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**Master's Thesis**

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**The European Immigration Policies During the Refugee  
Crisis and the Impact on “Transit” Countries: A  
Comparative Analysis between Turkey and Morocco**



Master's thesis

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## **Declaration**

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Paris on 30/07/2024

Salomé Bertrand

## References

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## **Abstract**

The research aims to explain and analyze the impact of the European immigration policies on “transit” countries during the refugee crisis. To get a better representation, the research chose to focus on Turkey and Morocco, two countries located at the gate of Europe. The emergent need to respond to the refugee crisis, caused by the Syrian civil war in 2011, influenced the European political sphere and modified its immigration policies to control the flux of migrants. Those policies had directly impacted Turkey and Morocco. Through the process of securitization, the study will analyze the impact of the externalization of borders and its policy implications on both countries. Then, it will emphasize the humanitarian aspect of the immigration policies implemented by both countries in using a policy evaluation. Finally, through data gathered from interviews with workers in the migration field and migrants in Turkey and Morocco, the study will compare how both countries integrated their migrants with the use of the socio-economic integration concept. As findings, the research concluded that the European immigration policies had impacted Turkey and Morocco both positively and negatively. Several agreements between the EU and those two countries improved their relationships but, the externalization of borders had also changed the migration trends in both countries. Migrants are now settling in both countries which makes them receiving countries and not only transit countries. Then, the Moroccan and Turkish governments implemented new policies to manage their important flux of migration which had raised humanitarian concerns. However, those new policies fostered the migrant’s integration. As the research will analyze through interviews, both countries face challenges such as language barriers, housing, and healthcare but they are both improving the access to social services. In conclusion, the European immigration policies focused mostly on the security and danger from outside but also, allowed Morocco and Turkey to improve their approach to migration.

## **Abstrakt**

Cílem výzkumu je vysvětlit a analyzovat dopad evropské imigrační politiky na „tranzitní“ země během uprchlické krize. Pro lepší představu se výzkum rozhodl zaměřit na Turecko a Maroko, dvě země ležící u bran Evropy. Vzniklá potřeba reagovat na uprchlickou krizi, způsobenou syrskou občanskou válkou v roce 2011, ovlivnila evropskou politickou sféru a upravila její imigrační politiku s cílem kontrolovat příliv migrantů. Tato politika měla přímý dopad na Turecko a Maroko. Prostřednictvím procesu sekuritizace bude studie analyzovat dopad externalizace hranic a její politické důsledky na obě země. Poté bude zdůrazňovat humanitární aspekt imigračních politik prováděných oběma zeměmi s využitím hodnocení politiky. Nakonec studie prostřednictvím údajů získaných z rozhovorů s pracovníky v oblasti migrace a migranty v Turecku a Maroku porovná, jak obě země integrovaly své migranty s využitím konceptu socioekonomické integrace. Na základě zjištění dospěl výzkum k závěru, že evropská imigrační politika ovlivnila Turecko a Maroko jak pozitivně, tak negativně. Několik dohod mezi EU a těmito dvěma zeměmi zlepšilo jejich vztahy, ale externalizace hranic také změnila migrační trendy v obou zemích. Migrantí se nyní usazují v obou zemích, což z nich dělá vítané země, a ne pouze země tranzitní. Pak se

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## **Keywords**

European immigration policies, Human rights, Socio-Economic Integration, Turkey, Morocco.

## **Klíčová slova**

Evropská imigrační politika, lidská práva, socioekonomická integrace, Turecko, Maroko.

## **Název práce**

Evropská imigrační politika během uprchlické krize a dopad na „tranzitní“ země: Srovnávací analýza Turecka a Maroka.

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# Table of Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>2</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	<b>3</b>
2.1	Migration Trends in Turkey and Morocco .....	4
2.2	The European Immigration Policies and their Impacts on Turkey and Morocco .	6
2.3	Legal Frameworks and Policy responses in Turkey and Morocco.....	8
2.4	Socio-Economic Integration of Migrants in Turkey and Morocco .....	10
2.5	Social Cohesion, Identity and Integration Challenges.....	13
<b>3</b>	<b>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</b> .....	<b>15</b>
3.1	Securitization Theory .....	16
3.1.1	<i>Concept of Securitization</i> .....	16
3.1.2	<i>Externalization of Borders through Securitization</i> .....	18
3.1.3	<i>Policy Implications of Externalization of Borders</i> .....	19
3.2	Human security.....	20
3.2.1	<i>Human Security Concept</i> .....	20
3.2.2	<i>Humanitarian Issues</i> .....	21
3.2.3	<i>Policy evaluation: Outcomes and Challenges of Turkish and Moroccan immigration policies</i> 22	
3.3	Concept of Socio-economic Integration:.....	25
3.3.1	<i>Dimensions of Socio-Economic Integration</i> .....	25
3.3.2	<i>Challenges</i> .....	26
<b>4</b>	<b>METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>27</b>
4.1	Research Design and Context of the Study .....	28
4.2	Participants .....	29
4.3	Data Collection Methods and Analysis .....	31
4.4	Validity of the Study and Reliability.....	32
4.5	Limitations of the Study .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>TWO CASE STUDIES</b> .....	<b>34</b>
5.1	Morocco.....	34
5.1.1	<i>The Impact of Securitization of the European Immigration Policies on Moroccan Migration Trends and its Relationship with the EU</i> .....	34
5.1.2	<i>The new Moroccan Immigration Policies: Outcomes and Challenges</i> .....	36
5.1.3	<i>The Socio-Economic Integration of Migrants in Morocco after the new set of Immigration Policies</i> 38	
5.2	Turkey.....	41



5.2.1	<i>The Impact of the Securitization of European Immigration policies on Turkish Migration trends and its relationship with the EU.....</i>	<i>41</i>
5.2.2	<i>The new Turkish immigration Policies: Outcomes and Challenges.....</i>	<i>43</i>
5.2.3	<i>The Socio-Economic Integration of Migrants in Turkey after the new set of Immigration Policies</i>	<i>44</i>
<b>6</b>	<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>DISCUSSION .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>LIST OF REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>LIST OF APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>56</b>

# 1 Introduction

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Since the beginning of the human civilization, people have been moving from place to place for several reasons including for work, called labor migration, for family reunification or to escape from danger, called forced migration<sup>1</sup>. As destination countries, people look for countries where they can get better work opportunities and better lifestyles. As such, the European Union is one of the main destinations where people aim to settle. However, it became more and more complicated for migrants to reach Europe. Because of the securitization of borders, the shift in terms of visa policies, and several other factors that will be explained throughout the research, people tend to abandon the idea of reaching the “European dream”. In addition, the several conflicts that broke down since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century forced more people to migrate to another country. The Syrian civil war that started in 2011 forced thousands of people to move from Syria quickly which resulted in an emergency refugee crisis where the European Union (EU) was playing an important role of management<sup>2</sup>. Those several factors implied the need to implement new policies that first manage the flow of migrants and then, restrict people from reaching Europe. Those policies had directly impacted the countries around it such as Turkey and Morocco. Then, the research will answer to the research question: To what extent did the European immigration policies impact the phenomenon of migration in Turkey and Morocco during the European migration crisis? Throughout the policy implications of the securitization process, the research will analyze how the European migration policies impacted the Turkish and Moroccan migration policies. It will show that both countries fostered their relationship with Europe and became destination countries more than transit

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<sup>1</sup> Charbit, Y. (2017). Castles Stephen, De Haas Hein and Miller Mark J., *The age of migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Revue européenne des migrations internationales, 33, 205-205. <https://doi.org/10.4000/remi.9129>

<sup>2</sup> Aksu Kargin, I. (2018). *The Unending Arab Spring in Syria: The Primary Dynamics of the Syrian Civil War as Exeperienced by Syrian Refugees*. 13(3), 27–48. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7827/TurkishStudies.13158>

countries. Then, the research will proceed to a policy evaluation in terms of respect for human rights. It will analyze how the implementation of European policies and its impact on both countries raised human rights concerns. Finally, thanks to interviews made among migrants and workers in the migration field in Morocco and Turkey, the research will analyze how Turkey and Morocco integrate their migrants using the concept of socio-economic integration.

## 2 Literature Review

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Recently, the world has witnessed a constantly increasing number of migrants, with more than 281 million migrants today around the world<sup>3</sup>. Every part of the world experiences a form of migration and that's why the research will focus on two specific countries that have a strategic position: Turkey and Morocco. Between the gate of the European Union and the countries located in the Global South, both countries are at the center of the migratory routes. (see Appendix no 1). With a total number of people arriving from the Global South to Europe reaching more than 81 million by sea or by land in 2024, Europe is one of the top destinations for migrants<sup>4</sup>. At the beginning of 2024, Syrian and Malian migrants were the first two nationalities who come to Europe. From Syria, migrants generally pass by Turkey while Malian migrants are usually crossing Morocco to reach Europe so both countries are important hubs for people who migrate to Europe. After the refugee crisis that happened between 2011 and 2016, the number of migrants importantly increased and reached its peak in 2016 with more than 389 million migrants willing to come to Europe while, in 2020, there were over 99 million<sup>5</sup>. To answer this emergency crisis, the EU deployed strategies to foster and manage the

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<sup>3</sup> McAuliffe, M. and L.A. Oucho (2024). *World Migration Report 2024*. International Organization for Migration (IOM), Geneva. <https://worldmigrationreport.iom.int/msite/wmr-2024-interactive/?lang=FR>

<sup>4</sup> *Migration flow to Europe. Arrivals. Methodological Note*. (2024). International Organization of Migration (IOM). <https://dtm.iom.int/europe/arrivals>

<sup>5</sup> *Migration flow to Europe. Arrivals. Methodological Note*. (2024). International Organization of Migration (IOM). <https://dtm.iom.int/europe/arrivals>

migration flow which had impacted directly the countries at the gate of Europe such as Turkey and Morocco. Through a literature review, the impact of European policies on migration in Turkish and Moroccan societies will be deeply explained. From the new migration policies to the sociologic and economic integration of migrants, this party will emphasize existing literature that will frame our research.

## 2.1 Migration Trends in Turkey and Morocco

First, Hein de Hass in his work “Euro-Mediterranean migration futures: The cases of Morocco, Egypt, and Turkey.”<sup>6</sup>, explains how migration trends between North and South will evolve throughout time. He emphasizes the need to compare Morocco and Turkey because they have similar trajectories in terms of historical migration as they both had workers moving to Europe in the 70s. However, he says that after the 1990s, migration trends in those countries started to be significantly different because Turkey is in the third step of migration where it experiences more immigration than emigration while Morocco is still considered as an emigration country where people’s goal is to reach Europe. Also, he adds that the Euro-Mediterranean “migration frontier” moved southern and that could be an indication of future immigration trends from sub-Saharan Africa to North African countries and mentioned the case of Morocco. Indeed, even if the number of migrants is significantly different in Turkey and Morocco, both countries welcome migrants from different regions of the world because of their geographical position. Alongside, Hein de Hass, F. De Bel-Air had brought important insights in terms of migration trends in Turkey and Morocco. First, in her work “Morocco Migration Profile”<sup>7</sup>, she describes Morocco as an emigration country more than an immigration country, as Hein de Hass argues, where only 0.2% of people migrated to Morocco in 2014. Nevertheless,

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<sup>6</sup> Haas, H. (2014). 1.Euro-Mediterranean Migration Futures: The Cases Of Morocco, Egypt And Turkey. In W. Sievers, M. Bommes & H. Fassman (Ed.), *Migration from the Middle East and North Africa to Europe: Past Developments, Current Status and Future Potentials* (pp. 29-74). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048523177-004>

<sup>7</sup> De Bel-Air, F. (2016). *Migration Profile: Morocco*. Migration Policy Center, 2016/05. <https://doi.org/doi:10.2870/392631>

in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the country witnessed migration from Subsaharian Africa that passed through the country before reaching Europe. Because of its geographical proximity to Europe, the socio-economical opportunities, and the visa-free agreements between Morocco and African countries, Morocco became naturally a “transit country” between Africa and Europe where migration trends were mostly from irregular migration that wants to reach Europe. The economy and the political stability of the country played an important role in becoming a safe destination for African migrants. As such, F. De Bel-Air claims that most of the migrants people in Morocco are from Sub-Saharan countries, especially from Nigeria, Mali, and Senegal, males (80%) between 25 and 34 years old without sources of income (60% of them), and the average duration of their stay was around 2.5 years where 73% of them want to go to a third country. Their main motivations to migrate to another country are the economic inflation and the lack of job opportunities for young people alongside political reasons such as the conflict in the Ivory Coast in 2010 or the recent coup d’état in the Sahel region, especially in Mali, Niger, and Cameroun that have impacted recently the number of migrants who travel to Morocco. Furthermore, F. De Bel-Air made a similar work about “Turkey migration profile”<sup>8</sup> where she highlighted some differences related to the migration profile between Morocco and Turkey. First, Turkey had a significantly bigger number of people who migrated to the country than Morocco. Then, people who moved to Turkey are mostly from the Middle East region and CIS region but there are also Russians and Africans. Men and females move to Turkey, at different ages, and for different reasons. In terms of push and pull factors, Turkey and Morocco have similarities. Migrants tend to move to both countries because of the conflicts affecting their regions such as the civil war in Syria that started in 2011 as well as the complicated situation in the Sahel but also because of the geographic and economic attractiveness of both countries, Turkey and Morocco. In conclusion, both countries have differences and similarities

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<sup>8</sup> De Bel-Air, F. (2016). Migration Profile: Turkey. *Migration Policy Center*, 2016/05. <https://doi.org/doi:10.2870/805939>

in terms of migration trends. While the migration profiles are mostly different, the reasons that brought people to migrate to Turkey and Morocco are significantly similar.

## 2.2 The European Immigration Policies and their Impacts on Turkey and Morocco

Kelsey P. Norman wrote an article named “Migration Diplomacy and Policy Liberalization in Morocco and Turkey”<sup>9</sup> where she described how the 2013 migration policy liberalizations in Morocco and Turkey impacted migrants. With interviews conducted in 2015, she analyzed if liberal and inclusive reformed policies had impacted the everyday life of migrants and refugees in Turkey and Morocco. The author examined how the migration reforms in both countries were implemented and what were the motivations of the government to do those reforms. Then, the author wanted to show the impact of these reforms on migrants living in Turkey and Morocco. She chose to explain the migration policy processes through the understanding of diplomatic factors that are important elements that influence how the officials implement policies domestically. For Morocco, the article concluded that the migration policy reforms were made mostly because of the economic profits and diplomatic opportunities between Europe and West Africa. While in Turkey, the migration reforms were motivated by the potential accession to become an EU country as well as the willingness to create a better and complete migration law. Because of its geographical position considered at the center of an important migratory route, the politicians, officials, lawyers, and people who work in the migration field came together to find reforms that can fulfill the requirements of the European Court of Human Rights. Furthermore, the author analyzed the impacts of these new reforms on migrants’ everyday lives. Unfortunately, as both countries used those new laws to gain either diplomatic or economic advantages, the reforms did only a little change for migrants in terms

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<sup>9</sup> Norman, K. P. (2020). Migration Diplomacy and Policy Liberalization in Morocco and Turkey. *International Migration Review*, 54(4), 1158–1183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918319895271>

of employment. As a more general conclusion, the author added that countries located at the gate of Europe and who face an increasing number of migrants who want to reach Europe are carrying out more immigration liberal policies to only get a better image in international politics. However, their goals are not to include migrants and refugees in society, both governments let them in precarious conditions. Alongside Kelsey P. Norman, A. Yildiz wrote about the European immigration policies and their impacts on Turkey and Morocco in her book named “The European Union’s Immigration Policy: Managing Migration in Turkey and Morocco”<sup>10</sup>. The author focused on the analysis of the EU-Turkey agreement as well as the “advanced status” of Morocco and their relations with the implementation of the European Union’s immigration policies after the migration crisis in 2015. Using a general framework based on “external governance” and the “Europeanisation beyond Europe”, the author said that the new immigration policies implemented by the EU were mainly security-oriented and Eurocentric and brought negative externalities for non-European transit countries. The author defined “transit country” as a term that is used to describe countries at the borders of Europe where migrants only pass by those countries before reaching Europe. Furthermore, he added that both countries are considered transit countries because of the securitization of the EU policies where the main factor that pushed migrants to stay in a country where they didn’t choose to stay. The author’s main argument is that, after the migration crisis, the implementation of more restrictive policies in European law has forced Turkey and Morocco to become transit countries which might also create a buffer zone where migrants are stuck before reaching Europe. Finally, as a main conclusion, both countries have been impacted by the externalization of the EU immigration policies with the increasing number of people who migrate illegally. Both countries witnessed a growing number due to the restrictive visa policies

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<sup>10</sup> Yildiz, A. (2016). *The European Union's Immigration Policy: Managing Migration in Turkey and Morocco*. (Palgrave Macmillan). The European Union in International Affairs. 10.1057/978-1-137-58699-5. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/296573370\\_European\\_Union's\\_Immigration\\_Policy\\_Managing\\_Migration\\_in\\_Turkey\\_and\\_Morocco](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/296573370_European_Union's_Immigration_Policy_Managing_Migration_in_Turkey_and_Morocco)

and the increasing number of border controls that were included in the new pack implemented by the European Commission after the migratory crisis in 2016.

