*. Amministrativamente, (9-10).

effect, relieved the public authorities of the requirement to allocate resources to provision of housing. Local authorities did not merely acquiesce in this illegal urbanization, but they gradually began to provide infrastructural services to these informal settlements. For example it was estimated in 2002 that 27 % of the urban population, or 11 million people, were living in 2.2 million gecekondus,[24] and many examples of these may be found in Bursa.

Another key local function with great significance for internal and external migrants is the Social Assistance and Social Protection System. As Turkey's economy continued to grow in the past decade, so did its capacity to deliver social assistance. Social assistance has traditionally been a very small component of Turkey's social protection system, but a large number of new programs have been implemented over the past decade, increasing its importance. In 2014, social assistance expenditure was 1.31 percent of the GDP, up from 0.57 percent of GDP a decade before in 2003. However, following a familiar pattern, social assistance in Turkey is managed at the national level by the Social Assistance Directorate General (SADG) under the Ministry of Family and Social Policies (MoFSP) and is implemented by 1,000 locally based Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations (SASFs). The SASFs are under the chairmanship of the provincial and sub-provincial governors, with no input from local government.[25]

5. Local Diversity and Policy Context

Bursa describes itself as a city formed by immigration to the extent that one scholar claims that "Today immigrants constitute 90% of its population"[26], although one assumes this figure includes internal as well as international migrants.

There have been various immigration waves to Bursa through history. During these immigrations, various people and populations came to Bursa from various regions. From the 15th century, many people escaping various parts of Anatolia have settled here and between 1530-1573 the population doubled. After the end of the 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian war, Bursa hosted an immigration wave of people leaving Rumelia and Caucasia, including 30,000 alone from the Bulgarian city of Ruse. Many settled on the mountainside in the suburb of Mollaarap, whilst those coming from Crimea settled in Alacahirka and Yeni Mahalle, and the ones coming from Caucasia settled in Yildirim districts. Further new suburbs had to be created to accommodate a new wave of refugees from the Balkan War in 1912, with most of the ethnic Turks in the occupied Balkan regions coming to Bursa. With the Exchange of Immigrants in 1924, Turks were housed in place of Armenians and Greeks who left the city. In this period alone a further 39,808 immigrants settled in Bursa. Bursa was also the preferred refuge of people immigrating from the Balkans, especially from Bulgaria, from the beginning of 1950s onwards, with an estimated 154,000 arriving in 1951, 115,000 in 1968, and more than 200,000 in the mandatory immigration of 1989.

[24] Bayraktar, U., & Tansug, Ç. (2016). 'Local service delivery in Turkey'. In *Public and Social Services in Europe* (pp. 217-231). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
[25] World Bank (2014) Turkey's Integrated Social Assistance System. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/401541468307671282/106847-WP-P148963-OUO-9-MISCase-Turkey-ENf.docx
[26] Guler, F. B., Arslan, T. V., & Durak, S. (2016). *Socio-Cultural Structure and Space that Transformed under the Influence of Population Movements (Migration) in Bursa*. International Journal of Social Science and Humanity, 6(8), 653.

The website of Metropolitan Bursa describes the make-up of the population as a consequence as: *"19% natives, 34% people from abroad, 13% people of east-southeast origin, 18% Caucasians, and 9% Karadeniz (Black Sea) people".* [27]

Following a rapid growth of industrial facilities in the 1970s, Bursa received a huge influx of immigrants from the Eastern Anatolia region since the beginning of the 1970's, which has led to the mushrooming of shanty housing development in Gürsu and Görükle districts. For example, in 1984, 90,000 of 155,000 buildings in Bursa had been erected without a license. To accommodate the Bulgarian refugees of 1989, there was a rapid construction of cheap high-rise apartments especially in Orhangazi, Kestel, and Osmangazi. However, in the last ten years or so, the number of Turkish immigrants coming to Bursa has decreased, to be replaced by non-Turkish refugees.

6. Refugees in Bursa

The Directorate General of Migration Management has a local office in Bursa (with particular responsibility for refugee management) and it is the second-busiest such office in Turkey, after Istanbul. For example, there are 134,000 registered Syrians in Bursa which makes it the 7th largest in terms of Syrian arrivals, and 4th for other migrants. The office is dealing with all types of protection regimes as well as irregular migration. There are foreigners from a total of 140 countries in Bursa.

