



GENDERED ENCOUNTERS IIN PIOST-MIGRATION: JOIINT DAILY LIFE EXPERIENCES OF SYRIAN AND LOCAL WOMEN IN HATAY

Selin Altunkaynak Vodina

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ROVIRA I VIRGILI**

**GENDERED ENCOUNTERS IN POST-MIGRATION:
JOINT DAILY LIFE EXPERIENCES OF SYRIAN AND
LOCAL WOMEN IN HATAY**

SELIN ALTUNKAYNAK VODINA

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

DOCTORAL THESIS

2022



UNIVERSITAT
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United Nations
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UNESCO Chair in Intercultural Dialogue
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Tarragona



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

Gendered Encounters in Post-Migration: Joint Daily Living Experiences of Syrian and Local Women in Hatay

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Doctoral Thesis

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Department of History and History of Art

Doctoral Programme in Humanistic Studies

Tarragona

2022



UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI



FAIG CONSTAR que aquest treball, titulat "Gendered Encounters in post-migratory daily life: Joint Living Experiences of Syrian and Local Women in Hatay", que presenta SELIN ALTUNKAYNAK per a l'obtenció del títol de Doctor, ha estat realitzat sota la meua direcció al Departament HISTÒRIA d'aquesta universitat.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for my supervisors Prof. Enric Olive Serret and Dr. Didem Daniş for their valuable advice, guidance, and tremendous support. Their profound knowledge and patience have guided me throughout my academic journey. Feeling their heartfelt support gave me the strength to overcome the challenges of the thesis, enabling me to move forward.

A significant part of the thesis consists of field work during which I have been in touch with the lives of so many. I can't begin to cite their names but especially I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my interpreters Dilek and Pınar with whom I have become later close friends. The people of Hatay need to be acknowledged not only because they have extended their hospitality to me but also demonstrated a warm and continuous support which I indeed needed to finalize my thesis.

I can't thank enough my mom Şükran, my father Celal and brother Kerem Altunkaynak for their endless support and patience at the midst of their concerns and anxiety for me whilst I have been traveling for the field work. This thesis is in fact a gift given to me by all women showing solidarity with me, with my dearest Mom being in the first place. My second parents Zeynep and Mehmet Vodina who walked into my life during the thesis, have been more excited than me. I can't thank them enough either for motivating me every time I panicked about the defense day.

My beloved husband Can deserves full credit for he has gone through the perils of a coup in a city that he doesn't know, for all of his efforts in reviewing the thesis including the acknowledgments and for almost having worked as much as I did. That's why, for now it would suffice to say that I'm so glad to have him.

Finally, I would like to thank everyone who supported me throughout the thesis with their comments, ideas and advice. Too many people I can't count their names have made this study to come true. Of course, I would like to save the last sentence for women who have been the corner stone of this study: Without women solidarity, none of this could be possible!

And Deniz... This adventure could not be completed without you.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RESULTING FROM THIS THESIS

Published Journal Articles:

Altunkaynak Selin. (2016). Intersecting Lives in Post-Migration Period: the Dynamics of Relations Between ‘Host’ Women from Turkey and ‘Guest’ Women from Syria. *Alternatif Politika*, 8(3): 488-504. E-ISSN: 1309-0593.
<http://alternatifpolitika.com/makale/intersecting-lives-in-post-migration-period-the-dynamics-of-relations-between-host-women-from-turkey-and-guest-women-from-syria>

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Academic Initiatives:

Foundation of the Association for Migration Research in Turkey in 2017-as founding member

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ABSTRACT

In 2011, at the outbreak of the intensified Syrian war, the Government of Turkey opened its doors to refugees from Syria and has found itself in a position to host approximately 3.5 million Syrian refugees in the absence of an efficient refugee policy and an appropriate infrastructure. The Government's admission policy - in fact, a requisite of the international customary law, within the meaning of the non-refoulment principle- has been built and carried upon a narrative of hospitality. This has resulted in the partial approval of Syrian refugees in Turkish public opinion as guests who are hosted for a temporary period. Host and guest concepts are the natural result of the relations shaped by societal norms and by nature their fundamental characteristic is the element of temporariness which is directly linked to the social cohesion discussions.

Considering the fact that half of the newcomers consist of women, this thesis will answer the following questions based on the findings of fieldwork conducted with 77 women participants in Hatay province of Turkey, a border city between Syria and Turkey: How the women will establish relationships with each other given their numbers and their crucial and significant role within the society in the establishment of daily, routine relationships? Another unknown to be added to the equation is the direction through which the relationships between the host and guests will evolve in the context of perceived threat and patriarchy. In the 10th year of the Syrian Humanitarian Situation what would be the main trend between guest refugee women of Syria and host women of Turkey, within the dichotomy of acceptance and refusal? In the light of these questions, this thesis aims to analyze how the gender roles are reproduced in the post migration period in the context of host-guest, patriarchy, and perceived threat narrative. Additionally, it will look at how these roles come into play in relations between women, which factors contribute to the determination of the established relations and how the communication between women concretize in the real world. Furthermore, within the

scope of this thesis, the positionality of the researcher in a feminist methodology will be discussed by focusing on the patriarchal structure.

The results will, subsequently, be used as tools to analyze the construction of inter-women relations.

Keywords: gender, migration, syrian refugees, Hatay, host-guest narrative, social Cohesion, perceived threat theory, reproduction of patriarchy, feminist methodology

RESUMEN

En 2011, al estallar la guerra siria intensificada, el Gobierno de Turquía abrió sus puertas a los refugiados de Siria y se encontró en condiciones de acoger a aproximadamente 3,5 millones de refugiados sirios en ausencia de una política de refugiados eficiente y una infraestructura adecuada. La política de admisión del Gobierno, que es, de hecho, un requisito del derecho consuetudinario internacional, en el sentido del principio de no devolución, se ha construido y llevado a cabo sobre la base de una narrativa de hospitalidad. Esto ha dado lugar a la aprobación parcial de los refugiados sirios a los ojos de la opinión pública turca como invitados que son alojados por un período temporal. Los conceptos de anfitrión e invitado son el resultado natural de las relaciones moldeadas por las normas sociales y, por naturaleza, su característica fundamental es el elemento de temporalidad que está directamente relacionado con las discusiones de cohesión social.

Teniendo en cuenta el hecho de que la mitad de los recién llegados son mujeres, esta investigación responderá las siguientes preguntas basadas en los hallazgos del trabajo de campo realizado con 77 mujeres participantes en la provincia de Hatay en Turquía, una ciudad fronteriza entre Siria y Turquía: ¿Cómo establecerán relaciones las mujeres? entre sí, dado su número y su papel crucial y significativo dentro de la sociedad en el establecimiento de relaciones cotidianas y rutinarias? Otra incógnita que se agregará a la ecuación es la dirección a través de la cual evolucionarán las relaciones entre el anfitrión y los invitados en el contexto de la amenaza percibida y el patriarcado. En el décimo año de la situación humanitaria siria, ¿cuál sería la principal tendencia entre las mujeres refugiadas invitadas de Siria y las mujeres de acogida de Turquía, dentro de la dicotomía de aceptación y rechazo? A la luz de estas preguntas, esta tesis tiene como objetivo analizar cómo se reproducen los roles de género en el período post migratorio en el contexto de la narrativa anfitrión-huésped, patriarcado y amenaza percibida, cómo estos roles entran en juego en las relaciones entre mujeres, que Los

factores contribuyen a la determinación de las relaciones establecidas y cómo la comunicación entre mujeres se concreta en el mundo real. Además, en el marco de esta tesis, se discutiría la posicionalidad de la investigadora en una metodología feminista centrándose en la estructura patriarcal.

Posteriormente, los resultados se utilizarán como herramientas para analizar la construcción de relaciones entre mujeres.

Palabras clave: género, migración, refugiados sirios, provincia de Hatay, narrativa anfitrión-invitado, cohesión social, teoría de la amenaza percibida, reproducción del patriarcado, metodología feminista.

RESUM

El 2011, a l'esclatar la guerra siriana intensificada, el Govern de Turquia va obrir les seves portes als refugiats de Síria i es va trobar en condicions d'acollir a aproximadament 3,5 milions de refugiats sirians en absència d'una política de refugiats eficient i una infraestructura adequada. La política d'admissió de Govern, que és, de fet, un requisit de el dret consuetudinari internacional, en el sentit de el principi de no devolució, s'ha construït i portat a terme sobre la base d'una narrativa d'hospitalitat. Això ha donat lloc a l'aprovació parcial dels refugiats sirians als ulls de l'opinió pública turca com convidats que són allotjats per un període temporal. Els conceptes d'amfitrió i convidat són el resultat natural de les relacions modelades per les normes socials i, per naturalesa, la seva característica fonamental és l'element de temporalitat que està directament relacionat amb les discussions de cohesió social.

Tenint en compte el fet que la meitat dels nousvinguts són dones, aquesta investigació respondrà les següents preguntes basades en les troballes de la feina de camp realitzat amb 77 dones participants a la província de Hatay a Turquia, una ciutat fronterera entre Síria i Turquia: Com establir relacions les dones? entre si, donat el seu nombre i el seu paper crucial i significatiu dins de la societat en l'establiment de relacions quotidianes i rutinàries? Una altra incògnita que s'afegirà a l'equació és la direcció a través de la qual evolucionaran les relacions entre l'amfitrió i els convidats en el context de l'amenaça percebuda i el patriarcat. En el desè any de la situació humanitària siriana, ¿quina seria la principal tendència entre les dones refugiades convidades de Síria i les dones d'acollida de Turquia, dins de la dicotomia d'acceptació i rebuig? A la llum d'aquestes preguntes, aquesta tesi té com a objectiu analitzar com es reproduïen els rols de gènere en el període post migratori en el context de la narrativa amfitrió-hoste, patriarcat i amenaça percebuda, com aquests rols entren en joc en les relacions entre dones, que els factors contribueixen a la determinació de les relacions establertes i com la comunicació entre dones es concreta en el món real. A

més, en el marc d'aquesta tesi, es discutiria la posicionalitat de la investigadora en una metodologia feminista centrant-se en l'estructura patriarcal.

Posteriorment, els resultats s'utilitzaran com a eines per analitzar la construcció de relacions entre dones.

Paraules clau: gènere, migració, refugiats sirians, província de Hatay, narrativa amfitrió-convidat, cohesió social, teoria de l'amenaça percebuda, reproducció de l'patriarcat, metodologia feminista.

1. CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

1.1. Living Together: Social Cohesion Discussions in Migration Studies

In the post migration period, the establishment of joint daily life relation between newcomers and host community is the most significant process of migration. During the process of establishing a joint daily life, a well-structured social cohesion policy, may reduce the negative experiences and problems likely to occur in the post migration period between the host community and newcomers. Although the concept of migration is not a new one and that almost all country in the world have experienced it to some degree, its context in view of social cohesion is more crucial, especially for countries that experience forced, unexpected and mass migratory movements.

As stated in the 2019 Global Trends report of UNHCR, 79.5 million of people are forcibly displaced, forced to leave their countries and try to settle in new locations due to reasons such as war, conflict and violence, by the end of 2019.¹ The statistics of Turkey's Directorate General of Migration Management shows that, as of March 2021, 3.663.336² Syrian nationals had to leave their homes and continue their lives in Turkey. As a result of this mass and forced migration, Turkey's border cities continue to host a

¹ UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2019*, June 20, accessed March 28, 2021, <https://www.unhcr.org/statistics/unherstats/5ee200e37/unhcr-global-trends-2019.html>.

² The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), "Temporary Protection Statistics: Distribution of Syrian Refugees in the Scope of Temporary Protection by Year", March 2021, accessed March 28, 2021, <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>

significant number of Syrian refugees in need of international protection. In most of the prominent border provinces such as Gaziantep, Urfa and Hatay, the ratio of the Syrian population is no less than %20 of the entire population, whereas this number is even more striking in the example of another border province, namely Kilis, where Syrians constitute the 74,54 percent of the total population.³ Against this background, problems and challenges in view of social cohesion are taking place, inevitably, between the host community and the newcomers. Understanding these dynamics is crucial in order to have a better chance of early interventions and being able to work towards solutions.

In the 10th year of the forced migration from Syria, the activities on social cohesion and access to livelihoods are as important as the emergency response and basic needs interventions for civil society, academia and political actors.

Stanley describes social cohesion in the most general sense as: “*it appears to be based on the willingness of people in a society to cooperate with each other in the diversity of collective enterprises that members of a society must do in order to survive and prosper.*”⁴ With the understanding that social cohesion is a process in which every participant is equally involved, it’s very important to ensure that both social cohesion groups are acting together and multilateralism is considered as the basis for every action that will be implemented in order to achive social cohesion.

By the year 2019, Turkey’s migration agenda is also shaped through social cohesion policies and activities. Considering that social cohesion implies a two-way engagement and process, the current policies in Turkey are only focusing on one aspect, i.e to adapt Syrian refugees into Turkish culture and way of living. In other words, there

³ The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), “Temporary Protection Statistics”, accessed March 28, 2021, <https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638>.

⁴ Dick Stanley, “What Do We Know about Social Cohesion: The Research Perspective of the Federal Government's Social Cohesion Research Network,” *Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens De Sociologie* 28, no. 1 (2003): 4.

are no policies in place on how the host community should be harmonized with the newcomers. The legal framework, namely the Law on Foreigners and International Protection has entered into force in 2013⁵, and as it can ben seen below has provision related to social cohesion under the title of harmonization. However, overall, it does not have a perspective of ensuring the harmonization of both components of the society

The contents of cohesion policies stated in Article 96 titled as ‘Harmonization’ include:

“ARTICLE 96 – Harmonization : (1) The Directorate General may, to the extent that Turkey’s economic and financial capacity deems possible, plan for harmonization activities in order to facilitate mutual harmonization between foreigners, applicants and international protection beneficiaries and the society as well as to equip them with the knowledge and skills to be independently active in all areas of social life without the assistance of third persons in Turkey or in the country to which they are resettled or in their own country. For these purposes, the Directorate General may seek the suggestions and contributions of public institutions and agencies, local governments, non-governmental organizations, universities and international organizations. (2) Foreigners may attend courses where the basics of political structure, language, legal system, culture and history of Turkey as well as their rights and obligations are explained. (3) The Directorate General shall promote the courses related to access to public and private goods and services, access to education and economic activities, social and cultural communications, and access to primary healthcare services and, awareness and information activities through distant learning and similar means in cooperation with public institutions and agencies and non-governmental organizations..”⁶

⁵ Turkey’s Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LoFIP) of 2013, Law No. 6458, April 2013, accessed March 28, 2021, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/5167fbb20.html>.

⁶ Turkey’s Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LoFIP) of 2013, article 96.

This article shows that, there is no regulation on social cohesion except that foreigners can participate in courses and unilaterally adapt to Turkish culture. However, in the 2017-2021 Strategic Plan⁷ that was announced in June 2017, four main strategic goals on cohesion were determined. In this document, 2021 objectives are set out as follows:

*“Strategic Objective 5.1: To support extending courses and establishing self-contained cohesion programs in order to ease the adaptation of newcomers and increasing the participation rate, Objective 5.2: To support the cohesion processes of foreigners in our country, especially children and people with special needs, Objective 5.3: To develop and implement an effective cohesion process by ensuring coordination in between cohesion groups, Objective 5.4: To inform the public regularly about the issues within the scope of our General Directorate.”*⁸

Taking a closer look at the strategic actions of this plan, it’s possible to see that there is no cohesion strategy targeting both groups and its actions focus solely on the issues about the children’s adaptation, teaching Turkish language for the newcomers and informing them about their rights. Overlooking the role and importance of host community is not only a trait of the legal framework, as the civil society and academia had the same approach at least at the beginning of the situation. When the theses on migration studies are observed on the national database of scientific studies in Turkey, it is only after the year 2016 that theses focusing on the subject matter of social cohesion have emerged. 9

The fact that the social cohesion aspect is often overlooked can be linked to the

⁷ The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), “Strategic Plan 2017-2021”, June 2017, accessed 04 April, 2021. https://www.goc.gov.tr/files/files/stratejik_plan_sitede_yay%C4%B1nlanan.pdf.

⁸ Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), “Strategic Plan 2017-2021,” 87.

⁹ Council of Higher Education, “Thesis Center,” accessed July 22, 2019, <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/giris.jsp>. According to the detailed search for thesis which includes the word of “Syrian” in their titles in National Thesis Center between the dates 2011-2019.

perspective of temporariness introduced and reproduced by Turkish government, Turkish society as well as Syrian society. As Biner and Soykan have stated, the temporary protection regime limits the capacity of Syrian refugees in every sense possible during the process of establishing new lives. On the legal front, the status of Syrians is defined as temporary and its manifestation in daily life has been their treatment as guests¹⁰. But this guest designation creates some issues for the rights of the refugees. Because the norms and limited time period that define the relationship between the host and the guest are built upon the guest's gratitude rather than having rights, which ultimately means they should consent to what is given instead of asking for the rights. Consequently, the refugees are expected to be inclined of showing gratitude to what is provided to them. Any fluctuation in this approach tends to cause damage to the established relationship between the guest and the host which deserves the highest respect and makes them some sort of rivals in a competition.¹¹ Cohesion processes, the communications and interactions in between the newcomers and host community are shaped by this discourse. Even though guest narrative is not the only dynamic that effects social cohesion processes, its importance is undeniable.

¹⁰ Özge Biner and Cavidan Soykan, *Mülteci-der Raporu: Suriyeli Mültecilerin Perspektifinden Türkiye'de Yaşam* [Mülteci-Der Report: Life in Turkey Through the Perspective of Syrians Refugees], April 2016, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://www.multeci.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/SURIYELI-MULTECILERIN-PERSPEKTIFINDEN-TURKIYE-DE-YASAM.pdf>, 9.

¹¹ Selin Altunkaynak, "Intersecting Lives in Post-Migration Period: The Dynamics of Relations between "Host" Women from Turkey and 'Guest' Women from Syria," *Alternatif Politika* 8, no. 3 (2016): 497-498, <http://alternatifpolitika.com/site/dosyalar/arsiv/24-Ekim-2016/4-selin-altunkaynak--intersecting-lives-in-post-migration-period.pdf>. Also see: Donald N. Levine, "Simmel at a Distance: On the History and the Systematics of the Sociology of the Stranger", *Sociological Focus* 10 (1977) cited in *Race Relations and Cultural Differences: Educational and Interpersonal Perspectives*, ed. Gajendra Verma and Christopher Bagley (New York: Routledge, 2012), 40-49; Feyzi Baban, Suzan Ilcan and Kim Rygie, "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Pathways to Precarity, Differential Inclusion, and Negotiated Citizenship Rights," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 43, no. 1 (2017): 41-57; Ahmet İçduygu and Doğu Şimşek, "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Towards Integration Policies," *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (2016): 59-69; Doğu Şimşek and Metin Çorabatır, "Challenges and Opportunities of Refugee Integration in Turkey," *Research Centre on Asylum and Integration (IGAM)*, <http://www.igamder.org/wpcontent/uploads/2017/01/Challenges-and-opportunities-of-refugee-integration-in-turkey-full-report.pdf>; Doğu Şimşek, "Integration Processes of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Class-Based Integration," *Journal of Refugee Studies* (2018).

1.2. Bringing Gender Sensitivity in Social Cohesion Discussions

Analyzing migration and cohesion issues from genderless point of view would lead to neglect a very important aspect, especially in the Middle Eastern societies in which gender is a significant element of oppression mechanisms. A research based on gender and making women the subject of the topic contributes to the literature on gender and migration. Hence it will be a positive step towards enabling the women who are ‘invisible’ and ‘secondary’ in the fields of migration to become visible and the subject of topics.

In her book, *Engendering Forced Migration*, Indra emphasizes the importance of gender sensitivity in migration studies by underlining that most of the migration studies about women are limited with topics such as health and family, while they needed to be addressed equally with men. She further points out that women should be perceived as the main subject of migration studies instead of a secondary role attributed to the existence of men and responsible of taking care of children during the migration.¹²

As also stated by Indra, the established patriarchal structure attributes a secondary role to the women. Women are defined as mothers, wives and sisters while being almost invisible in the society. This flawed structure appears especially in forced migration setting. This is even more striking when we consider the number of females where, according to the available UNHCR data, males and females are almost equal to each other with 25.4 million men and boys and 25.7 million women and girls.¹³

¹² Doreen Indra, ed., *Engendering Forced Migration: Theory and Practice* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008).

¹³ UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Global Trends*, 60.

However, in post-migration era, women have unique experiences based on their gender and also participate in migration in order to make use of opportunities arising outside of their homelands in a global scale.¹⁴ This constructed invisibility clouds these unique experiences based on gender.

Tillion in her book, *Le Harem et Les Cousins*, focuses on the experiences of being a woman in Mediterranean countries by emphasizing the importance of the location and time. According to her, women in each location and time period has their own unique experiences.¹⁵ In her book *Concubines, Sisters, Citizens*, Kandiyoti underlines the fact that even though there are a lot of historical research studies about gender relationships in Western cultures, the issues of women are still being evaluated by an outdated religious perspective and the principles of Islam in Muslim societies.¹⁶ Therefore establishing a new perspective focusing on gender would create a new direction to gender studies and enrich migration studies altogether. In such studies, concepts like patriarchy, patriarchal bargains, gender crises, gender roles should take place in the heart of these studies and become an essential part of conversations about migration and cohesion.

Of course, there are some other aspects to consider for studying migration from a gender related perspective. The feminist studies emphasize the non-resemblance and uniqueness of each woman's experience as a subject of their researches. Hence it would less accurate to identify and evaluate the cohesion and interactions between the women from Syria or Turkey in a single and absolute perspective. There are many different social positions of women reminding notion of intersectionality in migration and gender

¹⁴ Saniye Dedeoğlu and Çisel Ekiz Gökmen, *Göç ve Sosyal Dışlanma* (Ankara: Efil Yayınları, 2011), 21.

¹⁵ Germaine Tillion, *Le Harem Et Les Cousins* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1966), trans. Şirin Tekeli and Nükhet Sirman as *Harem ve Kuzenler* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2006), 37.

¹⁶ Nikki R. Keddie, "Problems in the Study of Middle Eastern Women," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 2 (1979): 225-240; Judith E. Tucker, "Problems in the Historiography of Women in the Middle East: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 15, no. 3 (1983): 321-336, cited by Deniz Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler* [Concubines, Sisters, Citizens: Identities and Social Transformations] (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2013), 119.

studies, meaning that women will all have completely different post-migration experiences. Women's individual socioeconomic status and backgrounds, both amongst the newcomers and host community, will shape how they will experience migration and develop their relationships. The unique experiences of women are at the risk of being overlooked if women are categorized and considered as homogenic groups.

