

TWO WORLDS MEETING IN ONE NEIGHBORHOOD:  
RECEIVING SOCIETY MEMBERS-AFGHAN WORKERS RELATIONS IN  
YENİMAHALLE, İSTANBUL

by  
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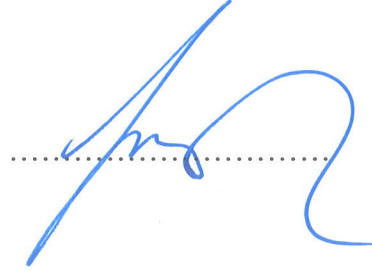
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **TWO WORLDS MEETING IN ONE NEIGHBORHOOD: RECEIVING SOCIETY MEMBERS-AFGHAN WORKERS RELATIONS IN YENIMAHALLE, ISTANBUL**

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**CONFLICT ANALYSIS AND RESOLUTION M.A. THESIS, APRIL 2019**

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**Keywords: undocumented Afghan labor immigration, intergroup relations, group perceptions, attitudes, interactions.**

This study aims to contribute to the issue of undocumented Afghan labor immigration in Turkey by looking at the intergroup relations between immigrants and receiving society members with a sociological perspective. A squatter neighborhood in Istanbul, Yenimahalle, is selected as the research field because of the increasing number of undocumented Afghan labor immigrants in this neighborhood. The perceptions, attitudes, and interactions of the groups are analyzed to understand the intergroup relations. Data of the study is obtained from a total of 24 semi-structured and face-to-face interviews conducted in Yenimahalle neighborhood; 12 with the receiving society members and 12 with the Afghan immigrants. The findings of the study suggest that the receiving society members and Afghan immigrants perceive each other as two distinct groups, which are positioned in social hierarchy asymmetrically. While receiving society members feel pity towards immigrants and commonly commit violence against them, immigrants feel gratitude towards receiving society members and generally stay silent as a survival strategy. As a shared feeling, it is observed that these groups feel fear and anxiety toward each other. Other findings of the study suggest that there is limited social interaction between groups, and the social distance between groups has emerged as the consequence of the temporality of the immigrants, perceived cultural differences between groups, and singlehood and gender of the immigrants.

## ÖZET

### BİR MAHALLEDE İKİ DÜNYANIN BULUŞMASI: İSTANBUL, YENİMAHALLE’DE GÖÇ ALAN TOPLUM ÜYELERİ VE AFGAN İŞÇİ GÖÇMENLERİN İLİŞKİLERİ

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Anahtar Kelimeler: kağıtsız Afgan işçi göçü, gruplar arası ilişkiler, grup algıları, tutumlar, etkileşimler.

Bu çalışma Türkiye’ye yönelik kağıtsız Afgan işçi göçü meselesine göçmenler ve göç alan toplum üyeleri arasındaki grup ilişkilerine sosyolojik bir perspektifle bakarak katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir. İstanbul’da bulunan bir gecekondu mahallesi olan Yenimahalle, sayısı artan kağıtsız Afgan işçi göçmenler sebebiyle araştırma sahası olarak seçilmiştir. Gruplar arası ilişkileri anlamak için grupların algıları, tutumları ve etkileşimleri analiz edilmektedir. Çalışmanın verisi Yenimahalle’de yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış ve yüz yüze gerçekleştirilmiş 12’si Afgan göçmenlerle, 12’si göç alan toplum üyeleriyle olmak üzere toplam 24 görüşmeden elde edilmiştir. Çalışmanın bulguları göç alan toplum üyeleri ve Afgan göçmenlerin birbirlerini sosyal hiyerarşide asimetrik olarak konumlanan iki ayrı grup olarak algıladıklarını göstermektedir. Göç alan toplum üyeleri göçmenlere karşı acıma duygusu hissetmekte ve şiddet uygulamaktadır. Göçmenler ise göç alan toplum üyelerine minnet duymakta ve hayatta kalma stratejisi olarak sessiz kalmaktadırlar. Ortak bir duygu olarak, bu grupların birbirlerine karşı korku ve endişe duydukları gözlemlenmektedir. Araştırmanın diğer bulguları ise gruplar arasındaki çok kısıtlı bir sosyal etkileşimin olduğunu ve sosyal mesafenin göçmenlerin geçiciliğinden, gruplar arasında algılanan kültürel farklılıklardan ve göçmenlerin bekar olmalarından ve cinsiyetlerinden kaynaklandığını öne sürmektedir.

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Aim and Significance of the Study**

In recent years, the migration studies in Turkey have primarily paid attention to the Syrian migration, and a wealth of research emerged about Syrian immigration to Turkey. The focus of social scientists, state, and the media on Syrian migration has contributed to the decreasing attention paid to other migrant groups and the problems they face. Afghan immigration stays relatively less visible when compared to the interest shown to Syrian immigration. The Afghan immigrants are a group of people who are less 'attractive' not only for social scientists but also for the state and the media unless the immigrants are involved in criminal activities. Even though the researchers have begun to focus on Afghan immigration as well in recent years, the Afghan immigrants are still an underrepresented group of people for social scientists, state, and media.

Afghan migrants constitute one of the largest groups of asylum seekers in Europe, and their numbers increase day by day (İçduygu and Karadağ 2018, 482). The socio-political conditions in Afghanistan such as poverty, unemployment, insecurity, and violence forced Afghans to emigrate to other countries for many years. Turkey is one of the countries which received transit, permanent or temporary Afghan migration since the 1980s (ibid., 483) however, the number of Afghan immigrants in Turkey has increased especially since 2007 (Kaytaz 2016, 284).

Most of the Afghan immigrants currently residing in Turkey are undocumented male labor immigrants. Undocumented male labor migration has different dynamics and consequences for intergroup relationships between the receiving society members and undocumented immigrants compared to the documented immigrants and the immigrants who migrate with their family. Therefore, it is important to understand the labor migration

of undocumented Afghan males and its consequences, especially on a local scale so as to explain intergroup relations.

The Yenimahalle neighborhood is one of the places which received a high number of Afghan immigrants. Over the last ten years, the Yenimahalle neighborhood has become one of the new centers or first stops for most of the Afghan immigrants who came to Istanbul. The Afghan immigrants form their communities and networks, establish their grocery stores, restaurants, and shops, through which Afghan culture is visible in Yenimahalle.

The primary foci of this study are the undocumented male Afghan labor migration to Yenimahalle and the intergroup relations between Afghan immigrants and the receiving society members of the Yenimahalle neighborhood as shaped by this migration. The perceptions, the interactions between these groups, and their attitudes towards one another are taken into account in order to understand the intergroup relations between them. This study seeks to approach the issue with a sociological perspective and benefits from the literature on intergroup relations.

This study is significant because of the profiles and the status of the groups which are interviewed, the selected field (neighborhood), and its theoretical contribution to the intergroup relations and Afghan migration literature. The Afghan migration to the Yenimahalle neighborhood is a labor migration, which consists of almost completely undocumented male immigrants. The undocumented status of the immigrants directly affects the relationship they have with the receiving society members. The migration of groups which consist only of male immigrants to a small neighborhood has different consequences than family migration. Even though there are also Afghan families living in the neighborhood, their numbers are only a few.

Another significant point of this study is the field (neighborhood) in which the research was conducted. This neighborhood is important to understanding the intergroup relations because the socio-cultural characteristic features of this site are different from the previous sites which received labor migration. The previous sites which received labor migration are mostly the places that have an international migration culture or the places in which families do not live anymore. However, Yenimahalle neighborhood is different than the previous sites in this sense. Yenimahalle is a place where lower and lower-middle-class families live and most of them ended up there as a consequence of rural-to-urban migration. Therefore, the traditional family life, kinship ties, and neighborhood relations are relatively alive in Yenimahalle. However, it should be noted that

Yenimahalle is also a typical neighborhood, having a potential of receiving immigration, because of its socio-economic level. The poor squatter neighborhoods in the periphery are preferred by many immigrants to live in because it is relatively easier to find cheaper accommodation in such neighborhoods. Even though Yenimahalle is an example of a typical migrant-receiving neighborhood, it had not experienced such a high number of international labor migration before. Taking all these into account, the migration of undocumented male laborers to this neighborhood engenders significant dynamics and consequences which need attention. This study contributes to the literature on intergroup relations and Afghan migration by researching a specific field (neighborhood) and an immigrant group (undocumented male immigrants).

It should be noted that the studied field is dynamic; therefore, the data, which depend on the thoughts and feelings of the participants, cover a specific time and place. The dynamism is related to the political, social, and economic levels. The migration policies and their implementation at national and local levels are very dynamic; immigrants who are welcomed at a certain time might not be welcomed in another time period, and this affects the experiences of the immigrants. Similarly, the social acceptance of the immigrant groups might change over time. The economic changes in the receiving society also have an influence on the experiences of the Afghan immigrants because one of their main aims is to financially support their families, which are left behind.

This study uses the semi-structured and face-to-face interview as a data collection method to understand the intergroup relations. The interviews provide detailed data about the feelings and thoughts of the participants, and it narrates the voices, stories, experiences, perceptions, and attitudes of the participants in the study. In addition to these, this study seeks to understand the intergroup relations by looking at both the immigrant group and the receiving society members reciprocally; in this way, it provides a comprehensive analysis.

Lastly, this study contributes to the literature on intergroup relations and Afghan migration from a sociological perspective. It provides detailed data about the perceptions, interactions between both immigrant groups and receiving society members, and attitudes towards one another. In doing so, it takes into account the undocumented status and gender of the Afghans, the two factors' effects on intergroup relations, which have been neglected by earlier studies about them.

All in all, this study presents the intergroup relations between specific immigrant groups (since they are undocumented and consist only of male labor immigrants) and the

receiving society members of a small neighborhood for whom such migration is unprecedented. Therefore, this study takes into consideration the specific factors while analyzing the intergroup relations, and combining the practice and theory with the analysis of detailed data.

## **1.2. Outline of the Study**

This study aiming to analyze the intergroup relations between undocumented Afghan labor immigrants and the receiving society members of the Yenimahalle neighborhood consists of six chapters.

The second chapter presents the literature review in three main sections. The first section discusses the concepts and definitions within the migration literature; the second section introduces the concept of undocumented migration, discussing its social and economic consequences. The third section introduces the basic theories on group formation, intergroup inequalities, and intergroup relations. In short, this section presents the basic concepts and theories to understand the intergroup relations shaped by undocumented immigration.

Chapter three provides a brief history of international migration to Turkey and Turkey's migration policies. Then, it will discuss undocumented migration experiences of Turkey with a specific focus on the Afghan migration to Turkey. Lastly, the stories of the interviewed immigrants on their journey from Afghanistan to Turkey are presented.

Chapter four explains the methodological details of the study. The field, sampling procedure, participants, the methodology, ethical considerations, and the limitations of the study are presented in a detailed way.

Chapter five is an analysis section which, consists of three sub-sections. The first part analyzes the perceptions of groups towards each other. The second part analyzes the attitudes of the groups towards each other and the factors which affect these attitudes. The third part analyzes the interactions between the groups, and mainly the reasons for the social distance between the groups. Chapter six is the conclusion of the study, and it presents basic findings and their significance.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1. Migration as a Social Science Phenomenon**

A recent UN (2017) report on international migration illustrates that the number of international immigrants, which was around 173 million in 2000, reached 220 million in 2010. Today, approximately 258 million people live in a place other than their country of birth, which indicates an approximate 49% increase since 2010. As the statistics indicate, the migration issue becomes increasingly important and its consequences are a concern for academia. Thus, migration studies, as a field, has emerged and expanded in order to build a conceptual model for comprehending the reasons, consequences, and impacts of migration, and also the motives of immigrants. However, the first migration studies focused mostly on the demographic characteristics of immigrants, mostly studying their age, sex, race, education, and so on. There were few studies based on the reasons and impacts of migration in the first migration studies (Lee 1966, 48). Recently, various disciplines, such as economics, sociology, international relations, politics, cultural studies, anthropology, psychology, and history, have been challenged with the issues that migration engendered, and they attempt to develop theoretical explanations (Castles 2007, 353). Yet, since migration is contingent on various social, political and economic causes, there is no single theory which is accepted by social scientists to disclose the emergence and the continuity of migration throughout the world (Hear 2010, 1535). A general theory of migration is neither possible nor desirable; instead, researchers should focus on “the complexity, contradictions, and unintended consequences of social action” (Castles 2010, 1574).

In social sciences, migration studies have focused on the relations “between macro and micro levels, between large and small scale, between the general and the particular, and between the individual and the mass” (Hear 2010, 1532). Specifically, the

literature on migration has engaged in relations to time and space, between structure and agency, and between processes and outcomes (Ibid., 1532). The research on migration in social sciences attempt to account for the causes of migration, its continuation, and the impacts. Sociologists have focused on the social, political, and economic impacts of migration, leaving the questions of why migration occurs and how it is sustained to the economists and demographers. However, after the 1980s, sociologists also have focused on the causes and the continuation of migration (Heisler 2000, 77).

The sociology of migration has focused on both traditional categories such as “institutions, class (or stratification), integration, anomie, solidarity, power, social order, and social conflict,” and some recent categories such as “gender, ethnicity, identity, agency, networks, social exclusion/inclusion, and social capital” (Castles 2007, 354). However, social relations are at the center of understanding the migration processes and immigration incorporation (Brettell, Hollifield and Frank 2000, 4). Bauböck claims that migration research follows two different paths which hardly ever meet. The first one is concerned with impacts of the migration on sending and receiving societies and particularly focusing on the structural causes of migratory movements which are sourced by policies of states. The second group approaches the issue from the point of view of the immigrants and they focus on their motives, decisions, and social networks (1998, 48). This study takes into consideration both society members of the host country and the immigrants’ points of view.

In the subsequent sections, firstly, the theories which seek to explain the causes of migration are discussed and then migration types in the literature are critically discussed. Secondly, the specific focus will be on undocumented migration and its social and economic consequences in the receiving society for the hosts and the immigrants. Lastly, to understand the intergroup relations, the process of group formation and the theories which explain social inequality between social groups are introduced. Finally, the intergroup conflict theories and concepts are introduced to shed light on the intergroup relations at the center of immigration.

### **2.1.1. Conceptual Definitions**

Migration is defined as a change of residence or moving from one place to another. The history of migration shows that people migrate for various reasons and their

motives are sourced in different factors. There are various approaches which try to explain the causes of migration at different levels. These approaches are mainly dominated by rationalist economic explanations. For example, Ravenstein (1885) introduced the “Laws of Migration,” which consists of seven assumptions on the characteristics of migration. According to these laws, the causes of migration are mainly economic. In short, according to Ravenstein’s model, people tend to make rational choices; therefore, if people migrate, it must be rational or utilitarian (1885, 199).

Ravenstein’s theory is followed by the push-pull model and it was the dominant explanation until the 1960s. The push-pull model includes the broader structures in addition to the economic-based rational choices. However, it was still a simplistic theory. In the push-pull theory, the push factors refer to conditions in the area of origin that cause the movement of people to another place. Unemployment, unsatisfactory educational opportunities, discrimination, racism, lack of democracy, authoritarian rule, political oppression, violation of human rights, poverty, environmental disasters, or war in the country of origin may be given as examples of push factors. Pull factors are the opposite of these in the sense that they emphasize the attractiveness of the receiving countries for migrants. Higher wages, lower taxes, career opportunities, social welfare, and educational opportunities in the receiving countries may be given as attracting forces (Westin 1998, 69).

In addition, Lee’s (1966) contribution to the migration theory through the introduction of some structural and personal factors alongside the pulling and pushing factors in the sending and receiving countries is worth mentioning. According to Lee, there are four factors which affect the decision to migrate and the process of migration. These are “factors associated with the area of origin, factors associated with the area of destination, intervening obstacles, and personal factors” (Lee 1966, 50). Lee’s factors were also developed in macro and micro levels by other researchers. While micro-level approaches focus on the decisions made by individual “rational actors” who calculate the costs and benefits, macro-level approaches focus on the labor market relations (Kurekova 2011, 5-6). However, these macro and micro economic approaches are also very functionalist and deterministic; in addition to that, these theories fail to explain personal, family, or socio-cultural factors (King 2012, 14). There are other theories which focus on the structural, historical, or social factors. However, the more recent migration studies are dominated by the approach which frames the international migration as a “transnational”



process. This approach focuses on the migrant activities which are related to the economic, political, cultural, and religious activities (ibid., 25).

In the migration literature, there are various types and categorizations to define the migrants and migration. The typologies of migration in the literature are formed as internal vs. international, temporary vs. permanent, and regular vs. irregular. In addition, migrants are categorized under three groups: voluntary and forced, economically and politically motivated, and legal and irregular (undocumented) migrants (Koser 2007, 16). However, such sharp and well-defined categories can break down and overlap because they are too simplistic. For example, many migrants move both internally and internationally, e.g. intra-EU migration for EU citizens can be categorized as both internally and internationally. Concurrently, temporary migration may transform into a permanent settlement as is the case of the “guest workers” in Germany (King 2012, 8). Another distinction is between regular and irregular immigrants. Irregular immigrants are defined as people who enter a country without any documents, or immigrants who enter legally but overstay once their visa or work permit has expired. There are several concepts to define irregular immigrants such as clandestine, unauthorized, illegal, or undocumented. Throughout this study, the concept of “undocumented” is preferred to refer immigrants who do not have a legal document to avoid the negative connotations of the aforementioned concepts.

The most problematic distinction is between “voluntary” and “forced” migrants. In the literature, voluntary migration is related to socio-economic reasons whereas forced migration is related to political reasons or disasters. However, making a distinction between forced and voluntary migration is problematic. People who have been forced to leave their home because of political turmoil, conflicts, persecution, or for environmental disasters are usually described as refugees or internally displaced people, depending on whether they crossed borders. Nevertheless, the concept of being a refugee has a specific meaning and does not include all forced migrants because it is a special status which is given by the UN. According to the 1951 Convention, a refugee is defined as a person who “being persecuted 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” (UNHCR 1951). However, this definition neglects the fact that conflicts can produce

economic devastations which force people to leave their country. For instance, Afghan immigrants explain their reason for migration as conflict and war in Afghanistan. The conflict and war have caused economic devastation, and the economic devastation leads to a lack of occupational opportunity and low subsistence level. While some Afghans migrated to Turkey because of war and political turmoil (hence are forced migrants), some others did so because of socio-economic reasons (hence are voluntary migrants), and some are undocumented migrants since they do not have legal documents to stay and work in Turkey.

Another problematic side of the distinctions among the migrant categories is that these categories do not cover all situations and, therefore, some recent categories were introduced. For example, there is the notion of asylum seekers which is defined as a person in transit applying for sanctuary and international protection in some place other than his/her native land (Whittaker 2006, 6). The applications of asylum seekers are examined by the criteria of the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, and people who are applicable to the definition are recognized as refugees. There are many criticisms towards the UN Convention's definition of refugee because it is out of date and it no longer addresses the realities of today's refugees. (Koser 2007, 70-71). In another criticism, Benhabib states that the Geneva Convention of 1951 and the Protocol added in 1967 regarding the status of refugees are very significant international documents about cross-border movements. However, the Convention of 1951 and its Protocol are binding only for the signatory states and can be disregarded by non-signatory countries and, in some circumstances, by the signatory states themselves (2004, 11).

## **2.2. Undocumented Migration**

Plender (1972) asserts that “the basic juridical apparatus necessary to classify systematically international mobility in terms of a legal/illegal distinction is less than a century old” (quoted in Cvanjner and Sciortino 2010, 390). However, undocumented migration has become a concern of states and the academic area because there are at least 50 million undocumented migrants in the world, making up the 15% of the international immigrants (IOM 2014). States' interest in the migration studies stems from political concerns such as the control of the national borders or the control of unwanted or

undesired population movements. The national boundaries are not open to everyone or every group as nation-states control who can enter or exit their boundaries. With the migration policies in place, states determine which groups in which conditions can get inside the national boundaries. However, there is a hierarchy of acceptability among immigrants which means that some immigrants are more acceptable or desired than others (Danış and Parla 2009, 132). Some factors which determine the appropriateness of the immigrants are mostly related to the quality of the immigrants as being high or low skilled, the country of origin, or their ethnic and religious roots.

States' migration policies illustrate that undocumented migration is a kind of vexing "problem" because it may represent a "threat" to the border controls (Bloch and Chimienti 2011, 1274); therefore, states develop some strategies to avoid undocumented migration. Undocumented migration is seen as a "threat" because it limits the control of the state over borders and the populations. Not only states but also most scholars approach undocumented migration as a "social problem" and develop some social policies to deal with the problems which undocumented migration has caused (Cvajner and Sciortino 2010, 391). Some of these solutions are closing the borders to prevent further undocumented entry, opening the border to allow anyone to enter the country, and legal sanctions on the people who employ undocumented immigrants (Bloch and Chimienti 2011, 1273).

Undocumented migration takes on different forms depending on the countries' legal regulations, border policies, and so on. In the literature, there are three main forms of undocumented migration which are "crossing borders illegally, crossing borders in a seemingly legal way which is using falsified documents one is not entitled to, or using legal documents for illegal purposes and staying after the expiration of legal status" (Heckmann 2007, 1106). However, these categories are not sufficient to cover all undocumented immigrants such as rejected asylum seekers. All these categories are the consequences of the excessive bureaucracy and over-management of protected labor markets (Baldwin-Edwards 2008, 15).

The causes of the undocumented migration are explained with the "structural determinants in both sending and receiving countries" (Portes 1978, 477). It means that the causes of the undocumented migration are related to push-pull theory. Accordingly, the receiving country has pull factors and the sending country has push factors such as social, economic, or political instability. However, people who migrate for better conditions and opportunity may also encounter social, political, and cultural obstacles in

the destination country. Especially in the case of undocumented migration, migrants have to risk their lives during the formidable travels, and they generally arrive to uncertain living conditions. From another perspective, immigrants are not only objects whose movements are determined by structural forces, but also, they are social actors who can manage their plans and decisions in accordance with the structures in the receiving and sending societies (Joly 2000, 25). To take all of these into account, it is not possible to explain the causes of the irregular migration with the push and pull theory.

There are various concepts to refer the undocumented immigrants in the literature, such as illegal, irregular, unauthorized, or clandestine. It is very hard to name both the immigrants and the members of the country which receives the migration. To state in a more neutral way and avoid the negative connotations of the concepts, in this study the “undocumented” is preferred to refer to the Afghan immigrants’ status and “receiving society members” and “local residents” are used interchangeably to refer to the local members of Yenimahalle neighborhood.

The migration of groups and the formation of ethnic minorities engender social, cultural, economic, demographical, and political impacts in receiving and sending societies, and all these impacts lead to the transformation of the societies at different levels (Castles, Haas and Miller 2014, 1). How might the social consequences of the undocumented migration affect relations between the migrant and host societies? In the following section, the economic and social consequences of the undocumented migration are discussed.

### **2.2.1. Economic Consequences of Undocumented Labor Migration**

It is hard to measure or predict the number of undocumented labor immigrants and their impacts on economies because of the unrecorded nature of the phenomena and because of the problems of recorded data such as data sources, methods of collection, and legislative differences among countries (Pinkerton et al. 2004, 3). However, there is some research which seeks to understand the impacts of irregular migrations in the receiving communities. There are mainly three approaches which discuss the economic consequences of irregular migration. The first one claims that undocumented migration engenders negative consequences for the receiving society. The second one proposes that

the undocumented migration brings positive outcomes, and the third one claims that there is no or very limited impact of undocumented migration to the receiving country.

The first approach, which perceives that undocumented migration engenders negative outcomes, can be analyzed under two suppositions. The economic competition between groups may engender ethnic conflicts. Edna Bonacich's theory of the split market (1972) explains the tensions between ethnic groups which are derived by the economic competition. Bonacich claims that the reason for ethnic antagonism between ethnic groups may be derived from the split labor market in which workers earn different amounts of money for the same occupation because of ethnic origins (1972, 547). There are various factors that may affect the price differentiation such as being a woman, imprisonment, having political protection, or being a temporary or permanent worker, and so on. Thus, the split labor is not only the result of ethnic differences, and it is not commonly found in every case. However, Bonacich claims that "ethnic antagonism is specifically produced by the competition that arises from a price differential" (1972, 554).

There is a popular discourse which supposes that the undocumented labor migration creates some negative consequences such as the emergence of informal sectors. The undocumented migrants move with the purpose of selling their labor (Portes 1978, 472). However, since they do not have legal documents to work, they do so "illegally," creating informal sectors. Therefore, it is claimed that the wages in general decrease and the native workers are displaced by the immigrants because they work for lower wages. However, the approach which claims that the undocumented migration has positive consequences for the receiving society states that there is a difference between citizens and immigrants in the informal market because, while the former have access to the regular labor market, many of the latter are undocumented and have no such option. The undocumented workers in the informal labor market are employed in different sectors such as construction, agriculture, tourism, the sex industry, or domestic labor. These sectors are mostly not preferred by local people because of their poor working conditions and low wages (Krenn and Haidinger 2009, 8-9). Undocumented immigrants tend to find employment in sectors which are hard to work in because of their reduced conditions and wage, filling the gap in the economic sector (Chappell et al. 2011, 10). However, such an approach is very functionalist and ignores the exploitation of the undocumented workers.

Undocumented immigrants are the most vulnerable group of workers because they do not have any legal or civil rights to protect themselves. The lack of legal or civil rights consequently causes the exploitation of immigrants as cheap labor. In the

aforementioned sectors, the employers generally prefer undocumented workers because of the immigrants' lack of legal rights and their readiness to work for lower wages. In addition to these, by employing undocumented workers, the employers reduce the labor costs because they do not pay taxes or social insurance. Thus, many employers exploit the undocumented workers through their precarious legal status (Krenn and Haidinger 2009, 37).

There is another view which claims that undocumented migration has a limited impact on the receiving country. The main reason for this assumption is the segmentation of the labor market. The undocumented workers and the citizens mostly do not compete for the same jobs because, while undocumented workers work in the informal sector, the locals work in the formal sectors (*ibid.*, 68). In short, this approach states that there is a very limited impact of undocumented immigrants because the labor market is segmented and undocumented immigrants and the citizens are distributed across different sectors. However, this theory neglects the fact that the low-skilled citizens may also work in the informal sectors and the competition between citizens and undocumented immigrants may engender conflicts.

### **2.2.2. Social Consequences of (Undocumented) Labor Migration**

It is hard to measure the social consequences of undocumented labor immigration because they have less tangible ramifications. It is claimed that the social impacts of undocumented immigration to the host society are likely to be minimal because undocumented immigrants tend to live in “marginal niches” and try not to be noticed by the others (Chapell et al. 2011, 14). However, it is obvious that migration in general leads to social transformations in societies. Regarding the social transformation, Nicholas Van Hear notes two names who have contributed to the issue of social change and transformation which migration has caused: Alejandro Portes and Stephen Castles. According to Portes, migration is a change and can lead to transformations both in sending and receiving societies. However, Portes (2010) states that migration generally does not change the fundamental structures of the societies, especially in developed countries (quoted in Van Hear 2010, 1532). Meanwhile, Castles claims that “migration is actually one part of the process of transformation of these structures and institutions, which arises through major changes in global political, economic, and social

relationships” (2010, 1566). Portes claims that the level of social change in societies depends on the power of migration. On the power of migration, Portes introduces three factors: the number of people who migrate, the duration of the movement, and its class composition in terms of higher and lower human capital. The social change regarding these factors may not be too strong, affecting only some economic organizations, role expectations, or norms. It may have deeper impacts and change the culture, the distribution of power, or transform the value system and the social structure of the society (2010, 1544-1545).