### 2.3 Legal Frameworks and Policy responses in Turkey and Morocco

Following the externalization strategies of the European Union related to the management of the migration phenomenon, the legal frameworks for both countries including the implementation of policies which are immigration laws, asylum policies, or regularization programs, are important steps that both governments have been implementing since the beginning of the refugee crisis. A. İçduygu and D. Aksel in their article “Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Perspective”<sup>11</sup> wrote that the Turkish government built a more efficient and reliable system for managing migration. The implementation of several laws such as law 6458/2013 implemented in 2013, called the Law on Foreigners and International Protection completely reformed the Turkish immigration policy system and made it a more modern system that follows European standards including better integration of immigrants, asylum seekers, and irregular migrants. The same year, the Turkish government created the General Directorate of Migration Management which regulates the entry, stay, and exit from Turkey. The authors use the notion of “emerging migration state” which is a term created by Hollifield to argue that Turkey is caught between a state where they use immigration as a positive source for the economy and a state where the policies are made to restrict people to migrate to Turkey. In 2013, the government of Turkey, the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma/AKP) instrumentalized immigration policies because of its willingness to be part of the European Union. Some authors argued that he modified the immigration laws only to be part of the EU<sup>12</sup>. However, after some years, Erdogan, the current President of

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<sup>11</sup> İçduygu, A., & Aksel, D. B. (2013). *Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective*. *XVIII*(3), 167–190. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/download/article-file/816056>

<sup>12</sup> Kaya, A. (2021). Europeanization and De-Europeanization of Turkish Asylum and Migration Policies. In *EU-Turkey Relations. Theories, Institutions, and Policies* (Palgrave Macmillan). , [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-70890-0\\_14](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-70890-0_14)



Turkey adopted a more “open” visa policy towards its neighborhood by removing the visa requirement for countries such as Azerbaijan, Lebanon, and Jordan. Following that shift, Turkey separated itself from the EU because of its immigration policies that did not follow European norms. Alongside its new position with Europe, Turkey became a more attractive country to migrants thanks to globalization. It became a major external force and it liberalized its market economy which increased its economic stability. The country switched from a nation-state to a transnational and globalized state thanks to its new liberal economic and social policies. Similarly, M. Cherti in her work “Migration and Pensée d’Etat: Moroccan Migration Policy Changes as Transformation of ‘geopolitical culture’”<sup>13</sup> as well as M. Gimenez-Avalarez in his article “Migration Policy and International Human Rights Frameworks in Morocco: Tensions and contradictions”<sup>14</sup> said that the Moroccan government changed its approach toward immigration in 2013 by implementing the National Strategy on Immigration and Asylum considered a more “humanist approach” to immigration. Based on a better integration of immigrants and refugees as well as an “exceptional regularization” of irregular migrants. M. Gimenez-Alvarez argued that using human rights politics, Morocco changed its immigration policies because of the several scandals that raised awareness about human rights violence internationally. Alongside, the National Human Rights Council, called Conseil National des Droits de l’Homme (CNDH) wrote an important report about how the Moroccan government treated migrants and refugees<sup>15</sup>. This report also impacted the willingness of the Moroccan government to adopt new policies in terms of migrant integration. Consequently, the new set of policies fostered the relationship between Morocco and the European Union because of their

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<sup>13</sup> Cherti, M., & Collyer, M. (2015). Immigration and Pensée d’Etat: Moroccan migration policy changes as transformation of ‘geopolitical culture.’ *The Journal of North African Studies*, 20(4), 590–604. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2015.1065043>

<sup>14</sup> Jiménez-Alvarez, M. G., Espiñeira, K., & Gazzotti, L. (2020). Migration policy and international human rights frameworks in Morocco: tensions and contradictions. *The Journal of North African Studies*, 26(5), 893–911. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2020.1800208>

<sup>15</sup> Annual Reports. (n.d.). *Conseil National Des Droits de l’Homme*. <https://www.cndh.ma/fr>

alignment with the EU requirements in terms of human rights. Finally, Turkey and Morocco made important steps through the implementation of new migration policies that have impacted their relations with the EU as well as their management of migration. However, Morocco has been criticized because of its lack of measures to combat racial discrimination and its lack of harmonization in implementing the legal framework. On the other side, Turkey implemented a new set of policies to be aligned with the EU values in terms of migration integration but, recently, it enlarged its visa policy to foster the relationship with its southern/east neighborhood which hurts their possibilities of getting into the European Union. However, the Turkish government made progress in integrating migrants, especially Syrian refugees since the beginning of the civil war in 2011.

#### 2.4 Socio-Economic Integration of Migrants in Turkey and Morocco

A. Kynsilehto in her journal article “Making Do as a Migrant in Morocco: Between Formal Recognition and True Integration”<sup>16</sup>, using ethnographic methods, analyzed the migrant’s experience in Morocco through the process of integration. He described integration with a two-fold approach: integration through the actions taken by the state that allow migrants to be part of society where the actions will help migrants to get access to the labor market, education, and language, and to take part in politics. He makes a distinction between “de facto” integration and “everyday integration” where migrants are already integrated because they are working before the implementation of formal policies. Following this distinction, he explained that there are processes of racialization that have a direct impact on migrants. The use of violence is a means that might discriminate them which leads to the impossibility of feeling securely included in Moroccan society. Even if the government made improvements and

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<sup>16</sup> Kynsilehto, A. (n.d.). Making Do as a Migrant in Morocco: Between Formal Recognition and True Integration. *Routledge*, 21(2), 158–170. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2022.2128493>

created policies that have goals to enhance their integration, the author said that, after the first regularization campaign in 2015, the labor market was still difficult to access for migrants while the informal labor market was still the first option for them. However, NGOs offer programs that help them acquire skills and training that are useful to find a formal job. Most migrants work as street vendors, clothing and food stores while some of them work in import-export companies but they need strong skills in logistics which could be complicated to get. They have also the possibility to work as domestic, hairdressers or in associations. Then, it is also difficult for them to open their businesses because an owner can't create a company if he has only one year of residence which is the case for most migrants in Morocco. In contrast, in Turkey, as B. Suter argues in her extensive ethnographic work named "Migration and the formation of transnational economic networks between Africa and Turkey: the socio-economic establishment of migrants *in situ* and in mobility"<sup>17</sup> where she interviewed African people living in Istanbul, people are moving to Turkey for mainly two reasons: as a way to transit to Europe or to come back to their countries after gaining education and/or job experiences or as a way to migrate for a longterm stay to operate business trade. The particular relationship between Turkey and some African countries in terms of transnational business led to offering socio-economic stability and mobility<sup>18</sup>. The fact that migrants migrate and settle in Turkey to make trade encourages people from the same country to move. Similarly to Morocco, some Africans in Turkey are in a more precarious situation and need to sell goods in the streets by doing odd jobs without any contracts. One of the first preoccupations of Africans living in Istanbul (42%) is the financial problem linked to their unstable income. Because of the difficulties in finding official jobs, people survive with marginal activities where they only gain

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<sup>17</sup> Suter, B. (2016). Migration and the formation of transnational economic networks between Africa and Turkey: the socio-economic establishment of migrants *in situ* and in mobility. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 10(3), 313–326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17528631.2016.1157931>

<sup>18</sup> Türkiye-Africa Relations. (n.d.). *Republic of Türkiye - Ministry of Foreign Affairs*. <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkiye-africa-relations.en.mfa>

a sub-minimum wage. However, some of them find a sustainable activity by working in the suitcase trade.

In terms of education, since 2013, authors said that migrants in Morocco have had access to education through public schools but they might face some issues with the language, especially because some parents are not able to help their children with school assignments. The faith might be also a challenge for families because some migrants are from countries where the prominent religion is catholicism, for instance, the Republic of Congo counts more than 60% of Catholics. It could be an issue for migrant families because Moroccan public schools give an Islamic education. Furthermore, associations help also children to be more integrated into Moroccan life by offering language lessons but, the author claimed that there are no interactions between Moroccan and migrant children which restrains them from being integrally part of the school society. Similarly, regular migrants have access to education through public schools but, if they have an irregular status, they can't have access to it. So, they register their children in church schools where most of them are free of charge<sup>19</sup>. However, in Turkey, people who migrate are mostly from Muslim countries (Syria, Iran, Afghanistan, and Middle Eastern countries) so their religious integration could be easier even if there are differences among Muslim schools where Iranians are mostly Shia while Turkish population is mainly following the Sunnite branch of Islam. Notwithstanding, one of the main issues in terms of education is also language which could be an important barrier but associations offer language classes as well.

Following education, the healthcare system in Morocco has been improving since non-Moroccans can receive basic healthcare without paying anything but they need to be officially registered which is possible only for people with a valid residence permit. Then, for Africans

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<sup>19</sup> Brewer, K. T., & Yükeker, D. (2005). *A Survey on African Migrants and Asylum Seekers in Istanbul* [Koç University]. [https://afmig2tr.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Brewer\\_Kelly-Todd--Yukseker\\_Deniz\\_-2006.pdf](https://afmig2tr.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Brewer_Kelly-Todd--Yukseker_Deniz_-2006.pdf)

in Turkey, thanks to the survey conducted in Istanbul, access to medical services is unbalanced depending on the legal status of people. Because of this inconsistency, migrants have access to medical care by using “ill-treatment by strangers” which is the second preoccupation of Africans in Istanbul followed by the housing issue. A lot of people from Africa suffer from tuberculosis and require specific treatment while they don’t get serious care. As it was mentioned before, housing is a prominent issue because people from Africa might have trouble finding affordable and livable flats. It is common to find old flats with a lack of heating and infected with insects. Finally, both countries have made progress in terms of socioeconomic integration of migrants while there are still main issues such as the language barrier, the access to a proper healthcare system, and the difficulties to find proper housing.

## 2.5 Social Cohesion, Identity and Integration Challenges

A.Kynsilehto also argues that immigrant integration in Morocco is a governance technique that implied a lack of integration policies in the Moroccan Constitution<sup>20</sup>. The unwillingness to address proper policies for immigrants came from the fact that most officials thought that migrants in Morocco were only passing through the country to reach Europe and that they would never settle in Morocco. On the one hand, it is shown that growing numbers of migrants have goals to stay in Morocco because of the dangers of reaching Europe now. Also, the growing economy as well as the attractiveness of Morocco as a safe and viable country make people willing to stay longer. On another hand, many people migrating to Morocco are going there to study or work but they want to go to Europe as a final migratory goal when they feel ready even if the road is dangerous. The other major reason why the government doesn’t want to create integration policies is because officials think that when they create those policies,

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<sup>20</sup> Kynsilehto, A. (n.d.). Making Do as a Migrant in Morocco: Between Formal Recognition and True Integration. *Routledge*, 21(2), 158–170. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2022.2128493>

it would serve as a welcoming factor which is still not considered a positive factor. Furthermore, he claimed that the government needs to address structural problems which are rooted in Moroccan society. One of the structural problems is the precarious living conditions of people, non-nationals and nationals. There is a huge gap between social classes in Morocco and it became difficult for them to live a “standard life” which led to a lack of prospects for building a meaningful life<sup>21</sup>. Finally, in 2014 and 2017, Moroccan officials improved the regulation of immigration by offering legal status to migrants with two significant regularization operations. However, in 2020, the Moroccan government readjusted the criteria for migrants’ status which has impacted first, the image of migrants and put them in a vulnerable position. Whereas migrants are suffering for not being integrated, some of them succeeded in a de-facto integration because of their implications in Moroccan society. Similarly, in Turkey, both authors K. Brewer and D. Yüксеker in their work “A Survey on African Migrants and Asylum Seekers in Istanbul”<sup>22</sup> conducted interviews among Africans living in Istanbul to understand their feelings about being integrated into Turkish society. First, Africans reported that they don’t feel discriminated but most of them added that when they need to have access to social services it could be complicated because of the language barriers. It might also be difficult to interact and create a sense of belonging without knowing the language. However, authors argue that Africans have places where they can socialize and interact with Turkish people such as football matches and reggae clubs.

*“a location in which one’s national ethnic group has already formed an (economically) integrated social network has a different impact on a migrant’s mobility trajectories than a*

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<sup>21</sup> Foukassa-Behrens, D., & Kabis-Kechrid, L. L. (2020). *Morocco’s Socio-Economic Challenges* (p. 52). DGAP. <https://dgap.org/en/research/publications/moroccos-socio-economic-challenges>

<sup>22</sup> Brewer, K. T., & Yüксеker, D. (2005). *A Survey on African Migrants and Asylum Seekers in Istanbul* [Koç University]. [https://afmig2tr.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Brewer\\_Kelly-Todd\\_-Yukseker\\_Deniz\\_-2006.pdf](https://afmig2tr.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Brewer_Kelly-Todd_-Yukseker_Deniz_-2006.pdf)

*transit space where there is a non-organized form of a social network, and in which the members of one's potential network are in the same precarious situation as the newcomer him/herself.*"<sup>23</sup> B. Suter

### **3 Theoretical Framework**

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The research will address the following research question: To what extent did the European immigration policies impact the phenomenon of migration in Turkey and Morocco during the European migration crisis? Following the research question, some subquestions need to be formulated to deepen the understanding of the problem. The first subquestion is: What is the impact of the European immigration policies on Turkish and Moroccan immigration policies? When answering this first subquestion, the research will aim to compare and analyse how the European Immigration policies changed during the refugee crisis and how it has impacted the migration trends in both countries as well as their relationship with the EU. Through the use of the securitization concept, the research will bring evidence that the European Commission have changed their policies to answer the emergent need that brought the refugee crisis. Through the concept of externalization of borders, it will also emphasize the several agreements that made EU with both countries and how it changed the migration trends. Then, the second subquestion will explain how the European migration policies had played a role in raising concerns about immigration in both countries which ended into the implementation of new immigration systems in both countries. Thanks to a policy evaluation and content gathered from interviews conducted among workers in the migration field, the research will explain the outcomes and

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<sup>23</sup> Suter, B. (2016). Migration and the formation of transnational economic networks between Africa and Turkey: the socio-economic establishment of migrants *in situ* and in mobility. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 10(3), 313–326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17528631.2016.1157931>

challenges of the Turkish and Moroccan immigration policies implemented in 2013 which will include the concept of human security. The second subquestion is: What are the outcomes and challenges of the new migration policies in Turkey and Morocco? Finally, the third and last subquestion will be the core of the research: How did the new immigration policies in both countries impact the socio-economic integration of migrants in both countries? In using interviews with migrants, workers in the migration field as well as NGOs, the subquestions will explain how migrants experienced their settlement in Turkey and Morocco through a deep analysis of four important aspects of integration: access to education, healthcare, housing, and employment. The research will foster on the migrant's experience after being settled in those two countries that have been important hubs for migration between Global South and Europe.

### 3.1 Securitization Theory

#### 3.1.1 *Concept of Securitization*

The relevance of our research is based on the security concerns that can arise when talking about the implementation of new policies. As an important theory of Security Studies, the securitization theory will bring important support to the research to explain how migration became a prominent topic in the European debate in the last decade and how the leaders used a specific discourse to legitimize the implementation of new policies. The concept of securitization was developed by Waever, Busan and De Wilde in their work *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (1998)<sup>24</sup> where they explained that issues can be classified into three different categories: nonpoliticized, politicized, and securitized. The last classification is defined by the fact that the issue is considered an existential threat that requires the use of extraordinary measures:

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<sup>24</sup> Busan, B., Waever, O., & De Wilde, J. (1998). *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. Lynce Rienner Publishers.  
[https://books.google.fr/books?id=j4BGr-Eisp8C&pg=PP5&lr=&hl=fr&source=gbs\\_selected\\_pages&cad=1#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.fr/books?id=j4BGr-Eisp8C&pg=PP5&lr=&hl=fr&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=1#v=onepage&q&f=false)



*“If by means of an argument about the priority and urgency of an existential threat the securitizing actor has managed to break free of procedures or rules he or she would otherwise be bound by, we are witnessing a case of securitization”* Busan, B., Waever, O., & De Wilde, J. (1998).

As one of the main authors introducing the concept of securitization, he also explained the securitization of migration as a new phenomenon that appeared after the Cold War era. Indeed, he argued that people tend to detach themselves from the nation-state so they are now relying more on their own cultural identities which will create differences among them and, therefore, conflicts. He explained that the new nation-states from Eastern Europe and the fragile Middle East created waves of migration that would be later considered by political elites as societal threats<sup>25</sup>. To follow that argument, J. Huysmans wrote about the securitization of migration in Europe in explaining the evolution of how elites changed their discourses about migration and how the concept of migration became a threat throughout time. He stated that at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, immigration became a concern topic in public debate. While migrants came in the 1960s thanks to an open and flexible immigration policy, later nation-states started to implement restrictive policies because of the shift in the labor market as well as to protect the rights of domestic workers. Furthermore, as the migration population increased, Western Europe started to think about potential regulation of population flows and implemented the Dublin Convention. As such, the Convention stated that each asylum application needs to be submitted in one state which is related to the place of application and family connections. This Convention first aimed to reduce the number of applicants who want to enter Europe through toughening the conditions of application<sup>26</sup>. There were several restrictive European policies implemented to control and manage migration throughout Europe

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<sup>25</sup> Waever, Ole, Buzan, Kelstrup, & Lemaitre. (1993). Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe. *EuropeNow*. <https://www.europenowjournal.org/partners/secureu/resources-and-tools/identity-migration-and-the-new-security-agenda-in-europe/>

<sup>26</sup> Huysmans, J. (2000). The European Union and the Securitization of Migration. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), 751–777.

in the 80s because of the problematization of migration. The European leaders stated that the increasing flow of migrants will threaten the public order as well as the cultural identity of the nation-state. For the research, the securitization concept is understandable through the need to answer the refugee crisis that happened in 2011 following the civil war in Syria. The European politics stated the need to restrain the entrance to Europe because of the potential dangers that come from migration such as terrorism. As such, the European Commission, after securitizing the migration topic, implemented more restrictive policies that will be explained later. Then, the EU fostered its relations with neighboring countries to support them in terms of migration's management through the use of externalization of borders.