Refugees are supposed to be registered in the first city of entry, but if they come to Bursa without registration, they are registered here. DGMM does not have statistics on the refugees' qualifications. It knows that some are very wealthy and are operating substantial business activities in Turkey, whilst others arrive with nothing, are very poor and are desperate for jobs.

The main challenge is that many refugees want to travel to other cities perhaps to reunite families, access medical treatment or education or to find work, but in each case the law states that they must seek approval. This creates an enormous bureaucratic burden upon the State, as well as a restriction on the refugees.

This is compounded by a severe linguistic deficiency (particularly in the case of Syrians) with almost no Turks knowing Arabic and limited opportunities for adult Syrians to learn Turkish. Furthermore Turkey has few Arabic interpreters so is reliant on translators sent by UNHCR or English speakers.

Afghan, Somali and other refugees can apply for international protection and if they have a valid reason, they can receive protection status.

The Provincial Immigration Committee has been formed and involves all public institutions and meets monthly to discuss education, health and other issues. Last year there were 6 information meetings, with 4 exclusively on the Syrian issue. NGOs representing refugees also participate in this committee.

DGMM does not know how many refugees have received citizenship but says the number is insignificant. Data about educational status is not reliable as many people are unable to furnish the proof of qualifications but self-reported data says most have primary education.

Meanwhile the International Monetary Fund has noted Turkey's generosity in hosting refugees as a "global example" and has particularly commended progress on employment:

[27] http://en.bursa.bel.tr/kategori/bursa/bursa-a-city-of-immigrant

> *"The introduction of work permits for those under temporary protection is very welcome by the staff, recognizing that the informal sector has been one of the main modes of employment for refugees. To ensure further formal labor market integration of refugees, the application process for work permits and business creation could be simplified further,"*[28]

However the picture is not so positive across the board. Unregistered refugees can use emergency health care but cannot give birth in public hospitals. Regarding education, there are some difficulties with children of unregistered refugees but the authorities try to inform the schools that they are obliged to take refugee children up to the age of compulsory schooling.

The sight of small Syrian children either working or begging on the streets of Bursa is a sign that there are problems with maintaining the rights of refugee children to education. The report of Ambassador Tomáš Boček Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe on Migration and Refugees should be recalled here:

> *"The Council of Europe should assist the Turkish authorities to develop effective policies to prevent refugee and migrant children working and to encourage their attendance at school"*[29]

7. Governance and Democratic Participation

Under the municipality there is an umbrella organisation of all NGOs, called the 'Citizens' Council'. They have working groups, a council for women, youth, disabilities, and when they adopt a resolution the City Council is obliged to discuss it. There is also a 'Foreigners' Working Group'. Unfortunately many NGOs are not aware of the Citizens' Council and are not sending representatives to it.

It was stated to us on several occasions that within Turkish culture the majority of people are not politically active or aware and remain content with this state of affairs. Thus there is little expectation that migrants and refugees should want or be granted democratic participation.

We consulted a very limited group of people from the voluntary sector on whether they thought a more politically independent and self-reliant 'migrants' council' body would be useful in Bursa. The response was negative as our respondents believed that because the associations of minorities have such a wide variety of different needs of different levels of sophistication it would not be possible for one body to cater.

It seems that in Osmangazi the culture is more used to a system whereby people with needs make direct requests to the office of the Mayor – although we saw evidence that this now places such a burden on administrative staff that it may prove unsustainable in the longer term.

[28] http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/imf-warns-about-overheating-in-turkeys-economy-127608
[29] Council of Europe (2016) Information Documents SG/Inf(2016)29 - Report of the fact-finding mission to Turkey by Ambassador Tomáš Boček, Special Representative of the Secretary General on migration and refugees, 30 May – 4 June 2016

8. Housing

The LFIP states that as a general rule, international protection applicants and status holders are to secure accommodation on their own means but the DGMM may establish reception and accommodation centres providing free accommodation, where priority will be given to persons with special needs. In 2015, there was one accommodation centre with a capacity of 100 people. The six other centres that were planned (largely financed by EU funds) have been transformed in removal centres.

The TPR does not impose an obligation on the state to provide accommodation to the Syrian temporary protection beneficiaries, and 90% of the Syrians in Turkey need to find accommodation and subsist on their own means. Without government-provided shelter and with no access to legal employment until recently, many Syrians have been living in extreme poverty over the past years. The satellite city system discussed above does not apply to the Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey, and those not staying in camps are spread around the country, with Şanlıurfa, Istanbul, Hatay and Gaziantep hosting the highest Syrian populations (+Bursa and Ankara).

