

STREET LEVEL BUREAUCRATS AND SERVICE PROVISION: THE CASE
OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN ALTINDAĞ, ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

STREET LEVEL BUREAUCRATS AND SERVICE PROVISION: THE CASE OF SYRIAN REFUGEES IN ALTINDAĞ, ANKARA

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This thesis mainly aims to reveal how the discretionary power of the street level bureaucrats who are working in social assistance sector is affected by the circumstances of the fragmented and decentralized structure of the social assistance provision to Syrians and the ambiguous legal framework and policies about Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey; and how the direction of this discretionary power affects the social assistance provision at the local level in return. For that reason, this study focuses on analyzing the interface between the local service providers and Syrian refugees. Approaching Syrian urban refugees as service recipients in addition to the refugee identity of them, their articulation in the local welfare system is aimed to be analyzed in Altındağ context. Elaborating on the legal framework about Syrian refugees in Turkey, it is argued that the ambiguities in the legal framework might be increasing the importance of the local level as it provides a larger space for decisions of street level bureaucrats. It is attempted to reveal the role of street level bureaucrats in local service provision through concentrating on the intersection point where the service providers and the service recipients meet. The main institution types in social assistance provision in Altındağ are identified as the governmental institutions, local governments, and non-governmental organizations. The field study implemented in the scope of this thesis is based on

the interviews and focus group discussions that are conducted with street level bureaucrats of those institutions and organizations.

Keywords: Street level bureaucrats, Syrian refugees, service provision, social assistance, local welfare system

ÖZ

SAHADAKİ BÜROKRATLAR VE HİZMET SUNUMU: ANKARA ALTINDAĞ'DAKİ SURİYELİ MÜLTECİLER ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez temel olarak sosyal yardımlar sektöründe çalışan sahadaki bürokratların takdir yetkisinin Suriyelilere sosyal yardım sunumunun parçalı ve adem-i merkezi yapısından ve Türkiye’de geçici koruma altında bulunan Suriyelilerle ilgili belirsiz yasal çerçeveden ve politikalardan nasıl etkilendiğini; ve karşılığında bu takdir yetkisinin doğrultusunun yerel düzeyde sosyal yardım sunumunu nasıl etkilediğini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma kapsamında hizmet sunucularla Suriyeli mülteciler sahada karşılaştıkları ara yüzeyin analizine odaklanılmıştır. Suriyeli kentsel mültecilere mülteci kimliklerinin yanı sıra hizmet alıcılar olarak yaklaşılarak, Altındağ bağlamında yerel refah sistemine eklemlenmelerinin analiz edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Türkiye’deki Suriyeli mültecilerle ilgili yasal çerçeve incelenerek yasal çerçevedeki belirsizliklerin sahadaki bürokratların kararları için daha geniş bir alan yaratmalarıyla yerel düzeyin önemini arttırıyor olabileceği tartışılmaktadır. Hizmet sunucularla hizmet alıcıların karşı karşıya geldikleri kesişme noktasına odaklanılarak yerel hizmet sunumunda sahadaki bürokratların rollerinin ortaya konulması hedeflenmektedir. Altındağ’da sosyal yardım sunumunda bulunan temel kurum türleri devlet kurumları, yerel yönetimler ve sivil toplum kuruluşları olarak tespit edilmektedir. Bu tez kapsamında yürütülen saha çalışması, bu kurum ve kuruluşların sahadaki çalışanlarıyla yürütülen mülakatlara ve odak grup tartışmalarına dayanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sahadaki bürokratlar, Suriyeli mülteciler, hizmet sunumu, sosyal yardım, yerel refah sistemi

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It is witnessed the highest level of displacement in the world and cities are broadly affected by this trend. In line with the development and spread of urban areas, the number of refugees who are living in urban areas has increased and both internal displacement and international migration have started to become the subject of urban studies. In spite of policies of some hosting governments regarding settling asylum seekers and refugees in camps, the increased number of asylum seekers and refugees make accommodating them all in camps very hard due to scarce resources, since the majority of displaced persons are living in developing countries (UNHCR, 2019). It brings a burden on cities as the urban population grows.

Although the refugee crisis is a global phenomenon, the effects and consequences of huge refugee influx are mostly observed at the local level due to its effects on local resources, the role of local authorities, the perception of host communities and so on. As the number of Syrians under Temporary Protection in Turkey increases in urban areas in the eighth year of the crisis, the Syrian refugee issue is also needed to be handled with the urban policy perspective in terms of its influence on local resources and local service provision. In that regard, focusing on the fact that refugee phenomenon is much urbanized in Turkey context, this thesis aims to contribute to refugee studies with urban aspect.

Even it can be said that the emergency situation that occurred due to the mass influx in the first years of the Syria crisis has ended, the legal framework about Syrians in Turkey is still based on Temporary Protection Regime. Although Syrians' duration of stay in Turkey is not clear due to international dynamics, the extent of destruction in Syria and security concerns of Syrian refugees, there is still not a sign regarding the possibility of mass voluntary repatriation of Syrians. Moreover, it is a general tendency that as the duration of the refugee crisis gets longer, most of the refugees

continue to stay in their country of asylum rather than returning to their country of origin. For that reason, lack of providing a permanent status and a rights based approach to Syrians is expected to lead uncertainties in service provision and it is fed by gaps or contradictory statements in related legal resources as in the case of municipalities.

The refugee phenomenon is not just a matter of international migration. After the refugees enter the country of asylum, their movement inside of that country continues. When there exists a dominant non-camp policy, in spite of the limited number of camp refugees as in Turkey, this internal movement usually concludes with residing in urban areas. Even if those urban refugees do not have a citizenship status or a permanent refugee status, they somehow articulate in the welfare system. Social assistances become the main instrument of their inclusion in the welfare provision in the first instance. Until the newcomers are oriented in social and economic life and gain access to livelihood mechanisms for self-reliance, their survival is supported through social assistances. Given the lack of a long term policy towards Syrians in Turkey and efforts to manage the Syrian refugee crisis by the temporary protection in the eighth year of the crisis, social assistances still seem to be the foremost instrument of their inclusion in the welfare system. This instrument even becomes prominent as a result of the fact that most of the Syrian refugees still live dependently on social assistance because of the reasons such as their vulnerabilities that disable them to engage in income-generating activities, high rates of unemployment, not finding a job due to discrimination.

Although the welfare services that Syrians can benefit are not limited to the social assistances, the social assistance provision is aimed to be focused on in order to understand Syrians' inclusion in the local welfare system for an analytical reason, in addition to the empirical reason mentioned above. In spite of the fact that most of the welfare services such as education, health, and accommodation are accessed at the local level, those services are determined, organized and provided by the central government. However, the provision of social assistance is much more fragmented

and decentralized. It is provided by the central government, the local governments, and especially in the case of Syrian refugees in Turkey, by the non-governmental organizations, the religious organizations and the solidarity networks within the community. Considering the uncertainty in the division of labor among the relevant public and non-public actors due to the ambiguities in the legal framework and possible restrictions in terms of infrastructure and the resources due to the huge number of Syrians and approaching the problem as a temporary one, it is expected that the gaps in social assistance provision might be filled in by the several actors in a fragmented way at the local level, which might result in an inefficiency in service provision and incoordination among actors.

Out of three component of local construction of the social welfare, which are argued to be public sector, civil society and market by Mingione and Oberti (2013), public sector and civil society are focused on in the scope of this thesis due to this specific concentration on the social assistance. Dynamics of the service provision to Syrian refugees in terms of social assistances are intended to be examined through revealing the similarities, differences, and coordination among different types of institutions at the local level in Altındağ considering the related legal framework for their such services that are available –or not available- to Syrians. In addition to local branches of governmental institutions and the main non-governmental organization in the field, municipalities are included in the scope of this work due to their role in local welfare provision as local governments.

In this context, this thesis mainly aims to reveal how the discretionary power of the street level bureaucrats who are working in social assistance sector in these institutions and organizations is affected by the circumstances of the fragmented and decentralized structure of the social assistance provision to Syrians and the ambiguous legal framework and policies about Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey; and how the direction of this discretionary power affects the social assistance provision at the local level in return. By applying “the street level bureaucracy” concept of Michael Lipsky (2010), based on the distinctive feature of

frontline workers in terms of their discretionary power while performing their jobs and their close interaction with the persons who are provided with the services, the role of street level bureaucrats in local service provision to Syrians in Altındağ context will be the subject of this thesis. Based on the social assistance provision, it is intended to reveal the patterns of street level bureaucrats' approaches to Syrians in that regard and to examine its effects on re-building local welfare regime for Syrian refugees on the basis of their social articulation in or exclusion from the local welfare system.

In that scope, this study is built on three major grounds. Firstly, approaching to Syrians as urban refugees, profile and needs of Syrian refugees are aimed to be introduced in Altındağ context. For the reason that Syrian refugees live in urban areas instead of camps, it is acknowledged that they should participate in the local welfare system. Recognizing the articulation of Syrian refugees in the local welfare system as a local problem, they should also be approached as service recipients in relation to service providers. For that reason, it is focused on the interface between the service providers and the service recipients in order to understand what is happening in the field in local service provision. Secondly, as a result of the transformation from welfare state into the local welfare system, which evolves the welfare state to a more fragmented and multi-actor structure, the increasing need for mechanisms to provide social services in a more comprehensive manner is underlined. In spite of the existence of such a need, the actual situation in the field is aimed to be revealed through the field study. It is expected that the deficiencies of the legal framework about Syrian refugees in Turkey might lead to further ambiguities and lack of coordination in local service provision to Syrian refugees. Thirdly, extending the scope of the Lipsky's concept of street level bureaucracy to the other sectors as different from governmental institutions, responses of street level bureaucracies and bureaucrats are intended to be understood in terms of service provision to Syrian refugees.

While designing the field study of this thesis, three types of institutions and organizations that are in charge of providing social assistance are identified in line with the argument of Mingione and Oberti (2013) mentioned above and the given fragmented and multi-actor structure of the social assistance provision in Altındağ. In terms of the central government, as the main responsible institutions in the field of social services, Altındağ Social Service Center that is operating under Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (MoFLSS) and Altındağ Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SASF) that is operating under District Governorship of Altındağ are included in the field study. For the local government dimension, both Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and Altındağ Municipality are included. In terms of civil society, as another component of the social assistance provision, a non-governmental organization operating in the widest scope in Turkey in the refugee field is involved in the study. Although there are many other local civil society initiatives and religious organizations in Altındağ that provide social assistance to Syrians, in order to include the parties that are more comparable in terms of being subject to the legal framework and certain criteria in service provision, they are excluded from the research design.

This fragmented and multi-actor structure of the social assistance provision in Altındağ has occurred as a limitation of this research at the same time. For the reason that there is not a clear cut division of labour among these actors and their responsibilities in terms of Syrians are ambiguous, it was challenging to map the social assistance provision in the absence of a clear structure. Moreover, the field study was conducted with a limited number of street level bureaucrats from the local branches of the central government and the local governments since there is not a specified department of these institutions and the municipalities that are responsible for service provision to Syrians and the familiarity and the awareness of some of the available personnel regarding the Syrian refugee field is low. In addition, in the case of the municipalities, some bureaucratic barriers were faced in interviewing with

more personnel and having more detailed information about the services provided to Syrians.

In the following chapter, **Chapter 2**, the theoretical background of the main arguments of the thesis is introduced. Based on the literature review on the thesis written on Syrian refugees, it is identified that most of the studies focus on either the institutional and policy side with a top-down perspective or the community with a more bottom-up sociological perspective. Based on this identification, the study is grounded on the analysis of the interface between the local service providers and Syrian refugees. For that reason, in addition to introducing the international definition of the term of the refugee since Syrians under Temporary Protection are referred as refugees in the scope of this thesis, they are also handled as service recipients in the context of local welfare system. In order to understand the local conditions that Syrian refugees take part in as service recipients, theoretical background is constituted mainly through applying the discussion of Andreotti, Mingione and Polizzi (2012) on local welfare systems. Emphasizing on the spatial dimension and dynamic structure of the welfare, localization of the welfare and multiplication of the actors in welfare provision are discussed. As a result of this dynamic structure, the welfare system is argued to differentiate according to the locality, so do the welfare recipients. As one of the social groups that are under the risk of being socially excluded as argued by Mingione (2004), migrants are among the prominent categories in that regard in the Altındağ example. Moreover, choosing Ankara Altındağ as the study area brings the mobility dimension into the discussion. The settlement of Syrian refugees in Ankara, as in other cities distant from the Syria border of Turkey, demonstrates that the mobility of Syrian refugees does not end with crossing the country borders but continues inside of the country due to several pull and push factors. This movement brings additional responsibilities to the local actors in terms of monitoring and responding to this mobility. Especially in terms of local governments, it is argued with reference to the suggestion of Blaser and Landau (2014) that the first step of this response is to accept responding to the

mobility as a responsibility. As the local level becomes more critical in responding to mobility and in providing welfare, the role of local service providers is discussed with applying the concept of Lipsky's street level bureaucracy. It is mainly argued in that regard that the ambiguous legal framework and policies about Syrian refugees provide a larger space for the individual decisions of street level bureaucrats, which is expected to cause incoordination and needs based approach in local service provision.

In **Chapter 3**, the field study of the thesis is put in its context. Starting with the general information about the countries most affected from the Syrian refugee crisis in the world, the Syrian refugee phenomenon is discussed in the context of urban refugees. The urban dimension of Syrian refugee influx is first discussed with reference to Jordan and Lebanon cases, which are hosting the biggest number of Syrian refugees following Turkey, and then elaborated more in Turkey case. As the great majority of Syrian refugees in Turkey is living in urban areas instead of camps and the cities that they live in are not limited to the border cities, local service providers become one of the main respondents in response to the mobility of Syrian refugees as well as in welfare provision to them. In that regard, the legal framework about Syrian refugees in Turkey is discussed in order to present the legal roots of local service provision in the Altındağ example. Emphasis on the services rather than the rights and on temporariness is underlined in terms of their possible negative effects in Syrian refugees' protection conditions and access to the services. In addition, in order to understand the mechanisms of local welfare provision to Syrian refugees in Altındağ and to determine the institutions and organizations that will be included in the field study, an institutional mapping exercise on social assistance provision to Syrian refugees has been involved in this chapter. Subsequently, the field study is presented on the basis of justification of the choosing Altındağ as the field of the study and design of the research. Given the fact that more than half of Syrian refugees in Ankara is living in Altındağ, which approximately amounts to 13% of the total population of Altındağ, potential pull factors for Syrian refugees to

settle in Altındağ are presented and the existence of the dense population in the district is interpreted as an indicator of their internal networks and mobility inside of the country. In the scope of the design of the research, based on the claim of fragmentation and multiplication of the actors in the local welfare system, sectors to be included in the research are determined as governmental institutions, local governments, and civil society organizations. Moreover, mukhtars of some relevant neighbourhoods are also included in the research as an indirect source of information about the local welfare system in Altındağ. Since it is focused on the interface between the service providers and the service recipients instead of an institutional or sociological analysis, street level bureaucrats of those institutions and organizations are aimed to be interviewed. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions are applied in the scope of the qualitative research method.

Chapter 4 is basically composed of the findings of the field study that are mainly grouped under two titles. One of them concentrates on the given situation of the local welfare system in Altındağ and the key informants' evaluation of it. After revealing the service areas of the local service providers and Syrian refugees' access to those services, the local welfare system is discussed in relation to the effect of the relevant legal framework and national policies towards Syrian refugees as well as their problematic results in local service provision. On the other side, responses of the street level bureaucrats to the Syrian refugee phenomenon in local service provision in a more individual manner come to the forefront among the findings and discussed in the second part of the chapter. This discussion is mainly focused on their experience about Syrian refugees' participation in the local welfare system in Altındağ, dilemmas, and difficulties they live in relation to their position in service provision as frontline workers and strategies they develop accordingly.

Chapter 5, the conclusion chapter, briefly exhibits the concluding remarks about the prominent findings and discussions in Chapter 4. Policy recommendations are shortly sorted. Limitations of this study are claimed and possible further research topics are asserted.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Underlying the gap in terms of the studies that focus on the relation between the service providers and Syrian refugees in a comprehensive context that is shaped by legal framework about Syrian refugees in Turkey and local welfare policies, Syrian refugees are approached as service recipients in addition to their refugee identities. Arguing the increasingly critical role of the local level in service provision as a result of the transformation of the welfare state, Syrian refugees are approached as local service recipients in the last instance in order to understand how they access to the local service providers and articulate in the local welfare system. In that scope, local service provision is discussed with reference to the concept of local welfare system underlying the fragmented and dynamic structure of local service provision; urban refugees' access to this local service provision is handled in terms of local response to the mobility; the concept of street level bureaucracy is applied in order to reveal how the situation in interface between service recipients and service providers affects access to services under the given legal framework.

2.1 Literature Review on Syrian Refugees in Turkey

As the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey increases and gets permanent, the refugee phenomenon in Turkey needs to be handled with economic, political, social and cultural aspects. For the reason that most of the Syrian refugees are living in cities rather than camps, this phenomenon has also gained an urban aspect especially in terms of settlement patterns of Syrian refugees, their mobility, their access to the services and burden on public resources, and relations with the host community. Although migration is not a new social fact for Turkey, it is apparent that it has changed dimension with the mass Syrian influx. Together with this change, academic interest towards the refugee issue has also multiplied. As the study of

Tatlıcıoğlu and Apak (2018) on examination and analysis of postgraduate theses on Syrian refugees demonstrates, 96 postgraduate studies have been done until February 2018. Although the number of related studies remained few in the first years, they started to increase incrementally after 2015.

The scope of the postgraduate studies on Syrian refugees has started to extend to several disciplines such as political science, public administration, sociology, psychology, city planning, and geography and to vary in a wide range in terms of the subject of studies. Nevertheless, the majority of them either mainly focus on the policy side with a top-down approach or hardships that Syrian refugees face with a more bottom-up sociological approach. Several studies with a top-down perspective elaborate on international and national refugee policy and responses of relevant institutions and organizations to the refugee crisis. While some of them concentrate on international and national policies towards Syrian refugees in Turkey (Çeliker, 2018; Keskin, 2014; McCarthy, 2016); some of them focus on responses of local institutions and organizations to the refugee crisis and approaches of local service providers towards them (Özel, 2018; Elicin, 2018; Atmaca, 2019). On the other side, among the studies that stress the experiences and problems of Syrian refugees, the topics of social cohesion, access to services, mobility and spatial dimension of their presence come to the forefront. Some of those studies focus on the refugee side of social cohesion with special emphasis on social mobility, sense of belonging, and experiences of Syrian refugees in terms of integration and social acceptance (Altunay-Yılmaz, 2018; Şenoğuz, 2014; Yıldız & Uzgören, 2016). There are also several studies that concentrate on social cohesion from the aspect of the discriminative approach of the host community towards Syrian refugees (Padır, 2019; Mete, 2018; Yıldız & Uzgören, 2016). Interest on the subject of social cohesion and integration has also reflected on sociological and cultural studies on the representation of Syrian refugees on media (Keskin, 2018; Battal, 2018). Moreover, as the Syrian refugee phenomenon gets urbanized, the academic interest to the phenomenon in the fields of geography, city and regional planning, urban

policies and local governments rises. As a result of this interest, settlement and daily life patterns of Syrian refugees, analysis of the pull factors in residential places of Syrian refugees, their effects on transformation in social life in their settlements have started to be prominent as research subjects (Karşlı, 2018; Eraydın, 2017).

In spite of the increasing number of studies on Syrian refugee phenomenon both in policy side and community side and continuous interest on social cohesion and integration (Tatlıcioğlu & Apak, 2018), it is observed that there exists a gap in the analysis of the interface area between the service providers and service recipients, where the supply and the demand confront and affect the access of Syrian refugees to local welfare system. Addressing this gap, it is aimed to focus on this intersection point in order to reveal the role of street level bureaucrats in the articulation of Syrian refugees to the local welfare system in the context determined by ambiguous legal framework and policies about Syrian refugees in Turkey. For that reason, it is argued in the scope of this thesis that, in addition to the legal status of Syrian refugees itself, their' access to welfare services is also determined by street level actors in local service provision who are working in an environment with ambiguous policies. In order to understand such role of street level actors, the structure of the local welfare system they are operating in should be understood.

2.2 Who is a Refugee?

It is obvious that there is confusion in public opinion about the legal status of refugees in Turkey. It becomes prominent in the use of different terms for defining their status such as refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, guests, etc. Although the national legal framework about refugees in Turkey is recently established, the appearance of international refugee law which also includes Turkey is dated back.

International refugee law instruments are based on the 14th Article of Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was proclaimed on 10th December 1948, stating that “everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from

persecution” (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948). This article has become the main foundation and framework of the following regulations in international and national refugee laws. The first comprehensive international legal regulation about refugees is the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which is commonly known as the Geneva Convention.¹ Such regulation was required due to mass displacement during World War II. The Convention brought a standardized definition of the term “refugee” for the first time. According to this definition, the refugee is:

As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (2010, Article 1, A).

This definition limits the events that lead to displacement to the period before 1951. Moreover, following the article of the Convention gives the state parties the right to determine whether they will accept the results of events just occurring in Europe or occurring elsewhere as their obligation (2010, Article 1, B).

After 1951, the refugee number in the world has continued to increase and a need for enlarging the scope of the definition in the Convention to include the events occurring after 1951 regardless of their geography. The 1967 Protocol became a complementary document to the Convention in terms of eliminating these limitations. By the end of 2014, 144 states had become a party to the Convention, whereas 145 states had become a party to the Protocol (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 44).

¹ Please see for the full text of the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol: <https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10>

These two main instruments compose the benchmarks of international refugee law and provide a basis for regional and national legal regulations. As declared by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2011), international refugee law has two main principles: responsibilities of states and non-refoulment. According to those key principles, in addition to the obligations of states that have ratified human rights and refugee law instruments, every state, regardless of binding international and national legal laws and agreements, has to protect human rights of its citizens and every person living inside of its boundaries in line with customary law. In addition, in line with the principle of non-refoulment, no one has to return to the place where his/her life, physical integrity, and freedom is under threat (UNHCR, 2011). This non-refoulment principle is a universal one and brings each state responsibilities as part of customary law. For that reason, in addition to the bindingness of international law tools, positions of the states during the refugee crisis should be evaluated according to those components of customary law.

Although international refugee law instruments are very critical to establish universal standards for refugee definition and to assert the status of being a refugee, which are important for protection conditions of the refugees, they approach to the people of concern via their refugee classification and focus on international mobility in terms of geographic scale (Landau & Achiume, 2017). However, refugees' mobility continues inside of the country of asylum and urban refugees become not only a subject of national politics and policies but also a matter of local response to mobility. Recognizing the effect of their legal status in terms of access to rights and services, their category of being refugee alone remains inadequate to understand their place in local welfare system since they are service recipients at the end of the day according to their relation to local service providers.

2.3 Transformation of the Welfare State: Local Welfare Systems

Social state policies first came to the agenda in Europe as a result of inequalities that increased and intensified with the development of capitalism. Although the history

of welfare policies and social solidarity concept could be dated back before the occurrence of modern state, in the last instance, welfare state might be perceived as a special type of relations between the state and the society as the product of the developments in approximately last two hundred years that caused to major economic and social changes (Özbek, 2002).² Although diversified social policies began to be implemented especially in the countries where social, economic and spatial inequalities between two main social classes in capitalist mode of production became more visible, welfare state as a new institutionalized form of modern state came to the agenda after the Second World War as a result of specific material conditions.³

The main characteristics of the development strategies in this period, which were promoted in the scope of a specific capitalist accumulation model occurred as Keynesianism in developed countries and as import substitution in developing countries, was the development of the policies based on the domestic market and the nation state scale (Topal, 2002, p. 63). This period is defined as the golden age of the welfare state by Ferrera (2005):

The three decades between the end of the Second World War and the mid-1970s are primarily remembered as the ‘golden age’ of welfare state expansion, characterized by a widening coverage of social insurance, an increasing generosity of transfer payments, and the greater scope and quality of services (p. 77).

² Social state policies that occurred in this period should be understood as a result of requirement to prevent further social cleavages in a historical time in which capitalism grows deeper and the need for working class to reproduce itself, as they appeared as poor laws in case of England, discussions on public interest in case of France and social security in case of Germany (Poyraz, 2013).

³ The societies that faced with huge poverty with First World War were devastated with the economic collapse in 1929 Great Depression. When Second World War was also added to the scene, the need for socialization of individual risks occurred and social welfare state started to be institutionalized as a result of these circumstances (Poyraz, 2013, p. 532).

Welfare state policies developed and exercised at the national scale in this period have functioned in three main directions; guaranteeing families a minimum income, narrowing the extent of insecurity by providing extending the criteria such as sickness, old age and unemployment, and offering best social services equally to every citizen (Briggs, 1961, p. 14). Briggs' this definition of the welfare state could be seen as a reflection of the traditional approach to social policy in terms of citizenship (Andersen, 2012). Although these components are more or less common in different welfare state practices, and moreover, no one can oppose the idea that citizenship is placed at the core of welfare state, the concept should be developed further (Esping-Andersen, 1990). Esping-Andersen (1990) approaches the welfare state with key concepts of de-commodification and social stratification.⁴ He (1990) also classifies welfare regimes under categories of liberal, corporatist, and social democratic.⁵ However, these three models of welfare regimes are criticized by Ferrera (2006) for the reason of overlooking and excluding the welfare state practices in Southern European countries which compose a distinctive welfare

⁴ According to this approach, as opposed to pre-capitalist societies, when people rely solely on market for survival through selling their labor force, commodification starts; whereas, when a service is provided in the scope of a right-based approach as independently from the market, de-commodification occurs. In addition, although welfare state policies are means for intervening inequalities in the society, it also assumes and establishes a stratification in society according to benefits and sanctions distributed among certain groups. How welfare state policies affect the level of de-commodification and what kind of stratification they assume in the society differ in each welfare state model depending on the ontological approach to society.

⁵ Liberal welfare state includes providing minimum assistances to the persons in need with an individualistic approach like in the countries such as United States and England; corporatist welfare state foresees rights attached with the status and shaped by traditional family structure like in Germany and Italy; and social democratic welfare regime is based on universal idea of equality, participation of working class and the claim of full-employment even including the women as more like in the examples of Scandinavian countries.

model by themselves.⁶ Jessop (2002), on the other hand, elaborates on the four dimensions of Keynesian Welfare National State (KWNS) which are namely, being Keynesian, welfare-oriented, national and statist.⁷

Emphasis on citizenship and the nation state seems to be common in all these approaches although the role of the local level in terms of welfare regulations and implementations differs according to different contexts. However, with the transformation of the welfare state, the local service provision has gained more importance in the new fragmented and dynamic structure of the welfare system.

As Jessop (2002) underlines when defining the characteristics of KWNS, the welfare state is territorially based on the national level and the central government assumes the main responsibility in the development and implementation of welfare policies. Under the primary regulatory role of the national state;

Local and regional states tended to act mainly as relays for policies framed nationally, modifying them in the light of local conditions and the balance of forces but not initiating radically different policies. In particular, economic and social policies at the urban and regional level were orchestrated in top-down fashion by the national state and primarily concerned with equalizing economic and social conditions within each of these national economies (Jessop, 2002).

⁶ There are limited numbers of academic studies on welfare states in Southern European countries and most of them elaborate on incapacity of the welfare program and domination of traditional institutions like the traditional family and the church in welfare system. Ferrera (2006), nevertheless, puts forward the strengths of Southern European welfare model especially emphasizing on developed pension regime.

⁷ Jessop criticizes Esping-Andersan for just focusing on one aspect of one of these four dimensions, which is being statist, and overlooking the first three dimensions due to focusing on the state's role in de-commodification of men's labor, however, while doing that, missing out the state's other regulatory roles on the areas such as housing, education and health.

This secondary role of local governments seems common in most of the welfare states during the 'golden age', except Sweden case due to its local governments' increasing strength after Second World War especially with their key role in housing policy (Elander & Strömberg, 2001). For that reason, studies on the welfare state generally focus on national policies instead of the role of other institutions or organizations. It is argued in that sense that "an excessive focus on central government's role in welfare provision has tended to overshadow the impact of other welfare providers which are not easily measured and assessed in quantitative terms." (Moreno, 2003, p. 271).