### 3.1.2 *Externalization of Borders through Securitization*

The process of securitization of migration leads to creating and sustaining the idea of a security threat linked to the migration process. When using the speech act theory, politicians and securitizing actors are describing the concept of migration as an existential threat to the stability of a nation<sup>27</sup>. After that governments stated that the phenomenon of migration is a threat to the stability and economy of the European Union, they got the opportunity to justify extraordinary measures. As such, through policy support and legal frameworks, the EU implemented several new laws during the refugee crisis. As the research will explain later, during and after the refugee crisis, the EU implemented new policies to manage the important flow of migrants from Syria. In March 2016, the EU made an important agreement with Turkey called the EU-Turkey migration deal which is a financial support of 3 billion from Europe to help Turkey manage and give assistance to refugees in Turkey<sup>28</sup>. This agreement received

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<sup>27</sup> Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge University Press).  
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/speech-acts/D2D7B03E472C8A390ED60B86E08640E7>

<sup>28</sup> European Council. (2016). EU-Turkey statement. *European Council of The European Union*.  
<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/03/18/eu-turkey-statement/>

criticism because of the potential human rights violations but, also brought short-term solutions to manage the migration crisis. Alongside the EU-Turkey deal, between 2015 and 2016, several European policies were implemented in terms of managing borders. For instance, the implementation of the European Border and Coast Guard (2016) controls and manages the external borders to provide a high level of security<sup>29</sup>.

### 3.1.3 Policy Implications of Externalization of Borders

To follow, the process of securitization results in the creation and implementation of specific policies that can be accepted by the population. As an example, the 1993 Pasqua law implemented in France was the result of a growing sentiment anti-immigrant that arose in the mid-80s as well as the public discourse that raised the question of immigration as a matter of security. The new law was considered an extremely severe and restrictive law that restricted the entry of foreigners at the French borders and that controlled the status of former migrants living in France<sup>30</sup>. The implementation of laws at the national level came from the shift in the political debate about the question of migration as a matter of security. At the same time, the European Union implemented the Schengen Agreement, in 1985 in which the control of internal borders was slowly abolished in a specific designed territory. The implementation of the Schengen Zone decreased the control of internal borders however it increased the control of external borders which created the "European fortress"<sup>31</sup>. Through the use of the securitization concept, the research will focus on how the European political debate focused on the question of immigration because of the massive flow of migration during the refugee crisis.

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<sup>29</sup> Council of Europe. (2016). European Border and Coast Guard: Council confirms agreement with Parliament. *European Council of The European Union*. <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/06/22/border-and-coast-guard/>

<sup>30</sup> Scullion, R. (1995). *Vicious Circles: Immigration and National Identity in Twentieth Century France*. 24(76/77), 30–48. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3685089>

<sup>31</sup> Huysmans, J. (2000). The European Union and the Securitization of Migration. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), 751–777.

The implementation of a new set of policies has impacted the countries located at the gate of Europe. Furthermore, it relocated the place where migrants could settle and created a buffer zone outside of the European borders. Through the analysis of the implications of externalization of borders which are the agreements made between Turkey, Morocco, and Europe as well as the new policies that strengthen the control of borders, the research will show that transit countries are slowly becoming receiving countries because migrants are forced to settle outside of Europe.

## 3.2 Human security

### 3.2.1 *Human Security Concept*

The implementation of restrictive laws which are the result of the externalization of borders through the securitization process, has impacted countries at the gate of Europe and their societies. Then, it is necessary to define the concept of human security to understand the consequences of securitization of migration on societies and on individuals. Indeed, the concept of human security started to be discussed in the middle of the 1970s thanks to several economics researchers who criticized the actual world order in which the individual was not at the center when talking about security. Security was related to the nation-state and the government but not directly to the individual. At that period, the World Order Models Project (WOMP) brought a new way of thinking about world affairs. This project gathered several scholars such as Saul B. Mendowitz and Rajni Kothari to discuss and bring alternative solutions to world issues such as poverty, urban development, and inflation<sup>32</sup>. One prominent figure who developed the concept of human security, Mahbubul Haq, defined the concept of human security as the security of people, security of individuals, security through development, and security of all people everywhere. Then, he explained the need to build a Human Word Order using five important steps. The first step is the need to enhance the sustainability of human

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<sup>32</sup> Bajpai, K. (2000). *Human Security: Concept and Measurement*. Jawaharlal Nehru University.

development by offering growth opportunities to everyone. Then, the second step is linked to the need to shift from the prominent need for countries to possess weapons to a more centered human approach to life. Furthermore, the third step, following the idea of the second, asks for the need to create a real and strong relationship between the North and South countries, a relationship based on a clever exchange where both sides can benefit equally. The fourth step calls for the improvement of global governance with the need to reform international organizations to balance the relationship between the poor and rich states. Finally, the last and fifth step is the importance of enhancing the power of global civil society. In fact, states don't have the same power as before, people can put pressure on governments which means that they have the power to change the socio-political environment of their state<sup>33</sup>.

### 3.2.2 *Humanitarian Issues*

Following the definition of human security as one of the concepts of our research, it is important to analyze how European policies are in accordance or not with the concepts of human security. Several authors working in the migration field used the concept of human securitization to explain the relationship between human security concerns and the need to secure borders through the implementation of specific policies. M. Stepka wrote about the impact of European migration policies after the 2015 migration crisis on humanitarian concerns. The author said that, during and after the migration crisis in 2015, governments and media framed the public debate when talking about the need to secure European borders. Then, the author argued that there is a close link between security and humanitarian concerns and that's why governments should take into consideration both concepts when implementing policies. The securitization of borders answered the necessity to manage the flow of migrants

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<sup>33</sup> Haq, M. (1995). *New Imperatives of Human Security*. Kapur Surya Foundation, 4(1).  
[https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/45064264.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A95b58d85460079d8d17a91d50fc1dbb7&ab\\_segments=&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1](https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/45064264.pdf?refreqid=fastly-default%3A95b58d85460079d8d17a91d50fc1dbb7&ab_segments=&origin=&initiator=&acceptTC=1)

during the crisis in 2015 but it also pushed back people from Europe which impacted the countries at the edge such as Turkey and Morocco considered transit countries. At this point of the research, the term of “country of transit needs to be defined:

*“The country through which migration flows (regular or irregular) move; this means the country (or countries), different from the country of origin, which a migrant passes through in order to enter a country of destination.”*<sup>34</sup> From the European Commission.

The first concept of externalization of borders will show that the European immigration policies changed the migration trends in Turkey and Morocco. They became destination countries and not only transit countries which impacted their societies. To answer the important flow of migration, both countries implemented new policies to manage migration. But also, the European immigration policies had supported policies that raised humanitarian concerns such as the creation of deportation camps in Turkey. Both European immigration policies and new policies implemented by Turkey and Morocco created humanitarian issues that will be explained in the following section.

### 3.2.3 *Policy evaluation: Outcomes and Challenges of Turkish and Moroccan immigration policies*

In terms of policy framework, both countries have implemented several regulations and laws during the refugee crisis. In Turkey, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) which was adopted in 2013 by the General Assembly of the Parliament, brought new procedures regarding the entry, stay, and exit of foreigners in Turkey as well as the protection that is required for people who seek protection from Turkey<sup>35</sup>. Furthermore, the Temporary Protection Regulation (TPR) was an exceptional law adopted for Syrian refugees in 2014, based in the basis of Article 91 of Law No.6458 on Foreigners and International Protection.

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<sup>34</sup> European Commission. (n.d.). *Definition of “country of transit.”* [https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/country-transit\\_en#:~:text=The%20country%20through%20which%20migration,enter%20a%20country%20of%20destination%20](https://home-affairs.ec.europa.eu/networks/european-migration-network-emn/emn-asylum-and-migration-glossary/glossary/country-transit_en#:~:text=The%20country%20through%20which%20migration,enter%20a%20country%20of%20destination%20)

<sup>35</sup> *Law on Foreigners and International Protection.* (2013). 53(5). <https://en.goc.gov.tr/kurumlar/en.goc/Ingilizce-kanun/Law-on-Foreigners-and-International-Protection.pdf>

The main objective of this new regulation is to determine the procedures under which people can have temporary protection from Turkey which includes their reception, their stay, their rights, and obligations<sup>36</sup>. People who were forced to leave the country and were unable to enter their countries again which was the case after the Syrian civil war that began in 2011 entered Turkey under the temporary protection regime. This new regime provides reception and accommodation centers, access to healthcare, education and social services as well several integration programs (language classes and professional trainings). Then, the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) was created in 2013 and is responsible for the administration of migration policies where people can make appointments related to their migrant status as well as where to ask for residence permit cards<sup>37</sup>. At the international level, Turkey has ratified several international agreements related to human rights. The 1951 Refugee Convention and its Protocol (1967) were one of the agreements that Turkey adopted. In brief, the Convention brought a set of laws that protect refugees at the international level from discrimination regarding race, religion, sex, age, disability, sexuality or country of origin, penalization and follows the principle of non-refoulment which is the possibility of expelling or returning to refugees to their countries where they might face threats or fears<sup>38</sup>.

Besides Turkey, Morocco has also adopted and ratified several national and international laws related to the management of migration and its concordance with human rights. First, the Moroccan government launched a new strategy on Immigration and Asylum (NSIA) in 2014 to improve the integration of migrants and refugees into Moroccan society. The two regularization campaigns made in 2014 and 2017 are examples of the willingness to regulate the situation of migrants in Morocco and to grant them legal status. Thanks to this campaign of regularization, more than 45,000 immigrants were granted residence permits as

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<sup>36</sup> Government of Turkey. (2013). *Temporary Protection Regulation*. <https://www.goc.gov.tr/kurumlar/goc.gov.tr/Gecici-Koruma-Yonetmeli-Ingilizce.pdf>

<sup>37</sup> Government of Turkey. (n.d.). *Republic of Türkiye, Ministry of Interior, Presidency of Migration Management*. <https://en.goc.gov.tr/>

<sup>38</sup> The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR). (n.d.). *Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees*. <https://www.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/legacy-pdf/3b66c2aa10.pdf>

well as they now have access to education, healthcare, and training to get specific skills<sup>39</sup>. With the help of NGOs and international organizations, migrants receive help for legal aid as well as they have access to social integration programs. In terms of institutions, Morocco manages migration through the “Ministère des Affaires étrangères, de la Coopération Africaine et des Marocains Résident à l’Étranger » that take care of the implementation of migration policies<sup>40</sup>. Likewise Turkey, and Morocco also ratified the Geneva Convention in 1951.

Both countries, thanks to the implementation of new procedures, had made progress in terms of giving a legal status with access to essential services such as healthcare, education, and job opportunities. However, in Turkey, the colossal numbers of Syrians entering the country have created a shortage of resources. The Turkish government was limited in terms of financial and infrastructural resources which restrained people working in the field from providing with all the required needs which was the same case in Morocco. The fact that a huge wave of people entered the country in a short period demanded a proper management of resources to answer the crisis while a sustainable economy is needed to require long-term objectives to welcome every people in need. Because of this shortage in resources, in both countries, the social aspect of integration is weakened. In Turkey, social tensions have risen since the arrival of Syrians in the country which has led to violent conflicts<sup>41</sup> on specific occasions and discrimination in the long run. In Morocco, migrants don’t face violence but their integration is inconsistent because of the lack of resources as well as some discrimination and problems to be socially accepted.

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<sup>39</sup>European Training Foundation. (2021). *Skills and Migration Country Fiche Morocco*. [https://www.etf.europa.eu/sites/default/files/2022-05/ETF%20Skills%20and%20Migration%20Country%20Fiche%20MOROCCO\\_2021\\_EN%20Final.pdf](https://www.etf.europa.eu/sites/default/files/2022-05/ETF%20Skills%20and%20Migration%20Country%20Fiche%20MOROCCO_2021_EN%20Final.pdf)

<sup>40</sup>Foukassa-Behrens, D., & Kabis-Kechrid, L. L. (2018). *Morocco's Socio-Economic Challenges: Employment, Education, and Migration* (p. 52). DGAP. <https://dgap.org/en/research/publications/moroccos-socio-economic-challenges>

<sup>41</sup>Protests and arrests as anti-Syrian riots rock Turkey. (2024). *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/2/protests-and-arrests-as-anti-syrian-riots-rock-turkey>



The Human Security concept will explain how the new immigration policies in Morocco and Turkey following the refugee crisis and the restrictive European policies that pushed back migrants in both countries, have impacted their societies and how it created humanitarian issues. Both countries received financial support and fostered their relationship with Europe but, they are still facing challenges in terms of managing irregular migration and deportation.

### 3.3 Concept of Socio-economic Integration:

#### 3.3.1 *Dimensions of Socio-Economic Integration*

To follow the human rights concerns and also to get better social cohesion between the welcoming countries and the migrants living in their host country, governments need to integrate their migrants. The concept of socioeconomic integration is a process where people from minorities or immigrants are fully integrated into the host country where they live. When talking about full integration, people need to be incorporated into the cultural, social, and economic life of the host country<sup>42</sup>. In order to feel completely integrated, governments need to focus on six important dimensions: employment, education, healthcare, housing, social and civic participation, and cultural integration. First, economic integration follows the principle that everyone should have access to the labor market depending on their skills and qualifications while income should allow individuals to live a decent life. Second, the integration through education should give access to education and access to public schools to everyone without any discrimination. In terms of access to housing, everyone including immigrants needs to have access to stable and affordable houses. Also, healthcare should be accessible to every person living in the country, and not only basic healthcare but also mental health care which is most of the time never free even for citizens. Alongside, access to social

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<sup>42</sup> Heath, A., & Li, Y. (2014). What do we know about socio-economic integration, and what are the key emerging issues? *COMPAS*. <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publication/what-do-we-know-about-socio-economic-integration-and-what-are-the-key-emerging-issues>

services such as psychologists but also associations who help migrants should be easy and reliable. Furthermore, immigrants should participate in the social life of the host country, they should have a voice in political processes and participate in social activities as much as citizens of the country. Thanks to this civic participation and community involvement, migrants could create a sense of community among other migrants but, also among citizens from the host country. This is an important dimension for improving social cohesion among people from different backgrounds living in the same society. Finally, the cultural dimension of integration has always been underestimated but when a society succeed in integrating its migrants into cultural life through social activities, concerts, and gatherings, a sense of identity and belonging could be created. From both sides, immigrants and citizens, people can learn from different cultures. Those six dimensions are the basis of proper integration into a new society.

### 3.3.2 Challenges

First, one main challenge is discrimination which is a rooted process where people treat other people differently because of their race, color of skin, or gender. Discrimination will make a distinction between “normal” people and outsiders and it will create a separation, for example, between citizens and immigrants. Usually, discrimination is used by citizens and not by governments directly. However, governments could also be a challenge for integration if they restrict access to the labor market or healthcare through the implementation of discriminatory policies towards immigrants<sup>43</sup>. Depending on the host country, most of the time, migrants suffer from economic issues because of their precarious situation. Now, it is also complicated for them to improve their situation because of the world economic crisis since the pandemic. As it was mentioned before, cultural integration is an important dimension when talking about immigration integration. However, it is also the most challenging dimension.

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<sup>43</sup> Botrić, V. (2016). Attitudes Towards Immigrants, Immigration Policies and Labour Market Outcomes: Comparing Croatia with Hungary and Slovenia. *Croatian International Relations Review*, 22 (76), 5-28. <https://doi.org/10.1515/cirr-2016-0004>

People have different religions, different traditions, and different languages and they come to a new country where every cultural dimension is different from their culture. It could be complicated for migrants to understand how society works and to be acclimated to their new community. Thanks to associations and NGOs, they receive important support. The research will show how Turkish and Moroccan society has been integrating their migrants since the refugee crisis in only four aspects of the socio-economic integration: access to education, healthcare, employment and housing because of it will focus on the data collected throughout interviews. Then, it will analyze the challenges of their integration.