At the societal level, migration sets a place for interactions of groups who have different cultural backgrounds, leading to what is known as acculturation. Acculturation is introduced by the discipline of cultural anthropology to refer to the changes in the original cultural pattern of groups after continuous first-hand intercultural contact with dissimilar groups (Berry 2008, 330). Berry claims that immigration occasionally engenders culturally pluralistic societies. Nevertheless, in most cases, there is power inequality in terms of politics, numbers, and economy among groups in societies. These power differences bring out the concepts of “mainstream,” “minority,” “ethnic groups,” and so on. Berry develops a model for acculturation and suggests four acculturation strategies, which are: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization. In the situations of assimilation and marginalization, main cultural identity and characteristics are not crucial, unlike separation and integration. For separation and marginalization, it is not considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups whereas it is important for cases of integration and assimilation (Berry 1992, 65).

Assimilation strategy is used when a group does not demand to maintain their cultural identity and seek interaction with other cultures. On the contrary, separation is a strategy when a group avoids interaction with others and retains heritage culture. Integration is a strategy when a group retains its culture but at the same time adopts the larger social network. The final strategy is marginalization, which refers to the situation in which a group has very little interest in cultural maintenance and having interaction with others (Berry 1997, 8-9). The acculturation strategies could be accepted as possible consequences of the positions of the immigrants in the host societies. The question of whether there is any other possible strategy as a consequence of the interaction of different groups that might be valid is an open question.

As discussed above, one of the social consequences of (undocumented) immigration is the diversity in the receiving society as it makes social, “racial,” and ethnic

differences visible. However, this diversity may engender tensions between different groups. For instance, immigrant workers are usually employed in the lower level of working-class stratum wherein many immigrants suffer from discrimination in terms of accessing social services. In addition to that, the immigrant populations have been attributed inferior status and exposed to humiliation and negative prejudice by the majority group. Especially, the lower strata in the majority group attempt to offload their stigma onto the immigrants thereby creating a group which has a “lower” status than themselves. In this way, the lower strata in the majority group can claim “superiority” and socially include itself in society through the exclusion of another group (Joly 2000, 30).

Another social consequence of (undocumented) migration may be analyzed under the security issue. It is thought that undocumented immigrants may cause some security problems in the receiving society because they might be involved in criminal activities. However, these approaches, which claim that the undocumented migration causes security problems, cannot present considerable evidence to support their argument (Mohapatra, Ratha, and Scheja 2000, 10). Actually, such a discourse is a kind of continuation of the rhetoric which perceives the undocumented immigrant as a “threat.” Security issues in relation to migration might be myths perpetuated in order to punish immigrants. For instance, after the 9/11 attacks, the potential “suspects” were detected on the basis of racial and ethnic identity. These people who had been suspected were detained and interrogated on the basis of lower evidence norms. Many of them were deported from the country without public hearings (Chacon 2008, 145). Thus, the negative social consequences of immigration are experienced by immigrants because they are exposed to discrimination and many undocumented immigrants are deprived of certain health, education, or other social services.

### **2.3. Understanding the Intergroup Relations at the Center of Migration**

In this part, in order to understand the intergroup relations between the migrant and receiving societies, the group formation process is discussed first. Subsequently, the theories which explain the inequality between groups and the concepts which explain the intergroup relations are introduced. Furthermore, the possible consequences of the



interactions of different groups and the factors which might affect their perceptions and attitudes toward each other are discussed.

### **2.3.1. Group Formation**

To understand how groups are formed, the concept of “categorization” should be introduced. The social psychologists explain “categorization” as a cognitive process which simplifies perception. “It is fundamental to the adaptive functioning of the human organism, as it serves to structure the potentially infinite variability of stimuli into a more manageable number of distinct categories” (Hogg and Abrams 1988, 19). Thus, social categorizations are conceived as a tool for classifying, grouping, and making the world meaningful and controllable for individuals. Social categorization is based on the specific criteria of similarity between subjects, characterizing and shaping the boundaries of group membership (Cook-Huffman 2000, 116). The concept of group can be conceptualized as “a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership of it” (Turner and Tajfel 1979, 40).

The group membership provides a collective identity to its members and collective identity provides a consciousness of similarities with in-group members and differences with “others” (Uyar Semerci, Erdoğan and Önal 2017, 16). As Tajfel and Billig state that the individual’s act of categorization of the social world into different social groups as “us” and “them” provides a proper condition for in-group favoritism and of discrimination against the outgroup (1973, 28). The concept of “us” refers to the group which we belong and “them” refers to the “others” of which we never want to be a part (Bauman and May 2001, 30). Contrary to Tajfel and Turner, Bauman and May present the group formation process not as formed by itself, but as being socially constructed. Bauman and May state that “us” and “them” are “inseparable, “for there cannot be one without the other. They sediment, as it were, in our map of the world on the two poles of an antagonistic relationship and this makes the two groups ‘real’ to their respective members and provides for the inner unity and coherence they are imagined to possess” (2001, 30). How is the social inequality between “us” and “them” formed? How do the groups deal with those inequalities?

### **2.3.2. Theories Which Explain Intergroup Inequalities**

Norbert Elias in his famous book, *The Established and the Outsiders* (1994), studies the small neighborhood of Winston Parva, and focuses on the different groupings in the neighborhood. The study specifically deals with the issues of power and status relations between groups and the factors which affect them. For instance, Elias asks the following question, “how do members of a group maintain among themselves the belief that they are not merely more powerful but also better human beings than those of another? What means do they use to impose the belief in their own human superiority upon those who are less powerful?” (1994, 16). In Winston Parva, the only difference between the groups is the length of habitation as one group consists of old residents and the other group of newcomers. Members of longer-established group regard themselves as “better” and superior in human terms than the newcomers to the neighborhood. Moreover, the groups avoid social interactions with each other and the established group treats the newcomers as outsiders.

The unequal societal structure of Winston Parva perpetuated through monopolization of power and its transfer to the next generations (Lars 2003, 30). The idea of the superiority of the established group and the inferiority of the newcomers is internalized by the newcomers as well. Gossip is very important in this case since the established group discredits the newcomers through gossiping. Elias presents the figuration of the established and the outsiders as a universal model which can be implemented in similar cases as the established group attributed positive characteristics to its members, which were derived solely from being a member of this group, and excluded all other group members from social contact except in the situation of occupational need (1994, 17). The Winston Parva case is an example of how social inequality and hierarchy between groups are constructed. In the following part, the theories that could be employed to explain the intergroup social inequalities are introduced.

According to social identity theory, social groups supply their members social identity to be able to identify themselves. Individuals tend to attribute themselves with positive traits to enhance their self-esteem and positive social identity which are largely gained through favorable comparisons between the in-group and out-group (Hewstone and Greenland 2000, 137). The main hypothesis of the social identity theory is that “individuals need a positive self-image and thus strive for positive social identity” (Cook-

Huffman 2000, 116). The strong differentiation between in-group and the out-group is a consequence of the endeavor for attributing positive social identity. When a group positions itself as being superior to the other group, an individual member's personal competition transforms into enmity among groups (Schnnapper 1998, 150). Thus, the competition of individuals for positive group distinctiveness and social identity may cause intergroup conflicts. However, system justification theory asserts that in some situations both higher and lower group members could justify the existing order to maintain the status quo. For instance, outgroup favoritism is an example of the tendency to internalize and perpetuate the system of inequality (Jost, Banaji, and Nosek 2004, 891). In that sense, the lower group could internalize the inferiority of their group with outgroup favoritism and perpetuate the social inequality in some situations (ibid., 912).

Social dominance theory also deals with the social inequalities in intergroup relations. The basic assumption of social dominance theory is that all human societies tend to be constructed as "systems of group-based social hierarchies." There are dominant and hegemonic groups at the top of the social stratification and the subordinate groups are at the bottom. The dominant groups are associated with some positive values whereas the subordinated one is associated with the negative social values (Sidanius and Felicia 1999, 31-32). It is supposed that group-based social hierarchies are predominantly shaped through ethnicity and race in most societies. In those societies, the social inequalities between high social status groups and the low social status group are generally agreed on by the whole members of the society (Kahn et al. 2009, 591).

### **2.3.3. Immigrant-Receiving Society Intergroup Relations**

With the movements of people, estranged groups start to live together, and this togetherness brought about some questions. Especially, if the vast communities come from the "outside" and established a new "us," the problems become more visible because the "others" coming from the "outside" bring their identities, habits, cultures, and their way of lives (Poyraz 2014, 274). The consequences of the permanent settlement of immigrants depend on different factors such as the policies of the receiving state and the population characteristics of the receiving society. However, there are mainly two concepts emerging from this togetherness as outcomes of permanent settlement and they are "ethnic communities" and "ethnic minorities." If the settlement of immigrants is

accepted by the host society and immigrants have been conferred citizenship, the cultural diversity engenders the emergence of ethnic communities. On the contrary, if the permanent settlement of immigrants is rejected by the society, ethnic minority groups are formed. In the first scenario, immigrants are perceived as a part of the society whose culture and identity has an impact on reshaping the receiving society. However, in the second scenario, immigrants are mostly excluded and marginalized (Castles and Miller 1998, 29).

In general, the group which has different national and religious identities from the majority are perceived as a separate group and they are defined according to the socially constructed characteristics by the majority groups in the society. These characteristics which are attributed to the groups might be related to physical appearance, “race,” and culture. The social categorization and the formation of “us” and “them” are related to the process of “othering.” While “othering” functions at the individual level as a “dislike for and mistrust toward, and unwillingness to live together” with the people categorized as “other,” it functions as social exclusion and marginalization at the societal level (Çelik, Bilali and Iqbal 2017, 218). Regarding this, social exclusion could be explained as a reaction of the pre-established group who perceives themselves as the owner of the place. Broadly, social exclusion is defined as exclusion of certain groups from the rest of society. The social exclusion could appear in the multidimensional spheres of social life such as cultural, economic and political areas (Madanipour 1998, 189). In relation to this, undocumented immigrants are the groups who experience social exclusion at the level of cultural, political, and economic relations.

Besides the social exclusion, immigrants might be exposed to racism because they are categorized in accordance with their physical appearance, “race,” and culture. The racism in the receiving countries comes to the surface as a consequence of the process of positioning the ethnic minorities in a lower status (Toksöz 2006, 32). Racism could be defined as the process through which social groups perceive and categorize other groups as inferior depending on their “phenotypical” and cultural characteristics. In the process of racism, the majority group uses their economic, social, and political power to exploit or exclude the minorities. “Racist attitudes and discriminatory behavior on the part of members of the dominant group are referred to as informal racism” (Castles and Miller 1998, 32).

The social attitudes of a receiving society toward immigrants are quite related to who the immigrant is, where he/she comes from, his/her social and cultural capital, and

his/her way of crossing the border. In that sense, the “others” who are different from “us” are not treated or otherized equally (Uyar Semerci, Erdoğan, and Önal 2017, 22). Monakchi discusses the distinction between “rich” and “poor” immigrants and attitudes toward them with references to “the Americans in Paris and the French in Casablanca who perceive themselves and are perceived by others as “superior.” Monakchi accounts for the reason for such inequality between the “poor” and “rich” immigrants with the concept of a latent hierarchy of nations. However, it is asserted that the latent hierarchy of the groups cannot be explained with only the power asymmetry among the nations that immigrants belong to. Inequality can appear in every level of the relationships and cause the acceptance of the superiority of the norms of the one who is perceived as powerful (2003, 68).

In that sense, the position of the immigrant’s country in the latent hierarchy of the nations along with the immigrants’ cultural and social capital determines how he/she is perceived in the receiving society (ibid., 70). Besides this, the immigrants’ way of crossing the borders (legally or illegally) influence the ways they are perceived by others and how the immigrants perceive themselves (Poyraz 2014, 274-275). For instance, receiving society members feel more threatened and greater anxiety toward the undocumented immigrants compared to the authorized immigrants (Murray and Marx 2013, 337).

The type of migration is also influential in intergroup relations as emphasizes that individual migration (labor migration that consists of male members) and familial migration cannot be considered at the same level (2003, 29). The Yenimahalle case shows that most receiving society members believe that it is not proper to have a close relationship between single men and women, or between a family and single men. Therefore, the local residents of the Yenimahalle neighborhood perceive an immigrated family as a group they could have a closer relationship with as opposed to a single male immigrant. Consequently, whether the migration took place as a family or by a single male immigrant affects their level of interaction with and integration to the receiving society.

Social exclusion, racism, and othering are some of the consequences of the encounters between “us” and “them.” However, in the aforementioned consequences, the active subject is the dominant group whereas the passive one is the dominated group, more clearly those who are exposed to social exclusion, racism, and othering are mostly the dominated groups- that is the immigrants. The intergroup relation literature does not

offer an analysis in which the dominated group is a subject rather than an object, so clearly there is a gap in the literature to understanding the dominated groups' actions, perceptions, and attitudes toward the dominant one.

In intergroup relations, prejudice theory covers a lot of ground because it is seen as one of the main problems of intergroup conflict. Allport defines prejudice briefly as "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant" (1954, 6). Eagly and Dickmann criticize the "minimizing of the definition of prejudice as an overall negative attitude" (2005, 20). Even though the connotation of the definition seems as though it is negative, the positive prejudices also exist. Nevertheless, Allport states that ethnic prejudice is mostly negative, defining it as "antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (1954, 6-9). The prejudices are perceived as the consequences of the process of social categorization. When groups are constructed and individuals differentiate themselves from "others," the ground for prejudice is created concomitantly (Uyar Semerci, Erdoğan, and Önal 2017, 28).

There is a close relationship between prejudice and stereotype formations. Both prejudice and stereotypes have an influence on the individuals' perceptions of social reality. Stereotypes fill the information gaps with predetermined impressions or references (Göregenli 2012, 23). As Allport states, "a stereotype is not identical with a category; it is rather a fixed idea that accompanies the category" (1954, 191). Ethnic stereotypes are the perceptions that all members of a certain group have the same traits. The lack of contact between social groups strengthens the group boundaries and reinforces the prejudices towards "the other" (Hewstone and Greenland 2000, 140). As a solution to the social distance between groups and prejudice, the intergroup contact theory was introduced first by Allport in 1954. Basically, the theory states that the lack of social interaction between groups increases prejudice. Therefore, the contact between these groups can be the solution for the prejudice (Pettigrew 1998, 66). Thus, it is expected that individuals will leave or reduce their prejudices and negative attitudes toward outgroups with the help of social contact. However, as Hewstone and Greenland emphasize, the appropriate conditions for social contact is very crucial for the verification of the theory because at times it may backlash and the contact may engender hostility and negative attitude among groups (2000, 140).

In addition, discrimination is a process which is supported by negative attitudes and behaviors as consequences of the prejudices. Thus, prejudice and discrimination are processes of having predominantly negative thoughts, attitudes, contempt, avoidance, and

even hatred towards the “other.” The discriminatory behaviors are directed to certain individuals because they are members of a certain group. Thus, the individuals are exposed to discrimination not because of their personal characteristics but because of the characteristics of the group they belong to (Göregenli 2012, 21).

As intergroup contact theory asserts, in order to have a more positive relationship or intergroup contact among different groups, four key conditions need to be met: “equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom” (Allport 1954 quoted in Pettigrew 1998, 67). According to the realistic conflict theory, however, if there is a competition between groups and there is no common goal, the conflict would easily come to surface and may even escalate rapidly. Thus, as Sharif (1966) discusses, the social contact under competitive situations rather than cooperative ones would worsen the relations and even could cause violence (quoted in Çuhadar 2012, 258). Pettigrew proposes four interrelated processes which “operate through contact and mediate attitude change: learning about the outgroup, changing behavior, generating affective ties, and in-group reappraisal” (1998, 70). Through these four processes, the groups reduce their prejudices and negative attitudes toward each other. However, groups may still hesitate to interact with each other. Elias explains one of the reasons of hesitation from the social contact with the outsiders as follows: “contact with outsiders [threatens] an ‘insider’ with the lowering of their own status within the established group. He or she might lose its member’s regard- might no longer seem to share the higher human value attributed to themselves by the established” (1994, 24).

The competition of groups and having no common goals could easily engender conflicts among groups. Groups do not just compete for social identity but also for the limited material resources. Realistic group conflict theory approaches the intergroup conflicts as rational since it conceives that the groups have incompatible goals as they compete for scarce resources, and intergroup conflicts come to the surface as a result. (Hewstone and Greenland 2000, 137). The relation of realistic group conflict theory with the migration studies starts when the host country members begin to perceive newcomers as a threat and do not want to forfeit their share of the resources. Thus, the conflict of group interest not only creates antagonism towards out-groups but also enhances the positive attachment with the in-group (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 33).

Immigrants or the groups excluded from society might be perceived as a threat to the social, cultural and economic interests of the dominant group due to the competition

over valuable resources. At the same time, the immigrants and ethnic minorities could be perceived as a threat to the national and cultural homogeneity of the receiving society. The intergroup anxiety and fear may lead to discriminatory attitudes and anti-immigrant sentiments (Raijman and Semyonov 2007, 784-785). Integrated threat theory seeks to explain intergroup anxiety and fear. It is critical to understanding the reasons and consequences of the intergroup fear and anxiety because high anxiety and fear among groups influence the behaviors toward outgroup members in generally negative ways. According to the integrated threat theory, “the perceptions of threat depend on the level of prior conflict between the groups, the relative statuses of the groups, and the strength of identification with the in-group, knowledge of the outgroup, and the nature of the contact between the groups” (Stephan, Stephan, and Gudykunst 1999, 620). As a consequence, intergroup conflict, status inequalities, in-group identification, knowledge of the outgroup, and the contact cause to four types of threat: realistic threats (related to the material things), symbolic treats (related to values, morals, attitudes), intergroup anxiety (“personally threatened in intergroup interactions”) and negative stereotype (predictors of prejudice) (ibid., 619). Whether the perceived threats are real or not, the groups may experience anxiety and fear. The basic reasons for experiencing fear and anxiety toward outgroup members is prejudice towards the out-group members as a consequence of lack of social contact with them or negative experiences of previous contact. Consequently, the prejudice between groups influences their behaviors toward each other.

Schnapper (1998) states that it is believed that people tend to live with their kin groups because getting along well with the others always requires a certain mutual concord which requires effort on both parts. Thus, Schnapper suggests that the avoidance of interaction with others can be understood. The antipathy and disgust toward the other are accepted as a universal and common phenomenon. The social psychologists studied the universality of this phenomenon and revealed that the sense of antipathy and disgust toward the other is not common among children. Social psychologists claim that the sense of antipathy and disgust toward the other is acquired through socialization. Consequently, the enmity and negative attitudes among social groups are not instinctively gained but these are the outcomes of social processes. (1998, 150).

Yeğenoğlu (2012) discusses the notion of “abject migrant” by referring to the Third World locals who live in Europe as immigrants. She claims that when the Third World locals live in “our” place, near “us,” they become the symbol of the “danger” and



“abject.” However, when the Third World local is far from “us,” he/she transforms into an object of desire and source of pleasure which is sought to be discovered by the European tourists in their “exotic” places. Thus, the notion of immigration points out the new but “abject” zone which cannot be expressed with the dual distinctions between city and village, center and periphery, East and West, or division of colonialism into inside and outside. Why was the notion of immigration in the hegemonic discourse attributed as “abject” and a “threat”? It is because of the “horror and fear the sovereign subject experiences in response to those things that become unidentifiable as a result of transgressing borders, which otherwise are essential in maintaining social order as well as for the fictional unity of the subject” (2012, 36).

To sum up, in this section, the migration literature, specifically undocumented migration literature, is introduced from a critical perspective. Subsequently, intergroup relations at the center of (undocumented) migration are analyzed with the intergroup conflict theories. Understanding the intergroup relations in relation to (undocumented) migration is not easy since there is no comprehensive theory explaining the effects of migration on the intergroup relations. In the literature, undocumented migration is predominantly analyzed with reference to economics. Social impacts and consequences of the undocumented migration are absent in the literature. Moreover, in intergroup relations, the impact of being an undocumented immigrant is not taken into consideration. Being an undocumented immigrant could affect intergroup relations since immigrants’ vulnerable position may affect their behavior and the attitudes of the host society members toward them. Thus, this study attempts to fill the gap of social impacts of the undocumented immigrants to the intergroup relations in the literature. Another gap in the literature is the study of the factors which may affect the perception and attitudes of the immigrants toward the host society members. Most research has focused on the receiving societies and its members. There are very few studies which attempt to understand the attitudes and perceptions of the groups towards each other.

### **3. BACKGROUND**

The increased movement of the populations as a consequence of globalization and socio-political conflict leads to the development of controls to migration and migrants. The instruments of control or detention of the migratory movements are border management and deportation, which reconstruct the dualities between the citizens-stranger, the insider-outsider, and the established-the outsider (Danış and Soysüren 2014, 16). In this section, the international migration Turkey has received historically and the policies to control the migration movements are introduced. Then, the undocumented migrations toward Turkey, especially the Afghan migration, is introduced. Lastly, the migration stories of the Afghan participants are given.

#### **3.1. International Migration to Turkey and Turkey's Migration Policies**

International migratory movements toward Turkey could be analyzed under three categories. The first one is the “national” period, which aims at homogenization of the population. The second one is the “global” period, which includes the migrations to come after the Cold War. Lastly, the third one is the post-nationalist, neo-Ottoman period which was triggered by the migrations from Syria (Danış 2016, 9). In the period of constructing the new modern and nation-state of Turkey, people who shared the same ethnic, religious, and cultural ties were considered the “acceptable” immigrants. On the other hand, people who have weak or no ties with Turkish culture have been ethnicity perceived as “strangers” (ibid., 9). In regard to these groups, with the 1934 Settlement Law, the migration of people who share the same ethnic, religious, and cultural roots to Turkey have been paved the way for, but the approach for people who are culturally, ethnically, and religiously different is assimilation or some form of detention. The 1934 Settlement

Law, which has an influence on Turkey's process of being nation-state, was in force until 2006. However, the new amendments do not change the previous priorities to the acceptance of the immigrants (İçduygu 2010, 27). In short, international migration to Turkey in the first years of the Republic includes broadly the ethnic Turks and Muslims who are relatively welcomed because of the attempts of nationalization among the population, but the migrants of recent years come from various ethnic and religious backgrounds; therefore, their social acceptance to the society is more difficult to achieve than that of the first group.

The border policies of Turkey on the movements of foreigners take into consideration some specific filters regarding the entrance of the foreigners to the country. Two Laws, No. 5682 and No. 5683, on the Residence and Travel of Aliens in Turkey, regulated the entrance of foreigners from 1950 until 2013. These laws use "public health, public security, and public morality" as the filters to the entrance of foreigners. In 2013, the new Law No. 6458, Law on Foreigners and International Protection, went in effect; however, the previous filters are still open to use (Genç 2014, 48-49). For instance, Law No. 6458, Article 15 (c) "the one who is deemed objectionable for public order or public security" makes the previous filters open in use and creates a very arbitrary selection process. Nevertheless, the new Law No. 6458 formed the legal framework for the acceptance of the foreigners to the country, and it expedites the process of policy-making for international migration (Özer 2015, 37).

It is obvious that the number of foreigners in Turkey has increased since the 1980s. "The reasons for this increase are as follows: economic liberalization, which began in the 1980s, the increase in the global flow of commodities and capital through Turkey, and the development of tourism. Moreover, political turmoil in neighboring countries resulted in the arrival of both asylum seekers and irregular migrants" (İçduygu and Biehl 2009 quoted in Özçürümez and Şenses 2015, 239). The current migration to Turkey, especially the period after the 1980s, changes Turkey's position as the migrant-sending country to the transit and migrant-receiving country since the concept of migrants-sending country does not explain Turkey's international migration experience anymore (İçduygu ve Yüksek 2012, 442). Today, Turkey witnesses the various migration types due to new developments in the international economic, social, and political conjuncture. The international movements such as transit migration, asylum movements, shuttle trade, and illegal or foreign labor are quite new experiences for Turkey (Erder 2015, 101). On that point, it should be noted that Turkey's attempts at making public policy on those new

migration movements are very new (Özer 2015, 36). During the 1980s, Turkey allowed irregular migration of both its citizens and the citizens of third-world countries to Europe. However, in the mid-1990s, Turkey started to control irregular migration in response to pressure from Europe (Üstübcü 2017, 111) and its EU integration process.

### **3.2. Undocumented Migration to Turkey**

Turkey has received undocumented migration from various places such as old Soviet countries, Asia, Africa, and Middle Eastern countries since its borders are not as closed off as the European countries. The irregular migration to Turkey could be categorized under three categories (Toksöz, Erdoğan, and Kaşka 2012, 12); the first one is the mass migration of refugees and asylum seekers as a consequence of violent conflicts, the second one is the transit migration of immigrants mostly from Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan who illegally enter the country and aim to continue onward. The third one is the immigrants who migrated voluntarily, irregularly and for the short term only for economic reasons, and this is called shuttle migration (Erder 2015, 126). Beginning in the mid-1990s, Turkey has had a growth in the number of illegal immigrants using it as a transit route. These immigrants are mostly citizens of neighboring countries such as Syria, Iran, and Iraq in addition to Afghanistan and Pakistan (Kirişçi 2007, 46). The political, social, and economic turmoil in the neighboring countries such as the Iranian Revolution, Iran-Iraq War and the Gulf War made Turkey an asylum and transit country for many migrants (Üstübcü 2017, 110). The undocumented migration is a new phenomenon for the countries as Turkey, which defines itself as the emigration country, and the countries who receive immigrants are under strict controls. It is known that such a migratory movement takes place in a political climate in which the xenophobia and the fear of migration spreads and that all countries' domestic and foreign policies are affected (Erder 2015, 87).

#### **3.2.1. Afghan Migration to Turkey**

Migration is a very common theme in Afghanistan because of the long-lasting wars. “The persistence of conflict, war, and violence has made Afghanistan a ‘fragile state’ from which millions of its citizens have been forced to seek asylum elsewhere” (İçduygu and Karadağ 2018, 482). The Communist coup in 1978 and the Soviet invasion of 1979 gave rise to the migratory movements. Later on, even though the large number of people returned in the 1990s with the withdrawal of the Soviets, Afghans formed the one of the largest refugee groups in the world in the following years with the appearance of the Taliban and civil war. With the fall of the Taliban and establishment of a government in Kabul, large numbers of people have repatriated (Monsutti 2007, 167). However, the Afghan migration is still alive and immigration to other countries has become a culture of the region as N.M, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant stated, “in our region, there are no boys over ten years old” because they migrate to work and survive.

The migrations from Afghanistan could be categorized as the political refugees fleeing from war and persecution. The Hazara groups who are persecuted more than others because of their religious identity and the residents of certain cities where the Taliban wants to gain control could be made examples of to the political refugees. In addition to that, the migrations from Afghanistan could be explained with economic reasons (Dimitriadi 2018, 34). However, it should be noted that these categories are complex and may overlap. More clearly, the person might migrate both because of economic and political reasons.

Not just the migration policies of Turkey but also the migration policies of neighboring countries affect the routes of migration. Iran is one of the countries which receives a large number of Afghan refugees. In Iran, residence and work permits were given to Afghan refugees in the 1980s in addition to free education and health services (Rostami-Povey 2007, 242). However, Iran’s open-door policy has changed since the 1990s, and the Iranian state has begun to implement very severe and harsh laws on Afghan refugees. Consequently, most of the Afghan refugees in Iran had to migrate again and cross the Iranian borders irregularly to reach Turkey (Labib 2016, 4). Iran was the first country immigrated to for most Afghans. However, the recent attitudes of the Iranian state and police toward Afghan immigrants has caused some of them to migrate to Turkey. The immigrants explain that they feel the fear of deportation more in Iran than in Turkey because, when they are found out by the Iranian authorities, they are immediately deported. However, in Turkey, Afghan immigrants are one of the migrant groups whose presence the authorities unofficially permit, for now, (Danış 2016, 8) on the condition

that they do not involve themselves in criminal activities. Therefore, the most common argument of the immigrants living in Yenimahalle neighborhood is “no one says nothing or no one ask nothing in there” when they explain their pleasure to living in Turkey.