9. Education and training

While all children (whether part of the international protection regime or under temporary protection) are legally entitled to free primary and secondary education in Turkey, language constitutes a major barrier against access to schooling, with young children having better chances of staying in school, compared to older children. In addition, many children have to work to contribute to the livelihood of their families, for many of whom even the daily bus fare to school can be an unaffordable expense. Outside of the formal school system, Public Education Centres offer various courses, including Turkish language classes. However, both in terms of capacity and the content of education provided, these remain insufficient. According to UNHCR estimates, the rate of school enrolment among Syrian children under temporary protection was only 36.8% as at 31 October 2015. There is no publicly available information on non-Syrian children's rate of enrolment. School education falls outside the remit of local government in Turkey so was not a part of the ICC visit.

However Osmangazi takes the issue of vocational education extremely seriously and has invested significantly in premises and staff resources, as evidenced by our visit to the Info House.

Anyone can take a vocational training course, any nationality can qualify, and all the courses are free of charge. Compulsory education ends at age 14 so people coming to the courses are over 14. There is a kindergarten to enable women to take vocational training courses to encourage many more Turkish females to enter the labour market. Last year in 4 classes 500 Syrians learned to speak and write in Turkish, there are 16 centres like this in Osmangazi. 120 hours in 3 months are offered, which only allows for the acquisition of basic skills.

There are 49 other courses including computers, programming, language courses, handicrafts, art and design and sign language. Crafts courses are available on three days a week all day for women, for personal development, therapy and for producing beautiful objects for sale. For migrant women this is also a way to socialise and learn about the city. However few Syrian women attend because of the language barrier.

Russian, French, Italian, Arabic and other language courses are provided according to demand. The President of the Republic has said that there should be no person in the country without literacy and

Turkish skills, so the Centre is also now trying to reach out to Syrians, and this is now starting to have an effect.

The Municipality's employment centre is in contact with companies and helps people who finish the courses to find a job.

10. Employment and Business

In terms of access to legal employment, more favourable rules apply to refugees and subsidiary protection beneficiaries, as compared to conditional refugees. The identification documents issued to refugees and subsidiary protection beneficiaries count as work permits, and they have a legal right to be both employed and self-employed, subject to certain job- and profession-related restrictions currently existing under Turkish law and applicable to all foreigners in Turkey. It should be noted, however, that this general right to employment can be restricted for a certain period, sectorally, geographically or based on professions or lines of business, "where the conditions of the labour market and developments relating to employment as well as sectoral and economic conditions relating to employment necessitate."

Contrary to refugees and subsidiary protection beneficiaries, conditional refugees do not acquire an automatic right to work in Turkey but are allowed to apply for a work permit six months after submitting their international protection application. In so doing, they would be subject to the same rules as "ordinary" (ie, non-protection seeking) foreigners seeking to work in Turkey, which means that they are required to work under "sponsored" permits (ie, linked to a particular employer). Given the extra cost and administrative burden that sponsoring a foreigner's work permit puts on a potential employer, it is clear that conditional refugees will not easily secure work permits in Turkey.

Many international protection applicants and status holders (including school-age children) are known to be illegally employed under very exploitative terms, working in construction, textile, cleaning, shoe making, serving and washing in restaurants, and carrying heavy loads . The particular province to which a person is assigned can be very determining in terms of what kind of employment options he/she will have but, generally speaking, the fact that it is not possible to reside in big cities limits chances of finding employment, and in particular, employment that suits the particular qualifications of the individuals concerned.

Since January 2016, temporary protection beneficiaries do not have an open pass to work but they are now allowed to apply for a work permit six months after initial registration with the DGMM, and if granted, they may, for no less than the minimum wage, legally work, subject to certain geographical and sectoral limitations as well as quotas. For example, the number of temporary protection beneficiaries employed in a workplace may not exceed ten percent of the number of Turkish citizens employed in the same workplace. Seasonal agricultural and livestock work, however, is exempt from the work permit requirement. Over the last five years, many Syrians in Turkey, including school-age children, are known to have worked illegally under very exploitative terms; thus, these rules generally constitute a positive development.[30]

The Osmangazi Employment Agency is a bridge between employers and job seekers. They handle work applications from Turkish citizens but not from Syrians with temporary protection. Companies can employ one foreigner for every five Turkish nationals they employ. Syrians can work but firstly a

[30] https://www.irinnews.org/photo-feature/2016/12/15/never-ending-harvest-syrian-refugees-exploited-turkish-farms

company has to apply for a work permit for them. The state employment agency signs contracts with the companies when they need an employee.