National welfare policies implemented until the mid-1970s were started to be abandoned and replaced by neoliberal policies since that date. These neoliberal policies have assumed less role for the state in the economic and social fields, flexible working arrangements, privatization, and localization instead of secured and full-employment. This process has been mainly shaped by globalization trend and accompanied by an increase in unemployment and inflation rates, the decrease in economic growth rates and the weakening of the regulatory role of the nation state (Amin, 1994; Jessop, 2002; as cited in Kazepov, 2008). Kazepov (2008) argues that the drop in the national welfare state regime is followed by two concurrent processes: one is the territorial reorganization of regulatory actors; and second is the multiplication of actors that are in charge of developing and implementing social policies, which is used to be the nation state before. While the nation state has been the main actor in the social policy area, local actors which play a secondary role before, like municipalities mentioned above, have begun to take their place among the main respondents in welfare provision.

Andreotti, Mingione and Polizzi (2012) describe this process as rescaling of welfare policies. Starting from the point of view that the spatial dimension of welfare is generally disregarded, they offer to use the concept of the local welfare system (LWS) in order to define the welfare arrangement period following the golden age of the welfare state. Their reason for developing this concept is related to the need

for highlighting the dynamic feature of the local welfare rather than approaching it as a fixed and stable structure. This dynamism fed by different local conditions leads to the involvement of several public and non-public actors in local welfare arrangement and requires defining different profiles of people with specific needs (Andreotti, Mingione and Polizzi, 2012). Approaching rescaling of the welfare state with these reservations, Andreotti *et al* (2012) define the local welfare system;

as dynamic arrangements in which the specific local socio-economic and cultural conditions give rise to different mixes of formal and informal actors, public or not, involved in the provision of welfare resources (p. 1925).

As a result of this multiplication of the actors involved in welfare provision in the local level, not only the state institutions but also the market forces and civil society started to play a role in local construction of welfare systems (Mingione & Oberti, 2003). As asserted by Mingione and Oberti, this fragmented and three-sector structure of the welfare system has been observed through the local welfare system mapping exercise of the field study in the scope of this thesis. At the local level, together with the provincial branches of the central institutions, local governments and civil society organizations come to the forefront in local service provision. This multi-actor structure makes coordination among those actors more important for a better service provision without duplications and gaps in the services. Elaborating on the national level legal regulations and policies about Syrian refugees, local service provision is intended to be discussed in terms of the local coordination since it is foreseen that local context matters more when there are ambiguities in legal framework and policies and they reflect negatively on the state of coordination among actors.

During this multilateral arrangement process, the share of the responsibilities between provincial branches of the central government and local governments; and between civil society and traditional-religious third sector organizations has been shaped according to local characteristics of the welfare systems. As a result of the

dynamism of local welfare systems, local characteristics of social assistance systems are influenced in return by;

socio-demographic processes which are not inherently connected with the employment crisis, particularly the fragilization of the family system generating vulnerable forms of households (socially isolated single persons, single parents, etc.) and new waves of immigration with consequent serious social insertion difficulties (as in the case of asylum seekers or illegal immigrants) (Mingione and Oberti, 2003, p. 4).

The spatial shift from the national level to the subnational level has been discussed with different aspects based on its effects on social policies and welfare provision. Harvey (2001), for example, discusses the transformation in the 1970s on the basis of its influence on the occupational health and safety sector, arguing that this transformation from approaching everyone equally with a universalistic approach to targeting specific groups has resulted in dissolution in society. This argument is also closely related to the core ideas behind the social policy which are about dealing with the process of commodification and managing the social risks. Transition to the neoliberal era means the erosion of barriers on commodification and individualization of risks. There are also some other arguments emphasizing the negative sides of rescaling of national welfare policies. In the scope of these arguments, it is suggested that rescaling of social policies lead to more inequalities in local and urban levels and risks the social protection that equally guaranteed at the national level (Preteceille, 2006, as cited in Andreotti *et al.*, 2012; Crouch, Eder & Tambini, 2001). Procacci (2001) sees the incapacity of local governments as the reason for this situation (as cited in Andreotti *et al.*, 2012).

Moreover, Mingione (2004) argues the transition to local welfare systems in the context of social exclusion. According to his argument, certain groups that have not been taken into consideration during the traditional welfare state period are now under threat of being socially excluded because of the barriers to their self-reliance due to objective or subjective reasons. Those groups are categorized under four typologies as follows:

A → Migrants, minorities, asylum seekers → malign circuits of racism and discrimination affecting also housing, conditions of life, educational and occupational qualifications → access only to flexible, poorly tenured, low-paid and informal jobs.

B → Isolated individuals, particularly the young and poorly skilled → the long-term unemployed → “UNEMPLOYABLE”: trapped by the fact that low-grade flexible jobs are not compatible with economic self- support.

C → Single parents with dependent children or other households where the combination between paid work and high care requirements is problematic.

D → Nuclear families with dependent minors and a single low income (or no income) particularly in areas or for population groups where employment opportunities are meagre (Mingione, 2004).

Highlighting fragmentation in and decentralization of welfare policies, it is also emphasized correspondingly that this categorization exercise does not necessarily mean that social exclusion would be experienced in each place through those categories with equal weight (Mingione, 2004). They, instead, should be reviewed depending on the context and dynamics at the local level.

In addition to the authors studying on negative effects of decentralization of welfare provision, most of whom are discussing this trend in the context of neoliberal transformation, some authors argue decentralization with its positive effects as a requirement to address different needs in different local contexts. Traditional national welfare policies are criticized in that regard for ignoring local differences in managing de-commodification and social stratification. Although service provision is maintained in line with the principle of equality theoretically, the specific needs of different areas and vulnerabilities of the population living in those areas should be taken into account (Isakjee, 2017). Moreover, some authors argue subsidiarity in terms of its positive role in the efficiency and effectiveness of social policies. While Ranci (2006) discusses it also in terms of encouraging participation and empowering people for developing their own solutions to the problems they have (as cited in Kazepov, 2008); Powell and Boyne (2001) argue it on the basis of territorial justice focusing on equity rather than equality.

Although the local dimension of welfare policies has come to the agenda more in recent years as it is seen in the discussions above, it should not be understood from this trend that all welfare policies are developed and implemented at the local level purely. Andreotti *et al* (2012) argue in this sense that the framework in which local actors are operating for welfare provision is still defined by the national laws and processes although it is practiced according to local needs and sources. The continuity between the golden age of the welfare state and the rescaling period is also emphasized by different authors in different contexts. While Esping-Andersen (2006) describes this period as the frozen version of the welfare state instead of a radical change process (p. 93); Kleinman (2006) criticizes defining the changes in this period as crisis of welfare state arguing that the term of continuity suits more to describe the period rather than the term of break (p. 166).

Even if it is accepted that the central government is still the main actor in determining limits to welfare provision and developing and designing the policies in general terms, they are performed at the local level with multiple actors. While subsidiarity gives local authorities more authorization and responsibilities, it also imposes a burden on them in terms of addressing fragmented needs and demands. It is for that reason that in migration studies burden of migration is usually discussed in local context on the basis of its effects on local institutions in local welfare provision. There are two common statements in that context: mobility is the key feature of the contemporary era; and local authorities should develop policies proactively towards movements inside of its responsibility area in order to convert the impacts of the process into opportunities (Blaser & Landau, 2016).

Although the movement of the refugees is generally discussed in the context of transnational mobility, their mobility continues inside of the country of asylum once they cross the borders due to several push and pull factors such as rental fees, employment opportunities, and kinship networks. This ongoing mobility inside the country has an effect on local governments and other local institutions and organizations directly as it changes the number of population, the demographic

structure of that locality, demand towards services of these actors and spatial mapping of their services' in line with settlement patterns of the newcomers, and so on. Considering the additional burden that those changes bring in these local actors, they are getting placed in a more critical position in terms of migration management.

2.4 Local Response to Mobility

Human mobility is getting central to the political debates every day all around the world, and to the social sciences accordingly. The discussions on mobility are even more concentrated on forced migration especially as a result of the Syria crisis that has caused the biggest human mobility in the world after the Second World War. Although more than 5 million of people leave their country every year in order to live in a developed country; the number of people who move to a developing country or inside of their own country is even higher (UNDP, 2009); and this trend is closely linked to the forced migration phenomenon. As seen in the Syrian refugee case, the countries that have been most affected by forced migration has become the developing neighbouring countries of Syria.

The refugees who attempt or managed to cross the national borders and to enter another country, as different from the ones who are internally displaced or could not move due to several barriers and vulnerabilities, put a transnational aspect on the discussion. Moreover, the movement does not end with entering the country of asylum. It continues within that country for the reasons about searching for better living conditions such as finding a job, living close to other family members and relatives, living in a more safe place, which highlights the translocal dimension of migration. These translocal and transnational dimensions of forced migration are critical to understand the drivers behind the migration related to global politics, as well as the consequences and unequal burdens it brings at the local level.

Landau (2017), for that reason, criticizes the mainstream approach of United Nations' agencies on migration on the grounds that they ignore these two

dimensions through reproducing ‘methodological nationalism’ (Schiller, 2007) in a kind of way. As adopting the methodological nationalist approach in migration studies, by addressing the nation state as the unit of analysis, cultures of both the host community and the refugees are homogenized, which feeds the ground for discriminatory attitudes and scapegoating. Leading to an exclusionary social response to the refugees who claim asylum and access to basic services, this approach may result in considering them as a threat to welfare, security, and sovereignty (Landau & Achiume, 2017, p. 1193).

Furthermore, the local level, in which the direct interactions between the refugees and host communities or between the refugees and street level bureaucrats take place, is characterized not only through national processes but also through unequal translocal and transnational capital flow, as well as by the power hierarchy penetrated in state and region through global processes (Schiller, 2007). When nation state is accepted as the main unit of analysis, migration scholars’ approach to mobility remains limited to perceiving it just as the reason for disrupting the integrity of national borders, which means:

overlooking not only domestic mobility but also many translocal or transnational processes driven by (a) migrants themselves and (b) transnational actors including strategies driven by powerful countries that are implicated in the violence, economic precarity and environmental risks behind many movements. The results are some pictures of mobility and responses to it which invisibilize global political and social agency (Landau & Achiume, 2017, p. 1185).

Despite the ignorance of translocal dynamics in this approach, as a critical scale that both characterizes the mobility and is shaped by effects of it, the local level is getting placed in a more proactive position due to the increasing role of local authorities and officials in the decentralization period following the 1980s as Crook (2003) states. Nonetheless, there are still several challenges that retain local authorities from transforming the burden of migration to benefit (Blaser & Landau, 2014). The main reasons for local authorities’ staying behind on this issue are their ignorance

about those possible benefits of migration and about their responsibilities, and their incapacibilities and insufficient resources. As a starting point, once the local authorities accept that the migrants and refugees fall within their area of responsibility, comprehensive planning for process management would contribute to the benefits. Blaser and Landau (2014) even argue it in terms of migration's counter-poverty effect stating that migration could end with decreased poverty for the migrants, for their relatives and for the sending communities in spite of its risks in case of poor management. However, it is also argued that even if raising awareness of those local governments about their responsibility is an important step, it is not enough and it should be supported with more structural changes such as developing participation mechanisms, accountability mechanisms, planning modalities and budgeting systems (Blaser & Landau, 2016).

In order to evaluate a local governments' response to mobility and migration, Blaser and Landau (2014) suggest a set of indices which are namely:

- Perceptions and attitudes among municipal officials regarding human mobility and their ability and responsibility for addressing its varied forms.
- Data collection and management systems.
- Budgeting systems' responsiveness to demographic change.
- Popular engagement and participatory mechanisms.
- The inclusion of 'migrant interests' in political and bureaucratic accountability and incentives.
- The degree to which approaches to human security and social cohesion appropriately consider human mobility (p. 7).

The first measure above plays a preconditioning role for the following ones since taking action in these fields does not seem possible without acknowledging that this human mobility falls under the responsibility area of that institution. It also important since it gives a space for the officials' attitudes in addition to the institutional point of view. Starting from the Landau's (2017) argument on

importance of street level organizations (SLO) emphasizing their role in understanding how law affects practice and how specific position of SLOs appears as a large number of variations in practice, this first measure mentioned above will be one of the focuses of this thesis due to effective role of street level bureaucrats in response to mobility (Landau, 2017). As the local level gains more prominence in terms of service provision due to the transformation of welfare state and effect of the mobility of refugees on the urban area since the number of urban refugees is on the rise, street level bureaucracies play a more important role. It is even argued that ambiguities in the legal framework and policies about Syrian refugees make the approaches and actions of street level bureaucrats get more determinative at the local level.

2.5 Deconstructing Street Level Bureaucracy

This distinguishing role of street level organizations was first comprehensively defined by Michael Lipsky in 1980 in his book named *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. Street level bureaucracy conceptualization is used in this book to refer to schools, police departments, welfare institutions, legal services offices, and other agencies whose workers regularly interact with citizens (Lipsky, 2010). Accordingly, the concept of street level bureaucrats refers to low-level employees of agencies working in public service delivery to the citizens, such as social workers, teachers, health workers, police officers, and so on. They are the concretized face of the government in that regard due to their role in exercising public policies that are visible to the citizens and at the closest level to them. Although appearance of the concept much more pertains to the public sector, due to growing discussions on transformation of welfare state and occurrence of local social welfare system and multiplication of actors in provision of social services after the 1970s, in this thesis, the concept will be interpreted and applied as including not only governmental institutions but also local governments and civil society. As the local level with its three-sector structure is getting more important in social welfare provision, the concept of street level

bureaucracy is even getting placed in a more critical position than Lipsky suggested. The reflection of the concept of street level bureaucracy at the local level has been enlarged and diversified with the inclusion of other sectors in local service provision. In addition, the assumption regarding the ambiguities of the legal regulations and policies about Syrian refugees in Turkey, which will be discussed in further chapters, is expected to give more space for the attitudes of street level bureaucrats to be more effective.

There are two distinctive features of street level bureaucrats that allow defining street level bureaucracy a separate analytical unit. One of them is about their specific common positions as frontline workers, and the other is street level bureaucrats' power of discretion and developing routines together with the limitation they experience in their job (Lipsky, 2010).

2.5.1 Street Level Bureaucrats as Frontline Workers

There are basically two ways of approaching frontline workers of these institutions and agencies. One of them is simply equating those workers to the public services they have been providing and to the institutions they have been working for. This perspective requires handling institutions as separate entities and does not allow approaching crosscutting elements of those institutions as a unit of analysis. Lipsky, however, invented the second way focusing on the common positions of frontline workers in all street level organizations:

Another way-the one I originally intended-was to define street-level bureaucracy as public service employment of a certain sort, performed under certain conditions. In this second approach, street-level bureaucrats interact with citizens in the course of the job and have discretion in exercising authority; in addition, they cannot do the job according to ideal conceptions of the practice because of the limitations of the work structure (Lipsky, 2010, s. xvii).

This perception provides the basis for approaching frontline workers of all agencies, who have continuous interactions with beneficiaries, as an analytically separate

category regardless of the agency they are working for, revealing the common experiences and working conditions that frontline workers have. In addition to the regular interaction with the clients, there are some other common characteristics of street level bureaucrats' working conditions:

1. Resources are chronically inadequate relative to the tasks workers are asked to perform.
2. The demand for services tends to increase to meet the supply.
3. Goal expectations for the agencies in which they work tend to be ambiguous, vague, or conflicting.
4. Performance oriented toward goal achievement tends to be difficult if not impossible to measure.
5. Clients are typically nonvoluntary; partly as a result, clients for the most part do not serve as primary bureaucratic reference groups. (Lipsky, 2010, pp. 27-28).

Due to their critical position at the position where the institutions and the clients face, the challenges that characterize street level bureaucrats' working conditions are unsurprisingly related to both the institution and the client side. On the one hand, they have to perform their tasks with comparatively insufficient resources in order to achieve indefinite goals which make the measurement of results of their work difficult. On the other hand, they have to deal with the huge demand to the services they provide, which always have a tendency to increase, and their professional approach is inclined to be shaped by this huge demand as well as the fact that the clients have to approach those street level organization regardless of their voluntariness.

Inadequate resources are foremost experienced in terms of time and information (Lipsky, 2010). Continuous high demand for the services makes street level bureaucrats deal with high caseloads. Due to those large caseloads and a relatively lower ratio of street level bureaucrats to deal with those cases, they have limited time to reach information on their profession area, which would contribute to the

quality of the services. Moreover, the humanitarian side of their work increases their contradiction during their decision making regarding the high number of cases they have been following up. This humanitarian component of their work, which means they should contribute to the welfare of their clients, is also related to the third point mentioned above that is about indeterminant conditions street level bureaucrats are working in. This is because the subject of their work is people and every individual case is unique, which might make the application of general rules and instructions to all cases without differentiation is ineffective and creates uncertainty beyond the certain rules in course of actions. When the high number of cases combine with the requirement to approach each case uniquely, marginal utility to reach information about the working field that might contribute their work in the medium term is generally ignored –or at least put in the second plan- by the frontline workers. Moreover, since the clients of street-level bureaucracy are non-voluntary, they have to participate in the local welfare system if they do not have any other income alternatives. It also means that they will continue to apply to those institutions in any condition and dissatisfied clients will be replaced by new applicants that compose demand to meet the supply. Their dissatisfaction might not bring a change on street-level bureaucrats behaviors and approaches in a positive direction in that regard (Lipsky, 2010).

2.5.2 Power of Discretion and Developing Routines

Lipsky discusses discretionary power to be exercised in the context of a possible conflict in decision making between the street level bureaucrats' approach and the institutional approach that is generally concretized in the attitude of the managers. Davis (1971), on the other hand, emphasizes the limits of the official framework that allow street level bureaucrats to make choices freely (as cited in Evans, 2011). Lipsky's approach to the managers, which places them in somehow an opposite position to the street-level bureaucrats, is perceived by Evans (2011) to be inadequate to understand and to describe the current condition especially in the changing context of state social work. In that regard, Lipsky is criticized by ignoring

the notion of professionalism that could be attributed to both street level bureaucrats and managers, meaning that motivation of their decisions is not only the challenges sourced from their position requiring daily interaction nor hierarchical control over workers respectively. As demonstrated in case study of Evans (2011), social workers see managers' interventions as professional feedbacks in line with the commitment to the best interest of the applicants, whereas most of the managers perceive themselves like the previous social workers who are taking on a more administrative task now but serving to the same professional outcomes.

Street level bureaucrats' distinguishing positions in terms of continuous daily interaction with the clients as the visible face of the institutions in the eyes of them and exercise of discretionary power are both related to the dilemmas of those frontline workers and the coping mechanisms they develop as a result of the challenges they encounter. To begin with the dilemmas they experience, it could be stated that one of their contradictions is sourced from their distributive role. Since their decisions might be redistributive as well as allocative, they are ensuring access of some clients to the public goods and services at the cost of general taxpayers and other clients whose demands are rejected (Lipsky, 2010, pp. 8-9). For that reason, directly or indirectly, their decisions produce an effect on the lives of the clients in terms of their articulation in the local welfare system. The second important dilemma of street level bureaucrats is about high caseloads that feed the contradiction between the quality and the quantity of the services. This contradiction has a direct influence on their relations with the clients. Lipsky (2010) argues that as the services supplied increase, the demand to consume them also increases (p.33). This demand has a trend to increase over time also for the reasons of population growth, and an increase in migration and poverty. In order to address this increasing demand, street level bureaucrats tend to spend less time for each case and it reflects the quality of the interaction between them and the clients in a negative way. They experience the conflict of responding to individual needs but on a mass basis (Lipsky, 2010, p. 44). This condition is closely tied to another dilemma sourced

from the human side of their work. The underlying cause of this contradiction is the situation that street level bureaucrats perform as the human faces of the institutions but they still serve for the goals for these institutions. Lipsky (2010) describes this conflict as follows:

On the one hand, service is delivered by people to people, invoking a model of human interaction, caring, and responsibility. On the other hand, service is delivered through a bureaucracy, invoking a model of detachment and equal treatment under conditions of resource limitations and constraints, making care and responsibility conditional (p. 71).

These conditions pose a tension on street level bureaucrats' roles as advocates and lead alienation from their clients in the aspect of working partially on their product of work, and not being able to control the outcome, raw materials and stream of their work (Lipsky, 2010, p. 76). Those challenges bring coping mechanisms along that characterize the work of street level bureaucrats in another aspect.

Street-level bureaucrats' capability to exercise control over the clients is closely related to their discretionary power that enables them to develop routines as coping mechanisms in order to deal with the challenges embedded in their working environment. In this process of being clients, unique individuals with different experiences, needs, demands, and expectations, are being transformed into clients that are attributed some certain categories in order to be treated by street level bureaucracies (Lipsky, 2010, p. 59). This transformation is realized via four dimensions:

(1) distributing the benefits and sanctions that are supposed to be provided by the agencies; (2) structuring the context of clients' interactions with them and their agencies; (3) teaching clients how to behave as clients; and (4) allocating psychological rewards and sanctions associated with clients entering into relationships with them (Lipsky, 2010, p. 60).

Through these dimensions, although eligibility criteria for benefitting from public services seem totally predetermined, discretionary power is exercised in determining eligibility in the general framework and guidance of legal regulations

in order to address the individual cases. Through allocating benefits and sanctions, street-level bureaucrats affect clients' well-being and place in the local welfare system. For that reason, the interaction between the street level bureaucrats and the clients is an uneven one. The context of the interaction even including its time and its content is determined by the street level bureaucrats, which makes the clients subject to them (Lipsky, 2010).

While elaborating on the relation between street level bureaucrats and clients, Lipsky heavily focuses on the street level worker side of this interaction and highlights how the nature of this relation is shaped and determined by the worker. Rice (2012) and Watkins-Hayes (2013), on the other hand, draw attention to the reciprocity of this relation and equally focus on also the client side. The relation between the street level bureaucrats and the service users is discussed by Rice (2012) in the context of activation policies. According to Rice, activation policies that are frequently carried out in the fields of unemployment, social care and pensions provide strong incentives to the service users as in the form of carrots or sticks in order to mobilize and empower them for self-reliance. Providing job training and posing job application requirements as a carrot and stick respectively as discussed by Rice or as a benefit and sanction as discussed by Lipsky can be given as an example for activation policies.

As the reflection of micro-institutionalist theory in the social policy field suggests, welfare policies are produced not only through the laws and high-level official processes but also as a result of the ongoing interaction between street level bureaucrats and the service users at the local level (Rice, 2012). This determining role of street level bureaucrats in policy making puts them in a distinguishing position in the sense that each client's share in the local welfare system is determined by social workers' approaches, identities, and judgments in addition to legal rights of the clients (Rice, 2012). In addition, through teaching the client role, street level bureaucrats make clients expect few services and believe that there is nothing or a few can be done for their conditions. Street-level bureaucrats, at the same time, tries

to make their clients believe in the hardness of their jobs, that they apply the rules and to gain sympathy so. Besides, by sharing information on a selective basis, they favor some clients without direct fairness. However, this can affect the legitimacy and reliability of the institution since some might feel favored whereas some might feel the opposite (Lipsky, 2010, pp. 61-65). The type of unequal treatment of street level bureaucrats may differ according to context shaped by the workers and the clients reciprocally. Social workers may differentiate deservingness of their clients by taking into consideration the societal influence of the group they belong (Rice, 2012), their individual defects and strengths especially in physical appearance terms rather than abstracted categories such as disabled, poor and criminal (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003), their sexuality (Jenkins, 2000), their character types (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003), their language skills and ability to express themselves (Jonsson, 1998), and their openness to cooperate (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003), and their knowledge of relevant laws and regulations (Dubois, 2010) (as cited in Rice, 2012, p. 1046).

Furthermore, in order to cope with indeterminacy in their job, street level bureaucrats develop three responses: developing patterns of practice, modifying the concept of their jobs and modifying the concept of their raw materials (Lipsky, 2010, p. 83). These methods are relevant to the main problem of street level bureaucrats about “how is the job to be accomplished with inadequate resources, few controls, indeterminate objectives, and discouraging circumstances?” (Lipsky, 2010, p. 82). It also brings the discussion on street level bureaucrats’ developing routines while doing their jobs.

In everyday life people seek to simplify their tasks and narrow their range of perceptions in order to process the information they receive and develop responses to it. They create routines to make tasks manageable. They mentally simplify the objects of perception to reduce the complexity of evaluation (Lipsky, 2010, p. 83).

Street level bureaucrats develop routines in order to simplify their job due to the complexity and limitations inherent to their jobs mentioned above, such as huge

caseload and limited resources. In that regard, they might behave on a selective basis in terms of the clients and they might develop their own patterns of practices by benefitting from the gaps in the general official framework that could not respond to every unique case. In other words, as discussed by Brodtkin (1997), Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2000), and Maynard-Moody and Portillo (2010), it is very critical for street level bureaucrats that they are able to choose which rules or procedures they will apply in a certain circumstance due to the limited resources (as cited in Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). Due to their such practices that could bring change in service provision, Lipsky (2010) argues that the decisions and the way that street level bureaucrats use their discretionary power is political:

Street level bureaucrats, as I have been arguing, determine the allocation of particular goods and services in the society, utilizing positions of public authority. To say that their actions are political is to indicate that some people are aided, some are harmed, by the dominant patterns of decision making (p. 84).

In addition to the political side of the street level bureaucrats' decisions in terms of their results, in the previous step, direction of discretionary power exercised by street level bureaucrats might also be shaped by higher level politics on the basis of compatibility of the decision with the national policy, as the finding of a research about implementation of employment policy reforms in Denmark has demonstrated (May & Winter, 2009). According to the study of May and Winter (2009), "caseworkers are more willing to diverge from national goals when it is clear that their immediate political principals endorse that divergence" (p. 469). Van Berkel and Borghi (2008) put emphasis on the conditions that decentralization is practiced in order to demonstrate the limitations of decision making by local actors and present that those limitations are not posed through rules and regulation but rather through preserving their decision making authority and steering it in line with the national policy goals via indirect methods such as introducing performance indicators and funding regimes (p. 396). Marston (2013), on the other hand, analyzes political component of decision making by street level bureaucrats at individual

level by emphasizing both the worker and the client side, stating that “what people can decide for themselves in terms of their welfare and well-being versus how much is decided for them by others is both a personal and political struggle” (p. 224). Brodtkin (2012) approaches discretionary power of street level bureaucrats as “the operational core of the state” that has “deep political importance, potentially building or undermining support for the government as a vehicle for advancing social welfare, equity, and justice” (p. 946). Although legal and formal standards in service provision are precondition to principle to equality in service delivery, when the subject matter is people, it might be also needed to show flexibility and to exercise discretion in order to contribute equality through answering unique conditions of individual cases that could not be always covered by general framework in higher level. Their pattern of practices and discretionary exercises are not only important because of their influence on the consequences of individual cases, but also because of their influence on the policies of that institution in a cumulative sense. Those decisions might turn into common practices of that institution and might be identified and equalized with the institution itself since the specific position of street level bureaucrats make them the visible face of those institutions in the eyes of the citizens. For indicating that street level bureaucrats are developing policies through their decisions and practices beyond the centrally determined procedures in that sense, Hill and Hupe (2009) see Lipsky as “a key figure for the development of the ‘bottom-up’ perspective on implementation studies” (p. 52). However, emphasizing discretion and its role in shaping institutions’ policies does not directly mean advocating the bottom-up perspective (Evans, 2011). Lipsky also includes the top-down perspective in his street level bureaucracy theory as concerning the appropriateness of use of discretion and it results in terms of policy intention (as cited in Evans, 2011).