Since 2007, the number of Afghan immigrants in Turkey has increased as a result of the unfavorable humanitarian spaces in Iran and Pakistan, countries which have received the highest number of Afghan refugees since the 1970s (Kaytaz 2016, 284). However, the increase in the Afghan migration to Turkey cannot be explained only with such an argument. Migrant networks, the informal sector in Turkey and its geographical proximity to the European borders are other factors which make Turkey a popular transit and destination country for Afghan immigrants. However, the Afghan migration to Turkey is not a new phenomenon. İçduygu and Karadağ put the Afghan migration to Turkey under four categories, which are as follows: “sporadic cases of in the pre-1980 period, assisted-refugees of 1982/83, network migration and mixed flows in the period between 1983 and the late 1990s (connected to Europe via transit passages), and network migration and mixed flows of post-1990s (increasingly expanded into Europe by means of transit flows through Turkey)” (2018, 489). The first remarkable Afghan migration to Turkey is the period in 1982. With the attempts of Kenan Evren, the Afghans who share “Turkish origin and culture” were settled in Tokat, Kırşehir, Sivas, Şanlıurfa, Van, and Hatay base on the 1934 Law of Settlement which prioritizes people who share the same ethnic and cultural background. Consequently, it is known that today, there are large Afghan-origin communities in Turkey (İçduygu and Karadağ 2018, 490).

The Afghan migration to Turkey could be evaluated both politically and economically and, for this reason, it is not possible to make a clear distinction between the factors which push them to migrate (Dimitriadi 2018, 33). In this research, the focus is the undocumented Afghan labor migration to Istanbul’s Yenimahalle neighborhood. For the Afghan immigrants I have interviewed, the economic distress is one of the determinants which were influential in the decision to migrate. Most of them decided to migrate to support their families financially. However, of course, it is not possible to consider their decision of migration as separate from the war and its consequences. War has caused political and economic distress, and consequently forced people to migrate. The immigrants state that some regions in Afghanistan are under intense conflict, but some areas are relatively secure. The immigrants who come from secure places prioritize mostly the economic reasons for migration, but the immigrants who come from the conflict zones prioritize the politic reasons more than economic reasons, and they do not

tend to return Afghanistan. Besides, migration becomes a culture for most Afghans and almost a tradition; the male members of the family migrate to support their family financially, and this is very common in Afghanistan. The undocumented Afghan labor migration in Yenimahalle stems from both economic and political reasons. In relation to this, it is not possible to make a clear distinction on whether the Afghan migration is voluntary or forced migration because even though the Afghan immigrants' main purpose is supporting their families economically, most of them deliberated that there is no life to sustain their wellbeing in Afghanistan because of the social and political turmoil, and economic distress. Hence, even though the individuals decide to migrate on their own, it should be noted that the structural, political, and economic conditions force them to immigrate. In that case, Turkey is both a transit and destination country for Afghan immigrants since some of the immigrants want to go further, some of them change their mind and decide to stay in Turkey, and some of them initially select Turkey as a destination country.

All of the Afghan participants of this study immigrated to work, but their decisions about staying or going further differ from person to person. It is not possible to perceive the Afghan immigrants as a homogenous group in every respect, but the uncertainty is a common theme for all of them which is observable throughout the interviews. The Afghan immigrants' life in Afghanistan and Turkey, and also their legal status and their future plans are uncertain. Obviously, it is not possible to categorize the Afghan migration only as transit migration. However, in the literature, the Afghan migration is only categorized under transit migration, but it is not correct for this case. Indeed, some of the immigrants are planning to go further to the European countries, so Turkey is a transit country for them. However, some of the immigrants are planning to go back to Afghanistan or stay in Turkey. However, since the border regulations are prone to change, the future plans of the transit migrants might have to change along with them. For example, one of the Afghan immigrants I have been in contact for many months tried to go to Greece several times, but he could not arrive in Greece by any means. Thus, he continues to work in Turkey. In short, it is not possible to categorize all Afghan immigrants as transit migrants because there are lots of different examples.

### **3.3. The Migration Stories of the Immigrants**

The most common route of Afghan immigrants to Turkey is through Pakistan to Iran and then Iran to Van. The immigrants I have interviewed have different stories; some of them had relatively easier journeys, but most of them had very rough journeys depending on the time they departed or the smuggler they had a deal with. The immigrants who entered Turkey through illegal means travel with the help of smugglers. Sometimes, the immigrants are deceived by the smugglers and have to pay more money or they are detained by the smugglers until they pay them. The Afghan immigrants state that the cost of such a journey from Afghanistan to Turkey is around 1500 dollars. However, paying such an amount of money does not provide a comfortable journey as immigrants mostly have to walk while remaining vigilant about thieves and the police on the way. S.F, B.S, and N.M told their experiences in their journeys from Afghanistan to Turkey as follows:

“I came to Turkey in 27 days. We have seen many troubles. One night we ran away from the police and climbed up a hill. We stayed there one night, there was nothing to eat or drink. That night we lost one of our friends, and we found him a couple of days later. When the police see you, they shoot if you don’t stop; but if you stop, they will send you back to Afghanistan. The police were beating an old man, so we ran away. It was very difficult. It was warm in Afghanistan and Pakistan and particularly in Iran, but it was winter in Turkey, and I came just with my t-shirt. We did not think that it is winter in Turkey. Also, we hear that there are lots of thieves on the way. I did not encounter them, but my friend did, and the thieves took everything from him” (S.F, a 23-years-old Afghan immigrant)

“I was on the road for 16 days. We cannot go to Iran directly, we go first to Pakistan, and then Iran because all the ways between Afghanistan and Iran are closed. So, it might take two weeks or even one month; there is no definite duration for the journey. Because of the Taliban, we crossed to Pakistan very hard. We stayed in Pakistan for three days; there was no hotel or house we could stay at, there was just an open place we stayed at. We were outside when it rained. It does not matter if you are cold. When we arrived in Iran, we were at home during the day, so we can move just in the night. We sometimes used the car, but we have to walk if there are police around. The most compelling part was Iran. Now, it is more difficult, both going to Iran and going to Turkey. Now, you cannot take a bus ticket for intercity travel (in Turkey). I could go everywhere three years ago without a document, but now it is so difficult. The people (Turkish citizens) are changing as well; they tried to help us in the past, but now they don’t since they are afraid to be fined” (B.S, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant).

“I walked from Afghanistan to Iran for eighteen days, but we used the car for two hours a day when we were going from Pakistan to Iran. But the cars were



very small; they were like a taxi. The smugglers put almost twelve people in one car; five people with the baggage and seven people in the car. Some of the people were crying, but nobody pays attention” (N.M, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant).

The stories of the immigrants show that the journey from Afghanistan to Turkey is not an easy issue. The immigrants have to deal with lots of difficulties to reach Turkey, and those difficulties are not just on the way; Afghan immigrants continue to deal with the difficulties in their new environment as well. For most of them, Yenimahalle is their first destinations. The Yenimahalle neighborhood could be accepted as a kind of new center for the Afghan immigrants. Most of the Afghan immigrants found Yenimahalle neighborhood with the help of their friends or relatives. With the help of social solidarity and network, the immigrants could find a place for sleeping and a job. However, the question of whether the social network helps immigrants survive or makes them isolated is a valid question as Daniş (2018, 3) asks.

To sum up, the recent Afghan migration to the Yenimahalle neighborhood is an undocumented male labor migration. The migration of such a group to a place which has not had any international migration experience before and also maintains the traditional family codes produces significant consequences at the intergroup level. This study aims to focus on this small Yenimahalle neighborhood to understand these significant consequences and understand the intergroup relations between the Afghan immigrants and the receiving society members’ of Yenimahalle neighborhood.

## **4. METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1. Introduction**

Social research is conducted for many purposes such as “exploring a new topic, describing a social phenomenon, or explaining why something occurs” (Neuman 2013, 38), and researchers ask different questions to conduct research and follow different methodologies, which are determined by the question to be answered. In this research, the qualitative methodology is used to produce descriptive data to understand the meanings people attach to things in their lives, to understand how they see the things from their own perspective, and how they construct their realities (Taylor et al. 2015, 8). Qualitative studies aim to uncover the meanings, understand the phenomena which are studied, and build explanations or develop discussions, theories or concepts (Ritche and Lewis 2003, 83). “Qualitative data are not imprecise or deficient but are very meaningful” instead of understanding social life with numbers or variables, in qualitative studies, the verses, ideas, viewpoints, and perspectives of people we are studying are taken into consideration (Neuman 2013, 177).

One of the main aims of social research is to describe situations and social events; thus, researchers observe and then describe their observations (Babbie 2012, 91). A descriptive study mostly focuses on the “how” questions (Neuman 2013, 39). In this study, the main question is a “how” question since the research focuses on how Yenimahalle residents and Afghan immigrant workers perceive each other and how these perceptions affect the intergroup relations. To answer this main question, it also aims to answer the following set of questions directing the social relations between Afghan immigrants and Yenimahalle residents: What are the social and economic consequences of the undocumented migration? How does the (undocumented) migration affect the intergroup relations? What kinds of tensions do consequences of (undocumented)

migration cause between Afghan immigrant workers and Yenimahalle residents? What kinds of factors affect the perceptions and attitudes of the two groups toward each other? Are these groups homogeneous? What kinds of factors have an impact on inter and intragroup relations?

In this chapter, the proper methodology to answer the aforementioned questions and the steps of the research will be explained in detail. To do that, firstly, the case, the participants, the participants' selection process, and the data collection method will be clarified. After that, the role of the researcher in the study and the relationship between the observer and the observed will be discussed. Lastly, the ethical issues and the limitations of the study will be covered.

#### **4.2. Yenimahalle as a Case**

The migration from rural to urban in Turkey, which started in the 1950s, has caused big changes in the cities. The mass movements from rural to urban, mainly engendered housing problems because cities did not have enough accommodation for such a large number of newcomers. The solution of the local immigrants to this problem was gecekondus (squatter houses), which are the consequences of the “depeasantization and slow workerization” (Erman 2011, 74-75). Gecekondu refers to the process of acquiring “non-commercialized” housing.

There are two important characteristics of gecekondu, the first one is that it involves an “illegal” process, the other is that the production and consumption of shelter in gecekondu are done by the same people (Erder 2015, 131). Thus, the migrants build their own houses on lands which do not belong to them, mostly in public areas or in treasury lands, and reside in them. The name gecekondu is given to imply the “illegal” nature of the construction of these buildings. “To escape the attention of authorities, migrants would build their houses at night and as quickly as possible” (Erman 2011, 74). Yenimahalle, one of the neighborhoods of Beykoz, Istanbul, which is located in the Anatolian side, is also a gecekondu neighborhood. Yet, some houses in the neighborhood were reconstructed and turned into apartments in the 1990s. The settlement in the neighborhood has existed approximately since 1960. The majority of the neighborhood did not have title deeds back then. Some people, after negotiations with the municipality,

received their land registration by paying the price of the land. However, still, the title deed issue is on the agenda of the neighborhood. Many places in the neighborhood are still “illegal” and how they will be resolved is officially in dispute. The residents in the Yenimahalle neighborhood consisted of local immigrants who immigrated mostly in the 1980s and 1990s from various cities of Turkey such as Kastamonu, Samsun, Trabzon, Amasya, Ardahan, Kars, and so on. The majority of the residents of Yenimahalle are from lower and lower-middle classes. According to the latest data of TUIK, the total registered population of Yenimahalle is 19,458 (TUIK 2017).

There is not much occupational opportunity in the neighborhood except for some small shops, supermarkets, or textile sweatshops; therefore, most of the residents go outside the neighborhood to earn money. This neighborhood is relatively far from the city centers. For instance, reaching to the nearest center like Ümraniye, Beykoz, or Üsküdar takes approximately thirty minutes with public transportation. However, in the past, the worker bazaar, which is located in the Küçüksu neighborhood bordering Yenimahalle, offered employment to many locals. But now, the population in the worker bazaar is replaced by the undocumented immigrant workers. Yenimahalle has been receiving immigration since the beginning of the 2000’s; however, the number of immigrants in the neighborhood has been increasing for the last five years. Almost all immigrants are from the region of Afghanistan, but there are a few Pakistani and Iraqi workers as well. According to the participants and the mukhtar, the estimated number of immigrants in Yenimahalle is around 5000 and only about 300 to 500 of them has been registered to the city, which means that most of the immigrants do not have a visa or document, meaning they are undocumented immigrants. Of course, it is not possible to determine the exact number of immigrants because they are not registered and very mobile, which makes these the estimated numbers. Almost all of the immigrants are single men and there are only a few immigrant families (30-40 as one of the Afghan immigrants indicated) living in the neighborhood.

The worker bazaar near the neighborhood brings together the people who need a job and people who need workers. This bazaar is informal and consists of some certain streets. The workers go there very early and wait until they find a job. The employers come there and bargain with the workers on the daily cost of the labor which mostly changes depending on the employer, employee, and the job itself. The workers are employed mostly in daily and uninsured jobs. One of the reasons for the settlement of the immigrant workers in Yenimahalle is the worker bazaar. One of the common occupations

among Afghan immigrants is construction worker. Most of them work by depending on a headworker who lets them know when there is an open position for them. The worker bazaar provides jobs especially for the newcomers and people who do not have contact with any headworker. Since most of the immigrants work in daily or temporary jobs, the immigrants are without a job very often. In such situations, immigrants could find jobs through the worker bazaar. However, as the immigrants state it is not preferable to find a job from the worker bazaar because these jobs are temporary and they might be deceived by the employer who refuses to pay them.

Another reason for the settlement of the immigrants in this neighborhood is the immigrant networks. Immigrants settle in Yenimahalle through their social networks, kinship or friends. Most of them find a place to live before they arrive in Turkey and it is one of the reasons for the clustering of Afghan immigrants even though they could not find a job in this squatter neighborhood. The relatively low rents (they were low in the initial years that Yenimahalle received them, but they got higher as the number of immigrants increased) and not being obliged to sign a contract to rent a house make this neighborhood preferable for immigrants. It is a verbal contract between the landlord and the immigrants, which gives the opportunity to the landlord to change the conditions whenever he/she wants. M.S, a 27-years-old Afghan immigrant, who lives in Yenimahalle for two years, explained the intensification of Afghan immigrants in this neighborhood as follows: “I am saying that it [the process of the intensification of Afghan immigrants] is like a mother who gives birth; first, one Afghan has arrived and then he gave birth to another one, another one leads to another one....” The increase of Afghan immigrants in the neighborhood leads to having their own social spaces; local markets.

The Yenimahalle neighborhood has been selected as a case in this research since it consists of a remarkable number of worker immigrants and has become one of the centers for the Afghan immigrant workers. The settlement of the immigrants in Yenimahalle causes interactions and encounters between the residents and the immigrants. Since the neighborhood is relatively small, it offers a site for observation of the interactions of the residents and the immigrants; therefore, this case provides a detailed observation field and data to the study.

#### **4.3. Sampling and Participants**

The sample is the small set of units chosen from the larger set of units which is known as the population. The aim of sampling is understanding the larger set of cases with the small set of units. Thus, if the population is sampled correctly, the data derived from the sample could be generalized into its entire population. Different kinds of samplings are used in different kinds of research in accordance with the specific aim of the study and data (Neuman 2013, 245).

Snowball sampling is one of the widely used methods in qualitative studies to reach the participants. In snowball sampling, the initial participants are asked to nominate their friends to be interviewed by the researcher. This process continues until the researcher is provided with sufficient data for the purpose of the research (May 2010, 140). Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling, but it is very effective in reaching the specific populations which are hard to contact. Thus, this method is quite proper if the population is hidden or hard to locate, such as migrant workers, undocumented immigrants, homeless individuals, and so on. The researcher initially collects data from the members of the target population and then asks them to reach other members of the population whom they know (Babbie 2012, 128). In short, the researcher benefits from the network relations in the target population in snowball sampling. The concept of social capital, which is developed by Bourdieu, is very crucial in snowball sampling because the process of accessing the data depends on the social networks. Social capital, in that sense, could be associated with the “membership in a group,” which provides its members a capital. However, it should be considered that the participants decide who is suitable for the interview and it might lead the researcher to reflect certain kind of perspectives or the voices or opinions of the certain group of people and consequently omitting the others (May 2010, 140). To overcome this problem, the researcher should start the interview with people who do not know each other. In this way, the diversity of the participants could be provided and the representativeness could increase.

The methods of data access and data collection are dependent on each other because they are complementary facets (Noy 2008, 334). There is a close relationship between the snowball sampling (data access method) and interview (data collection method). In the interviews, the trust issue is very crucial for the quality of the data that the researcher collected. The snowball sampling, in a sense, provides trust because the former participants undertake a task of gatekeeper, and the prospective informants probably feel more comfortable in trusting the researcher. However, in the snowball

sampling method, the researcher should gain the trust of informants because the informants are expected to supply other referrals (ibid., 334). If the informants do not trust the researcher, the chain providing more participants could be broken.

The aim of this study is understanding the perceptions of Yenimahalle residents and Afghan worker immigrants toward each other. Therefore, in this study, the unit of analysis is the individuals in the Yenimahalle neighborhood, and the population consists of the Afghan immigrants and Yenimahalle residents. The large populations do not necessarily require a large sample size (May 2010, 101). The sample size of this study is relatively small because it is a qualitative study. The samples in qualitative studies are not interested in the “prevalence or incidence” thus the sample does not have to be large (Ritche and Lewis 2003, 107). On the contrary, the sample size should be small because the data produced from the qualitative studies yield data which is hard to manage (ibid., 83). Thus, in this research, the sample size is relatively small to let us understand the feelings, perceptions, and attitudes of the people. The small sample size allows for spending more time with the informants one by one and consequently collecting detailed data. But of course, small-scale samples work only if it is selected by taking some issues into consideration such as “heterogeneity of the population, the number of selection criteria, type of data collection method” (ibid., 84).

The groups in this study are not homogeneous. Due to the heterogeneity of the Afghan immigrant community in terms of ethnicity in Yenimahalle, the interviews were conducted with people who are ethnically different from each other. The supra-identities of Afghan were determined based on their ethnic group memberships. Six participants from the two major Afghan groups, Tajiks and Uzbeks, were selected for semi-structured interviews. Since the Afghan immigrant community consists of young males, the sampled participants’ ages range between 19 and 32. All the participants from the Afghan population are male because the Afghan population in the neighborhood is comprised almost completely of males.

On the other hand, Yenimahalle residents are heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity, social background, and economic status. Therefore, gender and ethnicity are taken into consideration. Accordingly, 6 male and 6 female participants were selected from the local residents. Besides Turks, there are also Kurdish people in this neighborhood, so four in twelve are the Kurdish residents to be able to represent them.

Snowball sampling is a quite common technique in social science research adopting interview technique. In this study, snowball sampling is preferred because of

the undocumented status of Afghan immigrants. The irregularity of the immigrants engenders two reasons for using the snowball sampling: firstly, the immigrants are not registered to the state offices in the city, so it is not possible to have a list or exact number to be sampled. Secondly, because of their sensitive status, immigrants might not feel open and comfortable being interviewed. Thus, to minimize the discomfort of Afghan immigrants, the researcher reached the Afghan immigrants with the help of gatekeepers. Throughout the interviews, five different gatekeepers helped the researcher contact the Afghan immigrants. 24 interviews were conducted with twelve Yenimahalle residents and twelve Afghan immigrant workers through snowball sampling. The following chart shows the participants' age, gender, occupations, ethnicity, and so on.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of Afghan immigrants

Name	Sex	Ethnicity City	Age	Education	Job	Lives in Yenimahalle	Legal Status
M.U	M	Uzbek/ Kabul	19	Primary School	Day laborer	2 months	Undocumented
M.S	M	Uzbek/ Sar-e Pol	27	Primary School	Day laborer	2 years	Undocumented
S.F	M	Tajik/ Puli Khumri	23	Primary School	Waiter	3 years	Undocumented
M.T	M	Tajik/ Puli Khumri	27	High school	Day laborer	2.5 months	Undocumented
S.K	M	Uzbek/ Faryab	32	No school	Grocery Owner	8 years	Undocumented to legal
N.M	M	Uzbek/ Faryab	21	High school	Day laborer	4 years	Undocumented
Y.N	M	Uzbek/ Faryab	30	University	Day laborer	1.5 years	Legal to Undocumented
R.Z	M	Uzbek/ Faryab	24	No school	Waiter	1 year	Legal to Undocumented
H.T	M	Tajik/ Kabul	24	University	Day laborer	1 year	Undocumented
B.S	M	Tajik/ Herat	21	High school	Day laborer	3 years	Undocumented



G.M	M	Tajik/ Faryab	26	Primary School	Day laborer	5 years + 7 months	Undocumented
M.H	M	Tajik/ Mazar-i Sharif	25	High school	Grocery Boy	15 months	Undocumented

Table 2. Socio-demographic characteristics of receiving society members

Name	Sex	Ethnicity/ City	Age	Education	Occupation	Lives in Yenimahalle
E.F	F	Turkish/ Kastamonu	25	Bachelor	Student	Since birth
A.Y	F	Turkish/ Kastamonu	44	High school	Housewife	For 22 years
E.R	M	Turkish/ Kastamonu	21	University	Student	Since birth
V.D	M	Turkish/ Samsun	37	Master	Carpet Store Owner	For 14 years
Y.S	M	Turkish/ Samsun	48	Secondary School	Playstation Store Owner	For 31 years
S.T	M	Kurdish/ Ardahan	42	Secondary School	Grocery Store Owner	For 35 years
M.J	F	Kurdish/ Bingöl	27	Highs School	Pharmacy Technician	For 6 years
S.N	F	Turkish/ Istanbul	20	University	Student	Since birth
H.Y	F	Turkish/ Kastamonu	40	Primary school	Hairdresser	For 19 years
A.D	M	Turkish/ Kastamonu	45	Primary School	Kitchenware Store owner	For 17 years
Z.K	M	Kurdish/ Ardahan	51	High School	Grocery Store Owner	For 31 years
I.K	F	Kurdish/ Ardahan	34	University	Grocery Store Owner	Since birth

#### 4.4. Data Collection: Semi-Structured Interviews

This research aims to understand the intergroup relations which are formed with the impact of migration in one specific neighborhood. To do that, a semi-structured interview method was applied as a data collection method since it provides deeper insights into the stories, experiences, opinions, feelings, perceptions, and attitudes of people (May 2010, 131). In qualitative methods, interviews are one of the effective methods since they make face-to-face encounters with the researcher and the informants possible, and they help the researcher to understand the meanings the participants produce with their own words (Taylor et al. 2015, 102). The data produced with the qualitative techniques are hard to analyze since they are not standardized or systematic (Patton 2002, 20). However, the concern in the qualitative works is not maximizing the reliability and validity as it is in quantitative studies (Bryman 2012, 470). With the semi-structured nature of open-ended questions, the researcher can understand how the informants perceive the world because informants give more diverse, detailed, and longer responses (Patton 2002, 21).

In semi-structured interviews, the questions are partially determined, yet the interviewer is free to ask further questions which are not provided in the interview form, or they can change the order of the questions. This transforms the nature of the interview from a stricter and pre-determined one to a more flexible one. With the help of this, the researcher can establish a dialogue with the informants (May 2010, 134) and can receive detailed answers. However, it should be noted that the interview method itself has some limitations. "Since the interview is a particular kind of situation, you cannot assume that what a person says during an interview is what that person believes or will say or do in other situations" (Taylor et al. 2015, 105). To overcome such a problem, building rapport between the researcher and the informants is important. On the other hand, spending time with the informants as much as possible with long interviews could decrease the limitations of the interview.

During the interview, each group, basically the Afghan immigrants and the residents, was asked a group of questions which show their relationship with the neighborhood and with each other. Firstly, the participants were asked to introduce themselves and then they were asked some questions about their relationship with the neighborhood and with each other. The aim of the questions was to understand the inter and intra-group relations. In total, Afghan immigrants were asked 23 questions and Yenimahalle residents were asked 20 questions. All the participants were asked to give consent for the tape recorder and all the interviews were recorded with their consent.

All interviews were conducted between March 2018 and June 2018. I interviewed nine local residents at their workplaces and three at their houses. Nine interviews with the Afghan immigrants took place at cafés, two of them at their workplaces, and one of them at his house. Because the local residents were working, they were mostly interviewed in their workplace. The interviews in cafés and outside of their houses because immigrants' houses were mostly very crowded, and for this reason, it would have been impossible to have one-to-one interviews.

#### **4.5. Ethical Considerations**

For the ethical considerations<sup>1</sup>, the written protocol which describes the aim of the research, the methods used, procedures of selecting the participants, assessments of the risks and benefits, the precautions to minimize these risks, and the forms to obtain written informed consent from the informants were presented to Sabancı University Research Ethics Council and the consent was taken on March 8, 2018.

According to this protocol, before the interview, the objectives of the study were clearly described to the participants verbally and they were asked to sign the Consent Form which indicates their voluntary participation in the interview. The participants were ensured that their personal information will remain anonymous and their names will not be used in the research, using aliases instead. Thus, the participants were not asked their names. In addition, the participants were ensured that the data obtained through the research will be used only for academic purposes and they will be kept confidential.

The participants were informed about their rights to end the interview at any point and the right to withdraw the data they provided until the work is published. To minimize the discomfort of the participants and increase the efficiency of the interview, the interviews were conducted in a safe and quiet place where other people could not hear them.

Interestingly, all of the immigrants could speak the Turkish language, especially the Uzbek participants could speak very fluently because of the linguistic similarity. Only during two of the interviews an Afghan gatekeeper who could speak Turkish fluently

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<sup>1</sup> See a detailed information on ethical issues in Ethnic Board Protocol on page 118.

helped the translation when it was necessary, but it was rarely needed. Two participants were friends with the translator and they trusted each other. Even so, to minimize the discomfort and gain the trust of the participants, the translator signed a Confidentiality Form<sup>2</sup> before starting the interview to make participants comfortable, stating that all conversation will remain confidential. My family and I are also living in the Yenimahalle neighborhood, so I contacted the translator with the help of my family.

#### **4.6. Limitations**

There are some limitations of the study caused by the nature of the qualitative methodology and the design of the research. Firstly, the nature of qualitative methodology has some limitations in itself such as the reliability and validity in accord with the positivist standards (Schwartz and Yanow 2012, 92). Reliability is associated with the replicability of research findings (Ritchie and Lewis 2003, 270). However, in qualitative research, even when the researchers study the same topic the result might be different because there are various kinds of data sources and measurement methods. Therefore, another researcher who uses different methods may find distinctive results since the data collection process is interactive. In addition to that, the principle of validity which is associated with the “truth” or “correctness” is not a concern of qualitative studies, rather the authenticity is important since in most qualitative studies the focus is on how the people we study understand the social phenomena and construct reality (Neuman 2013, 218).

Secondly, there are some limitations because of the design of the study. One of the limitations of this study is related to the groups which will be studied. Only the two numerically dominant Afghan groups, that is Uzbeks and Tajiks, were taken into consideration. Other groups such as Turkmen, Hazara, and Pashtun immigrants were not taken into the sample because of their numbers in the neighborhood.