As such, in this thesis, the women from Syria and Turkey are defined as two separate heterogeneous groups and the effects of individual experiences of women are analyzed from their subjective experiences.

As it will be explained in the following sub sections, the socioeconomic status, the history, the demographics and political structure of the region where the migration took place, will contribute to the experiences during migration and post migration, in addition to the impact made by differences amongst women. Consequently, the dynamics of Hatay where this thesis and fieldwork has been materialized are as important as the backgrounds of women. At the same time, the political discourse and the concept of Syrian migration will also be an important element in these relationships. The following sub-sections will analyze these dynamics in a gendered context.

1.3. The Research Purpose: From Local to National, Contributions to Gender Sensitive Social Cohesion in the Field

Back in 2011, even though it was too early for the host community to experience much of daily life interactions or relations with the refugees, the public opinion on Syrian women was already negative as portrayed on popular social media platforms such Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Ekşi Sözlük etc and various news channels were full

of negative comments about Syrian women. In particular, the most striking statements were on online women forums where Turkish women perceived Syrian women as threats. These statements included a lot of negative thoughts and prejudices, some of which reproduced patriarchal discourse with expressions such as threatening the Turkish family structure, being obliged to share Turkish husbands or simply calling out on Syrian women for being well dressed and wearing make-up.

Threatening the family structure, is one of the core elements affecting the nature of the relationships and the core of the joint life that the newcomers will establish with the host community, by the virtue of family's centered in the middle of the patriarchal structure. The family, as one the of oppression tools on women, needs to be protected against the newcomers by the women in the host community. As such it becomes an important element affecting the nature of relationships amongst women. One of the primary objectives of this thesis is to analyze why the women in the host community perceives newcomers as a threat. The primary objectives in this sub-section are to reveal the dynamics determining the course of relations in between women through observation and participating in their daily routines and to explore the focal points of these dynamics that prompt them to establish cohesion or dissent. It is aimed to reveal the points that women perceive each other as threats or harmless, make suggestions on cohesion and coexistence for their interactions in daily life and convey the real information in the field to the relevant institutions and society.

Another goal of this thesis is to elaborate on the social, economic and demographic influences of Syrian migration in Hatay, where different cultures live together and the tradition of multiculturalism continues. The thesis aims at studying women perspective within the 'guest' and 'host' relationship created because of political discourses in Hatay, along with other concepts such as Insider/Outsider, strangerhood, gossip, prejudice, perceived and integrated threat, group anxiety, gender, reproduction of patriarchy.

In order to achieve all these objectives mentioned above, the thesis' area of focus and priority will be to observe and analyze the host community and Syrian newcomers through the neighborhood and daily life relations in the field. In accordance with these observations, it is equally important to identify the circumstances in which the host community and newcomers have conflicts or show solidarity. Also, regarding social cohesion, it is essential to map out the concerns and expectations of interacting groups in the city. Such a mapping activity will portray the requirements for social cohesion in Hatay and also in a larger context.

The field study, which will be carried out from a feminist perspective in gender and migration studies researches, would be very useful for putting forward various suggestions by exploring the subjective dynamics of post-migration encounters. Thus, such a study that is far from generalizations and addressing the root causes would be able to reflect the real situation on the ground.

To conclude, the objective of this thesis is to explore the changes over time by a long-term field study covering a 6-years period between 2014-2020 while analyzing the dynamics of regional social cohesion. The fact that the sample group has different socio-economic statuses and identities, the continuity of the fieldwork and its spread over a long period would make significant contributions for solutions of the regional problems. This thesis aims to contribute to the development of a gender-sensitive social cohesion mechanism by exploring the effects of patriarchal structures and stranger context.

1.4. The Importance of the Thesis: Enhancing Gender and Migration Studies in Turkey within the Context of Syrian Migration

The importance of all studies on social cohesion is increasing because migration movements cause significant social changes in many areas. During the process of change that occurs in the post-migration society, examining the relations between the groups, the phase of establishing a mutual daily life, will help to come up with solutions to the issues that arise within the context of migration. For this reason, a qualitative research based on the social change aspect of migration and the relations between the host and refugee communities is important and would contribute to social cohesion and solution processes.

When the databases of Turkey's Council of Higher Education Thesis Center¹⁷ is searched with the keywords "Syrian" a striking difference can be seen in the number of Ph.D. and Master theses between 2011 and 2019 (July).¹⁸ Looking at the subject matter of these Ph.D. theses it can be seen that 9 of them are related to children's rights and the access of refugee children to education. 5 of the theses focused on media and Syrians, and 6 of them focused on social cohesion. The remaining theses cover the legal, economic and security aspects of the current situation. No thesis regarding the gender dimension of the current situation could be identified. The situation of women has been included only in a short part of the few theses that emphasized the gender aspect.

On the other hand, the number of master's theses that can be found using the same word is much more frequent.¹⁹ When the subjects of master's theses are examined, the change throughout the years manifests itself. In the first years of the arrival of Syrian refugees the main subjects of theses were related to legal and security aspects. Theses on social cohesion could on be found by the end of 2016. Researches on social cohesion has reached its peak between 2018 and 2019. However, when these theses are analyzed carefully it can be observed that out of 234 theses in total, only 18 of them included keywords 'gender' and 'women'. In almost, the 10th year of Syrian

¹⁷ Council of Higher Education, "Thesis Center," accessed July 22, 2019.

¹⁸ Council of Higher Education, "Thesis Center," accessed July 22, 2019. As of 22nd of July 2019, the number of PhD theses including the word "Syrian" is 31.

¹⁹ Council of Higher Education, "Thesis Center," accessed July 22, 2019. As of 22nd of July 2019, the number of master theses including the word "Syrian" is 234.

migration in Turkey, this observation leads to conclude that that gender issues have not been adequately addressed. Even though, academic production can't be confined to master's and PhD theses, this short literature review shows that there is a disproportion.

In the period between 2014-2016, when the preliminary preparation for this thesis was being made, very few sources could be found regarding the Syrians and the issue of cohesion, especially, in its gender aspect. These few sources were the reports prepared by NGOs²⁰. The first study to address gender issue was published as a book as a result of a field study conducted by Zeynep Kıvılcım and Nurcan Özgür in 2015, focusing on the problems experienced by Syrian women LGBTI individuals²¹. Yet it did not lean on the mutual relations amongst women in post migration.

Additionally, it is important to examine the structure of the province where the field study will be carried out, with a focus on social changes in post migration. Considering Hatay with its multi-ethnic structure, commercial and kinship proximity to Syria, political and demographic diversity, along with the fact that its a border city, it is safe to say that the field study that will be carried out in this province would be very important and to explore diverse factors on social cohesion. The field study that is carried out in this region had the opportunity to include people from different groups in the sample group, thus the analysis is diversified. In addition of having a multi-ethnic cultural structure and ties with Syria, Hatay is one of the provinces where Arabic is the mother tongue of the host community's majority. As many social cohesion studies assume that language barrier is the main factor to impact social cohesion, Hatay's unique situation will allow to focus on the factors other than the language.

²⁰ For the first report published by an NGO, see Mazlum-Der Women Studies Group, *The Report on Syrian Woman Refugees Living Out of the Camps*, May 2014, accessed July 31, 2019, [http://istanbul.mazlumder.org/webimage/files/The%20Report%20on%20Syrian%20Women%20Refugees\(1\).pdf](http://istanbul.mazlumder.org/webimage/files/The%20Report%20on%20Syrian%20Women%20Refugees(1).pdf).

²¹ Zeynep Kıvılcım and Nurcan Özgür Baklacioğlu., *Sürgünde Toplumsal Cinsiyet: İstanbul'da Suriyeli Kadın ve LGBTI Mülteciler* (İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2015).

The duration of the field study is another important aspect for this thesis. Field activities were carried out in two phases that include two periods of 2014-2016 and 2019-2020. As mentioned earlier, this study also has the opportunity to analyze the change through time as it covers a long five-year period.

On the other hand, this thesis will prioritize women, often placed in a secondary role in migration studies. It also aims to create space in Turkish migration studies for Syrian and Turkish women by revealing their thoughts on migration and joint living experiences. Another important feature of this thesis is its discussion about the position of its researcher within the scope of the study. As it will be discussed in the following sub-sections, the discussions on researcher's positionality will help to understand the perspective of this thesis, clarify its objectives, and measure its impact on women.

Other important aspects of this thesis can be listed as its contribution to establishment of social cohesion among women, its attempts to strengthen their relations, its efforts to attract society's attention to the subject and to provide some suggestions within the scope of social cohesion. This study will have an important place in terms of developing solutions for cohesion, synthesizing obtained data with the feminist approach and contribute to the literature on social cohesion.

1.5. Research Place, Hatay: The Capital of Civilizations or the Capital of Intolerance?

The importance of regional context and localization is emphasized frequently in migration studies. The number of studies that examine migration on a location basis is increasing day by day, and these studies focus on the spatial experience of migration and the effects of space on post-migration relationship dynamics. The importance of

locations for everyday lives has been observed by social scientists for a long time and it is believed that the social interactions of daily life take place in locations and through locations. Hence, addressing the spatial issues in the context of transnational social relations is important for the development of contemporary social theory and migration studies.²² The preliminary findings of the fieldwork show that there are important spatial dynamics on the social, cultural, economic and political experiences between newcomers and host communities. This part will provide a brief structure of Hatay to contextualize the spatial aspect of the data obtained in the field and to measure the effect of space and all of its related components.

- *Historical Aspects*

Hatay, known as Antiochia in the past, is a city established in the southern part of Anatolia, on the Syrian border. The city hosted many civilizations for ages and had a critical role during the establishment and development of the Republic of Turkey. Over the very long years of disputes between Turkey and Syria it was lastly annexed to the Republic of Turkey in 1939. Subsequent to the annexation of Hatay to Turkey, the border between Syria and Turkey was closed and some of the communities in this region remained on Syrian side of the border. The chance of moving to the Syrian side was given to those who were willing.²³ The relations between Syria and Hatay continued as a result of the familial and commercial relations. The density of the cross-border relations increased significantly with the visa facility agreement signed by the decision of the board of ministers in 2009.²⁴ Until the war that broke out in 2011, cross-border mobilities and commercial activities were at their highest level.

²² E. Murat Özgür, "Küresel Göçün Sosyo-Mekânsallığı: Ulusötesi Mekânlar / Yerelötesi Yerler, Topluluklar ve Kimlikler." [Socio-Spatiality of Global Migration: Transnational Spaces / Trans-local Places, Communities and Identities], *Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi* 16, no. 1 (2018): 2-3.

²³ Fulya Doğruel, *Hatay'da Çoketnili Ortak Yaşam Kültürü: İnsaniyetleri Benzer* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 34-35.

²⁴ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti 27378 Sayılı Resmi Gazete, "Diplomatik, Hususi, Hizmet ve Umuma Mahsus Pasaport Hamili Suriye Vatandaşlarının Türkiye'ye Yapacakları Turistik Amaçlı Seyahatlerinde,

According to Dağtaş, all the dynamics that make up Hatay's current sociocultural and demographic structure have been historically shaped by border politics, nation-state concept and colonial relations.

“Formerly called the Sanjak of Alexandretta, the province was annexed to Turkey from French Mandate Syria in 1939, following a plebiscite that was state-managed from Turkey’s capital, Ankara. The sanjak’s delayed union with Turkey mitigated the effects of the national homogenization that characterized the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic in the post–First World War era. This did not prevent the exodus and dispossession of its religiously diverse Arabophone and Armenian populations after the annexation, however. As outliers to the new republic’s ideals of national homogeneity, the remaining kin of these communities faced assimilationist language, education, and population policies, along with economic restrictions and property ownership restrictions.”²⁵

As can be seen from Dağtaş’s words, the current political and demographic structure of Hatay is shaped by the impact of a series of historical and political events. The political concerns about ‘Turkification’ the region have remained on Turkey’s agenda for many years and have also shaped the concerns of people living in Hatay province.

This historical and political background is the main source of the current political views of the communities living in Hatay. Bearing in mind this historical background, the concerns have emerged once again after the war broke out and these concerns have huge effects on the views of local people about war, Syrians and the government. The current political context under the ruling of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, which will be discussed in details in the following sections, also plays a major role in

İkamet Sürelerinin 180 Gün İçinde 90 Günü Aşmaması Kaydıyla Tek Taraflı Vize Muafiyeti Sağlanması Hakkında Karar.” 2009/15499, October 16, 2009.

²⁵ Seçil Dağtaş, “Inhabiting Difference across Religion and Gender: Displaced Women’s Experiences at Turkey’s Border with Syria,” *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees / Refuge: Revue Canadienne Sur Les Réfugiés* 34, no. 1 (2018): 52.

shaping the relations established between the people of Hatay and Syrians. The endeavor of ‘Turkification’ of the region has turned into the endeavor of ‘Sunnization’ when Syrian Arabs settled in after the war, and because of this concern, a resistance can be observed in relations established by the locals of Hatay with the Syrians. In the eyes of the locals, certain security-threatening events such as ‘Reyhanlı Explosion’²⁶, ‘Gezi Protests’²⁷ and the Syrian policies carried out by the government since 2011 are all Syrian refugees’ fault.

- ***Demographic and Political Aspects***

Due to its historical and socio-demographic structure, the province of Hatay is seen as a city that has a multi-ethnic common life in which civilizations have lived together for centuries.²⁸ Doğruel²⁹, who remarks that the province of Hatay is respectful for the differences and a good example that proves a harmonious union can be established between the communities because it does not have a ‘multicultural’ background that the majority dominates the others but one that every community contributes equally to the culture of the region, emphasizes that the communities living in Hatay has good communication, economic and to a certain degree socio-cultural exchanges among themselves.

Hatay, despite the efforts of homogenization, has preserved its multi-ethnic and multicultural structure that contains communities such as Nusayris (Arab Alevis), Sunni Muslims, Orthodox Arabs, Armenians and Jewish people for many years.³⁰

²⁶ “Car bomb blast kills three in Turkey’s Reyhanlı near Syria,” *Al Jazeera*, July 5, 2019, accessed May 18, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/7/5/car-bomb-blast-kills-three-in-turkeys-Reyhanli-near-syria>.

²⁷ Laurene Perrussel-Morin, “Istanbul: Les Indignés de Taksim,” *Le Journal International*, May 29, 2013, https://www.lejournalinternational.fr/Istanbul%20-%a0-les-Indignes-de-Taksim_a817.html. A wave of demonstrations and civil unrest in Turkey began on 28 May 2013, initially to contest the urban development plan for Istanbul's Taksim Gezi Park.

²⁸ Doğruel, *İnsaniyetleri Benzer*.

²⁹ Doğruel, *İnsaniyetleri Benzer*, 9.

³⁰ Doğruel, *İnsaniyetleri Benzer*, 13.

Hatay is the 13th largest city in Turkey in terms of population and according to 2018's data it constitutes 1,96 percent of Turkey's population with 1.609.856 inhabitants.³¹ Currently there is no statistical information about the size of different communities. The last census where the state gathered data about mother tongues (i.e. ethnic origins) happened in 1960. According to that census, in 1960 the province of Hatay contained 34 percent of the Arabic speaking population in Turkey.³² Apart from the last census carried out by the Government in 1960, there is no official data on the size of different communities.

*Nusayri Alevi*s, which constitute a significant portion of the population, is a community that lives in the coastal area between Syria and Turkey. They are also known as *Arab Alevi*s. While they speak Turkish in public spaces, they prefer to speak Arabic rather than Turkish at home. Unlike other communities, there are many *Nusayri Alevi* workers who go to work in Arabic countries. The migration of *Nusayri Alevi*s to other cities and countries is usually temporary with the goal of making some money and then return.³³

Alevi population, which has historically been opposed to Turkey's monoethnic regime, takes a firm stand against the ruling AKP government. In his report, Çağaptay states that *Alevi*s in Hatay are very secular and in result of this, they are in conflict with the conservative and sometimes Islamist disposition of the ruling party AKP in the capital. A lot of the *Alevi*s support CHP, The Republican People's Party, which is the main opposition faction of Turkey. After the government started to provide refuge to

³¹ The Republic of Turkey, Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), "Demographic Statistics Per Year and Per City," accessed December 3, 2019, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=temelist>.

³² The Republic of Turkey, Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), "Census of Population: 23 October 1960," cited by Soner Çağaptay, "The Impact of Syria's Refugees on Southern Turkey: Revised and Updated," *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, Policy Focus 130, July 2014, p. 16.

³³ Doğruel, *İnsaniyetleri Benzer*, 23-24.

Syrian opposition groups and armed rebels in the fall of 2011, the *Alevi*s in Hatay criticized AKP's policies even more.³⁴

While the government's policies about Syria and Syrian refugees re-fueled the political opposition in Hatay, it was ablaze by the very important events in Turkish political agenda such as Reyhanlı Explosion and Gezi Protests in 2013. As an indicator of the insecure conditions in the region the Reyhanlı Explosion amplified the anxieties of the people in Hatay and reinforced their stance against the government furthermore. And this stance turned into an absolute political opposition after the news broke out about the young people that were killed by the police during the Gezi Protests.

*“Alevi resentment toward the AKP government was inflamed further by the crackdown on the Gezi Park protestors in downtown Istanbul in June 2013 and ripple-effect demonstrations across Turkey. As noted, all six persons killed as a result of violence in the Gezi protests were Alevi—and two of those Alevi were from Hatay. Accordingly, antigovernment protests in Hatay have become common even as protests have mostly subsided elsewhere in the country. Since the June 15, 2013, police takeover of Gezi Park, at least thirty demonstrations have been held in Hatay, all against the AKP government and denouncing its Syria policy. Noteworthy is that anti-AKP demonstrations have also continued nearby in Alevi-populated areas of Adana and Mersin provinces, echoing the events in Hatay.”*³⁵

In addition to these, the similarities between *Nusayris* and *Alevi*s living in Syria caused people of Hatay to support Assad regime and Turkish government's anti-Assad policies to be criticized severely.

“The ethnic transformation of the southern Turkish provinces has a unique dimension in Hatay, a province of 1.5 million people where the Arab population includes Turkish

³⁴ Soner Çağaptay, “The Impact of Syria's Refugees on Southern Turkey: Revised and Updated,” *The Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, Policy Focus 130, July 2014, p. 17.

³⁵ Çağaptay, “The Impact of Syria's Refugees,” 19-20.

*citizens of Alevi origin who are ethnically and religiously related to Syrian Alevis and overwhelmingly support the Assad regime in Damascus. Indeed, Alevis constitute a majority of the Arab community in Hatay. The Syrian refugees, however, are mostly Sunni Arabs and supporters of the insurgency against the Assad regime. As the Syrian Arabs settle in Hatay, changing the complexion of the province, tensions are likely to emerge between them and the Alevis.”*³⁶

The rising political tension in Hatay, especially after the Syrian war, has significantly affected the relations between refugees who fled from war and the locals in Hatay. During the field work, it was observed that the common attitude and the opposition of the locals towards the government have been a clue for the opposition against Syrian refugees who were believed to have been intentionally brought to the region by the government. Although the people of Hatay have historical, cultural and linguistic similarities with Arabic culture, language and Syria, these similarities have not prevented the opposition against the refugees. Even the migration tendencies of Nusayri Alevis in Arabic countries did not create a positive atmosphere, and the historical, political and demographic characteristics of Hatay played an important role in the relations established.

- ***Economic Aspects***

The prominent effects of the province of Hatay, especially in the context of post-migration relations demonstrate itself mostly in the financial field right after the political, historical and demographic structures. The economy of Hatay is heavily dependent on agriculture, tourism and trade, mainly of vegetables and fruits. Throughout history, the wars in the neighbouring countries have had a great impact on the economy of Hatay due to its location. In the first instance, the fruit and vegetable trade that the people of Hatay used to make their living from have diminished significantly because the Iraqi border gate has remained closed during the embargo

³⁶ Çağaptay, “The Impact of Syria’s Refugees,” 17.

related to the First Gulf War. This drop caused a situation in which almost every household in Hatay have at least one family member that goes abroad to send remittances to their families.³⁷ While 20 years have passed since the Gulf War, Hatay's economy has been affected negatively again by another war in the neighbourhood. Yet Hatay is still an important bridge on the transit road to the south as the second largest province in Turkey in terms of exportation to Syria.³⁸

“Due the war, the closing of the border in 2012 to trade and the loss of Syrian markets led to a decrease in Turkey's foreign trade with Syria. However, with Turkish companies exporting relief supplies to the NGOs in Syria, and Syrian businessmen opening up trade offices in southern Turkey, Ankara has regained its access to the Syrian markets. Thus, as regards the Turkish economy, Turkey seems to be weathering the Syrian crisis.”³⁹

After the war, the economy of Hatay seems to have progressed in a flexible manner, withdrawing its deficits. There has been no noticeable decline in international trade as new markets have been added instead of the ones that are lost and the real estate market has begun to become more profitable. Nevertheless, while the commercial market appears to be unaffected, the urban economic cycle could not stay on par with it in terms of success. The increased number of people sharing the same economy has created an economic competition which had affected the unemployment rates and wages significantly.⁴⁰ The fact that Syrians can be employed in the labor market for lower wages and without insurance has led to the preference of Syrians while recruiting employees and the income related concerns of the people from Turkey, especially the unskilled labor, have increased drastically.

On the other hand, according to Collinsworth, the damage of the black economy,

³⁷ Doğruel, *İnsaniyetleri Benzer*, 28.

³⁸ Didem Collinsworth, “Hatay: The Syrian Crisis and a Case of Turkish Economic Resilience,” *Turkish Policy Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (2013): 121.

³⁹ Çağaptay, “The Impact of Syria's Refugees,” 25.

⁴⁰ Çağaptay, “The Impact of Syria's Refugees,” 28.

which constitutes an important part of the economic cycle in Hatay region, is often overlooked when measuring the post-war damages in economy. According to her, before the crisis, it was common for unemployed locals to smuggle cigarettes, fuel oil or other goods from Syria to sell them all over Turkey. This smuggling was one of “the most important sources of income” in Hatay and Syria’s economy was not integrated into the world and used Hatay as a transit route.⁴¹ Hence, the closed borders prevented this kind of shuttle trade and changed the economic structure in Hatay.