## **4 Methodology**

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The research will aim to compare Turkey and Morocco in terms of migration trends. It will focus on the shift in terms of the EU's migration policies and how it has impacted the two states after the migration crisis. The research will then analyze the new migration policies implemented by both countries in response to the migration crisis. Then, it will emphasize the migrants' experience in both countries in terms of socio-economic integration. As the research will mostly focus on data collection from primary and secondary data such as archived documents from Google Scholar, JSTOR, and other open-source websites as well as interviews conducted among professionals working in the migration field, a qualitative method will be used through two explanatory case studies: Turkey and Morocco. The purpose of the methodology chapter is to provide a comprehensive description of the methods that the research will use to answer the research question and to achieve the objectives of the research. Also, the methodology section is used to know how the study was designed as well as how the research settings were chosen. It will introduce how the data was collected and how the research will analyse the data gathered. Then, the validity of the study and its limitations will be mentioned to frame the research. To restate the topic, the research question is: To what extent did the

European immigration policies impact the phenomenon of migration in Turkey and Morocco during the European refugee crisis? Following the research question, some subquestions were added to logically and properly answer the research question. The first subquestion is: What is the impact of the European migration policies on Turkish and Moroccan migration policies? Thanks to open-source articles and literature as well data from interviews, the research will analyze how the new policies implemented during impacted the immigration policies in Turkey and Morocco. With the use of securitization and externalization of borders, it will explain the implications of the European migration policies on Turkey and Morocco. Then, the second subquestion is: What are the outcomes and challenges of the new migration policies in Turkey and Morocco? Thanks to a policy evaluation and data collected from documents, the research will analyse Turkish and Moroccan immigration policies to conclude if they respect human rights. Finally, the third sub-question is: How did the new immigration policies impact the socio-economic integration of migrants in both countries? Thanks to interviews conducted among migrants in both countries, the research will compare how both governments tried to include their migrants into their societies.

#### 4.1 Research Design and Context of the Study

The research is a qualitative study that uses primary and secondary data from the Internet such as archived documents from Google Scholar, JSTOR, and other open-source websites. I chose to do a qualitative method of research because of the nature of the research question. The research question aims to answer the impact of European policies on the phenomenon of migration in two transit countries. The two first sub-questions will use data from the Internet as well as information that I got from interviews with professionals working in the migration field. The last sub-question focuses more on understanding the migrants' experiences so the research will use data collected from several interviews conducted among

migrants in both countries. The research design involves a case-study approach that focuses on two countries: Turkey and Morocco and will analyze the similarities and differences between both countries in terms of how European policies impacted migration patterns as well as how it has impacted their migration policies. Then, the research will analyze the socio-political system of both countries and how they manage to integrate their migrants after implementing their new policies. The research decided to focus on Turkey and Morocco because both countries, due to their geographical position, have a strategic location when talking about migration. Both countries are located at the gateway to Europe and are at the center of important migratory routes (*see Appendix no. 1*). They are both considered transit countries but also, recently, as destination countries because of the difficulties for migrants to reach Europe. As the research will explain their close location with Europe impacted directly the migration trends in both countries. In previous studies, several scholars already compared both countries such as Hein de Haas who worked in both countries and explained the future trends of migration in Turkey and Morocco. Also, Yildiz made a comprehensive analysis of the impact of European migration policies on Turkey and Morocco. Furthermore, both countries have agreements with Europe because of the recent increasing number of migrants which makes them comparable in terms of how they change their national policies following European norms.

#### 4.2 Participants

The research chose to interview professionals who work in the migration field from IOM (International Organization for Migration) which is an important organization that works on migration management, the promotion of international cooperation and the protection of human rights<sup>44</sup>. From this organization, I interviewed Johann Barbé who is the Head of the Programmes and Deputy Chief of Mission in Morocco based in Rabat (*see Appendix no 2*). In

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<sup>44</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2024). *Who We Are*. <https://www.iom.int/who-we-are>

Turkey, I interviewed Claudia Natali who is the Deputy Chief of Mission in Turkey based in Ankara (*see Appendix no 3*). Following those interviews, two associations in Turkey and Morocco were approached to gather information on the research topic: Afghan Refugees Solidarity Association (ARSA)<sup>45</sup> based in Kayseri where three professionals, Zakira Hekmat who is the President of ARSA, Özcan Çetin who is the Project Coordinator and Fatema Farahmand who is psychologist were interviewed (*see Appendix no 4*) as well as refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iran (*see Appendix no 5*). In Morocco, I travelled to Casablanca to meet people working at RIM Espoir et Developpement<sup>46</sup> where I interviewed two professionals working in the association, Khadija Fassali who is the President of RIM Espoir, and Fatima Fassali who works as External Communication Manager at RIM Espoir (*see Appendix no 6*). Then, I interviewed migrants from both countries. First, in Morocco, I met seven people from Sub-Saharan African countries. Five people were from the Ivory Coast, one from Congo, and one from Senegal. I chose people from different countries, with no consideration of their ages and gender to get a better sample representation. It was difficult to find people who arrived before 2015 so I chose to talk with people who migrated later to Morocco: one person came in 2022 and two in 2019, two came in 2018, one came in 2012, and another one in 2008 (*see Appendix no 7*). Second, in Turkey, I had discussions with seven people from African countries who moved to Istanbul. Two people are from Senegal, two people are from Uganda, one person is from Congo, one is from Gabon and one is from Comores (*see Appendix no 8*). I chose to interview people from Africa who migrate to Turkey because, first the research about African migration in Turkey is under-covered in the academic literature and it is more relevant to compare people who are from the same continent when they migrate to another country. To get

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<sup>45</sup> Afghan Refugees Solidarity Association (ARSA). (2024). *History: About us*. <https://arsa.org.tr/EN/History#:~:text=The%20Afghan%20Refugees%20Solidarity%20Association.in%20various%20provinces%20of%20Turkey>

<sup>46</sup> Association Rim Espoir et Developpement. (n.d.). *Facebook*. <https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=574607130853380&set=a.574607084186718>

more information, I also asked questions about three refugees from Syria, one from Iran, and three people from Afghanistan who moved to Turkey (*see Appendix no. 5*).

#### 4.3 Data Collection Methods and Analysis

In terms of the data collection method, the research will use academic literature, books, journal papers, articles, reports from NGOs, and interviews to explain the evolution of migration trends in Turkey and Morocco as well as their relationship with the EU through the analysis of the new set of European policies made during the refugee crisis to answer the first sub-question. It will explain how both countries have dealt with the EU's externalization of migration policies and how it has impacted the migration trends in both countries through the concept of securitization. Then, I will use data gathered during interviews with professionals and secondary data for the second subquestion which is the comparison between Turkey and Morocco in terms of respect for human rights related to immigration policies. People working with IOM Turkey and IOM Morocco were interviewed to answer questions about general trends of migration in both countries after the refugee crisis as well as specific questions concerning the integration of migrants in both societies. Those answers will be used and analyze for all the subquestions. Thanks to interviews that were conducted among migrants in both countries, the research will compare data and analyze how the migrants feel integrated into both societies. Two explanatory case studies will be developed about Turkey's and Morocco's phenomenon of migration after the new set of European policies. Through pattern matching, the research will compare how both countries managed to answer the refugee crisis that started in 2011 and how they handled the new set of European migration policies. It will give a first framework where the research will show that both countries became destination countries more than a country where only people transit before going to Europe. After that, the research will analyze the new policies in both countries to know if they follow human rights

concerns or not. This second subquestion will explain that both countries made progress in terms of management of migration but they are still facing challenges. Finally, the research will compare both countries in terms of how they managed to integrate their migrants since the refugee crisis, it will explain the similarities as well as the differences in terms of integration. The socio-economic integration will be analyzed in 4 aspects: access to education, employment, healthcare, and housing. The cultural integration will be mentioned as well but it won't be deepened because of the lack of data from interviews.

#### 4.4 Validity of the Study, Reliability and Limitations

Finally, the research needs to ensure the reliability and validity of the process tracing analysis. The triangulation method will be used by analyzing different types of sources from different websites cited above and it will also gather data directly from people which will ensure a certain validity. Then, access to our research and verification by other researchers will ensure the reliability of the study by using transparency. Before conducting interviews, ethical considerations have been ensured. All interviewed participants needed to accept and consent to be interviewed and confidentiality and anonymity were maintained during the process of the research. Also, the secondary data needs to be used depending on the ethical guidelines. In both countries, the help from locals who can speak the language helped the accuracy of the data collected even if most of the migrants interviewed speak French or English.

Then, it is important to mention that the findings of this study will be interpreted by the researcher which can create personal bias and might influence the analysis of the findings. Because of the number of people (20 participants) interviewed by the researcher, which could be considered a small sample, the study needs to be understood within a particular context. Then, the selection of participants was based on the fact that they are migrants who settled either in Turkey or in Morocco so it is not possible to apply the study to a larger population.



Even if the researcher interviewed people of different ages, gender, or religion, it is not possible to generalize the study. The researcher interviewed fourteen African migrants in both countries, seven migrants in interviews in Istanbul, and seven migrants in a focus group in Casablanca and six people from Iran, Afghanistan and Syria. Eight people working in the migration field were also interviewed, either from international organizations or from NGOs. For the interviews conducted with people working in the field, the questions were prepared before and asked in order while the interviews for migrants were also first drafted but some interviews were conducted differently because the focus was on the migrant's experience. However, it is worth mentioning that interviews would not be able to give the full context of migrant's experiences. Because participants are humans, they can forget and transform some of their experiences so results need to be interpreted in consequence. As the study mentioned before, the researcher got in contact with two associations in both countries, so it is important that two associations can't represent associations in general in those countries. Whereas generalization is not possible in a qualitative study, the study aims to be transferable to other transit countries such as Tunisia and Lybia and it might be transferable to Mexico which has its borders with the United States but it is still different because the European Union doesn't play an important role in managing migration in Americas. I interpreted the data with the identification of patterns in both countries in terms of migration, which could be differently interpreted by other researchers. Then, the sensitive nature of the study might have impacted the answers to the interviews. When asking questions about their migratory experience as well as their experiences when settling in the host country, migrants might be not fully honest or accurate because potentially harmful souvenirs and uncomfortable situations lead them to faulty memories.

## 5 Two Case Studies

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### 5.1 Morocco

#### 5.1.1 *The Impact of Securitization of the European Immigration Policies on Moroccan Migration Trends and its Relationship with the EU*

Thanks to interviews with workers in the migration field as well as secondary data analyzed from the Internet, the study found that the European migration policies shifted during the refugee crisis. Starting after the Cold War era, the term security changed and was more focused at the European level which had directly impacted the policies that were implemented. The securitization of European borders started in the 1980s when countries in Europe started to implement more strict migration policies. Then, in the 2010s, an important flow of migrants during the refugee crisis, more than one million people, who tried to enter Europe to escape from the ongoing civil war in Syria had an important impact on the EU policies again<sup>47</sup>. The Syrian people were the most populated nationalities that were displaced but, during this same period, several other conflicts broke out in Iran, Afghanistan, and regions in Africa (Congo, Sudan, Somalia). Following that wave of migrants coming to Europe, the topic of migration became a more prominent topic in the European political sphere. For example, in France, Marine Le Pen, who was the leader of the extreme-right party, le Rassemblement National, emphasized the need to protect European borders from refugees and she criticized the “openness” of European migration policies. Other leaders, such as Viktor Orban, used similar rhetoric to justify his non-acceptance of refugees in Hungary<sup>48</sup>. The need to securitize the European borders became a real and important topic in the European Commission because of different factors. The need to quickly answer the ongoing crisis in which thousands of people were fleeing from their state, the humanitarian concerns that follow the Geneva Convention

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<sup>47</sup> Benam, Ç. H. (2011). Emergence of a “Big Brother” in Europe: Border control and securitization of migration. *Insight Turkey*, 13(3), 191–207.

<sup>48</sup> Green-Pedersen, C. (n.d.). A hot topic? Immigration on the agenda in Western Europe. *Sage Journals*, 25(3). <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1354068817728211>

which protects the rights of migrants as well as the security concerns developed by the populist political parties are several factors that encouraged modifications in terms of migration policies in the European Commission. In consequence, the European Commission during the peak of the refugee crisis, between 2015 and 2016, modified and implemented a new set of policies. First, the European Commission ratified the European Agenda on Migration in May 2015 which aimed to regulate the flow of migrants coming to the frontline countries with the help of Frontex, the European Border and Coast Guard (EBCG) implemented in December 2015, which aims to monitor borders rapidly with team intervention as well as to implement risk analysis that allows better identification of people crossing the borders. Following the implementation of new policies mostly concentrated at the borders of Europe, the European Commission also made partnerships with non-European countries situated at the borders of Europe. Because of its strategic location, Morocco was in the middle of the dialogue during the refugee crisis. So, the Khartoum Process launched in 2014, is a platform where countries situated between the Horn of Africa and Europe can have discussions about migration and mobility<sup>49</sup>. Then, the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF) launched in 2015, aimed to bring solutions to irregular migration and forced displacement by engaging African countries in dialogue. In terms of operational cooperation, the EU and Moroccan government worked together to manage migration through combatting human trafficking and they also made readmission agreements which have been controversial. In 2013, an EU-Morocco partnership was made about Migration and Mobility that helps to facilitate legal migration and to fight illegal migration. Those partnerships between Europe and Morocco show the willingness of both sides to manage migration through dialogue and operations. As J. Barbé (Deputy Chief of Mission – OIM Rabat) mentioned, since 2015, several programs have been created to help the management of migrants in Morocco. He also said that the data collection and the data

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<sup>49</sup> International Centre for Migration Policy Development. (2016). *The Khartoum Process*. <https://www.khartoumprocess.net/>

exchange between Morocco and the EU changed and the Moroccan government started to be more transparent. K. Fassali added that the international conventions had a great impact on the management of immigration and emigration in Morocco. However, the European migration policies didn't only create positive impacts. As such, throughout the externalization of European borders that explained the implementation of policies with exceptional measures linked to the emergency crisis, the EU impacted the Moroccan migration patterns. First, Europe and Morocco fostered their relationships to analyze the situation and find solutions which could be seen as a positive factor. But, as scholars argued, the EU also used the externalization of borders to push away migrants from Europe with different methods such as financial agreements, construction of detention centers and the use of security border forces. This phenomenon of externalization of borders had several impacts on Moroccan socio-political sphere and could be analyzed to see if they follow the fundamentals of human rights.

### *5.1.2 The new Moroccan Immigration Policies: Outcomes and Challenges*

The new European migration policies implemented after the refugee crisis had positive and negative impacts on Morocco. As it was mentioned before, the several partnerships between the EU and the Moroccan government made possible the dialogue between both entities and improved the relationship. However, as J. Barbé said during the interview, the new set of policies brought by the EU had also increased illegal migration because of the complexity of taking the regular and legal routes to attain Europe. During this same period, the political situation in the Republic Democratic of Congo became more complex as well as in Sudan which increased the number of migrants coming to Morocco. During the interview with K. Fassali and F. Fassali working at RIM Espoir in Casablanca, they mentioned that most of the migrants coming to Morocco are from Congo (Brazzaville and Kinshasa), Sénégal, Togo, Ivory Coast, Niger and Cameroun. When they were asked about the potential effects of the EU

policies, they answered that it shifted the status of Morocco which was seen as a transit country to a receiving country even if some migrants are still transiting to Europe through Morocco. They also mentioned that the main motivation for going to Morocco is first the need to escape from countries where the political and economic situation is in decline. Then, the actual economic situation of Morocco encourages people to stay there because they have better opportunities for their futures. All migrants that I interviewed saw themselves in Morocco for the future, some of them wanted to reach Europe but they said “It’s too complicated now” so they want to stay there. The EU policies also made the journey to Europe more difficult because of the need for migrants to cross the Mediterranean by themselves which means with the help of human smugglers. Consequently, it is worth mentioning that the policies implemented by the EU impacted the type of migration in Morocco because of the strengthening of security borders, people are less will to cross the Mediterranean Sea. The danger of crossing the Mediterranean Sea as well as its cost are two main reasons that restrict people from coming to Europe. Because of those restrictive policies which impacted the willingness for people to go to Europe, it changed the migration trend in Morocco. And, as it was mentioned before, Morocco became a destination country where people may settle for a long-term process. So, to answer this shift, Morocco needed to make a lot of modifications in terms of migration policies. First, they did two regularization campaigns, one in 2014 and another one in 2017 which helped to accept and integrate migrants into the Moroccan society. As F. Fassali mentioned during her interview, the Moroccan government made that regularization effort because of the increasing number of people coming to Morocco without any status and the need to answer to the refugee crisis. Those campaigns helped to recognize that Morocco was, in fact, a country of immigration and, not only a country of transit migration toward Europe. Also, as mentioned in the literature review and emphasized by J.Barbé, several scandals linked to the treatment of migrants in Morocco, which didn’t follow the human rights law, engaged the

government to take steps to protect and ensure a safe environment for migrants. In terms of international reputation, Morocco got severe criticism when talking about the management of migration. For example, the report of CHDH showed that the government was far from respecting European norms in terms of human rights. Following that, recently in 2022, in Mellila which is the Spanish Enclave in the North of Morocco (*Appendix no. 9*) where thousands of migrants in irregular situations are waiting to go to Europe, several people died because of the attempt to cross the borders and the violent repression of border security<sup>50</sup>. In conclusion, the externalization of borders made by the EU in implementing security measures at the borders forced people to stay outside of Europe. It became too difficult and too dangerous to cross the borders and to settle in Europe so migrants are forced to stay in the neighborhood countries such as Morocco. Consequently, Morocco became a country that receiving thousands of migrants and needed to manage their settlements and integration. Through the implementation of a new system and regularization campaigns, Morocco changed its immigration policies. Then, in terms of respect for human rights, the externalization of borders used by the EU impact Morocco because it created a buffer zone where migrants don't know where to go. In response to the international humanitarian concerns and the need to answer the crisis, Morocco made great improvements in framing and implementing a new migration system and in implementing regularization campaigns. However, issues at the borders with Spain show the need to address new challenges posed by the security at the borders between Morocco and the EU.