Another limitation of this study is the place which is studied. Even though some close neighborhoods also received Afghan immigration, only the Yenimahalle neighborhood was taken into consideration because it received the largest immigrant

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<sup>2</sup> See the Confidentiality Form on page 128.

population. All these engender the limitation of generalization. In qualitative studies, the generalizations can be applied to the population which is sampled or other settings which have similar conditions. The conditions in this neighborhood and the profile of residents are unique, so the results derived from this study can be generalized only for Yenimahalle or to similar settings. However, focusing on a small neighborhood provides detailed data about immigrants and locals, and an opportunity to understand the social settings which influence the interactions and experiences of people.

Lastly, another generalization in qualitative studies is a theoretical one. It is the generalization of “the concepts or propositions which are deemed to be of wider, or even universal, the application” so theoretical generalizations are drawn from the specific studies to construct wider theories (Ritche and Lewis 2003, 264).

## **5. DATA ANALYSIS**

In this chapter, the data collected from 24 participants is analyzed to understand the intergroup relationships between the Afghan immigrants and the receiving society members. The main question of this research is how the Afghan immigrants and the local residents perceive, develop attitudes towards, and interact with each other. In the following sections, the perceptions of groups toward each other are covered first, the attitudes of groups toward each other are covered second, and finally the interactions of groups with each other are discussed, with a specific attention to the social distance between them.

The first part discusses how groups socially categorize each other, and the reasons for the social inequality among immigrants and local residents are accounted for under three subcategories, which are (1) being an insider vs. an outsider (2) legal status, and (3) power asymmetry. In brief, this part discusses how receiving society members put themselves in a higher position than the immigrants and how this is justified by both of them. The second part discusses the patterns of attitudes of receiving society members and immigrants under three categories: (1) feelings (affect) of receiving society members and Afghan immigrants towards each other; (2) behaviors of receiving society members and Afghan immigrants towards each other; (3) analysis of the attitudes of groups with acculturation strategies.

In the last part, the interactions and social distance between groups are discussed. To analyze the interactions of the immigrants and the local residents, firstly the two sites which provide a ground for the interactions of the groups are selected for analysis. Throughout the interviews, it is understood that mosques and buses are the sites where the groups interact the most; therefore, the interactions of the groups in mosques and buses are analyzed. Secondly, the social distance between groups is discussed under three subcategories: (1) temporality, (2) perceived cultural differences, and (3) singlehood and gender.

## **5.1. The Perceptions of Groups Toward Each Other**

### **5.1.1. The Social Categorization of the Groups**

This part discusses three categories which influence the perceptions of Afghan immigrants and local residents toward each other, which are being an insider or an outsider, legal status, and power asymmetry. Social categorization process is based on the similarities; therefore, the things which are perceived as similar are put in the same group, and the things which are perceived as different are put in different groups. The Afghan immigrants and local residents perceive themselves as two distinct groups with references to belonging to different societies, cultures, or ethnic groups. Nevertheless, these two “distinct” groups have “distinct” groups in themselves stemming from differences such as ethnicity, education level, social level, economic level, political ideology, and so on, but the in-group differences are ignored when the group members encounter the “other.” Social identity theory asserts that the social categorization and comparison of the relevant outgroups provide in-group a “positive intergroup distinctiveness and positive self-evaluation” (Figueiredo et al. 2005, 15). Within this case, groups are formed as us and them, the established one and the newcomers, the minority and majority, the “strangers” and the citizens, the “low power” group and the “high-power” group. As it might be expected, while the immigrant group is the subordinated one, the receiving society members are the dominant one.

There is a tendency to maximize group differences when making an intergroup social comparison. In this process, the self as a member of an in-group is associated with positive evaluations while the other as a member of an out-group is associated with negative ones. Thus, the in-group acquires positive social identity in comparison to the out-group (Hogg and Abrams 1988, 23). Social identity theory asserts that the groups gain a positive social identity with in-group favoritism and out-group derogation (Tajfel and Billig 1973). I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, who owns a grocery store, explained the differences between them and Afghan immigrants as follows:

“They are not developed. They are in old-times; bride price, etc. They do not care about girls. There is no hygiene as well. I think it is because they are dirty. They do not have cleaning customs as we have. I think they are dirty in every aspect; house cleaning, odor....”

Similarly, S.T, a 42-years-old Kurdish man, who owns a grocery store, emphasized the differences between them and Afghan immigrants as follows:

“Their culture and way of living do not resemble ours, their way of clothing, their way of looking, speech, walking... We are different. We have some common values because of our belief, but we are very different culturally. For example, their way of stance, looking, and eating are different from us. Their glances are sharp. Their skin is brunette. Their speech is hoarse, especially, the newcomers... until they adapt to Turkey.”

The perceived similarities and differences have an influence on the attitudes and perceptions toward each other (Murray and Marx 2013, 334). Despite this, having a good life standard, body posture, and good manners are signs which can be easily realized, and these are some functions for the classification of the people that are encountered. In that sense, the body posture and manner of dress of immigrants become criteria for the immigrants’ acceptance (Monkachi 2003, 70).

While the tendency towards maximizing intergroup distinctiveness and attributing negative features to the out-group are common among the receiving society members, Afghan immigrants do not tend to make group distinctions or attribute negative features to the out-group. On the contrary, immigrants (especially the Uzbek ones) often tended to emphasize the similarities with the majority group by making references to Islam and their Ottoman roots. Indeed, religious identity is an important factor which provides both groups to meet on common grounds. R.Z, a 24-years-old Afghan immigrant, who works in one of the coffee shops in the neighborhood, explained the similarities with the local residents by emphasizing the religion and his objection to the Turkish citizens’ emphasis on differences as follows:

“There is no such difference in food, drink, and dresses. I will not call myself, Turkish or Afghan... now our problem is just this. Why do they say that? We are abroad. The Afghan one, the Turkish one... all of them are human. Why would I say the Turks are bad, why would Turks say that the Afghans are bad? We are all Muslims, Alhamdulillah (thanks to God). There is no difference for me.”

On the other hand, S.K, a 32-years-old, Uzbek-descent Afghan immigrant, explained the similarities with the receiving society members by emphasizing his Ottoman roots:



“We are also the grandchildren of the Ottomans. The differences between us and the Yenimahalle residents arise from the level of education; they live in cities and go to school but we don’t. There is no difference in the language and religion. Our language is the same. It is Ottoman. We are Muslim, we pray in the same way, but the culture is different. We live in the village. You live in the city.”

For people like him, religion and Ottoman roots provide common ground with Turks whereas cultural differences still stay as permanent. In addition to these, the immigrants mostly position themselves to the “lower” position than the local residents by making references to social, economic, and structural devastations the war has caused in Afghanistan such as the lack of education, underdevelopment of the cities, technology and so on. B.S, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant, who works in daily jobs, expressed his thoughts on similarity and differences between them and the local residents by stating that:

“When you say difference... we fell behind, so you went further. Both our cultures fell behind. There is war [in Afghanistan], but there is no war in Turkey. Maybe we’ve been fallen 50 years behind the world. We need another 50 years to fix ourselves.”

In this point, the tendency of immigrants to perceive themselves in a “lower” or “backward” position could be accounted for with the system justification theory. The theory explains the attitudes of immigrants and their motives to justify the existing order. Outgroup favoritism and the internalization of the “inferiority” among members of disadvantaged groups are the signs of the tendency of justification of the inequality (Jost, Banaji, and Nosek 2004, 912). In this context, the disadvantaged groups or minorities predominantly accept the group-based inequalities and the superior position of the majority groups. According to the Afghan immigrants, the reason for such inequality is the historical and political conditions in Afghanistan which make its members “backward.”

Perceiving people as a member of a group affects the explanations on their behaviors. More clearly, explaining certain behaviors or characteristics of a person according to the group he/she belongs to (Hortaçsu 1998, 258) causes many to stereotype others. The receiving society members and Afghan immigrants explained certain behaviors of out-group members with references to the group characteristics. For

instance, the local residents attributed certain stereotypical features to the Afghan immigrants such as “silent,” “oppressed,” “ignorant,” “dirty,” “desperate,” but also, they thought that the Afghan immigrants are “honest” and “pious” (the piety in this context refers to a positive value). According to the social identity theory, the perceived differentiation between in-group and out-group is the consequences of enhancing positive social identity (Schnapper 1998, 150). S.N, a 20-years-old Turkish woman, who has very little contact with Afghan immigrants, narrated her observations as follows:

“Well, they are hopeless, they were scared and came here, they’re unemployed, and they want to support their family on the other side. Because their wives, their families are always in Afghanistan, men come here to work, as I said, they are desperate.”

The perceptions like that of S.N is quite common among the receiving society members. Most of them sometimes feel pity for the immigrants and stop emphasizing the immigrants’ perceived negative ways in such situations. However, the most common stereotypical attribution which almost all local residents emphasized is the silence, “ignorance,” and dirtiness of the immigrants. S.T, a 42-years-old Kurdish man, who owns a grocery store and has an opportunity to having daily contacts with immigrants, expressed his observations about Afghan immigrants as follows: “they are very silent, for instance, they are not very talkative when they come out. If there is someone from their friends, they talk. Otherwise, they do not talk.”

Moreover, the local residents made a differentiation between “good” and “bad” Afghans. While the “good” ones are interested in religious activities and more careful about the rules of “good manners,” the bad ones are the opposite. S.T, a 42-years-old Kurdish man, who owns a grocery store, explained “good” immigrants as follows: “As I said, the good ones are well-behaved, decent, believers, conscious... he is aware that he is outside in society. A calm, clean-cut guy, occupied with his job, his head is lowered, not like this (he is showing by looking at my eyes)” and the same participant explains the “bad” Afghan immigrants as people who ask him whether he sells alcoholic beverages or card games. While the local residents evaluated Afghan immigrants, they took their value judgment as criteria. Thus, immigrants who are more similar to them are perceived as “good” and the ones who are more different are perceived as “bad.”

While the local residents tended to make some definitions, and described the immigrants with certain stereotypical traits, immigrants were very careful when they were

talking about the receiving society members. Unlike the receiving society members, immigrants did not attribute certain stereotypical traits to the out-group members. Immigrants stated that the local residents predominantly are more “developed” than them. Nonetheless, the immigrants also differentiated the receiving society members as “good” and “bad.” Accordingly, the “good” ones are defined as people who do not ask anything of them and the bad ones as people who use violence against them. Accordingly, Afghan immigrants explained “bad” and “good” local residents as follows:

“They [the good ones] are nice when we encounter them. They do not treat us badly. They state that Afghanistan is good. The bad ones are treating us badly, say that we are Afghans, and ask why we came here. They ask, why don’t you go to your country? Something like that” (S.F, a 23-years-old Afghan immigrant, who has very little contact with the local residents).

“People sympathize with us because we are Muslims. Our religion, belief, and the way of worship are the same. The people who do not like us say that we are dirty, we might rob them, or defile their family’s honor... it is a lie.” (S.K, a 32-years-old Afghan immigrant, who lives in Yenimahalle for 8 years).

“Let’s say someone comes and says, “Can you please bring a cup of tea?” I say, “Of course, my brother, I will.” But the other one comes and says, “Hey, give me tea”” (R.Z, a 24-years-old Afghan immigrant, who works in one of the coffee shops in the neighborhood).

As the statements of the immigrants show, unlike the receiving society members, the Afghan immigrants did not take their value judgment as a criterion when they evaluated the receiving society members. Instead, the basic relationship patterns as being treated in a “good” or “bad” way were determinants in perceiving the outgroup members as “good” or “bad.” More clearly, the outgroup members who behave in a good way towards immigrants are perceived as “good” people by the immigrants and vice versa.

### **5.1.2. Group-Based Social Hierarchies: Minority-Majority Relations**

Group-based social hierarchies are very common in most societies that is why a distinction can be made between groups that are conceived of as having higher status, position, and power and groups that are perceived as having lower status, position, and power (Alexandre et al. 2016, 56). The reasons of social stratification are based on

achieved characteristics which are acquired through the life and ascribed characteristics which are obtained by birth. In that sense, race, ethnicity, class, gender, and citizenship are very common social categories which stratify people unequally (Massey 2007, 1). Are the social positions of people fixed? Is the powerful group in a specific geographic location also powerful in another one? Does the immigration to another country as an undocumented worker change the previous social position in the receiving country? In the next part, the reasons for group-based social hierarchies are discussed.

#### **5.1.2.1. The sources of the group-based social hierarchies**

Immigration is a process in which people's previous social positions change and often become more vulnerable than before (Kümbetoğlu 2012, 72). Especially if the immigrants do not have the appropriate legal documents, the downward change of social position is inevitable. The vulnerable social position of the immigrants in the new social environment easily affects the relationships they have with the receiving society members. In relation to this, immigrants take the "lower" position in the hierarchical social structure of the new society. As the social dominance theory asserts, while the dominant or hegemonic groups possess the positive social value, material and symbolic things such as the power, authority, high social status, available health care, or better accommodation opportunities, the subordinated group possess negative social value such as low status and power, poor health services, or accommodation adversities (Sidanius and Pratto 1999, 32). There are mainly three categories which explain the reasons for group-based social hierarchies between immigrants and receiving society members, which are: being an insider vs. an outsider, legal status, and power asymmetry.

##### **5.1.2.1.1. Being an insider vs. an outsider**

The concept of "immigrant" refers to the one who is from elsewhere and who is an outsider, both legally and socially. "The immigrant is legally an outsider because he/she is not a citizen, and socially he/she is an outsider because of not being recognized as belonging to the same imagined national community" (Verkuyten 2018, 226). Crossing the border means a transition from one life to another. Chavez (1992) explains this

transition as a “territorial passage” which consists of three phases: “separation from the known social group or society, transition (the “liminal” phase), and incorporation into the new social group or society” (quoted in De Genova 2002, 435). Immigrants are the “new arrivals,” “foreign,” “unknown” in the social sphere in which they will take part (Kümbetoğlu 2012, 75).

In that case, being a “stranger” is one of the factors, which makes the relationship between groups unequal because the stranger is not the “owner of the soil.” The soil, in this sense, does not just signify the physical one, but also the social environment (Simmel 1950, 403). A new social environment is a place where the immigrants’ previous social and cultural norms and rules are not valid anymore, which is why the new social life is unusual, different, and unknown for the immigrants. In that sense, the receiving society members, as a group which is familiar to the cultural and social norms and rules of the society, perceive the immigrants as “strangers” who do not have similar rules and norms. Being unfamiliar to those social rules directly puts the immigrants into a “lower” position in the social stratification. Which geographic location the immigrant comes from is very important for the hierarchy of preferences (Dempster and Hargrave 2017, 11) because it is perceived that the culture of the East is more inferior than the culture of the West. Afghan immigrants’ culture is seen as “uncivilized,” “ignorant,” and “underdeveloped” by many Turkish citizens because Afghanistan is perceived to represent that inferior Eastern culture. Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man, who runs a playstation store, narrated the immigrants’ “inabilities” to “adapting” to the rules and good manners of the society as follows:

“These men should be told at the entrance. Tell them that you will use public transportations, therefore, you will blend into the life over here. Be cautious about your hygiene, your clothes, your odor, your diet. Do not disturb your environment. For example, do not wear your traditional clothes, I do not want to see you like this in this country. Get dressed like us. Fit into the society, do not throw your gum on the ground, do not spit, or do not throw cigarette butts on the ground. If all these had been told to them, we would not be talking about them.”

I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, who owns a grocery shop has an opportunity to have contact with immigrants, emphasized throughout the interview that she is not annoyed by the Afghan immigrants. She narrated her observations as follows:

“They do not know that it [the garbage] should be thrown away in the bin. My father says, “You throw litter to the people’ gardens, collect it!” They do when you warn them, but they could not grasp that they should not do it. They do when you say something, but they do not have such a culture. They eat something and throw it on the ground. They spit on the ground. I hate this. They do not say that there are people, I should not do such things in front of them. They are not developed. But I am not annoyed; I get sad for them. I wish they would mature and learn something, but they try to behave in accordance with their culture and exclude the ones who do not.”

Receiving society members assigned the immigrants to a “lower” status because they are “strangers” to the vested rules of good manners of their society. Not just receiving society members, but also immigrants perceive themselves as “strangers” in the new social space. B.S, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant, who lives in Yenimahalle for 3 years, narrated the feeling of being a “stranger” and the difficulties he experienced as follows:

“I have never been abroad before so I did not know what it was like. As I said, most people go to Iran in our neighborhood, so when we go to Iran, we do not feel like we were abroad. We do not feel homesick because most of my friends are in Iran, I don’t have a lot of friends in Afghanistan. I felt like I am in my own country when I was in Iran. But when I arrived in Turkey, I understood that I am abroad, in gurbet<sup>3</sup>. When I came here at first, I didn’t have money, I didn’t know Turkish, I don’t have friends, I have nothing. I stand in the middle of the bus station, I looked around and I said why did I come here, it was very difficult. No work and I did not bring any money because I was going somewhere as a guest, like I was going to my family or my country. I stood like a dumb and deaf person, I mean you cannot hear anything, you cannot speak any word. I stood in the middle of the crowd and said why did I come here? (laughs).”

One of the most important factors which make immigrants feel like “strangers” is not knowing the Turkish language, as they stated. However, in the Yenimahalle neighborhood, the dense population of Afghan immigrants, the immigrants’ network and their local markets make life in gurbet relatively easier for newcomers. As M.S, a 27-years-old Afghan immigrant, by referring to the high number of Afghan immigrants in the neighborhood, stated, “This neighborhood became like our village.”

Some of the immigrants explain that they have been exposed to the negative attitudes of the receiving society members since they are “strangers.” R.Z, a 24-years-old Afghan man, who worked as a waiter in one of the coffee shops of the neighborhood, and

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<sup>3</sup> Translated as homesick in English but it is broader term in Turkish reflects being away from home and way of living there.

has been relatively well-known by the people around the shop, explained his feelings as follows:

“People call me a stranger. Whether child or adult, when they ask me where I was from, I say I am from Afghanistan. The next time they pass by, they call me “Afghan,” they do not call me by my name. I get bored.”

It is obvious that the immigrant is discriminated against as being an Afghan. Thus, the negativity toward Afghan immigrants is not just at the level of feeling but also at the level of behavior. Social dominance theory asserts that group-based social hierarchies are common among most members of a society. Membership to the groups provides social power, prestige, and privilege to its individuals (Sidanius and Pratto 1999, 32). In this case, while receiving society members possess the high social power, prestige, and privilege as they are the members of “the established group,” the Afghan immigrants possess the opposites since they are the members of the “outsiders.” At that point, immigrants’ familiarity with the place and social rules of the receiving society provides them a higher position. On that point, Elias’s (1985) study on Winston Parva is helpful to understand how easy the construction of social inequality between groups is. Elias illustrates that even though the groups have the same social and economic status, the length of habitation in the neighborhood could be a reason for the social hierarchy. In addition to the length of habitation in the neighborhood, there are lots of different factors which have an impact on the construction of this hierarchical social positions such as ethnicity, legal status, being local or a “stranger,” and so on.

Consequently, the local residents perceive the Afghan immigrants as outsiders since they are strangers to the culture, tradition, good manners, and so on. Hence the receiving society members feel that the immigrants are not from their group. Afghan immigrants also feel that they are stranger since they are not familiar with the new society, its language, culture, and so on. However, being a stranger to the rules of the society usually causes an individual to have a lower-position compared to people who are familiar with the rules of society.

#### **5.1.2.1.2. Legal status**

“‘Illegality’ (much like citizenship) is a juridical status that entails a social relation to the state; as such, migrant ‘illegality’ is a preeminently political identity” (De Genova 2002, 422). “The coupling of state sovereignty and nationalism with border control made the ‘foreigner’ an outsider. The state was correspondingly able to define refugees as not belonging to the national society and not entitled to the rights of citizens” (Arendt 1958 quoted in Sassen 1999, 78). Undocumented immigrants are the most vulnerable group of workers because they are deprived of legal and civil rights, “social services, and full personhood, and can be detained and deported if apprehended by immigration authorities” (Coutin 2003, 173). This deprivation is reflected in the everyday lives of immigrants through the right-based debate. More clearly, the legal status of a person is perceived as one of the determinants of the rights she/he has in everyday life. For instance, M.S, a 27-years-old Afghan immigrant, who lives in Yenimahalle for two years and works outside of the neighborhood, explained the reason for giving his seat in the buses to the residents by stating that:

“For example, if someone like you comes in, I offer my place to him/her. I tell them take the seat because they have a right, I don’t have a right. I am illegal, I don’t have a passport, he/she has the right. The bus is theirs, the country is theirs, the house is theirs, the seat is theirs. What rights do I have?”

In that sense, the rights in the new society are associated with being “legal” and “illegal.” Even though the immigrants pay the fee for public transportation, they might feel that the receiving society members have a greater right to have a seat on the buses. However, the fact is that this debate is beyond being about “legal” or “illegal” status for the receiving society members because, interestingly, most of the receiving society members are not aware of the undocumented status of the Afghan immigrants. On that point, rather than the undocumented status of the immigrants, their non-citizen status gives rise to the discussion of rights. Even if the immigrants have a document, the reason for perceiving the right to a seat on the bus is discussed through citizenship by alleging that the Turkish citizens have more priority to have a seat than the Afghan immigrants.

#### **5.1.2.1.3. Power asymmetry**



The concept of power is defined as one's control over valuable resources which might be "physical (e.g., food), economical (e.g., salary), or social (e.g., acceptance), and its control can exist at individual (e.g., subordinate vs. managers) and at intergroup (e.g., social classes, genders, and ethnic groups) levels" (Guinote and Cai 2016, 4). Minority-majority relations are closely related to power relations, and conflict or struggle is inevitable in all power relations (Eitzen 1967, 78). Minority groups have less power than the dominant group, that is why the majority group can subordinate the minority groups. Asymmetrical distribution of power leads to having hierarchical social positions intrinsically. In this context, the Afghan immigrants are positioned as a low-power group (minority) and the receiving society members as a high-power group (majority). The immigrants become minorities since they differ from the receiving society in behavior patterns, appearance, and current living conditions, in addition to the unequal access to opportunities and rewards of society (ibid., 79).

The asymmetry in status and power positions has an effect on how the groups perceive themselves and how they are perceived by other groups (Verkuyten 2018, 232). The group position theory claims that when groups are in a state of asymmetry, the powerful group tries to maintain its dominant position by promoting social attitudes (Sidanius and Pratto 1999, 21). Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man, who previously talked about the immigrants' "inabilities" to "adapting" to the rules and good manners of the society, narrated the attitude of the local residents toward Afghan immigrants as follows:

"They blame it on the Afghans when they cannot find a seat on the buses. They perceive that it is their right, "it is my country, my bus, I can seat, you go on foot." Why? He also gave money but they do not have such logic. They perceive themselves as superior to them. They want that when you get on the bus, the Afghans will give them their seats with respect and stand back. They think about it but cannot put into words. They want Afghans to serve and obey them. In the absence of these, they start complaining; Afghans smell and blah blah. So, what can we do? Then take him and give him a bath. This is what his conditions allow. Shouldn't he get on the bus?"

As Verkuyten states "a sense of collective ownership adds something to who 'we' are, namely, a powerful justification for what 'we' rightfully can do with what is 'ours,' including the right to exclude others" (2018, 230). Having asymmetrical power distribution influences the behaviors of the groups in daily interactions, mostly in a discriminatory way. Mackie et al. (2000) assert that it is supposed that while powerful groups tend to express offensive behaviors, powerless groups seek to avoid conflicts

(quoted in Kamans, Otten and Gordijn 2010, 293). The perturbation sourced by living in a foreign land as an undocumented immigrant influences the form of encounters with the dominant group. At the intergroup or interpersonal levels of conflicts or tensions, Afghan immigrants mostly avoid reactions because as they express, “they are not in their own country.” S.K, a 32-years-old Afghan man, who perceives himself as the grandchildren of the Ottomans, narrated his conflicts with the Yenimahalle people as follows:

“What can we say? We couldn’t say anything as we are not in our own country. What can we do? Even so, we are pleased here compared to Iran. We cannot do anything. Well we can, we also have power, we can fight. One of us can beat two of them, but we cannot. Why? Because we are afraid.”

Having a residence permit and being a legal immigrant cannot change the asymmetrical power distribution alone. In the Yenimahalle neighborhood, the receiving society members hold power because of their claim as the owner of the space. The asymmetrical power distribution between groups even causes the committing of violence against low-power groups. In daily interactions, local residents very often use physical and verbal violence against immigrants. The continuation of the violence recreates and perpetuates the power asymmetry. Afghan immigrants always stated that no one can treat them this way in Afghanistan. However, because of the unequal conditions, they mostly avoid conflicts as a self-protection strategy. S.F, a 23-years-old Afghan immigrant, who works outside of the neighborhood as a waiter and has very little contact with the local residents, narrated one incident he has experienced:

“Once, I was walking home. There was a guy with his sister. We were passing them and suddenly I looked at them unconsciously, and continued. He started to yell, “Why are you looking at us?” etc. I just continued. If we were in Afghanistan, he couldn’t treat us that way.”

Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man, who previously talked about the tensions on the buses, asserted that receiving society members would adopt an unequal attitude toward a person who is Afghan and someone from the West, “When you see a tourist, you say ‘hello’. Do you ask, ‘how are you’ to the Afghans? No, we push them. Can you do all these to a Danish person? Let’s do it! It shows our vileness.” Monkachi’s (2003) concept of the latent hierarchy of nations could explain such a dual attitude though it is criticized by Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man. As the concept of the latent hierarchy of nations

asserts, the position of the individual's country in the latent hierarchy of the nations influences the social position of the individual in society. Accordingly, the Afghan immigrants take a lower position compared to the Danish immigrants, and such an asymmetry influences the attitudes toward them. Consequently, the location an immigrant comes from, social power, and status influence the attitudes of minority and majority groups toward each other.

#### **5.1.2.2. The receiving society members' perceptions on immigrants Syrians vs. Afghans**

It is important to understand the perceptions of receiving society members toward the immigrants in general, and the factors which are crucial for immigrants' social acceptance to the receiving society. Parla and Daniş (2009, 155) say that the ethnic identity, religious identity, and the geography where an immigrant comes from could be influential factors for the social acceptance hierarchy. However, these factors are not constant every time and everywhere. More clearly, while the Afghans of Turkic origin were accepted socially in society in the 1980s, currently, having Turkic origins does not result in their acceptability since the majority of the receiving society members are not aware of it and only some part of the Afghan immigrants have Turkic origins.

Apart from the factors of religious identity, ethnic identity, and the geographic region an immigrant comes from, what kinds of factors could be influential in the social acceptance hierarchy is still an open question. In this part, the factors which could be influential in the social acceptance of immigrants will be analyzed by comparing the perceptions of the receiving society members toward Afghan immigrants and Syrian refugees. The perceptions of the receiving society members derive from the prejudices and daily interactions with those groups. Throughout the interviews, the local residents emphasized the differences between Afghan immigrants and the Syrian refugees and put them into the different positions in the social acceptance hierarchy. It is obvious that the Afghan immigrants are positioned at a higher level than the Syrian refugees in the social acceptance hierarchy. However, the distance between Afghan immigrants and Syrian refugees is not too great. Local residents often used the term "one-click" to describe the distance between Afghan immigrants and Syrian refugees in the social acceptance hierarchy by stating that the Afghan immigrants were "one-click" better than Syrian

immigrants. The reason for positioning Afghan immigrants “one-click” higher than Syrian refugees is justified with two arguments; the first one is about Afghan immigrant’s not begging for help, and the second is about the “lower” culture and characteristics of Syrians as perceived by the members of the receiving society. The image of a Syrian immigrant who is “begging for help” leads to the antipathy of receiving society members. M.J, a 27-years-old Kurdish woman, who has very limited social contact with the immigrants, narrated her observations about the Syrian and Afghan immigrants as follows:

“I have never seen Afghans who are begging, but the Syrians beg a lot. For example, when I go somewhere I see them as they are begging, and plus they are making their child... I mean... some mothers even beg with their children.”