Discussing on the characteristics of street level bureaucrats with reference to their power of discretion and developing routines, the concept of street level bureaucracy is applied through the field study of this thesis in order to understand the strategies

developed by local service providers in the scope of service provision to Syrian refugees in the context of Altındağ. As the concept is used with reference to three sectors, which are governmental institutions, local governments, and civil society organizations, as a result of the fragmentation and multiplication of the actors in welfare provision, coordination among actors comes to the agenda as a research interest. Due to the assumption on the ambiguity of the legal framework and policies about Syrian refugees in Turkey, the state of coordination among actors is stressed as a possible source of the problem in local service provision. Moreover, how the state of coordination among service providers is and to what extent their services are provided in a complementary way are discussed in the context of the local welfare system with the emphasis on the profile of the service recipients as urban refugees.

CHAPTER 3

SETTING AND CONTEXT

This chapter mainly focuses on the context that the field study was built up. Starting with the concept of urban refugees, the urban character of the Syrian refugee phenomenon in Turkey was discussed. Given the fact that a great majority of the Syrian refugees in Turkey are living out of camps, they continue to be mobile inside the country and become beneficiaries of the local welfare system where they live. They have to pursue their rights themselves and they should actively participate in the local welfare system in order to access the services. For that reason, focusing on the Syrian refugees living in urban setting, the legal framework about their rights and services to be provided was discussed since it is important to understand its effects on the local service provision and Syrian refugees' access to those services. In addition, in order to reveal the related institutions and organizations which are prominent in service provision to Syrian refugees and to understand the institutional and organizational mechanisms of the Syrian refugees' articulation into the local welfare system, a mapping exercise was done. Following this, the field study of the thesis was introduced in terms of justification of determining the study area and research design.

3.1 Story of Syrian Refugees

The social movements that started in Tunisia in 2010 following that a street vendor set himself on fire have spread several nearby countries and resulted in dramatical political, economic, social and demographic changes in the region. Uprisings with initial demands for social justice and anti-corruption have evolved as agents of change in the political structure of the region in the direction towards the articulation of these middle eastern countries to the imperialist system and neoliberal world market with radical Islamism. When looking at the region after eight years, it is seen

that neither the preliminary demands were accomplished, nor economic and social conditions got better when compared to the pre-“spring” period.

Table 1

Distribution of Syrian Refugee Population in the World

Country	Source	Data Date	Proportion to the Syrian refugee population in the world	Proportion to the country's population	Syrian Population
Turkey	UNHCR, Government of Turkey	24.01.2019	64%	4.4%	3,636,617
Lebanon	UNHCR	13.01.2019	16.7%	15.8%	948,849
Jordan	UNHCR	31.12.2018	11.8%	7%	671,551
Iraq	UNHCR	31.12.2018	4.4%	0.6%	252,526
Egypt	UNHCR	31.12.2018	2.3%	0.1%	132,871
Other (North Africa)	UNHCR	30.11.2018	0.6%	-	35,713
TOTAL	UNHCR, Government of Turkey	24.01.2019	-	-	5,678,127

Following Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen, Syria became one of the countries affected by the movements. However, the long duration of war in Syria has even affected more the neighbouring countries since it led to the biggest refugee influx in the world after World War II.

Since 2011, 5.6 million Syrians have fled Syria legally or illegally to seek asylum in neighbouring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan, whereas 6.6 million Syrians have been internally displaced inside Syria (UNHCR, 2018). According to the data announced by UNHCR (2019) in the last months of 2018 and in early 2019, the geographical distribution of Syrians in the region is as in Table 1.

As demonstrated in Table 1, among hosting countries, Turkey hosts the biggest Syrian refugee population in the world. Although Syrian population places a heavy burden on Jordan and Lebanon when compared to Syrians' rate to the total population of these countries, the population approximating 4 million is also high enough to need for handling the issue with the more multi-disciplinary way in terms of its economic, social, political, governmental, legal and urban aspects.

3.1.1 Urban Refugees and Urban Character of Syrians' Presence in Turkey

It is witnessed rapid urbanization all over the world. While 33.62% of the total world population was living in urban areas in 1960, the rate of the world urban population has increased to 54.83% in 2017 (World Bank, 2018). The number of refugees resides in urban areas has also increased concordantly. Nearly 60% of the refugees in the world are living in urban areas and the people who are being displaced continue to reside in cities instead of camps for the reasons of more opportunities, employment, free movement, autonomy, access to services, and so on (Women's Refugee Commission, 2016, p. 4).

This increase in the number of refugees living in urban areas in the world has brought a new concept in use: urban refugees. Urban refugees have begun to be more than a temporary change in data of refugee statistics, instead, they have

composed a new main category in urban studies with their distinguishing protection needs, risks and vulnerabilities, need for shelter, social cohesion related needs and access to services and to labour market.

The concept was first defined by UNHCR in the document of the Comprehensive Policy on Urban Refugees in 1997. According to this policy document, the definition of the urban refugee is as follows:

For the purposes of being considered for assistance in an urban area, an urban refugee is an individual of urban background in the country of origin and who is not part of a prima facie case load. A refugee of rural background - for whom, in the country of asylum, the option of a rural settlement which offers an opportunity for self-sufficiency does not exist, may exceptionally be considered for assistance in an urban area. Irregular movers do not qualify for consideration for assistance in urban areas (UNHCR, 1997, p. 2).

As it might be derived from the definition, being an urban refugee was associated with eligibility for assistance on the one hand and the urban character of the place that the refugee used to live in her/his country of origin on the other hand. Approximately 20 years after this definition, it is understood that the approach in 1997 Policy is too narrow to explain the urban refugee phenomenon and to answer the problems that are unique to urban refugees. UNHCR's complimentary policy document called "UNHCR Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas" was published for that reason with the motivation of approaching the urban refugee issue in a more comprehensive way. This comprehensive perception is based on the fact that neither the refugees living in urban areas are an exception, nor the refugees living in camps are norms (UNHCR, 2009, p. 2). Highlighting the increasing trend in refugee rates living in urban areas, UNHCR emphasizes on roles and responsibilities of host governments and city governments (2009, p. 3). It is also pursued two main principles for its policy on urban refugees: recognition of cities as legitimate residence places for refugees and the increasing protection opportunities for refugees in urban areas (UNHCR, 2009, p. 5). It means a shift in the international approach to urban refugees not only because of accepting

increasing existence of refugees in urban areas but also because of defining cities as legitimate residential areas for refugees including the further possible refugee crisis.

The growing number of urban refugees brings some changes in refugee profile in terms of the difficulties and opportunities that they face. One of them is about the burden of increasing population on public resources and services especially in the countries where the resources are not adequate enough to meet the demands of urban poor (UNHCR, 2009, p.4). It stimulates another problem which is xenophobia and discrimination against refugees in the host community for the reasons that refugees are a party to their share in social aids. Moreover, as different from camps, refugees might face some barriers in access to services in urban areas. Even if their status provides them several rights and access to services, they should themselves pursue their rights. Lack of information in where and how to apply, language barrier, discrimination by service providers might pose some challenges in enjoying those rights in practice.

Living in urban areas also provides some opportunities for refugees in terms of empowerment and self-reliance as long as basic rights and services are defined and protected by the state. Although refugees living in camps are usually assisted by the state, INGOs, and NGOs through aids, it creates a dependency on assistance. However, if access to livelihood opportunities is allowed for urban refugees, it might contribute to their self-reliance. Nevertheless, a refugee's ability to survive without assistance should not be confused with self-reliance (UNHCR, 2009, p.17). If a refugee has to engage with activities that are incompatible with human dignity to survive without assistance, it could not be said that this person is self-reliant. For that reason, access to the livelihood opportunities and to the labor market in legal ways are the most important factors for being self-reliant without getting systematic assistance. Although states' approaches to the involvement of refugees in their labor market may vary due to several reasons, it is suggested that settlement policies towards refugees on whether they will be settled in urban areas or in camps are the implications of labor market policies of those states. In this context, Turner (2015)

argues that “Lebanon’s non-encampment policy towards Syrian (non status) refugees serves the state’s labour market goals by providing an army of cheap labour, while Jordan’s encampment policy aims at excluding refugees from the labour market.” (as cited in Saraçoğlu&Belanger, 2018, p.2). This approach brings a deeper explanation to the migration of refugees to urban areas and relates it directly with governmental policies instead of explaining it as a natural consequence when opportunities for establishing camps do not exist as UNHCR (1996) argues (p. vi).

Table 2

Number of Syrian Refugees by Country of Asylum

Number of Syrian refugees by country of asylum	In-camp	Out-of-camp	Total
Turkey ⁸	142,676	3,501,666	3,644,342
Lebanon ⁹	-	948,849	948,849
Jordan ¹⁰	126,009	545,542	671,551
Total	268,685	4,996,057	5,264,742

On the other side, the increasing number of urban refugees requires the involvement of local governments in policy development and implementation. As the biggest

⁸ Turkey’s data was last updated on 07.02.2019
http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713_icerik

⁹ Lebanon’s data was last updated on 31.12.2018
<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/71>

¹⁰ Jordan’s data was last updated on 13.01.2019
<https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/36>

refugee influx in history after World War II, the Syrian refugee influx has also opened the role and responsibilities of local governments to the discussion. According to UNHCR's data on 31st January 2019, there are 5,682,058 registered Syrian refugees all around the world. 362,888 of them are living in the camps, whereas 5,319,170 of them are living in urban areas (see Table 2).

As Table 2 demonstrates, most of the Syrian refugees in three countries that host the biggest proportion of Syrian refugees in the world are living in urban areas rather than camps. This situation places an additional economic burden on governments and municipalities of those countries in terms of resources, infrastructure, and services.

Jordan received Syrian refugees into its border since the beginning of the Syrian War in 2011. Although in the first year a non-camp policy was implemented, as the number of Syrian refugees increased, the Government of Jordan (GoJ) decided to build a refugee camp. In July 2012, a camp in Al Za'atari was opened for Syrians and a law was issued stating that all future refugees have to stay in camps. However, due to unhealthy conditions in the camps and feelings of insecurity due to fear of being traced by the parties of the war in Syria, many refugees preferred not to register in camps and to flee from the camps to urban areas (UCLG, 2013, p. 17).

Municipalities in Jordan are operating under the Ministry of Municipal Affairs that was established by the central government in 1965 even in terms of daily administrative issues, which means that Jordan municipalities are not totally autonomous entities (UCLG, 2013, p. 16). Besides, Greater Amman Municipality – the capital city of Jordan- has a special status and is directly affiliated to Prime Minister and its Mayor and half of the council is appointed rather than elected (UCLG, 2013, p. 15). The city of Amman hosts the majority of the Syrian refugee

population in the country¹¹ and includes one of two registration centers of UNHCR in Jordan. While municipalities' scope of authority is not wide, they feel the pressure of Syrian influx in terms of financial assistance, waste management, drinking water, water sanitation and hygiene facilities, education services, developing capacity of host communities in dealing with huge influx, psychological support mechanisms and strategies for integration of refugees (UCLG, 2013, p. 5).

Lebanon, as the country that hosts the second most crowded Syrian refugee population in the world, followed an open border policy until 2015. Although Syrian refugees have been accepted to the country, since Lebanon is a signatory to neither 1951 Convention nor 1967 Protocol, Syrians are perceived as “persons who are displaced from Syria”, “persons who are registered by UNHCR” or “de facto refugees” (UCLG-MEWA, 2016, pp. 44-46). After 2015, the Government of Lebanon (GoL) has begun to pursue a more restrictive border policy including barriers to extending the duration of residence permits and acceptance of newcomers. Although there are refugee camps for Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, for Syrians refugees a non-camp policy was pursued by GoL. The reasons for this policy are explained as political instability and lack of consolidation ability of political power to make a decision in that regard due to dividedness among different sects, Lebanese authorities' perception of camps as a security threat due to experiences in Palestinian camps and involvement of Syrian workforce in labor market in favor of Lebanese capital (Shen, 2017).

Syrian refugees who fled to Lebanon are living in urban areas and mostly in abandoned buildings in slum areas and in tent cities. As stated in the report of United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) (2013) addition to the general responsibilities of Lebanon municipalities in terms of service provision for Syrians since they are living out of camps, they are also attributed a mission of registration

¹¹ According to UNHCR sources, 197,084 Syrian refugees are living in Amman by 13 January 2019, which amounts to 29.4% of the total Syrian population in the country. <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/36>

of Syrians together with UNHCR and NGOs in Lebanon case. Syrians who are registered by municipalities could benefit from municipal aids and those assistance and other general responsibilities make municipalities need technical, financial and material support. Moreover, due to deficiencies in the registration system and lack of coordination among competent authorities involving municipalities, duplication in the provision of assistance is highly observed (p. 31). These deficiencies also result in a lack of knowledge of municipalities regarding the number of Syrians living in their borders. In addition to these, municipalities are experiencing the hardship of the Syrian influx due to the local conditions characterized by high unemployment rates, low income level, and inadequate infrastructure facilities. Considering the proportion of Syrian refugees to Lebanon population that amounts to approximately 16%, which means that nearly one out of six persons in the country is Syrian, conditions mentioned above place a burden on municipalities in terms of the tension between host communities and refugees.¹²

In Turkey, the number of Syrian urban refugees is on increase whereas the Syrian population living in Temporary Accommodation Centers (camps) is decreasing. As of the date of February 2019, there are thirteen Temporary Accommodation Centers in eight cities that are close to the Syrian border. The number of Syrian population living in Temporary Accommodation Centers corresponds to approximately 4% of the total Syrian refugee population in Turkey.

Temporary Protection Regulation (2014) allows Syrian refugees to settle in cities with Article 24. Cities that Syrians may reside in are not restricted with law, so

¹² In addition to the registered number of Syrian refugees in Lebanon, it is estimated that nearly 500.000 unregistered Syrian refugees are living in Lebanon. When nearly 500.000 non-Syrian refugees (most of them are Palestinian) are added to this number, it seems that one of every three persons in Lebanon is refugee (unrwa in figures, as of 1 January 2018). Retrieved on 24.02.2019 from https://www.unrwa.org/sites/default/files/content/resources/unrwa_in_figures_2018_eng_v1_31_1_2019_final.pdf

Syrians may live in one of 81 cities in Turkey. However, it does not mean a right to move freely inside the country. They are expected to register in Provincial Directorate of Migration Management (PDMM) of one city and get their Temporary Protection Identification Documents (TPID) from PDMM of that city. Syrian refugees may access the services defined by the Temporary Protection Regulation and may benefit from the local welfare system only in their city of registration. In addition, they have to get a travel document in order to travel to another city within the country. These documents are issued by PDMMs for acceptable excuses for a limited time period. In spite of such restrictions, the internal movements of Syrians among cities continue. Although a big proportion of Syrians are still living in Southeastern Anatolia cities, metropolitans from other regions of Turkey are placed among the first ten cities that host the largest Syrian population in Turkey.¹³ Moreover, İstanbul as the biggest city of Turkey comes first among these cities with 558,437 Syrians as of the date of 07.02.2019 (DGMM, 2019). Ankara, the place of the field study, also allows immigrants as the second biggest metropolitan of Turkey. Considering the distance of the city from border cities, settling in Ankara itself gives clues about the ongoing mobility of Syrian refugees and the network among them, which is effective in choosing Ankara to settle. The foremost reasons of this movement, which demonstrates a trend especially from the Southeastern Anatolia Region to Marmara and Aegean Regions and from border cities to metropolitan cities, are job opportunities, social networks within refugee communities and to transit to European countries for coastal cities (UCLG-MEWA, 2016, p. 14). These pull factors are also increasing the number of Syrians who are moving from camps to cities and are contributing to the Syrian refugee issue getting more urbanized.

¹³ Distribution of Syrians under Temporary Protection in First Ten Cities http://www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/25-gecici_koruma_kapsaminda_bulunan_suriyelilerin_ilk_10_ile_gore_dagilimi_07_02_2019.jpg

Urbanization of the refugee problem is closely related to its effects on urban resources, the local welfare system, and local governments. As urban Syrian refugees are living in the responsibility area of a municipality, municipalities have become one of the main parties in service provision to the refugees. For that reason, they play a role through providing services – or not providing services- in the local welfare arrangement of the refugees.

Although the rise in urban Syrian refugees has brought the role of municipalities on the agenda, indeterminacies and gaps in legal framework regarding the responsibilities of municipalities, which are mentioned above, creates different practices in their operation. Some municipalities take initiatives to broaden the scope of its services as including Syrian refugees mainly due to their justifications based on humanistic values and fellow citizenship, whereas others remain hesitant or unwilling to do this because of their concern about an audit of Court of Account by putting forward to emphasis on citizenship in Municipality Law.

Erdoğan's report on İstanbul municipalities (2017) argues that the problems that municipalities experience, their efforts to solve those problems, legal and administrative constraints of municipalities and coordination problems among responsible parties show similarity in almost every city (p. 117). For that reason, research findings on lack of coordination among departments of the municipality, among district municipalities and metropolitan municipalities, among district municipalities' themselves, among different institutions such as municipalities, governorship, district governorship, SASFs, Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Health and so on might be taken as common problems instead of specific ones in local service provision to urban Syrian refugees (Erdoğan, 2017, p. 120).

3.1.2 Legal Framework for Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Turkey has signed the Geneva Convention, which is the first comprehensive instrument of international refugee law, on 24th August 1951, ratified and put it into

force by publishing on the Official Gazette on 5th September 1961. Turkey is also a party to the Protocol but with a geographic limitation. According to this limitation, Turkey may only accept the persons as refugees only if they come to Turkey from member states of the Council of Europe to seek asylum.

The geographic limitation of Turkey has negatively affected the legal status of asylum seekers, thereby their protection conditions, in Turkey since most of them come from Middle Eastern and African countries. The spirit of the limitation has been preserved in the first national law regulating foreigners' stay in Turkey. 6458 Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) has entered into force by on 11th April 2013. As the first comprehensive legal regulation at the law level, it has prepared the legal ground for the establishment of Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) under the Ministry of Interior. LFIP describes four types of international protection: refugee, conditional refugee, subsidiary protection and temporary protection. In the definition of refugee, refugee definition in the Convention with geographical limitation has been included, whereas the term of conditional refugee applies the refugee definition to the events occurring outside of European countries. In addition, temporary protection is defined as to "be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection." (LFIP, 2013).

As it is seen, the term of the asylum seeker is not used anymore within the framework of LFIP, while before the law it has been used for the refugees coming from non-European countries (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 45). Instead, it has been replaced by the conditional refugee term. Moreover, the temporary protection definition in the Law has become the basis of the Temporary Protection Regulation which specifically regulates Syrians' stay in Turkey.

Temporary Protection Regulation was published on the Official Gazette on 22nd October 2014 based on Article 91 of 6458 LFIP. Actually, temporary protection

concept is not invented by Turkey, rather defined by UNHCR (2011) as a part of international refugee law. This concept is used for the short term emergent situations where people come to the border of another country with the mass influx and there is not an opportunity to determine their status individually because of the emergency conditions and huge numbers. When the first months of the Syrian war are considered, temporary protection definition might be seen explanatory for Syrian influx to Turkey due to political will and approach of the Turkish Government that Syrian war would end soon and Syrians would get back their countries. However, when the publishing date of the Regulation is taken into consideration, which corresponds to three years after the first influx, the limitations of the Regulation in itself appear. In the eighth year of the crisis, the number of Syrians in Turkey still increases and the situation is deeper and more permanent than to be explained with temporariness. In addition, while Temporary Protection Regulation is applied to Syrians living outside of camp as well as Syrians living in camps, it does not include any regulation about the involvement of Syrians in the labour market. Although living in urban areas on their own requires entering the labour market for survival and economic self-sufficiency, lack of such regulation paved the way for engaging in informal employment and illicit work. It brought severe abuse of rights in addition to working in conditions incompatible with human dignity. Regulation on Work Permit of Foreigners under Temporary Protection was published in January 2016, corresponding to the second year of Temporary Protection Regulation and fifth year of the first Syrian refugee influx to Turkey. The lateness of this legal regulation led the institutionalization of informal employment practices to some extent.

According to Article 11 of 5901 Turkish Citizenship Law (2009), one of the criteria to apply for acquiring Turkish citizenship is to be living in Turkey with the residence permit for five years without interruption. Syrians who came to Turkey at the beginning of the influx are living in this country for seven years now. This time period is even longer than the criterion that is sought for Turkish citizenship application. Nevertheless, according to Article 25 of the Temporary Protection

Regulation (2014), temporary protection could not be respected as a residence permit and does not allow Turkish citizenship applications. Besides citizenship, they are not even provided a permanent status. Instead, they have been provided temporary protection and when this temporary protection will end is still ambiguous.

Temporary Protection Regulation (2014) ranks services instead of rights stating that “foreigners under this Regulation may be provided with health, education, access to labour market, social assistance, interpretation and similar services” (Article 26). It is derived from this statement that Syrians are not definitely entitled to some rights and even those services but they might be provided those services. Although access to those services is based on legal regulation, as Landau (2017) suggests, the most influential tools to address – as well as not to address- the specific needs of the refugees remains political rather than legal (p. 165). Such uncertain statements in legal documents seem clear the way for this kind of political approach.

This service-based approach instead of a universalist rights-based one places Syrians in a needy position rather and it is closely related to perceiving Syrians as temporary guests. When Syrians accepted as temporary guests by the host community and service providers, then treatment, social acceptance, and service provision towards them become the subject of hospitality and hospitality level is closely linked to the duration of stay. As Landau (2017) argues, “SLOs’ (street level organizations) significant effects make them critical to understanding how law influences practice. In South Africa—where I have done my most detailed work—this approach entails recognizing how bureaucratic autonomy among national administrations generates enormous variation in practice across the country” (p.168). Starting from this point, the effects of the temporary protection regime in local service provision to Syrians are one of the objects of interest of this thesis.

Finally, in spite of the noncompatibility among international and national refugee law tools in terms of definition of the refugee, Syrians are mentioned as refugees in this thesis. The reason for that is, beyond political, economic and class motivations

of the definitions in any legal document, millions of Syrians have left their country, their houses, and jobs and maybe their family members behind and come to another country to seek asylum for substantially the same reasons with millions of other refugees in the world.

3.2 Institutional Mapping of Social Assistance Provision

As mentioned above, Syrians are entitled to neither have a citizenship status nor have permanent refugee status in Turkey. However, they continue somehow to be beneficiaries of the local welfare system. Considering the widespread vulnerabilities among Syrian refugees such as single parents, single women, disabled persons, serious medical conditions, children at risk and unmet basic needs, it seems that social assistance mechanisms are one of the important components of local welfare arrangements. Mingione and Oberti (2013) discuss local construction of the welfare system through three main sectors; the public sector, civil society and the market. Given the current scheme of social assistance mechanisms for Syrian refugees in Turkey, which are mainly applied through public institutions and non-governmental organizations; local governmental institutions, municipalities and civil society organizations will be the focus of this thesis in terms of service provision to Syrian refugees in social aids area.

The main responsible institution in the refugee field in Turkey has become the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) with its establishment through LFIP. Even if the main responsibilities about refugees are gathered in authority realm of DGMM, Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (DEMA) had been working as one of two main institutions in the field due to emergency and scope of the situation and its financially flexible structure (Erdoğan, 2017, p. 19). In spite of its contribution to the process during emergency management, dominant role of DEMA had been criticized since Syrians' staying in Turkey has become more than a temporary phenomenon, most of them have started

to live in urban areas and emergency situation is ended whereas social cohesion is started to be discussed (Erdoğan, 2017, p. 20).

Table 3

Institutional Mapping of Social Assistance

	Civil Society	Local Governments	Central Government
International	UN Agencies ECHO		
National	NGO HQ UN Agencies		Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (MoFLSS)
Local (City/District)	NGO Offices Religious Organizations	Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Altındağ Municipality	Provincial Directorates of Ministries Provincial Directorate of Migration Management Social Service Centers Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundations District Governorships
Local (Neighbourhood)	Religious Organizations		Mukhtars

As a result of these discussions and governmental policies, DGMM started to work as the main responsible party for all fields regarding Syrians under Temporary Protection, including operation of Temporary Accommodation Centers, from March 2018 onwards. The regulatory role of DEMA in service provision to Syrians under Temporary Protection was handed over by DGMM as well. Although originally in the Article 26/4 of Temporary Protection Regulation (2014), it was stated that “the services defined to be provided to the foreigners under temporary protection by relevant ministries and public institutions and organizations are conducted under coordination of Disaster and Emergency Management Authority”, this article was amended through Regulation on Amendment to Temporary Protection Regulation which was published in the Official Gazette on 16 March 2018. Coordinating authority was changed as DGMM through this amendment.

In terms of social services and assistance, the main responsible public authority in Turkey is the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services (MoFLSS). Social services provided to Syrians under Temporary Protection also remain in the responsibility area of MoFLSS. In Article 30 of Temporary Protection Regulation (2014) on social assistance and services, it is stated that “those among the foreigners under this Regulation, who are in need may be allowed access to social assistance within the scope of the Law No. 3294 on Encouraging Social Assistance and Solidarity of 29/5/1986 in accordance with procedures and principles to be determined by the Board of Encouraging Social Assistance and Solidarity Funding as indicated in Article 3 of the aforementioned Law”. It is followed by the statement that “access to social services by foreigners under this Regulation, who are in need, shall be granted pursuant to the procedures and principles determined by the Ministry and the Ministry of Family and Social Policies”.

This article seems complementary to the first article of the afore-mentioned Law on Encouraging Social Assistance and Solidarity (1984) stating that the aim of the Law includes assisting not only citizens in need but also people who came and accepted to Turkey for whatever reason. With reference to those articles, Social Assistance

and Solidarity Foundations are one of the responsible governmental institutions operating under district governorships. In addition, MoFLSS provides such services through its local branches called Social Service Centers based at the district level. In the districts where Social Service Center is not placed, Provincial Directorates of Family, Labor and Social Services carry out the same duties.

Although governmental institutions' responsibilities are somehow addressed in Temporary Protection Regulation, municipalities' available services are not clearly defined. Most of the Syrians are living in urban settings in the service area of a municipality, however, there is not a clear cut assignment for municipalities in any legal document. Instead, municipalities' authority and responsibility area are derived through the interpretation of specific statements in 6458 Law on Foreigners and International Protection and 5393 Municipality Law (Erdoğan, 2017).

In 6458 Law on Foreigners and International Protection (2013), local governments are only referred in two articles together with other institutions and organizations and they do not include assignment of any specific duties and responsibilities (Article 96 and 104).

In the 5393 Municipality Law, there are two different concepts that are used for defining the people who can benefit from the services in relation to their legal status and position to the municipality: Fellow citizenship and citizenship. In Article 13 of Municipality Law (2005), it is stated that:

Everyone is a fellow-citizen of the county which he lives in. The fellow-citizens shall be entitled to participate in the decisions and services of the municipality, to acquire knowledge about the municipal activities and to benefit from the aids of the municipal administration. It is a basic principle to extend aid without hurting human feelings.

Although Article 13 defines the people who are entitled to benefit from municipalities' services, including aids, as the people who are living in the same

municipal area, sharing the same living space, Article 14 (2005) emphasizes on citizens:

The municipal services shall be rendered in the most appropriate manner at the places nearest to the citizens. It is a basic principle to adopt a procedure most suitable for the disabled and old people as well as for those in destitute and with limited income.

These two different statements in the law create a contradiction about the role and responsibilities of municipalities in terms of service provision to the refugees and lead to different approaches and practices by municipalities (Erdoğan, 2017, p. 41).

As demonstrated in Figure 1, this general framework about the responsible institutions in service provision to Syrian refugees is also valid in Ankara Altındağ context. Besides the assigned duties of Social Service Center and Social Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation and similar contradictions and hesitations of the municipalities, non-governmental organizations are widely seen in the field. Moreover, in addition to the religious organizations approaching Syrian refugees on the axis of Islam nation, the biggest non-governmental organization that claims to provide rights-based services has been included in the mapping, as well as in the field study. In the neighbourhood level, mukhtars have been placed in the table due to their consulting, mediating and allocative role in the participation of Syrian refugees in the local welfare system. This mapping has been applied while determining the actors to be included in the field study in Altındağ context. In addition to the outstanding three sectors, which are namely governmental institutions, local governments, and non-governmental organizations, mukhtars are also involved in the field study as an indirect source of information regarding the situation in the interface area between the service providers and service recipients.