### *5.1.3 The Socio-Economic Integration of Migrants in Morocco after the new set of Immigration Policies*

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<sup>50</sup> Espagne/Maroc: Absence de justice pour les morts à la frontière de Melilla. (2023). *Human Rights Watch*. <https://www.hrw.org/fr/news/2023/06/21/espagne/maroc-absence-de-justice-pour-les-morts-la-frontiere-de-melilla>

The current investigation shows that the socio-integration of migrants in Morocco had been a process that mainly started in 2013, so during the refugee crisis. Even if, before Morocco undertook measures to fight against illegal migration, the government didn't make a lot of progress in terms of migrant internal integration at a national level. As it was mentioned before the shift from a transit country to a host country forced Morocco to question and rethink its policies in terms of integration. Thanks to the interviews made in Morocco with seven migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa, I gathered data related to the migrant experience in Morocco. In general, people (non-national as RIM Espoir called them) said that their integration was positive. They mentioned the fact that RIM Espoir helped them a lot in offering activities for religious days as well as during the pandemic. However, some barriers were reported by scholars in the literature review which are the language called "darija" that could be difficult to learn, the lack of education, and the informal work which is still the most common way to get a job in Morocco for non-nationals. It was also mentioned that the residence card for non-nationals is hard to get because of the need to get a legal job with a legal contract. However, all the participants that I interviewed got the "carte d'immatriculation" (matriculation card) which gives them a legal status in Morocco. From the interviews, I got different answers in terms of outcomes and challenges related to the socio-economic integration. First, they reported that access to affordable housing in Morocco, and especially in Casablanca, is a real problem. F. Kassali added that even for Moroccans, it is complicated to find a cheap place to live. Even more difficult for them if the rent is comparable to the minimum wage in Morocco which is 3100 Dirham (equivalent to 310 Euros) per month whereas the minimum rent price in Casablanca is approximately the same. This is also one of the reasons that some migrants move from Casablanca to a smaller city. Second, the labor market for non-nationals is mainly in the domestic sector (babysitter, cook, cleaning...), F. Kassali mentioned that 90% of the job offers are in the domestic sector because it could be complicated to find a qualified job when several

migrants don't have certificates and diplomas. But, thanks to associations like RIM Espoir that offer training programs for young people (before 28 years old), migrants have the opportunity to learn new soft and hard skills through online and practice classes (ANAPEC, and RIM partners). When they acquire a set of specific skills, they could access more skilled jobs such as working in call centers. It was also mentioned that some call centers are more willing to take Subsaharan people because they know how to speak English and French. Thirdly, access to healthcare was reported to be unequal and strongly dependent on the status of the migrant as well as his/her profession. The healthcare system in Morocco is called AMO ("Assurance Maladie Obligatoire") and it has two sections: CNSS which is the private section and CNOPS which is the public section of the health insurance. The main issue is that even Moroccans don't use the public healthcare system because of its inefficiency. F. Kassali mentioned that the government has a project to include migrants in AMO where they can get surgery and medications for free because, now only migrants with legal jobs might have access to the public healthcare system. In terms of education, the data collected during the interviews showed that access to education in Morocco for migrants is possible. They said that most of the children from non-nationals are fully bilingual and they speak a perfect darija (Moroccan dialect). Also, if they get a certificate or diploma, they can get into professional programs, for example, "Formation 2ème chance" is a program that helps young people between 13 and 18 years old to get skills from professionals to work in beauty and electricity sectors. Finally, associations organize several intercultural festivals where migrants from everywhere and Moroccans can gather and share traditions. For example, there are a lot of weddings between non-nationals and Moroccans which create a fusion between cultures. To conclude, F. Kassali said that non-nationals brought an economic and social contribution. Economically, non-nationals work in import and export businesses in food or traditional textiles (kaftan, babouches...) so they are part of the Moroccan economy. In terms of social contribution, they had an impact on Moroccan



society, for example, they changed their vision about clothes and made them more open-minded. Finally, in terms of religion, the association mentioned that migrants are both Muslims and Christians and that they live together peacefully mainly thanks to the shift in the Constitution in 2011 which follows the tolerance of religions.

In conclusion to this first case study, the EU implemented immigration policies that restrict people from going to Europe because of security concerns raised during the refugee crisis which implied the securitization process of migration and use the externalization of borders to control migrants from outside of EU. The implementation of such policies had impacted the willingness of people to cross the Mediterranean Sea so they needed to find a place where they could settle. At the borders of Europe, Morocco is a country where, first considered as a transit country but, it became a host country. In using the externalization of borders, the EU and Morocco came together to discuss the immigration topic and find solutions. Then, the need to manage quickly the flow of migrants, Morocco modified its internal policies and implemented policies to regulate migration. The pressure from international and European commissions about human rights violations also helped the Moroccan government to get a better system of integration but Morocco is still facing challenges in terms of respect of human rights. Finally, thanks to interviews, we have seen that migrants have access to social services but there are still challenges in terms of access to health care and legal employment. Those challenges could be understandable because of the rooted issues that Moroccans face. As it was mentioned in the last section, even nationals might have issues to find cheap houses and legal employment. The access of public healthcare is also a problem that Moroccans face.

## 5.2 Turkey

### 5.2.1 *The Impact of the Securitization of European Immigration policies on Turkish Migration trends and its relationship with the EU*

Thanks to the interviews conducted by me with workers in the ARSA organization and the Deputy Chief of Mission at OIM Turkey as well as secondary data, the current investigation found that, through the securitization process, the European migration policies made during the refugee crisis, impacted the Turkish migration policies in its relationship with Europe and in terms of migration trends. First, the EU-Turkish agreement which was launched in March 2016 brought a complete new management of migration in Turkey. The emergency crisis forced Turkey to control the flow of migrants from the Middle East to Europe. The agreement contributed to helping Turkey in giving financial support because of its strategic position where it holds the largest refugee-hosting country in the world. As C. Natali (Deputy Chief of Mission at OIM Turkey) mentioned, the financial support helped to expand operations related to NGOs, IOM, and UNCHR in establishing new headquarters in Gaziantep (south of Turkey, close to the borders with Syria). It provided support inside and through the borders between Syria and Turkey as well as social support and psychological support. As she said, the Turkish government transformed the financial package into concrete measures applicable to migrants. However, she added that the EU-Turkey agreement was also made to push back migrants from Europe even if the agreement was officially made to help the migrants during the crisis with the implementation of programs such as the Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) and the Conditional Cash Transfer for Education (CCTE). The positive impact of this deal is the efficient control of flow and financial support in a short-term view because it responded to the emergency. But, now, questions are raised about why Turkey needs to take care of all the migrants. Why is there no burden sharing among other countries? She stated that the financial support is not enough anymore to integrate every migrant in Turkey, the support needs to be provided in a long-term process. Following that, during the refugee crisis, the Turkish government improved the harmonization of Turkish policies in terms of migration policies. As it was stated in the literature review, the Turkish government made some modifications in terms

of migration policies during the refugee crisis. The adoption of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) which regulates the status of migrants in Turkey as well the Temporary Protection Regulation (TPR) program that was launched in 2016 to help Syrian refugees in Turkey are two examples of the improvement in terms of managing migration in Turkey that will be deeply analyse in the next section.

### *5.2.2 The new Turkish immigration Policies: Outcomes and Challenges*

As it was mentioned before, the European migration policies have impacted Turkey in terms of migration management with financial support. The implementation of programs as well as the development of migration policies are positive impacts that have brought a new perspective related to migration management and integration. Nevertheless, the European policies such as the Turkish-EU deal but also the restrictive policies that enhance and secure the borders of Europe had strongly and negatively impacted Turkey. First, in terms of internal politics, as it was mentioned in the literature review above as well as the Deputy's declaration, during the refugee crisis, Turkish political leaders started to focus more on immigration. The topic of immigration has become a more prominent topic in the political debate than it has ever been before. The current political party, Justice and Development Party (AKP/Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) is in favor of immigration but at the same time, they don't support them directly. In opposition to Republican People's Party (CHP/Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) which is the political party originally formed by Ataturk, follows the nationalist idea of keeping borders closed from strangers. Following this idea, the Ataturk party is based on the secular idea which could be threatening because of the people from the Middle East, who are coming to settle in Turkey, are considered Muslim people. This idea created a polarization between political parties and, furthermore, between Turkish people which had created tensions and conflicts in day-to-day life between Turkish people and migrants. Last month, in Kayseri (south of Turkey),

where a lot of refugees and migrants lives because of the strategic location and the presence of several organizations, anti-migrant protests broke down in the streets of the city where several shops held by Syrians were fired. Even worse, one young Syrian was killed. It was not the first time, several similar protests happened in the country during the past years. Ozcan, who is the project coordinator at ARSA, stated that human rights are not respected in Turkey when it comes to immigration. He argued that, after the refugee crisis, the Turkish government fostered Syrian migration and stopped to take care of other nationalities. For example, healthcare insurance was accessible for everybody before 2015 while now it is only accessible for Syrian refugees. To add, he said that a lot of migrants don't want to go to Europe anymore because it is too dangerous and expensive to cross borders so they stay in Turkey. However, there are still people that want to cross so they use illegal routes with the help of human smugglers. For example, he mentioned that some migrants followed smugglers until Van (east of Turkey) told them that now they were in Europe and they left them alone without money. Besides, he mentioned that, after the refugee crisis, the Turkish government created deportation camps where human rights are not respected. Finally, he concluded that the EU-Turkey deal increased racism in Turkey and that the transit countries are suffering from the restrictive European policies because of the externalization of borders and their non-respect for human rights. He said that Turkey used the deal to threaten Europe with the potentiality to release migrants at the borders, "using humans as money to exchange". Unfortunately, he added that international and European programs are still working on the migration topic in Turkey, but the government doesn't use the money to take care of them.

### *5.2.3 The Socio-Economic Integration of Migrants in Turkey after the new set of Immigration Policies*

Thanks to the interviews conducted in Istanbul with seven Africans as well as with seven refugees from the Middle East settled in Kayseri, the research gathered a lot of data that

provided a deep analysis of the socio-economic integration of migrants in Turkey. First, in terms of the general feeling of being integrated, interviewees from Kayseri 5 out of 7 people answered that they feel integrated into Turkish society. Besides that, in Istanbul, 4 participants out of 7 said that they also feel integrated. They mentioned that Turkish people were helpful most of the time and that sometimes they can feel weird looking or some bad words but it is only on specific occasions. One of the barriers that was reported was the language. The Turkish language is far different from African languages which could be French, English, and dialects as well as from Arabic. This language barrier may impact the access to social services in general. As one of the participants said the main issue in finding a flat was the language barrier. Following that, most of the participants argued that it was complicated to find affordable houses, they needed to ask for help from their communities. The first issue is the price, especially in Istanbul where it is too expensive for Turkish people as well. Then, there are no legal housing contracts so they can be fired from the house easily. Secondly, I got different answers about access to the labour market. 3 participants from Subsaharan Africa reported that they created their own businesses in Istanbul in trade. As it was mentioned in the literature review, there is a huge trade between Turkey and some African countries in the import-export business. They called it a “cargo business” where Africans send food, textiles, and traditional objects... from Turkey to their countries. Two of them said that they came to Istanbul because they knew people working in this business. In Kayseri, the participants said that they either found informal jobs in mechanics or tailoring. Two of them found a job in humanitarian organizations in Kayseri as interpreters or psychologists. In terms of healthcare, Syrian participants said that the hospital and emergency are free of charge but people from Iran and Afghanistan mentioned that if you get accepted by UNCHR as a refugee, you can get free access to public healthcare while if they don't accept, you won't have access to free healthcare support. In Istanbul, 4 interviewees out of 7 said that it is not possible to access public hospitals

and that they need to have private insurance if they want to get healthcare services. Then, in terms of access to education which is a part of the socioeconomic integration of people settling in a new country, I didn't get any answers from people in Istanbul however I got answers from participants in Kayseri. Most of them reported that they have children going to Turkish schools and that they feel well-integrated. One of them said that they learned the Turkish language easily when they were young so it is easier for them. Finally, I asked them if they have benefited from programs supported by European organizations, people in Istanbul said no because they used their communities as a reference to ask for support. Then, people in Kayseri said that some of them went to Red Croissant to get financial support but, unfortunately, they have specific requirements such as the need to have two children to get money.

## **6 Conclusion**

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To conclude, the research brought several insights into the impact of the European immigration policies implemented during the refugee crisis on two “transit” countries, Morocco and Turkey. First, the initial objective of the project was to identify the impact of European policies on both countries's migration policies. The findings show that, through the process of securitization, both countries, Turkey and Morocco fostered their relationship with the EU. The EU Commission stated the need to intervene as soon as possible to answer the emergency refugee crisis which is linked directly to the countries at the gate of Europe. Then, Morocco and Turkey responded positively in collaborating with the EU. The Khartoum process, EUTF, and the EU-Turkey agreement are several examples that show the willingness of those countries to deal with Europe in terms of managing migration. Those agreements contributed to help Turkey and Morocco with financial support but also with operational and social support. Then, thanks to interviews and secondary data, the study found that the effect of the restrictive European policies, which are the strengthening of security borders, for

instance, had several impacts on transit countries. First, it shows that illegal migration increased because people are still willing to go to Europe but, it also demonstrates that, because of the danger and cost, people are now considering their journey and want to stay in Morocco and Turkey. As such, it is possible to say that both countries became receiving countries more than transit countries.

Furthermore, those implications forced the Turkish and Moroccan governments to question their internal migration policies. As a consequence, they both implemented new migration policies to answer the migration crisis. Both countries, during the refugee crisis, created new departments related to the management of migration such as new migration departments and ministries, and developed their policies to reach the European standards in terms of integration of migrants. For example, the two regularization campaigns made in 2014 and 2017 show that the Moroccan government was willing to consider the phenomenon of migration. The TPR program was also launched by the Turkish government to help Syrian refugees and to give them a special status which includes access to social services as Turkish nationals. Despite that, several questions are raised in terms of how human rights are respected in both countries. Turkey and Morocco have faced criticism because of their violence towards migrants. First, Turkey received several claims about the use of deportation camps for migrants in irregular situations as well as critics about how they treat differently people coming from Syria and people coming from other countries (Iran, Afghanistan). Those deportation camps based in the south of Turkey don't follow human rights principles. Then, in Morocco, several scandals broke down at the Spanish enclave in Mellila where several people died during a violent escalation between migrants and security borders. Those events are questioning the respect of human rights by both governments. However, through the implementation of a new system, both countries improved the access to social services.

Finally, the third sub-question was related to the socio-economical integration of migrants in both countries, Turkey and Morocco. Thanks to interviews with migrants in both countries, the research demonstrates several findings in four aspects linked to the concept of socio-economical integration, which are access to housing, employment, education, and healthcare. As a general conclusion for this subquestion, both migrants interviewed living in Turkey and in Morocco said that they overall feel integrated into the society even if there are a lot of improvements that need to be done. It is important to mention that some of them, 4 in total, reported events where they felt discriminated. The general issues that came after the interviews, are the language barriers in both countries which, I think, could be the most important issue because, without the ability to communicate, the integration might be extremely complicated. However, associations and organization offer language classes to migrants which could help them to have a better communication. Then, access to housing is another issue where participants said that the rent is inaccessible in big cities such as Casablanca and Istanbul. That's why associations try to relocate migrants to smaller cities. The study also found that the labor sector is difficult to access with legal contracts in Morocco, most of migrants work in the informal sector while, in Turkey, the employment sector seems to be more advanced and migrants can start their businesses (cargo trade). Nonetheless, associations give to migrants the possibility to improve their skills. As a positive result from both countries, access to education seems to be promising because all the participants who have children said that the public schools are inclusive and that their children are happy about it. Furthermore, Turkey and Morocco had differences when talking about the healthcare system. Turkey has a better healthcare system when comparing with Morocco in terms of infrastructure and financial support from the state so, it is logical that there are differences when talking about access to healthcare for migrants. Noneless, the results show that Turkey is not equal when giving access to healthcare services. In fact, Syrians have more options and have access to free



healthcare in public hospitals when refugees from other countries might face problems. Most of the participants from Iran and Afghanistan said that they required private insurance if they need healthcare. A possible explanation for this might be the special status of Syrians in Turkey since 2016. In Morocco, the AMO system needs some modifications to be applicable to migrants. Finally, through associations and organizations such as RIM Espoir and ARSA, people who settled in both countries have the possibility to participate to cultural activities where nationals and non-nationals spend time together to exchange about their cultures. They also offer language classes, training for soft and hard skills, and help them in giving them social and administrative support.