Tourism industry is one of the industries that had difficulties to adapt its services to the post-war circumstances.⁴² Initially, the number of tourism related travels between Syria and Turkey has increased considerably after the Visa Waiver agreement signed in 2009. However, the war ended all tourism related travels in the region. At the same time, the proximity of the location to the hot warzone created a perception of insecurity which significantly decreased the number of domestic tourists as well as the foreign tourists. Tourism related shops and hotels had problems because of this. However, the war economy balances the deficit in tourism due to the increase of the number of nongovernmental organization employees and journalists visiting the region.

Above all, the large number of non-governmental organizations established in the post-war period has created a new labor branch in the province, and the necessity of Arabic-speaking staff in these organizations has ensured that a large portion of people in Hatay, especially the young population, are employed in these organizations. The ability of the people of Hatay to speak Arabic has been an advantage and created new job opportunities in non-governmental organizations not just in the region, but also in other cities as well. Apart from that, due to the proximity to the war zone, many local and foreign journalists swarmed to the city, the labor need in non-governmental organizations caused many domestic and foreign residents to settle in the city, and the economic deficit in tourism industry was compensated with newcomers’ positive

⁴¹ Collinsworth, “Hatay: The Syrian Crisis,” 122.

⁴² Çağaptay, “The Impact of Syria’s Refugees,” 21.

effects on real estate service industries. With the arrival of the new active population in the region, the structure of the prominence has also changed and evolved to a more dynamic one. During the field work between 2014 and 2016, it was difficult to find a place to stay because all hotels and guesthouses were full of expat employees and foreign war journalists. This can be seen as a sign that the economic structure has changed in Hatay and it has recovered itself without any major damage. The markets that were closed because of war were replaced by the new ones, the economy in the border regions has revived and new small markets have been formed.⁴³

While the historical, political, demographic and economic situation of Hatay can be summarized like this, it is safe to say that the region has undergone serious changes because of the refugee movement that started in April 2011. The reasons of these changes are not limited to be the nearest town to the warzone or the insecurity and fear that was caused because of it. The revival of the polemic between two nations that lasted until 1939, ethnical differences with the newcomers from Syria and the structural change in the province have all played a role in these changes.

Elaborating the important events and changes in the city, the first things that strike out is the atmosphere of insecurity and fear of war in the region. The rising insecurity in the region especially after the Reyhanlı explosion that took place in 2013, and the protests that followed had huge effects on the relationships between locals and refugees in the city. As a result of the explosion of the bomb-laden vehicles on May 11, 2013, 52 people passed away and more than 100 people were injured.⁴⁴ When Turkish diplomats accused the Assad regime of the incident, the criticism and demonstrations against the Syrian policies that government follows in the region gained momentum,

⁴³ Çağaptay, "The Impact of Syria's Refugees," 23.

⁴⁴ "Defendant of Reyhanlı Case Sentenced to Life Imprisonment Aggravated for 53 Times," *Bianet*, May 13, 2019, accessed December 5, 2019, <http://bianet.org/english/human-rights/208438-defendant-of-Reyhanli-case-sentenced-to-life-imprisonment-aggravated-for-53-times>.

and the demonstrators took a negative stance against the Syrian refugees, blaming them for the unsafe environment in the region.

Nusayris, constituting the majority of the community can be perceived to have a different political inclination which may sometimes go hand in hand with the political tendency of Assad regime, which can turn-out to anti-Syrian feelings from time to time.

⁴⁵ As observed during the field work in Hatay, there is a general discontent about the change of balance of Sunni and Alevi population.

People are in tendency to associate these recent demographic movements with different occurrences of governmental relocations of Sunnis into the region throughout the history of modern Turkey. They also articulated their anxiety due to the cross-border mobility and violence of Sunni jihadist groups that fight in Syria.⁴⁶ The suspicion that Hatay *Alevis* have about arriving Syrian Sunnis is often stem from personal reasons. Some people see the arrivals as fighters who have killed or endangered their relatives in Syria, instead of seeing them as refugees. Meanwhile, others illustrate them as jihadists who threaten *Alevis* on each side of the border.⁴⁷

Considering the controversial history and the political, identity, demographic and geopolitical characteristics of Hatay, it's safe to say that this region is very critical for examining the relations between Syrian refugees and local people. As a region that has unique qualities, Hatay will be a good sample for measuring the role of ethnicity factor in intergroup relations. Also, the differentiation of the position of women among these ethnic differences adds additional elements to the dynamics between women.

⁴⁵ Oya Gürcüoğlu, "An Analysis of Hatay Arab Alevi's Accounts of their Relations with Syrian Refugees in Hatay after Syrian Crisis in 2012" (master's thesis, Middle East Technical University (METU), 2015), 22, <http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12619670/index.pdf>.

⁴⁶ Dağtaş, "Inhabiting Difference," 53.

⁴⁷ Çağaptay, "Syria's War," policy watch 2063.

According to data of December 2019, the ratio of Syrian refugees under temporary protection to the local population is 27,38 percent in Hatay, which has a population slightly over 1,5 million. There are 440.699 registered refugees in this province, and they live together with the local people in the city.⁴⁸ Hatay is a city where ethnic differences also change regionally. As can be seen on the map below, there are some regions that are positionally at the center of war.

Figure 1: Map of Hatay⁴⁹



⁴⁸ Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), “Temporary Protection Statistics: Distribution of Syrian Refugees.”

⁴⁹ The map belongs to Ramazan Saygılı’s open source archive, 2015, accessed December 1, 2019, <http://expo2021hatay.com/population-and-society/>.

As it will be discussed in detail later, this research involves many different ethnic groups. In order to measure and compare the perspectives of different ethnic groups towards Syrian refugees, interviews were conducted in the following districts: Yayladağı which is a border district where the Sunni population is dense, Samandağ that has a dense *Nusayri* population and Antakya Merkez (City Center) in which different groups live together.

1.6. Research Sample and Interview Methods

The field study that forms the basis of this research has been conducted in 2014-2020 as a two-stage process. First stage encompassed the years 2014-2016 when refugees from Syria had just settled to live in the cities, outside the camps. Second stage is composed of interviews taking place in 2019-2020 when settlements were completed, the possibility of return had weakened, and social cohesion policies were given prominence. Within the scope of these two stages; 74 women (43 Turkish and 34 Syrian) participated in semi structured interviews.⁵⁰

While first stage interviews had taken place within many centers of the province of Hatay, following interviews were concentrated on Samandağ, Harbiye, Narlıca; and Dağ neighborhood of Antakya and Yayladağı, where a large population of Syrian refugees resided.

Yayladağı District:

⁵⁰ Please see Annex 1: The Interviewee Information.

In this region near the Syrian border, where a significant majority of residents are Sunni, 5 Turkish women have been interviewed. All five women that were interviewed were of Sunni sect and their education level was no higher than primary school degree. Only one of the interviewees was single and was a college student.

5 Syrian women interviewed in the same district were from Aleppo, Hama and Raqqa regions. Most of these women have expressed that their education level was primary school, they worked as housewives and cleaning ladies, and they lost their spouses in the war.

Samandağ District:

It has been observed that in this region where the majority is Nusayri, i.e. arabic speaking Alevi population, the number of Syrian inhabitants was very low compared to other districts in Hatay. In Samandağ, 7 interviews were conducted with local women and all of these women has stated that they are from the Nusayri community. Only one of them is of Arab Christian ethnicity. Education level of interviewees was mainly high school and college, and they had various occupations and professions such as fortune-teller, agriculture cooperative worker, NGO worker and small business owner. No Syrian women were interviewed in this region.

Antakya (Central) District:

19 local women interviewed in the central district were from Sunni, Nusayri and Christian communities. Education level of interviewees was mainly high school and college; and they had various occupations and professions such as small business owner, teacher, architect, lawyer, cook and hairdresser.

In this region, a total of 13 Syrian women were interviewed. One of them is college educated and from Damascus. Other interviewees were primary school and high school educated and were registered as from Aleppo.

Dağ neighborhood interviews are composed of meetings with 9 Syrian and 6 local women. All the local interviewees from this neighborhood were of Sunni sect and worked as seasonal agricultural workers. Majority of the Syrian interviewees are registered, and they are originating from Idlib's and Aleppo's rural areas. Their education level was primary school, and majority of them worked as seasonal agricultural workers.

Narlıca District:

3 Turkish and 7 Syrian women were interviewed in Narlıca, a region with a large Syrian population. 2 out of 3 Turkish interviewees were Sunni and one of them was Nusayri. Syrian interviewees that resided here were mostly from Idlib region.

Syrian women that were interviewed in this study were predominantly observed to be from rural areas of Idlib and Aleppo. Only two of them were college educated and from Damascus. Interviewers were informed in the second part of the research that these women later immigrated to Europe. Rest of the Syrian women were either primary school graduates or dropouts. Majority of them had emigrated to Hatay from rural areas while all Turkish interviewees expressed that they had been born and raised in Hatay.

Although Turkish women interviewed in the study had varying levels of education, it has been observed that most of them had high school education. Another observation was that Turkish interviewees were of different ethnic groups and different sects. Majority of the interviewees were of ages 24-45. However, women of ages 16-17 and over 50 were also in the sample group.

The only condition set for the Syrian women to be in the sample group that had been interviewed was for them to live in the area for more than 1 year. It was opted for not to interview recent arrivals.

Majority of the data collection technique consisted of semi-structured in-depth interviews, focus group interviews and spontaneous group interviews. Within this group interviews, where generally neighbors gathered, it has been observed that Syrian and Turkish women rarely came together.

In this introductory chapter, I focused on when this research began and continue during the time. The importance of gender in migration researches, also the importance of the place and time when conducting a gendered research constituted the main structure of this research. In the following chapter, I will focus on how I adopted gendered perspective and methodology when conducting a field work.

2. CHAPTER 2 - FEMINIST APPROACHES, GENDER-SENSITIVE METHODS AND RESEARCH ETHICS

2.1. Research Methodology: Gathering Gendered Data from the Field

2.1.1. Having a Feminist Perspective on Gender and Migration Researches

Qualitative research is defined as an action of making a detailed, in-depth definition of people and their cultures, revealing the meaning, events, processes, insights and understandings that people attribute to reality. These studies examine life practices and individual experiences in order to reveal the relationships, processes, ties and mutual dependencies among people for the purpose of having a holistic comprehension of reality. In such studies, how individuals see the social world and how they evaluate it from their own perspective is important. They are conducted with the information that is taken from the process of personal relationships to understand and transform the world that said relationships create, instead of testing theories by cherry-picking information that already exists.⁵¹ According to Denzin and Lincoln, the word qualitative implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied,

⁵¹ Belkıs Kümbetoğlu, *Sosyolojide ve Antropolojide Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma* [Qualitative Method and Research in Sociology and Anthropology] (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2005), 47.

and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning.”⁵²

A scientific study focusing especially on social cohesion and intergroup relationships generally resort to qualitative method. In this regard, Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz argue that these studies can be carried out primarily through qualitative and empirical research as they focus on the interactions between migrants, migrant communities, host communities, public and private actors, stakeholders, as well as covering a variety of topics such as migrants, host society and its actors, migration policies, public institutions, etc...⁵³

Arguing that the qualitative method consists of multiple interpretation practices, Denzin and Lincoln suggest that, “Qualitative research, as a set of interpretive activities, privileges no single methodological practice over another. As a site of discussion, or discourse, qualitative research is difficult to define clearly. It has no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own.”⁵⁴

In this research, a feminist perspective is adopted as a form of qualitative method. However, a definite feminist study was avoided for the definition of the research and it was preferred to use the word ‘perspective’ instead of the concept of ‘feminist method’. In this section, there will be details for choosing mixed methods depending on the dynamics in the field and methodological discussions about the study.

- ***Defining Feminist “Perspective”***

⁵²Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011), 10.

⁵³ Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Evren Yalaz, eds., *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies* (Cham: Springer Nature, 2018), 3.

⁵⁴ Denzin and Lincoln, *Sage Handbook*, 6.

As in qualitative research, the feminist method, which is a branch of qualitative research, is also divided into many different branches and interpretations. Feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint theory, feminist postmodernism⁵⁵, feminist oral history, feminist action research, feminist interview research⁵⁶ or liberal feminist theory, socialist feminist theory and radical feminist theory are being used as different forms of feminist research methods. Feminist method should not be limited to these and this fact sometimes raises the discussions that question whether a Feminist Method exists, asking “Is there a Feminist Method?”⁵⁷

Harding, advocates that the idea of a feminist research method within strict boundaries should be challenged. Because she claims that strict adherence to the method may lead to overlook some important and interesting details in the feminist research process.⁵⁸ Reinharz argues that feminist researchers are developing multiple research strategies by affiliating different methods to their research practices and claims that feminism is a perspective rather than a method.⁵⁹ The fact that there are many different components and circumstances which are related to human beings and having an impact on the researcher makes it impossible to use a single and definitive method in the researches that embrace qualitative method. Studies focusing on women’s experiences can implement many different methods to learn and analyze daily life practices. Consequently, the use of mixed methods in the field process is becoming more widespread.

I cannot say this study is based on a definite feminist method. Because my field experience showed me that it’s necessary to go along with transitivity due to different

⁵⁵ Sandra Harding, “Is There a Feminist Method?”, in *Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues*, ed. Sandra Harding (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). These three branches of feminist research are delineated by Harding.

⁵⁶ Shulamit Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). These categories are defined by Reinharz and he adds feminist ethnography, feminist survey research, feminist experimental research, feminist cross-cultural research, feminist content analysis, feminist case studies and feminist multiple methods-research in the book.

⁵⁷ Harding, “Is There a Feminist Method?”.

⁵⁸ Harding, “Is There a Feminist Method?”, 1.

⁵⁹ Reinharz, *Feminist Methods*, 241.

methods that was required during the interview process. I could not conduct a research that can be described as a definite feminist research during the whole process in the field. Therefore, instead of claiming that this work was conducted with the feminist method, I should state that it was conducted with a mixed qualitative method based on a feminist perspective.

The feminist research emerged as a stance against positivist research and it addresses the issues in terms of women's experiences, but it has many other features that distinguish it from other scientific researches. According to Harding, one of those distinctive features is the fact that it uses women experiences as a strong indicator of reality against accepted assumptions.⁶⁰

Kelly et.al., who have summarized the distinctive features of feminist method, distinguish it from other research methods by presenting a detailed table as below:

Table 1: Research Models in Contemporary Sociology⁶¹

	<i>Conventional/Patriarchal</i>	<i>Alternative / Feminist</i>
Units of Study	Predefined, operationalized concepts stated as hypotheses.	Natural events encased in their ongoing contacts.
Sharpness of Focus	Limited, specialized, specific, exclusive.	Broad, inclusive.
Data Type	Reports of attitudes and actions as in questionnaires, interviews and archives.	Feelings, behavior, thoughts, insights, actions as witnessed or experienced.
Topic of Study	Manageable issue derived from scholarly literature, selected for potential scholarly contribution, sometimes socially significant.	Socially significant problem sometimes related to issues discussed in scholarly literature.

⁶⁰ Harding, "Is There a Feminist Method?", 7.

⁶¹ Liz Kelly, Linda Regan and Sheila Burton, "Defending the Indefensible? Quantitative Methods and Feminist Research," in *Working Out: New Directions for Women's Studies*, eds. Hilary Hinds, Ann Phoenix and Jackie Stacey (London: The Falmer Press, 1992), 151.

Role of Research in relation to environment in relation to subject as a person impact on researcher	Control of environment is desired, attempt to manage research conditions Detached Irrelevant Irrelevant	Openness to environment, immersion, being subject to and shaped by it. Involving, sense of commitment, participation, sharing of fate. Relevant, expected to change during process. Anticipated, recorded, reported, valued.
Implementation of Method	As per design, decided a priori.	Method determined by unique characteristic of field setting.
Validity Criteria	Proof, evidence, statistical significance: study must be replicable and yield same results to have valid findings.	Completeness, plausability, illustrativeness, understanding, responsiveness to readers, or subjects' experiences: study can not however, be replicated.
The Role of Theory	Crucial as determinant of research design.	Emerges from research implementation.
Data Analysis	Arranged in advance relying on deductive logic, done when all data are 'in'.	Done during the study, relying on inductive logic.
Manipulation of Data	Utilization of statistical analyses.	Creation of gestalts and meaningful patterns.
Research Objectives	Testing hypotheses.	Development of understanding through grounded concepts and descriptions.
Presentation Format	Research report form, report of conclusions with regard to hypotheses, stated in advance, or presentation of data obtained from instruments.	Story, description with emergent concepts; including documentation of process of discovery.
Failure	Statistically insignificant variance.	Pitfalls of process illustrate the subject.
Values	Researchers' attitudes not revealed, recognized or analyzed, attempts to be value free, objective	Researchers' attitudes described and discussed, values acknowledged, revealed, labelled.
Role of Reader	Scholarly community addressed, evaluation of research design, management and findings.	Scholarly and user community addressed and engaged, evaluate usefulness and responsiveness to perceived needs.

As can be seen from the table, there are many differences between feminist method and traditional methods in terms of theory, practice, and application. Reinharz describes feminist research as a method that makes the invisible visible, brings the ones that were tossed aside to the center of focus, makes the trivial important, sees women as competent actors, and tries to understand women in the context of their own position and rights instead of patriarchal discourses. She considers feminist research as a way of looking at the world through the eyes of the women.⁶² Brooks, on the other hand, mentions it as “a unique philosophy of knowledge building that challenges us to see and understand the World through the eyes and the experiences of oppressed women and apply the vision and knowledge of oppressed women to social activism and social change.”⁶³ Meanwhile Kumbetoğlu emphasizes that the feminist method considers women as ‘knowing subjects’ as primary data sources.⁶⁴ These definitions highlight the main focus of feminist research is to struggle against the inequalities in existing social order and be capable of seeing the world through women’s eyes.

Sociologists, who frequently debate on the features of feminist method, have set some principles about the method for feminist researchers. The principles that feminist researchers should follow are directly related to information gathering phase and the location of the researcher. Hammersly states that the main differences of feminist research compared to traditional studies are focusing on gender, giving value to experiences, the position and hierarchical stance of the researcher, and lastly the target and value of the research.⁶⁵ Mies, on the other hand, embraces some methodological principles as a guide for feminist research. According to her, in feminist researches, the first thing to do is to embrace the ‘cognitive partiality’ principle instead of the principle of impartiality, neutrality towards research subjects and premise of a value-free research. The second principle of Mies regarding feminist method is replacing the

⁶² Reinharz, *Feminist Methods*.

⁶³ Abigail Brooks, “Feminist Standpoint Epistemology: Building Knowledge and empowerment through Women’s Lived Experiences,” in *Research Practice: A Primer*, eds. Patricia Lina Leavy and Sharlene Hesse-Biber (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006), 55.

⁶⁴ Kumbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 53.

⁶⁵ Martyn Hammersly, “On Feminist Methodology,” *Sociology* 26, no. 2 (1992): 187-206.

overhead point of view between the researcher and the participant with a low-angle one. Since the common goal of feminist researches is to struggle against the inequality towards women in existing social order, the unequal relationship between the researcher and the participant should also be studied through a reverse perspective. As a third principle of feminist research, Mies introduces the principle that requires the active participation of the researcher in actions, movements and struggles. He argues that there should be a close correlation between the studies and movements of women. Targeting the change of the existing social order as a result of active participation takes place as the fourth principle of Mies'. The awareness and internal feud among researchers and participants stemming from these circumstances can be listed as other principles determined by Mies. Lastly, the collectivization of experiences that are gained as a result of feminist research is considered as an important principle for women to protect their own history.⁶⁶

Meanwhile, Öztan, who is a significant scholar in the fields of feminism and gender studies in Turkey, emphasizes four features of feminist research. According to her, embracing a feminist perspective and focusing on gender relations are the primary requirements in a feminist research. She also argues that the hierarchy between the researcher and the subject being researched should be eliminated, while prioritizing the daily lives and personal experiences of women. Lastly, she claims that feminist research should have a purpose of taking actions to liberate women and eliminate inequalities.⁶⁷ The feminist researchers who postulated 'useful research' concept while discussing the principles of the feminist research, consider making general policy recommendations and pointing out the means and methods of social change.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, different sociologists who have expressed their views on feminist

⁶⁶ Maria Mies, "Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research," in *Theories of Women's Studies*, eds. Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli-Klein (London: Routledge, 1983).

⁶⁷ Ece Öztan, "Feminist Araştırmalar ve Yöntem" [Feminist Researches and Methodology], in *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Tartışmaları*, ed. Feryal Saygılıgil (İstanbul: Dipnot Yayınları, 2015), 277.

⁶⁸ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 60.

research have all agreed on the position of the researcher and the need to focus on women's experiences.

Clearly, feminist method constantly refers to the importance of the researcher's positionality and the scope of their rights and obligations. Therefore, the position of the researcher should be analyzed while conducting a research with a feminist perspective. As stated by Şentürk, in the feminist method, researchers are not in a position of hunters or gatherers for information, instead they are in a position that interacts with the subjects being researched and generating information from this very interaction, just like they are in a co-operating position rather than a separate position in order to nullify the domination relationship with the subjects.⁶⁹ According to Kümbetoğlu, the feminist researcher would favor the techniques, customs and styles that they can carry out the research by interacting not only with the knowledge they obtained from the participants but also by taking their own experiences and lives into account and sharing them with the others.⁷⁰ She acknowledges the fact that this process is a transformative experience for both the researcher and the subjects being researched. Reinharz emphasizes the difference of feminist method with a focus on empathy, mutual understanding, emotion sharing, interaction and relationship building.⁷¹

Dorothy Smith invites feminist researchers to establish a system of sociology that never fails to see women as the architect of social relations and processes of the reality of their own daily lives as well as an interpreter of them.⁷² Feminist theory focuses on the production of knowledge about women, the constant effort to understand them better and the researcher's posture. Reinharz argues that only women are capable

⁶⁹ Burcu Şentürk, "Mahalle Kahvesinde 'Abla', Kabul Günlerinde 'Hanım': Sınıf ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bağlamında Gecekondu Kadın Araştırmacı Olmak," in *Etnografik Hikâyeler: Türkiye'de Alan Araştırması Deneyimleri*, eds. Rabia Harmanşah and Z. Nilüfer Nahya (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2016), 69.

⁷⁰ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 56.

⁷¹ Reinharz, *Feminist Methods*.