3.3 Field Study

In the scope of this thesis, local service provision to Syrian refugees and Syrian refugees' access to local services is aimed to be understood by looking at the

interaction area between the service provider and the service recipient. Through revealing the main actors in the local welfare system, Altındağ was determined as the field of the study as the unique district of Ankara that hosts more than half of Syrian refugees living in the city. Further discussions on how the study field was determined and how the research was designed are included under the following subheadings.

3.3.1 Choosing the Study Area: Context of Altındağ

As the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey increases and their internal movement to metropolitan cities for seeking a better life continues, Ankara gets its share from this trend. Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, hosts 90.751 Syrians as of the date of 11.04.2019, which amounts to 1,65% of the total Ankara population.¹⁴ Although Syrians' settlement in Ankara demonstrates a scattered pattern, more than half of the Syrian population is still concentrated in Altındağ district. Approximately 48.000¹⁵ registered Syrians are living in Altındağ and it corresponds to nearly 13% of the total Altındağ population. It is accepted that when a refugee population reaches 3% of the total population it leads to problems about resources, whereas the proportion of 10% is a more critical verge for administrative units to deal with managing the process properly (Erdoğan, 2017). In line with this argument, in the places where the Syrian population remains lower than 10% of the total population, local authorities might be reluctant to respond to the situation with an emergency approach. For that reason, in the scope of the field study of this thesis, Altındağ district is determined as the study area in order to reveal responses of local actors to the Syrian refugee population with a 13% proportion and coordination among them.

¹⁴ DGMM Migration Statistics, Temporary Protection, retrieved from http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713_icerik

¹⁵ <https://www.baskentgazete.com.tr/siyaset/siyaset-ankaradaki-suriyeli-sayisi-bazi-illerin-nufusundan-fazla/haber-11021>

Altındağ, located in the northeastern part of Ankara, started to develop faster when Ankara was claimed to be the capital city and gained district status in 1953. The main economic sector in the district is the furniture industry concentrated in the quarter called “Siteler”. Siteler characterizes especially the surrounding area composed of neighbourhoods such as Önder, Ulubey, Battalgazi, Hacılar. Siteler workers usually reside in these neighbourhoods. In addition, residents of this region are generally in a more disadvantageous position socio-economically including vulnerabilities such as low education levels, disability, chronic illnesses, single parents, child labour, juvenile pushed to crime, and high unemployment rates. Negative coping strategies are commonly encountered for that reason. Most of the households have no income or make their living with one salary at the level of the minimum wage. In the case of Syrians, this level is even lower in almost every case.



Figure 1 Siteler and Surrounding Neighbourhoods

(Source: Google Earth, 2019)

The region, as a slum area, is also included in the scope of urban transformation projects which are first started in Altındağ in 2005 and have continued increasingly. Some of the houses were already replaced by apartment buildings, some of them were demolished but not rebuilt yet and some still waits for demolishment. These

features of the region neighbouring Siteler quarter have become influential on Syrians' settlement in this place.

The existence of such an important and large industry and urban transformation agenda can be considered as the two main pull factors that become prominent for Syrians' settlement. Although there are many Syrian households in which no one is engaged in an income generative activity because of vulnerabilities such as single parent and disability, the majority of the employed Syrians are working in Siteler, mostly without a work permit. Employers' searching for cheap labor becomes an "opportunity" to find a precarious and illicit work for Syrians. For some vulnerable cases, workplaces even become a shelter for workers, which might put their lives in danger due to insecure conditions. In addition to the furniture industry, other outstanding income generative activities of both Syrians and the local community is collecting paper and solid waste. Moreover, neighbouring area of Siteler that is under urban transformation becomes prominent as the second pull factor. It is stated by mukhtars, tradesmen and local community that the population of this region had decreased before Syrians came due to the coming demolishment process. Most of the shanty houses had already been abandoned by the local community to be demolished. Those houses with quite unhealthy conditions and low access to infrastructural facilities became shelters for Syrians when they moved to Ankara. The abandoned houses were rented to Syrians and this was perceived as an opportunity by landlords. Moreover, due to the fact that Syrians might face discrimination when seeking a rental house, the specific condition of this region as a result of the urban transformation agenda caused finding a house for Syrians relatively more easily and cheaper. As the number of Syrians moving to the district increases, abandoned parts of these neighbourhoods began to transform into a lively place both socially and economically. Evacuated shops have been rented by Syrians in time to be served as grocery, restaurant, bakery, etc. and the number of Syrian tradesmen has increased. It has been experienced a kind of recovery in economic and daily life through this process. Moreover, the preserved –and even increasing–

number of Syrian refugees in the region indicates the occurrence of a kind of dependency relation to the place in relation to those pull factors.

These two pull factors have proceeded in line with the strong network and information flow among Syrian refugees. In the case of Altındağ, it has been experienced that those two factors have been spread rapidly among Syrian refugees by the ones who have already been living there and shaped the settlement places of newcomers accordingly. Eventually, it is seen that Syrian refugees living in this region are generally coming from Aleppo and some of them are even former neighbors in Aleppo. This quarter, and especially Önder neighbourhood, is called as “little Aleppo” both by the Syrian residents and host community members for that reason.

3.3.2 Research Design

The writer of this thesis has been working in the refugee field in an NGO for more than three years in a managerial position that requires frequent interactions with the service providers in the local environment and regular supervision to the staff members who are in daily interaction with refugees. Experiencing and observing the problems in local service provision sourced from coordination among local service providers and approaches of them towards refugees and the dynamic and reciprocal relation between the street level bureaucrats and those two factors, the researcher has decided to focus on the current situation of local welfare system in relation to Syrian refugees living in Altındağ district, how those services and coordination among related institutions and organizations are perceived and interpreted by the street level bureaucrats of those entities and how attitudes of street level bureaucrats play a role in this situation.

Starting from the definition of the local welfare system, which emphasizes on the dynamism of construction process of the local welfare with the inclusion of public or nonpublic actors shaped by different social, economic and cultural conditions,

state-market-civil society interrelations has come to the forefront in the first instance (Mingione & Oberti, 2003). However, the second dimension, the market, is not involved in this research since the local welfare policies are decided to be handled on the basis of social services and assistance aspect. State institutions, the main responsible actors as indicated in Temporary Protection Regulation, are included in the field research. Both local organizations of most related central governmental institutions and local governments are addressed in that regard. In this scope, four actors are approached; namely, Social Service Center (SSC), the district level branch of Ministry of Family, Labour and Social Services (MoFLSS), operating under PDoFLSS, Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SASF) operating under District Governorship, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, and Altındağ Municipality. In total, six street level bureaucrats from governmental institutions who are in charge of interviewing with the applicants and conducting social study visits to their houses have been interviewed. In the case of municipalities, departments of social services were approached because of the fact that there is not a separate unit of both municipalities on the migration issue. It has been already known by the researcher from the field experience that Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has a Social Assistance Center in charge of accepting applications for in-kind assistance and conducting house visits. It is placed in Osmanlı Business Center in Etlik which is referred by the refugees just as Osmanlı Business Center due to its address. This center has been visited for the purpose of interviewing with the street level bureaucrats here, however, it could not be possible since authorization from the Municipality's Head of Department of Social Services is required. Authorization was only given for interviewing with the social workers working in this department in the main building of the Municipality. Two personnel have been interviewed in this scope. Although they are mainly working in policy development, coordination of services and improvement of service models, they are former social workers and have still direct ties with the field and they participate in social study visits sometimes. However, Osmanlı Business Center could not be included in the field research in spite of all efforts. In Altındağ Municipality, two

managers and one field worker from Altınay, the social assistance unit of the Municipality, have been interviewed. In terms of state institutions dimension of the field study, workload density for the governmental organizations and absence of a separate unit on migration and the low number of relevant staff members have occurred as the limitations of the research since it has posed an obstacle to increasing the number of the key informants. As a result of this limitation, mukhtars of the neighbourhoods which are densely populated by Syrian refugees in Altındağ district also have been involved in research design in order to learn more about the local context of welfare provision and services of above mentioned local actors. Muhtars of Önder, Ulubey, Battalgazi and Sol Fa Sol neighbourhoods have been interviewed within this framework.

As the third dimension, civil society is included in the research design due to their increasing role in local welfare construction as a result of the decentralization process including fragmentation and diversification in local actors in social service provision. Especially in the context of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey, it can be argued that emergency conditions have led a boom in the number of civil society organization operating in this field and a huge spread in extensity of the existing ones. Most of the governmental institutions were caught unprepared to the mass influx and following emergency conditions due to the common perception of the Government of Turkey that the refugee influx would end soon and they would come back to their country since the civil war in Syria would end in a close future. Resource and capacity related deficiencies of public institutions have provided a ground for the growth of the civil society sector. Moreover, international fund flow to Turkey in order to contribute to the management of this emergency situation, like the compensation of the principle of responsibilities of states and share of burden among them according to international refugee law, has contributed to the growth of this sector. As a result, non-governmental organizations have become one of the main actors in the field despite several tensions with governmental authorities and institutions. In total, eight workers from an NGO operating in the refugee field on

the widest scale in Turkey. Due to the staff members' heavy caseload and limited time to allocate for interviews accordingly, interviews have been realized as two focus groups each composed of four persons.

The field study has been based on a qualitative research method. Data was collected through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions as mentioned with a semi-structured set of questions. In some of the institutions, the observation technique was also applied. Focus group discussion, as one of the qualitative data collection techniques, was only applied in NGO taking into consideration the more flexible working environment in terms of expression of thoughts in a group. Moreover, in spite of several common experiences and reflections, this technique has paved the way for the appearance of different perspectives as argued by Millward (2000):

The assumption is that people will become more aware of their own perspective when confronted with active disagreement and be prompted to analyse their views more intensely than during the individual interview. Attempts to resolve differences are one of several mechanisms whereby participants build comprehensive accounts to explain their various experiences, beliefs, attitudes, feelings, values and behaviours (p. 307).

As the research strategy, retroductive approach was adopted. In order to go beyond what is observed and to explain it, "creative imagination and analogy to work back from data to an explanation" was applied (Blaikie, 2000, p. 25). Thus, common pre-assumptions regarding institutional-side problems in Syrian refugees' articulation to the local welfare system and role of street level bureaucrats in that regard were examined via reciprocating between the observed and the explanation in order to discover the underlying mechanisms and to answer both *why* and *what* questions. Moreover, since the Syrian refugee policy in Turkey is highly politicized and approaches of service providers towards Syrian refugees might play a determining role in their access to services, discourses of street level bureaucrats who have been interviewed were needed to be analyzed. Therefore, an abductive research strategy, as complementary to the retroductive, was applied since those actors' reality, and

“the way they have constructed and interpreted their activities together, is embedded in their language” (Blaikie, 2000, p. 25).

Table 4

List of the Key Informants

Codes of the Key Informants	Position	Type of the Institution	Method of Data Collection
Informant 1 (I1)	Social Worker/Supervisor/Policy Development	Metropolitan Municipality	Interview
Informant 2 (I2)	Local Manager in Social Services Department	District Municipality	Interview
Informant 3 (I3)	Mukhtar	-	Interview
Informant 4 (I4)	Mukhtar	-	Interview
Informant 5 (I5)	Mukhtar	-	Interview
Informant 6 (I6)	Social Worker	NGO	FGD
Informant 7 (I7)	Social Worker/Supervisor	Governmental Institution	Interview
Informant 8 (I8)	Social Worker/Conducting Interviews with Syrians	Governmental Institution	Interview
Informant 9 (I9)	Social Worker	NGO	FGD
Informant 10 (I10)	Social Worker	NGO	FGD
Informant 11 (I11)	Social Worker	NGO	FGD
Informant 12 (I12)	Social Worker	NGO	FGD
Informant 13 (I13)	Health Educator	NGO	FGD
Informant 14 (I14)	Social Worker	NGO	FGD
Informant 15 (I15)	Social Worker	NGO	FGD
Informant 16 (I16)	Social Worker	Governmental Institution	Interview
Informant 17 (I17)	Social Worker/Local Manager	Governmental Institution	Interview
Informant 18 (I18)	Psychologist	District Municipality	Interview
Informant 19 (I19)	Social Worker/Conducting Social Investigation for Syrians	Governmental Institution	Interview
Informant 20 (I20)	Local Manager in Social Services Department	District Municipality	Interview

Table 4 (continued)

Informant 21 (I21)	Social Worker/First Application	Governmental Institution	Interview
Informant 22 (I22)	Mukhtar	-	Interview

The set of questions was prepared based on the previous observations of the researcher and based on the basic indicators related to the literature on street-level bureaucracy, local welfare, and urban refugee studies. It includes the introductory questions about the operation field of the institution or organization they have been working for, their position in institutional structure, services they provide in general and to Syrian refugees. These questions are followed by the ones to know more about the profile of Syrian applicants and the services the Syrians apply for the most. The key informants are then asked about their comment on the legal framework that shapes their service provision to Syrian refugees and on local welfare policies in Altındağ as well as approaches and services of other institutions' to Syrians. The rest of the questions are much more concentrated on their working environment, how they perceive it in relation to their working position where the supply and the demand confront. Information on their workload and its effect on the quality of the services, hardships, and dilemmas they experience in service provision to Syrian refugees, coping mechanisms and routines they develop during the job individually or collectively, and level and types of discretion they exercise while performing their tasks were meant to be obtained towards these questions. In addition, in order to get information on local welfare policies indirectly, mukhtars were asked about Syrians' demand from different institutions, the institutions they can or cannot reach, where they apply alternatively for the services they cannot reach from those institutions and the mediators in their access to the institutions and the services.

In summary, since the Syrian refugees in Turkey can be characterized as urban refugees due to their dense settlement in urban areas rather than camps, understanding their participation in the local welfare system has occurred as a

research motivation. Moreover, their ongoing mobility inside of the country because of several pull and push factors as in Altındağ example makes the Syrian refugee phenomenon a concern for the actors of the local welfare system. As involved in the field study, this concern was expected to affect these local actors in the direction of taking actions accordingly or ignoring their responsibility. As discussed in the context of the legal framework, given the lack of permanent status for Syrian refugees in Turkey and ambiguities about rights and services, comprehensiveness of the services is expected to decrease as the fragmented structure of local welfare provision becomes apparent and the need for cooperation among those actors increases. Accordingly, attitudes and perceptions of the street level bureaucrats are expected to be more determinative in this environment with uncertainties and temporariness. The findings of the field study are shared in the following chapter in order to reveal the situation in Altındağ context on the basis of the mentioned presumptions.

CHAPTER 4

FIELD STUDY: PROVISION OF LOCAL WELFARE SERVICES IN ALTINDAĞ

In this chapter, the information reached through the field study that includes interviews and focus group discussions with the informants from governmental institutions, local governments and a non-governmental organization that are operating in Altındağ district is addressed and analyzed. Based on the analysis of the sharing and discussions during the interviews and focus group meetings, findings of the field study are basically grouped under two main topics, which focus on the overall situation of the local welfare provision to Syrian refugees in Altındağ on the one hand, and experiences of the street level bureaucrats and their responses on the other hand. In the scope of the first topic, service areas of the institutions and organization included in the research and Syrian refugees' access to those services and legislation that frames the service provision to the Syrian refugees are elaborated on. In addition, the overall situation in local welfare system during service provision to Syrian refugees is discussed with reference to the prominent issues on the effects of legislation and state policies about Syrian refugees on welfare provision and coordination among local actors. In the second part of the chapter, the replacement of the rights based approach by the needs based one and difficulties and dilemmas of the street level bureaucrats in relation to their heavy caseload, limited resources, and human side of their work are handled.

4.1 Local Welfare System in Altındağ in the Context of Syrian Refugees

In this part of the study, overall situation in social assistance provision to Syrian refugees in Altındağ and evaluations about the policies, the legal framework and the coordination with other actors in the field are presented from the eyes of the street level bureaucrats who have participated in the field study and discussed accordingly.

4.1.1 General Service Areas and the Services that Syrian Refugees Might Access

The social service areas of the institutions and organizations included in the field study vary in a wide range. To begin with Social Service Center (SSC) operating under PDoFLSS, social and economic assistance are split into two as temporary and periodical. Temporary assistance is provided in cases of dramatic changes in family lives in order to support them for compensating the negative and sudden effects of that change generally for once. Periodical assistance, on the other hand, seems the main social assistance type which is called Social and Economic Support (SES). It begins with a one-year period and is extended according to the evaluation in further social investigation reports. It is provided based on the school-age children in the family and delivered to the mother. It generally grounds on preserving family unity. Although Syrian refugees might also benefit from these assistances, it is recently experienced that Syrians who benefit from Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) assistance, which will be mentioned below, cannot benefit from SES anymore. Moreover, disability home care pension is also not provided to Syrians for nearly more than one year. Other protection services of the center especially on children and women are accessible for all persons residing in their working region regardless of their legal status.

Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation (SASF) under District Governorship, on the other hand, provides services in the areas of cash and food assistance, accommodation assistance, fuel allowance, conditional education, health and pregnancy assistance, pensions for vulnerable groups such as disabled people, single women and parents, soldier families in need, etc. The primary service of the SASFs for Syrian refugees is ESSN assistance, which is also referred as Social Cohesion Assistance or Kızılay (Turkish Red Crescent) Card assistance both by the service providers and the refugees. It is a cash assistance program targeting Syrians in need on the basis of several vulnerability criteria. The card consists of a total amount calculated by considering 120 TRY for each family member on a monthly basis.

This program has been started in partnership with the European Union and Government of Turkey, funded by the European Union, and implemented by the World Food Programme (WFP) and Turkish Red Crescent (TRC). Following ESSN assistance, Conditional Education Assistance that is applied through SASFs and funded by the European Union is the second assistance type that Syrians might benefit from SASFs' services. The key informants from Altındağ SASF stated during the interviews that Syrian refugees might apply for other assistance of the SASF only if they do not benefit from ESSN, but they could not apply for disability allowance. However, as a result of a new component of ESSN in the last months, Syrian refugees have started to benefit from disability pension amounts of 600 TRY that is put in their cards in addition to ESSN assistance. The main criterion for this assistance is having a disability health report demonstrating that the person's disability rate is higher than 40%.

The key informants from the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality highlight that municipality services are open to the access of Syrian refugees. Underlying the flexibility and localness of the municipalities' services, informant 1 (I1) tells about service provision to Syrians that:

We are providing services locally in line with the needs. Unlike SSCs' and SASFs' services which are implemented somehow in equal patterns in all over Turkey, services of municipalities are diversified. For example, we identified in Ankara that communication problem has arisen between Turkish and Syrian children when Syrian children were involved in Turkish education system. We have opened Turkish courses for that reason. Moreover, when we observed deficiencies in Syrians' adaptation in social life, we have developed new service models through Family Wellness Centers and Youth Centers, whereas Şanlıurfa and Gaziantep Municipalities developed services heavily on basic needs such as food and shelter as a result of their local conditions (Social Worker, the Metropolitan Municipality).

In addition to those services, the main services of the Municipality in terms of social assistance are provided via Social Assistance Center in Osmanlı Business Center. Those assistances are reported as food and coal aid, daily bread aid, clothing support, and rarely household goods and accommodation support for the ones who

are in more critical conditions. It is stated that Syrians have been included in this assistance system. Their eligibility for the assistance is evaluated according to criteria that are the same as for Turkish citizens. Demographic and economic conditions of the families are reached through the online system they use and house visits for social investigation are held just to confirm that information. Moreover, home care services and demands for wheelchair are reported as open to the application of Syrians as long as they meet certain criteria.

As different from the interviews in Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, in the interviews in Altındağ Municipality, services and assistance for Syrians have not been very clarified. There has been even an uncertainty about the inclusion of Syrians in the Municipality's service area. Informant 2 (I2) stated in that regard that:

Altındağ Municipality has no service for or studies about Syrian refugees. This issue is not in the working area of municipalities, instead, it falls under MoFLSS's scope of authority (Local Manager, the District Municipality).

This claim is an answer to some extent to the first measure of six developed by Blaser and Landau (2016) in order to evaluate the municipalities' ability to respond the human mobility and other population dynamics (p. 35). This first measure is oriented to evaluate whether the municipality perceives human mobility in its area of responsibility and acknowledges that it should interfere in this area. This measure also constitutes the ground for the other five categories designed since the further steps rest on the recognition of this responsibility or not. In the statement of I2 from the district municipality, it was explicitly expressed that the municipality refuses to respond to the presence of Syrian refugees which has reached the rate of 13% of the total population in the district. This statement was followed by the requirement that:

Altındağ Municipality reports that it has not any activity about Syrians in official correspondences, because unless the reverse is stated, it would be interrogated a lot. In fact, there is some in-kind assistance that is provided to Syrians, however, these are grant aids. There is nothing lessen from the box of the Municipality. Because if you spend from the Municipality's budget, you will seem in debt in the audit by the Court of Accounts. Even if you will

pay this debt, a criminal case will be initiated against you due to malpractice (Local Manager, the District Municipality).

While the informant from the municipality first declared that they do not offer any services to Syrians, in the following minutes he implied that it was a strategic answer due to their hesitations about the audit procedure. However, the limited social services offered to the Syrians do not still mean that the municipality accepts Syrian refugees as falling into their remit. Instead, this responsibility was clearly defined with reference to the MoFLSS. It was derived in that sense that the assistance is provided in the scope of a kind of a social responsibility reaction rather than a systematic policy plan. For that reason, the drawbacks mentioned above are interpreted as the result of the perception that service provision to Syrians by municipalities risks accountability of them since this is not their task.

Altındağ Municipality provides this restricted assistance through their assistance unit called Altnay. This unit gets the applications first. Then, upon house visits for social investigation, applications are considered. Other key informants from the municipality stated that Syrians might benefit from in-kind assistance provided by this unit theoretically. They also underlined that the majority of their applicants are families of martyrs and war veterans since they prioritize those families. Application rules for Turkish citizens are stated also to be applied to Syrians in the same manner.

The NGO that is involved in this field study mainly provides its services in the areas of protection, psychosocial support, language and skill-building courses, social cohesion activities and emergency assistance. Emergency assistance such as food allowance, accommodation, and rental assistance, cash assistance, and transportation assistance are generally applied as a complementary instrument to protection activities and one-time in principle. It is aimed to support vulnerable refugees for a short term period in emergency conditions in order to contribute to the empowerment of them until finding a more sustainable solution via their own resources and related public institutions.

When mukhtars of the neighbourhoods in which Syrian refugees densely reside in Altındağ are asked about the social assistance that Syrian refugees benefit, the first ones that come into mind are ESSN from SASF and food and coal aid from Metropolitan Municipality. Moreover, there is a general observation about the Altındağ Municipality's lack of services for Syrians. It is also underlined by the mukhtars that Syrians are benefitting from several assistances from several institutions and organizations including religious organizations. Their perception that most Syrians are able to access many assistance mechanisms seems as overcritical in some cases:

Syrians are enjoying exactly the same rights with Turkish citizens, and even more than them. Because there is no query or question to them (Informant 3 (I3), Mukhtar).

Although the key informants from institutions and organizations specifically underlined the certain criteria about eligibility for some of the services, mukhtars' approaches are more likely to ignore those criteria and to criticize the services and assistance provided to Syrians for being unconditional. This criticism is accompanied by their arguments about Syrian refugees' refusal of other public services and to integrate into the social life, despite all services and assistance offered to them:

There is no inspection to the shops of the Syrians. They do not pay tax. Besides, their shops are not hygienic at all. (...) They do not take vaccination campaign teams in. The state has accepted them in, but they refuse the service that is brought by the state to their doorstep (I3, Mukhtar).

They do not care about the municipality's sanitation services and they cause environmental and neighbourhood pollution (Informant 4 (I4), Mukhtar).

They do not pay tax for their shops even if they have enough money to pay key money that amounts to forty-fifty thousand Turkish Liras for those shops. (...) The reason for children's not going to school is their mischievousness (Informant 5 (I5), Mukhtar).

It is commonly observed during the interviews with mukhtars that when they are asked about the services reached by the Syrians, they particularly emphasize the

services denied by them and the obligations that they do not fulfil without urging upon the question asked. This is followed by their negative, and angry from time to time, reactions on the subjects that they think Syrian refugees are positively discriminated against when compared to Turkish citizens.

4.1.2 The Service Types Applied the Most by Syrian Refugees

All key informants without any exceptions stated that Syrians approach their institutions the most for financial assistance requests. The form of this assistance changes depending on the service scale of that institution. For example, it might be a demand for food cheque in case of Altındağ Municipality or Social and Economic Support in case of Social Service Center. It is even emphasized by one of the mukhtars (I4), with the implication of self-seeking of Syrians, that what Syrians demand from an institution is the thing they know they can get from there. Informant 6 (I6) argues the demanding behavioral pattern of the Syrian refugees in the context of policies towards them:

The most important factor that affects us negatively in service provision is the public policies and approach towards Syrian refugees. The perception that the most important need of the Syrians is financial support and that overlook the need for empowerment have encouraged Syrians, some of whom are living in Turkey for nearly eight years now, to take a more demanding position in terms of financial assistance. It has highly influenced our beneficiary profile. There is a huge everlasting demand for financial support (NGO, Social Worker).

Although for the governmental institutions and local governments, economic demand is almost the only approaching reason of Syrians, this first and foremost reason is followed by the needs for counseling about access to health services, psychological support, legal support, counseling for the victims of sexual and gender based violence and peer bullying in applications to NGOs. However, NGO staff have added their dissatisfaction with the low application and participant rates in some of their services such as LGBTI counseling, awareness raising activities, and

psychosocial support activities for male adults, adolescents, and victims of early marriages.

4.1.3 Evaluation and Interpretation of Legal Framework about Service Provision to Syrian Refugees

The fundamental legal foundation of service provision to Syrians in Turkey is Temporary Protection Regulation enacted based on Law on Foreigners and International Protection. When the key informants were asked about their evaluation regarding the legal framework in which they offer services to Syrians, they were mainly requested to interpret Temporary Protection Regulation, as well as other main laws and regulations regulating the institutions' services.

Upon the answers to this question, it is observed to a high degree that, unlike NGO staff, the staff of local governments and other governmental institutions does know very little about Temporary Protection Regulation with few exceptions. One of the key informants from local governments (I2) even referred TPR as “the law enacted by the Prime Ministry that states we should look after Syrians”. Moreover, one of the social workers from governmental institutions, informant 7 (I7), stated that she finds the laws and regulations about Syrians very feasible although she does not know specifically about TPR and refers to all laws and regulations as a whole based on the implementations observed. It was added by the same informant that there is positive discrimination for the Syrians and rules are more flexible for Syrians when compared to Turkish citizens. The lack of information of staff about the legal framework and rights of Syrians was even emphasized by one of the social workers, informant 8 (I8):

Personnel that is working in this field does not know from where the Syrians receive aid and based on what. They even do not know that the financial resources of those aids are coming from overseas funds and give a reaction as if they are spent from the state budget. In some institutions, some staff members try to hinder aids for Syrians for that reason (Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

As stated by the social worker I8 from a governmental organization, it has been derived during the interviews that services that are offered to Syrian refugees are evaluated on the basis of an abstract general policy instead of the international and national legal framework that define the rights and guarantee the services. The reason for this has been observed as grounding on the deficiency of knowledge or misinformation on a legal basis. When the services provided are not based on the international and national legal responsibilities of the state, they are approached as the favour of the state regardless of human and refugee rights. This situation might lead to an anti-foreigner attitude for that reason. Additionally, it is ironic that this attitude has been even observed in the interviews with the street level bureaucrats who assert that their institution does not provide services for Syrians or provide just being stick to the certain eligibility criteria.

NGO staff, on the other hand, have a comprehensive knowledge of TPR and they made their statements in a more critical manner. In both focus group discussions, before mentioning specific articles of the Regulation, the key informants started with the discussion on the spirit of the Regulation and its emphasis on temporariness.

We should start with the name of Regulation, which is “temporary”. This “temporary” status is temporary in its name and its being able to be repealed through cabinet decree demonstrates that Turkey has not a long term policy towards Syrian refugees and its current policies do not rely on the permanent ground. Moreover, the enactment of this Regulation is not a result of a general policy, because Turkey has been already getting external migration before but the enactment of the Regulation was enacted just when things go wrong in the Syria crisis (Informant 9 (I9), Social Worker, NGO).