The employment sectors searching for jobs are mostly offering unskilled work. The Agency has a 40% success rate with filling vacancies.

630 companies are now registered with the Agency but apparently most of them do not want to hire Syrians through an employment agency. There is a statutory minimum wage level in Turkey so companies have no incentive to hire Syrians officially because it would cost them the same as a Turk. The black market is a more attractive alternative for many.

The number of jobs advertised through the local employment office than before the Syrians arrival, which would suggest there is no evidence for the common accusation that refugees undermine the employment markets of receiving countries.

11. Policing and Justice

There was an opportunity to take evidence from several officials of the municipal police department. We were told that immigrants bring their own habits with them and this can causes problems when they come into contact with the authorities. It is acknowledged that even Turks from elsewhere in the country can bring incompatible customs and practices – such as breeding animals in urban spaces. Another common cause of public complaint or nuisance is if Syrians display shop signs which are only written in Arabic. The locals are often offended by this and the police may be called in to resolve a dispute. There can also be conflict within the Syrian community and the police need to to learn about different factions and gangs.

The police officers said they were unaware of any Syrian people making complaints about discrimination. They are much more likely to receive complaints from Turks. In their eyes the Syrians are seen as good neighbours.

12. Language and multilingualism

Whilst in general Turkish society and the State does not consider the current refugee situation to be a crisis in need of exceptional measures, because of the many cultural affinities, there is general concern at the inability of most refugees to communicate in Turkish language.

As already noted above there is little historic overlap between Turkey and its neighbours in linguistic terms so little mutual comprehension of Turkish, Arabic, Farsi or Pashtun and even English is very limited as a lingua franca.

Aside from international aid agencies there are few interpretation and translations services available. The Municipality has no member of staff able to translate between Turkish and Arabic. If a foreigner visits the Municipal or Mayoral offices and is unable to speak Turkish, a senior member of the Mayor's staff team is dispatched to try and communicate with them in English.

The Turkish Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants, in association with UNHCR provide some translators along with legal advice, health and social counselling as well as some material assistance

13. Health and Welfare

In relation to health and welfare we were told that the concept of access for 'foreigners' is relative as in Turkey the people from another city could be considered foreigners in a certain way. In actual fact foreigners can access most services. Nevertheless there was acknowledgement the system has challenges with the very first act of welcoming and provision of basic information, but once people are established they are said to have no problem. Since 2008 all forms of health and social care have been removed from the remit of the municipalities and are only provided by the Ministry of Health. There are specific clinics for Syrian people, who have free treatment, medicine and vaccination. A psychological and family counselling, domestic violence, women needs etc. are also provided free of charge. Access to the health service does not require a Turkish ID number.

The local service point has no translator but patients may bring family or friends who can speak Turkish. Some of the Syrian traditions prevent them from consulting female and family counselling so this is a cultural difference which needs to be managed carefully.

The municipality is responsible for public health and this includes monitoring business premises for hygiene. There are many Syrian tradesmen owning shops and cafes who need sanitary auditing, and sometimes they are unregistered or fail to meet the required hygienic standards. The municipality also provides funeral services without an ID number but the language barrier can again be a problem.

While all Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey are legally covered by Turkey's public healthcare system, international protection applicants and status holders do not automatically qualify for it and only those who do not have a medical insurance or the financial means to otherwise cover their own medical expenses are legally entitled to benefit from the public healthcare system. It is reported, however, that in practice, "no such means determination is carried out by Provincial DGMM Directorates and all applicants are extended free healthcare coverage under the general health insurance scheme."[31]

14. Welcoming

As already noted, whilst Bursa prides itself on its identity as a city built upon the accommodation of newcomers, it does not take a systematic approach to the welcoming of new residents. For example there is no identified point of contact or publication through which newcomers can gain access to essential information such as how to find accommodation, employment, schooling, health care or a bank account. Nor is there any official gesture made by the municipality or the office of the Mayor to acknowledge new citizens or good neighbours.

The closest entity we found to a welcoming initiative is the Facebook group 'Foreigners in Bursa'[32] which is administered by Matt Mayovsky an English teacher. It is considered to be the best source of information (in English) on matters such of how to connect to the internet, pay the electricity bills, rent an apartment etc. Mr Mayovsky is also vice chair of the foreigners' working group, established under the auspices of Bursa city council, and he initiated discussions on the creation of a 'welcome pack'. Unfortunately the attempt was abandoned as the group ran into numerous administrative complications and blockages associated with central government.