⁷² Dorothy E. Smith, *The Conceptual Practices of Power* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990).

of producing such knowledge by virtue of their insight.⁷³ Thus, it would be possible to establish a practice, just like the feminist method itself, that is not hierarchical, authoritarian, or dictating. And ultimately this would make the women researchers as primary sources of data.⁷⁴ As emphasized in research methods that have feminist perspective, the main subject and the information produced are analyzed through the relationship that is established by the researcher in the field. In this research, in which the feminist point of view and the positionality of the researcher has been preeminently embraced, my personal experiences and the transformations I have acquired in the field as a researcher will be discussed in the following sections.

- ***Discussions on Historical Development of Feminist Researches in Migration Studies***

While there has been an increase of anthropology's interest in women by the fact that women anthropologists have gone to the field to make fieldwork, it would be very difficult to argue that such an interest was totally independent from a male oriented perspective, as stated by Mirza. In her words, the field is filled with dilemmas, since there are problems as to how the researcher has been perceived by the outside world and in turn and to which direction, in fact, the researchers' perception was led to. In addition to the challenges by the fact that the researcher would have its own prejudices, there have been extra difficulties in communicating with the women with whom the researcher has been in dialogue with. There is also an additional challenge, since the anthropologist, despite all of the efforts, would have difficulties to strip off its own cultural codes and possibly to overlook the self-fulfilling reality of the culture. Thus, this focus has created a sub-field in anthropology which is women, gender and feminism oriented.⁷⁵

⁷³ Reinharz, *Feminist Methods*.

⁷⁴ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 53.

⁷⁵ Gözde Aynur Mirza, "Feminist Antropolojinin Tarihsel Süreci Üzerinden Aynılık ve Farklılık Kavramları" [The Concept of Sameness and Difference in the History of Feminist Anthropology], *Ethos: Dialogues in Philosophy and Social Sciences* 9, no. 2 (2016): 46.

Feminist movement and theory commenced to have transformative effects in the field of social sciences since 1960s. The relationship between the feminist movement, theory and method has always been very close. Experiences in feminist politics have echoed in the fields of feminist research and feminist theory. Feminist theory and politics have made very important contributions for questioning, enrichment, and transformation of the research ground in the social sciences since the 1960s.⁷⁶

Feminist anthropologists, who think that women are not represented correctly in anthropological field because of the relationship of traditional anthropology with patriarchal power as in other disciplines, are highlighting the importance of women's perspective. The birth of feminist field studies within social sciences in Turkey were very delayed compared to Europe and America. The introduction of feminist method in migration studies, which we have begun to reap the first fruits since the 1980s, has been very delayed in a similar fashion.

Adopting the feminist method, eliminating the hierarchy between the researcher and the subject that's being researched, embracing the purpose to produce solutions together make the women more visible, active and competent subjects in migration studies while conducting a gender-oriented research or conducting field studies with female subjects. The first examples of the feminist method are found in the migration studies in the late 80s.⁷⁷ With the development of the feminist method in migration studies, women researchers began being more visible in field studies and the participants become more active in the studies that they participate in.

The gender aspect in migration studies has blossomed very recently compared to the start of migration studies. As stated in the edited book titled *Engendering Forced Migration*, gender was rarely represented in studies involving forced migrants until 80s.

⁷⁶ Öztan, "Feminist Araştırmalar ve Yöntem," 273.

⁷⁷ Stephanie J. Nawyn, "Gender and Migration: Integrating Feminist Theory into Migration Studies," *Sociology Compass* 4, no. 9 (2010): 750.

According to Indra, ‘the woman’ who was generally being discussed over traditional family ties and roles, had a gender-free and secondary role; and even in 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees gender was not accounted as a cause of political oppression.⁷⁸ After the 70s, this conjuncture changed and the number of scientific production in migration studies through a gender perspective began to increase. The women’s studies departments in universities began to be interested in migration as a topic, and female researchers personally took part in studies in which they were the subject and began academic production. The acceleration of these kind of studies has inevitably brought the method discussions. The questions that revolve around these discussions were generally about whether these researches should be conducted by only women or only migrants, namely insiders. On the other hand, questions such as whether neutral information can only be obtained by an outsider or if the feminist method is the only method that should be used in gender studies were also included in further discussions. These questions exhibited that ethnographic stories and field experiences are now amid the scientific studies in the academic world, and they also create an area of discussion about the importance of the method. With the pioneering work of Morokvasic in 1984, women started to gain visibility in migration research.⁷⁹ The increasing number of women taking part in migration studies and the growth of importance of the qualitative studies have been parallel developments.⁸⁰ In this regard, the feminist critic has played an important role with its opposition to the methodological hegemony of neo-positivist empiricism in the social sciences.

In an article written in 2000, Hondagneu-Sotelo describes the development of gender emphasis in migration studies and feminist method in three main stages:

⁷⁸ Indra, *Engendering Forced Migration*, 12.

⁷⁹ Mirjana Morokvasic, “Birds of Passage Are Also Women,” *International Migration Review* 18, no. 4 (1984): 886-907.

⁸⁰ Magdalena Nowicka and Louise Ryan. “Beyond Insiders and Outsiders in Migration Research: Rejecting A Priori Commonalities. Introduction to the FQS Thematic Section on Researcher, Migrant, Woman: Methodological Implications of Multiple Positionalities in Migration Studies,” *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 16, no. 2 (2015), art 18.

“The first stage of feminist scholarship in the 1970s and early 1980s, which might be labeled “women and migration”, sought to remedy the exclusion of women from migration research. Much of this early phase of research sought to address the virtual absence of women from research designs and androcentric biases. These included assumptions that women are too traditional and culture-bound or that women migrate only as family followers or associational migrants for family reunification. The earlier studies on women and migration were followed by a phase of research on gender and migration, which emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s. Prompted in part by the disruption of the universal category “women” by heightened awareness of the intersectionality of race, class, and gender relations and by the recognition of the fluidity of gender relations, this research focused on the gendering of migration patterns and on the way migration reconfigures systems of gender inequality. This second stage of research also focused on the ways in which gender relations change through the processes of migration. After migration, marriage patterns that once seemed set in stone may shift as spousal separations, conflicts and negotiations, and new living and working arrangements change the rules that govern daily life. The third stage of feminist scholarship in migration research is on looking at gender as a constitutive element of migration. In this current phase, research is beginning to look at the extent to which gender permeates a variety of practices, identities, and institutions.”⁸¹

Hondagneu-Sotelo points out that at the end of these developments, women are still not involved in mainstream studies as research subjects. She emphasizes that despite migration studies keep developing and growing and women have become important parts of these movements, the importance of the feminist method is still not fully understood, even by women researchers.⁸²

⁸¹ Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, “Feminism and Migration,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 571, no. 1 (2000): 107-120.

⁸² Hondagneu-Sotelo, “Feminism and Migration,” 119.

- ***Why is it Important to Adopt a Feminist “Perspective” in the Field?***

The entry of feminist method in Turkish academic literature and the usage of this method in the field of migration has occurred only a short time ago. For this reason, the scarcity of the researches conducted with the feminist perspective in the field of migration has caused gender literature in the field of migration to be disproportionate. It is important to increase the number of researches conducted with feminist method to close the gap. In earlier times, around 1990s, the researches conducted about the women who migrated from former Soviet Nations has been the foundation of the gender and migration studies in Turkey, and feminist method has begun to bear its first fruits in this period. However, since 2010, the rapidly increasing number of women migrants and mass migrations in Turkey has increased the need for gender and migration studies, and unfortunately the few studies on these subjects could not respond this need. In that regard, preferring a feminist point of view in researches on women migrants will make significant contributions in the context of academic literature.

Ethnographic method is one of the most appropriate research methods, especially when examining the daily lives of women after migration. Skeggs mentions that feminism and ethnography are compatible because they are both based on experience, participation, definitions, interpretations and sometimes subjectivity as a focal point, along with the fact that they both have a context-sensitive understanding.⁸³ According to him, feminist ethnography is not only busy with an in-depth study of women’s experiences, but also seeks ways of how these experiences can be transformed into knowledge.⁸⁴ Since the daily experiences and the active positions of women during the field research conducted for this study and how they make sense of these daily practices are among the main elements of the research, the feminist perspective was appointed as the best method for the main goals of this study.

⁸³ Beverley Skeggs, “Feminist Ethnography,” in *Handbook of Ethnography*, eds. Paul Atkinson et al. (London: Sage Publications, 2007), 426.

⁸⁴ Skeggs, “Feminist Ethnography,” 437.

The feminist method opposes the objectivity and the neutral researcher concepts of the positivist methods. Some feminist researchers view this as producing information that will be used for the benefit of women and they allege that it can only be achieved by a ‘low-angle’, ‘insider’ point of view that would eliminate the hierarchy.⁸⁵ Therefore, the hierarchy between the researcher and the participant needs to be eliminated in this kind of researches. Taking part in the researches, the researchers themselves become part of the collective production. As the feminist perspective suggests, the discussions center around the necessity of ‘conveying the researcher to a critical ground as much as the subject of the research.’⁸⁶ In this study, my efforts as a researcher to match my position with the participants and my desire to make my own experience a part of the research were also more methodologically suited to a feminist method.

Nevertheless, my participation as a female researcher in this study conducted on women’s experiences and the fact that the study is shaped around my own gender and daily life experiences are in accordance with the ways in which the feminist method is applied. I thought feminist method would be the best method to use in this thesis because there are patriarchal pressures that are produced once more and strengthened after patriarchal bargainings and migration at work in the subject that I am focusing on in the established relationships between the women from Syria and Turkey. In other words, I wanted to participate in a ‘scientific production process for women, about women and intended to be conducted together with women’⁸⁷ as Tüzel put. At this point, the importance of choosing the feminist method in Middle Eastern countries should be emphasized. While accepting that the production and circulation of feminist ideas are global, Kandiyoti accentuates that it is very important for a feminist discipline to make a systematic analysis of the intersection points between the conflicts, dialogue

⁸⁵ Mies, “Towards a Methodology.”

⁸⁶ Harding, “Is There a Feminist Method?”, 4.

⁸⁷ Gökçe Bayrakçeken Tüzel, “Feminist Bir Doktora Tezi Yazmak,” in *Métodos: Kuram ve Yöntem Kenarından*, eds. Zeynep Dilek Hattatoğlu and Gökçen Ertuğrul (İstanbul: Anahtar Kitaplar, 2009), 527-549.

and discourses originating from different socio-historical regions, especially if these regions are located outside the West.⁸⁸ According to her, despite its claim to be universal, feminism becomes more of a personal method due to the existence of concepts that seem similar on the surface but generally experienced personally and because there are different concepts that create different meanings, impressions and political results in different contexts studied.

Kandiyoti mentions that the feminist movements and its supporters in the Middle East have followed a different trajectory that reflect their debates and dialogues with general movements of thought, since the beginning of the century to the present. She emphasizes that explaining these trajectories is not possible in specific regions or without describing the local dialectics of feminism that develops as a response to specific historical events. She states that every trend had developed under the influence of a highly politized and emotionally charged intellectual background regarding important political events and sometimes milestones that have a strong impact, albeit hidden.⁸⁹ Therefore, the feminist method applied by a Middle Eastern researcher and a European researcher will also include personal differences.

As a woman researcher, it was very important for me to make sense of my own experiences and transformation that I had in the daily life experiences with women. The fact that the research that I was conducting was on a very important subject in the country it was conducted, combined with my aspiration to do something about this issue, fueled my desire to be actively engaged rather than a passive information-gathering position by turning women into visible and information producing subjects from being invisible and ineffective, to produce information that benefits society, and to produce solutions for the existing problems.

⁸⁸ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Contemporary Feminist Scholarship and Middle East Studies," in *Gendering the Middle East: Emerging Perspectives*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (Albany: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 1-29.

⁸⁹ Kandiyoti, "Contemporary Feminist Scholarship."

Despite my efforts to apply the feminist perspective throughout the entire field process, at some points I have various concerns of saying that I've used a feminist method.⁹⁰ Because there are many different interpretations and usages of feminism history and the feminist research that has many different branches. The idea that women conducting feminist research is closely connected to the feminist movement has encouraged me to say that I have conducted this research with a feminist perspective, instead of saying that I used a feminist method in this research. Indicating his reservations on this subject, Ünlü also states that he prefers the term perspective because of the controversial nature of feminist research assumptions and claims.⁹¹

I also have some concerns about reducing the total relationships between Syrian and Turkish women to patriarchal problems, even though I adopt the feminist method. In this regard, Wolf warns feminist researchers that their constant tendency to focus on gender-based inequalities during field studies should be challenged from time to time, because it might cause the feminist researchers to overlook other inequalities related to other identities.⁹² As interviews in the field for my doctorate research progressed, although it could be seen that the established patriarchal order and existing gender relations have an important effect in establishing and developing inter-woman relations, I have also witnessed the effects of the temporariness perception, the challenges of welfare sharing, the socio- economic situation and the perception of stranger to these relations on a regular basis. While gender relations were the main topic of research, I had to be careful not to miss other factors. For this reason, I felt the need to adopt some other methods and theories.

Given that the women participating in the research have different classes, races, cultures and social capital, it gets harder to talk about a common experience. Even

⁹⁰ Diane L. Wolf, "Introduction: Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 13, no. 3 (1993): 1-8.

⁹¹ Çiğdem Yasemin Ünlü, "Feminist Yöntemi Alan Deneyimleri(m) Üzerinden Tartışmak," *Fe Dergi* 11, no. 1 (2019): 2.

⁹² Diane L. Wolf, "Situating Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork," in *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, eds. Diane L. Wolf and Carmen Diana Deere (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 10.

though gender relations refer to a common experience, different theories of culture, identity and class are also included in the research because a mere feminist perspective is not sufficient for the integrity of the research. The point that I would like to emphasize for the importance of this study will be the effort to carry out different migration and social change theories through a gendered perspective.

2.2. Ethical Discussions, Researcher's Positionality and Research Constraints: Conducting a Research in a Highly Politicized and Fragile Area

2.2.1. Researchers' Ethical Responsibilities in the Field

This section was designed to display my personal experiences with the subject group I am working with as a researcher and how I got the chance to know them better. I would like to provide a clear portrayal of certain things I have experienced during my field work such as the circumstances that I have embraced, objected or ignored, in order to highlight the temporal conditions and the infrastructure of this study.

The sensitivity of the current situation and sample group requires this research to be handled very carefully and consciously. Considering Turkish society and government have great interest on the topic, the fragile conditions that the refugees live and the proximity of this border region to the warzone, two principles stand out in this research: being careful not to cause harm and to have ethical responsibility. In the article he wrote in 2006, Brydon emphasizes that the subject of ethics in social sciences, especially in qualitative research, has been very popular for the last 15 years and it is

very important not only in ‘data collection’ phase of the research (as passive ‘subjects’), but also in formulating key questions in, and foci of the research, in the design phase of the research, as well as in the analysis and evaluation of the findings.⁹³

Each researcher has some principles to follow in their works and some responsibilities they would be aware of the group they are researching. Although the circumstances may vary depending on the subject of the research, the personality of the researcher and the nature of the group that’s being researched has been a subject that the social scientist have been working on for a long time. As a result of these studies, they determine the ethical principles that every research should have in common and which are directly linked to the principle of no-harm. For instance, Christians states in his article ‘Ethic and Politics in Qualitative Research’ that the concept of ethics in social sciences consists of four basic rules. He states that these four concepts are irreplaceable when it comes to ethics, even though every research has its own rules since the 80s. According to him, these concepts are determined as informed consent, non-deception, privacy & confidentiality and accuracy.⁹⁴ Kümbetoğlu focuses on the researcher’s position, especially in qualitative research, by adding the role of the researcher to these four concepts.⁹⁵

In the research methods that adopt the feminist approach, there are many etchical concerns such as the role and responsibilities of the researcher and making the research useful for the society. During the field work and subsequent analysis period I have envountered many limitations and ethical dilemmas in this research due to the structure of the sample group, the sensitivity and importance of the subject and the difficulties of the region. In this research, I have experienced some unwanted results, unexpected reactions and security issues due to the fact that this study is a living,

⁹³ Lynne Brydon, “Ethical Practices in Doing Development Research,” in *Doing Development Research*, eds. Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter (London: Sage Publications, 2006), 26.

⁹⁴ Christians Clifford, “Ethics and Politics in Qualitative Research,” in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011), 65-66.

⁹⁵ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 175.

dynamic and human focused research that requires interaction. The fragile points that I've encountered and the limitations I've experienced during the research, along with the combination of the desire to gather data and the binding nature of the non-harming principle made the research process even more difficult. Now, I will discuss about some areas where the researcher's ethical responsibility stands out in this research, using some subtitles.

- ***Trust in the Field, Binding Force of Consent***

As Ilse van Liempt and Veronika Bilger stated, the prerequisite for each successful qualitative interview is to establish a relationship of trust between the interviewer and the interviewed. Trust is essential especially when researching a sensitive subject. However, it's difficult to build trust in these situations. People who are being interviewed may not be willing to share their past experiences or current conditions with a stranger like a researcher, for many reasons. On the other hand, the researchers should be aware of that they might directly end up carrying some secrets of others in certain conditions by acquiring certain information.⁹⁶

Establishing an environment of trust during the fieldwork for the subject of this research was a challenging process because of many concrete and abstract reasons. At first, it took a long time to establish a level of trust that I aimed for with the refugee and women from the host community who have trust issues because of the many problems they have to deal with. According to my observations during my fieldwork, I've witnessed that the Syrian society in particular, before and during the way, had a trauma that they call 'espionage' (*muhaberat*) and that can be defined as some kind of 'spying' or 'snitching'. Because of this, they had this post-traumatic suspicion for everyone, including even their own relatives. They had strong reservations about sharing information with a new person, which they had never seen before, and it took quite a

⁹⁶ Ilse Van Liempt and Veronika Bilger, "Methodological and Ethical Dilemmas in Research Among Smuggled Migrants," in *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies*, eds. Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Evren Yalaz (Cham: Springer Nature, 2018), 270-273.

while to overcome these reservations. Another challenge of this study that I conducted with women was that it wouldn't be enough to gain the trust of women but it was also necessary to gain trust of the men who allowed women to meet with the researcher. For this reason, I had to undergo a two-step test of trust during the research. I had to get permission from the male individual at home or from those who were identified as opinion leaders in the neighborhood before every meeting. Only after passing the first test successfully, the process of meeting the Syrian women and gain their trust would commence. The same process applied to the women from Turkey, as well. Combined with the duration of the research and the financial inadequacies, getting the pre-approval of the male in the house or the respected people in the neighborhood was quite challenging, but then again it also helped women to be more comfortable and ready to trust.

On the other hand, it was harder than expected to interview with the women from Turkey, although I previously thought that it would be easier to build trust with, because there were some other issues involved. The local women of Turkey refrained from making interviews because they tended to have an attitude that ignores the aggrievements, experiences and relations of their daily lives. In some cases, it was even harder to convince local women than women from Syria. For instance, some of the local women rejected my interview offers, blaming me to help Syrians, meanwhile one person directly kicked me out when I brought up the subject. Later I've learned that this incident was related to a personal problem she had with a Syrian woman. However, even this experience was also important to me for the data collection phase of the research. Because the reactions of women who have never been interviewed and refused to take part in the research have also contributed to the analyses to be conducted in the research.

The political conditions of the region that the fieldwork took place were also making the environment of trust in the field more fragile. The first field work of the research was done in between 2014-2016 period that coincided with several elections

while the arrivals from Syria were intense, the war was the most severe and society was highly politicized.⁹⁷ Due to the chaotic environment of this period, it was very difficult to make interviews, especially in the border regions. The Syrian people who were interviewed were reluctant to open their doors to a stranger because of the insecurity of the period, meanwhile the women from the host community who were interviewed voiced similar problems and discourses due to rising tension and politicized environment resulting from the election and war. Even the simplest issues were believed to be related to the presence of the refugees, so it became difficult to get information about everyday life and common life. The trust between parties remain fragile because of the rising tension and politicized daily life.

The mass migration and the increased number of non-governmental organizations during the emergency situation afterwards made both the society and the government suspicious of spying acts. The attitude towards the strangers in the field was shaped by this. The increased suspicion of spying acts in the field affected every newcomer. The ban on conducting research about Syrians that emerged in summer 2015 was a concrete example for this. The people from Syria feared of the possibility that someone was going to carry information about them to Syria, meanwhile the people from Turkey feared of outside intervention. Thus, both communities put up a wall against the strangers and the unknown because of their concerns and prejudices. Combined with the insecurity of the border region, conducting a research has become a very challenging process. A lot of women stated that they had these concerns, hesitated to meet with me and the translators, while some of them directly refused to talk and some of them replied vaguely.

Another factor that undermine the relationship of trust in the field is the language difference between the researcher and the subject group. Adding a third person into the mix, between the researcher and the subject group they research, requires additional effort to establish an environment of trust. The presence of a

⁹⁷ 7th June 2015 General Election and 1st November 2015 Re-Election.

translator in my interviews with Syrian women and the fact that the translator was a native woman of Hatay due to some limitations changed the course of the interviews. Even though using a local translator made me look less of a stranger, it also raised some concerns for the Syrian people that we interviewed because both of us were Turkish. When it comes to the women from Turkey, even though I didn't have to use any translator during the interviews seeing me hang and work with them also made them unwilling to share information about their private lives openly. I reckoned they were refraining to speak of some of their private experiences to protect themselves from possible rumors in the city.

In summary, many aspects such as the quality, accuracy, and availability of the information to be obtained from the people I was interviewing were directly related to the trust building process. If the ethical responsibility is not fully embraced, the data of the research would also be problematic in a similar fashion. In the field process, it's important for the research to discuss how the trust will be established and which methods will be used. In this study, I will elaborate some of the coping methods I've used regarding the trust issues that I mentioned.

First of all, the snowball technique played a very important role in this trust building process. The women from Syria and Turkey were a lot more open and comfortable while sharing information, when they were introduced to us by their friends or relatives that they trust. At this point, the reliability of the person that referenced for us was also very important. In some cases, when the person we interviewed accepted my offer because they couldn't say no to the person that referenced, it would result in unwillingness and short answers to the questions that was asked during the interviews with us.

Another area of ethical responsibility was to give an informed consent speech to the women we interviewed at their homes. The process of establishing a trust relationship would solidify after giving detailed information about why we were there

and what we did. According to Punch; “the concept of "informed consent," means that the subjects of research have the right to be informed that they are being researched and also about the nature of the research.”⁹⁸ The fact that the women I had interviews with received a clear and informed consent for the interviews and that they had the right to withdraw from the research any time they want and decide which information they provided can be used in the research helped the interviews to be more transparent and safer.