## **7 Discussion**

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In this research, we investigated the impact of European immigration policies during the refugee crisis on transit countries by comparing Turkey and Morocco. Our first objective was to explain how the European policies impacted both countries on their migration policies through the implications of the externalization of borders. We found that, during the refugee crisis, the EU with Morocco and Turkey, first fostered their relationship in cooperating throughout several agreements. Nevertheless, the difficulties in reaching Europe, because of the securitization of borders, also forced migrants to settle in Morocco and Turkey which transformed both countries as destination countries. This shift implied several modifications in the socio-political sphere of both countries. Indeed, Morocco became more aware of the migration topic while Turkey improved its internal migration policies to answer the emergency need to welcome Syrians. Then, through a policy evaluation of the European immigration policies as well as the ones implemented in Turkey and Morocco, we found that the externalization of borders had negative effects on both countries. First, the financial agreement in Turkey was only a short-term solution and it doesn't help to integrate migrants on a long-

term process. Then, the problem of deportation camps in Turkey raised humanitarian concerns as well as the violence used by security borders in Melilla. Finally, as we wanted to analyze the socio-integration of migrants in Turkey and Morocco through deep interviews, we found that both countries have outcomes and challenges. Previous studies have shown that the externalization of borders played an important role in transit countries but through, our study we demonstrated that the externalization of borders brought positive impacts on both countries in fostering their relationships through agreements, financial and operational support as well as negative impacts which are the security problems related to deportation and violence that demonstrates the non-respect of human rights. Following that, previous academics conducted research on migrant integration but either in Morocco or Turkey. This study compares both countries' approaches to integration and shows their differences and similarities. However, as it was mentioned in the Methodology section, the limitation of the study restrains the research from being generalized because of the small-scale sample of participants. The human bias needs to be taken into consideration because of the sensitive nature of questions asked to participants as well as the interpretation of data. For future research, it would be interesting to compare other countries located at the borders of Europe where people transit such as Tunisia, Libya, or Algeria. Those three countries also got impacted during the refugee crisis and, especially Tunisia that, now are raising international interest in human rights violations<sup>51</sup>. Same in Libya where thousands of people passed by the country before reaching Europe, there are challenges in the migration system that restrain migrants from settling in Libya without being regularize so they don't have access to employment and are usually exploited by companies<sup>52</sup>. In another hand, scholars should pay attention on the future development about the healthcare

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<sup>51</sup> Meddeb, H., & Louati, F. (2024). *Tunisia's Transformation Into a Transit Hub: Illegal Migration and Policy Dilemmas*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2024/07/tunisia-transformation-into-a-transit-hub-illegal-migration-and-policy-dilemmas?lang=en&center=middle-east>

<sup>52</sup> Burke, L., & Yayboke, E. (2023). *Addressing Fragility in Libya Means Protecting Migrant Rights*. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/addressing-fragility-libya-means-protecting-migrant-rights>

system in Morocco that will be soon available for non-nationals and analyze its implementation.

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## 9 List of Appendices

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**Appendix no. 1: Main Migration Routes in the World** by M. Chwastyk and R. Williams reposted from National Geographic, <https://weblog.iom.int/worlds-congested-human-migration-routes-5-maps> (map)





**Appendix no. 2: Interview with Johann Barbé – Head of Programmes – Deputy Chief of Mission based in Rabat (interview).**

General questions about immigration in Morocco

1) How did the Refugee Crisis in 2015 impact your organization?

OIM Rabat:

- Beaucoup plus de programmes depuis 2015, doublé de tailles
- Trust Fund for Africa 2017 protection des migrants sur place + retour volontaire
- Renforcer les relations avec le gouvernement et à travailler sur de nouveaux projets (gestion des frontières humanized borders management) protection dans la gestion de protection des frontières (événement Melilla)
- Collecte de données et partage de données  manière plus transparente
- OIM  tracker les mouvements (ne fonctionne pas au Maroc)  trouver des manières alternatives
- Agadir : intégration de migrants en situation régulière ou irrégulière  progrès assez positif (socio-économique)

2) How did the shift in European migration policies impact your organization? And how did it impact Morocco in general?

Maroc:

- Canaux régulier plus possible donc question de migration irrégulière
- Migration vers les îles canaries
- Situation politique RDC, Sudan + situation économique
- Victime traite de la côte d’ivoire à l’arrivée au Maroc (Marakech), beaucoup de femmes
- Renforce tout les réseaux de traites

Europe :

- Labor mobilité
- Fonds européen impact positif  sur les origines 2017 2022, depuis 2023 flux le plus important
- Maroc : budget avec l’UE

3) How did the political discourse about immigration’s concerns change in Moroccan political sphere and how did it impact your organization?

Sphère politique:

SNIA – 2013/14

A partir du nouveau pacte, pas vraiment opérationnel, ouverture, impact positif

Avant le Maroc, ministère

Direction des affaires seulement depuis 2018  pas énormément de pouvoir

Coordination niveau migration

2014 / 2017 : opérations, réputation internationale en fonction

Distinguer du côté sécuritaire par rapport à l’UE

Raisons sur laquelle elle bouge :

Pas les mêmes

THAMM +: programme pour regular pathway  
(aspect positif)

Questions about African migration in Morocco

- 1) What are the main challenges for African migrants to integrate Moroccan society? Do they face issues to access housing, health care and employment?

Défis:

- Documentation, statut réfugiés bien plus facile, personne en situation irrégulière au 1er niveau gratuitement
- Education: enfants, education documentation

Sénégal et Côte d'Ivoire

- Logement : carte d'immatriculation, logement temporaire, informel
- Travail : informel, agadir agriculture (migrants en situation irrégulière), visa ou titre de séjour
- Non - Favorisé pour les emplois : médecine

- 2) To what extent African migrants are well integrated in Moroccan society?

Integration:

- Separation
- Personnes qui sont la depuis longtemps
- Force de l'ordre : arrêter à n'importe quel moment pour noire
- Impression de diminuer

Opportunités :

- Plus d'études □ main d'œuvre
- Coopération sud sud

- 3) What do you see as the future trends and challenges of African migration to Morocco?

Trends;

- Opportunités économiques
- Migration interne et externe

Challenges

- Conflits, situation économique, changement climatiques : augmentation
- Zone rural □ ville le plus proche, opportunités

**Appendix no. 3: Interview with Claudia Natali – The Deputy Chief of Mission of IOM Turkey based in Ankara (interview).**

General questions about immigration in Turkey

- 1) How did the Refugee Crisis in 2015 impact your organization? How did it impact Turkey in general? (socio-political impact and economy, management of the influx of refugees, strain on infrastructure and resources)

Crisis operation

UN  OIM UNCHR (organization supported by UN)

Financial support EU-Turkey 3 billion

Expanded operations: emergency related  help a lot NGOs, IOM and UNCHR established presence in Gaziantep for the first time

Providing support inside borders and through the border between Syria and Turkey

Operational shift: social support, psychological, lifesaving in priority

Financial package into concrete measures applicable to migrants

Provide for several communities like migrants but also for Turkish people

- 2) How did the shift in European migration policies (restrictive policies?) and the new agreement between Turkey and the EU made in March 2016 impact your organization? And how did it impact Turkey in general?

Numbers  need to be checked

Programs implemented to help refugees and migrants from Syria

European pressure because they didn't want migrants crossing the borders

Bring attention from NGOs about potential violations of human rights.

Programs to support migrants who were pushed back from the borders between Turkey and Greece  immediate support to those people

Creation of programs  need to check which programs were created??

Borders control  came after, externalization of borders  process, didn't come in first, it was a process

Harmonization with the EU migration policies

- 3) What do you think about the EU-Turkey agreement? (positive and negative impacts?)

Never really implemented

Both expectations from both sides (EU and Turkey) are not met

Visa liberalization for Turkish citizens to go Europe are not reach because of the Kurdish situation and how the government is handling it (using violence and discrimination  not democratic)

Positive impact: control of flux and financial help for the short-term, reducing and managing of flux, responded to the crisis

Negative impact:

Debates now  burden sharing among others countries (why only Turkey need to take care of migrants?), financial support is not enough on the long-term process, they need to find a solution for the settlement and integration of migrants

Returning people to their countries  need to be check??

- 4) How did the political discourse about immigration's concerns change in Turkish political sphere and how did it impact your organization?

Like European politics

After the refugee crisis, lot of political parties started to talk more about immigration and the threat of immigration, the need to keep borders closed

- CHP (more liberal): stronger against migrants because of the nationalist idea (Kemalist idea □ protect the borders from strangers) + secular idea from Ataturk era (CHP saw migrants from Syria or other middle east countries as a threat for the secularity of the country □ Muslim people among refugees)

- AKP □ for the welcoming of migrants but at the same time they don't help them directly (?)

Polarization, not before but started in last election (most prominent in the last elections debates)

5) To what extent do you think that the new set of European migration policies implemented after the Refugee Crisis impacted the transit countries in general?

Libya

Externalization of borders

Pushing the problem far from Europe, outside of the borders

Bigger flows, keep them inside Libya

Deportation from Libya to other countries □ because of the civil war and that Libya has 2 "government", military parties ruling the country

Agreement with EU as well

Turkey: smuggling and human trafficking: the migrants always find other way to cross borders, even if it is hard to cross due to the restrictive measures, people will find other ways to cross it

□ illegal migration and use of human trafficking

Migrants □ marginal, not well integrated in societies

Externalization □ creating more the ability to integrate migrants?

Questions about African migration in Turkey

1) Can you tell me the current trends and patters related to African migration to Turkey?  
From which country the African migrants are mostly from?

Not a lot when you compare to Syrians, Afghans and east countries

When you combine Sub Saharan African migrants □ significant numbers

Somalia, Senegalese, north Africa, Congolese

2) Why did they migrate to Turkey? What are their main motivations to migrate to Turkey?

Tourism, work

Education □ students (undergraduate), scandal recently about one girl killed (maybe about prostitution network) + one girl got a sexual disease because of a sexual relationship with an African student and it came to the public debate

Migrants come from Muslim countries □ smoother integration

What about non-Muslim countries?

Work/study

Transit countries □ irregular routes, student visa, work visa □ overstayed their visas

3) What are the main challenges for African migrants to integrate Turkish society? Do they face issues to access housing, health care and employment?

Challenges: language barriers, social, education, hospital, foreign level of application

Free surgery depends on provinces

Discrimination: skin color, no data

Access employment: it always depends on their visa status, it it's human protection or work visa, migration status will be an advantage or not for having access to job opportunities  
Housing: rental law, more challenging in some provinces, urban centers □ inflation (Izmir and Istanbul)

- 4) Are there any specific migration policies or regulations in Turkey that directly impact African migrants?

That's not the case

Migration policies □ Syrian

Specific laws □ Africa

- 5) What do you see as the future trends and challenges of African migration to Turkey?

Challenges □ situation of African migration to turkey

Communities □ several African communities, allows social networking so it might increase the number of African migrants coming to Turkey

Deportation?

Istanbul □ mobile security check (racial discrimination)

Migration borders □ borders management, less opportunities for irregular migration

Turkish law □ unique categories for Syrian people

**Appendix no. 4: Interview with Zakira Hekmat – President of ARSA, Özcan Çetin - Project coordinator, Fatema Farahmand - Administration and psychologist from ARSA organization based in Kayseri (interview).**

- 1) How did the Refugee Crisis in 2015 impact your organization? How did it impact Turkey in general?

Any support from the Turkish government □ anything

UNCHR □ projects

IOM □ no?

2015 □ Many refugees come to Turkey and want to go to Europe, refugees, so they settle in parks, Ankara, and the government, called to help them

IAA □ Syrians

Funds from NGOs

ARSA didn't receive any money from the Turkish government, and they use the money for deportations

Global Refugee Forum □ try to argue for refugees and say that the money needs to be used differently, why this is only for Syrians? Discrimination

European project □ money from the government, health project □ Syrians, this is all free

- 2) How did the shift in European migration policies (restrictive policies) and the new agreement between Turkey and the EU made in March 2016 impact your organization? And how did it impact Turkey in general?

2 parts:

- The positive part: the financial agreement, also for Turkish people

- Negative part: migrants, borders many important, and humanitarian issue is more important than anything, the Turkish government also changed their policies  rejected all the cases, no man alone can't come to Turkey, need to be registered, in Turkish law  need to be registered, criteria depends on authorities

Sociopolitical impact: don't want more refugees because of inflation

They stole our jobs

Healthcare system before 2015: insurance for everybody

After they changed it in 2015  only Syrians

Human rights are not respected

Syrians want to stay here

But Africans, Iranians  goal to go to Europe and not register to Turkey

Cross borders OR they want better conditions

Projects  for all refugees

Many problems with status, deportation, or resettlement but very low

### 3) To what extent did the motivations of migration to Turkey change after the Refugee Crisis in 2015?

Depending on conditions of life, and financial support, they don't want to go to Europe because it is too dangerous so they stay

Human trafficking human smuggling -  problems in Turkey, take all money and go with them to Van and say it is Europe

Horrible situation

Motivations very low  If they don't have any ID, visa, or money so they will try to get to Europe and don't care about dying

Red Croissant  provide money for everyone, a good project for everyone in need, you need to have criteria to get money from red croissant, alone women with 2 children

18 years old even if he is not working, health issues

Bad criteria

After the earthquake  Airbnb for rent, accommodation

Accommodation, camps for Syrians

After 2015 – deportation centers in Kayseri lot of now (like a jail)

Changed camps to deportation centers, Kayseri less expensive but still inflation

Jobs  migrants, awareness and education programs, guide, steps, make CV, provide all of this, Turkish government don't support this  as a employee, if you want to take a foreigner, you should give the tax (3 times more), they are hiring refugees or migrants illegally (problems with accident)  tried to advocate this

Try to support legal work

Refugees not educated

2018  Syrians 5 turkish for 1 syrian and for others 10 turkish 1 refugees

They don't need work visa to work in agriculture

- 4) To what extent do you think that the new set of European migration policies implemented after the Refugee Crisis impacted the transit countries in general?

Ozcan:

Transit countries  Racism and restrictive European policies

EU-Turkey agreement: causing racism

Turkey is using this deal to threaten Europe because Turkey uses the migrants as a threat to deal with Europe

Turkey has never been a democracy and there are layers of problems inside the country

“using humans as money to exchange”

European programs are still working but the government doesn't use the money for refugees

Externalization of borders: problems with European migration policies

Internalization: (said that as a person and not for the NGO) The Turkish government will see refugees as business-related because they are cheap labor

Questions about the activities of the NGO in Turkey

- 1) When and how did you create your association?

Zakira HEKMAT

2009

I came to turkey for study

How? Refugee population, they don't know the language, challenges, cried, big problems with language

created ARSA, first NGO made by refugees working with refugees

2011  earthquake in Van

UNCHR should help us  establish connections

62 cities with volunteers (366 persons)

People from Sudan others people from Africa

Turkish refugee council  first NGO in Turkey and the founder, President

- 2) Can you provide an overview of your NGO's activities and its engagement with migrant communities in Turkey?

Overview of the migration situation in Turkey:

- The number of refugees increased since the 1990s
- Refugees have different cultural, social, and educational backgrounds so it is difficult to address all the needs
- The Turkish NGOs are mostly funded by the European funds that are managed by the government. Unfortunately, as ARSA's coordinator said, the money is not equally distributed and the NGOs don't have enough funding to manage the refugees.
- The European economic crisis that happened after the start of the Ukrainian war also impacted directly the refugees in Turkey because the European funding was going to help the Ukrainian people and focused more their funding on this conflict area.
- Problems with local Turkish people and refugees
- Atay 2015  creation of local Turkish NGOs by refugees themselves as ARSA in Turkey made by Afghans people
- The funding part needs to be changed (the strategy and management)

Activities of the NGO:

- PSS (?)
- Got founding by German NGO (JYZ – CLIP 2)
- Educational services (University), online classes
- School materials
- Social and traditional gatherings
- Chess and music/chore clubs with Turkish and refugees people
- Legal services and provide help and guide them for administrative procedures
- Lawyer services

Projects made by the NGO:

- TDH
- IBC
- GZIR project CLIP 2

- 3) What are the main objectives and areas of intervention of your organization to meet the needs of migrants?

To help refugees people in education and provide legal and administrative services as well as psychology help.

To help refugees to become part of Turkish society.

- 4) Based on your observations and data, what are the current trends in migration to Turkey?

From Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria

Temporary protection  Syrians

International protection  others people, more challenges, they have problems in Turkey, 1 year health insurance, no jobs, PDMM (migration centers), deportation, more problems

To find legal status

ARSA help them to get legal status

- 5) What are the main countries of origin of migrants arriving in Turkey, and what factors motivate this migration?

Syrians, Afghans, Iranians, and Iraqis

Factors: fled from their country because of civil war, conflict, corruption, economy

- 6) What are the main challenges faced by migrants in Turkey, particularly in terms of access to essential services, legal protection, and social integration?

main challenges:

- Language barriers
- When they first came to Turkey, they don't know how to speak Turkish so they have trouble to find assistance. Also, Turkish people usually speak only Turkish so it is hard for them to communicate
- When they come to Turkey, they need to register in the immigration office where they can also find assistance through NGOs.



- Differences between Iranian culture, they don't consider themselves as refugees so they don't look for assistance as the Syrians do for example (that's why there is no NGOs funded by iraniens)
- Syrians, Iraqis and Afghans are more willing to ask for help.

7) Are there specific vulnerabilities or protection needs among the populations of migrants that your organization has identified?

Afghans, Iraniens more vulnerable

8) What types of support services does your NGO offer to migrants in Turkey? This may include legal assistance, healthcare, education, housing, or psychosocial support.

Education, psychosocial support and legal assistance (voir plus haut)

9) How do you collaborate with other NGOs, government agencies, or international organizations to provide these services?

The NGO has a good reputation in Turkey and abroad thanks to the founder of the association, Fakira Hekmat who is known internationally for her work on migration.

- A good relationship with government agencies, the Ministry of Education,
- They have a good reputation abroad, so they can get funding from Europe more easily and they can improve their skills in migration concerns through seminars, training, and conferences.
- Biggest NGO in Kayseri and maybe in the South of Turkey (?).

10) What is the regularization process for migrants in Turkey?

Special status for Syrian refugees

Afghans, Iraqis, and Iranians have refugee or asylum-seeker status

11) Can you explain the national migration laws and their evolution?