Informant 10 (I10) from the NGO handled this discussion on temporariness in the context of its reflection on Syrian refugees in terms of psychological effects, feeling of confidence about their future and discriminative behaviours towards them risking enjoying their rights and access to services:

We are offering our services based on Article 91 of LFIP, however, uncertainties about TPR such as duration of stay in Turkey, when temporary protection will end, and repeal via cabinet decree make the persons of concern very worried about their future, cause serious problems about their stay in Turkey, and affect social cohesion negatively (Social Worker, NGO).

In the context of local governments, uncertainty about the legal basis of their services was mentioned by the key informants. It was highlighted that the municipalities do not know about their scope of authority in that regard and they adopt a protectionist attitude in that regard both for themselves and for their institution. It causes some problems and contradictions in service provision to Syrians as stated by an informant (I1) from the Metropolitan Municipality:

As local governments, we are subject to the audit by the Court of Accounts. If a Syrian does not have an ID number and not registered in the system, then the assistance we have delivered to that person would become our concern in the audit. (...) If they do not have a foreigner ID card, we cannot provide assistance at all. However, even if they have an ID number starting with 99, it does not help us to overcome the problems by oneself. (...) (In terms of in-kind assistance) If Syrians have an ID number, then it does not create a problem in the audit, however, in terms of in-cash assistance, local governments are tied in hand and foot. The institutions that are in charge of in-cash assistance are determined by the state as MoFLSS and SASFs, not the municipalities.

Although it is derived from the statement a clarity in terms of cash assistance, there are still contradictory statements about providing other services to the Syrians even with the identification number starting with 99 that is appointed to the foreigners by the state. These expressed concerns are very similar to the ones coming from the municipalities in İstanbul that are highly populated by Syrian refugees (Erdoğan, 2017). Although the willingness of municipalities to include Syrians in their service area, their creativity to find out alternative ways and resources to provide services to Syrians and their courage to offer wider scope of services in spite of all risks may differ from municipality to municipality, it seems that the hesitations about service provision to Syrians are common among municipalities due to lack of a clear legislation that determines authorities and obligations of them.

4.1.4 Evaluation and Interpretation of Overall Local Welfare Policies towards Syrian Refugees in Altındağ

The institutions and organizations that are included in this field study are the main actors in the local welfare system in Altındağ. As the components of this system, actively or inactively, street level bureaucrats of these institutions and organizations, who have the knowledge and experience of services of other institutions and who work in the positions getting and making external referrals, were asked to evaluate the local welfare policies in the district in general as the agents inside of this system. It has been experienced that although there are some distinctive evaluations and comments on the local welfare provision, most of them are concentrated on some common topics.

4.1.4.1 Effects of Relevant Legislation and State Policies on Local Welfare System

The weakness of the legal basis, which is basically sourced from the spirit of the Regulation regarding temporariness of the legal status it provides and not offering a durable solution, leads to uncertainties in implementations of relevant local service providers. Acknowledging the disjuncture between law and practice, as Landau (2006) argues with reference to South Africa context, “legal protection can only be effective in ‘legalized’ environments where law structures the behaviour of the civil servants and citizens who are the gatekeepers to employment, housing, security, and social services” (p. 309).

Similarly, in Turkey, it seems that law structures the behaviour of street level bureaucrats indirectly through providing an ambiguous ground for service provision. In spite of having legal documentation, it is observed that the quality and the scope of this documentation undermine the obligations of the state. Services to be provided to Syrians in the scope of temporary protection are not defined in the context of the state’s obligation but rather as a matter of probability. This ambiguous

policy seems going hand in hand with the macro level political discourse on Syrian refugees, which oscillates on the axis of hospitality and hostility (Altıok & Tosun, 2018). When the relation between the refugees and the host country is approached through applying the key term of hospitality, defining the parties as guests and landlords or as *ensar* and *muhajir*, then the conditions of this stay are determined by the hospitality level of the landlord. Moreover, when the uncertainty about the legal status and the political discourse which is far from a rights based one are combined, there might occur some problematic issues that are overlooked by the state such as child labour and illicit work (Altıok & Tosun, 2018). In spite of legal regulations about preventing child labour and entry of Syrian refugees to the labour market, ambiguous political agenda restrains further protection about related rights and services.

In relation to this, an interviewee from the NGO, informant 9 (I9), underlined the Regulation's ambiguity to ensure enjoying the basic rights stating that "although education is a basic right, we have difficulties to support beneficiaries in access to education services since rights and services are not clearly defined and protected by the Regulation". I11 supported this argument adding that:

TPR is not a comprehensive document. It does not provide sufficient protection for Syrian refugees because of the legal status it entitles. For example, it is stated that they can benefit from the health services and access to the labour market but it is not detailed in what ways and through which mechanisms it would be (Social Worker, NGO).

Therefore, the statements in the Regulation are argued to remain intangible to an extent and lack of a permanent legal status weakens the protection conditions which are mainly determined by the services defined in the Regulation. For instance, as stated by another informant from the NGO, informant 13 (I13), Syrian refugees have access to primary healthcare in principle, however, in practice, they cannot benefit from community health centers that are in the closest distance to the place they live in. They are, instead, referred to a few certain migrant health centers and it decreases the accessibility of this local service.

In addition, some of the key informants argued that the practices in service provision fall even behind the services defined in the Regulation since relevant institutions do not have sufficient infrastructural and human resources capacity. In the scope of this argument, which is not easy to separate from the first one in some instances, access to the services defined is argued not to be ensured due to the deficiencies in the necessary infrastructure. Informant I6 from the NGO put forward in that sense that:

Access education and health services are recognized, however, the cost of special education is not covered by the state differently from the situation in the case of Turkish citizens. For that reason, it is a matter of debate if the children have equal access to education services or not. Or, there is an implementation in women's shelters that refugee women are tended to excluded from the institution's care after six months of stay, whereas Turkish women might stay longer when the shelter personnel use initiative. Moreover, they have a right to health but they cannot enjoy this right properly due to the language barrier. (...) It can be interpreted as a capacity insufficiency, there might not be an adequate hospital, personnel, or school. Then the legal documents seem as written illogically without preparing essential infrastructural elements.

A social worker from the NGO, informant 12 (I12), underlined the same capacity problem giving the example that some schools do not carry out the enrollment procedures of Syrian children with the excuse of the school capacity is full. It was questioned at this point that what the school would do in case of a Turkish child is wanted to be enrolled in the school. It seems that there is a hesitation about where the capacity problems of the public institutions end and where the arbitrary approaches of local service providers start. Moreover, it was also argued that although theoretically Syrian children might enjoy the right to education via enrolling in another public school of which capacity is suitable, in case of closest school to their home does not accept to enroll them for capacity problem, distance of other possible schools to their living place poses a barrier on this right indirectly.

Moreover, street level bureaucrats' approaches towards Syrians and their information level were discussed as the other reasons of the angle between the legal

framework and the practice in the field. Informant 13 (I13) emphasized local service providers' lack of information on the related laws and regulations and stated:

Personnel's lack of information becomes also a reason for their rationalization of some practices and implementations. For example, as a result of a problem in their system, they might not register a Syrian refugee. If it suits their book, then it is accepted as truth by them. They start to develop a routine in this direction and spread this information to their colleagues. As a result, other staff members also start not to register Syrian refugees, and this behavior becomes a rule for that institution (Health Educator, NGO).

It was discussed following this argument that in the best-case scenario, such personnel do not attempt to reverse or question the routinized implementation since they do not know the legal basis they should rest on for push the conditions and they do not have information if this service is available for the refugees or not even if they can be willing to facilitate the service provision. In another case, they can be intendedly not stretching this routine since the ambiguous ground and lack of sanction allow it.

Informant I10 from the NGO also approaches this problem in the context of continuous incoordination among public institutions even in the eighth year of the crisis and improper practices despite the all explicit statements in the Law and the Regulation. At this point, as stated by another informant (I6) from the NGO, when the practices of street level bureaucrats in the field fall behind the articles of the Regulation for some reason, NGO staff might remind them their duties with reference to laws and regulations with their advocacy role.

Lack of a comprehensive policy towards refugees in Turkey, deficiencies of the legal framework in terms of ascribing a permanent status and providing a ground for rights based services bring another discussion: How does the existing policies – or the state of having no policy- effect street level bureaucrats' individual approaches, which may turn into an institutional standing, in local service provision to Syrian refugees? The key informants mentioned several examples and arguments demonstrating that this uncertainty makes the individual behaviors and approaches

more determinative on local service provision that could have negative and positive effects intendedly or unintendedly:

The attitudes of the officers in the institutions that we get in contact are very critical. If this person internalized a rights based approach and tries to improve and strengthen the services of that institution, we observe that he/she become open to cooperation even in the fields he/she does not have information and want to learn. The approach of these persons may affect institutional culture. If this person is an authorized one, he/she has an influence on approaches of other personnel. However, if he/she is closed to communication, we see that cooperation is not possible with this institution in terms of service provision (I6, Social Worker, NGO).

When an officer wants to find out a solution, he/she does. For example, unlike others, social workers of some hospitals might support families in terms of medical equipment and other needs through external referrals. Indeed, they should do this as a matter of their profession, however, they might not feel this necessity since there is no sanction (I13, Health Educator, NGO).

Their lack of information might turn into an advantage sometimes. Exceptionally, it might result in accessing the services that they cannot under normal circumstances. Likewise, they can benefit from the same assistance more than once as a result of incoordination (Informant 14 (I14), Social Worker, NGO).

The conditions mentioned above seem also providing a flexible ground for the institutions and organizations to differentiate their policies on the basis of service provision to Syrian refugees and it results in fragmentation in local services. Especially because of the insufficient resources, this fragmentation usually does not work in favor of the refugees:

Public services are changing from one locality to another. For example, a decision is taken in an SSC regarding that Syrians refugees will not benefit from a certain service anymore. We do not know this development because there is not a mechanism that such changes are declared. We maybe learn from our beneficiaries. Moreover, we do not know how this decision is taken, because other SSCs still continue to provide this service to the Syrians. We are referring some cases to the hospitals. While one of them can take the necessary action, the other does not although they have the same conditions. If there is a law, a rule or a procedure, then it should be applicable everywhere. If it is not applied, then we should know its basis and

justification. (...) Why this service has been cut? The statement in the law is clear and the same deprivation still continues. Then what has changed? Did the manager of this institution say that they would not provide this service anymore? We do not know. We can say this because things differ depending on the personnel's mood in that day, schedule of the manager, attitudes of the staff members towards refugees, etc. (I9, Social Worker, NGO).

It is exactly related to temporary protection and arbitrary treatment led by the emphasis on temporariness. For that reason, there occur arbitrary implementations that differ from one locality to another (I11, Social Worker, NGO).

(...) This differentiation in the decisions of the same institution from district to district is very problematic. For example, what will happen when refugees move to another district, how will these people know about the implementation in that district, how will be the control mechanism? (Informant 15 (I15), Social Worker, NGO).

However, it was also argued by one of the key informants from the Metropolitan Municipality (I1) that SSCs are established with the logic of community centers in the first stage in line with the needs of the local people. Moreover, before their establishment, surveys were made in order to assess the needs of citizens and to decide which needs would be addressed through the services that would be provided in those centers. For that reason, it was claimed that the service diversification among these centers demonstrates that they are targeting the assessed needs. Nevertheless, despite this policy about responding to the local needs in general, the key informants did not have any information regarding the implementation of such an assessment for Syrian refugees and decisions taken as a result of this assessment. On the other hand, this amorphous structure of the social services was discussed by another informant, informant 16 (I16), through justifying it in terms of specific local conditions and insufficiencies of resources:

Social services may vary according to the applicants' socio-economic levels and demands. (...) The boundaries determined by the Regulation can be bent some more on the basis of this. The reason for this is the high number of the Syrian population, huge demand, and the institution's incapacity in terms of personnel and economic resources which is not adequate to deal with this situation (Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

Different responses of local institutions in different localities were argued as a strategic choice and a coping mechanism of institutions in that regard, rather than a result of a general policy. Lipsky (2010) suggests that these differentiated public policies might be the results of routines developed by street level bureaucrats in order to cope with uncertainties and difficulties of their jobs. By arguing this, Lipsky claims that the practices and routines established by the street level bureaucrats are political since they become the policies. They are political because of being determinative in the allocation of goods and services and assisting some people whereas harming others accordingly. This process of developing routines is argued by Lipsky to be shaped by the dominant decision making patterns. In the context of Syrian refugees, those patterns are expected to be affected by the high-level political discourse as on the media which rests on the discourse on the victimization of Syrian refugees rather than the rights of them (Doğanay, 2019).

In addition, informant 17 (I17) criticized how such developed routines reflect as inflexibility in service provision that barrier access to services to some extent:

Flexibility is needed in service provision. There is a general argument of the public institutions now, which is “system does not allow”. No one wants to risk himself/herself. Even if there is something to do, they pull off by saying this. However, rules of the system do not respond to every case in reality. Because there might be exceptional cases and situations. Although we can take initiative since our institutional culture allows us, we hear from the personnel of other institutions that we had risked ourselves for what we did (Social Worker/Local Manager, Governmental Institution).

This pattern that is observed in behaviours of public officials is actually in compliance with Lipsky’s (2010) argument that street level bureaucrats develop routines in order to make their tasks more manageable by reducing the complexities via simplifications. As argued by I17, while these routines pose bureaucratic barriers on access to services, they might also be applied as a coping mechanism as informant I16 from the governmental institutions mentioned above:

Indeed, for some analysts routinization is virtually equivalent to bureaucratization. For others, routinization inevitably occurs in bureaucracies because of the scarcity of resources relative to the demands made upon them. (Lipsky, 2010, p. 83).

4.1.4.2 Coordination among Actors

In almost every interview, local welfare policies are started to be discussed firstly with reference to the coordination and cooperation among the institutions. Except for positive opinion of I1 from the Metropolitan Municipality regarding the coordination meetings at the provincial level in Ankara when compared to the situation in other cities, the outstanding shared comments were concentrated on the lack or deficiency of coordination among the relevant institutions and organizations. To begin with, informant 18 (I18) elaborates on the negative effects of this incoordination in terms of information sharing on their process of evaluating the eligibility of the persons for social assistance:

We are working based on the declaration. I wish there was more coordination among institutions in terms of access to information. For example, we could reach the system of the Ministry (MoFLSS). Because, when we are working based on the declaration, we can have a suspicion about the declarations, then we had to call our personal contacts in the District Governorship and try to figure out the conditions of these persons accurately. (...) There is no coordination among institutions, works are conducted via the old-boy network (Psychologist, the District Municipality).

The problem of heaving partial information about the applicants due to lack of information sharing mechanism among local actors although they provide the services in the same target area was also emphasized by the key informants from governmental institutions. Informant 7 from the governmental institutions complains in that regard that:

The most comprehensive registration system belongs to SASFs. We can only monitor the assistance provided by SASFs and SSCs but we cannot monitor other assistance provided by other institutions and organizations. Municipalities even cannot monitor any of them. We can just learn by calling our personal contacts if an applicant benefits from any other assistance or not. We have to rely on declaration in that situation, however, it leads to

duplication in services. Coordination is weak in this respect (Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

Putting aside the possible concerns about deficits in the confidentiality of personal information to be occurred in case of existence of a common information and database system, this fragmented structure in service provision makes monitoring the articulation process of Syrian refugees into local welfare system in a comprehensive way, allocation of the assistance and outcomes of them harder. On the one hand, it complicates the monitoring and evaluation of who benefits from the same kind of services offered by various local actors in the local welfare system. It may cause duplications in services. It may hinder the distribution of resources in a fair way since some of the persons might enjoy more than one assistance at the same time whereas some of them in need might be harmed by excluding them from assistance with the requirement of inadequate resources. On the other hand, it may lead to gaps in protection conditions that require a multi-directional intervention in a comprehensive way. Because of the fact that social needs, demands, and requirements are broadly diversified, public policies are expected to respond complicated processes with the involvement of several different service areas (Bayırbağ, 2013; Yıldız & Sobacı, 2013). For that reason, deficiencies in coordination among service providers can be ended up with weakening and getting exclusionary of welfare conditions. Underlying the necessity of a multi-actor structure and their complementary services in local welfare provision, informant 17 from the governmental institutions criticized the situation of incoordination among actors in Altındağ:

For example, social and economic support assistance is a tool that could bring a change in the family. It is just one of the instruments that is required in order to solve the problem. While applying those instruments, other services should be complementary. Support of other institutions such as MoNE, MoH, and İşkur is necessary in that regard. Even if the operation of our institution is unproblematic, it means nothing if it is not complementary to the services of other institutions. This assistance is aimed to support the families in a time of crisis until a more sustainable solution is obtained. The problem is chronic but the solutions are temporary. Inter-institutional

cooperation is needed for that reason (Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

Evaluation of the key informants from the NGO regarding the local welfare system is mostly based on the underlying structural problem regarding the lack of a comprehensive, sustainable, long term policy towards Syrians. It was argued with its reflection as incoordination and eclectic practices in service provision at the local level:

What is happening in the refugee field in Turkey is very complicated I think. What is civil society doing? Is it supporting the governmental services, or just assisting the state, or coordinating the field activities? It seems as if the civil society organizations take in charge of all the responsibilities that belong to the government normally. There is role conflict. There are many institutions and organizations in the field but they do not know about each other, there is no coordination, no mapping regarding the problems, risks, and services. Services are provided just for saving the day. They take a decision, then the next day they realize that this decision is wrong, then they take a new decision, and it continues in this way. Explicit possible problems are not foreseen and necessary precautions cannot be taken. Furthermore, the staff of public institutions is even calling us to consult about situations of their applicants and where to refer them under what conditions (I9, Social Worker, NGO).

There is not an information repository that both institutions and NGOs can access. Every institution tries to do something with their own efforts. As a result, for example, five institutions try to do the same thing in five different ways. At the end of the day, there does not occur a qualified work, everybody starts a work but then leave it incomplete, or complete in an unqualified way. "Temporariness" emphasis affects the approaches of the institutions, and local governments even put up more resistance. Moreover, the unqualified staff of the institutions also affect the quality of the services since they start to work without having training in this field. However, because of their insufficient level of information, they are calling us and asking their questions to us. I can say our cooperation improves positively for that reason (I10, Social Worker, NGO).

I do not think that there is remarkable cooperation among institutions and organizations. There does not exist a social policy on this subject. Sometimes everybody does the same work with each other without knowing (I11, Social Worker, NGO).

It is understood from these arguments that NGO workers' emphasis on professional unqualification and information deficiency of street level bureaucrats on the refugee field may play both a positive and a negative role in terms of coordination among local actors and quality of local service provision according to context. As mentioned above, the lack of information on legislation about Syrian refugees in Turkey means not knowing the rights of Syrians in Turkey and public services that are made available to them through national laws and regulations. It may result in either excluding Syrians from local services to some extent unintendedly due to lack of knowledge, or, given the weakness of the rights based approach in social service system in Turkey, it may hinder Syrians' articulation in local welfare system intendedly due to arbitrary and differentiated practices in local service provision. In both conditions, when the service providers start to perceive Syrian refugees as a burden, independently from the rights and services they are entitled, they may be closed to communication and cooperation with the actors provide services to Syrians and externally refers them to those local institutions. On the other side, depending upon the institutional culture and personal attitude of the personnel, this negative situation of lack of knowledge may positively contribute to local coordination since it encourages public service providers to contact with NGOs for applying their knowledge, experience or resources.

As underlined in some of these statements, duplication in services and its effect on the overall caseload of the street level bureaucrats in the field are concerned in terms of the problem of coordination. Approaching the street level bureaucrats of all relevant institutions and organizations in a specific place as a whole, these arguments put that overall caseload of street level bureaucrats is increasing due to incoordination regardless of their institutions:

Incoordination leads to some problems. Having no information about each others' services causes the refugees to go from door to door and to apply for and get the assistance more than they need. Moreover, members of the profession do the same job over and over in different institutions and it leads to labour over unnecessarily (I6, Social Worker, NGO).

There is not a monitoring system that we can see whether we get the same actions with personnel of other institutions or not. The same persons might apply to different institutions and organizations for the same service and they might access concurrently. We can only learn this if the beneficiary shares it with us in the best-case scenario. Consequently, both institutions have coped with the same issue. When he/she applies there, they begin to get actions; and then when he/she applies us, we begin to do the same thing as well (I13, Health Educator, NGO).

It has been also derived from these expressions that criticism towards lack of a policy that targets ensuring coordination among relevant local actors in relation to their caseload makes their familiar positions with the frontline workers from other institutions and organizations more visible and develops a sense of empathy. Moreover, discussions of the key informants from the NGO revealed that the most effective and applied way of getting in contact and cooperate with other institutions is using their personal network that is dated back almost to their university education based on their professional network:

(...) Individual contacts are very important in this sense. For example, we could learn about the cut of an assistance type for the Syrians thanks to our contacts in the institution. (...) If we do not have a contact in an institution, we experience difficulties a lot due to the questions on why we are calling, who we are, etc. (I15, Social Worker, NGO).

Under the above-mentioned conditions of weak information flow among actors and arbitrary implementations that differ based on the institution or the place, having personal contacts seem important for getting updated information about the field and changing practices in service provision. In addition, these personal contacts are also applied in order to intervene in the emergent cases in time and to provide solutions for other cases if there have been faced with some barriers in formal pathways. For that reason, some of the informants argued it as a contradiction in terms of their profession and ideal patterns of service provision as they think that they reproduce this unprofessional approach by making concessions, which is perceived to be far from rights based approach:

An important thing is the culture of having a person in some institutions, which is common in the Middle East. For example, I have a case and I call one of my friends in the relevant institution and ask to help me. I say them to forget about the rights but to turn a hand to this issue because he/she is my friend. Secondly, we are almost judged by the staff of the institutions because of our advocacy role. (...) They give the message that they can never do this treatment under normal circumstances but they do this for the sake of us for once. We cannot do our work professionally for that reason, because only through friends and familiar persons you can solve the problems. These are, at the same time, the unprofessional solutions we develop against deadlocks in the system (I9, Social Worker, NGO).

(...) For example, we are doing a long-term case management plan for an applicant and this person needs to benefit from public services. In this circumstance, we compulsorily use our personal contacts. We are talking about rights but we try every alternative way in order to eliminate victimization conditions of that person (I10, Social Worker, NGO).

Moreover, as derived from the previous statements of informants from the NGO mentioned above, NGO staff seem also feeling obliged to establish these personal relations with the public officials and to sustain it through winning their trust because of a general prejudice of public institutions towards NGOs. In order to make easier their jobs, they pay attention to promote those relations:

There is not a coordination mechanism. We visit the institutions and get in contact face to face. Then we try to sustain this relation. Personal acquaintance and mutual trust develop in this way. (I12, Social Worker; I13, Health Educator, NGO)

4.2 Experiences and Responses of Street Level Bureaucrats

In the second part of this chapter, the prominent issues in terms of experiences of the street level bureaucrats while providing services to Syrian refugees and their responses to the difficulties they meet with during the service provision are discussed.

4.2.1 Rights Based Approach versus Needs Based Approach

In the scope of the field study, service provision to Syrian refugees and service providers' contact with them during the service provision was discussed on the axis

of rights based and needs based services and a sort of dependency relationship between the service providers and the applicants that needs based approach leads to. While the needs based approach puts the target group in a passive position through identifying them as being needy, it may be exclusive since it blurs the responsibilities of the parties and creates uncertainty for the target group. On the contrary, the target group is placed in a more active role in rights based approach, in which people demand their rights instead of waiting for assistance to meet their needs. It is more inclusive based on the discourse on equality of the rights and defines the liabilities of responsible parties clearly.

In almost every institution and organization type included in the field study, service models are handled on the basis of this axis to some extent. Although the emphasis on rights based and needs based approach and their influence on service provision is indirectly deduced from some of the statements, it is explicitly argued in some of them:

There does not exist a rights based service concept, it is needs based instead. Providing free food assistance, free coal assistance, social and economic assistance... Money is a need but it has nothing with rights based approach. What rights based approach means is about people's access to work, providing favorable conditions to support employment, and developing social policies targeting these. Providing only cash assistance or food aid does not belong to rights based approach in itself. Rather, ensuring suitable conditions to make people reach food themselves falls under rights based approach. When the concept of need began to corrode the concept of right, the relation between the persons who provide services and who demand services also started to be deformed (I16, Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

In this approach, while the needs of the people are recognized, it was underlined that there is a need for concentrating on the long term sustainable solutions that will increase the welfare of the people rather than meeting their needs temporarily. Informant I16 from the governmental institutions also stressed on the form of the relationship between the persons who supply and who demand the services, which was argued to be shaped by the needs based approach. Similarly, another informant

from the governmental institutions (I17) argued the dependency relation between the applicants and service providers, which has been led by social policies themselves. The situation of neediness and a continuous demanding position in relation to public services are discussed on the basis of eroding the relation between:

Applicants have been made dependent on social assistance. They have started to perceive the assistance they benefit as the compulsory services of the state. They do not think about improving themselves. Younger generations will continue like this as long as policies cannot cause behavioral change in the family. Social assistance is perceived as the salaries that the state has to pay instead of a support mechanism (Social Worker/Local Manager, Governmental Institution).

On the other side, another informant from the NGO (I10) handled the rights based approach in relation to arbitrary treatments of public officials. According to the discussion of I10, arbitrary treatments of street level bureaucrats are sourced from the weakness of the rule of law and deficiency of rights based approach. It was argued that these conditions provide a ground for ignoring the laws and provide a space for personal decisions of public officials which usually take their source from discriminative attitudes:

The articles of the law are clear and they are based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, however, there is a problem that is sourced from arbitrary treatments extensively and frequently experienced in developing countries and Middle Eastern countries. The clear statements in the law are ignored by the institutions since the rights based approach has been given up. It can be explained through the arbitrary behavior of the officer that day or xenophobia. The same thing is also valid for Turkish citizens since the state has not taught rights based approach to its officers (Social Worker, NGO).

In addition, an informant from local governments criticized social services perspective that is solely based on coal and food aid and that put citizens in needy position. This point is also related to another concern raised by some of the interviews, which is about the qualifications of the personnel. Both professional inadequacy and lack of knowledge about the refugee field are asserted to cause improper practices in local service provision. When the case is not analyzed

properly, the needs are not identified in detail and the necessary referrals are not made, it even harms the beneficiaries as argued by an informant from the NGO (I6). Moreover, it was also argued that there is not a requirement anymore for the street level bureaucrats of related institutions to be graduated from universities' departments of social services. It was claimed that this situation decreases the quality of the services as informant 17 from the governmental institution suggests.

Lack of a rights based approach was also discussed in terms of its shaping role on the nature of street level bureaucrats' relationship with the applicants and positions that the applicants take:

When applicants approach us with their demands due to economic deprivation, their applications are being evaluated in terms of the starvation line. While doing this, we overlook the rights of access to employment, participation in the decision-making process about their future, self-reliance, etc. So, the relationship between the persons who provide services and who demand services turns into a needs based one. It constitutes a hierarchical relation in between. One side is meeting a need of the opposite side and it requires giving thanks in return (I16, Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

Given the fact that the service provision to refugees is not based on the discourse of refugee rights and human rights, it was argued that it shapes the behavioural patterns of both the beneficiaries and the street level bureaucrats. When the emphasis on Syrian refugees' rights even in discourse level remains incapable, service providers attribute to their services meaning of favour. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the Syrian refugees bless the frontline workers they have interviewed with and have received the news about their acceptance for the assistance, rather than claiming their rights as argued by an informant from the NGO:

They are refraining from making a claim on their rights with the fear of what if something happens to them for that reason. There is a general state of distrust. They cannot say that this is their right (I13, Health Educator, NGO).