I was explaining things like why I was conducting this research, who I was, why I wanted to talk to them etc. in the beginning of every interview in details during the field work. After this detailed explanation, I was taking informed consents of them verbally. There was a solid reason for not using a written form because signing a document like a consent form would be a bureaucratic step that would make them even more insecure. When I asked if they would like to sign it, all women expressed their reservations about this issue. Consequently, the informed consent was taken verbally as the people that I interviewed avoided to sign any documents. This verbal agreement included some remarks that enable them to terminate the interview or withdraw from the research any time they want and decide whether the information they provided would be used in the research.

During my field interviews, I also had an experience that demonstrated the importance of informed consent. In a neighbourhood I stopped by for the interviews, I visited some houses using the reference of a person that was well-known and trusted by the Syrians. After a while I noticed that all interviews that conducted with the reference of this person were based only on their economic struggles instead of focusing on other daily life experiences. After a few attempts, according to the information I’ve obtained from the ones that I’ve interviewed, I learned that the reference informed the Syrian women that I’m from an organization that makes financial supports and that I

⁹⁸ Maurice Punch, “Politics and Ethics in Qualitative Research,” in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, eds. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), 90.

would help them financially. As a natural consequence of this circumstances, the interviews focused mostly on economic struggles, thus getting away from the main subject and making it difficult for me to get accurate information. This experience has been a good example that some issues may occur if people are not informed properly before the interviews.

- ***Adopting the Principle of Confidentiality***

Ensuring the confidentiality of the information acquired, along with building trust, is also among the ethical responsibilities of the researcher in their qualitative research. The importance of the principle of confidentiality, that can be qualified as both a means and a result of building trust, increases in studies conducted with sensitive groups. In this regard, Christians draws attention to protecting the individuals' identity and research areas as the first condition related to the non-harm principle in the research. According to him, "*Confidentiality must be assured as the primary safeguard against unwanted exposure. All personal data ought to be secured or concealed and made public only behind a shield of anonymity. Professional etiquette uniformly concurs that no one deserves harm or embarrassment as a result of insensitive research practices.*"⁹⁹ One of the most important ethical responsibilities of a researcher is to adopt the principle of non-harm for the group they conduct their research with and to ensure the confidentiality of the data they obtained, along with the people they interviewed.

Due to the sensitivity of the place, the period and the subject group that I was conducting the research with, the principle of confidentiality was my top priorities among the ethical concerns that I had. This principle of confidentiality was not limited only to the research group, but also applied to the translators involved in the research as well. In my interviews, I was always extra careful to keep the identities of the women I interviewed a secret and not to use any real address, name or specific properties that

⁹⁹ Clifford, "Ethics and Politics in Qualitative Research," 66.

could be associated. In the thesis, I changed the names and preferred to include the information I obtained from people that had concerns about sharing them as observations.

Related to this, there were some techniques I used during the interviews that were also effective in the trust building process. For example, using technological devices such as a recording device that indicates the interviews are being recorded can seriously undermine the interviews. Because of that, the interviews that I made without using such recorders were conducted more clearly and sincerely. Apart from recorders, sometimes I did not take notes during some interviews. As taking notes is also an indicator of recording, I preferred to use the face-to-face conversation technique in most interviews and took notes or made voice records right afterward the interviews most of the time. During the interviews in the occasions that I deemed important I took some notes while keeping the notes open to the people that I was interviewing. Then I transferred all my notes to the computer and kept them in a confidential file.

In addition to these, meticulous attention was also needed to prepare the questions to be asked during in-depth interviews. In his book, Kümbetoğlu emphasizes the importance of this subject as follows:

*“... Since the qualitative research include detailed narratives and expressions of individuals and considering sometimes the most intimate and sincere thoughts and feeling are shared, the researcher should always be very careful while using and publishing them. At this point, the answers to the questions of how deep the researcher can dig or how familiar they can get to the field can be given based on ethical rules.
...”¹⁰⁰*

In this context, I did not include any questions that reveal the identity such as their names, surnames in order to avoid undermining the trust building process, and the

¹⁰⁰ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 180.

people that I interviewed shared their identity information only when they preferred to do so. Apart from the questions that characterize them in general terms such as age, marital status or education level, I haven't included any questions that could be used to determine their identity. In general, I asked open ended questions rather than question with clear-cut answers, and I tried to give the people that I interviewed as much freedom as possible about sharing daily experiences of themselves. I avoided short, straight, firm questions. I refrained from interfering the sharing process unless there was a requisite situation. I tried to get preliminary information particularly about Syrian culture prior to the interviews with Syrian women in order to avoid asking culturally disturbing questions. I've never asked directly which sect they belonged to, instead I tried to obtain information from their narratives.

Additionally, the people that I've interviewed always knew that they were the subjects of a research even when we were having an intimate conversation during the interviews. I've embraced this principle of transparency in both individual and collective interviews. In the occasions that the participation of some neighbors, relatives or friends could not be avoided, the interviews were evaluated as collective interviews instead of individual interviews.

- ***Avoiding Deception and Embarking on Accuracy for the Public and Individual Well-Being***

The other things that should be mentioned when talking about the ethical principles the researcher has to adopt are to obtain the correct information, to avoid fraud and to ensure that the information obtained is used for the benefit of the society. Kümbetoğlu adds another ethical principle about public interest by saying “a research should make positive contributions to the welfare of people and benefit society, and the research results should be kept in a written form that the society has access to within the context of the right to have access to information.”¹⁰¹ According to her, researches

¹⁰¹ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 175.

should focus not only on the public interest but also on the benefit of the individual, as well.¹⁰² In the studies that have adopted the feminist approach, the main goal of the research is to be beneficial to the community the research investigates, which can be considered as the sine qua non of the feminist method. Öztan states that one of the four main characteristics of feminist research is the goal of liberating the women and elimination of gender inequalities.¹⁰³ Achieving this goal is directly associated to producing correct information that will be beneficial to the society and raise awareness in the society. At this point, a few questions arise about how the researchers should verify the accuracy of the information they obtain in order to use them for public interest.

One of the common methods used especially in qualitative research is to hide the identity and purpose of the researcher and to act as a part of the group being studied and make observations accordingly. However, even though this can be used as a tool to achieve correct information, it also causes some controversy when it comes to research ethics. Academic deception is often regarded as an unacceptable attitude in an ethical study. According to Sage, a deception in a study is defined as the researcher's tendency to provide false information about the purpose, nature and results of the research, as well as the research itself. In this context, the deception involves the incomplete information or misinformation provided by the researcher about the key points of their research. In such cases, the participants sometimes do not realize they are involved in a research and sometimes they fail to comprehend the subject to the full extent.¹⁰⁴ Gans, on the contrary, states a counter opinion on this discussion, highlighting the necessity of deception in certain cases, *"If the researcher is completely honest with people about his activities, they will try to hide actions and attitudes they consider undesirable, and so will be dishonest. Consequently, the researcher must be dishonest*

¹⁰² Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 180.

¹⁰³ Öztan, "Feminist Araştırmalar ve Yöntem."

¹⁰⁴ Clifford J. Drew, Michael L. Hardman, and John L. Hosp, "Ethical Issues in Conducting Research," in *Designing and Conducting Research in Education* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2008), 67.

to get honest data".¹⁰⁵ In the light of the discussions above, researchers have to draw some lines about accuracy, deception, and honesty regarding their own researches.

In this study, I've decided to conduct a study that is completely transparent, considering the sensitivity of the subject and group. As a consequence of this decision, the presence of the researcher and all the objectives of the research were clearly explained to the participants in both individual and group interviews. Nevertheless, I've observed that apart from helping to build trust, this transparency sometimes causes the conversations to go through a filter. For example, some Syrian participants spoke of their concerns about the misrepresentation of Syrians and mentioned how hospitable Turkey is when they found out about the possibility of this research to be published later. This has been an indicator of many concerns for current situation.

On the other hand, since social sciences and qualitative research methods contain more interpretative information rather than concrete information, it doesn't seem possible to reach the absolute truth or achieve full accuracy. As LaPiere stated, "*Quantitative measurements are quantitatively accurate; qualitative evaluations are always subject to the errors of human judgment.*"¹⁰⁶ In accordance with this, the researcher has to put the obtained data in a context and report it after they correctly synthesize it. At this point, there is another ethical burden on the shoulders of the researcher.

Some obligations come into play such as asking the right questions to get the correct answers, having information about the participants' experiences and the social environment they are located, and fulfilling these obligations helps the researcher to interpret the obtained data correctly. As Kümbetoğlu stated, the whole data produced in qualitative research is completely based on the narratives, expressions and comments

¹⁰⁵ Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: Free Press, 1962) cited by Punch, "Politics and Ethics," 91.

¹⁰⁶ Richard T. LaPiere, "Attitudes vs. Actions," *Social Forces* 13, no. 2 (1934): 230-237 cited by Irwin Deutscher, Fred P. Pestello, and H. Frances G. Pestello, *Sentiments and Acts* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1993).

of the people interviewed. These narratives and expressions are not absolute truth, instead they are expressions that can change in time and location and they reflect the social world and perspective of the person. Thus, it wouldn't be correct to make an analysis based solely on this data, and the researcher should pay extra attention to the contextual properties of the text.¹⁰⁷

The ethical responsibilities of the researcher for producing correct and useful information are not limited to the duration of the interviews and the questions asked, they also include correctly analyzing and reporting the obtained data. In the data obtained from the field, it's necessary to accurately reflect the expressions shared by the participants, and to inform the reader about the context in which these expressions are used. The capability of providing accurate information about the body language and facial expressions used is particularly important for not distorting the data. Removing the quotation from the actual context by cutting down the beginning and end of a speech, just because it fits the course of the research and the reporting phase, can ethically damage the research during the reporting phase.

Although many researches have concrete general benefits in terms of providing information from the field nad explaining the currect situation to the society, it is also important to know how the conducted research serves the individual and social benefit. First of all, in the beginning of this research I adopted the goal of researching the reasons of some negative interactions between women and making suggestions accordingly before I stepped into the field. I insisted on conducting the whole research with an activist attitude instead of settling with the result phase and establishing some communication channels between women even during the interviews. The fact that the women from Turkey and Syria interacted and communicated with each other for the first time and as in many instances they began to understand each other and got close with every interview has been one of the most successful aspects of this study. Along with the friendships established during these interviews, I've also witnessed some

¹⁰⁷ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*.

women choosing solidarity with each other. Especially the conversations that suggested the women from Syria should also be included in the activist women groups from Turkey helped the struggle to gain momentum. Moreover, the conversations and activities that revealed the fact that the problems of the local and refugee women are becoming more and more common have made it easier for activist women to act together. The steps to increase the number of positive examples and strengthen communication have been taken by using the positive experiences gained from these activities and interviews and channeling them to the other groups.

In addition to the social benefits mentioned above, it is also important to focus on the individual benefits of the research process. During these interviews, my capability to provide consultancy for especially the refugee women, to inform them and direct them to relevant institutions based on my background in non-governmental organizations has enabled the women participants in the research to benefit from the research individually.

Apart from the research process, the findings and results of the research also have benefits for the welfare of the communities. A great deal of efforts has been made in order to make the subject and the reality on the field more visible to the society by trying to reach even the people who does not pay attention to the subject using the presentations and publications made both during and after the research. With this research, I tried to contribute to civil society and gender issues by providing new point of views on which problems may occur and which activities can be used to struggle against them in the developing countries that experience mass migration, in Turkey and in Hatay in particular. At the same time, I wanted to draw attention to migration and gender contexts that have insufficient number of studies conducted in the Turkish academic literature. Although it is difficult to measure the extent of usefulness of these researches to the society in both short and medium term, it is an ethical matter for the researcher to have a purpose and usefulness other than merely presenting data.

2.2.2. Researcher's Positionality: Self-Reflectivist Discussions from the Field

In social sciences, especially in the researches conducted with qualitative methods and feminist methods in particular, the discussions about the method frequently revolve around the position of the researcher in front of the participant groups. In qualitative research methods, some subjective actions such as how the researcher builds their research, which question they ask, which perspective they use to conduct their research are very important in terms of analysis, interpretation and reporting of the data obtained in the field. The results and reports of the research are affected by these subjective actions. As Atay stated, the 'objective' information in the books is presented in a 'subjective' mood and state of mind.¹⁰⁸ In this regard, Iosifides draws attention to the interaction between the researchers and participants in migration research and emphasizes the importance of self-reflection and positionality of the researcher. Iosifides states that the researcher's experience and personality, how they frame their research theoretically and conceptually, the methods they use during the process of collecting and producing data and how they interpret and present their findings are very important, and invites the migration researchers to be self-reflective on their social positions, way of thinking, beliefs, emotions, perspectives and conceptual schemes.¹⁰⁹

In studies that adopts the feminist method, the research process is directly correlated to how the researcher is positioned. Wolf emphasizes that this process is challenging for feminist researchers.

¹⁰⁸ Tayfun Atay, "Sunu" [Introduction], in *Etnografik Hikâyeler: Türkiye'de Alan Araştırması Deneyimleri*, eds. Rabia Harmanşah and Z. Nilüfer Nahya (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2016), 68-85.

¹⁰⁹ Theodoros Iosifides, "Epistemological Issues in Qualitative Migration Research: Self-Reflexivity, Objectivity and Subjectivity," in *Qualitative Research in European Migration Studies*, eds. Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Evren Yalaz (Cham: Springer Nature, 2018), 93-112.

“Fieldwork as a research method poses particular challenges for feminists because of the power relations inherent in the process of gathering data and the process of ethnographic representation. The challenges of fieldwork and representation become even more complicated when the research focus is on women... because in most cases, this research entails “studying down”, that is, studying women who are poor, powerless, or marginalized.”¹¹⁰

In this type of research, the researcher aims to produce a collective product¹¹¹ with all the participants as they, themselves, are also participants of their own research; therefore, it’s very important to determine the position of the researcher in the interviews. The goal of eliminating the hierarchy between the participants and becoming part of the collective production process, which is considered to be one of the four most important properties of the feminist method¹¹², also adds another responsibility to the researcher. This responsibility is about observing their own transformation while conducting their research and becoming a part of the data obtained, and then opening up this transformation for discussion. Because in feminist researches female researchers are also turning into primary data sources¹¹³ and this process of transformation into data source should also be included in the research.

Since the field process opened its doors to different experiences, data and transformative effects, especially in studies conducted with sensitive groups, it has recently become even more important to discuss the effects of the experiences gained during the field process in the research. As Atay stated, these discussions become a part of ethnographic texts instead of being ‘inside the corridors’ conversations.¹¹⁴ Therefore, as a female researcher, I argue that it’s important to discuss the impact of these experiences on research based on my claim that conducting a feminist research in the field and focusing on gender relations paw the way for different experiences and

¹¹⁰ Wolf, “Introduction: Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork,” 1.

¹¹¹ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 67.

¹¹² Öztan, “Feminist Araştırmalar ve Yöntem,” 277.

¹¹³ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 53.

¹¹⁴ Atay, “Sunu” [Introduction], 11.

transforms the researcher, making them a participant in their research. In this section, I will include my positionality and self-reflective notes on the field process in some subtitles. Within these subtitles, I will discuss on my experience of working with interpreters, which I think has the greatest impact on the research, as well as my relationship with participant group in terms of foreignness and intimacy, and finally the impact of gender roles on the research.

- ***Who is the “third” one? : Working with Interpreters***

The fact that the researcher does not know the language spoken by the group they are working on is one of the most important factors that make the research process challenging. The inability to speak the language and communicate makes the presence of a third person, the interpreter, a necessity in qualitative interviews which should be based entirely on confidentiality and mutual sincerity. This imperative can lead to many undesirable issues such as the researcher losing control of the interview, being ignored by the participants, being unable to establish a direct relationship with the participant group, the difficulty in building trust or the interpreter taking over the authority in the interview. For this reason, the dependency of the researcher to the interpreters can also hinder the efficiency of the research. During the interviews, many reasons such as not being able to control which words and terms the interpreters prefer, lack of knowledge of the interpreter about the body language, gestures or the tone usage in that culture, not being able to measure the neutrality and objectivity of the interpreter may cause the researchers to lose control. Because of that, the interviews conducted through the interpreter are more complicated and has lower efficiency compared to the interviews made in the mother tongue.

One of the greatest responsibilities of the researchers is making sure that the interpreters work in accordance with the principle of non-harm, especially when working with sensitive groups. This may cause undesired damages in some cases while being a big concern for the researchers. It's equally important not to negatively affect

the positions of interpreters in their environments, as well as ensuring the confidentiality of the identity, information, and experience of the interviewed participants. Consequently, the interpreters who mediate between two parties are also in a sensitive position in terms of adapting the principle of privacy and confidentiality.

On the other hand, even a single word the interpreters misuse may cause some traumas to revive or undermine the trust relationship built in between. Both the participants and the research itself may suffer due to the difficulty of the researcher to recognize this situation instantly. The main reason of this is that the people who work as interpreters in the researches are generally not professional due to the limited resources. Most of the time, the interpreters are chosen among the volunteers due to budget problems. The fact that the interpreters are not professional in the subject and their involvement in the research is based on their volunteering significantly affect their commitment and seriousness for the research.

Since some of the participants were Syrian women in this study, I had to use an interpreter during some of the interviews. These interpreters were selected among Hatay's Arabic-speaking local women that don't have any professional interpreting experience and the translations were made on a voluntary basis. However, the interpreters I worked with in Hatay played a leading role in many occasions, as they provided inside information about the region and culture apart from making translations. Thus, they played a major role in building the infrastructure of the field study. In this regard, Bujira points out that translation is not just a technical activity: *"Translation is more than a technical exercise; it is also a social relationship involving power, status and the imperfect mediation of cultures."*¹¹⁵ In this context, since the interpreters also play an intermediary role, the course of the research varies according to their perspectives and guidance. As Bryman puts it, conducting a study with intermediaries leads the researcher to rely heavily on the assessments of these

¹¹⁵ Janet Bujra, "Lost in Translation? The Use of Interpreters in Fieldwork," in *Doing Development Research*, eds. Vandana Desai and Robert B. Potter (London: Sage Publications, 2006), 172.

intermediaries instead of seeing the field through the eyes of the subjects of the social situation, and causes the data about the field to be shaped with point of view and preferences of these intermediaries.¹¹⁶ So, this causes the researcher to lose the control of the research to the interpreters.

Throughout the research period, the interpreters who participated in the interviews in Hatay did not only take on the role of interpreters, but also worked as a local intermediary in terms of finding participants, visiting places and meeting people. As they are familiar with Arabic culture, they have also helped to understand the context of many discourses, and they have been the most important factor in strengthening my bond with local groups that I interviewed in Hatay, where I went as a foreign researcher. Thus, they were effective not only in translation and intermediating, but also in the design of the research. In this regard, Bragason states that a local interpreter is more than an interpreter and they become ethnographically informative. According to him; *Interpreters can become intermediaries who will open doors; they can also help to unravel why people behave as they do, who is related to whom or why the next village is different.*¹¹⁷

During the interviews, there is another factor affecting the research as well as the interpreting and intermediary roles that interpreters assume: the identity of the interpreters. As Bujra stated; *“Translators are not simple ciphers without political or social views of their own. They may find it hard not to betray this in their translations, presenting one side’s position with more conviction and elaboration than the other, or even contradicting the accounts that are given in order to present their own opinions. More generally, it is common for the translators to ‘filter out’ what they consider*

¹¹⁶ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 198.

¹¹⁷ Egill H. Bragason, “Interviewing Through Interpreters,” *Newsletter - Centre for Qualitative Research* 23 (1997), <http://www.psy.au.dk/ckm/newsletter/nb23/23-egil.htm> cited by Bujra, “Lost in Translation?”, 174.

unimportant, even though this might be precisely what the researcher needs and wishes to know."¹¹⁸

The fact that the information the researcher desires to achieve changes direction or even disappears while passing through the filter of the interpreters and that interpreters render the subjective experiences of the participants showcase the dependency of the research during the data collection and interpretation processes. In order to reduce this effect in this study, before commencing the interviews with two active interpreters, I conducted detailed discussions on the general objectives of the study, the quality of the interviews, the occasions to be sensitive, interpreting methods and academic ethics. I informed the interpreters that the rising tension during the interviews, adding personal opinions into the translations and using inappropriate body language in the interviews would harm the research and create problems in terms of academic ethics and impartiality. Based on the principle that the researcher is also responsible for the research team, I made the plans together with all the interpreters involved in this study before each interview. It was very useful that the interpreters positioned themselves as participants of the research in terms of embracing the study and acting impartially and ethically.

In addition to concerns about working with the principle of non-harm, correct and uninterpreted translation, one of the most challenging factors of conducting field research with the interpreter is the conflict of position between the interpreter and the researcher. As mentioned before, in the feminist research methods the researcher always removes the hierarchy between the participants and themselves and aims to achieve a collective production by conducting the research on equal positions. However, the presence of a third party in the negotiations causes these equal relationships to be built in a fragile set-up. During the interviews the focus of the participants on the researcher and the interpreter constantly changes and just like the researchers', the interpreters' perspective and motivation have a direct impact on the

¹¹⁸ Bujra, "Lost in Translation?", 176.

research. The position of the interpreter in front of the participants, the intimacy and trust that they establish with the participants cause the interpreters to be the primary data sources in the research.

However, even though the established relationship looks equal, the researcher takes a role that determines the course of the interview in many cases. If the interpreters take a more dominant role in this regard, this may harm the setup of the research. Therefore, the delicate hierarchy between the interpreter and the researcher can be defined as one of the biggest challenges of working with interpreters. Often times the researcher will not be able to establish a direct relationship with the participants and will be exposed to an indirect relationship because of the presence of another person speaking the mother tongue of the participants. This situation may harm the intimacy and equal participation that are desired to be established in the meeting. Since the interaction between the participant and interpreter is first-hand, their interaction with the participants can reach a greater extent than the researcher. Based on their voluntary and unprofessional status in the research, interpreters sometimes stop making short and regular translations, have long, unnecessary conversations with the people being interviewed and cause the researcher to be invisible. The inability to speak the same language may undermine the intimacy and trust built between the researcher and the participants.