Since 2015:

- Changed policies but they have good laws, the problem is the practices are very bad, center deportation
- Audit  advocate about it
- European Parliament should come to see to monitoring deportation centers and also how they use the money, health problems they brought them to center deportation (if you don't have money, you can't do things)
- Public education:

12) What are, in your opinion, the main challenges and opportunities associated with migration to Turkey from the perspective of NGOs?

Challenges:

- Funding
- Discrimination (Turkish people are not aware)  need to educate
- Syrians (or refugees in general) are taking sides in politics  creating polarization

13) How do you think that the European immigration laws impact your beneficiaries? How do they impact Turkey directly?

Refugees □ Deal not helping refugees

Helping the regime that pressure the society

Third circle (third countries, dictatorship, tyranny) □ second circle (buffer states, transit countries) □ first country (democracy)

Horse trade □ political term trading: the act of negotiation where parties make compromises or trade favors to achieve their respective goals (give-and-take approach)

□ key aspects= bargaining and compromise; coalition building, policy trade-offs, appointments and patronage, legislative process

3rd

Taliban □ asking turkey to make refugees better

Taliban kicking out people they want to (win-win)

EU refugees deal □ humans rights and refugees

Turkey

Raising racism arabs/muslim people/dis

Strengthening right wing party □ AKP

Directly impacting EU

Long term will harm the relationship

Bank of refugees □ vicious circle

Harmful for EU as well

EU-Turkey deal:

Saving in face

#### **Appendix no. 5: Interviews with beneficiaries in Kayseri, in association with ARSA organization (interviews).**

What were your main motivations for leaving your home country and choosing Turkey as a destination?

A, B, and C: their main motivations were to escape the civil war in Syria, they all came between 2014 and 2015. They didn't choose Turkey; they just crossed the borders to be in a safer place. A explained that she has a sister in Turkey so it was easier for her to come here directly.

D: her main motivation to leave Iran was because she had too many problems in her country, she chose Turkey because Iranians don't need VISA to go there.

A, E and F: their main motivations were to escape the Taliban's regime and to find better opportunities abroad. 2 of them lived in Iran before coming to Turkey but decided to flee to Turkey for better conditions of life.

Could you tell us about your migration journey until you arrived in Turkey? Where and when did you first settle in Turkey? What challenges did you encounter along the way?

B: in Turkey since 2015, she came by bus from Aleppo and lost her husband on the way. She came to Kayseri because one of her brothers was already in the city so she stayed with him and

his family. She said that when she came and they found a house for her, Turkish people helped them to find furniture.

C: she came by bus from Aleppo to Kayseri in 2014. She didn't want to talk about this period of her life.

A: she came to Turkey in 2014 and settle in Kayseri also because her sister lives here as well.

E: He is from Erat (Afghanistan) Before coming to Turkey, he stayed with his family, one month in Iran. He came to Turkey in 2017 and first went to Ankara to register at the United Nations and after they told him to come to Kayseri. He came with his family (5 people) and said the first months in Turkey were too hard because he had no friends, he didn't know how to speak the language so it was complicated to find jobs or even a house. He found Afghans people and talked to them.

F: He is from Afghanistan but he born and grew up in Iran (Mashaat). He came to Turkey in 2016 and first, he went to Istanbul, Ankara and registered there. At the end, he was sent to Kayseri. He said it was really complicated to find an house but, thanks to the help of the immigration office, he found an house.

D: She came by flight in 2016 from Teheran and first went to Ankara to register at the United Nations office. After, she was sent to Kayseri.

A: She came in 2016 in Turkey from Afghanistan by walking and buses. The Turkish authorities put her in one deportation camp in Izmir while she was pregnant. Thanks to her pregnancy, she was sent to Ankara with her husband to be registered. After, they went to Aksaray and Kayseri. The first weeks were really though for A because they lived in parks without any houses. She said that first, they settled in Iran but it was not possible to live because no rights and no job offers. She added that during her journey to Turkey, human smugglers beat her and stole them.

Integration to Turkey:

How do you feel integrated into Turkish society? What are the positives and challenges of your integration here?

B: she said that she doesn't feel any racism or/and discrimination from Turkish people. She doesn't speak the language so she doesn't talk to Turkish people too much and she mostly goes to Syrian market but every time she needed something, Turkish people helped her.

C: she said that she doesn't go out, she stayed at home to take care of her 6 children. Her husband was deported so now she is alone to take care of her family. He said that 3 of her children are registered to Turkish school and said that they are happy about the school and they feel integrated.

A: she said she didn't have any stories about discrimination or racism. Her daughter feels integrated in Turkish society as well as her son. But she added that sometimes she feels weird seeing from Turkish people like "you come from Syria and you take everything from us".

E: he said he doesn't feel any discrimination or racism here. He added that they are a quiet family.

F: He said that he doesn't feel integrated at all. He said that there are a lot of issues between Turkish people and refugees. For example, he said that there is special sign for refugee in Turkey with the ID and that he said that with this specific sign they can discriminate refugees. (comparison with Hitler and the Jewish people) He added that there are meetings to integrate refugees in Turkish society but, unfortunately, it doesn't work because there is a separation in real life.

D: She doesn't feel integrated, and she said that there are a lot of discrimination here in Turkey and even said "all the time". After the president of Iran died, she said that some people said "come back to your country because now it is safe". She said that she heard people saying "if the refugees get back to their countries, we won't have inflation".

A: She said she feels integrated but she added than between 2016 and 2019, people's behavior changed and now, there is more aggressivity among Turkish citizens towards refugees.

Have you benefited from any specific integration programs or policies in Turkey, particularly those influenced by European policies? Could you tell us more about your experience with these programs?

B: she found ARSA thanks to her friend; she was also in contact with ARGIS but not anymore because she can't receive money now because her son is working. Red croissant helps her as well because she still has one child (14).

C: she first went to IAA and they referred her to ARSA after. ARSA helped her to pay her rent for 1 month. After, she asked help to Red Croissant.

A: she is in contact with IAA and ARGIS and she said that when she came here, she became friends with the neighborhood because she was exchanging goods with them. She first contacted ARSA because she needed a lawyer. Asked help to Red Croissant as well.

E: He is in contact with Red Croissant and KISILAC and he receives from them financial support every month. It is not for him because he is working for his children. (If one woman wants to get Red Croissant support, she needs to have 2 children at least). ARSA was a sort of "guide" for him.

F: Red Croissant (?) and ARSA.

D: She doesn't receive financial support because she's working and she doesn't have children.

Access to Services and Rights:

Have you had access to basic services such as healthcare, education, and housing in Turkey?

What have been your experiences about access to education?

B: one of her children is studying. She said that there are no issues with the Turkish educational system but there is a problem with her child about studying and she added that the teacher tries to help him.

C: 3 of her children are in Turkish school and they feel integrated.

A: her children are not going to school now but her son went to school but he got some problems.

E: one of his children is registered to school and he said that he feels well-integrated in school.

F: His two sons are going to Turkish school and he said that they are both happy about their integration but sometimes, he heard stories about children being discriminate because they are refugees.

D: She didn't talk about that.

A: she has one son, he speaks Turkish and English.

What have been your experiences about access to healthcare?

B: she said that the access to hospital, emergency and doctors are totally free.

C: clinic and hospital for free.

A: Free emergency and clinics. She had 3 operations and she didn't pay anything.

F: He said he needs to pay for healthcare so they try to do self-care. They don't have any insurance

D: she said she didn't have access to anything because she is non-syrians. If you get accepted by the UNCHR as a refugee, you can stay in Turkey and you can get insurance but if you're not accepted, there is nothing for you (insurance, financial support...) □ ID get blocked.

What have been your experiences about finding housing in Turkey?

B: her new husband helped her to find housing, she didn't say anything about how.

C: she found her flat by herself and said that "at this time, it was not expensive to rent a flat but now, this is impossible".

A: she lives with her sister.

E: he said it was really hard because he didn't know how to speak Turkish.

F: He said it was really hard to find an house, but thanks to some Afghans people, he found an house.

D: She said that she has troubles to find a flat. She pays 5K TL per month. She said that there are discriminations about housing.

A: UNCHR helped them to find a place where to live. They forced them to pay the rent for one year in advance.

Employment and Training:

How did you find employment in Turkey? What challenges have you faced in the labor market?

B: she doesn't work because she is sick but her big son found a job in mechanic, he helps mechanician to repair cars (small things).

C: she doesn't work because she doesn't have time, she needs to take care of the children.

A: she studied until bachelor in Syria but here, she found a job as a tailleur. Unfortunately, she got harassed so she quitted and she started to sell goods in the streets.

E: He is a welder, he looked for a place to work for long time but he found SANAJE (big working place). He said that he receives 2 times less salary than a Turkish worker even if he knows how to speak Turkish.

F: He is tailor. He said that it was so hard to find a job here but, fortunately he learnt the language so he found a job offer.

D: She speaks Turkish and she starts working as a volunteer in Red Croissant and after for ARSA with the GZIR project in helping as interpreter.

A: She was volunteer in ARSA and after she became board member of the NGO. She is psychologist and helps refugees. She had many experiences in Afghanistan and she got a degree in psychology and management. In 2019, she got interview by UNCHR to see if they can stay in Turkey and they won because she had proof of her work in Afghanistan. Her husband was a carpenter but they didn't pay him for more than 2 months so he stopped the job.

Have you benefited from any training or vocational programs funded or supported by European organizations? If so, how has this impacted your professional integration in Turkey?

B: Red Croissant but they help in giving financial support for paying the rent.

C: She didn't give any answers to that question.

European Policies and Future Perspectives:

What are your future aspirations regarding your migrant status in Turkey? Do you plan to settle here permanently or migrate to another country?

B: she wants to stay in Turkey. She said that it's been more than 10 years now and that she got used to Turkey. She said that she likes Kayseri and that her children like also their lives here.

C: she would like to go Germany, USA or Canada if she can; "I wish I can go to another country".

A: She hopes that she will go to the USA with her son. She got a call and she might settle in the USA because she got lot of operations.

E: He doesn't want to stay here in Turkey because of the government. If he gets the passport, he might go to Germany or Holland.

F: He said that the Turkish government doesn't want them here. He added that now there is the 5th generation of Turkish people living in Europe so why we should live here while Turkish people don't want to stay in their own country? I would like to migrate to Canada or Australia.

D: "I will never come back to Iran". She said she would like to go other countries but it always depends on UNCHR.

A: She is waiting for the answer from the USA. She will go with her family. "Turkey was never my goal".

How do you perceive the impact of European policies on the lives of migrants in Turkey?

A: "European policies have a direct impact on the lives of immigrants in Türkiye For example, when Europe allocates a special budget for keeping immigrants in Turkey, some facilities are available to immigrants. such as holding refugee integration classes or Turkish classes".

What changes or improvements would you suggest facilitating the integration of migrants into Turkish society, taking into account European policies?

A: "In my opinion, if immigrants are supported in the labor market, it will be beneficial both for the host society and for the immigrants themselves."

#### **Appendix no. 6: Interview with Fatima and Khadija Fassali working at RIM Espoir in Casablanca (Interviews).**

Pouvez-vous nous donner un aperçu des activités de votre ONG et de son engagement auprès des communautés de migrants africains au Maroc ?

L'association a été créé en 2014 et s'occupe de l'accueil ainsi que de l'intégration des personnes venant de l'Afrique subsaharienne qui sont arrivés au Maroc et qui veulent s'y installer.

L'association aide les personnes migrantes en termes :

- D'accueil et d'intégration au sein de la communauté marocaine en organisant des activités qui regroupent marocains et africains subsahariens
- D'accès à l'éducation pour les enfants des personnes migrantes
- D'accès à un emploi
- D'accès à la santé et aux soins d'urgences
- D'obtenir une situation légale régulière afin que les migrants puissent être en sécurité et avoir accès aux plus de services possibles

Disponible 24/7

Fonctionne sur appel

400 adhérents

Quels sont les principaux objectifs et domaines d'intervention de votre organisation pour répondre aux besoins des migrants africains ?

Objectifs :

- Pouvoir intégrer et inclure au maximum les personnes venant de l'Afrique subsaharienne au sein de la communauté marocaine
- Faire acquérir des droits aux migrants afin que leurs quotidiens soient plus faciles

Domaines d'intervention :

- Relation diplomatique entre le Maroc et les consulats/ambassades des pays d'Afrique subsaharienne afin de consolider les liens diplomatiques
- Intervention auprès de conférences et sommets internationaux afin d'expliquer la situation actuelle des migrants au Maroc
- Permet de faire le relais entre les migrants et les associations spécialisés au Maroc (dispatch) « médecin généraliste »

Tendances et Modèles Migratoires :

Sur la base de vos observations et de vos données, quelles sont les tendances actuelles de la migration africaine vers le Maroc ?

Quels sont les principaux pays d'origine des migrants africains arrivant au Maroc, et quels sont les facteurs qui motivent cette migration ?

Pays d'origine :

- Congo (Brazzaville et Kinshasa)
- Sénégal (relation « spéciale » avec le Maroc  diplomatique)
- Togo
- Côte d'Ivoire
- Niger
- Iles des Comores
- Cameroun

Motivations :

- Première cause de la migration : guerre et fuir les conflits/guerres civiles
- Cause sous-jacente : colonialisme (?)  situation économique en déclin  recherche de meilleures opportunités pour l'avenir

Comment la crise migratoire en 2015 a impacté le Maroc en termes de migration ?

Passer d'un pays de transit à une terre d'accueil même si le pays reste un pays de transit pour certains migrants

Syriens qui sont venus au Maroc

Défis Rencontrés par les Migrants :

Quels sont les principaux défis auxquels sont confrontés les migrants africains au Maroc, notamment en termes d'accès aux services essentiels, de protection juridique et d'intégration sociale ?



Au départ, il y avait beaucoup plus de défis car il n'y avait que très peu d'associations au Maroc qui s'occupait des migrants en général.

En 2014, seulement 4 associations étaient mise en place pour aider les migrants. Rim étant une des pionnières en termes d'accueil et d'intégration des migrants.

Aujourd'hui, les migrants qui font appel à l'association RIM peuvent avoir accès aux services essentiels ainsi qu'à la protection juridique gratuite si besoin. Au niveau de l'intégration sociale, les activités de l'association permettent aux marocains et aux africains subsahariens de se rencontrer et d'échanger.

Actuellement, un des défis majeurs pour les migrants se trouve dans la capacité à trouver un emploi légal au Maroc. La plupart des migrants travaillent informellement dans le milieu domestique et de services.

Y a-t-il des vulnérabilités spécifiques ou des besoins en protection parmi les populations de migrants africains que votre organisation a identifiés ?

Les femmes ainsi que les enfants sont les plus vulnérables et donc elles ont été prises en charge très rapidement par les associations. Elles ont eu la possibilité d'être régulariser assez rapidement afin de pouvoir leur apporter les soins nécessaires.

Services de Soutien Fournis :

Quels types de services de soutien votre ONG offre-t-elle aux migrants africains au Maroc ? Cela peut inclure une assistance juridique, des soins de santé, l'éducation, l'hébergement ou un soutien psychosocial.

L'ONG est une association référente pour les migrants puisqu'elle permet de diriger la personne dans le besoin vers le service spécialisé.

Elle peut apporter une assistance juridique (pendant un procès) ou en tout cas, trouver un avocat pour la personne dans le besoin. Elle dirige les migrants vers des docteurs, ainsi que des médecins spécialisés (mention spéciale pour l'accès au gynécologue) ainsi qu'elle accompagne les femmes lors de leurs accouchements à l'hôpital. En matière d'éducation, elle réfère les parents aux écoles publiques marocaines où leurs enfants peuvent être scolarisés. L'ONG peut aussi référer des associations qui s'occupent de soutenir les migrants psychologiquement mais elle apporte aussi du soutien moral.

Comment collaborez-vous avec d'autres ONG, des organismes gouvernementaux ou des organisations internationales pour fournir ces services ?

RIM a été une des premières associations reconnus par le ministre de la Migration au Maroc (2014), elle est donc la référente en matière d'intégration et d'aide aux migrants africains.

Elle a aussi permis à d'autres ONG d'être reconnu au niveau national.

Elle reçoit des fonds directement de la part du Royaume Marocain et elle dépend directement du ministère de la Migration.

RIM est en contact direct avec OIM et UNCHR qui sont deux organisations internationales opérant avec les migrants.

Comment votre organisation promeut-elle l'intégration et l'autonomisation des communautés de migrants africains au Maroc ?

Devise de RIM : humanisé l'accueil

Organise des activités de sensibilisation afin que les migrants soient en courant de leurs droits/devoirs au Maroc

Les aider pour les démarches administratives (carte d'immatriculation, carte de séjour...)

Organise des activités sociales ainsi que des activités de formation pour des métiers spécialisés...

Existe-t-il des initiatives ou des projets communautaires visant à favoriser la cohésion sociale et le soutien mutuel entre les migrants africains et les communautés d'accueil ?

La caravane médicale est un projet regroupant les migrants africains ainsi que la communauté marocaine. Des assistants médicaux marocains travaillent avec des docteurs africains et vice-versa afin que les deux communautés s'entraident.

Quels sont, selon vous, les principaux défis et opportunités associés à la migration africaine au Maroc du point de vue des ONG ?