On the other side, as a result of the same approach, when the environment of local service provision is not determined by the rights, an informant from the

governmental institutions argues that the refugees may have a more demanding position approaching the financial supports as the regular salary that they should be entitled to:

Syrians are benefitting from more than one assistance mechanisms and as they continue to benefit, they start to behave like we have to provide them assistance. They start to become defiant in that sense. There are even some examples who come and slam fist on the table stating that we have to supply aid to them. Their self-confidence raises in line with the institutions and organizations supporting them (I7, Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

Lipsky (2010) asserts that street level bureaucrats control their clients through teaching them the client role and they do this through some rewards and punishments according to the appropriateness of their behaviours to the proper patterns expected. Under the conditions where the relationship between the street level bureaucrats and their clients is not determined by a discourse based on the rights, it can be expected that the applicant refugees might develop an obedient attitude. However, when the provision of assistance is not adequately supported with long term and sustainable complementary services, the behaviours of the applicants can be shaped in another extreme as told by informant 7 from the governmental institutions because of their dependence on the assistance in absence of livelihood opportunities:

Assistance makes the beneficiaries dependent on us, however, they need to empowerment mechanisms indeed. Best practices are very important in that sense (I12, Social Worker, NGO).

4.2.2 Difficulties and Dilemmas that Street Level Bureaucrats Experience in Service Provision

Starting with the claim that the tasks of frontline workers of the institutions are structurally similar and they all together can be approached as an analytical unit, Lipsky (2010) conceptualizes the problem of street level bureaucracy. He states this problem as follows:

Street-level bureaucrats attempt to do a good job in some way. The job, however, is in a sense impossible to do in ideal terms. How is the job to be accomplished with inadequate resources, few controls, indeterminate objectives, and discouraging circumstances? (Lipsky, 2010, p. 82)

In the scope of this field study, it is aimed to understand how these difficulties that are presented by Lipsky occur in the context of Altındağ during service provision to Syrian refugees. It is also intended to reveal the other additional hardships experienced in this specific context. It has been observed that the prominent components of evaluations on the local welfare system, which is discussed above, already dominantly occur as a matter of challenging features of the welfare system. However, in this part of the study, it is more focused on the challenges and difficulties that street level bureaucrats experience while carrying out their duties, which are mainly grounded in the nature of their work. Nevertheless, although these structural challenges are somehow embedded in their work due to its nature, it should be noted that it is not possible to discuss them by abstracting from the welfare policies handled in the previous part since the context is determined by them.

The hardships and dilemmas of the interviewed street level bureaucrats are grouped under three main areas: heavy caseload they have to deal with, inadequate resources of the institutions and organizations they work for and human side of their work.

4.2.2.1 Heavy Case Load

Syrian refugees' settlement in Altındağ has considerably increased the population of the district. Altındağ has already been characterized by low-income group residents with various needs and vulnerabilities, and this number of people in need has also increased in parallel with the number of refugees reside in the district. While multi-service support centers were opened by civil society organizations in order to address the various needs of Syrian refugees, it has inevitably brought pressure on the services of local service providers. Most of the key informants from governmental institutions stated that the coming of Syrians has multiplied their workload:

Upon the coming of Syrians, our workload has increased a lot and a unit has been constituted for them. (...) The number of personnel should be increased, we even work overtime. However, for example, District Governor might say that the number of personnel working here is overmuch and the things can be run with less number of personnel since he does not the works we are doing here (I7, Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

Workload has increased a lot with the coming of Syrians. There constituted a unit for conducting house visits to them and some personnel has been separated for this unit (Informant 19 (I19), Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

Informants from local governments did not mention a remarkable increase in their caseload, on the other hand. Considering the statements of one of the key informants from the municipality regarding that they do not think Syrian refugees fall under their area of responsibility and overall observations of the mukhtars in the direction of absence of municipal services for Syrians in the district level, it might be expected not to have a remarkable change in caseload for the district municipality. Nonetheless, taking into consideration the metropolitan municipality's extended services for Syrian refugees especially in terms of social assistance, it is surprising the absence of concern on the probable increase in caseload. The likely reason for this was explained somehow by I1 from the Metropolitan Municipality, which is given place under the next heading in the context of the problem of resources.

On the other side, stating they are working project-based, NGO staff has mostly discussed their huge caseload in relation to the high target numbers expected to be reached by donors that are funding their activities:

We are working differently from what stated in the casework literature about the number of cases that a member of the profession might follow up. We have target numbers and we are working project-based. We have to do this but it affects our caseload very negatively (I10, Social Worker, NGO).

There are target numbers determined by the managers and donors. We have to achieve these targets, otherwise, the continuity of the project will be disputed (I15, Social Worker, NGO).

We have a donor and this donor has some expectations from us. (...) Even though we stress the quality instead of quantity, this situation strains us (I6, Social Worker, NGO).

Huge caseload and target pressure were mentioned as negative factors in terms of the quality of the services they provide. Diminishing quality of the services basically emerges as a result of the decline in the allocated time by the case and accordingly, not being able to respond to the needs of other cases on time:

We have started to conduct social investigation visits for the ones who will benefit from ESSN assistance, however, what we can do has a limitation. We cannot exceed twenty houses in a day. On the other side, the Ministry keeps bearing down on us. When it is the case, the quality of the job we are doing decreases, and we spend less time on each case (I7, Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

The number of cases that I can follow up at the same time is obvious. However, we are registering every person who comes to Ankara. Normally, the capacity of this center is apparent, but the boundaries of our work is not clear. Do we exercise registration, do we identify vulnerabilities and refer the cases, or do we aim to collect more cases? Even if we need to make interviews with the same family for four and five times ideally, we can just do twice. The number of families on the waiting list is constantly on the rise. This situation influences our work motivation and work plan (I9, Social Worker, NGO).

In both statements, the quality of the services was associated with the time that they spend on an individual case. Considering the several vulnerabilities that Syrian refugees might have and complexity of the cases, it is important to spend sufficient time for each case in order to identify the conditions and the needs of the cases accurately and making a healthy evaluation about them. However, in order to respond to the needs of more applicants, a concession from the quality of the services is made. Furthermore, it might be also interpreted as a coping strategy for lightening the caseload through depleting the waiting list. Lipsky (2010) emphasizes the importance of time for the jobs of street level bureaucrats and its potential of shaping their relations with the applicants:

First, street-level bureaucrats characteristically are pressed with heavy caseloads and demands for quick decisions, so that clients can impose salient costs merely by taking workers' time. Since time may be fairly cheap for clients, or their needs high relative to the value they place on their time, clients potentially have a store of resources with which to affect their relationships with street-level bureaucrats (p. 58).

The response of the street level bureaucrats to due heavy caseloads through decreasing the time they spent for each at the cost of the quality of the job might be also interpreted as a coping strategy for lightening the caseload through depleting the waiting list. As Lipsky (2010) argues, these strategies may include approaching the applicants on a selective basis and making prioritization for some cases in order to achieve a result with some of them even if they cannot catch up all cases:

Client differentiation may take place because of being confronted with the heavy workload and apparently impossible tasks. Street-level bureaucrats seek ways to maximize personal or agency resources, or they attempt to succeed with some clients when they cannot succeed with all (p. 107).

Moreover, flexing the calendar of follow-up interviews for some of the cases depending on the decision of the street level worker and even leaving it to the responsibility of the applicant occurs both as a coping strategy as well as a reason for the decrease in the quality of the services, as argued by an informant from the NGO:

We identify the risks in the first interview and we go on with the other cases without giving appointments to them. Instead, we share our information with them and we say to them that we will see them if they come and we say ourselves as much as we can do, anyway (I15, Social Worker, NGO).

It is observed that such strategies are also needed in order to diminish the backbreaking effects of the job, which can also be psychologically disturbing, as another informant from the NGO claims:

Our caseload is really very heavy, and it is expected these cases to be followed up in a very good manner. It is not realistic; it is even unnerving (I11, Social Worker, NGO).

Street level bureaucrats are the persons who directly experience the influences of this heavy caseload even face to face. In addition to the anxiety of trying to get the works done in time, the increase in Syrian caseload brings another dimension to the problem through the reactions of Turkish applicants claiming that Syrians are treated with priority. Moreover, due to the human side of their work, they also feel it as an individual tension and dilemma as stated by an informant from the governmental institutions:

Since we also have to see other applicants, we put the words in their mouths. This circumstance of being stuck affects our attitude towards the applicants. We project our anger onto them. And this affects our psychological state negatively (I7, Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

The gap between the capabilities and the objectives of the street level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 2010) might reflect on their relation with the applicants as such tension. This tension may lead to overwork in order to carry out the tasks ideally by depriving himself/herself on the one hand, as argued by an informant from the NGO:

We talk about cases even during our breaks. And it can be even arguably in terms of the principle of confidentiality of personal information. We might have to work even in the days on leave because there could be something about the life of a person directly. Even if we try to maximize the quality, we are doing it through self-sacrificing (I10, Social Worker, NGO).

On the other hand, most probably, it may result in the burnout and withdrawal from work actually or psychologically in order to respond to the job stress (Lipsky, 2010):

Being able to account for both the applicants and managers is allaying, but job burnout increases very rapidly due to meet this accountability with a heavy caseload (I15, Social Worker, NGO).

The language barrier is one of the hardships experienced in almost every institution and organization as the key informants state. It was discussed that it brings further problems in terms of their workload and access to the services. As added by I14, a social worker from the NGO, besides anything else, it technically doubles the duration of the interviews and the activities. In terms of workload, it also requires

further follow up in case of external referrals. It might be even needed to provide interpretation support to the institutions in which there is not an interpreter. The communication problem that is sourced from this language barrier may also pose a risk to the access to the services.

Institutions' general indifference and lack of information seem as another hardship both for the street level bureaucrats and the Syrian applicants. It may hinder Syrian refugees' access to services directly or indirectly and it may wear away at the workers through causing the extension of the works. Especially in the case of implementation of a new policy, institutions may not clarify their scope of duty and refer the cases to each other (I14, Social Worker, NGO). Moreover, internal procedures of the institutions and organizations may sometimes occur as difficulties and bureaucratic barriers for the workers during service provision when it is combined with the heavy caseload (I6, Social Worker, NGO).

Another difficulty that seems specific to NGO workers according to interviews is the rapidly changing agenda of the humanitarian sector in the refugee field. In spite of the fact that local NGOs are operating in a national environment by fulfilling the competencies necessary in line with the requirements of national government and legal framework, the situation that most of these national NGOs are working on project basis and these projects are funded by international NGOs and institutions, orientation of the services in the field is determined by the funders most of the time. Moreover, given the dynamism of the refugee field due to continuous mobility and changing needs, tendencies are frequently revised and re-adapted. However, from the eyes of the NGO workers, this dynamism may play an obstructive role in services in terms of their continuity and achieving results:

I do not know what I will do when I come to work tomorrow. When we come, we may see that the agenda has changed suddenly. Not being able to plan my tasks makes me feel unfree. There is not a system in this field. Donors have ever changing expectations and these expectations have nothing to do with reality. We are saying that let's focus on assistance one

day and the other day we are saying that let's do social cohesion now (I9, Social Worker, NGO).

As it is understood from the statement of informant 9, losing the control over tasks invalidates their work plan and harms their work motivation, since street level bureaucrats are usually inclined to control over their working environment in order to cope with the work stress, to achieve the agency's objectives and to maximize their response to the beneficiaries (Lipsky, 2010).

4.2.2.2 The Problem of Resources

The problem of resources is stressed by Lipsky (2010) mainly in terms of the scarcity of human resources and time when compared to the caseload of street level bureaucracies. The personnel can be untrained or inexperienced or can be inadequate in number to fulfill the tasks. The insufficient time for the tasks can make their decision making the process quicker than the required and can cost obtaining information that would improve their service quality. Moreover, with the increase of the target population and higher standards that they are entitled to, the issue of financial resources also occurs as a source of tension (Lipsky, 2010).

The dimension of resources in the context of service provision to Syrian refugees came to the agenda during the interviews with personnel of governmental institutions and local governments. The evaluations of street level bureaucrats from the local governments regarding the resources they apply in order to carry out their tasks differ from one municipality to the other. In one of the municipalities, the key informants argued inadequacy of the financial resources in relation to their claim that municipalities should not have a responsibility in the provision of social assistance in general, and to especially Syrians in specific:

I am against assistance provision to the Syrians by municipalities. Because, in our region, there many people in need at least as the number of them and who are citizens. Instead of providing to the Syrians, I would provide the aids to Turkish people, because resources are already fall short and needs do not end. However, when the state suggests us that we would not touch three liras that are given to us by the state for Turkish citizens and it would give

us two more liras for the Syrians, then, of course, we will provide assistance (I2, Local Manager, the District Municipality).

Providing social assistance is not a fundamental duty of the municipalities. They are conducting this as a subtask to be supportive. Resources do not meet the demand because there are many people in need, however, it is already out of our field (I18, Psychologist, the District Municipality).

Moreover, some of the key informants stated that they should deal with the reactions similar to those above from Turkish applicants. This is not a concern for NGO workers since these centers were opened upon the increase in the Syrian population in that region in order to serve mainly to them, although some of their services are available also for the host community. However, for the governmental institutions which have been the main addresses for social services for the host community, extending service area as including Syrian refugees has become more problematic. I16 argued this tension with reference to general welfare policies:

There are too many Turkish applicants reacting to us since we offer services to Syrians. They have developed discourses such as “You are providing aids to Syrians, not to us”, and “Syrians have come and we have lost favor for that reason”. These discourses demonstrate the situation of social policies in Turkey indeed. A professional relation cannot be established between the service providers and the applicants. To whom can you say such words? To your friends or to your family members. If an applicant says such words to you, then it also means that you could not well build the relation in between. In addition, there is the issue of the local welfare system that those people have. Social assistance creates the core of this system in Altındağ because this region is a poor one. People do not want to share their local welfare system with other people, especially with foreigners that they do not know. Technically, they are members of the same social class. However, due to international and national refugee legislation, perception towards foreigners, and lack of multiculturalism, there occurs discrimination on the basis of unwillingness to share the local welfare system (Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

On the other side, one of the key informants from the other municipality expressed that the municipality can demonstrate the necessary flexibility in terms of resource adjustment and they did not experience hardship in that regard:

In terms of resources, our budget has been increased to an extent, moreover, our human resources have also been increased. For that reason, we do not have difficulty when performing the tasks with our own resources. At the point we experience difficulty, we can overcome it through service procurement. We are in better conditions for that reason but probably other institutions experience more difficulties (I1, Social Worker, the Metropolitan Municipality).

From a different point of view, the key informants from the governmental institution elaborated more on the human resources in the context of the sufficiency of the resources in proportion to their tasks:

Our resources are updated annually. Nevertheless, the real problem here is not the allocation of resources, but the control of it after allocation. The number of our applicants is on increase, but there is not sufficient capacity for managing the cases in a healthy way and for monitoring that the assistance provided fits the purpose. Neither the number of personnel, nor logistic resources are adequate for this. The refugee field is a specific one. Although it is not the first time for Turkey to experience this, it is the first time that is being engaged in this field to such extent. The capacity of the personnel might remain insufficient due to not being familiar with this field (I16, Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

It was underlined through this statement that adequate human resources is not only important for the distribution of the assistance but also for the monitoring and evaluation process after it. A deficiency in the human resource may cause inefficiency in any phase of the provision of this service. Moreover, the sufficiency of the human resource was also stressed in terms of capacity and qualification of it in relation to its effects on the quality of the services provided. It was argued that the lack of knowledge of personnel on the refugee field negatively affects the protection conditions of the Syrian refugees, which are supported by social services.

4.2.2.3 Human Side of Their Work

One of the dilemmas of street level bureaucrats is sourced from the unique positions of them in local service provision at the overlapping area between the supply and the demand. It is about the contradiction between the requirement of responding to the individual cases ideally and avoiding individualized responses that could be

unfair in practice. This contradiction which is about the human dimension of the street level bureaucrats' jobs is followed by the argument that their pattern of practices can be located in two extreme:

At best, street-level bureaucrats invent modes of mass processing that more or less permit them to deal with the public fairly, appropriately, and thoughtfully. At worst, they give in to favoritism, stereotyping, convenience, and routinizing-all of which serve their own or agency purposes (Lipsky, 2010, p. xiv).

The risk of not to develop appropriate behaviour and to respond to the cases inaccurately was discussed in the context of professionalism and the responsibility and the capability of the member of the profession by one of the key informants from local governments:

I have been working as a social worker for many years and I know that there are many cases you see in the field and support with several services that you cannot do. Nevertheless, according to me, the real responsibility here is on the member of the profession. If I am a social worker and I conduct a house visit, the reason for this house visit should not be only coal or food aid even if it is written in the petition in my hands. If I do not assess any other needs of this family during the house visit just because of I am sent there for coal and food aid, and if I do my assessment by ignoring the other social service mechanisms of the state, then I would not have done my job when I leave this house. What a member of the profession should do is providing services by looking from a macro perspective. You should know the services of other institutions. In-service training is very important for that reason. At university, you are learning interview techniques, where to sit during interviews, etc. However, when you start to work in the field, you go house in which there are just two floors cushions. Which interview technique you will apply under this condition? (I1, Social Worker, the Metropolitan Municipality).

In terms of the informants from the NGO, organizational culture and centralist approach in getting contact with the relevant public institutions seem increasing their dilemmas during performing their street level jobs:

In the social services field, we are aware that we are accountable to the institution we work for, as well as to the applicants. I often individually feel an ethical dilemma on this issue. For example, for a vulnerable child whose

case is followed by me, I need to contact an institution, however, my institution says to me that I should not do this because if I do, it might affect my institution at the central level. I think this is the case for all NGOs working close to bureaucracy in Ankara (I10, Social Worker, NGO).

Moreover, for NGO workers, not being able to find a sustainable solution for the cases through their own resources was expressed as a source of dilemma, whereas local government staff discusses the opposite:

The point that I feel stuck is about vulnerable cases who cannot access to public services for various reasons. We can most of the time just provide one-time assistance and I know that I will not be able to proceed with the case at some point. It is very unnerving to think about what I will do when this assistance is finished (I14, Social Worker, NGO).

In our decisions regarding the assistance, we pay attention to the lifestyles of the families. It is important if they choose to sit back or they are trying to engage in a production process. However, in the case of long term assistance, we think about whether we do a favour for them or we do harm (Informant 20 (I20), Local Manager, the District Municipality).

In the context of NGO, this individual dilemma is moreover discussed in terms of roles of managers which are mentioned as actors to share responsibility with and get supervision rather than a control mechanism:

There may arise a contradiction between the demands of the beneficiaries and the organization's expectations from us. But, in these situations, we try to solve this contradiction together with the senior workers and office managers (I15, Social Worker, NGO).

Demands of our beneficiaries may not overlap with the organizational conditions sometimes. We may be available to provide more or less than expected. Although we may take initiatives to an extent in our own cases in such situations, there might be also some restrictive factors. Mentorship is very important in that sense. I do not feel alone thanks to my colleagues and managers (I12, Social Worker, NGO).

Most of the informants think that they can exercise a discretionary power especially in terms of the applicants of social assistance mechanisms. Although it is stated that taking initiative is harder now for public institutions when compared to the past due

to the online system used for registration and assessment, there is still space for discretion:

For example, a family might have to care for their cousin due to some reason but this cousin might not be seen linked to the file of this family in the system. In that case, since the information in the system does not reflect the right household number and household expenses, it may negatively affect the family's eligibility for the assistance. Although the system does not allow such changes since the assessment is made through it, we can still take initiative and share the situation with the manager in order to make the family benefit from the assistance (Informant 21 (I21), Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

We can especially use discretion in our own cases that we conduct social investigation visits. Some assistance types have also exceptional quotas for some cases. This extended our space for discretion (I7, Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

We are working with humans and lateness in our work can have serious effects on people's life. For that reason, I use discretion especially for the conditions that I cannot reach decision makers (I10, Social Worker, NGO).

Taking initiative is diminishing our workload because trying to get approval for all the things is a time-consuming work in itself. This is also a part of the nature of this job. If I cannot reach my supervisors about a topic that I should consult them, then I use discretion. I am doing this thinking that they trust in my decisions (I6, Social Worker, NGO).

In some situations, there can be limits on using discretion or not taking initiatives can be applied as a coping mechanism:

Taking initiative has a limitation. If the family remains above the neediness level, then the person who conducts a social investigation cannot take this risk because it becomes under the responsibility of him/her (I7, Social Worker, Governmental Institution).

I do not use discretion because we generally work proof-based. There are some criteria that we take into consideration during house visits. When the proofs are strong enough, then there is no need for discretion. I am writing my reports for the cases that should be considered for social assistance. However, if they are not assessed as eligible, I do not think that I am the responsible person for this. Because there are many other factors determining the result (I9, Social Worker, NGO).

In conclusion, in the scope of the field study that has been conducted with the inclusion of local service providers, welfare provision to Syrian refugees are evaluated through the overall policies and implementations in national and local level and through their relatively individual experiences and dilemmas in service provision. In the first component of the findings of the field research, uncertainties about the status of the Syrian refugees and in the legal legislation about service provision to them come to the forefront in terms of their effect on the overall situation regarding Syrian refugees' participation in the local welfare system. While on the one hand, legislation seems insufficient in terms of defining the responsibilities of the institutions and providing more comprehensive protection conditions; on the other hand, mainly due to the emphasis on temporariness in the legislation, in policies and in discourse level and distance from the rights based approach, implementations and practices of the street level bureaucracies and bureaucrats in the field seems falling even behind of what is defined in the legal framework. These ambiguities that are mainly sourced from the legal framework and policies towards Syrian refugees appear as providing more space to the local actors in the local welfare system. Although the need for stronger coordination among actors increases as the local level matters more and the local welfare provision is fragmented, the reality seems the reverse. In the second part of the chapter, under determination of the general findings in the first part, the effects of the needs based approach in service provision and relation between the service providers and the service recipients are revealed. In addition, hardships and dilemmas of service providers in relation to service provision to Syrian refugees are discussed in a more individual manner, which demonstrate the applicability of the concept of street level bureaucracy in this research in order to understand the role of street level bureaucrats in local welfare system through their position in interaction with Syrian refugees during service provision.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

With this thesis, service provision to Syrian refugees living in Altındağ, Ankara is analyzed by focusing on the interface between the service providers and the service recipients. Approaching Syrian refugees as service recipients, their articulation in the local welfare system is investigated through applying the concept of street level bureaucrats since they are the frontline actors of service provision. There are two main motivations in concentrating on the interface where street level bureaucrats are in daily interaction with the service recipients: the first one is about the increasing role of the local level in service provision, where the interaction between the street level bureaucrats and the service recipients takes place, and the second one is based on the ambiguities in the legal framework and policies towards Syrian refugees.

The prominent role of the local level in service provision is discussed mainly in the context of the transformation of the welfare state. As a result of the transformation in the neoliberal era, the classical national welfare state has been evolved as a multi-scale model with the inclusion of the multiple actors. These actors are identified to be grouped under three sectors in the Altındağ context, which are governmental institutions, local governments, and civil society organizations. As the local level gains more importance due to this multi-scale structure with multiple actors, welfare provision turns to a more dynamic and fragmented process. Moreover, given the fact that approximately 96% of the Syrian refugees in Turkey are living out of camps, service provision at the local level becomes also significant in the context of Syrian refugees. What kind of responses the local service providers develop to the mobility of refugees and how they address the needs of them are examined in the Altındağ context with the inclusion of the street level bureaucrats of the institutions and the organizations from above mentioned identified sectors in the research.

Secondly, it is argued throughout the thesis that uncertainties and ambiguities in the legal framework and policies about Syrian refugees in Turkey make the practices of service providers at the local level more determining on the protection and welfare conditions of them. In that regard, as the role of street level bureaucrats increases, in what ways and in which direction these uncertainties and ambiguities affect the approach in service provision and coordination among actors are investigated in the scope of this thesis.

Within this general framework, the key findings of this study can be divided into two as theoretical and empirical. To begin with the theoretical findings, they can be mainly argued in the context of deconstructing the concept of street level bureaucracy, approaching the urban refugees as a dynamic concept rather than a stable one via recognizing their mobility inside of the country of asylum and attributing a responsibility to local actors in migration management in addition to the central government, and identifying the need for focusing on the interface between the service providers and the service recipients by putting urban refugees in the dynamic structure of the local welfare system as service recipients.

To begin with the first theoretical finding, when the concept of street level bureaucracy was comprehensively used by Lipsky for the first time in 1980, it mainly referred to the public sector. Accordingly, street level bureaucrats were argued to be the face of the government in the eyes of the citizens due to their position in daily interaction with the service recipients during public service delivery. Although applying the Lipsky's concept to Altındağ context has become very useful in order to understand the role of street level bureaucrats in service provision to Syrian refugees living in here and to reveal their responses and dilemmas during service provision, it has been needed to extend the scope of the concept. As argued throughout the thesis in relation to the transformation of the welfare state to a more dynamic system, service provision has been started to be performed through more complicated mechanisms. It gets more fragmented leading to the uncertainties about the area of responsibilities; it provides more space to the

local actors as a result of the multi-scale structure of the welfare system; it involves civil society and the market in addition to the public sector as having a multi-actor structure. In the case of Syrian refugees in Altındağ, based on the mechanisms of social assistance provision, three sectors become prominent in service provision. They are namely the governmental institutions under the central government, local governments, and civil society organizations. These three sectors are identified as critical in terms of welfare and protection conditions of Syrian refugees basically on the basis of social assistance either through their policies and services towards Syrians or lack of it. Therefore, given the situation that street level bureaucrats of the institutions and organizations under these three main sectors provides public services regardless of their agency, it is offered through this thesis that the concept of street level bureaucracy and street level bureaucrats cannot be restricted to the public sector and should be applied as covering those sectors in order to correspond the current state adequately in our case.

Secondly, the international definition of the term of the refugee is accepted as an important benchmark in terms of bringing universal criteria for being a refugee and to prevent the countries' arbitrary and flexible use of the term by providing at least minimum standards. Aside from the discussions on binding nature of the international refugee law, the critical importance of universal refugee definition in terms of ensuring a status on the basis of rights is acknowledged. However, as the movement of the refugees is generally approached in terms of movement across the national borders in international refugee law and other related documents, it is underlined through this thesis that movement of the refugees should be further discussed in terms of their ongoing movement inside of the country of asylum especially in the case of urban refugees. Dispersion of the settlements of Syrian urban refugees in Turkey to a broad area, as grouped under three types of cities by Eraydın (2017) namely border cities, western cities that are closer to the sea for passing through to Europe and metropolitan cities with several pull factors, demonstrates that this movement continues after crossing the national borders. For

that reason, the high number of Syrian refugees living in Altındağ district of Ankara requires approaching the subject in terms of mobility. Recognizing the cities as the legitimate residential places for the refugees as international refugee documents asserts and approaching to Syrian refugees living in urban areas in Turkey as a mobile category rather than a stable one, the need for handling the Syrian refugee phenomenon in Turkey on the basis of urban and local services is emphasized. Syrian urban refugees are approached as service recipients in that regard. In line with this approach, local governments are expected to be among the main actors of the management of this process.

Thirdly, as Syrian refugees are approached as the service recipients, they are contextualized in the dynamic structure of the local welfare system in relation to their interaction with the service providers. Based on the discussions on the increasing effect of the individual attitudes of the street level bureaucrats under the conditions of ambiguous legal framework and policies, it is addressed with this thesis the need to concentrate on the interface between the service providers and the service recipients in order to understand the local dynamics and conditions of service provision. Applying the key concept of street level bureaucrats, who are placed in this interface in the face of Syrian refugees as the service recipients, this study is differentiated from other several studies on Syrian refugees, which mostly focus on either the institutional analysis with a top-down approach or a sociological analysis with a bottom-up perspective.