[31] See AIDA Country Report: Turkey (the new one will be published in March)
[32] https://www.facebook.com/groups/ForeignersInBursa/

Mr Mayovsky comments that no matter how long he lives in Turkey and even if he were to learn perfect Turkish, he would be forever known as Yabancı (foreigner). However he reports that he has never felt any animosity and has been offered extensive hospitality

Some local Turks felt the ICC concept of welcoming (particularly as interpreted in the results of the Index) are unrealistic and inapplicable to Turkey. They argue that hospitality and local orientation has never been considered to be a function of the State and instead is provided through institutions such as the extended family, the 'countrymen association' and the mosques and churches.

This struck the visiting team as a key issue and evidence of a disjuncture between what Turkish culture calls tolerance and hospitality and what the ICC describes as 'welcoming'. For example the team met a group of former refugees from Greece in the West Thracian Association. They understood the difficulties of the Syrians as they had once had similar experiences, and they said they would be willing to help individuals if they could. However they did not help anyone because no-one had asked for their help. The problem is that the local concept of tolerant hospitality is passive and thus there remains a gap between the need and the possible sources of assistance (particularly those beyond the State). It seems to us that State and local government authorities need to adopt a mode of cooperation which goes beyond service provision and into a model of 'enabling'. Would it be possible for local officials to identify the gaps that currently exist between the needs of refugees and the vast wealth of goodwill and resources that is currently locked-up within local businesses, associations and the general population?

15. Conclusions

The vast majority of Bursa's residents was born elsewhere or had parents who were born elsewhere and the city continues to grow through the attraction of newcomers. Bursa's ability to accommodate such large numbers of people and to offer work, accommodation and education whilst offering an identity and maintaining social order, should be given great credit. In the size and speed of its growth from a very small base, this makes Bursa quite remarkable in comparison to the majority of ICC member cities where growth has been much more modest.

We encountered a Turkish national culture which is confident and relaxed in its ability to accommodate a large and ongoing supply of new people, and this was a message repeated by many ranging from politicians, officials, NGOs and ordinary citizens.

However, the specific focus of ICC membership is on the role of cities in managing the challenges and realizing the opportunities of human mobility and, in this context, Bursa-Osmangazi raises important questions for the visiting team. It is clear that in the Turkish system of governance municipalities and metropolitan cities have very little power or resources to determine their own destinies, in comparison to cities in many other developed countries – and the trend seems to be towards even greater concentration of powers in either central government or business. This is particularly the case in relation to management or harmonization of migrants and refugees, where most levers of policy are in the hands of central government – to the extent that the Mayor of Osmangazi can state that this is not a priority issue for his municipality.

Unlike in many other countries, there is little sense of there being a crisis or even special circumstances around the phenomenon of migration and refugees. According to most people we spoke to, this is something which Bursa has always done and will continue to do – and it will do it in the ways that it has always done it. In a way it was rather reassuring for the team to visit a place which is so confident in its cultural and organisational ability to manage a situation which others

might perceive to be a crisis, and to directly encounter so few examples of distress. However, The Municipality of Osmangazi is advised that membership of the ICC offers not only a platform to share good practice with others, but also the opportunity for a city to submit its traditional customs and practices to honest and critical appraisal and, where necessary, to introduce new measures appropriate to new times and conditions.

Our conclusion is that the city visit did not provide enough information to enable us to answer this question. For example it was stated to us that Bursa contains more than 5,000 'fellow countryman association' who might be expected to have a first-hand knowledge of how daily life is lived by newcomers. However, during our visit we were only able to meet with one such group. Whether this was because other groups did not feel any specific need to communicate with us or they were unaware of our presence, we are unable to say, but it left us with the conclusion that, in comparison with similar visits to other cities, the content of the visit was meagre – too meagre to portray a satisfactory picture of the city.

The visiting team was very grateful to encounter the views of a younger generation of ethnic Turks and foreigners who were expressing viewpoints we did not encounter from official sources. Firstly they were very happy and proud to be in Bursa, but they saw the need for change in the future. The young people said they want Bursa want to be much more cosmopolitan city than it currently is, with many more languages recognised and in use, and a more international selection of cloths, food, music and other consumer goods – and this all presupposes Bursa will do much more trade and intercourse with the rest of the world. They think that Bursa is ready to have more foreigners, in all forms, and to express more variety in its culture. Indeed someone said that Bursa is Turkey's 'next city'. In order to achieve this they expect the Mayor and the municipality to fix some of the city's more obvious problems such as inadequate roads and traffic infrastructure, to clean the air and environment, to create more open spaces and to increase the perception of safety.