Défis :

- Logement surtout dans les grandes villes (Casablanca, crise du logement)
- Travail informel □ trouver une solution pour employer officiellement les personnes migrantes
- Problème entre le coût du loyer et le salaire minimum

Y a-t-il des leçons apprises ou des meilleures pratiques que vous aimeriez partager en fonction de votre expérience de travail avec les communautés de migrants africains ?

Caravane médicale

Échange culturelle entre Marocains et Africains Subsahariens

Sur la base de vos observations et de vos données, quelles sont les tendances actuelles de la migration africaine vers le Maroc ?

Il y a plus de réflexion à la stabilité au Maroc mais ceci ne diminue aucunement les tentations et les tentatives de traverser vers l'Europe surtout au niveau du sud du Maroc les autorités ont déjoué de nombreuses opérations de traversé.

Quel est le processus de régularisation pour les migrants au Maroc ?

Avoir un contrat de bail+ un contrat de travail approuvé par le ministère concerné+ un passeport valide+ carte consulaire

Pouvez-vous m'expliquer quelles sont les lois nationales en termes de migration ? Ainsi que leur évolution ?

La loi 02-03 relatif à l'entrée et au séjour des étrangers et à l'émigration et l'immigration irrégulièress adoptée en 2003, elle est surtout d'une dimension sécuritaire quand il s'agit d'une migration clandestine dite irrégulière.

La nouvelle stratégie de la lutte contre le trafic des êtres humain ; la prévention, la lutte et la protection

Y va-t-il des recommandations spécifiques en matière de politiques ou des changements que votre organisation préconise pour améliorer la situation des migrants africains ?

Renforcer d'avantage la sensibilisation à une inclusion que soit au niveau de la santé et surtout le cadre socio-économique.

Une souplesse administrative pour la régularisation notamment pour les femmes et les enfants. Augmenter les chances de formation pour développer les compétences des immigrés et accroître les opportunités d'accéder au travail ou réaliser des activités génératrices de revenu.

Comment les lois européennes sur l'immigration ont impacté/impactent votre organisation ? Comment elles impactent le Maroc directement ?

Ce sont les conventions et les déclarations internationales qui impactent l'encadrement et la gestion de l'immigration et l'émigration au Maroc.

Le Maroc est signataire de nombreuses conventions internationales sur les droits fondamentaux de étrangers, les droits de l'Homme en général, sa constitution respecte ses conventions.

La nouvelle politique de la migration a apporté des règlementations bénéfiques pour les migrants et a développé le cadre législatif sur cette question de la migration et le séjour des immigrés au Maroc.

#### **Appendix no. 7: Interviews with 7 migrants from Sub-Saharan countries settled in Morocco (interview in group).**

Quelles ont été vos principales motivations pour quitter votre pays d'origine et choisir le Maroc comme destination ?

Principales motivations pour quitter le pays d'origine: vivre une vie meilleure avec plus d'opportunités pour l'avenir.

Pourquoi Maroc? Certains pays comme la Côte d'Ivoire et le Sénégal ont des accords bilatéraux avec le Maroc, ce qui privilégie la migration de ce pays la au Maroc.

Pouvez-vous nous parler de votre parcours migratoire jusqu'à votre arrivée au Maroc ? Quels défis avez-vous rencontrés en cours de route ?

Pas de réponses □ entretien en groupe

Est ce que vous pensez à rester au Maroc ou est ce que vous pensez à une autre destination pour l'avenir?

La plupart des bénéficiaires se voient vivre au Maroc pour les prochaines années. Certains voulaient rejoindre l'Europe mais malheureusement, c'est beaucoup trop compliqué alors ils restent au Maroc.

Est-ce que vous vous sentez intégrer dans la société marocaine ? Quels sont les challenges que vous avez rencontrés ?

Aspects positifs: Il y a beaucoup d'activités qui ont été organisé par l'association RIM ainsi que d'autres associations à Casablanca pour aider les migrants, par exemple, des activités pour les fêtes religieuses (peu importe la religion) mais aussi pendant le COVID, RIM a distribué de la nourriture, des vêtements ainsi que du matériel nécessaires pour aider les personnes en manque.

Les bénéficiaires (RIM les appelle les non-nationaux) parlent de RIM comme une famille et remercie ce que les bénévoles font pour eux. Ils parlent de solidarité et d'amour.

Défis:

- La langue  dialect marocain (darija)
- Niveau scolaire  donc compliqué d'avoir un job
- Travail informel

Avez-vous eu accès aux services de base tels que la santé, l'éducation et le logement au Maroc ?

Accès au logement:

- Gros problème au Maroc  prix du logement (crise du logement?) / comparaison avec le salaire minimum, impossible de payer un loyer
- Loyer (demande d'avance de 2/3 mois)  réseautage indirect
- Fausse croyance sur le fait que les propriétaires augmenteraient le loyer si la personne est un/une migrante.

Accès au travail:

- 3100 Dirham (SMIC Brut)  gros problème car même prix qu'un potentiel logement
- Secteur de l'aide à domicile/domestique (femme de ménage, nounou, cuisine)  une des bénéficiaires dit que c'est un problème, car 90% des offres sont dans ce secteur/les étrangères seraient mieux payées que les marocaines??
- Travailler sans avoir de diplôme  compliqué mais l'association offre des formations professionnelles (Europe?) pour les moins de 28 ans
- Travail informel/secteur domestique: personnes sans diplôme
- Secteur de centre d'appels  recrute les subsariens parce qu'ils ont plus d'aisance en français et/ou en anglais mais besoin de diplôme

Accès à la santé:

- Accouchement (pris en charge), médicaments gratuits pour les femmes enceintes
- RAMED: opérations gratuites  projet qui n'a pas vu le jour
- AMO (en projet) : étranger pas encore accès, opérations prises en charge (pas les médicaments), ASNCF en ce moment mais seulement si travail dans une compagnie
- En train d'être mise en place...

Accès à l'éducation:

- RIM offre cartable scolaire (de la 1ère année de primaire à la 6ème)
- Les enfants parlent le dialect marocain
- Accès à l'éducation sans problème
- Personnes avec des diplômes peuvent intégrer des formations professionnelles (formation 2ème chance  pour les 13 à 18ans, métier dans la coiffure, électricité, menuiserie...)  associations qui sont financés par organismes internationaux ou nationaux

Activités en +:

- Activités artistiques: festivals interculturelles avec salaire, théâtre, musique

En tant que migrant, avez-vous rencontré des difficultés à exercer vos droits au Maroc, en particulier ceux qui sont influencés par les politiques européennes ?

Non, le Maroc donne aux étrangers des droits dont l'accès à l'éducation, à la santé et au travail. Il est compliqué d'avoir accès à la carte séjour car elle demande beaucoup de prérequis dont l'obtention d'un permis de travail légal (compliqué au Maroc même pour les marocains) + 10 ans de vie au Maroc.

Carte d'immatriculation: possible d'ouvrir une cooperative auto-entrepreneur

L'enfant ne peut se procurer un document de circulation seulement si les parents ont la carte d'immatriculation.

Comment avez-vous trouvé un emploi au Maroc ? Quels sont les défis auxquels vous avez été confronté(e) sur le marché du travail ?

- Travail informel
- Compliqué de trouver du travail (même en étant marocain)
- Formations professionnelles pour niveau BAC (organisation étatique)
- ANAPEC, RIM partenaire: ateliers professionnelles pour préparer un CV, comment réussir un entretien

Comment percevez-vous l'impact des politiques européennes sur la vie des migrants au Maroc ?

En +++:

- 2015/2017: période de régularisation à cause de la crise migratoire (régularisation plus simple pour les femmes et les enfants  vulnérable)
- Europe donne de l'argent au Maroc
- Travail énorme fait par le Maroc en terme de migration → pays d'accueil et plus pays de transit??
- Pression de l'Europe pour ratifier les lois + volonté du Roi d'intégrer les migrants au sein de la communauté marocaine
- Demande d'appel de fonds

Conclusion:

Contribution économique:

- Importation/exportation produits africains sur le marché marocain: acheter par les subsahariens, normes différentes (nourriture: poulet, riz, poisson...)
- Exportation de textiles traditionnels: kaftan, babouches...
- Louer des appartements: pas d'impôts sur les appartements car informel

Contribution sociale:

- Impacts sur grandes villes: les plus habités par ces nouveaux arrivants car plus de chances pour eux de faire du commerce
- Changer la vision de la société marocaine: changer la façon de s'habiller
- Fusion entre les cultures: personnes qui parlent le woulof/darija
- Adaptation au rythme de vie marocain
- Mariage entre les cultures

Religion:

- Migrants musulmans, chrétiens
- Consitution 2011  tolérance des religions
- Participation à des cérémonies religieuses

## **Appendix no. 8 : Interviews with 7 migrants from Africa settle in Turkey.**

What were your main motivations for leaving your home country and choosing Turkey as a destination?

G: business, open a store here, he already had a store in Gabon (Libreville), a clothes store because the quality of clothes in Turkey is better than in Gabon

H: he came to study and after he started to look for a job, now he is still unemployed

I: he came to Istanbul to study in Medipol as, a computer engineer

J: she came to study at Sakara University, and she learned Turkish here and she is now doing her PhD in medicine. She got a scholarship.

K: she came to Turkey for business and clothes trade □ they call it the CARGO business, they send clothes from here to Uganda

AB: she came to Turkey to find a job and to earn money.

L: he came to Turkey to work in clothes business, now he's doing cargo and selling clothes to people living in Turkey.

Could you tell us about your migration journey until you arrived in Turkey? Where and when did you first settle in Turkey?

G: he came by flight and before, in Gabon, he applied for a residence permit for 1 year and now he extends it every year.

H: he came by flight and said that he has Ikamet and extends it every year.

I: came by flight and he has his Ikamet (every year)

J: she came by flight and also got her Ikamet for one year (renewable)

K: she came by flight and she always travels (one/two times a month) and she has a business visa

AB: she comes by flight and she doesn't go too much to Sénégal, one time every 2 years. Now she doesn't have IKAMET

L: he came by flight and he has his Ikamet for 1 year.

How do you feel integrated into Turkish society? What are the positives and challenges of your integration here?

G: he doesn't feel integrated at all, he feels racism a lot and discrimination, he said that the first year he didn't feel any racism but for 1 year (2023) because of the national election, a lot of

migrants have been deported so he felt more racism than before. He told a story that when he went inside a store, he wanted help, and nobody tried to help him. When they want to bargain, people are brought outside of the store.

H: he doesn't feel any racism, he has a lot of Turkish friends because he can communicate with them in Arabic

I: he said he felt integrated in Turkish society, he said that sometimes he can feel weird looking but he doesn't care.

J: she said that since the last national elections, the discrimination against foreigners is going up. She added that it's not only against African people but against all non-Turkish citizens. She said the last elections separated the Turkish society between people for and against foreigners. She said most of the Turkish people are nationalists.

K: she said she feels a lot of discrimination but she is used to it and, at the same time, because there is a big community from Uganda, they're helping each other all the time

AB: she said she feels integrated, she doesn't feel any form of discrimination here. She speaks the language.

L: he feels integrated and he said that there is not too much racism or discrimination

Have you benefited from any specific integration programs or policies in Turkey?

G: no, he didn't use any integration program because he knew people before coming here.

H: he didn't use any program

L: he said that there are programs but he never attend

What have been your experiences about access to education?

G: he didn't need education because he came alone but he said that if you have kids here, they can't go to public school (he said there are "schools for black people")

H: he didn't need it because he came alone to Istanbul

K: no because her children are in Senegal not here

What have been your experiences about access to healthcare?

G: he didn't need to have access to healthcare.

H: no need to access

I: he said that it is not possible to have access to public hospitals, every non-Turkish citizen needs to go to private clinics.

J: she has access to everything because of her scholarship that covers everything.

K: she doesn't have any insurance, so no access to public services only private clinics

AB: she said that because she doesn't have any insurance, it is hard to find access to hospital

L: he said that he can only use private hospitals.

What have been your experiences with finding housing in Turkey?

G: he said it was really hard for him to find a flat. When he found one flat, the owner said 1 week before that he needed to get out because there were problems in the building.

H: he said he first came here and lived in a hotel and after, thanks to his network, he found a flat

I: not complicated because he has access to dormitories

J: she used to live in dormitories but now, she found a place in Fatih and she said it became too expensive

K: it was not hard because Turkish agencies helped them to find a place to live

AB: first, she found a flat thanks to her friend, but she said it was hard to find and also expensive. She also said that the flat wasn't furnished so she needed to invest in basic furniture (which are expensive in Turkey)

L: he didn't have problems to find housing because there is a big community of Senegalese people in Istanbul

How did you find employment in Turkey? What challenges have you faced in the labor market?

G: he came up with his own idea business and created it, he said it was hard to gather all the paperwork but at the end he made it.

H: the major challenge is the language barrier, he said he didn't find a job because he doesn't speak the language now (but he wants to take classes to learn Turkish)

J: she's working in informal job such as helping people in the cargo business (150 do a month)

K: the business was already settle in Istanbul so she came to work here

AB: She did a lot of different jobs (perfume, clothes, fabrication...) and at the end, she started working with her husband in the cargo business and money transfer. She speaks Turkish as well.

L: he found his own business in Istanbul.

Have you benefited from programs funded or supported by European organizations?

G: no



H: no

J: she said she never used it because she contacted the Uganda community to help her.

What are your future plans regarding your migrant status in Turkey? Do you plan to settle in Turkey or migrate to another country?

G: he doesn't want to settle here because he said the economy and inflation is bad, he doesn't see any future perspectives here, he just wants to make money and come back to his country. He added that his first goal was to go to Europe but after he realized that it is not possible anymore.

H: he doesn't want to stay.

I: he doesn't want to stay but maybe he can find a Master's program here

J: she might stay here because she knows the language so if she found a good job opportunity, she might stay longer.

K: she doesn't want to stay here, she said here it's only for business

AB: she doesn't want to stay here; she wants to come back to Senegal. Maybe Europe, but now it is impossible.

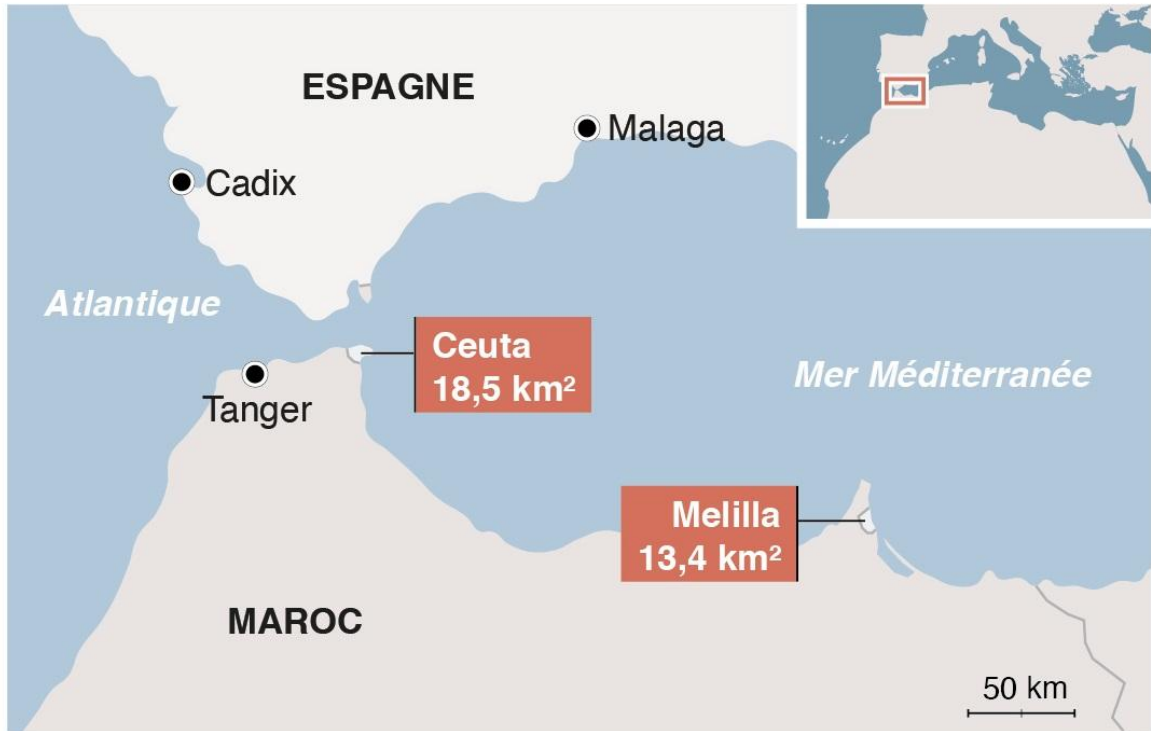
L: he doesn't want to stay here, he will stay maybe 4/5 years, and after he wants to go back to Senegal and he wants to start a business with China. He wanted to go to Europe but he didn't work so he stayed here. He added that there was a big crisis for African migrants here in Istanbul because a lot of them have been deported.

## **Appendix no. 9: Map of Spanish enclaves located in the North of Morocco from Keystone**

– **Gerhard Riezler**<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Riezler, G. (n.d.). Ceuta et Melilla, ces enclaves que l'Espagne tient à garder. *RTS*. <https://www.rts.ch/info/monde/13266522-ceuta-et-melilla-ces-enclaves-que-lespaigne-tient-a-garder.html>



Infographie : Keystone-ATS, source : APA