The volunteer-based presence of the interpreters in the interviews is a factor that weakens the researcher's position. In a task based on volunteering, the interpreters can take the lead of the interviews while the researcher feels owed to the interpreters. The interviews will be much more efficient if the interpreter and the researcher cooperate and avoid a conflict for a third person role.

During the field interviews of this research, I tried to give feedbacks to the interpreters, discussing any issues I've experienced with them at the end of each interview. Although the outcome of these feedbacks varied depending on the

interpreters' motivation and daily circumstances, they often worked and after a while the interpreters began to feel and act more professional. At the end of a certain time period, they embraced the main criteria about the feminist method during the interviews and they were much more careful not to steer the conversations.

The qualitative researches, and feminist method in particular, pays extra attention to the transformation of the researcher. Since the interpreters are also part of the study in the field process that this thesis is based on, the transformation process of the interpreters has also constituted an important data source for the research. Considering that the subject I wanted to observe in this study is particularly the relationships between the women from Turkey and Syria, and that the female interpreters also represent the local women, they have emerged as a subject during the artificial interactions in the interviews. These interactions turned out to be very valuable data sources for me. The comments, body language and tones of the interpreters after the interviews were solid indicators of how the interactions during the interviews went.

While the presence of the interpreter in the interviews often appears to be a negative aspect that causes the focus of the research subject to shift and makes managing the interview challenging, in some cases it can also help to obtain various data by allowing the researcher to observe the relationship between the interpreters and the participants. During the interviews that I conducted with the interpreters in the province of Hatay, women from refugee and host community had the chance to come together, albeit with artificial means. And this gave me a chance to be an observer and participant at the same time. As a consequence of these interviews and interactions, the positive change of views against Syrian women in the native female interpreters and the intimacy and friendship they have established with Syrian women have been the most valuable outcome I have achieved during the research process. This also showcases the transformation of these interpreters. After a while, the conflicting attitude between the two women I observed in their first encounter was replaced by solidarity and communication. These interviews and interactions have also transformed

the interpreters and enhanced their communication with Syrian women. They helped to obtain diversified data by adding different experiences to each process of this research, in which they assumed an important task. Moreover, one of the interpreters began working in the field of humanitarian aid and raised the relationship she established with the women from Syria to a professional level.

- ***Inconstant Nature of Researcher's Insider/Outsider Position***

Since the data obtained in the field processes in qualitative researches are based on subjective expressions and narratives, the details such as the role of the researcher and how they obtain the data in data collection processes gain importance. While the focus is on the role of the researchers in such studies, the effect of the relationship of the person conducting the research with the subject community, in terms of being an insider or outsider, on getting accurate information and on the research is frequently discussed.

Merton describes the insider researcher as “the members of specified groups and collectivities or occupants of specified social statutes”¹¹⁹, while illustrating the outsider researcher as, “unlike the insider, the Outsider has neither been socialized in the group nor has engaged in the run of experience that makes up its life, and therefore cannot have the direct, intuitive sensitivity that alone makes empathic understanding possible.”¹²⁰ Especially in migration research, there are various advantages and disadvantages of being intertwined with the researched group or looking from a completely external perspective. In this regard, Simmel argues that in the Stranger theory an outsider / foreigner researcher would be more independent, their research would include less bias, their thoughts would be more objective and their behaviours

¹¹⁹ Robert K. Merton, “Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 1 (1972): 21.

¹²⁰ Merton, “Insiders and Outsiders,” 15.

would not be affected by certain traditions, habits and experiences.¹²¹ Referring to the harms of researchers' over-engagement with the researched group, Innes also claims that an insider researcher's views would be affected by this intimacy and because of this they cannot be accurate, objective and non-sentimental.¹²² Due to the intimacy of an insider to the group, there is a risk of generalizing their own experiences, and such researchers have the possibility to override the experiences of the participants with their own.¹²³

However, the Insider Doctrine claims that researchers outside of a culture or researchers who have never experienced a situation cannot deeply understand said culture or situation. It also disputes that researchers that are members of a certain group can understand said groups better.¹²⁴ As another advantage, it's argued that being an insider researcher would provide great convenience in reaching the researched group, and due to the common experiences, it would be easier to have control over the details and obtain a richer data.¹²⁵ Especially feminist theory focuses on the posture of the researcher, the production of knowledge about women and the effort to understand other women.

There are many academics who also draw attention to the mistakes of applying strictly Insider and Outsider difference. In recent years, the discussions claiming that only an insider can really understand a group or only an outsider can produce objective information have paved the way for the role of the researcher in terms of importance. In this regard, Merton states that the first goal of a researcher is to seek the truth and there is no fixed distinction between the insider and outsider researcher in sociological

¹²¹ Georg Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms: Selected Writings*, ed. Donald N. Levine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 146.

¹²² Robert Alexander Innes, "“Wait a Second. Who Are You Anyways?” The Insider/Outsider Debate and American Indian Studies,” *American Indian Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (2009): 440.

¹²³ Sonya Corbin Dywer and Jennifer L. Buckle, “The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8, no. 1 (2009): 58.

¹²⁴ Katie Kerstetter, “Insider, Outsider, or Somewhere Between: The Impact of Researchers’ Identities on the Community-based Research Process,” *Journal of Rural Social Sciences* 27, no. 2 (2012): 100.

¹²⁵ Dywer and Buckle, “The Space Between,” 54-63.

terms, on the contrary the relationship of intimacy can change depending on time, status and position. According to him, asking whether the researcher is the insider or the outsider who has monopolistic or privileged access to social truth should be stopped and their distinctive and interactive roles in the process of truth seeking must be considered instead.¹²⁶

There are ongoing discussions on what kind of a position a researcher should take in order to obtain objective information in a qualitative research. These discussions reach far beyond being an insider or an outsider and extent to the questions about how the researcher was positioned and how ‘space between’ was established during the research. Based on their own research experiences, Carling et. al. includes the results of their own researches conducted as insider, outsider or none of them in their articles. According to them, “positionality in qualitative research refers to the fact that a researcher’s characteristics affect both substansive and practical aspects of the research process-from the nature of questions that are asked, through data collection, analysis and writing, to how findings are received.”¹²⁷ Nowicka and Ryan, in their article, highlight the uniqueness of the interview process, mentioning that the researchers now define these interviews as interactive experiences and the position they take in these experiences or the emotions they feel affect the information they acquire.¹²⁸

In her book, Kümbetoğlu mentions about certain difficulties and the importance of the position of the researcher, adding that it will take time for the researcher to be recognized by the community. She points out that spending a certain period of time together and sharing common activities, especially in qualitative research, is essential to build trust. Because the expectation of the researched group is to find common grounds with the research and establish intimacy, as well.¹²⁹ In fact, Rabe emphasizes

¹²⁶ Merton, “Insiders and Outsiders,” 28; Merton, “Insiders and Outsiders,” 36.

¹²⁷ Jørgen Carling, Marta Bivand Erdal, and Rojan Tordhol Ezzati, “Beyond the Insider–Outsider Divide in Migration Research,” *Migration Studies* 2, no. 1 (2014): 37.

¹²⁸ Nowicka and Ryan, “Beyond Insiders and Outsiders,” 2.

¹²⁹ Kümbetoğlu, *Niteliksel Yöntem ve Araştırma*, 194-196.

that even if the researcher is a complete outsider, they will become an insider at an increasing rate in correlation to the time spent together.¹³⁰ In this section, I'd like to discuss about my position during the field interviews, in terms of being an insider or an outsider. I find it important to reveal this positionality in order to understand the sample and analyze the data correctly.

In the early days of field work, I was perceived as an outsider by women from both Turkey and Syria, because in their eyes I was just a foreigner from outside of Hatay that did not know their culture. There were a lot of alienating factors related to social status such as coming from Istanbul, entering the houses using the identity of a researcher, not being a mother, still being a student, not being married and having serious differences in lifestyle even though being around the same age. Just like women from Syria, this situation was the same in the eyes of local women from Hatay. In the beginning, I was expecting that I was going to establish a relationship with more intimacy and sincerity with the women from Turkey as I am one of them, but the relationships could change even by the course of the interviews. For instance, during many interviews I was labeled by Turkish women as someone who 'live on the fat of the land', an 'outsider' who works with Syrians and doesn't understand what they are going through. I was someone coming from a metropolitan or even from abroad, so they all had an attitude based on a fixed idea that I could never be able to understand their circumstances. During the interviews, the women from Turkey either had a desire to educate me or had intentions of winning me around by saying things like 'Look at this dire situation we're in, my daughter. There is no peace of mind left for us since the Syrian women came here.' In the interviews that I made with the women from Syria, however, I observed that their intentions were more about expressing themselves and having a heart-to-heart conversation. As they had a friendlier attitude, sometimes I felt more of an 'insider' during the interviews I made with them. Therefore, the nationality I

¹³⁰ Marilize Rabe, "Revisiting 'Insiders' and 'Outsiders' as Social Researchers," *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie* 7, no. 2 (2003): 150.

had or just being a woman did not strictly frame me an insider or an outsider. This was a phenomenon that always changed according to context, location and people.¹³¹

The perception of being a guest and a host that I felt in the beginning was replaced with being acquaintance as time passed. Because the interviews weren't one and done kind of interviews that I entered and left their house just once, but they were kind of interviews that I met them several times in which we drank coffee together, played with the kids and had various long conversations. About this topic, Lynne draws attention to the importance of the time spent with the research group while explaining how an ethical researcher should be. According to her, "A researcher that follows the morality standards of the profession must pay attention to context, take heed to the research being valid and reliable and definitely be transparent about how their own interests affect the research in addition to their interest and connection to the researched community. The candidness of the researcher in this matter is of utmost importance. If the researcher cannot spend at least a few months in a research context, they cannot fathom the researched community's power relationships that influence their contributions."¹³²

After a few meetings, the intimacy I established with these women accompanied a process in which we tried to find common ground. Women from Syria tried to develop intimacy with me by saying things like 'You look like a singer from our neighborhood', 'Women from our hometown are brunettes just like you' etc while women from Turkey ignored the fact that I'm from Istanbul and have comments like 'You have become like a daughter for us' or 'We're sure you'll learn that you have relatives here if you ask your parents about it.'

¹³¹ Selin Altunkaynak Vodina, "Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Göç Araştırmalarında Araştırmacının Konumsallığı: 'Patriarkal Pazarlık' Kıskaçında 'Kız Başına' Araştırma Yapmak," in *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Perspektifinden Türkiye'de Göç Araştırmaları*, comps. Kristen Biehl and Didem Danış (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Mükemmeliyet Merkezi ve Göç Araştırmaları Derneği, 2020), 122-142.

¹³² Brydon, "Ethical Practices," 27-28.

Carling et al, noting that the status of insider and outsider should not be defined only as belonging to a certain group, mention there are some signs that make sense of insider/outsider status, in their articles. According to them: things such as name, profession, title, gender, age, physical appearance, apparel, family relations, pregnancy, language ability, language being used, culture, religion, past migration experience and sustainable commitment of the researcher etc define the position of the researcher rather than whether the researcher belongs to that group.¹³³ During the interviews, there were many choices that helped me to establish intimacy with the researched group such as wearing daily and ordinary clothes, not wearing heavy make-up, using a few local idioms or a few Arabic words in the conversations, using daily language instead of academic language. The fact that I embraced a position that doesn't only listen and take notes but also interacts with them by sharing my own experiences with my family when they share theirs helped trust building and reinforced intimacy. The curiosity I had for their culture fueled their desire to teach me more, enabling me to obtain detailed information about their lives. Sometimes they used some sentences that display the intimacy we established such as: "That's how we make our coffees," or "Let me give you its recipe." On the other hand, the fact that the women from Syria were feeling like guests in Turkey made them feel safer during the interviews when I visited their houses like a guest instead of a researcher. For this reason, they approached me as a friend, instead of a researcher, who came to learn about them and get to know them.

During the interviews, I observed that Syrians were uneasy about giving information to somebody from their community because of the widespread atmosphere of insecurity among Syrians, based on their fear of informants and espionage activities, both before and meanwhile the war. Because of this, it was easier for them to open up to a non-Syrian. They also mentioned their gratitude about someone from Turkey coming into their houses to get to know them. My position as an Outsider also gave me an advantage when they were sharing their own stories. The possibility of gossip made it more difficult for them to share their private stories to a resident of Hatay. They

¹³³ Carling, Erdal and Ezzati, "Beyond the Insider–Outsider Divide," 10.

mentioned that it's easier for them to open up to someone from outside of Hatay because of it. As a consequence of my observations and experiences, it's safe to say that taking a position outside or between outsider and insider positions helps to use the advantages of both positions.

The similarity of the language used during the interviews also helped to balance the power dynamics between the researcher and the participants in the interviews. Instead of using an academic, on target language that contains lots of terms by asking questions like "What kind of issues have you experienced due to the patriarchate after migration?", "Have you experienced gender-based violence?", I preferred to ask question that have more sincerity and intimacy such as "Has the behavior of your spouse changed since you came here?" or "Do you feel comfortable on the streets?" in a chit-chat mood. Thus, the perception of outsider that may occur because of language is reduced if not completely avoided.

There were also some security issues due to being someone outside of the region. On some occasions such as doing field work in the border area, often times I needed support from someone else. It was the intermediaries that were driving me to most of the areas and making them wait outside somewhere were putting a serious pressure on me. Interviews in these areas were one-off and I had to keep them as short as possible due to distance and safety related reasons.

One of the problems I faced in the field as an outsider researcher was the pressure caused by being a guest. I felt restricted by the obligations and traditional codes of being a guest. Since getting help from an association, an institution or a group would cause affiliation with those, I chose to work with people from the local community in order to get independent results in the research. After a while, these people established a bond of affection towards me and the research, thus unintentionally restricting my activities in the field because of their continuous desire to show their hospitality.

*“In practice, researchers’ identities are often relative, and can sometimes even change, based on where and when the research is conducted, the personalities of the researcher and individual research participants, and the topic of the research. While some characteristics, like race and gender, likely will remain the same throughout researchers’ lives, the significance of those characteristics can change, depending on the research situation.”*¹³⁴ As a researcher, this change has yielded to the transformation of my own role and perspective during the research.

- ***Being a Women Researcher in the field***¹³⁵

Reinharz states the link between the research project and the researcher themselves in scientific research is formed as a state of ‘starting with one’s experience’.¹³⁶ The feminist researchers, especially the ones that observe the daily experiences, also start from the standpoint of women when they start with themselves. As far as I could observe from my own experience as a researcher starting from the standpoint of women, the female researchers include themselves into their researches and become a part of the researched group, whilst being guided, changed and transformed by gender rules. In this section, I will discuss the impact of gender roles adopted in society and being a female researcher that conducts a research about gender and migration on the research.

The *patriarchal bargain* theory emphasizes that women help classic patriarchy to continue during the crisis periods. According to this theory, sometimes women may oppose the possible change of classical patriarchy and they may even resist giving up the gender roles assigned to them that make their lives difficult. They resist this change because they do not want to lose their short-term economic and safety advantages.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ Justine Mercer, “The Challenges of Insider Research in Educational Institutions: Wielding a Double-edged Sword and Resolving Delicate Dilemmas,” *Oxford Review of Education* 33, no. 1 (2007): 1-17 cited by Kerstetter, “Insider, Outsider, or Somewhere Between,” 101.

¹³⁵ Altunkaynak Vodina, “Toplumsal Cinsiyet”.

¹³⁶ Reinharz, *Feminist Methods*, 259.

¹³⁷ Deniz Kandiyoti, “Bargaining with Patriarchy,” *Gender & Society* 2, no. 3 (1988): 282.

In these bargains, women maintain a number of attitudes that will strengthen patriarchy and preserve it. Hence, as mentioned at the beginning of the article, it is observed that refugee and local women who have conflicts revolving around questions that serve classical patriarchy such as “Which woman deserves a husband?” or “Who is the best woman?” have also being to have these bargains.

As a female researcher, the most important experience I had due to working with women in the field was being dragged into this bargain immediately. As soon as I began the interviews, the first questions I received were about my marital status and age. Considering that the vast majority of the women that I interviewed were married for at least 5 years and had 2 or 3 children when they were my age, they weren’t satisfied with my current status as a woman non-married and without a child at that time, tended to drag me into a bargain. As I was a woman who have been defeated from the very beginning in the race of which woman was better in their eyes, on many occasions they often perceived and labeled me as a harmless, under-grown child who doesn’t have an identity yet.

During the interviews, the inevitable hierarchical order between the researcher and participant in which the researcher generally has a higher position was reversed through womanhood. Although this may be a desired outcome in the feminist method, it also led to a situation that prevented equal positioning. However, it’s safe to say that this so-called weakness of mine in this regard has also gave me some advantages for obtaining information on some occasions. The interviewed women who perceived their womanhood superior compared to mine and who tried to educate me on how to be a better woman also provided more information about their daily life experiences. And this enabled me to obtain richer data for the research.

However, the perceived defeat of mine in the first glance did not always lead to the same consequences in every interview. Some interviewees, on the contrary, intended to glorify me by respecting my way of life and comparing it with their own.

Consequently, I was identified as ‘a enviable scientist’ by some interviewees while being labeled as ‘a woman with deficits’ by others. Thus, I have experienced that in the research process, power dynamics in the relationships cannot always be in the same position and it can occasionally shift towards the researcher or participants. Since every woman’s experience is unique and subjective, the position, perception and transformation of the researcher in every interview are also different and unique.

During the field work, the bargaining that revolved around gender roles continued not only with women, but with the men as well. The figure of an ‘independent woman’ from Istanbul was perceived as a threat to classical patriarchy also by men. Although the modern lifestyle of Hatay and the fact that women were more active in this city comforted me as a female researcher, when it comes to gender roles the traditional patriarchal attitude had always been at the forefront.

I was seen as a stranger in the city by the men I had to take permission from husbands to be able to interview with their spouses. The thought of their wives could be dissuaded and become a threat for them caused the men to be anxious about the research. Over time, this perception of threat was replaced by the perception that I was a woman to be protected and watched over. As my position as a guest and a woman were intertwined, the instincts of the men to help and protect me were also intertwined. So, after a while, I found myself conducting the research like the little girl of the neighborhood. The fact that a male guest and researcher would not experience a similar situation is enough to indicate the uniqueness of conducting a research as a woman.

During the research, women were not the only ones that I’ve interviewed, as I had the opportunity to interview with local men, tradesmen and various institutions. One of the most important factors that affected the course of the interviews was the level of masculinity in the language that I used. When I spoke closer to the language used by men, the conversations were getting more comfortable and they were taking me more seriously.

Being a female researcher brings some struggles in the immediate circles and family, as well. For example, even though every family would have concerns about their child going to an unknown territory in the border region during war, it turns into a real struggle when their child is a female. As a female researcher, the first questions that strung to the minds of my family and immediate circle were about what a girl like me would do there on her own and how would I protect myself. They have also taken a number of actions related to this situation. For instance, they let their acquaintances in the region know that their daughter is coming there for the field work. And this created a situation that limited my mobility in the region. Some regions that I wanted to work in have been identified as ‘inaccessible’ and ‘dangerous’ for women. And this created a wall of obstacles that I had to overcome when I wanted to work in these regions, because of being a woman.

As a researcher that knows gender roles are internalized and learned set of rules, I was critical about this issue; however, the thought of being alone out there as a woman bothered me, as well. Yet my concerns weren’t about the fear of going there alone, they were about how I would fight against the gender roles I was going to face there. Because, as a female researcher, the first thing I had to do was getting myself accepted to the people that I was going to interview. I had to put extra effort in order to earn respect for my work and to be seen as a subject by them. Being ignored and not taken seriously were affecting the research process. They were causing problems for the questions that I asked, as well as the duration and the course of the interviews.

On the other hand, there were some occasions when I questioned my own standards of judgment. I was a woman, moreover, I was from Turkey. Even though I was trying hard not to have a bias, the status of mine that was evaluated by the women and the stories I’ve heard gave me a lot of experience for making sense of my own womanhood. Every woman had a different story and I’d find myself getting into their stories, putting myself in their shoes and questioning what I’d do under those

circumstances. And this helped me a lot to develop an awareness of my womanhood and make sense of myself.

Besides my researcher identity, the fact that I was working in this field as a professional non-governmental organization employee was also another important factor that shaped my relations with women. This identity of mine influenced many interviews and the connection I had with the interviewees. Every interviewee had turned into a case because I was a professional working in this field. My efforts to find a solution for their problems and direct them to the right places during the interviews had reinforced my bond with the interviewees. This identity of mine helped me to gain the respect and trust of the women that I've interviewed while also enabling me to be useful to the subject community as a researcher and enriching my research. On account of this identity, I had the opportunity to have flexibility in my actions during many interviews.

In order to summarize, the concerns about women conducting research on their own, which I believe everyone including women, men, the immediate circles and even myself have, indicate the effect of gender roles on conducting a research. In almost every interviews and conversations that I made, I'd receive at least one question about why I was conducting a research on my own as a woman out there, and throughout the research period, as a female researcher, I was constantly looking for a solid answer for this question.

2.2.3. Research Constraints: Conducting a Research in Conflict Zones

Facing the difficulties of doing field work in social science researches based on the qualitative method and the experiences gained from this process are often times the most important aspects of these researches. A good analysis of this process is also essential in order to make sense of the research. Having knowledge about the region,

collection information about the participants and making a security plan for the studies that will be conducted in or near the conflict areas are priorities among the actions the researchers should certainly do, especially in sensitive and critical areas. Every field work has some risks regarding its subject. What kind of risks the researcher will take depends on their personality, the environment they work, the subject they choose, intermediaries and the people they conduct their research on. However, determining the personal limits well before the field work is essential for the security of the research, the researcher and the participant group.

This research was conducted in a border region in which the war could be seen, heard, and felt from up close. For this reason, the first thing I faced was the security problem. During the years that the first field works of this research was conducted around 2014-2016, there were many security related concerns in Hatay because it was the most active period for the border. Regarding the unsafe environment and there were many foreigners in the city at that time, it was requisite to take some personal security measures such as being careful in the houses that I've made the interviews, choosing the places to stay cautiously, paying attention to my workhours, not visiting the unfamiliar neighborhoods on my own, finding reliable intermediaries etc... The alleged rumors of bombings due to the uneasiness of the community were frequently causing panic. The first major security problem that we faced happened during the interviews in Yayladağı region. I had to cancel the interviews because of a mortar thrown from Syria to the countryside of Yayladağı and the panic it caused.