Coming to empirical key findings, they can be grouped under two main discussions: One of them is about the level and direction of the discretionary power of street level bureaucrats who are working in the social assistance sector in Altındağ, which is argued to be sourced from the legal and institutional gap in that field, and the other one is about the relation and interaction among the street level bureaucrats from different types of institutions and organizations that are included in this research. Firstly, as foreseen at the beginning of the research, the ambiguous legal framework about Syrian refugees in Turkey and uncertainty about the responsibilities of the

institutions and division of labour among them enlarge the street level bureaucrats' area of discretion and result in fragmented and arbitrary implementations in social assistance provision at the local level. Although Lipsky elaborates on the concept of street level bureaucracy and street level bureaucrats' power of discretion on the basis of a more structured ground determined by the environment in which the central government is the main actor in welfare provision and the street level bureaucrats are the public officials, the discretion identified in the scope of this research differs from Lipsky's to some extent due to the differentiation in that ground. While the street level bureaucrats might exercise the discretionary power in spite of the structured framework that regulates their authorities, responsibilities and limitations during service provision in Lipsky's contribution and it usually works in a positive way in terms of responding the individual cases during mass processing of the clients, in the case of this study, the power of discretion occurs as a result of the weakness of the legal framework and the institutional division of labour. Under these conditions of ambiguities in the legal framework and division of labour on the one hand, and decentralized, fragmented and multi-actor structure of the service provision in terms of social assistance on the other hand, patterns of service provision becomes more inclined to be developed through a bottom-up process starting from the street level bureaucrats. In the absence of a comprehensive policy and legal framework, such patterns of street level bureaucrats become the norms of service provision at the local level. Local reproduction of these norms by the street level bureaucrats during service provision further blurs the respondents of the service provision. Moreover, in the lack of a permanent protection regime for the Syrian refugees and the distance from the rights discourse both in the legal and political context, the street level bureaucrats' power of discretion generally functions in a negative way, which might lead to arbitrary and discriminatory implementations in service provision.

At this point, it is reached the second main discussion that the empirical findings of this research rely on. There is a dependency relationship between the patterns of

service provision developed by the street level bureaucrats from different types of institutions. They learn from each other and develop similar behavioural patterns and responses in service provision in terms of simplifying their jobs, processing their clients, and developing coping strategies. Due to the negative direction of their discretionary power, this cross-learning process among them makes them affected by each other in a negative way. Such cross-learning and the practice of developing similar behavioural patterns strengthen one of the grounds of this thesis relies on. Civil society sector has been included in the field study of this thesis due to the need for widening the scope of the concept of street level bureaucrats to include NGO staff as a result of the transformation of the welfare systems to a fragmented and multi-actor structure in general and the prominent role of the NGOs in service provision to Syrian refugees in Turkey context in specific. Although they are not public officials, they have been approached as street level bureaucrats in this thesis for that reason. Through the empirical findings of this study it has been verified that, aside from the theoretical requirement discussed throughout the thesis, NGO staff should be approached as street level bureaucrats since they have already demonstrated the similar behavioural patterns with the street level bureaucrats of the local branches of the central government and the municipalities in the field due to the interaction and cross-learning among them.

- While the accessibility of some service of the governmental institutions involved in this research for Syrian refugees may change from time to time and from a locality to another, some assistance mechanisms are clearly defined for the application of Syrian refugees. It is observed that this situation provides a more clarified framework for the street level bureaucrats from governmental organizations during service provision to Syrians refugees when compared to the municipality staff. Regardless of their personal approach, while street level bureaucrats from governmental institutions acknowledge that service delivery to Syrians falls under their area of responsibility, approach to this responsibility differs in case of

municipalities according to organizational culture, the attitude of the managers and attitude of the street level bureaucrats.

- On the contrary to the perception of some informants among mukhtars and among street level bureaucrats from governmental institutions and local governments that Syrians are unrighteously benefitting from social assistance mechanisms more when compared to Turkish citizens because of a positive discrimination, it is underlined at the same time that Syrian refugees' eligibility for social assistance is determined according to certain criteria.
- It is common in each institution and organization that the foremost reason for Syrian refugees to apply to them is the demand for financial assistance. It seems that extensive and high demand for financial support is closely related to the needs based approach adopted in public service provision. On the one hand, the inadequacy of medium and long term policies devoted to empowerment and self-reliance of Syrian refugees through enabling access to livelihoods increases the need to be supported with financial assistance. On the other hand, the same policy deficiency shapes the behavioural pattern of Syrian refugees as service recipients by putting them in a needy position which results in a more demanding attitude.
- In the absence of an effective, comprehensive, long term policy towards Syrian refugees in Turkey, needs based approach is more embraced in service provision by the service providers. Service recipients are put in a passive role rather than a self-reliant position in this approach. It appears as a kind of dependency relationship between the service providers and the service recipients. While, on the one hand, it makes service recipients more demanding and living dependently on social assistance; on the other hand, due to the distance of this approach from discourse of rights, they are placed in a needy position in the face of the service providers accepting what stated

or offered to them without any objection based on claiming or seeking a right. In that regard, needs based approach in service provision seems to have a shaping effect on the role of the client. Since the needs based approach does not include the discourse of equality and does not define the responsible parties for ensuring the rights and services clearly, it leads to differentiation and ambiguities in service provision via allowing arbitrary decisions of service providers.

- Inadequate medium and long term policies towards Syrian refugees are discussed in relation to the emphasis on temporariness in legal framework about Syrians in Turkey by NGO staff. Since the great majority of Syrians in Turkey are under temporary protection, there are uncertainties about their status, rights, and duration of stay in Turkey. It causes worries on side of Syrians due to feeling insecure about their future, and it might lead to arbitrary implementations on side of service providers as a result of the general temporariness and ambiguities internal to the spirit of Temporary Protection Regulation. In addition to uncertain protection conditions framed by the Regulation, it is observed during the interviews that the majority of the street level bureaucrats from the sectors other than civil society barely know about the Temporary Protection Regulation that regulates the rights and the services for Syrians. In addition to the ambiguities about Syrians' status and policies towards them, this state of lack of knowledge about legislation might reflect as arbitrary implementations of service providers in the field. As stated by some of the key informants, there can be an angle between what is stated in the legislation theoretically and what happens in the field actually. Syrian refugees still face some barriers in access to services due to street level bureaucrats' and managers' lack of knowledge about Syrians' rights in Turkey and available public services for Syrians that are indicated in the legislation and ambiguities in the legal environment that allows service providers use more initiative.

- Uncertainty and ambiguity in policies towards and status of Syrians make the individual attitude of street level bureaucrats in the field more effective in service provision in either a negative or a positive direction. The personal approach of that street level bureaucrat towards Syrian refugees, his/her professional competency, his/her knowledge in the refugee field determines the accessibility of the services and the quality of the service provided, which affect the direction of the discretion in a negative way most of the time. This broad space for the discretion of street level bureaucrats results in different practices from institution to institution and from one locality to another. This fragmented structure is also fed institutionally by the problem of inadequate resources. It usually does not work in favor of the refugees and occurs as a policy differentiation and developing a new routine in order to use the resources more efficiently such as the exclusion of Syrian refugees from some kind of assistance mechanisms.

- In the case of local governments, it is revealed that ambiguities in the legal framework should be discussed exceeding possible effects on emphasis on temporariness. It should also be discussed by taking into consideration the Municipality Law. Although the majority of Syrian refugees are living in urban areas and fall under the scope of urban services, there is not a clear assignment about the authority and responsibilities of the municipalities regarding service provision to Syrian refugees. It is observed that based on the contradictions and gaps between the related articles of the legal documents, municipalities might either use initiative and take a risk through providing services to Syrian refugees or limits its services with Turkish citizens in order to protect themselves. Moreover, these uncertainties regarding municipalities' duties about Syrians residing in their area provide a ground for justification of unwillingness of municipality staff about service delivery to Syrians due to their discriminatory attitude.

- Syrian refugees' articulation in the local welfare system is not only affected by the ambiguities in the legal framework and policies, but also by a material problem about the resources. When deficiency in the infrastructure that is necessary to provide the services specified in Temporary Protection Regulation and supplementary legal documents effectively barriers or limits access to the services, it might also lead to abuse of a right indirectly. Provision of primary healthcare through specific number of centers due to the reason of limited number of personnel and children remained out of school due to the capacity exceed in the schools as a result of an increase in the number of children especially in certain neighbourhoods with Syrian influx can be given as examples to indirect violation of the right to health and education. Furthermore, in the last instance, this state of infrastructural undercapacity can be interpreted as a result of the absence of a comprehensive and permanent policy towards Syrians refugees in line with the spirit of Temporary Protection Regulation.
- Most of the key informants from each sector agreed that there is not a local coordination mechanism in Altındağ that regulates and facilitates service delivery among service providers. It usually reveals itself in terms of access to the demographic information about service recipients and about their socio-economic background. This leads to duplication in the services. This situation risks the fair distribution of assistance and causes some cases to benefit from the same assistance by more than one institution. Moreover, it obstructs the monitoring of the articulation process of Syrian refugees in the local welfare system in a comprehensive manner. In addition, it also multiplies the total workload of street level bureaucrats in the district as they take the same action on the same cases unknowingly from each other. The difficulties arise from this state of incoordination among actors is tried to be overcome by street level bureaucrats through their personal contacts in other institutions and organizations which provide services to Syrian refugees

residing in Altındağ as well. These personal contacts are also generally street level bureaucrats of those institutions and organizations. Incoordination among service providers is intended to be compensated through informal referrals and information sharing among street level bureaucrats in Altındağ district.

- The settlement of Syrian refugees in Altındağ has an increasing effect on the workload of the service providers. Beyond the increase in the number of service recipients in the district, the high rate of vulnerable cases among them has further multiplied the street level bureaucrats' caseload. Their tasks are backbreaking for that reason and can even lead to burnout. This state of psychological exhaustion leads to tensions with the service recipients in some cases, which are expressed as unprofessional by some of the key informants. In addition, the heavy caseload is stressed together with its decreasing effect on the quality of the services. As the number of cases and their complexity increase, allocated time per case decreases. Since their work has a humanitarian side rather than technical, this decrease in time is experienced by street level bureaucrats as a professional dilemma. Moreover, it also occurs as a strategy of them to cope with the huge caseload. In addition, managing the cases on a selective basis according to their vulnerabilities through making a priority list is another response of street level bureaucrats especially those who work in NGOs.
- Dealing with heavy caseload gets harder with inadequate human resources. The problem of human resources in the context of the inadequate number of personnel and their professional illiteracy or inexperience in the field are argued especially by the key informants from the governmental institutions and non-governmental organization. These deficiencies contribute to the increase in the caseload and decrease in the quality of the services.

- Although financial resource of most of the assistance provided to Syrian refugees in the scope of the public services is externally coming from international organizations, the lack of knowledge of host community on this issue is experienced as a hardship by street level bureaucrats during service provision due to the negative reactions coming from the host community.
- However, the problem of financial resources occurs as an important obstacle in terms of municipalities' service provision. Although the metropolitan municipality seems financially capable to deal with the increase in the number of the service recipients through outsourcing, district municipality is more hesitant to bring its services into the use of Syrians because of limited resources and their worries about a possible audit from Court of Accounts and reactions of the citizens.
- Although the human side of street level bureaucrats' work is discussed by them in terms of their challenging effects in relation to heavy caseload and limited resources, daily human interaction of them also increases their discretionary power and contributes to the output of the case management and efficiency of their work in some instances. The human dimension of this work makes each case unique. Even if eligibility for some services depends on specific criteria, those criteria are composed in an abstraction level and might not necessarily correspond to each case in the actual situation. In such situations, the discretion of street level bureaucrats becomes effective. Their discretionary power also diminishes their workload as providing them a right of using initiative by reducing few bureaucratic steps. However, on the contrary, not using initiative and remaining totally stuck on the procedures and certain criteria are also applied as a strategy to cope with a heavy workload in order not to make an additional effort.
- There occur some policy recommendations in line with those empirical findings. These can be listed as follows: Ensuring a permanent status to

Syrian refugees which is expected to be effective on the replacement of the needs based approach by the rights based approach, and increasing long term policies towards social cohesion and empowerment in order to improve their protection conditions and self-reliance; acknowledging the critical role of street level bureaucrats in service provision, providing capacity building trainings to them on the refugee field, the rights based approach and the legislation about Syrian refugees in Turkey in order to both increase the resilience of the street level bureaucrats and to improve the quality of the service provision via restraining arbitrary behaviours; conducting public information campaigns on false facts about Syrian refugees in Turkey in order to increase the public awareness and to decrease the pressure on street level bureaucracies from host community members; establishing specific departments under the roof of the institutions and increasing the number of relevant personnel for development and implementation of policies on Syrian refugees; clarifying the authority and the responsibilities of the local governments in service provision to Syrian refugees and to engage them in a more active role in managing the process; establishing an effective coordination mechanism with involvement of related local actors in order to prevent duplication in services, to use the resources more efficiently, and to provide the services in a more comprehensive way to be able to better respond to the complexity of the needs and vulnerabilities.

In conclusion, it should be noted that although there are several differences among the street level bureaucracies included in this research in terms of organizational culture, institutional capacity, professional competency and attitudes towards Syrian refugees; most of the difficulties and dilemmas that street level bureaucrats experience in the field and their responses and strategies in order to simplify and to cope with these difficulties and dilemmas are considerably common in these three sectors as a result of the interaction and the cross-learning among them. It demonstrates how Lipsky's (2010) original conceptualization of street level

bureaucracy in relation to their positions as frontline workers, regardless of their institution, in regular interaction with the service recipients during the provision of public services is instrumental to understand the dynamics in the local welfare system in Altındağ. It has become very beneficial both in terms of understanding the informants' own approaches and conditions and in terms of having information about the other actors in the local welfare system in an indirect way.

The key findings presented above are reached through the field research which has some limitations. Those limitations of this research and recommendations for further researches in this field can be listed as follows:

- In total, twenty-two key informants are involved in the field study. Due to organizational structures and attitudes of some institutions and organizations, the number of informants is not equally distributed among the institutions and the organization included. As experienced especially in the case of municipalities, there is a lack of a specialized department that is in charge of regulations about service provision to Syrian refugees within the structure of those institutions. Even if the number of informants has been able to be increased, it is observed that the responses of those informants remain highly irrelevant to the subject due to their unfamiliarity with this field. In some cases, it is even needed to include a few mid-level managers in the research. In addition to that reason for the inadequate number of relevant personnel, some institutions' preference and their busy schedule at work have become effective in the restricted number of informants.
- This research has been conducted in Altındağ district, which hosts the highest refugee population in Ankara. The findings of the research demonstrate that due to the ambiguities in the legal framework and in policies and due to the fragmented and dynamic structure of the local welfare system, service provision might be differentiated from one institution to another and from one locality to another. For that reason, a comparative

study with the inclusion of other districts would be interesting and worthwhile in order to reveal how different local dynamics shape service provision in this fragmented and dynamic structure.

- It has been focused on street level bureaucrats throughout this thesis in order to reveal the local welfare conditions for Syrian refugees in Altındağ district. Although Lipsky generally focuses on how the interests of street level bureaucrats and their managers differentiate from each other, there are some other approaches regarding this as argued by some of the informants during the research. As argued by Evans (2011), local managers and superior managers should be handled distinctively since local managers share many common values with street level bureaucrats in terms of professionalism. They are placed in a closer position to the field and have a supervision task in order for better service provision in collaboration with the street level bureaucrats. In line with this argument, some of the informants underlined the importance of support and supervision they get from their managers while dealing with the difficulties they face at work. Starting from this point, there can be conducted further research via including local and senior managers in order to analyze the local welfare policies and the experiences and the role of street level bureaucrats in that sense in more detail.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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20 Şubat 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Doç.Dr. Mustafa Kemal BAYIRBAĞ

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız *Cansu Oba ERDOĞAN'ın "Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Yerel Hizmet Sunumunda Eş Güdüm Sorunu"* başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **064-ODTÜ-2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.


Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ

Başkan


Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL
Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR
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Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI (4.)
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Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK
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Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN
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Üye

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Bu tez temel olarak sosyal yardımların sunumunda yer alan kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarında, yerel yönetimlerde ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarında çalışan sahadaki bürokratların takdir yetkisinin, Suriyelilere sosyal yardım sunumunun parçalı ve adem-i merkezi yapısından ve Suriyelilere dair yasal çerçeve ve politikadaki belirsizliklerden nasıl etkilendiğini, ve karşılığında bu takdir yetkisinin doğrultusunun yerel düzeyde sosyal yardım sunumunu nasıl etkilediğini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Michael Lipsky'nin (2010) “sahadaki bürokrasi” (street-level bureaucracy) kavramına başvurularak, çalışma kapsamında ele alınan kurum ve kuruluşların cephedeki çalışanlarının ayırt edici özellikleri olan hizmet alıcılarla bire bir etkileşimleri ve görevlerini yerine getirirken sahip oldukları takdir yetkileri bağlamında Altındağ’da yaşayan Suriyelilere yerel refah sunumunda sahadaki bürokratların rolüne odaklanılmaktadır. Böylece, sahadaki bürokratların Suriyelilere hizmet sunumu sırasındaki davranış kalıplarının ve bunların Suriyeli mültecilerin yerel refah sistemine dahil olmaları ya da yerel refah sisteminden dışlanmaları üzerindeki etkisi incelenmektedir.

Mülteci krizi küresel bir olgu olmasına rağmen, mülteci akınlarının etkileri ve sonuçları, yerel kaynaklar, yerel otoritelerin rolü, ve ev sahibi toplulukların yaklaşımıyla ilişkili olarak genellikle yerel düzeyde daha çarpıcı bir şekilde gözlemlenebilmektedir. Türkiye’de de Geçici Koruma kapsamında bulunan Suriyelilerin çoğunluğunun kentsel alanlarda yaşaması, Suriyeli mülteciler sorununun yerel kaynaklara ve yerel hizmet sunumuna etkisi bakımından kentsel politika perspektifiyle ele alınmasını gerektirmektedir. Bu kapsamda, mülteci olgusunun Türkiye bağlamında kentlileştiğine vurgu yapan bu tez, Türkiye’deki mülteci çalışmalarına kent çalışmaları perspektifinden katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Suriye krizinin ilk yıllarında gerçekleşen kitlesel akın nedeniyle meydana gelen acil durumun sona erse de, Türkiye’deki Suriyelilerle ilgili yasal çerçeve hala Geçici

Koruma Rejimi'ne dayanmaktadır. Suriyelilerin Türkiye'de kalma süresine dair belirsizlik uluslararası dinamikler, Suriye'deki yıkımın boyutu ve Suriyeli mültecilerin güvenlik kaygıları nedeniyle devam etse de, Suriyelilerin yakın vadede kitlesel olarak ülkelerine geri dönebileceklerine dair belirgin bir emare de bulunmamaktadır. Üstelik, mülteci akınlarıyla ilgili uluslararası deneyimler, mülteci krizlerinin süresi uzadıkça mültecilerin çoğunun menşei ülkelerine geri dönmek yerine sığınma ülkelerinde kalmaya devam ettiklerini genel bir eğilim olarak ortaya koymaktadır. Sekizinci yılına girilen Suriyeli mülteci krizi bağlamında, bu genel eğilim de göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Suriyelilere kalıcı statü ve hak temelli bir yaklaşım sağlanamamış olmasının hizmet sunumunda belirsizliklere yol açabileceği tahmin edilmektedir.

Mülteci olgusu sadece uluslararası göçün konusu değildir. Mülteciler sığındıkları ülkeye girdikten sonra da o ülke içindeki hareketlilikleri devam etmektedir. Türkiye'de olduğu gibi yaygın bir mülteci kampı politikası olmadığında, ülke sınırından geçişten sonra devam eden bu hareketlilik çoğunlukla bir kentsel alana yerleşmekle son bulmaktadır. Bu konumdaki Suriyeli mülteciler vatandaşlık statüsüne ya da kalıcı bir mülteci statüsüne sahip olmasalar bile bir şekilde refah sisteminin bir parçası haline gelmektedirler. Sosyal yardımlar, mültecilerin yerel refah sistemine dahil olmalarının ilk aracı olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Sığınma ülkesine yeni gelen mülteciler, kendi kendine yeterliliklerinin önemli aşamaları olan sosyal ve ekonomik yaşama adapte olana ve geçim kaynaklarına erişene kadar sosyal yardımlar yoluyla desteklenerek hayatta kalırlar. Türkiye örneğinde Suriyelilere yönelik kalıcı bir yasal düzenlemenin ve uzun vadeli bir politikanın eksikliği göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, acil durum sona erse dahi sosyal yardımlar hala refah sistemine dahil olmanın en önemli aracı olarak görünmektedir. Sosyal yardım mekanizmalarının önemi, Suriyeli mültecilerin birçoğunun gelir getirici faaliyetlerde bulunmalarını engelleyen hassasiyetleri, yüksek işsizlik oranları, ve ayrımcılık nedeniyle iş bulamamaları gibi etmenlerden dolayı sosyal yardımlara bağımlı hale gelmeleri nedeniyle daha da ön plana çıkmaktadır.

Suriyelilerin faydalanabileceği sosyal refah hizmetleri sosyal yardımlar ile sınırlı olmamakla birlikte, bu tez kapsamında Suriyeli mültecilerin yerel refah sistemine dahil oluşlarının sosyal yardımlar üzerinden incelenmesinin yukarıda bahsedilen ampirik nedenin yanı sıra analitik bir nedeni de bulunmaktadır. Eğitim, sağlık ve barınma gibi sosyal hizmetlerin birçoğuna erişim yerel düzeyde gerçekleşse de, bu hizmetler temel olarak merkezi hükümet tarafından düzenlenir ve sunulur. Bununla birlikte, sosyal yardım sunumu çok daha parçalı ve adem-i merkezi bir yapıya sahiptir. Sosyal yardım sunumu, hem merkezi hükümet, hem yerel yönetimler ve hem de, özellikle Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mülteciler bağlamında, sivil toplum kuruluşları, dini kuruluşlar ve topluluk içindeki dayanışma ağları tarafından sağlanmaktadır. İlgili kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının ve kamu dışı aktörlerin arasındaki iş bölümünün yasal çerçevedeki belirsizlikler nedeniyle net olmaması, Suriyeli mülteci sorununa geçici bir olgu olarak yaklaşmanın getirdiği olası altyapı yetersizlikleri, ve mülteci sayısının fazlalığının neden olduğu kaynak kısıtlılıkları göz önünde bulundurulduğunda sosyal yardım sunumundaki boşlukların yerel düzeyde çeşitli aktörler tarafından doldurulmaktadır. Bu durumun hizmet sunumunda verimsizliğe ve aktörler arasında koordinasyonsuzluğa neden olabileceği öngörülmektedir.

Mingione ve Oberti (2013), yerel refah sisteminin inşasının, kamu sektörü, sivil toplum ve piyasa olmak üzere üç bileşen üzerinden gerçekleştiğini öne sürer. Bu çalışma kapsamında Suriyeli mültecilerin refah sistemine dahil oluşları sosyal yardım sektörüne odaklanılarak anlaşılmaya çalışıldığından yerel refah sisteminin piyasa bileşeni çalışmanın dışında bırakılmıştır. Suriyeli mültecilere yerel hizmet sunumunun dinamikleri sosyal yardımlar bağlamında ele alınmış ve Altındağ'daki farklı kurum tiplerinin hizmet sunumu arasındaki benzerlikler, farklılıklar ve eşgüdüm durumu ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Merkezi hükümetin taşra teşkilatlarının ve sivil toplumun yanı sıra yerel refah sunumundaki rolleri nedeniyle yerel yönetimler de bu çalışma kapsamına dahil edilmiştir.

Bu kapsamda, bu çalışma üç temel üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Birincisi, kent mültecileri kavramından yola çıkılarak Suriyeliler, Altındağ bağlamında yerel ve kentsel hizmet sunumunun içine yerleştirilmiş ve böylece mülteci kimliklerinin yanı sıra hizmet alıcılar olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu nedenle, yerel düzeyde hizmet sunumu sırasında sahada neler yaşandığını anlayabilmek amacıyla hizmet alıcılar olarak Suriyelilerle hizmet sunucular olarak sahadaki bürokratların etkileşime girdiği ara yüzeye odaklanılmıştır. İkinci olarak, sosyal devletin yerel refah sistemlerine evrilmesinin sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan parçalı ve çok aktörlü yapının, sosyal hizmet sunumunun bütünlüklü bir şekilde gerçekleşebilmesi için çeşitli koordinasyon mekanizmalarını gerekli kıldığı üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu gereklilik, Altındağ örneğinde Suriyelilere sosyal yardım sunumu üzerinden incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın başında, Türkiye’de geçici koruma altında bulunan Suriyelilere yönelik yasal çerçeve ve politikalardaki belirsizliklerin koordinasyon ihtiyacını daha da arttıracak ön görülmüştür. Üçüncü olarak, refah sunumunun adem-i merkezileşmesi ve çok aktörlü hale gelmesiyle birlikte, Lipsky’nin “sahadaki bürokrasi” kavramının içeriğinin merkezi hükümetin yanında yerel yönetimleri ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarını da kapsayacak şekilde genişletilmesi gerektiği tartışılmıştır.

Tezin giriş bölümünde çalışmanın amaç ve kapsamı bu çerçevede ortaya konulmaktadır. İkinci bölümde, tezin ana argümanlarının teorik arka planı ele alınmıştır. Suriyeli mülteciler üzerine yapılan ve çoğunluğu tezlerden oluşan çalışmalar üzerine literatür taraması yapılarak mevcut çalışmaların birçoğunun ya yukarıdan aşağı bir bakış açısı ile kurumsal analize ve politika analizine odaklandığı ya da aşağıdan yukarı bir bakış açısıyla sosyolojik incelemelerden oluştuğu tespit edilmiştir. Bu çalışmalardan farklı olarak, bu tez kapsamında Suriyeli mülteciler hizmet alıcılar olarak yerel refah sisteminin içine yerleştirilmiş ve yerel refah sistemlerinin dinamik yapısı göz önünde bulundurularak hizmet alıcılarla hizmet sunucuların sahada etkileşime girdiği alana odaklanılmıştır. Altındağ örneğinde Suriyeli mültecilerin yerel refah sistemindeki yeri, Andreotti, Mingione ve Polizzi’nin (2012) yerel refah sistemlerinin mekânsal boyutuna ve dinamik ve çok

aktörlü yapısına vurgu yapan katkılarından yola çıkılarak anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Refah sistemlerinin bu dinamik yapısı dolayısıyla hizmet sunumuyla birlikte hizmet alıcıların da yerelliklere göre farklılaştığı tartışılmıştır. Mingione (2004), refah devletinin dönüşümüyle birlikte sosyal dışlanma riski altında olan dört sosyal gruptan birinin göçmenler olduğu tartışır. Bu argümandan yola çıkılarak Altındağ örneğinde Suriyeli mültecilere odaklanılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, çalışma sahası olarak Altındağ ilçesinin seçilmesi, mültecilerin sığınma ülkeleri içinde devam eden hareketliliklerini de gösterdiği için yerel hizmet sunucuların Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumunda geliştirecekleri yanıtlara farklı bir boyut da kazandırmaktadır. Suriyeli mültecilerin ülke içinde çeşitli faktörlerle devam eden hareketlilikleri, bu sürecin izlenmesi ve uygun yanıtların üretilmesi konusunda yerel aktörlere ek sorumluluklar getirmektedir. Özellikle yerel yönetimler bağlamında, Blaser ve Landau'nun (2014) önerisine atıfta bulunarak, yerel aktörlerin bu konuda üretecekleri yanıtların ve politikaların öncelikle bu hareketliliğin kendi sorumluluk alanlarına girdiğini kabul etmeleriyle başladığı ileri sürülmektedir. Yerel düzey, bu hareketliliği yönetmede ve refah sunumunda daha kritik hale geldiğinden, yerel hizmet sunucuların rolü, Lipsky'nin "sahadaki bürokrasi" kavramına başvurularak tartışılmaktadır. Temel olarak, Suriyeli mültecilerle ilgili belirsiz yasal çerçevenin ve politikaların, yerel hizmet sunumunda yol açabileceği olası koordinasyonsuzluk ve ihtiyaç temelli yaklaşım nedeniyle sahadaki bürokratların bireysel kararları için daha geniş bir alan sağlayabileceği öne sürülmektedir.