In that context, not encountering an Afghan immigrant who is begging directly makes Afghans “one-click” superior to Syrian immigrants. Another common argument as it is emphasized is about “low” culture and characteristics of Syrians as compared to Afghan immigrants. V.D, a 37-years-old Turkish man, who owns a carpet store, told his thoughts about Syrians and Afghan immigrants as follows:

“There are lots of tricksters and beggars among Syrians. I have never seen an Afghan who begs or tries to play a trick or who tries to give forged money. Afghans come, ask the price of something and try to bargain, buy it and go like a gentleman. But a Syrian comes- excuse my language- but they act like jerks. They are selfish and deceitful.”

On that point, the perception toward Syrian and Afghan immigrants depends on their perceived stereotypical characteristics. The dominant discourse on Syrian refugees, which blames them for “getting money without working,” is quite common among residents. While Afghan immigrants are perceived as people who seek to save money for their families, Syrians are perceived as people who “freeload.” Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man, who previously talked about the differences between local residents and the Afghan immigrants, gave his thoughts as follows:

“Afghans are better than Syrians. Some of the Afghans have Turkish culture one way or another. But there is no culture in Arabs. They even do not have culture and customs. They are such people that they couldn’t have a proper state. Syrians want to get money without working. But Afghans, especially

the Uzbeks, have a Turkish culture. So, their culture is closer to ours, so they are “one-click” higher than the Syrians.”

While receiving society members compare and evaluate the immigrants, they base it on their own “high” culture. In relation to this, since the culture of Afghans is perceived as close to Turkish culture, Afghan immigrants are conceived of as “better” or “higher” than the Syrians, but still not as good as Turks. The broader reason for evaluating the Syrian refugees more negatively than Afghan immigrants might be related to their representations in media and also their personal experiences.

Several studies worked on the public perceptions and attitudes toward Syrian refugees and revealed negativity toward them (Özen 2016; Getmansky, Sınmazdemir, and Zeitzoff 2018). According to the national survey conducted in 2015, 44% of Turkish citizens are uncomfortable with the existence of the Syrians in Turkey. In addition to that, the survey indicates that Turkish citizens have been informed about Syrians mostly through the media, especially through TV (approximately 50% of population) and through personal experiences (42% of the population) (TMFSP4 2016 quoted in Sunata and Yıldız 2018, 131). Unsurprisingly, the negative representations of the immigrants, their culture, values, and so on cause negative attitudes toward immigrants (Soylu Yalçınkaya et. al 2018, 125). The accumulation of the negativity toward Syrian immigrants, especially with the influence of media and the previous negative personal experiences, results in negative evaluations in general.

While almost everyone is aware of the presence of Syrians in Turkey, a considerable amount also is not aware of the presence of Afghan immigrants in Turkey because of their numbers and their absence in the media. Hence, the Syrian refugees’ visibility in media, public and social spheres, Afghan immigrant’s invisibility are important factors in the attitudes toward each group. Consequently, it might be the reason for a more negative perception toward Syrian refugees than Afghan immigrants.

The receiving society members tend to compare the Syrian and Afghan immigrants against each other because they have direct or indirect experience of each immigrant group. Syrian immigrants are known by the receiving society members since they constitute a national and international issue. It is the same for the Afghan immigrants

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<sup>4</sup> Turkish Ministry of Family and Social Policies, TMFSP. 2016. “Yerel Halkın Suriyeli Sığınmacılara Dair Algıları Araştırması.” *Turkish Ministry of Family and Social Policies Unpublished Report, V–VI (2015–16)*, Ankara and Istanbul.

because the receiving society members share their neighborhoods with them. Experiencing the consequences of Afghan and Syrian immigration pushes Yenimahalle residents to make a comparison of the group members.

To conclude, it is obvious that Afghan immigrants and receiving society members categorize each other as distinct groups by giving reference to the differences in cultural, ethnic, and social backgrounds. The social categorization of the groups influences how they perceive the in-group and out-group members. Three factors which influence the perceptions of the groups and their positions in the social hierarchy are being insiders or outsiders, having a legal status or not, and the power asymmetry between groups.

## **5.2. The Attitudes of Receiving Society Members and Afghan Immigrants Toward Each Other**

The concept of attitude is defined in various ways, but the basic definition is the tendency of “evaluating the entity with some degree of favor and disfavor” (Banaji and Heiphetz 2010, 357). However, it is noted that attitudes are not fixed, but rather “formed when needed” (Schwarz 2007, 639). It is assumed that the attitude is the site of thought, feeling, and action (Banaji and Heiphetz 2010, 358). There are three components of the attitude: cognition (thought), affect (feeling), and behavior (action) (Breckler 1984, 1191). “The cognitive component of an attitude is comprised of the ideas and beliefs that the person holding the attitude has about the object or person in question” (Stephan and Stephan 1985, 214). The affective component is basically based on emotions and preferences (Kwon and Vogt 2010, 424). Lastly, the behavioral component is based on “the tendencies toward action the attitude holder has toward the object or person” (Stephan and Stephan 1985, 214). These components are mostly consistent with each other.

What kinds of factors might affect the attitudes? In this context, the way of perceiving the outgroup member, previous social contacts, and prejudices affect the attitudes toward outgroup members. Especially, the way of crossing the border, the location immigrants come from, the current state of conflict in the country of origin, and the immigrants’ living conditions in the new social space determine the receiving society member’s attitudes toward immigrants.

The attitudes of local residents and immigrants toward each other are analyzed under three categories with references to the affective and behavioral components of attitude. The first category is the affective component of the attitude, that is the feelings of the receiving society members and Afghan immigrants vis-à-vis each other. Under this category, three feelings were analyzed: the first one is the feeling (affect) disseminating from reciprocal fear and anxiety, the second one is the feeling pity for immigrants, and the third one is the feeling of gratitude toward receiving society members because they let them live in this neighborhood. The second category analyzes the behaviors of local residents and Afghan immigrants; the violent behaviors of the receiving society members toward Afghan immigrants and the silence of the Afghan immigrants as a non-verbal behavior. Thirdly, the attitudes of groups are analyzed with references to the acculturation strategies.

### **5.2.1. Feelings (Affect) of Receiving Society Members and Afghan Immigrants**

#### **5.2.1.1. Reciprocal fear and anxiety**

In this section, the reasons for the emotion of fear and anxiety toward out-group members are analyzed. When groups differing in power are involved in a conflict, it is expected that the less powerful group experiences more feeling of threat, fear, and anger than a powerful group. Especially, if the powerless group experiences a physical threat, the emotion of fear is elicited more, and the less powerful group avoids reacting to ensure safety (Kamans et al. 2010, 295). However, not just group with less power but also a powerful group could experience fear, anxiety, and the feeling of threat. “As the degree of status inequality increases, so does the salience of threats posed by the other group” (Stephan, Stephan, and Gudykunst 1999, 621). Integrated threat theory explains the reason of anxiety and fear with four concepts: (1) symbolic threat, that is, the concerns about the values, beliefs, attitudes that are perceived to be threatened by another group, and (2) realistic threats, that are about concerns with the physical or material interest of the in-group (Verkuyten 2018, 230), (3) intergroup anxiety (personally threatened in intergroup interactions), and (4) negative stereotype (the essence of the threat is the anticipation of negative events or unpleasant interactions as consequences of the negative

stereotypes) (Stephan, Stephan, and Gudykunst 1999, 619). In addition to these, the ownership threat is another threat which is influential in the understanding of the attitudes toward immigrants (Verkuyten 2018, 230). Merrill (1998) discusses that “ownership implies a ‘gatekeeper right’: the right to decide whether others are permitted or prohibited to have access” (quoted in Verkuyten 2018, 230). The ownership threat is the fear of losing control and possessions at individual and collective levels.

In this context, both Afghan immigrants and local residents experience the feeling of fear and anxiety toward each other for different reasons such as previous negative contacts, uncertainty, prejudice, and a lack of knowledge about outgroup members. It is expected that the low-power groups experience more fear and feelings of threat compared to the high-power group (Kamans et al. 2010, 295), but interestingly, during the interviews, the receiving society members as a powerful group expressed their fear and anxiety more than Afghan immigrants. The fear and anxiety of the receiving society members are related to both realistic threats (which are related to physical well-being), symbolic threats (losing positive social value and the dominant position), negative stereotypes, and also “ownership threat” (Verkuyten 2018, 230). However, the realistic threat is more common among the receiving society members. The realistic threat, in that case, is more related to the physical well-being rather than economic or political-based realistic threats.

One of the common reasons for the fear and anxiety of Yenimahalle residents which could be explained with realistic threats caused by negative stereotypes, is about Yenimahalle residents’ perceived understanding that Afghan immigrants are violent. They believe that the Afghan immigrants would be more “cruel” and “violent” since they come from a place where war has existed for several years. Such a perception makes immigrants an object of fear based on the familiarity of the immigrants to violence and conflict. More clearly, receiving society members feel fear and anxiety because of the possible violent reaction of immigrants as a response to the violence they have been exposed to instead of remaining silent in conflict. V.D, a 37-years-old Turkish man, who has a carpet store and has an opportunity to have contact with immigrants, explained his anxiety as follows:

“If the Afghans in the neighborhood are pissed off... All of them are young boys and they witnessed death and war. How can you compete with them? They are calm. They do not mess with anyone. They bend their heads, but they are not incapable. They are more and more stronger than the guys... (the



youngsters who use violence against immigrants) They kill you and turn away.”

The fear and anxiety toward out-group members could create prejudice (Stephan and Stephan 2000 quoted in Fiske 2005, 45). Various studies examined the attitudes toward immigrants and revealed the close relationship between threat and prejudice (Pehrson, Gheorghiu, and Ireland 2012; Shephard et al. 2017; Sanchez et al. 2018). Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man, who previously talked about the negative attitudes towards the Afghan immigrants, narrated similar fears toward immigrants as follows:

“They cannot respond, but it is not because they do not have enough courage. If they get rid of the sense of “I am unwanted here,” and if one day, they dare to react and ask, “who are you,” it will be our end because we are not as familiar with blood as they are. We do not have experience of war in Turkey. We cannot compete with them with violence because they left their family, their country, their mother, their wife, their children, and came here. I swear, they could cut our throats and then have a cigarette. We shouldn’t piss them off.”

Even though the local residents hold the power and commit violence toward the immigrants, they are very anxious about the possibility of getting a reaction and physical harm from immigrants because they believe that the immigrants would be more violent than them since they have a memory of war. The statements of V.D and Y.S above are the consequences of the negative stereotypes and perceiving immigrants as threats to their well-being. Since they stereotyped the Afghan immigrants as “violent” or “cruel,” they anticipate negative reactions from them as a threat. Additionally, receiving society members feel fear and anxiety since the immigrants are not registered to any authority. In case of violent conflict with immigrants or if they get involved in any criminal activities, the receiving society members fear that the immigrants could not be found. At that point, uncertainty is another factor which makes receiving society members feel threatened. S.T, a 42-years-old Kurdish man, who owns grocery store and who previously expressed that the Afghan immigrants are very silent, narrated the reasons for the feeling of fear and anxiety toward Afghan immigrants as follows:

“They (receiving society members) fear if Afghan immigrants harm them, they do not have any [registered] address, so police cannot find them. For example, police say “Do not get into conflict with Afghans because you cannot find them.” If they hit you or kill you, you cannot find them. It

provides a ground for the internal chaos. They are like a bullet which does not have an address. It is dangerous in that sense. As I said, you can find a Turkish citizen, but Afghans are like a blind bullet.”

The fear and anxiety of receiving society members is something imagined or perceived originating from their prejudices and stereotypes. Actually, the local residents feel anxiety and fear due to the uncertainty. Uncertainty influences the way people think about others. The feelings of receiving society members could be explained with predictive uncertainty which people have when they cannot predict the behaviors of others (Stephan, Stephan, and Gudykunst 1999, 615). On that point, the uncertainty mostly refers to the undocumented status of immigrants as they are not registered and have an address known by the police. Therefore, in conflicts, local residents believe that the perpetrator of the violence could not be found because they are undocumented. However, contradictorily, S.T, a 42 years-old Kurdish man, who has such anxiety, told a story that an Afghan immigrant was killed by one of the local residents and the perpetrator could not be found. The story indicates that the undocumented status of immigrants is not a threat to the receiving society members but the immigrants themselves. The undocumented status of immigrants makes them more vulnerable. Because the immigrants are legally nonexistent, they cannot seek their rights and it leaves immigrants open to exploitation and harm. The story also shows that it might be the case that Afghans are killed by others, who cannot be found, but for the Yenimahalle residents, it only matters whether the perpetrator may be an Afghan. That shows the perceived selective attitude and emotions directed towards Afghans.

Another reason for the feeling of fear and anxiety of the receiving society members is about the perceived ownership of space. Yenimahalle residents perceive immigrants as a “threat” to their ownership of the neighborhood. The sense of ownership determines what “we” could do with what we own, and justifies the exclusion of the “other” (Verkuyten 2018, 230). In the interviews, the receiving society members were asked about what they think about the permanent stay of immigrants in their neighborhood and Turkey. The feelings of the local residents were related to ownership threat. A.D, a 45-years-old Turkish man, who lives in Yenimahalle for 17 years, told the reasons for his anxiety as follows:

“I don’t want them to stay in Turkey because according to the laws of our country, owning property is free. Today, how is Palestine is sold out? We

could be like them tomorrow. They (immigrants) are making money. Look at them! They have three supermarkets even in Yenimahalle. While they open markets, our income decreases.”

Similarly, the possibility of a higher population of Afghan immigrants than local residents increases their anxiety. H.Y, a 40-years-old Turkish woman, who is hairdresser, has very negative attitudes toward Afghan immigrants. She talked about her discomfort at seeing Afghan immigrants on the street as follows, “Look... Afghans outnumber us. Look outside, look! You see more Afghans than Turks.” The anxiety of H.Y, a 40-years-old Turkish woman, as being a member of a group whose number is getting lower than the immigrants could be explained also as a symbolic threat. The anxiety of H.Y is not just being numerically lower than the immigrants. She also fears losing control of the dominant position. Similarly, S.N, a 20-years-old university student Turkish woman, who perceives Afghan immigrants “hopeless” and “desperate,” expressed her anxiety about immigrants bringing their families:

“(If they come) then we will leave, they are so many. If they come, there will be a new population. I think in such a situation we cannot live here. I don’t know. Now, there are too many Afghans. My friends say, “Welcome to Afghanistan. We just came to the border, not to S.N’s home.” There is nothing we can do about it. I was born here and they came later.”

The Afghan immigrants’ feeling of fear and anxiety is mostly about a realistic threat to the physical well-being of the members. The most common fear of immigrants is about being usurped, mugged by the young residents, or being deported. Since immigrants’ previous contacts with receiving society members are predominantly negative, immigrants might feel threatened by the prospect of contact with them (Stephan, Stephan and Gudykunst 1999, 621). Immigrants try to avoid any situation that could lead to conflict. The reasons for avoiding these situations are not only because they belong to the group with less power, but also their vulnerable position in society as an undocumented immigrant. Actually, the immigrants avoid any situations that could end up in the police station since they fear the possibility of being deported. However, their vulnerable position eventually results in being exploited or getting harmed. B.S, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant, who feels that he is in gurbet in Turkey, talked about the strategies he used to avoid conflicts:

“I am not going out alone in late hours. If I go out, I use the main street, not the back streets, because it is dangerous. By dangerous I mean... Sometimes, guys come and take my phone or my money. It happened. I cannot do anything because I’m alone. They are 5 or 6 people. What can I do? I can either run away or give my phone. If I fight with them, the police come and I will be guilty anyway because I am illegal and foreign, so I don’t say anything in such situations. If they catch me, I say okay brother take my phone and I give it. There is nothing to do.”

Throughout the interviews, the receiving society members always stated that Afghan immigrants might be dangerous and can harm them in various ways. Even though they have never experienced an incident like the ones they have worried about, they still expressed their fear and anxiety, consistent with their prejudice. Especially, female members of receiving society members, who have relatively less contact with immigrants than male members of society, stated several times that they cannot walk freely on the street and they cannot go to park with their child because of the Afghan immigrants. However, not just the local residents but also Afghan immigrants cannot walk on the street freely and they have experienced lots of incidents which frightened them. Consequently, while the immigrants’ reason for the fear and anxiety stems from their previous negative contact such as being mugged, usurped, beaten, and so on, the receiving society members’ fear and anxiety is related to their negative stereotypes and prejudices toward immigrants such as perceiving them as “violent” and “cruel.” It is obvious that two groups feel fear and anxiety toward each other reciprocally, and the reasons for such reciprocal fear is the social distance and lack of positive intergroup contact among groups.

#### **5.2.1.2. Pity as a feeling of receiving society members**

The receiving society members occasionally narrated how they feel about Afghan immigrants, and mostly they stated that they feel pity for Afghan immigrants because of the lack of health services and the violence the immigrants are subjected to, but mostly because of their poor living conditions. Undocumented labor immigrants have to endure the challenging conditions in the new social space to survive. One of the basic reasons for the immigration of the Afghans is to financially support their families left behind. It is very important to reduce all other expenses for saving money. Therefore, Afghan immigrants share the houses with other immigrants to reduce the amount of rent to a minimum level and also to have social solidarity. The house or apartment shared by the

workers who are at a similar socioeconomic level and cultural background is called a bekar odası (a shared room usually used by single men). The concept of a bekar odası has been studied before in the context of poverty and it is asserted that poverty increases while sharing a living space (Şen, Arlı, and Şen 2016). Indeed, there is a close relationship between poverty and labor migration as the living conditions of the Afghan immigrants in Yenimahalle show.

Afghan immigrants I have interviewed live in houses where the number of people is usually between 5 and 15, depending on the size and the rent of the house. Even though most Afghan immigrants in the Yenimahalle neighborhood are not pleased with the number of people in the houses, they want to share their houses to have social solidarity and to pay less rent. Immigrants have to live in the houses with poor conditions because the landlords only rent out the houses which “Turkish people would not rent.” Hence, the housing and living conditions of immigrants’ lead receiving society members to feel pity for immigrants.

The problematic side of feeling pity for someone is that while the one who feels pity for someone directly takes the higher position, the one who is felt pity for takes the lower position in the social hierarchy, and consequently it causes unequal social positions. Feeling pity for immigrants has four consequences, which are: comparing their personal experiences with the experiences of Afghan immigrants, feeling anger toward landlords since they are mostly “opportunists,” having a help-based relationship with immigrants, and feeling empathy for immigrants. The feeling of pity directly pushes people, mostly Kurdish people, to compare and associate their previous experiences and difficulties with Afghan immigrants’ experiences. I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, who previously stated that Afghan immigrants are “dirty” in every aspect, narrated the living conditions they had and how they were treated compared to Afghan immigrants as follows:

“We were not persecuted as they are. Maybe a couple of words that come to mind (she said that her classmates called her “dirty” Kurd in the school) but what Afghans experience... They are living in the shelters with the rats, fifteen people in one room. The landlords take 1 or 1.5 thousand liras. What they are exposed to is real persecution. What we experienced was related to the politics. We could rent as easily in the past as we do today. We could eat, drink, and there were no beatings. But the Afghans are persecuted more.”

The personal and group memory of I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, led her to evaluated current positions of Afghan immigrants with references to her memories.

According to I.K, Afghan immigrants experience more difficulties than the Kurdish people. Even though she narrated how Afghan immigrants are “ignorant” and “dirty,” she stated that she is not annoyed living with Afghans in the same neighborhood. On the other hand, Z.K, a 52-years-old Kurdish man, who migrated from Ardahan to Istanbul in 1987 to gain some money and then permanently stayed in Istanbul, also narrated the current living conditions of the Afghan immigrants with reference to what Kurdish workers experienced in the 80s and 90s as follows:

“People in the neighborhood always rent out lower floors, roofs or cellar-like depots [to the immigrants]. They [landlords] don’t rent out flats because immigrants are single, they are under very difficult conditions. They put a mattress given by people on the ground to sleep. They sleep on them. It is difficult. How can I say... they have been living the same things we lived through in the 1980s. We were living in the bakeshops, and sleeping on the floor if we found something. It is the same way of living, but ours were more difficult. It took a lot of time to get a letter [home/loved ones], but now, they can make video calls and fulfill their longings with technology.”

Both I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, and Z.K, a 52-years-old Kurdish man, expressed their relatively positive feelings and thoughts toward Afghan immigrants during the interviews. It could be asserted that people who have similar experiences and difficulties are more sympathetic toward the immigrants. However, it should not be taken as a rule because there are adverse examples as well. For instance, M.J, a 27-years-old Kurdish woman, who discriminated against Afghan immigrants because they were Afghans, explained her discomfort about people who change their attitude toward her when they learn that she is Kurdish. Therefore, her similar experiences did not lead her to sympathize with the Afghan immigrants.

As another consequence, the feeling of pity for immigrants subsequently brings the anger on the house owners who exploit immigrants. However, at the same time, most receiving society members blame the landlords since they rent their houses to immigrants and increase the numbers of immigrants in the neighborhood. Since Yenimahalle is a squatter settlement, most of the houses have poor conditions. Therefore, the rent of the houses is low compared to other neighborhoods. However, the landlords rent their houses for more to the immigrants and, to pay this high rent, immigrants have to increase the number of people in the house. M.T, a 27-years-old Afghan immigrant, who is day laborer, stated that “They don’t rent out to the singles, so we have to. We have to give as much as they want. We cannot stay outside in such cold weather.” The houses immigrants

rent are called “barns,” “shelters,” and as a place, Turks would not rent them. Most receiving society members feel anger towards landlords since they are exploiting the immigrants by profiteering. Y.S, S.T, and S.N narrated their thoughts and feelings toward landlords as follows:

“I am upset. It shows that we have lost our humanity. If we put them in a place where even an animal cannot stand it, it means that we perceive them as animals and we don’t give them human values. If an American wants a house from you, you will give them a central place in your home, but when there is an Afghan, you give them a place in your garden. Now, check your humanity. Are you fair? The Afghan is your brother. You believe in the same thing, but the other one is a non-Muslim and you give a place in your house to him/her. It shows your humanity. Like it or not, they are your brothers because of your religion” (Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man, who believes that immigrants cannot adopt the rules of their society).

“When they [landlords] realized that there is potential for getting money, they take advantage of it and rent out the roofs, basement floors, the bathrooms” (S.T, a 42-years-old Kurdish man).

“I am sorry, but if they find a barn, they rent it out to the Afghans. They would even rent out the chicken coop to the Afghans, why? To get money. Is it something correct that you can debate. Okay, it is a place for them to live, but you give it by humiliating them for your benefit” (S.N, a 20-years-old Turkish woman, who previously expressed that she is not happy with sharing the neighborhood with the immigrants).

The reason for the poor living conditions of the immigrants is believed to be the landlords who want to exploit the immigrants’ vulnerable position. Therefore, most receiving society members feel anger towards the landlords. Interestingly, as the statements of Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man, show, religious fellowship comes to the surface as a reason for not treating the Afghan immigrants badly. Someone who shares the same religion is perceived of as having more priority than the others. Therefore, the anger toward the landlords doubles in a sense since they put their brothers in such poor conditions.

Another consequence of having pity on Afghan immigrants is having a charity-based relationship which puts local residents into the position of being charitable and the immigrants into the role of aid recipients. On that point, immigrants are considered as the people who need help, and that is why the relationships between receiving society

members and immigrants cannot be constructed on an equal basis. I.K and V.D narrated how they help to Afghans as follows:

“Everyone in my family feels pity for them and sad about them. There is no one who treats them badly. We collect some blankets from the neighbors and give them to them. Or if they rent a house, I ask the landlord to reduce the amount of money if I know him/her” (I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, who previously compared her experiences with the experiences of the Afghan immigrants).

“Once, I was praying in a mosque, a guy (immigrant) had very old clothes and no socks on his feet. It was winter. He held his pants up throughout praying. I took him and brought him to my home, I opened my wardrobe and told him, “Take whatever you want, my brother.” I put the clothes in a bag. He rested for a time and he ate. In Ramadan, my wife cooks for them and I bring dinner to them” (V.D, a 37-years-old Turkish man, who previously expressed his anxiety about the possible violent reaction of immigrants).

The feeling of pity sometimes elicits the feeling of empathy. Empathy is broadly defined as reactions to “the observed experiences of another” (Davis 1983, 113). In that sense, empathy means putting yourself into the other’s shoes, understanding the other and their feelings (Uyar Semerci, Erdoğan, and Önal 2017, 51). Some of the receiving society members feel empathy toward immigrants and try to understand the current positions of the immigrants. E.R, a 21-years-old Turkish man, who is a university student, put himself into Afghans’ place and tried to understand them when they encounter negative attitudes.

“Now, for example, let me tell you about an incident I witnessed. A woman, for example, cursed at Afghans... Now that I’m going to a foreign country as well for 5-6 months, it comes to my mind automatically. And now, of course, there are racist people there as well. So, how would I feel if they were treating me like that? I put myself in their shoes a little. It’s hard.”

It is claimed that empathy has positive effects on intergroup relations (Stephan and Finlay 1999, 730). However, in this case, very few people have empathy for immigrants and it comes to the surface only when a person feels fear of experiencing the same things themselves. People who experienced similar difficulties or people who feel that they might experience similar things tend to empathize with the immigrants more. In this case, feeling empathy causes one to reconsider behavior toward immigrants. For instance, E.R, a 21-years-old Turkish man, who stated that he tries to put himself into Afghans’ place, narrated that sometimes he regrets the way he treats the immigrants as follows:



“For example, some of them smell so strong. Once I removed the fragrance in my bag and I sprayed it around me. A lady was sitting next to me and she said thank you. Sometimes that goes on a lot. As I said, I don’t know what he is going through, but it bothers me. Sometimes I react, but sometimes I regret what I did. Maybe the man can’t be washed. I think that too.”

To conclude, one of the common feeling of local residents is feeling pity for Afghan immigrants. Such a feeling engenders four consequences at the intergroup level. Firstly, having similar difficulties or experiences could make people more sympathetic toward immigrants. At that point, some examples show that the similar memories make Kurdish people relatively more sympathetic toward Afghan immigrants. Secondly, the “opportunistic” landlords cause immigrants to live in poor conditions and, therefore, people feel anger toward landlords. Thirdly, feeling pity for immigrants creates a charity-based relationship which leads to hierarchical relationships. Fourthly, feeling pity for immigrants creates a feeling of empathy. While feeling empathy for someone provides common ground for the intergroup relationships, feeling pity for someone leads to hierarchical relationships. In addition to all these, feeling pity for immigrants affects the intergroup relations negatively since it prevents them from having equal positions.

#### **5.2.1.3. Gratitude as a feeling of immigrants**

Throughout the interviews, Afghan immigrants endeavored not to say anything negative about the neighborhood or the receiving society members. While local residents spoke openly about immigrants, immigrants were very timid. Most of the immigrants I have interviewed stated that they do not have any problems and they are pleased with life there. Even though they have some challenges, it is seen as “normal” and not important to mention. However, sometimes they cannot contain themselves and told their genuine thoughts. For example, S.K, a 32-years-old Afghan immigrant, who perceives himself as the grandchildren of the Ottomans and has been living in Yenimahalle for eight years, narrated the difficulties in the foreign land and his desire to go back his own country. He was telling that he suffered the negative attitudes of the receiving society members and the incidents he experiences, but suddenly he stopped himself and showed gratitude towards Turkey anyway, mentioning his love of Turkey. He prevented himself from saying something bad because he thinks that Afghans have to feel gratitude. On that point,

there might also be some methodological problems which are sourced in the identity of the researcher. Immigrants might abstain from narrating their negative thoughts and feelings since they perceive me as an out-group member.