Apart from the security problems, there was also a phase of field ban due to security reasons that coincided with the period when the research was conducted. Due to many actors having various activities in the field about migrants, the Turkish government began to allow only the people who got permission to conduct research in the field from the ministries and ban others without ministries' approval to work with

Syrians.¹³⁸ Although I wasn't conducting my research under the Council of Higher Education, this ban resonated and made it difficult for the researchers to work in the field. For this reason, I had to postpone the field work for this research for a certain time. Voluntarily or involuntarily, being in the field and making research in the region gives the researcher essential information not only about the social relationships, but also about legal, political, and economic networks as well. For this reason, the researches conducted especially in the border regions have been restricted for security reasons and they have been subjected to long processes of getting permissions.

One of the biggest limitations that concern the researcher is the budget problems. As I didn't have any funds for this research, I had to work in a full-time income generating job during the research period and because of some budgetary difficulties the trips to and from the field took place within certain limitations. 6 months of the field work had to be conducted on public holidays and annual leave periods due to my full-time job during the research. And under these circumstances the duration of field work had to be extended. However, this unplanned extension of duration added a new dimension to the research as it enabled me to observe the changes between years. The experience I gained in non-governmental organizations that I worked in this process without leaving the field or the subject has helped this research to be more productive. Being close to the field, which I personally see as an advantage, has enabled me to constantly be in touch with the area I work in, especially during my job as the coordinator of a center working for refugee women and children. Being in direct contact with refugee women and children, even during the period I worked somewhere away from the field, has made the data collection process continuous. Although this job was in Istanbul, it has provided me with valuable information on general observations and comparisons.

¹³⁸ “YÖK Suriyelilerle ilgili Akademik Araştırmaları Bakanlık İznine mi Bağladı?” [Does the Higher Education Council want Ministry Permission for Syrian Studies?], *T24*, May 22, 2015, <https://t24.com.tr/haber/yokten-suriyelilerle-ilgili-arastirma-yapilmasina-veto,297457>.

Apart from this concrete restrains, I also had sentimental difficulties in this research because of my feelings and interest for the subject that I chose. Due to the sensitivity of the subject of this research and the difficult circumstances experienced by the participants, the emotional moments occurring after the interviews has been one of the factors that made the research process challenging. The things that I've witnessed as a researcher during my field work such as economic difficulties, violent situations, sick children, parents who could not afford their children to go to school, mothers in desperation etc have had sentimental effects on my personality and research after every interview. The emotional bonds that were established against these kinds of troubles during the interviews have caused a sentimentally corrosive process.

In addition to these difficulties I mentioned, I also had some advantages in the field. Apart from being difficult, the region I chose for this study also had certain advantages. First of all, the hospitable attitude of the local people in Hatay have made it much easier to get used to the region, and the positive responses I've received for my invitations of help or interview from many people and institutions have paved the way for finding the necessary intermediaries and interpreters. In the field where I went to Hatay as a foreign researcher, the acceptance and understanding of the local people have made it easy for me to overcome the difficulties I faced in the areas I conducted my study. The local people did not only give me detailed information about the general area of the region, but also mediated me to safely enter the regions and neighborhoods that visiting and interviewing on my own could cause some problems. They've helped me to meet relevant and key people and enabled me to conduct my research in a safe environment. Moreover, the great number of NGOs operating in this province due to the fact that Hatay province is a border region which has a huge population of Syrian refugees have made it easier for me to get detailed information about the Syrians in the region. Even though there were some NGOs that refused my interview request, the NGOs that accepted have shared valuable information about the refugees. Additionally, the NGOs that operate in the field have reinforced the familiarity of Syrian refugees for the researches, thus it was easier to explain the research to the participants.

On the other hand, the fact that a large portion of the population in Hatay speaks Arabic has made it a lot easier to find volunteer interpreters. The great number of people that could help in this regard at any given time had been a huge help for one of the most essential concerns of the research process. The fact that Hatay is a small city compared to Istanbul has been one of the factors that facilitated mobility during the day. Thus, the number of interviews I've made during the day has increased and transportation to even the remote areas has become easier.

In this chapter, I focused on the research methodology showing the research constraints and my positionality as a researcher either as an insider or outsider. This methodological discussion constitutes the corner stone of the research, as I was also experiencing the post migratory life together with women in Hatay. It was particularly important for me to show how I acted as a researcher and how I have dealt with the dilemma of being a women researcher when conducting a gendered research.

3. CHAPTER 3 - CONSTRUCTING DIFFERENCES, NEGOTIATING THE ORDER: GENDERED PERCEPTIONS OF THREAT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

In the previous section regarding methodology discussions, it was stated that this thesis aims to understand the relationship dynamics of women from Syria and Turkey. This chapter, firstly, utilizing field notes intertwined with theoretical discussions, will describe how women construct differences, draw borders, and how being a “guest” and “stranger” affects relationships. Thereafter, the section will paint a picture of how the newcomer group’s existence creates a perceived threat for the established groups and how intergroup anxiety comes into existence. This section will also discuss intergroup behaviors evolving out of these constructed differences and anxieties stemming from the threat perception.

In the following sections, I will explain the different meanings and denominations of foreigners by giving a wide coverage to Simmel’s, Bauman’s and Park’s stranger definitions.

3.1. How to name the newcomer? Stranger, outsider, marginal man or guests?

3.1.1. Defining the Newcomers and the Strangers within the context of Syrian refugee flow in Turkey

Simmel, in his 1908 theory *The Stranger*, underlines that stranger, as opposed to the popular belief, is not a “wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow” but rather is a person who “comes today and stays tomorrow.”¹³⁹ According to him, a

¹³⁹ Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms*, 143.

stranger is the potential wanderer, who is fixed within a certain spatial circle or within a group whose boundaries are analogous to spatial boundaries — but his position within it is fundamentally affected by the fact that he does not belong in it initially and that he brings qualities into it that are not, and cannot be, indigenous to it.¹⁴⁰ Simmel defines strangerhood mostly on the basis of commercial relations and states that the stranger is seen as no landowner and has mobility character. Therefore, stranger is seen as a person that has definite limitations, that is at times closer and at times further but has no organic connection to the insider.¹⁴¹

Even though Simmel's definition is far from a gendered perspective, it does shape female residents of Hatay's view of Syrian women at first. Syrian refugees, whose number has been estimated to be millions in Turkey and half a million within Hatay's provincial borders, take part in daily life, whilst being devoid of any organic bonds. Although daily encounters do create physical closeness, as Simmel states it, they never became "one of them." As can be inferred from quotes by the women interviewed, Syrians are perceived as not owners of the place they are in and bound to leave — which is their specific character of mobility mentioned by Simmel.

Although Simmel attributes a positive meaning to strangerhood due to the distinctly objective nature of strangers, he also provides us with a negative portrayal.¹⁴² According to him, negative strangerhood is a state of non-relation. It is a form of non-relation where the stranger is not part of the whole and the relation is disregarded. This state of non-relation has been observed in the field study in Hatay, beginning from 2011 when mass flow started, to 2019, in spite of the 9 years spent together. Women who encounter in daily life, in hospital, school, the city center, the bazaar; maintain this state of non-relation — with some exceptions such as mediation of third-parties, emergence of a necessity or establishment of a business relationship. It is observed that this state of non-relation is not unidirectional, but reciprocal. In here, both sides refrain

¹⁴⁰ Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms*.

¹⁴¹ Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms*, 145.

¹⁴² Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms*, 148.

from making effort. Although this state of non-relation conforms to Simmel's definition of strangerhood, existence of other dynamics should not be overlooked. Causes of this non-relation will come up again while examining the effects of Turkey's state rhetoric of guesthood and consequences of patriarchal repression.

Here, an example can be shown as for how time affects perspectives. Even though the women I have interviewed in 2015 and 2019 are not the same, similarity of their profiles provide general information regarding the situation. An interviewee, a Turkish primary school teacher "We do not know their culture, language, or sect. How can we fraternize with them?" (T4, 34, F, Teacher). Although this quotation showed some promise of formation of relations over time, a Turkish college student interviewed in 2019 (T3, 19, F, College Student) underlined their differences and dissimilar ways of thinking, which portrayed a persistence of state of non-relation. Thereby, lack of communication does conform to Simmel's theory of strangerhood, but also comes with different dynamics. Although it would be insufficient to explain the sociological condition of Syrians in Turkey utilizing only Simmel's theory of strangerhood, it should be stated that it provides an important beginning point.

Another key thinker regarding migration, refugees and strangerhood is Bauman, who emphasized the "us" and "them" dichotomy. In his work, Bauman depicts strangers as a grey area who are not "ours" or "theirs".¹⁴³

"Strangers are people I see and listen. Precisely due to my attention for their existence, my inability to disregard their existence, and my inability to simply ignore this existence, I have difficulty to understand them. They are neither close, nor distant. They are neither part of us, nor theirs. They are neither friend, nor foe. For this very

¹⁴³ Zygmunt Bauman, *Thinking Sociologically* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), trans. Abdullah Yılmaz as *Sosyolojik Düşünmek* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2006), 66.

reason, they arouse confusion and anxiety. I never know what I can do with them, what to expect from them, or how to treat them.”¹⁴⁴

In his definition of strangerhood, Bauman heavily references migrant groups. He depicts migrant groups living with us that we ought to share things in our intertwined lives. According to him, in today’s cities, migrants are the most populous strangers.

*“Refugees from the bestiality of wars and despotisms or the savagery of famished and prospectless existence have knocked on other people’s doors since the beginnings of modern times. For people behind those doors, they were always — as they are now — strangers. Strangers tend to cause anxiety precisely because of being strange and so, fearsomely unpredictable, unlike the people with whom we interact daily and from whom we believe we know what to expect; for all we know, the massive influx of strangers might have destroyed the things we cherished — and intend to maim or wipe out our consolingly familiar way of life. Those people with whom we are used to cohabiting in our neighborhoods, on city streets or in work places, we divide ordinarily into either friends or enemies, welcome or merely tolerated; but to whatever category we assign them, we know well how to behave towards them and how to conduct our interactions of strangers, however, we know much too little to be able to read properly their gambits and compose our fitting responses — to guess what their intentions might be and what they will do next. And the ignorance of how to go on, how to deal with a situation not of our making and not under our control, is a major cause of anxiety and fear.”*¹⁴⁵

In this context, migrants who are strangers of both the modern and post-modern order, especially the ones who come through forced mass migration, categorize not under strangers who provide pleasure and need protection, but mysterious and menacing strangers. Within this state of perplexity and confusion, the notion of

¹⁴⁴ Bauman, *Thinking Sociologically*.

¹⁴⁵ Zygmunt Bauman, *Strangers at Our Door* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), 8-9.

prejudice begins to emerge. Particularly through media, an image of stranger that is far from the real phenomenon is created. This image is spread by people.

Nocera, who analyzed this within the context of Turkish migration in Germany, explains the perception created by strangers in German culture with following words: According to German authorities, illegal presence of strangers, particularly the Turkish illegal presence, carries a great danger to the public order and safety. These people are more likely to commit crimes. This thinking creates a perception for the public that states “Gasterbeiter” (German name for Turkish migrants) means social problem. Cultural differences deepen the distance between social groups. Aspects of the lives of Turkish migrants are explained by differences of habits and customs, not difficult life conditions those migrants often have to face. It is written on Der Spiegel’s 1973 July cover “A Million Turks, Ghettos in Germany” over an image of a Turkish family. Various research companies made public opinion polls to understand what the word “Gasterbeiter” flashes on German minds. According to those studies, Turks are defined by, in order of frequency, adjectives such as scum, problem, wage thief, necessity, disgusting, sensitive, worker, suspicious, danger to public safety, gangster to women, black, crazy, fraud, garlic, communist, asocial, women abductor, mafia, knife, pocketknife, good people, gigolo, brothel customer, spaghetti eater, aggressive, economy saver.¹⁴⁶

It has been observed that a similar image construction, guides the relationship between the Syrian and Turkish women in Hatay. A Turkish housewife I have interviewed in 2015, expresses the confusion and unfamiliarity she had experienced with the arrival of Syrian women with these words:

“We do not know what kind of people these women are. They appear everywhere, the city center, the bazaar... If we were to accept them, we do not know if they are

¹⁴⁶ Lea Nocera, “Manikürlü Eller Almanya’da Elektrik Bobini Saracak”: *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Perspektifinden Batı Almanya’ya Türk Göçü (1961-1984)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2018), 188.

trustworthy or not. They came here with children, without even a man leading them. It is a wonder how they even did that.” (T1, 47, F, Housewife)

In Bauman’s definition of the *stranger*, intra-urban dynamics are very important. In fact, he presents two types of strangerhood based on this spatial dissociation. According to Bauman, urban residents’ perspective of strangers is stratified through the extent they can escape, hide and be guarded from them. Inequality among urban residents is parallel to the difference in perception of strangers. He states that upper-income residents of gated communities view strangers as exotic subjects; while for lower class people, stranger is a person whom they must fight against. While sheltered people have the privilege to choose when and where they encounter strangers, others cannot. Therefore, most of the time, a common understanding of *stranger* cannot be found in the city.¹⁴⁷ Different perspectives that exist on the strangerhood, as stated by Bauman, corroborates with varying discourses among neighborhoods and different income groups in the city of Hatay. However, within the context of Hatay, a sectarian stratification should be mentioned along with economic stratification. For example, it has been observed that residents of Dağ Neighborhood, which has a generally low-income population, harbor more negative feelings toward Syrian people on the basis of economic reasons. However, a similar negativity was relayed in Samandağ district, not using economic reasons, but sectarian ones. Consequently, Bauman’s theory of divergent view of strangerhood as a result of hierarchical economic system is reinforced in Hatay with a sectarian hierarchy.

Strangerhood’s effects on newcomers is also worthy of study along with its effects on Hatay residents. Elias and Scotson’s work in Winston Parva is an important study on this topic.¹⁴⁸ Elias and Scotson examines inter-group relations on the basis of

¹⁴⁷ Özlem Kahya Nizam and Songül Sallan Gül, “A Critical Assessment on Addressing Syrians in Turkey as Sociological ‘Stranger’,” *SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Journal of Social Sciences* 47, no. 2 (2019): 103.

¹⁴⁸ Norbert Elias and John L. Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders: A Sociological Enquiry into Community Problems*, (London: Sage Publications, 1994).

difference in crime levels among groups. They reach the conclusion that there emerged two distinct groups, namely the established and the outsiders. One group always feels under threat while the other is accused of lacking the superior human virtue — the distinguishing group charisma – which the established group attributed to itself.¹⁴⁹ Between these two groups, the established and the outsiders, it is observed that the powerful set the rules – which Elias and Scotson dubs as “rule of the best.”¹⁵⁰ Furthermore “‘The superior’ people may make the less powerful people themselves feel that they lack virtue that they are inferior in human terms.”¹⁵¹ Consequently, the established refuses to make social contacts with the outsider, except of business relations, and defines them as “less well bred.”¹⁵² According to Elias and Scotson, over time, the outsider begins to define themselves with the words of the established.¹⁵³ On this subject, Elias and Scotson raises the notion of “anomie” – where the outsider, in time, begin to perceive themselves as unneeded. Bauman refers this process of derogation as “dehumanization.” According to Bauman, “Dehumanization paves the way for their exclusion from the category of legitimate human rights holders and leads with dire consequences to the shifting of the migration issue from the sphere of ethics to that of threats to security, crime, prevention and punishment, criminality, defense of order and all in all, the state of emergency usually associated with the threat of military aggressions and hostilities.”¹⁵⁴ The established’s complaints in Winston Parva, regarding how the outsiders are noisy and dirty, are reminiscent of Turkish women’s complaints about Syrian women in Hatay on how the latter are incapable of raising children and cooking, and how they help their terrorist husbands.

Some interviews conducted with Syrian women in Hatay support the indication of a dehumanization process. Generally, it is observed that these women try to learn child-raising, sexual protection, cooking and even dressing from the local women.

¹⁴⁹ Elias and Scotson, *Established and the Outsiders*, 27.

¹⁵⁰ Elias and Scotson, *Established and the Outsiders*, 28.

¹⁵¹ Elias and Scotson, *Established and the Outsiders*, 30.

¹⁵² Elias and Scotson, *Established and the Outsiders*, 32.

¹⁵³ Elias and Scotson, *Established and the Outsiders*, 33.

¹⁵⁴ Bauman, *Strangers at Our Door*, 86.

Within this process, Syrian women who have been accused of being dirty, uneducated, and inadequate by the Turkish women began to define themselves as less worthy. It has been observed that some Syrian women participation in the trainings organized by non-governmental organizations do not stem from a desire to raise their awareness, but a desire to mitigate accusations against them. A similar process can be observed among Syrian children and men. A discussion should be had on how children raised in this psychology will battle with the dehumanization process.

Although, so far, Elias and Scotson's narrative is similar with Syrian women's process, studies in Winston Parva and Hatay have one significant difference. While the only difference between groups in Winston Parva is the time of arrival to the region; there are many differences (cultural, social, legal, economic, ethnic and linguistic) between Syrian and Turkish women.¹⁵⁵ Thus, the *Established and Outsider theory* is not sufficient by itself to explain the developments in Hatay. A similar point here is that in Elias and Scotson's study, the established has their own community in institutions and the outsider are excluded from these institutions. Consequently, exclusion of the outsider from these institutions brings about a failure in building social cohesion.¹⁵⁶ Regarding this, exclusion of the Syrians from the established institutions (the mosque, school, hospital, local coffeehouse, and the town center) in a way causes their challenges in the process of social adaptation.

While explaining the notion of strangerhood with the theory of *Marginal Man*, Park underlines the importance of different cultures born out of migration. Park portrays the Marginal Man who are not accepted in a society they try to integrate; and states that race takes a backseat in the notion of strangerhood. According to Park, Marginal Man is a person that genuinely lives in and shares two differing society's different culture and traditions; a person who is not willing to leave their past and traditions, and who is not fully accepted in the new society where they try to find a place for themselves

¹⁵⁵ Elias and Scotson, *Established and the Outsiders*, 37.

¹⁵⁶ Elias and Scotson, *Established and the Outsiders*, 41.

because of racial prejudices. This person stands on the border of two cultures and two societies that have never been fully intertwined or mixed.¹⁵⁷ Stonequist, taking on Park's marginal man, defines three stages in the progression of marginal man's identity. First stage involves a stage of preparation where the individual is introduced into the two cultures and assimilated, at least partially, by both of them. Without this partial assimilation, the individual cannot experience the conflict of loyalty to their identities. This assimilation process is often unwitting for the individual, as he/she does not realize they espouse two cultures. Within this process, the individual is not aware of a personality problem. Second stage is characterized by a crisis where the individual realizes the cultural conflict that involves him/her own life path as well. Third stage involves the individual's response to this situation. The individual's life trajectory can take many turns during this stage. He/she may continue toward the more dominant group and, in time, can become an accepted member of this group. Conversely, he/she can move toward the subordinate group and may resolve to challenge the dominant group. His/her precarious status may make them a good fit to be a leader.¹⁵⁸

It should be underlined that experiences of Syrian women in Hatay, their struggles between two cultures, are entirely individual processes. To claim this is a collective process based on time and space would contradict with this study's findings from the field. It is possible to suggest that the situation evolved entirely based on pre-migration conditions. Because even though there was an example of Syrian women solidarity organized with Turkish women in our interviews in 2015; in 2019, there were also women interviewed who do not go to the town center or the market, could not speak a single word of Turkish and do not have any Turkish friends. The main point to highlight here should be that women have personal experiences and lives. Even though Syrian women are in the early stage of Stonequist's process of marginality, the fact that there are women who concluded this process or never started this process underlines the importance of individual experiences. It has been observed that experience of a

¹⁵⁷ Levent Ünsaldı, ed., *Yabancı: Bir İlişki Biçimi Olarak Ötekilik* [Stranger: Otherness as a Form of Relation] (Ankara: Heretik Yayıncılık, 2016), 80-81.

¹⁵⁸ Ünsaldı, *Yabancı: Bir İlişki Biçimi Olarak Ötekilik*, 83-97.

Syrian woman that is well-educated, socialized with different groups and conscious of the struggle for women's rights is vastly different from the experience of a Syrian woman that is living in rural areas, married young and not conscious of the struggle for women's rights. For instance, in Yayladağı interviews, it has been observed that the relatively higher education levels of Syrian women in this region changed interrelational dynamics, reduced daily life conflicts, allowed for better relations between Turkish and Syrian women compared to other regions. Although it should be noted that Yayladağı's predominantly Sunni demographic structure is an important element here, newcomers' individual status plays an important role as well.

3.1.2. Guests and Hospitables as New Subjects of Otherness: Ignorance and Dehumanization on Inter-Women Relations

As outlined in Simmel, Bauman and Park's theories, one of the most important factors that shape relations between two encountering groups is the notion of being a stranger and being seen as a stranger. Definition of strangerhood depends on the socio-economic and political conditions of society. The discourse of "Syrian Guests" that was coined in 2011 within the context of policies that intended to raise tolerance toward Syrian newcomers, caused Syrians in Turkey to be dubbed as guests.

An etymological inquiry of the word "guest" reveals its roots in the word's stranger, enemy and hostile.¹⁵⁹ In modern dictionaries it is defined as "a person that you have invited to your house or to a particular event that you are paying for."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ See Charles Talbot Onions, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966). Guest, a stranger who is entertained, the original sense appears to be that of 'enemy, whence the senses of 'stranger' and 'guest' arose. The literature sense is striking. From the same root, gore, verb, garlic, goad, hostile.

¹⁶⁰ See Joanna Turnbull, Margaret Deuter, and Jennifer Bradbery, eds., *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948).

Turkish word for guest, *misafir*, comes from the Arabic word *musafir*, meaning “traveler.” Turkish Language Association defines this word as “a person who comes to a place or someone’s house to stay for a while.”¹⁶¹ All of these definitions emphasize temporariness, strangerhood and obscurity of the guest, and make the word synonymous with paying a price.