Üçüncü bölümde, tezin saha çalışmasına yer verilmiştir. Dünyada Suriyeli mülteci krizinden en çok etkilenen ülkelerle ilgili genel bilgiler ve veriler paylaşılarak Suriyeli mülteci olgusu kent mültecileri bağlamında tartışılmaktadır. Türkiye örneğinde Suriyeli mültecilerin büyük çoğunluğu kamplar yerine kentsel alanlarda yaşamaktadır ve bu şehirler sınır şehirleriyle kısıtlı bulunmamaktadır. Böylece, yoğunlukları farklılaşmakla birlikte Türkiye'nin neredeyse tüm şehirlerinde Suriyeli mülteciler olgusu yerel hizmet sunumunun konusu haline gelmektedir. Bu bağlamda, Altındağ örneğinde Suriyelilere yerel hizmet sunumunun koşullarının

anlaşılabilmesi için bu hizmetlerin dayandığı yasal çerçeve ele alınmıştır ve Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği'nde yer alan geçicilik vurgusu ve haklar yerine hizmetlere yapılan vurgunun Suriyeli mültecilerin koruma koşullarının ve hizmetlere erişimlerinin üzerindeki olası negatif etkilerinin üzerinde durulmuştur.

Ankara'da yaşayan Suriyeli mültecilerin yarısından fazlası saha çalışmasının gerçekleştirildiği Altındağ ilçesinde ikamet etmektedir. Altındağ'da ikamet eden Suriyeli mülteci nüfusunun yerel halka oranı % 13'ü bulmuş durumdadır. İlçedeki Suriyeli mültecilerin yoğunluğu temel olarak iki nedene dayanmaktadır: Birincisi, ilçede devam eden kentsel dönüşüm projelerinden dolayı boşaltılmış olan gecekonduların Suriyelilere düşük kiralara verilmesi nedeniyle Suriyeliler için avantajlı bir ikamet alanı haline gelmesi ve ikincisi Siteler mobilya sanayi bölgesinin ilçedeki varlığı nedeniyle Suriyeli mülteciler için genellikle kayıt dışı ve güvencesiz olmasına rağmen bir istihdam alanı oluşturmasıdır. Mülteci nüfusun yerel halka oranının % 3'ü bulması kaynaklar açısından sorun yaratmaya başlayacak bir eşik olarak kabul edilirken % 10 sınırı ise ilgili idari birimlerin süreç yönetimiyle ilgili çok daha kritik bir eşiği ifade etmektedir (Erdoğan, 2017). Altındağ yerelinde bu iki önemli eşiğin de aşıldığı görülmektedir. Bu nedenle Suriyeli mültecilerin yerel kaynaklar ve hizmet sunumundaki etkilerinin araştırılması açısından Altındağ ilçesi önemli bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Tezin saha çalışması bu nedenle Altındağ ilçesinde gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Buna ek olarak, Suriyeli mültecilerin sosyal yardımlar bağlamında Altındağ'da yerel refah sistemine dahil olmalarının mekanizmalarının ortaya konulması amacıyla sosyal yardımlar üzerine bir kurumsal haritalama çalışmasına da bu bölümde yer verilmiştir. Bu haritalama çalışması sonucunda, tez kapsamında gerçekleştirilen saha çalışmasına, merkezi hükümetin taşra teşkilatlarından Altındağ Sosyal Hizmet Merkezi ve Altındağ Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakfı; yerel yönetimlerden Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi ve Altındağ Belediyesi dahil edilmiştir. Sivil toplum kuruluşları da özellikle Suriyeli mültecilere sosyal yardım sunumu bağlamında öne çıkan bir diğer bileşendir. Bu kapsamda hizmet sağlayan

birçok yerel organizasyon ve topluluk bulunmasına rağmen hizmetlerin merkezi hükümet ve yerel yönetimlerle karşılaştırılabilir olması bakımından mülteciler alanında faaliyet gösteren, sosyal yardım sunumunda ilgili yasal çerçeveyi ve belirli kriterleri baz alan ve ülke ölçeğinde yaygın şekilde faaliyet gösteren bir sivil toplum kuruluşu çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Bu aktörlerin ilçede yaşayan Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik hizmetleri hakkında dolaylı yoldan bilgi alabilmek için Altındağ'da Suriyelilerin en yoğun olarak yaşadıkları mahallelerin muhtarları da saha çalışmasına dahil edilmiştir. Çalışma kapsamında kurumsal ya da sosyolojik bir analiz yapmak yerine hizmet sunucularla hizmet alıcıların etkileşime geçtiği ara yüzeye odaklanılması amaçlandığından hizmet sunumu sırasında hizmet alıcıyla bire bir temasta bulunan çalışanlar olarak sahadaki bürokratların çalışmaya dahil edilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Bu kapsamda merkezi hükümetin taşra teşkilatlarından 6, yerel yönetimlerden 4, sivil toplum kuruluşundan 8 ve muhtarlardan 4 olmak üzere toplamda 22 katılımcıyla saha çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Katılımcıların çoğunluğu çalışmaya dahil olan kurum, kuruluş ve belediyelerin sosyal yardımlar alanında çalışan sahadaki bürokratları iken, belediyelerden iki katılımcı alt kademe yönetici pozisyonunda çalışmaktadır. Bir merkezi hükümet çalışanı ise önceden sosyal çalışmacı iken yakın zamanda yönetici pozisyonuna geçmiştir. Nitel araştırma yöntemi kapsamında görüşmeler derinlemesine mülakatlar ve odak grup tartışmaları yoluyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Görüşme gerçekleştirilen kurum ve belediyelerin Suriyeli mültecilerle ilgili özel bir birimlerinin bulunmaması, Suriyelilere hizmet sunumunda görev alan personel sayısındaki azlık ve karşılaşılan bazı bürokratik engeller nedeniyle katılımcı sayısının arttırılamaması saha çalışmasının temel sınırlılığını oluşturmaktadır.

Tezin dördüncü bölümünde saha çalışmasından elde edilen bilgiler iki ana başlık altında gruplandırılarak paylaşılmıştır. Bunlardan ilki, Altındağ'da Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumunun durumu ve görüşülen kişilerin bu konu hakkındaki değerlendirmesine odaklanmaktadır. Yerel hizmet sunucuların hizmet alanlarının ve Suriyeli mültecilerin bu hizmetlere erişimiyle ilgili koşulların ortaya konulmasının

ardından, yerel refah sistemi, Suriyelilerle ilgili yasal çerçevenin ve politikaların sonuçları bağlamında incelenmektedir. Öte yandan, sahadaki bürokratların artan Suriyeli mülteci sayısına karşılık olarak hizmet sunumu sırasında geliştirdikleri daha bireysel yanıtlar ikinci ana başlık altında ele alınmaktadır. Bu tartışma temel olarak sahadaki bürokratların Altındağ'da Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumu sırasındaki deneyimlerine, yaşadıkları ikilemlere, sahadaki pozisyonlarının yol açtığı zorluklara ve bu koşullara dair geliştirdikleri stratejilere odaklanmaktadır.

Beşinci bölüm olan sonuç bölümü, saha çalışmasında ortaya çıkan bulguların analizine ve değerlendirilmesine dayanmaktadır. Bu bulgular temel olarak teorik ve ampirik bulgular olarak iki ana kategori altında toplanmıştır. Teorik bulgular, refah devletinin dönüşümüyle birlikte sahadaki bürokratlar kavramının yeniden düşünülmesi gerektiğine ve kavramının yeniden inşasına; mültecilere sabit bir kategori yerine dinamik bir kategori olarak yaklaşılması ve sığınma ülkesi içinde devam eden hareketlilikleri de göz önünde bulundurularak merkezi hükümetin yanında yerel aktörlerin de göç yönetiminde artan rollerinin tanınması gerekliliğine; Suriyeli mültecilerin yerel refah sistemine nasıl dahil olduklarının anlaşılması için, Suriyelileri sadece mülteci olarak değil aynı zamanda hizmet alıcılar olarak ele alarak hizmet sunucularla hizmet alıcılar arasındaki ara yüzeye odaklanmanın önemine dayanmaktadır.

İlk olarak, sahadaki bürokrasi kavramı, Lipsky tarafından ilk defa 1980 yılında kapsamlı bir şekilde kullanıldığında esas olarak kamu sektörüne atıfta bulunmaktaydı. Buna göre, sahadaki bürokratların, hizmeti sunumu sırasında hizmet alıcılarla günlük etkileşim gerektiren konumlarından dolayı vatandaşların gözünde devletin görünen yüzü oldukları tartışılmaktaydı. Her ne kadar Lipsky'nin geliştirdiği kavrama başvurmak, Altındağ bağlamında Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumunda sahadaki bürokratların rolünü anlamak ve hizmet sunumunda geliştirdikleri yanıtları ve yaşadıkları ikilemleri ortaya koymak için faydalı olsa da, refah devletinin dönüşümüyle birlikte hizmet sunumunun farklılaşan yapısı göz önünde bulundurulduğunda bu haliyle yeterli olmamaktadır. Refah devletinin daha

dinamik bir yapıya evrilmesiyle birlikte, hizmet sunumu daha karmaşık mekanizmalar aracılığıyla gerçekleştirilmeye başlamıştır. Bu dönüşüm sonucu merkezi refah devletinin yerini alan yerel refah sistemleri, parçalı yapısı nedeniyle kurumların sorumluluk alanları konusunda belirsizliklere yol açmaya, çok ölçekli yapısı nedeniyle yerel aktörlere daha fazla alan açmaya, ve çok aktörlü yapısı nedeniyle de kamu sektörü dışında sivil toplum ve piyasa aktörlerini de kapsar hale gelmeye başlamıştır. Bu kapsamda, Altındağ'da yaşayan Suriyeli mültecilere sosyal yardım sunumunda merkezi hükümetin taşra teşkilatları dışında yerel yönetimler ve sivil toplum kuruluşları ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu aktörler, Suriyeli mültecilere sundukları ya da sunmadıkları sosyal yardımlar dolayısıyla Suriyeli mültecilerin koruma koşullarını ve refah seviyelerini etkilemektedir. Bu tez kapsamında, sosyal yardım sunumunun bu çok aktörlü yapısı nedeniyle, sahadaki bürokratlar kavramının kamu sektörüyle sınırlandırılmayacağı ve kavramın daha işlevsel olarak kullanılabilmesi amacıyla içeriğinin bahsedilen diğer aktörleri de kapsayacak şekilde genişletilmesi gerektiği öne sürülmektedir.

İkinci olarak, mülteci kavramının uluslararası tanımının yapılması, mülteciliğin evrensel kriterlerle tanımlanarak asgari bir standardın sağlanması ve böylece ülkelerin esnek ve keyfi yaklaşımlarının önlemesi bağlamında önemli bir mihenk taşı kabul edilmektedir. Bununla birlikte, uluslararası mülteci hukukunda ve ilgili diğer metinlerde mültecilerin hareketliliği genellikle sadece uluslararası bir hareketlilik olarak ele alınsa da, kamplar yerine kentsel alanlarda yaşayan mültecilerin artan sayısı da göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, mültecilerin sığınma ülkesi içinde devam eden hareketliliklerine de odaklanılması gerektiği ortaya çıkmaktadır. Türkiye örneği ele alındığında, Eraydın'ın (2017) Suriyeli mültecilerin yerleştikleri şehirlere dair yaptığı gruplandırma, mültecilerin sığınma ülkesi içinde çeşitli nedenlerle devam eden hareketliliğini gösterir niteliktedir. Buna göre, Suriyeli mülteciler yoğun olarak ya sınır bölgesine yakın şehirlerde, ya Avrupa'ya geçiş için deniz yoluna yakın olan Batı şeridindeki şehirlerde, ya da onları bu şehirlere çeken birçok faktör dolayısıyla metropollerde yaşamaktadırlar.

Altındağ'da yaşayan Suriyeliler örneğinde olduğu gibi, Suriyeli mülteciler Türkiye sınırından geçtikten sonra ülke içinde hareketlerine devam ederek sınıra komşu olmayan bir şehre kadar gelebilmekteler ve bu mülteci akınına dair yanıt üretme sorumluluğunu da beraberlerinde getirerek göç yönetimine yerel ve kentsel hizmetlerle ilgili bir boyut kazandırmaktadırlar. Bu nedenle, Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumunda Türkiye'de öne çıkan devlet kurumlarının ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının yanı sıra yerel yönetimlerin de bu sürecin temel aktörlerinden biri olması gerektiği savunulmaktadır.

Son olarak, Suriyeli mülteciler, mülteci kimliklerinin yanı sıra hizmet alıcılar olarak ele alınarak yerel refah sisteminin dinamik yapısı içinde hizmet sunucularla etkileşimlerine odaklanılarak bir bağlama yerleştirilmiştir. Suriyelilere hizmet sunumuna yönelik yasal çerçeve ve politikadaki belirsizliklerin ve hizmet sunumunun çok ölçekli ve parçalı yapısının sonucunda sahadaki bürokratların bireysel yaklaşımlarının daha belirleyici hale geldiği gözlemlenmiş, hizmet sunumunun yerel dinamiklerini ve koşullarını anlayabilmek için hizmet alıcılarla hizmet sunucuların karşılaştıkları ara yüzeyin incelenmesinin önemi ortaya konulmuştur.

Bu tez kapsamında ulaşılan ampirik bulgular ise iki başlık altında gruplandırılmaktadır. Bunlardan birincisi, Altındağ ilçesinde sosyal yardım sunumunda çalışan sahadaki bürokratların takdir yetkilerinin düzeyi ve doğrultusunun sahadaki yasal ve kurumsal boşluktan nasıl etkilendiği ile ilgilidir. İkincisi ise, farklı kurum tiplerinde çalışan sahadaki bürokratların aralarındaki ilişki ve etkileşimle ilgilidir. İlk olarak, çalışmanın başlangıcında öngörüldüğü gibi Türkiye'de geçici koruma altında bulunan Suriyelilerle ilgili yasal çerçevedeki belirsizlikler ve ilgili aktörlerin sorumluluk alanlarının ve aralarındaki iş bölümünün net olmaması, sahadaki bürokratların takdir yetkilerini arttırmaktadır. Bu durum, yerel düzeyde sosyal yardım sunumunda parçalı bir yapıya ve keyfi uygulamalara yol açabilmektedir. Lipsky'nin (2010) sahadaki bürokratların takdir yetkisi üzerine yürüttüğü tartışma temel olarak sahadaki bürokratların, daha bütünlüklü ve

yapılandırılmış mekanizmalar üzerinden gerçekleştirdikleri hizmet sunumu sırasında bu yapının dışına çıkabilmelerine dayanır. Temel hizmet sunucunun merkezi hükümet teşkilatları olduğu bu dönemde sahadaki bürokratlar kavramı da, genel olarak cephede –yani hizmet alıcılarla günlük olarak bire bir etkileşim içinde- çalışan devlet memurlarını ifade eder. Takdir yetkisi, cephedeki bu çalışanların bireysel vakalara cevap verebilmesi için hizmet sunumunun yapılandırılmış standartlarının ve prosedürlerinin kısmen dışına çıkabilmesini ifade eder ve bu takdir yetkisi genellikle bireysel vakaların ihtiyacına yanıt üreterek hizmet sunumunun daha etkili gerçekleşmesini sağladığı için olumlu bir etki yaratır. Ancak bu tez kapsamında ele alınan örnekte takdir yetkisi, hizmet sunumunun bu yapılandırılmış çerçevesinin dışına çıkmak yerine bu çerçevenin kendisinin belirsizliğinden kaynaklanan parçalı yapının sonucunu ifade eder. Bir yandan yasal çerçevedeki ve hizmet sunucular arasındaki işbölümündeki belirsizlik, diğer yandan da refah devletinin dönüşen yapısı nedeniyle ortaya çıkan adem-i merkezi, parçalı ve çok aktörlü yapı, sahadaki bürokratların aşağıdan yukarıya doğru bir hizmet sunumu modeli geliştirmelerini sağlamaktadır. Bütünlüklü bir yasal düzenlemenin ve politikanın eksikliğinde ise yerel düzeyde sahadaki bürokratların bu davranış kalıpları hizmet sunumunun normları haline gelebilmektedir. Suriyeli mültecilerin hala geçici koruma altında bulunmalarının, kalıcı bir statüye sahip olmamalarının ve yasal ve siyasal düzlemde haklar söyleminde uzak bir yaklaşımın da etkisiyle sahadaki bürokratların takdir yetkisi Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumunda genellikle negatif bir etki yaratmaktadır ve ayrımcı ve keyfî uygulamalar olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

İkinci olarak, saha çalışması kapsamında görüşülen sahadaki bürokratların, çalıştıkları kurum tipinden bağımsız olarak, Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumunda geliştirdikleri davranış kalıpları arasında bir nedensellik gözlemlenmektedir. İşlerini sadeleştirmek için geliştirdikleri rutinler, hizmet alıcıları yönlendirmede başvurdukları yollar ve yoğun iş yüküyle başa çıkmak için geliştirdikleri mekanizmalar birbirlerinden öğrendiklerini ve birbirlerini etkilediklerini

göstermektedir. Kamu sektöründe çalışmıyor olsalar dahi refah sisteminin dönüşen ve daha dinamik, parçalı ve çok aktörlü hale gelen yapısı ve Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumundaki rolleri nedeniyle saha çalışması kapsamına dahil edilen sivil toplum kuruluşu çalışanlarına sahadaki bürokratların bir parçası olarak yaklaşılmasının önemi, hizmet sunumunda bulundukları sahadaki pozisyonları ve geliştirdikleri davranış kalıplarının kamu sektöründe çalışan sahadaki bürokratlarla benzerlikleri dolayısıyla ampirik olarak da ortaya konulmuştur.

Bu bağlamda öne çıkan ampirik bulgulardan biri hizmet sunumunda ihtiyaç temelli bir yaklaşımın benimsenmiş olmasıyla ilgilidir. Suriyeli mültecilerin Altındağ'da hizmet veren bu üç kurum tipine başvurmalarının temel nedeni olarak maddi yardım talebi olarak ön plana çıkmaktadır. Bu durum Suriyeli mülteciler olgusunun hak temelli yaklaşımdan uzak bir şekilde ele alınmasıyla uyum içinde görünmektedir. Bir yandan Suriyeli mültecilerin güçlendirilmesine yönelik uzun vadeli politikaların eksikliği maddi yardımlarla desteklenme ihtiyacını arttırıyorken diğer yandan bu durum Suriyeli mültecileri sosyal yardım sunumunda muhtaçlık üzerinden konumlandırıp hizmet alıcıların sosyal yardımlara daha bağımlı ve talepkar bir konuma yerleşmelerine neden olmaktadır. Hizmet alıcılar olarak Suriyeli mülteciler kalıcı bir statü ve haklar üzerinden tanımlanan aktif bir konum yerine ihtiyaçlar ve muhtaçlık üzerinden tanımlanan pasif bir konuma yerleştirilmektedirler. Bu durum hizmet alıcılarla hizmet sunucular arasında bir tür bağımlı ilişkiye yol açmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, haklar ve eşitlik söyleminden uzaklaşan ihtiyaç temelli yaklaşım hizmet alıcıların rolünü muhtaçlık ilişkisi üzerinden belirleyerek Suriyeli mültecileri haklarını arayan bireyler yerine kendilerine sunulana kabul eden muhtaç durumdaki insanlar tanımlar. Bu durum yasal çerçevedeki ve aktörler arasındaki iş bölümündeki belirsizlikle de birleştiğinde sahadaki bürokratların bireysel yaklaşımları hizmet sunumunda daha belirleyici hale gelmektedir. Hizmetlerin Suriyeli mülteciler tarafından erişilebilirliği ve hizmet sunumunun kalitesi, artan takdir yetkisiyle birlikte sahadaki bürokratların Suriyelilere yönelik kişisel yaklaşımlarından, mesleki yeterliliklerinden ve mülteci alanına dair bilgi

birikimlerinden etkilenmektedir. Bu faktörler nedeniyle takdir yetkisi genellikle negatif yönde işlemekte ve kurumlar arasında farklılaşan pratiklere neden olmaktadır. Kaynakların kısıtlılığı da hizmet sunum pratiklerinin farklılaşmasında etkili olmaktadır. Kaynak ve kapasite sorunu, Suriyeli mültecilerin hizmet sunumundan kısmen ya da tamamen dışlanmasına neden olacak pratiklerin geliştirilmesine neden olabilmektedir.

Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik uzun vadeli ve kalıcı politikaların eksikliği sivil toplum kuruluşu çalışanları tarafından geçicilik vurgusu bağlamında tartışılmıştır. Geçici koruma statüsünün Suriyelilerin Türkiye'deki statüsü, kalış süreleri ve hakları konusunda neden olduğu belirsizlik bir yandan Suriyeli mültecilerin geleceklerine ve kurumlara dair güvensizliklerini arttırırken diğer yandan da hizmet sunumunda bu durumu pekiştiren keyfi uygulamalara neden olabilmektedir. Ayrıca, sivil toplum kuruluşunda çalışanlar dışında sahadaki bürokratların birçoğunun Suriyelilere hizmet sunumuyla ilgili yasal çerçeveyi ve dayanakları bilmedikleri görülmektedir. Bu durumda sahadaki bürokratların Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumuyla ilgili görüşlerinin genel politik söylemlerden daha çok etkilendiği ve ayrımcılıkla yardımseverlik arasında salınan bir çeşitlilik gösterdiği gözlemlenmektedir.

Görüşülen sahadaki bürokratların neredeyse tamamı, Altındağ'da sosyal yardım alanında çalışan aktörlerin Suriyelilere hizmet sunumunu düzenleyen ve kolaylaştıran bir yerel koordinasyon mekanizmasının yokluğundan şikayet etmektedir. Bu koordinasyonsuzluğun özellikle Suriyeli hizmet alıcıların demografik bilgilerine sosyo-ekonomik durumlarına dair doğru bilgiye ulaşmada yarattığı sorunlar sahadaki bürokratların iş yükleri ve hizmet kalitesi üzerinde olumsuz etkiye sahip görünmektedir. Sosyal yardım sunumunda mükerrer uygulamalara yol açan bu sorun yardımların adil dağıtılmasını engellemekte ve bazı ailelerin birden fazla kurumdan aynı yardımı almasına neden olabilmektedir. Ayrıca Suriyeli mültecilerin yerel refah sistemine dahil olmalarında sosyal yardımların rolünün bütünlüklü ve etkili bir şekilde izlenmesinin ve değerlendirilmesinin de önüne geçmektedir. Farklı kurum tiplerinde çalışıyor olsalar da aralarındaki

koordinasyonsuzluk ve bilgi paylaşımındaki yetersizlik nedeniyle aynı işlemleri mükerrer olarak yürütmelerinden dolayı sahadaki bürokratların toplam iş yükleri artmaktadır. Bu durumla başa çıkmaya dair geliştirdikleri temel strateji ise genellikle bu alanda çalışan kişisel tanıdıklarına başvurmaktır. Kurumsal ölçekte gerçekleştirilemeyen koordinasyon ve bilgi paylaşımını, Altındağ'da Suriyelilere sosyal yardım sunan diğer kurum ve kuruluşlarda ve genellikle kendileriyle aynı pozisyonda çalışan tanıdıklarıyla iletişime geçerek sağlamaya ve böylece hizmet sunumunda yaşadıkları zorlukları azaltarak iş yüklerini hafifletmeye çalışmaktadırlar.

Yerel yönetimler dışında görüşülen kişilerin neredeyse tamamı Suriyeli mültecilerin gelmesiyle birlikte iş yüklerinin katlanarak artmış olduğunu ifade etmektedir. İş yükündeki artış sadece dosya sayısının artmasıyla ilgili değil, aynı zamanda toplam dosya yükü içindeki hassas vakaların sayısının artmış olmasıyla da ilişkilidir. Bu durum mesleki ve psikolojik anlamda bir tükenmişliğe yol açabilmektedir. Görüşülen çalışanlardan bazıları bu durumun profesyonel olmayan bir şekilde hizmet alıcılarla ilişkilerinin gerilmesine yol açtığını aktarmıştır. Ayrıca dosya sayısının artmasıyla birlikte sahadaki bürokratlar açısından hizmet sunumunda önemli kaynaklardan biri olan zaman daha da kritik hale gelmiş ve dosya yükünü azaltmak için dosya başına harcanan zamanda bir düşüş yaşanmıştır. Görüşülen çalışanlardan bazıları, kurum tipleri farklılaşsa da, insani alanda çalışıyor olmaları nedeniyle dosya başına ayırabildikleri zamandaki azalışı hizmet kalitesini düşüren bir faktör olarak görmekte ve mesleki bir çelişki olarak algılamaktadır. Dosya başına düzen zamanı azaltmak dışında başvurdukları bir diğer başa çıkma yöntemi ise vakaları hassasiyetlerine göre önceliklendirerek işleme almaktır. Ayrıca, hem kamu hem de sivil toplum sektöründen çalışanlar, yetersiz personel sayısını iş yüklerini arttıran bir faktör olarak görmektedir.

Altındağ ilçesinde olduğu gibi kentsel alanlarda yaşayan yoğun Suriyeli mülteci nüfus yerel ve kentsel hizmetlerin konusu haline gelse de, yerel yönetimlerin bu konuda aktif bir rol oynamasının önünde bir takım engeller görülmektedir.

Suriyelilere hizmet sunumunda yerel yönetimlerin yetki ve sorumluluk alanları net bir şekilde tanımlanmamıştır. Bu yasal boşluk yerel yönetimlerin kendi inisiyatifleri doğrultusunda doldurulmaktadır. Büyükşehir Belediyesi sosyal yardım mekanizmalarına Suriyeli mültecileri de dahil ederken olası bir Sayıştay denetiminde yaşanabilecek sorunlara dair çekincelerden dolayı bu yardımlar aynı yardımlarla sınırlı tutulmaktadır. İlçe belediyesi örneğinde ise aynı gerekçenin yanı sıra kaynakların yetersizliği ve ilçe ikamet eden muhtaç durumdaki Türk vatandaşı sayısının fazlalığı nedeniyle Suriyeli mültecilerin sosyal yardım mekanizmalarının neredeyse tamamen dışında bırakıldığı görülmektedir. Üstelik, yetersiz kaynaklar ve yasal boşlukla ilgili çekincelerin zaman zaman sahadaki bürokratların ayrımcı yaklaşımlarından ötürü Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumundaki isteksizliklerine bir gerekçelendirme olarak kullanıldığı da gözlemlenmektedir.

Sahadaki bürokratların Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumunda yaşadıkları ve dolayısıyla hizmet sunumundaki yaklaşımlarını etkileyen bir diğer faktör ise yerel halktan kendilerine yöneltilen tepkilerdir. Suriyeli mültecilerin yararlandıkları sosyal yardım mekanizmalarının birçoğunun kaynağı uluslararası fonlar olmakla birlikte yerel halkın ve zaman zaman sahadaki bürokratların kendilerinin bu duruma dair bilgi eksikliği sınırlı kaynakların ihtiyaç sahibi vatandaşlar yerine Suriyelilere ayrıldığı gerekçesiyle çoğu ayrımcılık içeren tepkilere yol açmaktadır.

Bu bulgular bağlamında öne çıkan başlıca politika önerileri, Suriyeli mültecilere kalıcı bir statü sağlanmasıyla güçlenmelerine ve kendi kendilerine yeterliliklerini kazanmalarına yönelik politikaların arttırılması ve hizmet sunumunda hak temelli bir yaklaşımın benimsenmesini; sahadaki bürokratların hizmet sunumdaki kritik rollerini göz önünde bulundurarak, hizmet sunumunun kalitesinin ve sahadaki bürokratların dayanıklılığının attırılması için Suriyeli mültecilerle ilgili yasal çerçeveye, hak temelli yaklaşıma ve genel olarak mülteci alanına dair hizmet içi eğitimlerin yaygınlaştırılmasını; Suriyeli mültecilerle ilgili yerel halka yönelik farkındalık arttırıcı kampanyalar düzenlenerek sahadaki bürokratların hizmet sunumu sırasında yaşadıkları basıncın dolaylı bir şekilde azaltılmasını; yerel

yönetimlerin Suriyeli mültecilere hizmet sunumuna dair yetki ve sorumluluklarının netleştirilmesini ve göç yönetiminde daha aktif bir konuma yerleştirilmelerini; hizmet sunumunun daha etkili ve bütünlüklü gerçekleştirilebilmesi için yerel aktörler arasındaki koordinasyon mekanizmasının güçlendirilmesini içermektedir.

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