Gratitude becomes a common feeling of the Afghan immigrants despite experiencing hard times in this neighborhood. There were some questions to help understand the immigrants' distress in the neighborhood, but the problems and distress are minimized by ignoring them. M.S, a 27-years-old Afghan immigrant, who stated that he offers his place to local residents on the buses, told the incident he experiences and his feelings as follows:

“We were going with a friend on foot. There was a guy. I don't know he was drunk or not, but he poked me and said, speak slowly. I never experienced anything like that. I thought that the guy didn't sleep at night, or something had happened. I didn't say anything. What could I say? He is right. It is his country. I thought that all countries belong to God. I didn't say anything. I am pleased. We forgive. If the Turk hits our head, we won't say anything. I don't say anything because I know Turkey gave us a place, work, bus...”

All of the immigrants I have interviewed expressed that they are pleased with life in Yenimahalle at time, but later most of the immigrants expressed the opposite feelings or stories that indicate their distress at being stranded in between Afghanistan and Turkey. For instance, S.F, a 23-years-old Afghan immigrant, who previously narrated the incident that he had to continue his way without saying anything to the guy who yelled at him, said at first that he was pleased with living in Yenimahalle. Later, he stated “If I say I am glad... I mean I couldn't go to Afghanistan. I don't want to go to Europe either because I don't like it. So, I am glad. This place is not good either, yes, but there is no war.” As it is understood from the statement of S.F, he feels that he is stranded in Turkey. There is nowhere he wants to go. Therefore, he tries to deal with the difficulties in Turkey. In addition to that, S.K, a 32-years-old Afghan immigrant, who previously talked about his desire to go back his own country, also reflected that he was so pleased with living in Yenimahalle at first, and later he said, “Even so, we are glad here compared to Iran.” The statements of S.F and S.K indicate that their having time in Turkey is pleasant when compared to their previous experiences in Iran, and also because they have nowhere else to go and are stranded in Turkey, they expressed that they have nothing to do but be pleased with their life in Turkey.

The poor living conditions in Afghanistan, and relatively more fear of deportation, and denominational differences in Iran make Turkey relatively a better place to live. One of the common reasons stated by Afghan immigrants to pleased with living in Yenimahalle is that “no one asks who you are or what you are doing here.” The immigrants stated that they do not have a fear of deportation in Turkey as much as they have in Iran since the Turkish police mostly let them go when they learn that they are Afghan workers. Hence, Turkey might be somewhere relatively good for living, especially in terms of gaining more money compared to Iran and Afghanistan or feeling less threatened by deportation compared to Iran. In addition to that, the immigrants stated that denominational differences with Iran (while Iran is largely comprised of Shia Muslims, Afghan immigrants are largely Sunni Muslims) make Turkey much more attractive for Afghan immigrants compared to Iran because Turkey is largely comprised of Sunni Muslims.

Nonetheless, all these do not make Turkey a good place for immigrants to live. The stories of immigrants show that they face many difficulties in Turkey. For instance, the undocumented immigrants cannot go to the hospitals, or they have to pay a lot of money to get examined or treated. In addition to that, most landlords exploit the immigrants by renting houses with poor conditions for a high amount of rent. Additionally, the immigrants are sometimes cheated by their bosses and they cannot receive their wages. In such situations, they cannot defend their rights because they are undocumented. Lastly, they are subjected to violence.

There are also some reasons which make Turkey a pleasant place to live for immigrants, but it should be noted that this is highly relative. Life in Turkey is perceived as better only compared to life in Iran and Afghanistan. Thus, it does not mean that Turkey is a good place for the immigrants. It is obvious that even though the immigrants have lots of difficulties or problems in Turkey, they try to show their gratitude and pleasure with their situation. The reason for such behavior might be due to their vulnerable minority positions.

### **5.2.2. Behaviors of Receiving Society Members and Afghan Immigrants**

#### **5.2.2.1. Violence as a behavior of receiving society members**

Undocumented immigrants are the most “exploited and victimized group of immigrants by employers and the state authorities” (Choundry and Hlatshwayo 2016, 5). Not just politically or economically but also socially the immigrants are exploited and victimized by the receiving society members. In this part, the violence conducted by the receiving society members toward Afghan immigrants is analyzed. “Intergroup violence has often been conceived as a means of maintaining status quo by dominant or majority group members (violence for social control or violence for dominance)” (Gerber et al. 2018, 379). During the interviews, both Afghan immigrants and local residents told many stories of physical violence done by young receiving society members against Afghan immigrants. While the violence directed toward Afghans could be linked to the receiving society’s negative emotions and attitudes towards Afghans, the immigrants’ occasional resort to violence is a self-defense. However, the physical violence against Afghans is mostly conducted by the youngsters of the neighborhood and is not approved of by the majority of the local residents. The perpetrators of the physical violence are almost entirely youngsters who are defined as “idlers,” “uneducated,” and “losers” by the receiving society members.

V.D, a 37-years-old Turkish man, who has carpet store, explained the reason for the violent behavior of those youngsters as follows: “They take out their aggression against life on Afghans. They cannot take it out on me.” Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man, explained the reason for violence as follows: “They need a scapegoat and the scapegoats of this neighborhood are the Afghans. They get angry with their wives and then beat the Afghans.” The physical violence of youngsters could also be explained as social control, dominance of the immigrants, and reinforcing the unequal distribution of power and status. However, beyond these, it is obvious that the immigrants become a source of income for those youngsters. The level of poverty in the neighborhood pushes the youngsters to get money through immigrants. The social and political order provide them a space to usurp the immigrants easily. Being undocumented leads to deprivation from legal rights as well. So, in situations of conflict, immigrants cannot go to the police and it makes them open to exploitation. Since the immigrants could not call the police, youngsters do not abstain from such an act. A.D, a 45-years-old Turkish man, who owns kitchenware store, narrated his futile attempt as follows:

“A 15 or 16-years-old boy beat some Afghans. We found him on Facebook and showed his photo to the police and wanted to make a complaint about him. But police said that the Afghans who were bullied by him should make the complaint and if they didn’t have a residence permit, the officer would have to deport them. So, the Afghan couldn’t complain. Those bullies know everything better than us. That is why they use the Afghans. When we object and try to do something, others say that “Support the Turkish one, not an Afghan.” Why should I defend the thief? I don’t defend someone who is wrong, even if it is my brother.”

Even though the majority of the local residents do not approve of the physical violence toward immigrants, they stay very passive when they witness violent incidents. I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, who owns grocery store and who previously compared her experiences with the experiences of the Afghan immigrants, narrated her feelings as follows:

“Sometimes, I witness it on the buses. They say that “Hey! Get up, give your seat to us.” It is inhumane. We are Muslim, but we don’t live by its rules. We are some bad examples of Islam. I am very sad, my heart hurts. I react very silently. I am so timid since I am a shopkeeper. I fear the reactions of people. You see, I have a guilty conscience. They are also human beings. They might get tired. They might get the seat if they come to this country. If they are accepted, they could have seat, I think.”

The reason why she abstains from reacting to such an incident is that she fears it will affect her job negatively. In conflict with the outgroup members, supporting the outgroup members may lead to a negative reaction from the in-group members and that is why people may not react. S.T, a 42-years-old Kurdish man, who owns a grocery store and previously expressed his anxiety about the possible violent reaction of immigrants, narrated the violence of youngsters against Afghan immigrants and his passive reaction to the incident as follows:

“Lots of fighting and noise are in there [neighborhood]. As I said, the hooligan youngsters beat Afghans for extortion, but not because the Afghans diss them. They do not have such courage. They know what they face with at the end. They know that they would be beaten and even more, they might be killed. They could kill them. We have witnessed the fighting several times. Once, they walloped a guy because he looked at them. After that, they also beat him to take his money in front of my eyes. He hardly got into the shop and we saved him barely. I yelled at them like, “what did you do, you jerks!” I insulted them. They got scared and left. We rested a second and then called the ambulance. In such violent incidents, they mostly do not report to the

police. When it is reported, everything goes badly for immigrants because they are undocumented.”

The status quo, social inequality, and social dominance are not just perpetuated through physical violence. Even though most receiving society members are against physical violence toward immigrants, some members use violence in other ways. Verbal violence, discrimination, and hate speech are other forms of violence to which Afghan immigrants are subjected. In short, one of the often found behavior of the receiving society members is violence toward immigrants, and the violence perpetuates social inequality and dominance.

#### **5.2.2.2. Silence as a non-reactive behavior of immigrants**

The most common response of the Afghan immigrants to ensure their safety is staying silent. Silence becomes a way for immigrants to survive. Especially when they encounter the receiving society members in situations of conflict, it generally ends up with the silence of the immigrants. S.N, a 20-years-old Turkish woman, who is a university student and previously expressed that she is not happy with sharing the neighborhood with the immigrants, expressed her thoughts about the silence of the Afghan immigrants as follows:

“Because they are already in a different country, they are not comfortable. If they get involved in an incident, probably they will get into trouble or maybe they get harsh reactions. Think about it, you are in a forest and you are surrounded by wolves, what can you do? Nothing. You either go quietly or you agree to be prey for them.”

S.F, a 23-years-old Afghan immigrant, who previously narrated the incident that he had to continue his way without saying anything to the guy who yelled at him, explained his silence as follows: “I don’t have a passport. We are foreigners. If I say something and we fight, police catch me and deport me, so we are afraid and cannot say anything.” Undocumented immigrants try to be careful about their safety and invisibility because of the possibility of deportation (Körükmez 2014, 363). On that point, immigrants should not be thought of as passive. The silence is actively used as a strategy to survive. However, immigrants are perceived as very “silent” people who cannot assert their rights,

not only in conflict, but also in general. V.D, a 37-years-old Turkish man, who previously expressed his anxiety about the possible violent reaction of immigrants, interpreted the silence of immigrants as an essential feature of the group as follows: “The characteristics of Afghans is like... they are not brazen-faced, they don’t have the character to assert their rights. How can I say... for example, they can go back when they experience something they should react to.” Silence becomes a non-reactive behavior of the immigrants as a way of keeping themselves from violence. However, the silence of the immigrants is explained as a characteristic attribution by the receiving society members. For immigrants, life in the foreign land becomes something they have to endure for a certain time. M.H, a 25-years-old Afghan immigrant, who is grocery boy, said, “We wish to earn some money and no one complains about us. We wish that no one asks anything about us, where you come from, what you are occupied with...”

The basic reason for the silence of immigrants is the fear of deportation. Afghan immigrants are coming from very tough routes and experience lots of difficulties on the way. Therefore, being able to reach their destination is very valuable. In relation to this, the fear of deportation is unsurprisingly very high among immigrants since they perceive the migration process as an obligation; they have to stay and save money. The fear of deportation causes the silence of immigrants as a strategy to maintain their existence abroad. S.K, a 32-years-old Afghan man, who has received a residence permit, still feels fear:

“There is nothing to do. We also have power. We could also beat them. One of us can beat the two of them, but we couldn’t, why? Because we are afraid. For instance, last month one guy said hello, how are you, etc. to an Afghan boy like a friend at the cemetery street. When they came to somewhere dark, the guy stabbed him three or four times without asking anything from his [the Afghan immigrant’s] hips, and feet...”

The feeling of being “compelled” to earn money leads to the silence of immigrants. However, immigrants emphasized that if they were in Afghanistan, no one could treat them like this. Immigrants seek to avoid any situation which puts them into conflict. However, as they told, most of them encounter the police in their daily lives. Especially, the increased presence of the police in the streets results in frequently stopping immigrants to check their identity cards. S.F, a 23-years-old Afghan immigrant, who works in a cafeteria in Karaköy, stated that polices stopped him all the time since he resembles a Kurd:

“They stop me every day in Karaköy and Üsküdar. They ask for my ID or where I am from. I say that I don’t have an ID. They ask ‘so, how can I know that you are Afghan?’ They resemble Kurds to me. Last week, I was going to Zeytinburnu from Kazlıçeşme. When I was coming back from Zeytinburnu, they stopped me and asked where I am from. I said I am from Afghanistan. He said, “You are not Afghan, you don’t have an ID. Where are you from? You are not Afghan. You resemble a Kurd. Do you have a knife or drugs?””

Police stop them mostly because of their appearances. However, an encounter with police to check identity cards is not seen as a “danger” because immigrants stated that police mostly say nothing when they cannot show their identity cards. However, they have to explain their situation every time and every day and naturally encounters with police are annoying. Also, immigrants are discriminated against a lot because of their physical appearance. M.T, a 27-years-old Afghan immigrant, who is day laborer, talked about his encounters with police as follows:

“If I go to Üsküdar right now, the police are everywhere and ask for ID. I don’t have an ID because they [Turkish state officials] don’t let us get one. Some of the police cause trouble, but some of them say nothing. They ask for ID, you show it [ID in Afghanistan] and then let you go.”

Even though being stopped by the police, and have their IDs checked do not cause a problem for Afghan immigrants, for now, it might make immigrants anxious or annoyed because of the frequency of encountering the police increases the possibility of deportation. Consequently, the Afghan immigrants use silence as a survival strategy, and their reasons to do that are to protect their wellbeing and to avoid conflict which might cause them to be deported.

### **5.2.3. Analyzing the Attitudes of Groups with Acculturation Strategies**

Acculturation refers to changes as a consequence of the interaction of culturally dissimilar groups (Schwartz et al. 2010, 237). Berry’s classic acculturation model which consists of integration, marginalization, separation, and assimilation is developed and the concept of “interactive acculturation” is introduced. Interactive acculturation model includes the concepts of acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant groups and acculturation expectation, which is held by receiving society members, in addition to



Berry's model (Green and Staerkle 2013, 13). In this section, acculturation strategies, orientations, and expectations of the Afghan immigrants and receiving society members are analyzed.

The most common tendency among local residents is that of considering immigrants' "inability" to adopt receiving society members' way of living and standards of public decency. The local residents expect the adaptation of immigrants to their rules of society. In that sense, the cultural differences are not respected by the receiving society members. Interestingly, some of the receiving society members who have contacts with immigrants in their daily lives, mostly shopkeepers, stated that they give advice to immigrants to "help" their adaptation to life in a new society. The "low-culture" of immigrants is seen as an obstacle on their adaptation to the receiving society. On that point, some of the local residents warn immigrants about how to behave and adopt to their society. The purpose for the residents is "informing" and "educating" the immigrants about their "higher" level of culture and basic hygiene issues. S.T, a 42-years-old Kurdish man, who owns a grocery store and secondary school graduate, narrated the advice he gives to the immigrants,

"I have chances to give recommendations to immigrants because they come here very often. I tell them to be clean, use perfume when you get on the bus. For example, because they work very hard, they sweat too much, and mostly they don't change their working clothes. I warn them to carry at least two pairs of clothes when they go to work and change their clothes when their work is done. If it is possible, take a shower at work. I say that even if you take a shower, use perfume. Do not disturb people on the bus, be careful about your right and left. Do not talk loudly. If you use a cigarette, do not throw it around. I always give such advices."

Similar advice was given by other shopkeepers. In a way, they take the task of teaching the "appropriate manners" to the immigrants as people who have contact with them. By doing that, the receiving society members take their culture and way of living as superior by disrespecting the immigrants'. The desire and expectation of receiving society members to help immigrants adapt to their society could be explained with the similarity-attraction hypothesis, which claims that one that perceives others as similar to oneself on various characteristics would probably be evaluated positively. More clearly, people feel attracted to people who are similar to them (Bryne 1971 quoted in Van Oudenhoven et al. 2006, 643). On that point, while the Afghan immigrants are held up positively when compared to Syrians, they are not so when the receiving society members

compare Afghan immigrants to themselves because local residents believe that there is a huge cultural gap between “them” and “the Afghans.”

“They are very rude. They are 30-40 years behind of us. The gap between us is very huge. Their culture is very... if you let them, they will eat with their hands. When they come here, they cannot adapt as I cannot adapt when I go to Stockholm. Adaptation is important. There should be 5-week camps and the Turkish culture should be introduced in those camps to the newcomers. They chew gum loudly in public. Maybe there is no equivalence of this in their culture, but here, I want to hit their mouth. They could easily throw the wrapper of something they eat onto the floor because there is no such rule in their culture. If they know what they should and shouldn't do, they behave according to these. So, both of us feel comfortable. I mean, don't say welcome to everyone who crosses the border because they are not coming here as a tourist for a week. They come here to live, to work. There should be an adaptation process. They should know not look at the women, not to talk loudly, not to stand in the middle of the street with 7-8 people. All these should have been told to them. For example, the guys could walk on the road by holding one another's hand. It shows the sincerity in their culture, but we ask, are they gay? They should know that it looks like that from the outside. If you tell this to everyone who crosses the border, they will know and behave in according to these (Y.S, a 48-years-old Turkish man, who previously expressed that the culture of Afghan people is close to theirs).”

The expectation of the local residents is “assimilation” of the Afghan immigrants which means that relinquishing the immigrants from their cultural identity in order to adapt to the “high” culture of the new society (Montreuil and Bourhis 2004, 509). However, it is asserted that assimilationist expectations are predominantly reflected toward “devalued” immigrants (Ibid., 511). Since the local residents perceive Afghan immigrants as devalued, the cultural identity of the immigrants is not accepted and the immigrant group is expected to integrate to the “high” culture of the receiving society members. The assimilationist expectations and discourse of receiving society members reinforce the social inequality, social and power positions in the society.

The assimilationist discourse of receiving society members could engender violence and intercultural conflict since the cultural differences are perceived as a problem (Okech et al. 2016, 353). The simplest and most visible example of cultural differences might be the dress manners of the two groups. An Afghan immigrant I had conversation with told a story about how he was exposed to violence when he walked on the street with his traditional clothes. He narrated that Afghans believed that it is more proper to wear long traditional dresses when praying, that's why one day he wore his

traditional dress when he was going to the mosque. A couple of people who saw him in his traditional clothes walked up to him by shouting, “We are not in Afghanistan,” and they tore the traditional dress of his friends. When I told this story to B.S, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant, who previously expressed that they and their culture fell behind, he stated that it is wrong to wear cultural clothes in Turkey.

“Wearing those traditional clothes there is wrong. Okay, it is your culture, but not here. We are in Turkey. You should live through the culture of Turkey. Okay, you like it. I also like my clothes. I don’t wear these kinds of clothes in Afghanistan. When I go back to Afghanistan, I will take off those clothes and dress in my own clothes. But I don’t wear our traditional clothes in Turkey, never, because people would look at me. They are right. They might think about where this guy came from. I also find it strange if I see someone in Afghanistan wearing such clothes. I like my clothes a lot, but I don’t have a right to wear it there. They are doing wrong by wearing those clothes. If you like to, wear it in Afghanistan. Why are you wearing it there?”

As the statements of B.S show, the behaviors of those immigrants indicate that one of the acculturation orientations is integration. Local residents state that the immigrants who have been living in another country for several years are more “adapted” or “integrated” to the rules of society than the newcomers. V.D, a 37-years-old Turkish man, who has a carpet store, narrated how he could differentiate between the older arrivals and newcomers as follows:

“They’ve just arrived. They will adapt. How is it that I know? It is like a game, level by level. Sometimes, I could notice that it is only three or four months since the person arrived in Turkey. Another one also comes and says, “Hello brother, how are you” etc. I ask them, “when did you come to Turkey” and he says two years ago, another one says 3 years ago, like the levels in a game. I believe that they will adapt to us. I don’t believe that they will cause a problem.”

Another receiving society member, I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, who previously told that she was discriminated against because she was Kurdish, stated, “Of course, as time passes by, they look like us in terms of clothes and culture. Their level of culture starts to approach ours.” As it is seen, the receiving society members put their culture to a higher position and perceive the acculturation as a process which the immigrants could approach their level of culture. I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, also said that some of the immigrants are insistent on maintaining their own culture and way of living there

as follows: “They wear very long clothing. They don’t think that people living here don’t dress like that. They dressed like very old shalwars. I feel sorry for them. I want them to develop, learn something, learn how to speak, how to behave....” In addition, E.F, a 25-years-old Turkish woman, who is a university student, expressed her anxiety about the immigrants as follows: “It is very uneasy that even though they become familiar with the culture and customs of the Turkish neighborhood, they are very distant and very silent.” Hence, while some of the immigrants are seen as adopting the integrationist orientation, some of them are believed to adopt a separationist strategy by the receiving society members because it is believed that some of the immigrants, especially the newcomers, do not make an effort to “adapt” the receiving society culture.

At that point, the immigrant who is more “adapted” or “integrated” to the culture of receiving society is more acceptable. However, as Bourdieu asserted, all classes imitate the tastes of higher-class groups and distinguish themselves from the tastes of the lower-class group. In relation to this, the higher-class groups perceive the imitation of their tastes by the lower-class groups as a threat since the distinction between them might fade away, and consequently, the higher-class groups might lose their dominant positions (Bourdieu 1979 quoted in Jourdain and Naulin 2016, 92-93). By taking into consideration all these assumptions, how could we relate the assimilationist desires of the dominant classes and their desire to preserve the distinction between themselves and the lower-class groups?

The adaptation of the immigrants becomes a condition for the permanent stay of immigrants to preserve their comfort within a society. E.R, a 21-years-old Turkish man, who is a university student and who was planning to live in another country for a while and expressed his worries about being treated badly as Afghan immigrants are treated in this neighborhood, narrated the conditions in which immigrants could live in Turkey as follows:

“If they adapt here, if they learn my language and if they get along with me, they can stay in Turkey. But if they say that I am Afghan, if they practice their culture, if they live here like in Afghanistan and if it bothers me, I want them to go. I don’t want him to be Turkish. He is a guest. He is an immigrant in my country. So, I want them to adopt the rules of this society because there is a standard I am used to, and there is a type of person I am used to seeing.”

It appears that the receiving society members’ claim of being the owner of the place directly makes them an authority which could decide in which conditions the immigrants could stay. To conclude, the assimilation of the immigrants is seen as a condition for the

permanent stay of the immigrants in Yenimahalle neighborhood. Otherwise, the social acceptance of the immigrants to society would not be possible. While the receiving society members adopt assimilationist expectations, Afghan immigrants adopt separationist and integrationist orientations since some of them want to continue their way of life and culture, but some of them want to adapt the way of life and culture of the new society.

### **5.3. Interaction and Encounter**

In this part, the interactions and encounters of receiving society members and Afghan immigrants are analyzed. During the interviews, it is understood that there is a very limited, low-level of social interaction between these groups. Groups predominantly interact for certain aims such as shopping or renting a house. Apart from these situations, interaction also occurs on public transportation and in religious centers. In the following section, interaction in mosques and on buses are taken into consideration as primary sites of interactions. The reasons for social distance between groups is then analyzed under three categories: temporality, perceived cultural differences, and singlehood and gender.

#### **5.3.1. Two Sites for Interaction**

##### **5.3.1.1. Mosques as sites of interaction**

Many Afghan immigrants stated that the freedom to pray in a mosque is very important to them, yet most of them also told how praying at mosques is difficult in Iran. Denominational differences in Iran make social life relatively hard for Sunni Afghan immigrants. However, the religious and denominational unity (Islam and Sunnism) between receiving society members and Afghan immigrants in Turkey create the discourse of religious fellowship, and this discourse supports the idea that life in Turkey is relatively better than life in Iran. Many immigrants explained that the freedom of going to a mosque is one of the pulling factors of immigration to Turkey. However, good living

conditions for immigrants cannot be evaluated only within the scope of relative freedom for religious activities. For instance, Afghan immigrants who immigrated to Iran before Turkey stated that the healthcare is more accessible in Iran than in Turkey.

Mosques are one of the primary places where Afghan immigrants spend their time outside of the home. That is why it is a place that provides a setting for interaction with the receiving society members, especially with male members, because mostly it is men who go to the mosques. In this context, mosques provide a common ground for the two groups to get together because of the religious unity. In addition, this experience can foster closeness between groups because people who regularly attend the same mosque become familiar with one another. Some of the receiving society members stated that they feel more sympathy towards immigrants who come to the mosques. S.T, a 42-years-old Kurdish man, who defines himself as Muslim, narrated his interactions with Afghan immigrants in the mosques by saying, “we could be intertwined with the people who come to pray. People ask each other how are you, are you okay? Our criterion is our beliefs, so if the man is a believer and he prays, you say hello.”

Not only receiving society members, but also Afghan immigrants feel affiliated with the local religious community because of religious unity. S.K, a 32-years-old Afghan immigrant, who previously expressed that they (Afghan immigrants in Yenimahalle) have to be silent in response to the violence they are subjected to because they are afraid, narrated his thoughts as follows, “for example, say, we, a Turk and an Afghan, went to America. We are both Muslims. If an American guy tries to beat the Turk, I would not let this happen, because we are both Muslims. If the guy is Christian, I would allow him to be beaten.” The discourse of religious fellowship in that sense leads to interaction and closeness of the groups in mosques, which is a relatively equal setting. In the interview questions directed to the participants, there were some questions to understand the immigrants’ level of contact with receiving society members. Most immigrants who were not currently employed in the neighborhood reported only being familiar with their landlords, some grocery store owners or some people from the religious community. However, the level of interaction is only at the level of greeting or little more. In that sense, mosques provide sites, where immigrants have very limited social interaction with the local residents. Y.N, a 30-years-old Afghan immigrant, who has a bachelor’s degree, narrated his daily interactions in the mosques as follows, “sometimes I go to the mosque and pray. We meet with the imam and have a conversation. Well, alhamdulillah, no one had said something bad till today.” Contrary to the Y.N’s statement, there was an incident

which a group of people had torn one of the immigrant's traditional clothes when he was going to the mosque. This incidence begs the question of under which conditions the immigrants are perceived as part of the religious fellowship? Is it only as long as they look like "them" or as long as they appear like what "they" want?

Intergroup contact theory asserts that contact between groups could bring positive outcomes if groups have common goals and equal group status (Pettigrew 1998, 66). Towards this point, praying in a mosque could be thought as a common goal for both groups, and it provides relatively equal positions for the members of a mosque community, at least inside the mosque. However, relative positive interaction is experienced only by people who go to the mosque. Therefore, the number of people who might have positive interactions with each other is very few. Consequently, the religious and sectarian unity provide groups a common ground with the discourse of religious fellowship and relative positive interactions.

#### **5.3.1.2. Buses as sites of interaction**

Another site which allows interactions between local residents and immigrants are the public buses. Both immigrants and receiving society members use public transportation often, especially in peak hours. The crowds in buses are one of the most common arguments of the local residents to explain their discomfort in sharing their neighborhood and its resources with immigrants. Due to the socio-economic profile of the receiving society members, most people are working and reach their workplace with public transportation. Likewise, since most immigrants are working outside of their neighborhood, they also have to use public transportation as well. However, the interactions between groups in the buses are often negative because immigrants, as newcomers, are perceived as the reason of such bus crowding and not being able to find a seat on the buses. The reason for the overcrowded busses is explained by the receiving community as the high number of immigrants in the neighborhood. Very few people blame the structural inadequacies, and instead blame the immigrants.