We sense that the Mayor the municipality also wish to see the city develop to achieve international standards and profile. Our advice would be that whilst this can be achieved through investment in new infrastructure and the restoration of the heritage and tourism; to achieve maximum benefit this needs to be accompanied by an equivalent level of investment in the human and cultural capital of the city. If we could raise just one issue which exemplifies both the current problem and future opportunity it would be language. If Bursa wishes to be a city which is internationally successful and respected it must communicate in many languages. The current provision which Osmangazi makes for helping all its citizens to speak the majority language, and the effort it makes to communicate in the languages of others, is utterly inadequate – possibly the worst we have ever encountered anywhere. So the Municipality must take a lead in these matters by ensuring far more of its own staff can communicate in other languages particularly Arabic and English.

We have already acknowledged the limitations placed upon local government. However, we note the DGMM announcement of a 5-year Strategic Plan for adaptation of migrants. We foresee within this the opportunity for Turkey to create a local perspective and local policies in order to harmonize refugees to the country. We would expect to see Bursa-Osmangazi taking a lead in making the case for local authorities to be given a more substantial role (backed by resources) to making the Strategic Plan a reality.

16. Recommendations

Osmangazi is invited to consider the following actions:

- Providing a welcoming information pack in Arabic and English & street signposting in English. Partnering with the expatriate community in developing information and welcoming activities for newcomers.
- Studying the role played by cultural and linguistic mediators in other ICC cities. Then introducing mediators for foreigners in public services in Bursa.
- Increasing the capacity for Turkish language courses and making greater efforts to reach out to all newcomer residents, especially women, with the offer of language and vocational training.
- Designing an efficient system to collect data about foreign residents and their needs.
- Monitor local public opinion in relation to migration and diversity challenges & dispel myths.
- Offering support for access to employment to all legally-residing foreign citizens.
- Supporting legally-residing foreign citizens to diversify their businesses.
- Foster intercultural competence in local institutions, services and the Police.
- Encouraging local associations to do intercultural work (currently there are over 5000 ethnically based associations but few intercultural ones).
- Strengthening the role of the "Council of Citizens'" working group on integration.
- Develop an urban inclusion strategy with supporting indicators
- Supporting civil society initiatives addressing main gaps (housing, language barriers, perceptions, empowerment, etc.)
- Encouraging the civic participation of all residents.
- Encouraging social inclusion via sport, art, cultural activities with all foreigners including Syrians.
- Working on a Handbook of Anti-Rumour tools and launch projects with young people to combat stereotypes on Syrians and others. (see for example the Anti-Rumour Strategy drawn up by the ICC member Bilbao).
- Initiating projects to encourage private entrepreneurs in Bursa to hire, or to give an opportunity of internship to, foreigners including Syrians.
- Establishing a special department within the City Council to work on migration and harmonisation issues (as defined by the the YUKK 5-year plan).

Draft Program for the Intercultural cities' Expert Visit to Osmangazi-Bursa

12.02.2018 – Monday

Arrivals and hotel check-in (Almira Hotel)

Dinner

13.02.2018 – Tuesday

09.30	Opening Speech (Mustafa DÜNDAR – Mayor of Osmangazi) Participants will include plus vice-Mayors, councillors, political parties, equality department managers, immigrants' NGOs and other NGOs, press Signing of the ICC agreement
10.00-12.30	Introduction to Intercultural Cities (by Council of Europe) followed by Open debate (Moderator: Nihal EMİNOĞLU)
12.30-14.00	Lunch
14.00-18.00	Small group sessions (coffee to be served continuously) - Relevant governmental bodies (Ombudsman, provincial director of family and social policy, immigration agency, employment agency, education, religious authorities, equality department). - NGOs - Employers' associations, trade unions
19.00	Dinner

14.02.2018 – Wednesday

09.30	Departure from hotel
10.00-11.00	Visit to Info House (Osmangazi Municipality's initiative for disadvantaged and immigrant children)
11.30-12.30	Visit to Provincial Directorate of Immigration
12.30-13.00	Lunch
14.00-15.00	Meeting Municipal Council Members (Head of Commissions)
19.00	Dinner

15.02.2018 – Thursday

Departure