Buses are the only spaces where immigrants and local residents get close to each other physically. The bus becomes a site of tension because it is a place where receiving society members can express their attitude or discomfort to the immigrants. S.F, a 23-years-old Afghan immigrant who works outside of the neighborhood, stated that some

residents are not behaving well when the bus arrives at the stop, they push immigrants with their shoulders. On the other hand, M.J, a 27-years-old Kurdish woman, who previously expressed that she gets annoyed when people change their attitudes when they learn that she is Kurdish, expressed her discomfort with sharing the buses with Afghan immigrants by stating, “yeah, we are very troubled, we are intertwined. We could have a seat if there is a free one, but if we stand up on the bus, we get really intertwined with Afghans.” As it is understood, the problem is not simply the crowd on the buses, but also that the crowd consists of Afghan immigrants. The negative social contact between groups leads to social distance as reflected in the statement of the S.N, a 20-years-old a university student Turkish woman, who previously expressed that she feels pity for Afghan immigrants, reported, “for example, people who go to work or school in the mornings cannot get on the buses because of them. There is no one on the bus from your race, from your neighborhood, you cannot say hello to anyone. It is full of Afghans.”

Another common argument of local residents to justify their discomfort on the buses is the “annoying odor” of immigrants. H.Y, a 40-years-old hairdresser Turkish woman, who openly expressed her negative feelings towards Afghan immigrants during the interview, narrated her feelings by saying, “they don’t disrespect or harm us, but we cannot get on the buses. Don’t you get a shower? Touch the water and soap. Everyone says the same thing, there are only Afghans on the buses and they stink, they really do.” Towards this point, receiving society members produce stereotypes about Afghan immigrants as having an annoying odor as a group. However, Z.K, a 52-years-old Kurdish man, who was also a day laborer when he was young, frequently expressed his positive feelings toward immigrants during the interview, explained the reason for “annoying odor” not with stereotypes, but with their living conditions as follows:

“Mostly, they [immigrants] buy these perfumes and put them in their pockets. They use it before they get on the bus, not to smell bad. But still, they smell. It is because of the misery. If they have a house, the smell of cooking does not permeate into their clothes. For example, the shop next to us is a house of immigrants, so, they are eating and sleeping in the same place. Of course, it is very normal to smell bad in such conditions. Then, people find them strange...”

The immigrants are aware of the negative attitudes of the people on the buses because most of them do not hide their reactions. It is clear that some of the immigrants think that they would not be exposed to such negative attitudes in different places. A



group of immigrants decided to move their house from Yenimahalle to Üsküdar as B.S, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant, who works outside of the neighborhood, told, “we have to use the bus. That’s why we decided to move Üsküdar because there are many buses, so, we don’t attract the attention.” Both Afghan immigrants and local residents stated their discomfort because of the dense Afghan population in Yenimahalle. While the receiving society members complained about the dense population of Afghan immigrants in Yenimahalle because of overcrowding, increase in rent prices, anxiety, and so on, Afghan immigrants complained because the dense Afghan population leads the negative attitudes of the residents towards the whole group of Afghan immigrants in general. More clearly, the immigrants thought that they would not be visible or attract the attention of the people in a bigger neighborhood in which the number of Afghan immigrants is not as high as in the Yenimahalle neighborhood.

### **5.3.2 The Reasons for Social Distance between Groups**

“Do not misunderstand me, I don’t have such an accusation but you know, you sadden or beat an animal and it always runs away from you. It is like that, we are doing the same thing to those guys [Afghan immigrants]. We don’t get those guys inside us. They do not say accept us, either. We subordinate them since they assume a humble attitude” (V.D, a 38-years-old Turkish man, who has a master’s degree).

People tend to live with their relatives as it requires minimum effort. Regardless of the type of relationship, interaction with others requires an effort for adaptation, and it is very natural to avoid such an effort (Schnapper 1998, 150). Moreover, if these groups have power asymmetry and the minority one is exposed to violence, the minority group members would probably be more cautious about intergroup interaction (Bilali, Çelik and Ok 2014, 255). In this case, the social distance between immigrants and receiving society members at first is constructed because of the way of perceiving the out-group. The out-group member is always perceived as “other” who differs from the self in terms of power, culture, status and so on, and perceiving the person as “other” automatically creates social distance.

During the interviews, participants were asked some questions about friendships and their neighborhood to understand their level of contact and interaction with the outgroup members. In this context, it is understood that the concept of neighbor is not

someone beyond the people who live next-door. B.S, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant, narrated his level of contact with the neighbors as follows, “we have some neighbors in the same apartment, but we don’t talk to them. We go to work and come back in the evenings, so we don’t get into contact with them. We don’t know them.” On the other hand, Afghan immigrants are not perceived as people who the receiving society members could make friends with, as V.D, a 37-years-old Turkish man, who has carpet store and so has an opportunity to have contact with immigrants, reflected, “we don’t have enough dialogue with Afghans to come to the level of friendship. There are some we have a close relationship with. For example, one of them approaches me and drinks tea, but I can’t say I am a friend to him, friendship is something different.”

It is understood that there is a very low-level of contact and interaction between groups. The absence of close social contact and intimate relations produce the social distance. The level of closeness in terms of neighborhood, friendship, marriages, etc., between different social, ethnic, religious or national groups, are the indicators of the social distance. Analyzing the patterns of close social interactions provides means “to conceptualize the ‘social distance’ in terms of both the gap that separates people with dissimilar social and cultural relations, and also the proximity of those with similar social and cultural relationships” (Bottero and Prandy 2003, 2-3).

The reason for the social distance between immigrants and receiving society members in this context are analyzed under three categories: temporality, perceived cultural differences, and singlehood and gender. Perceiving the migration process as temporary, perceived cultural differences between groups, and singlehood and gender of the immigrants are the basic sources of the social distance between groups.

#### **5.3.2.1. Temporality**

Afghan immigrants perceive themselves as temporary in the receiving society, and temporality is one of the reasons for social distance. Because immigrants perceive themselves to be temporary, they do not attempt to have permanent relationships with the local residents. As immigrants stated, because the reason for being there is earning money, and not socializing, spending time for social relations is not a priority. B.S, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant, who decided to move from this neighborhood to another place, stated,

“I won’t stay here for a long time, I am here for maximum 3 or 4 months, I will go back to my country, and never come back. Why should I have a friend from there? It is unnecessary. I will stay here a couple of months like a guest and then go back. If I stay here, I would think that I should have friends but I won’t.”

The migration from Afghanistan mostly includes males who leave their families in Afghanistan and immigrate to support their families financially. The separation from family is seen as a temporary process, so immigrants expect to reunite with their families. Immigrants’ thoughts about bringing their families to Turkey show that the reunification of family presumably would not be in Turkey. Bringing the family is seen as impossible due to the restrictions on receiving a visa, in addition to the high costs of visa procedures, and no one imagines taking the risk of “irregular” ways of travelling to Turkey with women and children. Besides, immigrants believe that even though they could bring their families, the families cannot adapt to the neighborhood and would probably bring discomfort to the neighbors. N.M, a 21-years-old Afghan immigrant, who lives in this neighborhood for four years, stated, “in Afghanistan, we have very big houses and children are playing in it. They cannot fit here in an apartment, so they can disturb the neighbors. In Afghanistan, there are at least 7 -8 children in a house. So, they could hardly get used to it.” On the other hand, immigrants can only survive by sharing the rent of the houses, they cannot cover the cost of living expenses by themselves. At the same time, living in a single room with their family is seen as impossible. Therefore, most of the immigrants do not imagine bringing their families to Turkey. One of the immigrants I had a chance to talk with brought his family to Turkey, but after a while he took his family back to Afghanistan because of the negative attitudes of the receiving society members and violence. In short, leaving families left behind in Afghanistan makes the migration process temporary for most the Afghan immigrants.

However, the current conditions and war in Afghanistan creates uncertainty about permanence and temporariness, and immigrants become stuck due to this uncertainty. The war and lack of job opportunities makes this immigration process permanent for some, especially, the single ones. N.M, a 21-years-old single Afghan immigrant said, “now, I don’t have plans for going back to Afghanistan. My mother and father say “don’t come here.” If I go back, I don’t know if I can live for a month, god knows. Life is very hard there.” The factor which makes migration process permanent or uncertain is the war

and current conditions in Afghanistan. Y.N, a 30-years-old single immigrant, also feels free in going back or staying compared to married immigrants,

“I don’t want to go back to Afghanistan, now. Every day in our village, for example, the Taliban is on the sidewalk, when the car passes the bombs explodes. They kill you if you have a job related to state affairs. There is no life safety in Afghanistan. I don’t want to go back to Afghanistan under these conditions. I don’t know how long it will take.”

Immigrants explained their reason for migration in relation to war and economic distress. Immigrants who are married, and who prioritize the economic distress as the reason of migration more commonly return to Afghanistan. In that sense, the war is seen as their social reality and not an obstacle for return. M.H, a 25-years-old Afghan immigrant, who perceives the migration process as temporary, stated that, “the war in Afghanistan lasts for forty years, not for a couple of years. It is going on now, what can you do? There is war. Living in Afghanistan is very stressing but better.” To conclude, one of the main purposes of Afghan immigrants is saving money for their families in Afghanistan, they do not feel a sense of belonging to this society. For most of them, this process is seen as temporary for making some capital for business, supporting their families or saving money for weddings costs, etc. The immigrants I have interviewed have generally lived in Turkey for 3 or 4 years at most. However, there are some immigrants who have been living in Turkey for 8-10 years, such as S.K, a 32-years-old Afghan immigrant, who has a grocery store and residence permit. He is relatively more organized as he has his own shop, but he is also stuck between Turkey and Afghanistan. He could not bring his family to Turkey since the number of people in the family is high and the visa costs are not affordable. He cannot go back because he is responsible for the subsistence of the family in Afghanistan. He told of the difficulties by saying,

“It is hard. I support my father, mother, and two sisters financially. Also, I have a wife and four children. I will support them by working in this shop. We didn’t have a house but now we have been building that is why I have to save some money” (S.K, a 32-years-old Afghan immigrant, who previously talked about his desire to go back his own country).

The lives of immigrants in Turkey is uncertain and irregular, for most of them there is nothing that binds them to this neighborhood. The neighborhood is perceived as just the place they are sleeping. As S.K, a 32-years-old Afghan immigrant, noted, “you don’t

have a family in there. The place where you have a job is your home. I mean you don't worry that I leave my family in Istanbul etc." Therefore, not only the migration process, but also their settlement in this neighborhood is seen as temporary. If immigrants find a job in another place or city, they can easily leave the neighborhood since there is nothing binding them there. Consequently, the thoughts of immigrants about the permanence and temporariness of the migration are unclear. This uncertainty makes immigrants stuck between Turkey and Afghanistan, and push them to avoid having permanent interactions with the receiving society members.

The thoughts of the receiving society members about the permanent and temporary stay of the Afghan immigrants in the neighborhood are crucial to understanding the intergroup relations. Except for two participants, all of the local residents stated their discomfort with Afghan immigrants' staying in Turkey permanently. V.D, a 37-years-old Turkish man, who previously stated that he is not friend with the Afghan immigrants, stated that he has no right to decide where the immigrants might live, and he has to respect the immigrants' decisions. Z.K, a 52-years-old- Kurdish man, who was also a day laborer when he was young, stated very positive feelings on the permanent stay of Afghan immigrants with references to the social and cultural diversity. The rest of the receiving society members who expressed their discomfort with permanent stays of Afghan immigrants came up with some common arguments. These are related to the ownership threat, overpopulation in neighborhoods and issues of Afghans integrating into the local society. It is understood that most receiving society members are against the permanent stay of immigrants, and the temporariness leads to social distance between groups.

#### **5.3.2.2. Perceived cultural differences**

The most important factor in the relations between ethnic communities is the idea that the "bodily habitus that is the product of a special historical tradition," rather than the race itself (Schnapper 1998, 89). More clearly, it is a culture which is expressed in ways of dress, diet, language, and lifestyle that determines the forms of relationships between ethnic groups (Ibid.) Another reason for the social distance between immigrants and local residents is seen as culture. The cultural differences between receiving society members and immigrants are perceived as an obstacle to interaction or close relationship, especially by the receiving society members. The similarity-attraction theory asserts that

people prefer those who are perceived as similar to them in terms of various characteristics and do not appreciate cultural differences (Byrne 1971 as cited in Oudenhoven et al. 2006, 643). Even though some Uzbek-descent Afghan immigrants define themselves with references to their Ottoman roots, most of the local residents are not aware of it. Instead, the receiving society members emphasize the cultural differences between them and Afghan immigrants I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, who previously told that she was discriminated against because she was Kurdish, told of the reason she cannot have interactions with Afghan immigrants as follows:

“I am not sure that we could get in their houses because their smell of foods is very heavy compared to ours. Even you hold your nose when you pass through their home. Frankly, I cannot become neighbor with them. I mean I cannot get in the house of that sister (an Afghan woman I.K helps her for formal affairs or receiving appointment) because the way of our speeches does not fit, if she offers me some food and if I don’t eat that, it is very ashamed, I don’t want to humiliate her. We don’t understand each other’s talking, we don’t have any common point. For example, I can tell my mother and her illness to Banu because she knows my mother. But what can I tell her [the Afghan woman]?”

Receiving society members emphasized the cultural differences between groups more than Afghan immigrants. The emphasis on the differences with the Afghan immigrants who are perceived as low-cultured automatically makes the culture of receiving society members superior. So, the emphasis on the cultural differences reproduce the unequal group positions. According to the local residents, the perceived cultural differences are mostly related to the way of dress, manners in public spaces, cleaning habits, and so on. On the other hand, according to Afghan immigrants, the perceived cultural differences stem from only the level of education or the diet. Most of the immigrants stated that there are not too many cultural differences between them and the local residents.

Even though the perceived cultural differences cause social distance between groups, the religious and sectarian unity provide affinity between groups as discussed. The Afghan immigrants are more welcomed compared to non-Muslims, since they are perceived as a Muslim group. V.D, a 32-years-old Turkish man, who previously stated that he is not friend with the Afghan immigrants, ignored the differences when he was talking about the religions as follows:

“Those guys are not different from us. I would be very uncomfortable about moving of Americans to my country. Those guys [Afghans] are Muslims. At least they are decent and silent. Imagine that five thousand people from one of the European countries immigrated to our neighborhood, what would remain in this neighborhood?”

Not only between immigrants and receiving society members, but also among immigrants in itself, there is a social distance. As it has been emphasized, the interviews have been conducted with Afghan immigrants descended from Tajik and Uzbek immigrants. The interethnic tensions lead to social distance between groups. S.F, a 23-years-old Tajiki Afghan immigrant, narrated his relations with other ethnic groups in the Afghan community by explaining, “I just have a couple of Uzbek friends. I don’t like the Pashtuns and Uzbeks in general. They are mostly not educated and interested in only having a job like the animal husbandry. I don’t know. Their way of clothing and manners are different.” There are very few houses in the Yenimahalle neighborhood that Tajiks, Uzbeks, and Pashtuns are living together. Immigrants mostly prefer to live with people from their own ethnic group, city, and village. Some immigrants do not care about ethnic tensions and state that abroad they are all brothers. However, it is obvious that there is the social distance between the groups in the Afghan community as well. Most of the receiving society members are not aware of such tensions among immigrants as they mostly perceive the immigrants as a homogenous group, and this does affect their negative perceptions and behaviors towards them as stated above.

#### **5.3.2.3. Singlehood and gender**

Another factor which prevents social interaction between groups is gender and singlehood of the immigrants. Since the Afghan immigrants almost entirely consist of “single” men who live primarily with other male immigrants, both the immigrants and receiving society members do not want to interact with each other since each group believes that it is not proper to have a close relationship between the family and the singles or between women and the single men. For this reason, they avoid having interactions with each other. Being “single” does not refer to the marital status of an individual, but a way of living. Most of the immigrants are married, but they are also referred to as single because of their way of life. E.F, a 25-years-old university student Turkish woman, who

has very little contact with immigrants, narrated the reason for her distance with the Afghan immigrants as follows:

“We have never said “hello” or “how are you?” to each other. Maybe if I ask them, there would be a conversation. But they are all young guys, and according to my belief and manners, it is not proper to have a conversation with young guys if I don’t have common work or goal. Because it means taking the stage and I don’t want this.”

Living away from home and migration to metropolitan areas to save money is a common theme among labor immigrants (Şen, Arlı and Şen 2016; Alpman 2016). Mostly, this task is undertaken by the male members of the family. Previous labor migrations were mostly toward slum sites or the sites which lost their familial way of living. However, Yenimahalle is a place where the traditional familial way of life and kinship ties continue to exist. There were almost no “singles” in the neighborhood until the Afghan immigrants came. As the receiving society members stated, landlords did not rent their house to singles before because singles are perceived as a threat to the family life. The discrimination toward singles in housing is a quite common attitude (Morris, Sinclair, and De Paulo 2007). However, the attitude of landlords has changed through time and they began to rent out to the Afghan immigrants because it is very profitable. Even though single immigrants and families live side by side, the level of interaction is very low.

Socially, “single men” are perceived as a threat, however, it depends on who the single is. If the single person is a university student, he is not perceived as a threat but if the single is a worker, he is doubled dangerous. The “single” worker is perceived as a threat to the “conservative” order of the neighborhood. Accordingly, it is not perceived to be proper for a woman to having interaction with a “single” man. H.Y, a 40-years-old Turkish woman, who is uncomfortable with sharing the neighborhood with the immigrants, expressed her feeling as follows:

“How could you be neighbors with them? There is no woman, all of them are male. My husband sometimes says hello, but to whom will I say hello when there is no woman? To a man, no, I don’t. Why do I say hello to a man? I am not happy about seeing ten men who have never been married in the next apartment. If there is a family around you, you can be neighbors with them, but now there are only ten heads. Family is different and twenty men living together in the same room is different. It is not something good, I think.”



However, as it is discussed above, even though there is an Afghan family around them, local residents avoid having interaction with Afghans because of cultural differences as the I.K's, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, example above shows. Female interviewees who do not work in the neighborhood particularly have almost no contact with the immigrants because immigrants are "single." Thus, the level of prejudice is higher among female members because they have lower contact with the immigrants. However, both male and female receiving society members did not want to share their next door with Afghan immigrants.

"Afghans immigrants share the house with fifteen people to pay the rent of the house. I really would be disturbed by the fifteen men living my next door. But if an Afghan comes and lives with his family, there is no difference from the Turkish family for me" (V.D, a 37-years-old Turkish man, who previously stated that there is no difference between them and Afghan immigrants).

"I think that except the families, they should leave. I don't support them to stay because it is not good for our environment and family life" (S.T, a 42-years-old Kurdish man, who stated that he gives advice to the immigrants to help their adaptation to their society).

"There might be three girls in a house, and they might feel uncomfortable when they get into the apartment [in the situation of living with Afghan immigrant in the same apartment]" (S.N, a 20-years-old university student Turkish woman, who has very little contact with Afghan immigrants).

"We are not neighbor with them, but we say hello. Well, immigrants are single so, we cannot get in their houses. Our way of life is also different" (I.K, a 34-years-old Kurdish woman, who previously stated that she cannot get in the houses of immigrants because of the cultural differences).

It is obvious that the singlehood of the immigrants is an obstacle for the interactions of the groups. As it is seen, the most common reason for avoiding interactions with the immigrants is explained by their bachelor way of lives. Immigrants' bachelor way of life causes perceptions of being an object of fear and threat, which is why receiving society members mostly prefer not to share their next-doors with the Afghan immigrants. Even though people live side by side with Afghan immigrants, they do not accept them as neighbors. The "proper way of life" is accepted as a family life, which is why most local residents do not want to interact with the immigrants. Due to these concerns, not only receiving society members, but also immigrants refrain from interaction:

“Sometimes my friend comes and we have a conversation with him, but we don’t hang out on the street because we don’t want to disturb people and ladies passing around” (R.Z, a 24-years-old Afghan immigrant, who has been relatively well-known by the people around the coffee shop he works in).

“Turks do not talk with us since we are single” (S.F, a 23-years-old Afghan immigrant, who has very little contact with the local residents).

“We are single so we hang out just with our friends. We don’t want to be close with them not to disturb them” (G.M, a 26-years-old Afghan immigrant, who has very little contact with the local residents).

The Afghan immigrants are also aware of the perceptions on the singlehood, and they internalize the attitudes toward the singles. Thus, the immigrants refrain from having interaction with the local residents as well. It is obvious that both Afghan immigrants and receiving society members do not want to interact with each other because of immigrants’ single way of live. However, if the Afghan immigrants immigrated with their families, whether the level of interaction would be different is an open question.

To conclude, in this case, the most common factors for being socially distant from the outgroup members are the temporality, perceived cultural differences, and gender and singlehood of the immigrants.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Social, economic, and political turmoil as consequences of the long-lasting wars in Afghanistan created a large group of migrants in the world. Turkey has been one of the countries which receive Afghan migration since the 1980s, but since 2007, there has been an increase in the number of Afghan immigrants. Clustering of the immigrants in certain neighborhoods engenders the need of focusing on their intergroup relations. The Yenimahalle neighborhood, which has become a kind of a new center for Afghan immigrants, has received a large group of Afghan immigrants. The Afghans in Yenimahalle consist of undocumented male labor immigrants. The undocumented status and gender of the immigrants influence the intergroup relations, especially in the field which has not experienced international migration in such numbers before. These factors make this case important because it contributes to the literature on intergroup relations by providing an analysis of the relations between a specific migrant group and the receiving society members of a small neighborhood.

The studies on Afghan migration to Turkey have focused on the issue from the political, cultural, and sociological perspectives. The sociological studies focus on the experiences, networks, living conditions, solidarity, poverty, and gender issues. Those studies mostly focus on the migrants only and did not focus on intergroup relations, so there is a gap in the literature which gives detailed data on intergroup relations between Afghan immigrants and receiving society members. This study aims to fill the gap in the literature on Afghan migration by providing detailed data on intergroup relations by taking into consideration both immigrants and the receiving society members. The previous studies (Alpman 2016; Şen, Arlı, and Şen 2016) on labor migration focused on the sites which have migration culture or the places in which families do not live anymore or places that are familiar with the migration culture. However, it should be noted that every site has unique dynamics and characteristics; therefore, this research is limited in a way with this specific field.

This study focused on the perceptions, attitudes, and interactions of the Afghan immigrants and receiving society members to contribute to the literature of Afghan migration. It benefits from the sociology, social psychology, and intergroup relations literature. 24 semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with 12 Afghan immigrants and 12 receiving society members of the Yenimahalle neighborhood to understand the relations between groups. With the help of a small sample, the detailed data about the thoughts, feelings, emotions, behaviors of the participants, and the reasons behind them could be analyzed. The main aims of the question were to understand how people perceive out-group members, what kinds of attitudes they adopt with regard to each other with references to their feelings and behaviors, to what extent they interact with the out-group members, and what the reasons behind the social distance between groups are.

One of the main findings of the study is that groups perceive each other as two distinct groups and position themselves in a social hierarchy asymmetrically. The perceptions form the way of adopting attitudes toward outgroup members. It is obvious that both Afghan immigrants and local residents feel fear and anxiety toward each other for different reasons which are related to the lack of social contact, prejudice, and previous negative experiences. While feeling pity (along with fear from) for immigrants could be observed as a common feeling among the receiving society members, violence was also reported as a common behavior of the receiving society members against them. Gratitude and silence were the two common reactions of Afghan immigrants against these feelings and behaviors. Other findings of the study are that there is an observable social distance between groups as consequences of the temporality of the immigrants, perceived cultural differences between groups, singlehood, and gender of the immigrants.

This study did not find significant effects of age, level of education, and ethnicity on the intergroup relations. However, as findings show, gender has an important effect on intergroup relations since the interactions between groups are limited because of the immigrant group's gender and "single way of life." In addition to that, female participants have relatively less interaction with Afghan immigrants because of the social acceptance of "proper" relationship patterns in a low class, conservative neighborhood. In general, regardless of gender and the level of social contact, the local residents, more or less, have prejudices toward Afghan immigrants. However, the receiving society members who work in the neighborhood and have contact with the immigrants are more positive toward immigrants than the others.

It should be noted that this study covers only the interviews with 24 people; therefore, it would not be correct to generalize the results to the whole Afghans in Turkey with such a small sample. The findings of the study are consistent with the theories on intergroup relations to a certain extent. As social categorization theory asserts the Afghan immigrants and local residents perceive each other as two distinct groups with references to belonging to different cultures, societies, and ethnicities. Social categorization of the groups creates a distinction between us and them, and causes in-group favoritism and out-group derogation. While receiving society members tend to express in-group favoritism and out-group derogation, the Afghan immigrants tend to internalize these attributions. Thus, with references to the system justification theory, both higher and lower group could justify the existing order to maintain the status quo as Afghan immigrants do with outgroup favoritism. According to social dominance theory, group-based social hierarchies are predominantly shaped through the ethnicity and race. One of the reasons for the asymmetrical positioning in social hierarchy in this context is the ethnicity. Accordingly, the Afghan immigrants are positioned in a lower place compared to Turkish citizens, but they are positioned in a higher place compared to Syrian immigrants.

The lack of social distance causes prejudices between Afghan immigrants and the local residents. Fear and anxiety between groups can be explained with reference to the integrated threat theory. The theory asserts that the perceptions of threat depend on “the level of prior conflict between the groups, the relative statuses of the groups, and the strength of identification with the in-group, knowledge of the outgroup, and the nature of the contact between the groups” (Stephan, Stephan, and Gudykunst 1999, 620) which is common for the findings of this study. Lastly, with references to the realistic group conflict theory the receiving society members might perceive newcomers as a threat and do not want to share the resources.

As a result, this study aimed to analyze the intergroup relations between undocumented Afghan labor immigrants and the receiving society members of Yenimahalle neighborhood. To do that, the perceptions, attitudes, and the interactions of the groups were taken into consideration. It should be noted that the study has focused on an ongoing process and a very dynamic field. Therefore, the findings of the study are restricted with a specific field and time period. Despite the limitations, this study presents detailed data for further research. One of the novel findings of this research is that the effects of the undocumented status and gender of the immigrants on the intergroup relations and their consequences. In addition to that, this study reveals the feelings (pity

and gratitude) and behaviors (silence and violence) of local residents and immigrants which occur as consequences of sharing the same place, and also this study reveals the reasons of the reciprocal fear and anxiety among groups. In short, the main findings of the study show the consequences of sharing the same place by groups which have different sociocultural backgrounds and features.

All in all, the number of immigrants will increase all over the world and it is crucial to understand the intergroup relations between the people who perceive each other as “other.” With this study, I attempted to present a small portion of the intergroup relations between immigrants and the local residents, and analyze the dynamics and factors which influence the intergroup relations. With the help of this research, the feelings, emotions, thoughts, and behaviors of both undocumented labor immigrants and receiving society members could be understood.

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## APPENDIX A

### Approval form of Sabancı University Research Ethics Council (SUREC)



#### Sabancı University Research Ethics Council (SUREC)

**Date:** March, 2018

**To:** Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik / Principal Investigator

Sümeyye Reis / Co-Investigator

**From:** Dr. Cengiz Kaya, Chairman of the Ethics Committee

**Protocol Number:** FASS-2018-07

**Protocol Name:** Two Worlds Meeting in One Neighborhood: Understanding the perceptions of Yenimahalle residents and Afghan immigrant workers toward each other

**Subject:** SUREC Approval

**Official Approval Date:** 08/03/2018

Sabancı University Research Ethics Council has approved the above named and numbered protocol through expedited review. You are responsible for promptly reporting to the SUREC:

- any severe adverse effects
- any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others;
- any proposed changes in the research activity

Enclosed you can find the below noted approved documents.

☒ Protocol Application

☒ Informed Consent Form

If you have any questions please feel free to contact me via phone at 216-483 9666 or via e-mail at [cengizkaya@sabanciuniv.edu](mailto:cengizkaya@sabanciuniv.edu).

Best Regards,

Dr. Cengiz Kaya  
Chairman of the Ethics Committee

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FRG-A410-01-03

**SABANCI UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COUNCIL  
APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH STUDY**

**For SUREC Use Only**

Protocol No: FASS-2018-07  
Modification Requested Date:

Approval Date: 08/03/2018  
Modification Approval Date:

**1. Title:** Two Worlds Meeting in One Neighborhood: Understanding the perceptions of Yenimahalle residents and Afghan immigrant workers toward each other

**2. Principal Investigator(s)** (The Principal Investigator must be a faculty member or equivalent); **Co-Investigator (s)** (The Co-Investigator must be Master's or Phd Student)

<b>Principal Investigator</b> Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik FASS / Thesis Advisor	<b>E-mail</b> bcelik@sabanciuniv.edu	<b>Phone</b> 0216 483 92 98
<b>Co-Investigator</b> Sümeyye Reis FASS/ MA Thesis	rsumeyye@sabanciuniv.edu	0538 567 59 88

Note: This application must be submitted by the Principal Investigator, who assumes full responsibility for compliance with this research study.

**3. Programme:** Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Please answer all questions below:

**4. Will this be funded by an external sponsor?** ☐ Yes ☒ No

If yes, list sponsor/funding agency:  
Proposal Number:

**5. Proposed Start Date** (actual date may not precede SUREC approval date)

(tentative, maybe later) September 2018

**6. Describe the purpose of the research**

The objectives of the proposed research program can be outlined as follows:

Having fled from political turmoil and economic stress, a large group of Afghan immigrants have been moving to various parts of Europe, and particularly Istanbul, Turkey. Yenimahalle, one of the neighborhoods of Beykoz, Istanbul which is located in the Anatolian side, has received a considerable number of Afghan immigrants, mostly irregularly. In this research, qualitative fieldwork research methodology will be used to understand the perceptions of Yenimahalle residents and irregular Afghan immigrant workers toward each other in terms of group relations. In addition to that, this study tries to understand how Yenimahalle residents and Afghan immigrant workers experience the social and economic consequences of (irregular) immigration. To do that, the stories, feelings, and thoughts of

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the two groups will be analyzed with the help of semi-structured interview design. The data will be collected from both Yenimahalle residents and irregular Afghan worker immigrants who live in Yenimahalle, Beykoz. The region of Yenimahalle is selected because it has received a great number of Afghan immigrants within the last five years.

**7. Describe procedures to be used and any associated risks or discomforts.**

Procedures should be specific and listed step by step.

The data will be collected through the semi-structured interview method because this method provides a deeper understanding of the residents' and immigrants' thoughts and feelings. In total, twenty people who currently live in Yenimahalle will be interviewed. Ten Yenimahalle residents who are the citizens of the Republic of Turkey and ten irregular Afghan worker immigrants will be selected through snowball sampling which provides to reach the specific populations.

Throughout the interviews, the participants will be asked the questions to understand their feelings, perceptions, attitudes, thoughts, and experiences. The interview template is presented in the attachment.

The length of the interviews is planned to be around 60-90 minutes. However, if the participants give important information they will not be stopped. The interviews will be conducted in the neighborhood near the houses of the participants in safe and quiet places. During the interview, the researcher will actively listen to the interviewee and will ask the questions according to the flow of the conversation. If the conversation goes to the irrelevant areas, the researcher will try to control and focus on the case.

One of the risks of the research is about the reaching the participants especially, it would be difficult to reach Afghan immigrants because of the sensitive status of them. Most of the immigrants living in Yenimahalle, do not have a legal document which means that they are "irregular" immigrants. Therefore, immigrants may feel discomfort in attending the interviews and they might refuse to participate in the interviews to protect their identities.

Co-Investigator (Masters Student) is also one of the residents of Yenimahalle, however, being a resident of Yenimahalle may engender both advantages and disadvantages for this research. For instance, Afghan immigrant may perceive the Co-Investigator (Co-I) as the out-group member and feel biased and discomfort when they share their feelings and thoughts. Another discomfort would be because of the intergroup relations in the neighborhood. There might be some tensions among the residents and the immigrants in their daily lives, therefore, the participants may not feel to share their thoughts and feelings at the front of other people or the places which other people can hear them.

Another risk of the research is the language problem. Some of the Afghan immigrants can fluently speak the Turkish language whereas some of them cannot.

**8. Describe in detail any safeguards to minimize risks or discomforts, including any measures to render the data anonymous (you will not know the identity of the research subject) or confidential (subjects' identity or personal identifying information will not be disclosed).**

Please be reminded that anonymity and confidentiality are not synonymous terms.

Before the interview, the objectives of the study will be clearly described to the participants verbally and will be asked to sign the Consent Form which indicates their voluntary participation in the interview. The Consent Form is presented in the attachment. If the participants do not want to sign the Consent Form, they would show their consent in another way such as with the initials of their names or with the written consent or with their voice message to the recorder.

The participants will be ensured that their personal information will remain anonymous and their names will not be used in the research, instead, nicknames will be used. Thus, the participants will not be asked for sharing their names.

As it is stated above the length of the interview is planned to be around 60-90 minutes, thus the participants will be informed about the approximate length of the interview to ensure that they have enough time.

In addition to that, the participants will be informed that they might leave at any point of the interview and they can skip any question which they do not want to answer. All the participants will be asked if they give consent for voice recording, if the participants do not accept using tape recording, the interview will continue with note-taking.

As it is emphasized above, Co-I is also one of the residents of the Yenimahalle neighborhood. One of the advantages of being the resident is that Co-I already has some contacts with both Afghan immigrants and Yenimahalle residents. In order to reach the participants and constructing reciprocal trust, the gatekeepers will have crucial positions. To minimize the discomfort of Afghan immigrants, the researcher will reach the Afghan immigrants with the help of another Afghan gatekeeper which she has already contacted. On the other hand, the Yenimahalle residents will be reached at with the help of the gatekeepers from the Yenimahalle residents.

To minimize the discomfort of the participants and increase the efficiency of the interview, the interview will be conducted in a safe and quiet place which other people cannot hear them. The participants also have right to choose the setting of the interview to feel comfortable.

To overcome the linguistic problems in this study, an Afghan gatekeeper who can speak Turkish fluently will be the translator if needed and if accepted by the participants.

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To minimize the discomfort and gain the trust of the participants, the translator will be selected from the community of Afghan immigrants and whom the participants know and trust. The translator will also sign a Confidentiality Form before starting the interview to make participants comfortable, stating that all conversation will remain confidential. The Confidentiality Form is presented in the attachment.

The data which will be collected through the research process and the voice records will be kept electronically in the computer of the Principal Investigator (PI) and Co-Investigator (Co-PI) for at least 5 years and they maintain private from other individuals. The rights of the participants to withdraw their data will continue up until the work is published. The transcribes of the interviews will be done by the Co-I and the written documents will also be kept in electronically on the computer of the PI and Co-I. So, all the data, recordings, and transcribes will be confidential.

**9. Describe any financial compensation or other potential benefits to the subjects associated with this research activity.**

There is no financial compensation or other potential benefits to the subjects associated with this research activity.

**10. Does the proposed human subject research pose a financial conflict of interest to the PI.** ☐Yes ☒No If yes, please explain.

**11. Is the consent form attached?** ☒Yes ☐No If no, please justify the need to waive this requirement. (If subjects under the age of 18 are to participate in the study, a parental consent form will also be required.)

**12. Benefits and Risks: Do the potential benefits to the subjects and/or the anticipated gain in research knowledge outweigh the risks to the subjects?** Explain. (Be specific and succinct - do not "justify" the research.)

All the risks and discomforts stated above will be minimized and the data collected through the research will be used only in the academic work. The participants' personal information will remain anonymous and their names will not be used in the research, instead, nicknames will be used. Thus, the participants will not be asked for sharing their names. Participants will be clearly warned, verbally and in writing, before the study, and will be ensured about their anonymity.

The potential benefits of the research outweigh the risks to the subjects because this study will contribute to the gaps in the literature.

The data which will be collected from the participants will help this study to understand the perceptions of Yenimahalle residents and irregular Afghan immigrants toward each other. The irregular Afghan immigration to Turkey becomes more and more visible and it is remarkable to analyze the dynamics of the condensation of Afghan immigrants in one specific neighborhood and their interactions with local people in the

urban spaces. This study specifically will contribute the literature of (irregular) migration and intergroup relations, especially on Afghan-Turkish relations. There is no study on the social impacts of the irregular migration to the intergroup relations. Thus, this study attempts to fill the gap of social consequences of the irregular immigration to the receiving society and its impacts on the intergroup relations in the literature. Another absence in the literature is the factors which may affect the perception and attitudes of the immigrants. Most research has focused on the receiving societies and its members. There is very few study which attempts to understand the attitudes and perceptions of the groups towards each other.

**13. If another institution(s) is involved in the proposed research, please list each institution , the protocol number, and SUREC approval date.** ☐ Yes ☒ No  
There is not any institution involved in the proposed research.

**14. After reviewing the University Research Ethics Council Instruction**  
<http://mysu.sabanciuniv.edu/surecharitasi/tr/yonerge/irg-a410-02>  
**I believe this protocol to be:**

☐ Exempt from further SUREC review ☒ Expedited ☐ Full Council review required.

**Applicants Signature**

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Protocol No: FASS-2018-07  
Modification Requested Date:

Approval Date: 08/03/2018  
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**Title:** Two Worlds Meeting in One Neighborhood: Understanding the perceptions of Yenimahalle residents and irregular Afghan worker immigrants

**Principal Investigator(s):** Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik / FASS, Thesis Advisor

**Co-Investigator(s):** Sümeyye Reis / FASS, MA Student

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- ☐ The protocol has been determined to be exempt from SUREC review in accordance with Sabancı University Research Ethics Council procedure.
- ☒ The protocol has been approved through expedited review in accordance with Sabancı University Research Ethics Council procedure.
- ☐ The Institutional Review Board has been approved the protocol through full review in accordance with Sabancı University Research Ethics Council procedure.

**APPROVED BY THE SABANCI UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COUNCIL**



Prof. Dr. Cengiz Kaya  
SUREC Chair



Assist. Prof. Ahmet Faik Kurtulmuş  
SUREC Member



Assist. Prof. Çağla Aydın  
SUREC Member



Assoc. Prof. Nilay Noyan Bülbül  
SUREC Member



Assoc. Prof. Şerif Aziz Şimşir  
SUREC Member



Prof. Dr. Zehra Sayers  
SUREC Member

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## APPENDIX B

### Consent Form

**Sabancı University**  
**Consent to Participate in a Research Study**

**Study Title:** Two Worlds Meeting in One Neighborhood: Understanding the perceptions of Yenimahalle residents and Afghan immigrant workers toward each other

**Principal Investigator:** Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik /Thesis Advisor

**Co-Investigator:** Sümeyye Reis/ MA Student

**Interviewer:** Sümeyye Reis

The purpose of this study:

This research is aimed to gathering information for the thesis research of Sümeyye Reis who is the student of Conflict Analysis and Resolution Master Program, under the responsibility of Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik from Sabancı University, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences.

The purpose of the research is to understand the perceptions of Yenimahalle residents and Afghan immigrant workers toward each other who live in Yenimahalle neighborhood in Beykoz, Istanbul. The study also tries to understand how Yenimahalle residents and Afghan immigrant workers experience the social and economic consequences of the irregular immigration.

During the interview you will be asked to

(If the participant is Afgan immigrant) Answer the open-ended questions about your feelings, thoughts, and stories about Yenimahalle neighborhood and Yenimahalle residents.

(If the participant is Turkish citizen Yenimahalle resident) Answer the open-ended questions about your feelings, thoughts, and stories about Yenimahalle neighborhood and Afghan immigrants.

The interview will take approximetly sixty minutes.

You may find the following risks or discomfort from participating in this Study:

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate. If you decide to participate in this research survey, you may withdraw at any time. Participation in this study will involve no costs or payments to you. Your responses will be confidential and identifying information such as your name and ID will not be collected. The interview will be recorded with the voice recorder if you accept otherwis e notes will be taken. You can stop the interview at any time and can skip any questions which you do not want to answer.

If you have questions about the interview, please contact with Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik, Faculty of Art and Social Sciences at (216) 483 9298 or by email at bcelik@sabanciuniv.edu.

If you believe that your rights have been violated in any way, please contact Dr. Cengiz Kaya, Director of Research and Graduate Policy at Sabancı University at (216) 483-9666 or by email at [cengizkaya@sabanciuniv.edu](mailto:cengizkaya@sabanciuniv.edu).

By signing this consent form, you are indicating your consent to participate in this study.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Voice Recording: Yes ☐

No ☐

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**Sabancı Üniversitesi**  
**Araştırmaya Katılım Onay Formu**

**Araştırma Başlığı:** Bir Mahallede İki Dünyanın Buluşması: Yenimahalle sakinlerinin ve Afgan göçmen işçilerin birbirlerini algılama biçimlerini anlamak

**Asli Araştırmacı:** Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik  
**Eş Araştırmacı:** Sümeyye Reis  
**Uygulayıcı:** Sümeyye Reis

**Çalışmanın Amacı:**

Bu araştırma Sabancı Üniversitesi, Uyuşmazlık Analizi ve Çözümü programı öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Ayşe Betül Çelik sorumluluğunda Sabancı Üniversitesi, Uyuşmazlık Analizi ve Çözümü yüksek lisans programı öğrencisi Sümeyye Reis'in yüksek lisans tez araştırması için bilgi toplamayı amaçlar.

Araştırmanın amacı Beykoz, İstanbul'da bulunan Yenimahalle'deki Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olan mahalle sakinlerinin ve göçmen Afgan işçilerin birbirlerini nasıl algıladıklarını anlamak. Bunun dışında mahalle sakinlerinin ve Afgan göçmen işçilerin düzensiz göçün ekonomik ve sosyal sonuçlarını nasıl algıladığına bakmaktır.

**Çalışma Boyunca:**

*Katılımcı Afgan göçmen ise:* Yenimahalle ve Yenimahalle sakinleri hakkındaki duygularınız, düşünceleriniz ve hikayelerinizle ilgili açık uçlu sorulara cevap vermeniz istenecektir.

*Katılımcı Yenimahalle sakini ise:* Yenimahalle ve Afgan göçmenleri hakkındaki hisleriniz, düşünceleriniz ve hikayelerinizle ilgili açık uçlu sorulara cevap vermeniz istenecektir

Görüşme yaklaşık 60 dakika sürecektir.

**Bu çalışmayla ilgili olası risk ve rahatsızlıkları aşağıda bulabilirsiniz:**

Çalışmaya katılımınız tamamen sizin isteğinize bağlıdır araştırmada yer almayı reddedebilir ve çekilebilirsiniz. Çalışmaya katılımınız için size para verilmeyecek ya da karşılığında herhangi bir şey istenmeyecektir. Sizden herhangi bir kimlik bilgisi alınmayacak ve vereceğiniz bilgiler tamamen gizli kalacaktır. Çalışmadan elde edilen veriler bilimsel araştırma olarak değerlendirilecek ve yalnızca bu çalışma kapsamında kullanılacaktır. Eğer kabul ederseniz görüşme ses kayıt cihazı ile kayıt altına alınacaktır, ya da tercihinize göre not alınarak devam edilebilir. Görüşmeyi istediğinizde durdurabilirsiniz ve cevaplamak istemediğiniz soruları geçebilirsiniz.

Görüşme hakkında sorunuz varsa lütfen Sabancı Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi öğretim üyesi Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik ile telefonla (216) 483 9298 ya da e-mail ile [bcelik@sabanciuniv.edu](mailto:bcelik@sabanciuniv.edu) iletişime geçiniz.

Eğer haklarınıza zarar verildiğini düşünüyorsanız, lütfen Sabancı Üniversitesi Araştırma ve Lisansüstü Politikaları direktörü Dr. Cengiz Kaya ile telefonla (216) 483-9666 ya da e-mail ile [cengizkaya@sabanciuniv.edu](mailto:cengizkaya@sabanciuniv.edu) iletişime geçiniz.

Bu formu imzalayarak, çalışmaya katılımınızı onaylıyorsunuz.

İmza \_\_\_\_\_ Tarih \_\_\_\_\_

Ses Kaydı: Evet ☐ Hayır ☐

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## APPENDIX C

### Confidentiality Form

Tarih: ....../....../.....

#### TERCÜME GİZLİLİK SÖZLEŞMESİ

Sabancı Üniversitesi, Uyuşmazlık Analizi ve Çözümü yüksek lisans programı öğrencisi  
Sümeyye Reis'in yüksek lisans tez araştırması için İstanbul, Beykoz Yenimahalle'de yapacağı  
görüşmelerde yürüteceğim tercümanlık faaliyeti sırasında öğrendiğim bilgileri üçüncü  
kişilerle paylaşmayacağımı taahhüt ederim.

Ad Soyad:  
İmza

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## APPENDIX D

### Interview Questions

#### Interview Questions

##### For Yenimahalle residents

1. Can you introduce yourself? (Your birth place, age, marital status, education level, occupation, ethnicity etc.)
2. How long have you been living in Yenimahalle?
3. Could you describe Yenimahalle neighbourhood? (Who lives here, what are the neighbourhood relationships like?) What does the life in Yenimahalle mean to you?
4. Are you content with living in this neighbourhood? Why? Are there any problems that you have encountered in Yenimahalle? If you have, what are the reasons of them?
5. Have you observed any changes in the neighbourhood during your residency? What did change and what do you think is the cause?
6. Are there any changes about residents of neighbourhood? For instance, are there new arrivals? (If yes) Who are they? What do you think about this issue? What are your feelings?
7. Who is an “immigrant”?
8. How much do you know about Afghan immigrants? Who are “they”?
9. Where and how often do you encounter with Afghan immigrants? Where are they in neighbourhood? What are their occupations?
10. Are you neighbour with Afghan immigrants? (If yes) Are you satisfied with being neighbours with them? Why? (If does not have an Afghan neighbour) Would you like to be a neighbour with an Afghan immigrant? Why?
11. How do you define a “good neighbour”?
12. Who are your friends? Which criteria is important for your choice of friends? Would you be friends with people from different identities?
13. Do you have a friend from Afghan immigrants? (If does not have) Would you like to be friends with them? Why?
14. Why do you think that Afghan immigrants choose Turkey and Yenimahalle?
15. Do you know any immigrants apart from Afghan immigrants? Do you think that Afghan immigrants are different from other immigrants, for example, Syrian immigrants? If so, in which aspects?

16. What can you say about the characteristic features of Afghan immigrants? What are the similarities and differences with your culture? (If there are) do these differences cause problems for you?
17. Do you think that the settlement of Afghan immigrants to Yenimahalle affects the neighborhood and you? (If yes) how?
18. What do you think about the relationship between residents and Afghan immigrants?
19. Have you ever witnessed an incident between the residents and Afghan immigrants? Can you please tell what was happened? What did you feel?
20. Do you want the Afghan immigrants to remain in the neighborhood and in Turkey? Why or why not?

**For Afghan immigrant workers**

1. Can you introduce yourself? (Your birth place, age, marital status, education level, occupation, ethnicity etc.)
2. How was your life in Afghanistan before you immigrated? What were you doing economically and socially?
3. How did you decide to immigrate? Why did you choose Turkey?
4. How was your immigration process? Did you have an incident on your journey? (If yes) Can you tell what was it and how did you feel?
5. Can you describe the place that you live in Yenimahalle? How did you find there? How long have you been there?
6. Can you describe the neighbourhood? (Who lives there? How is the neighbourhood relations) What does the life in Yenimahalle mean to you?
7. Do you encounter any problems in Yenimahalle? If so, what are the causes of these problems?
8. Are you content with living in this neighborhood? Why?
9. How did you find job? Who did help you to find job? What kind of difficulties you lived in that process?
10. Could you describe the jobs you have worked here? Could you tell about the process of finding these jobs?
11. Is the money you earned from these jobs enough for you? For what do you spend that money, in general?

12. What do you do in your leisure times? Where do you spend most of your time in the neighbourhood?
13. How much do you know Yenimahalle residents? Who are "they"?
14. Where and how often do you encounter with the residents? Do you have a neighbour from Yenimahalle residents? (If yes) Are you satisfied with being neighbors with them? Why? (If does not have) Would you like to be a neighbour with an Yenimahalle residents? Why?
15. How do you define a "good neighbour"?
16. Who are your friends? Which criteria is important for your choice of your friends? Would you be friends with people from different identities? Do you have a contact with other immigrant groups?
17. Do you have a friend from Yenimahalle residents? (If does not have) Would you like to be friends with them? Why?
18. What can you say about the characteristics of the Yenimahalle residents? What are the similarities and differences with your culture? Do these differences cause problems for you?
19. What do you think about the relationship between residents and immigrants?
20. Have you ever witnessed a debate or incident among the residents and Afghan immigrants? Can you please tell what was happened? What did you feel?
21. Because you do not have any legal document, you cannot benefit from many social services, how do you meet these needs, hospital etc.?
22. Do you want to continue living here and bring your family? Why?
23. Do you think to return your country? Why?

## Mülakat Soruları

### Yenimahalle sakinleri için

- 1) Kendinizi tanıtabilir misiniz? (Doğum yeriniz, yaşıınız, medeni durumunuz, eğitim seviyeniz, işiniz, etnik köken vs.)
- 2) Ne zamandır bu mahallede yaşıyorsunuz?
- 3) Biraz mahalleyi anlatabilir misiniz? (Kimler yaşar, komşuluk ilişkileri nasıl?) Size Yenimahalle’de yaşam ne ifade ediyor?
- 4) Bu mahallede yaşamaktan memnun musunuz? Neden? Yenimahalle’de yaşadığınız sıkıntılar var mı? Varsa bu sıkıntılar hangi sebeplerden kaynaklanıyor?
- 5) Yaşadığınız süre içerisinde mahallede gözlemlediğiniz değişimler oldu mu? Bu değişimler nelerdi ve sebepleri neden kaynaklanıyor olabilir?
- 6) Son beş yıldır mahallenin sakinlerinde bir değişim var mı? Mesela yeni gelenler oldu mu? (Evetse) Kimler? bu konuyla ilgili düşünceleriniz neler, neler hissediyorsunuz?
- 7) Sizce “göçmen” kimdir?
- 8) Afgan göçmenleri ne kadar tanıyor sunuz? Sizce “onlar” kimler?
- 9) Afgan göçmenlerle nerelerde ve ne sıklıkta karşılaşıyorsunuz? Sizce Afgan göçmenler genelde mahallede neredeler? Ne iş yaparlar?
- 10) Afgan göçmenlerle komşu musunuz? (Evetse) Komşu olmaktan memnun musunuz? Neden? (Komşu değilse) Komşu olmak ister misiniz? Neden?
- 11) Sizce “iyi bir komşu” nasıldır?
- 12) Kimlerle arkadaşlık edersiniz? Arkadaşlarınızı daha çok hangi kriterlere göre seçersiniz? Farklı kimliklerden insanlarla arkadaşlık eder misiniz?
- 13) Afgan göçmenlerden arkadaşınız var mı? (Yoksa) arkadaşlık etmek ister misiniz? Neden?
- 14) Afgan göçmenler sizce ne sebeple Türkiye’ye ve Yenimahalle’ye göç ediyorlar?
- 15) Afganlar göçmenler dışında bildiğiniz başka göçmenler var mı? Sizce Afgan göçmenler diğer göçmenlerden örneğin Suriyeli göçmenlerden farklı mı? (Evetse) Hangi bakımlardan?
- 16) Afgan göçmenlerin karakteristik özellikleri hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz? Sizin kültürünüzle benzerlik ve farklılıkları neler? (Farklılıklar var dediye) Bu farklılıklar sizin için soruna neden oluyor mu?

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- 17) Afgan göçmenlerin bu mahalleye taşınmaları sizi ve mahalleyi etkiledi mi? (evetse)  
Nasıl?
- 18) Sizce göçmenlerle mahallelinin genel olarak ilişkileri nasıl?
- 19) Mahalleli veya Afgan göçmenler arasında geçen bir olaya şahit oldunuz mu?  
Anlatabilir misiniz? Neler hissettiniz?
- 20) Afgan göçmenlerin bu mahallede ve Türkiye’de kalmaya devam etmelerini ister misiniz? Neden?

**Afgan göçmenler için**

- 1) Kendinizi tanıtabilir misiniz? (Doğum yeriniz, yaşıınız, medeni durumunuz, eğitim seviyeniz, işiniz, etnik köken vs.)
- 2) Göç etmeden önce Afganistan’da hayatınız nasıldı? Neler yapıyordunuz ekonomik ve sosyal olarak?
- 3) Göç etmeye nasıl ve neden karar verdiniz? Neden Türkiye’yi seçtiniz?
- 4) Nasıl bir göç süreci yaşadınız? Yolculuk sırasında başınızdan bir olay geçti mi? Neler hissettiniz, anlatabilir misiniz?
- 5) Yenimahalle’de yaşadığınız yeri anlatabilir misiniz? Burayı nasıl buldunuz? Ne zamandır burada yaşıyorsunuz?
- 6) Mahalleyi biraz anlatabilir misiniz? (Kimler yaşar, komşuluk ilişkileri nasıl?) Size Yenimahalle’de yaşam ne ifade ediyor?
- 7) Yenimahalle’de yaşadığınız sıkıntılar var mı? Varsa bu sıkıntılar hangi sebeplerden kaynaklanıyor?
- 8) Bu mahallede yaşamaktan memnun musunuz? Neden
- 9) Burada nasıl iş buldunuz? Size kimler yardım etti? Ne tür zorluklarınız oldu?
- 10) Burada çalıştığınız işleri anlatabilir misiniz? Bu işleri bulma sürecinizden bahsedebilir misiniz?
- 11) Bu işlerden kazancınız size yetiyor mu? Kazancınızı daha çok nelere harcıyorsunuz?
- 12) İş haricindeki vaktinizi nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Mahallede vaktinizi daha çok nerelerde geçiriyorsunuz?
- 13) Mahalleliyi ne kadar tanıyor musunuz? Sizce “onlar” kimler?
- 14) Mahalleli ile nerelerde ve ne sıklıkta karşılaşıyorsunuz? Mahalleli ile komşu musunuz? Komşu olmak ister misiniz? Neden? (Komşu değilse) Komşu olmak ister misiniz? Neden?

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- 15) Sizce “iyi bir komşu” nasıldır?
- 16) Kimlerle arkadaşlık edersiniz? Arkadaşlarınızı daha çok hangi kritere göre seçersiniz? Farklı kimliklerden insanlarla arkadaşlık eder misiniz? Başka göçmen grupları ile görüşüyor musunuz?
- 17) Mahalleleden arkadaşlarınız var mı? (Yoksa) mahalleli ile arkadaşlık etmek ister misiniz? Neden?
- 18) Mahallelinin karakteristik özellikleri hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz? Sizin kültürünüzle benzerlik ve farklılıkları neler? Bu farklılıklar sizin için soruna neden oluyor mu?
- 19) Sizce mahalleli ile göçmenlerin genel olarak ilişkileri nasıl?
- 20) Mahalleli veya Afgan göçmenler arasında geçen bir olaya şahit oldunuz mu? Anlatabilir misiniz, neler hissettiniz?
- 21) Yasal bir belgeniz olmadığı için birçok sosyal servisten faydalanamıyorsunuz, bu ihtiyaçlarınızı nasıl gideriyorsunuz, hastane vs.? Bir sorunla karşılaştığınızda kimlerden yardım istiyorsunuz?
- 22) Burada yaşamaya devam etmek ve ailenizi de yanınıza getirmek ister misiniz? Neden?
- 23) Geri dönmeyi düşünüyor musunuz? Neden?