Kant, Derrida and Levinas who studied the notion of guesthood, and specifically migrants, introduced concepts of conditional and unconditional hospitality. Philosophers who tried to describe the relation between the guest and the hospitable, provided an insight to problems that arise from this kind of relation. Kant, who was one of the first thinkers put forward the concept of hospitality and defined it as “the law of world citizenship shall be limited to conditions of universal hospitality.”¹⁶² According to him, “*it is not a question of philanthropy but of right. Hospitality means the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another. One may refuse to receive him when this can be done without causing his destruction; but, so long as he peacefully occupies his place, one may not treat him with hostility. It is not the right to be a permanent visitor that one may demand. A special beneficent agreement would be needed in order to give an outsider a right to become a fellow inhabitant for a certain length of time. It is only a right of temporary sojourn, a right to associate, which all men have. They have it by virtue of their common possession of the surface of the earth, where, as a globe, they cannot infinitely disperse and hence must finally tolerate the presence of each other. Originally, no one had more rights than another to a particular part of the earth.*”¹⁶³ Here, Kant takes a right-based approach emphasizing that hospitality pertains to law and order and necessitates state

¹⁶¹ See Turkish Language Association, “Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri,” accessed January 9, 2020, <https://sozluk.gov.tr/?kelime=TANIM>.

¹⁶² Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1984).

¹⁶³ Kant, *Perpetual Peace*.

intervention.¹⁶⁴ Consequently, state's interference for this subject and their approach will cause guest-hospitality relationship to be established on certain rules.

According to Benhabib, Kant's notion of hospitality involves just the right of temporary sojourn, not the right of membership. As for the right of permanent residency, it should be given by a special agreement. Kant's understanding allows the guest to be welcome in "our" lands, but this welcome does not allow for formation of a relationship between the host and the guest. It only gives a legal right to the stranger. The stranger would be greeted well, given they respect the rules and order of the house, the nation and the culture, and they learn the language of the country. In this respect, the master stays as the master, and the guest as the guest. In Kant's concept of hospitality, refugees have the right to "temporarily" enter the lands of the country they take refuge in. Their status after crossing the border remains ambiguous. Because, in Kant's understanding of hospitality, there is no place for unexpected visit and thus, there cannot be any mention of a relationship with the other. In this situation where relation with the other is disregarded, refugees would be welcomed only if they conform to the rules of the country, they take refuge in.¹⁶⁵

Derrida takes Kant's definition of conditional hospitality to a more human-oriented dimension by introducing the concept of unconditional hospitality. Derrida criticizes Kant's compulsory and conditional understanding of hospitality and advocates that hospitality should be unconditional and borderless. Derrida underlines that for problems of migrants, refugees and the stateless to be solved, hospitality's relation with the state needs to be questioned. Moreover, Derrida emphasizes that the notion of hospitality's possibility of transforming the legal and political should be

¹⁶⁴ Zeynep Direk, *Başkalk Deneyimi: Kıta Avrupası Felsefesi Üzerine Denemeler* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), 193 cited by Ceylan Lortoğlu, "Suriyeli Mültecilerin 'Misafir' Olma Haline Misafirperverlik Hukuku ve Etiği Açısından Bakış," *İnsan ve İnsan* 4, no. 11 (2017): 54-80.

¹⁶⁵ Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents, and Citizens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), trans. Berna Akkoyal as *Ötekilerin Hakları: Yabancılar, Yerliler, Vatandaşlar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 38-47.

analyzed.¹⁶⁶ Derrida underlines the root of the word “guest” in discussing problems of migrants and refugees; and states that the word will cause problems in relationships. The words “hostility” and “hospitality” share the same Latin root – “host.” Hence, the word host, paradoxically, is used both in naming the person who shows hospitality and the person who invades.¹⁶⁷

Kant and Derrida’s guest-host relationship are similar to the condition of Syrian refugees in Turkey. The label of “guest” that has been utilized in political discourse since the arrival of Syrians in 2011,¹⁶⁸ was quickly adopted by the whole society. Politicians, without considering any long-term effects, aimed at the conscience of the community to ensure social cohesion in the face of this mass migration. Expressions such as “hospitality,” “religious fellowship” and “the persecuted” were utilized to achieve this end. Initial tolerance to the Syrians deteriorated in time. The fact that the word “guest” is often used to define Syrian women in both 2015 and 2019 interviews shows that relationships are still defined by the guest-host dynamic despite the 10 years spent together. President Erdoğan’s words “*We aim to make all Syrian lands safe and ensure that all our guests return to their homes after the election.*”¹⁶⁹ during his 2018 election campaign occupied the public opinion in a manner that negatively affect the relations when social cohesion was at the forefront. As can be seen from the quotes below, Syrian and Turkish women struggle with being the guest and being the host respectively. It stands out in this quotes that although the notion of hospitality initially

¹⁶⁶ Direk, *Başkalık Deneyimi*, 186 cited by Lortoğlu, “Suriyeli Mültecilerin.”

¹⁶⁷ Richard Kearney, *Strangers, Gods, and Monsters: Interpreting Otherness* (London: Routledge, 2003), trans. Barış Özkul as *Yabancılar, Tanrılar ve Canavarlar: Ötekiliği Yorumlamak* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012), 90-91.

¹⁶⁸ “Suriyeliler Mülteci Değil, Misafirimizdir” [Syrians Are Not Refugees, They Are Our Guests], *Risale Haber*, June 22, 2011, accessed January 15, 2020, <https://www.risalehaber.com/suriyeliler-multeci-degil-misafirimiz-110673h.htm>.

¹⁶⁹ “Erdoğan: Seçimin Ardından Tüm Suriye Topraklarını Güvenli Hale Getirmeyi Hedefliyoruz,” *Sputnik*, June 21, 2018, accessed January 9, 2020, <https://tr.sputniknews.com/turkiye/201806211033961074-cumhurbaskani-Erdoğan-gaziantep-miting-secimler/>.

worked in favor of acceptance of Syrians, as the time allocated to guests gradually expired, anti-refugee behavior and discourse began to emerge.

“When we first arrived, we had many neighbors and they were kind to us. We would go to the market together and our children were playing together. Nowadays, we only see enemy faces. They start to complain when they see us. We can’t even go to the market”. (S5, 35, F, non-employed)¹⁷⁰

“These women arrived without a husband leading them, without money. We helped them. We gave them food, clothes. We did not charge them rent. We thought they would leave soon and helping them was a good deed. Many years passed and they settled down. They are more in comfort than they were in their home country. (T7, 31, F, Accountant)

Among Syrian women, the most serious anxiety arising from their guest status is the state of temporariness. Effects of this temporariness can be observed in the relations between Syrian and Turkish women. While Syrian women fall under certain obligations, Turkish women are perceived to be making sacrifices. Discourse of temporariness has many socio-economic implications. A vivid example can be given by presenting a Syrian cleaning lady’s answer to the question why her children does not go to school:

“It is not certain how long we will stay here. Keeping our stomach full is enough for us. The children will go to school once we get to the place we will go. Now we need to save money. We, as a family, have to take whatever job we can find.” (S3, 36, F, Cleaning lady)

¹⁷⁰ Altunkaynak, “Intersecting Lives,” 498.

Syrian women who are occupied with saving money and determining their future find the solution in marrying their daughters:

“Girls are not thought much of, especially after they pass a certain age. We cannot look after that many kids. That’s why they need to find a home, a protector. Wherever they go, they can go with their husband.” (42, F, Housewife)

Constant emphasis on temporariness and leaving is seen as the reason of non-communication and ignorance in relations. In 2015 interviews, the question whether they have a Syrian/Turkish friend was often answered “not necessary/no need.”

“We left our homes to come here. They called us here telling Turkey will give you a house, a job, Turkey will send your children to school. Bombs were exploding every day. We wanted to save our children. We came here with a few belongings. But after the war’s end we will leave, if God permits. We are like a guest, a parasite here. We are not used to begging to others. We do not speak with anybody because we will leave. Nobody comes to us and we do not go to them. (S2,24, F, non-employed)

“I do not have any Syrian friends. We sometimes provide them with supplies, children’s old clothes and whatnot. They will return anyway. This is war. We provide help and the rest does not matter.” (T6, 46, F, agricultural laborer)

The vacuum created by ignorance and the perception of temporariness survived through 2019. Asking the same question in 2019 reveals that the mobility necessitated by temporariness hinders friendly relations. When a Turkish teacher said Syrian women come and go, and change their place of residence frequently, she actually highlighted the difficulties of establishing spatial relationships due to temporariness. Field observations indicate high mobility in Syrians (among cities, houses and neighborhoods) due to excessive incentive to earn and save money. Moreover, due to the uncertainty of their time of departure, fear of state institutions is also common among Syrians. They refrain from engaging with the police or other state officials and

prefer to solve their problems on their own. This situation creates additional victimization for women who are victims of violence, and incentive for perpetrators. It is clear that keeping temporary protection equivalent to isolation and desolation will worsen discrimination and violence against Syrians.

It can be said that temporariness and guesthood find place not only in the eyes of society or in the discourse of politicians, but also on a legal plane. Regime of temporary protection, as defined by the Turkish government, and the emphasis to temporary protection give temporariness prominence in legal regard as well, both for the Turkish and the Syrians. At this point, the effect of uncertainty on relations leads to a state of non-communication.

This state of temporariness demotivates Syrians about finding a steady job with insurance. Within this context, temporariness reveals feelings of anxiety, fear of future and insecurity among especially the Syrian women. Continuous moving causes them to be unable to establish any bonds and turn in upon themselves. It has been observed that many women chose reclusive lifestyles until they can safely foresee their future.

However, at this point, there should be a reference of individuality in every woman's experience. Examples so far pictured an image of women who could not communicate and women who were weakened. There are examples from the field that were total opposites of this image. There were women who were encouraged by their temporariness to leave for Europe, and to organize women's solidarity among locals. For instance, a woman who was a women's rights activist in Syria, by contacting women's cooperatives in Hatay, ensured Syrian women to take part in the projects, and held meetings together; leading the women to socialize with each other. The point to draw attention to here is that every woman experience migration different due to their different backgrounds, past experiences and socio-economic conditions. Such small initiatives grew over time and, by providing a bridge between Turkish and Syrian

women, empowered social cohesion. More details of this solidarity and organization will be given in the section where gender roles are examined.

When looking at the examples of the concept of hospitality and its effect on relationships, a problematic area can be mentioned. This labeling has been criticized by many academics and efforts have been made to place Syrians' stay in Turkey on a rights-based basis. However, due to the fact that the biggest issue occupying the agenda, even on the tenth year of mass migration, has been sending Syrians back. In fact, due to the continuation of the state of uncertainty, their effects on the relations increases even more. Based on the findings of the research they conducted in Gaziantep, Soykan and Biner, state that due to their inability to adapt to the local life, Syrians there could not detach from the life they left behind. This affects their life-building practices, relationship with the new space and their coping mechanisms. According to Soykan and Biner: The temporary protection regime hinders Syrian refugees' life-building processes in all aspects. As the rights and status on the legal fora are constructed upon temporariness, and there is a corresponding discourse of guesthood seeped into daily life, it is impossible to freely relate to the moment and the space, and it is impossible to build a life without being labelled as the "other."¹⁷¹

Soykan and Biner while discussing the legal projection of the word "guesthood" which is heard by the Syrians from the moment they step into Turkey, use this quotation:

"Turkey called it guesthood. Tagged us as 'guests' to the public. Based on its meaning, guesthood has a duration. (Hafizah) "Our name, our status, our rights are all uncertain. They call it guesthood. There is no such in as guest in law. There is not. Can you say its legal meaning? Is there such thing? I answer as a lawyer: No!" (Mulhime)

¹⁷¹ Biner and Soykan, *Mülteci-der Raporu*, 9.

“Guest, guesthood – it is just a word presented as a word of affection. It is something you can say to me. But it has no legal meaning.” (Mahmoud)¹⁷²

The real problématique is not the duration of guesthood, but the rhetoric of guesthood itself. Frame of guesthood is arbitrarily constructed with certain norms and practices. It is based on a mutual gratitude and lacks a legal basis. Consequently, there are no real rights of guests to speak of and they ultimately content with what they are given. Therefore, refugees feel obliged to express gratitude. Any interference with these established dynamics transforms the guest from a person who deserves utmost respect to a rival to be competed with.¹⁷³

Here, a statement of 2015 summer interviewee can be shared about the notion being formed that Syrians, who are seen as guests, are also being dehumanized and expected to be completely stripped of worldly pleasures:

“They established a pavilion on every corner, enjoying themselves until the morning lights. And they say there is a war. I wonder if they find time to think about it while eating kebab, smoking hookah. They eat 10 kilos of kebab when they sit to eat. We can see that from their trash. If they ask them, they say they don’t have any money.” (T2, 41, F, Café manager,)

It is observed that hookah, kebab and hairdresser are recurring keywords in the interviews. Dehumanization of Syrian refugees reminds an old Turkish proverb “the guest should eat what he finds, not what he expects” This dehumanization is one of the factors that make the lives of refugees difficult. Such status that controls every aspect of their lives, what they eat, drink and wear, has a great impact on the dehumanization process of the Syrians. Even the fact that they are moving on with their lives is met with a hostile attitude. In return, Turkish women turn into sacred figures in Syrian women’s

¹⁷² Biner and Soykan, *Mülteci-der Raporu*.

¹⁷³ Altunkaynak, “Intersecting Lives,” 497.

eyes whom they should feel gratitude. Consequently, a strong hierarchy is conceived within relationships.

As shown by Derrida and Kant's definitions of guesthood and hospitality, and etymological origin of the word "guest" and its area of use, there is a hierarchical relationship between the hospitable person and the person who is a guest. This is a condition indicating that Syrian refugees in Turkey, more specifically the Syrian women, need to take within the limits of hospitality. In here, decision-making authority is given to the host and the guest needs to know their place. Kartal asserts that prolonged state of migration has been transforming the initial positivity in approach to the Syrians, as created by the guesthood image, to a prejudiced and conservative rhetoric. According to Kartal, researches on the subject point out that the number of those who find increased multiculturalism in society positive has been decreasing steadily in correlation with the time passed.¹⁷⁴ Guesthood discourse where religious affinity is highlighted causes problems in Hatay. The effects of sectarian difference will be detailed in the next sections.

3.2. Women as Resources of Threat: Integrated Threat Theory and Inter-Women Relations

Uneasiness and uncertainty created by the newcomers, especially during the after-migration period, form the basis of barriers against social cohesion. Criteria for the study of inter-group relations, especially of social cohesion and attitudes studies,

¹⁷⁴ Bilhan Kartal, "Türkiye'ye Yönelik Suriyeli Göçünün Çok Yönlü Doğasına Giriş," in *Beklenmeyen Misafirler: Suriyeli Sığınmacılar Penceresinden Türkiye Toplumunun Geleceği*, eds. Bilhan Kartal and Ural Manço (London: Transnational Press, 2018), 13-14.

include topics such as: group size of the newcomer strangers, the strangers' cultural and ethnic distance, their historical, social and political backgrounds, personal experiences and development stages of communication between the two groups.¹⁷⁵

When academic work including important theories of migration studies that entered the literature after the influx of Syrian refugees, such as social cohesion, intergroup relations and prejudice, are examined, something missing draws attention. It is seen that a genderless perspective dominates almost all of the studies conducted using these theories. In academic studies done since 2011, theories such as contact, threat, anxiety and social distance are employed in a male-dominated way and the studies are constructed genderless. Therefore, these studies cannot focus on the personal experiences women had regarding gender in intergroup relations. In this section, intergroup relations will be discussed in the context of refugee and local women by using Stephan & Stephan's Integrated Threat Theory.¹⁷⁶ Firstly, women's threat perception in post-migration encounters will be examined. Secondly, prejudices and attitudes that stem from these threats will be put under discussion.

3.2.1. Women Meet under the Pressure of Threats

Stephan & Stephan, who worked on subjects such as intergroup threat, intergroup anxiety and prejudice, define intergroup threat in their Integrated Threat Theory as a feeling of threat experienced when members of one group perceive that

¹⁷⁵ Ulrich Wagner, Rolf Van Dick, Thomas F. Pettigrew, and Oliver Christ, "Ethnic Prejudice in East and West Germany: The Explanatory Power of Intergroup Contact," *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 6, no. 1 (2003): 22-36.

¹⁷⁶ Walter G. Stephan and Cookie White Stephan, "An Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice," in *Reducing Prejudice and Discrimination*, ed. Stuart Oskamp (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2000), 23-45.

another group is in a position to cause them harm.¹⁷⁷ According to them, the antecedents of threat depend on six different categories which includes: Ingroup identification, relevance, contact, knowledge, intergroup conflict and group status.¹⁷⁸ These six categories determine why threats emerge and who feels more under threat. For instance, individuals who have stronger ingroup identification feel more threatened.¹⁷⁹ Stephan & Stephan make following definition in relevance category: For social policies involving preferential treatment of outgroup members, the more negative the personal impact of the policy, the greater should be the perceived threat.¹⁸⁰ The theory underlines that knowledge of the outgroup has a reducing effect on the perceived threat. The number of positive communication and quality of communication established by the ingroup with the people in the outgroup will lead the groups to grow acquainted with each other; and as the communication gets stronger, and familiarity between groups increases, the sense of threat decreases. The authors, by following the motto “*if fear is the father of prejudice, ignorance is its grandfather,*” emphasize the importance of communication between groups.¹⁸¹ The authors, who argue that the historical background and status of the groups will also affect the perceived threat, point out that a conflict in the past before the encounter increases the perception of threat and the deterioration of the balance in the power relations, namely their status, increases the perceived threat.¹⁸²

According to Integrated Threat Theory, after the encounters between the groups, the threats that emerge due to the abovementioned reasons constitute inter-group attitudes, behaviors and prejudices. The original theory speaks of four different threats emerge after encounters: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and

¹⁷⁷ Walter G. Stephan, Oscar Ybarra, and Kimberly Rios Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory,” in *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination*, ed. Todd D. Nelson (New York: Psychology Press, 2009), 43–59.

¹⁷⁸ Stephan and Stephan, “An Integrated Threat Theory,” 37.

¹⁷⁹ Stephan and Stephan, “An Integrated Threat Theory,” 37.

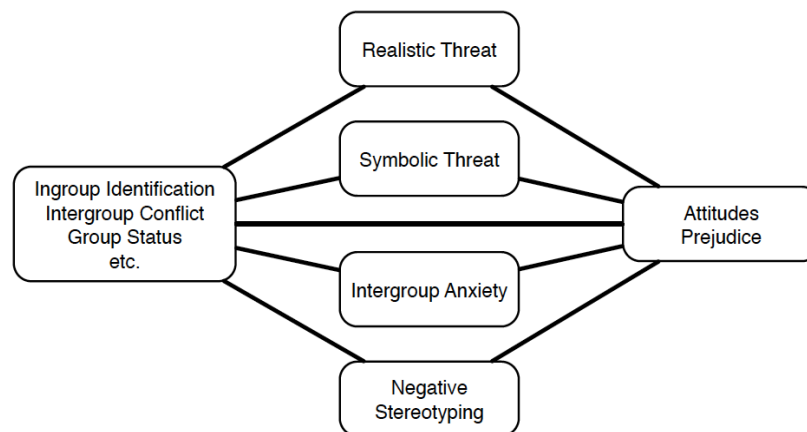
¹⁸⁰ Stephan and Stephan, “An Integrated Threat Theory,” 38.

¹⁸¹ Stephan and Stephan, “An Integrated Threat Theory,” 38.

¹⁸² Stephan and Stephan, “An Integrated Threat Theory,” 38.

negative stereotypes.¹⁸³ Following revisions to the theory reduced number of threats to two, namely realistic and symbolic threat. Intergroup anxiety was re-defined as a sub-threat and negative stereotype was re-defined as both result and cause of the threats.¹⁸⁴

Figure 3: Integrated Threat Theory by Stephan & Stephan¹⁸⁵



- ***Realistic Threat: Competition over Resources***

The first threat mentioned by *Integrated Threat Theory* is realistic threats, which are threats to the very existence of the ingroup (e.g., through warfare), threats to the political and economic power of the ingroup, and threats to the physical or material well-being of the ingroup or its members (e.g., their health). This form of threat is thought to be caused by concern about physical harm or loss of resources. Realistic threats, which are perceived as directed against power, resources and the welfare of the

¹⁸³ Stephan and Stephan, "An Integrated Threat Theory," 25.

¹⁸⁴ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, "Intergroup Threat Theory," 45.

¹⁸⁵ Dana Charles Leighton, "The Effects of Symbolic and Realistic Threats on Moral Exclusion From the Scope of Justice" (PhD Thesis, University of Arkansas, 2012), 21, <http://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd/496>.

group, have deteriorating effects on intergroup relations. Post-migration problems such as fear of job loss, threats to national and individual security, resource depletion anxiety, the obligation to share welfare with more people and emerging health problems are examples of realistic threats. Such threats and the perception of being under threat can occur as both group and individual experiences. Threats perceived by groups are usually the ones against the group's status, faith, resources and the social well-being. Threats perceived by individuals are usually directed against health, security and economic conditions of the individuals.¹⁸⁶

The size of the intergroup threat may vary with the size, cultural structure and dissimilarities of the groups. Considering the size of the encountering groups, as the result of mass influx to Turkey, the magnitude of perceived intergroup threat stands out in field studies. Complex structure of the groups, different forms of belief, different cultural characteristics pose a high level of threat despite many commonalities; and these threats, with effects of politics, war, belief and existing economic condition, carry the risk of transforming into negative attitudes and behaviors. In this section, there will be examples of perceived realistic threats between Syrian and Turkish women that encountered in post-war Hatay. Furthermore, there will be a discussion on how these threats affect relationships.

The national security issue, as Bauman points out, is one of the first concerns when it comes to realistic threats. Since the birth of nation states, border security and the fear of war have raised the issue of national security as the primary concern of nations. National security issue is one of the most important threats posed by the strangers. Migration's emplacement in the framework of national security caused migrants to be mentioned with groups such as ISIS that began their terrorist strikes with

¹⁸⁶ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, "Intergroup Threat Theory," 45.

the Arab Spring, and al-Qaeda. Public insecurity born out of this turned into anti-migrant and anti-foreigner sentiments and attitudes.¹⁸⁷

In this regard, in accordance with the data obtained from the field study, it can be said that the initial threat engulfing the whole city is the fear of war, due to the war in Syria. Although this threat affects all people of Hatay regardless of gender, it is observed that women feel more vulnerable and weaker against the current situation. In Hatay, where individual security concerns existed along with national security concerns, possibilities of war and terrorist attacks were the immediate perceived threats emphasized by women interviewed, especially between the years of 2014-2016. “Train and Equip Centers,”¹⁸⁸ which were given wide focus during 2014-2016 interviews, seem to fuel the fear of war of the residents of Hatay. The fact that this project, which is planned to train the Syrian opposition forces and the participants of the Free Syrian Army, takes place in Hatay feeds into the worries of residents of the region on the possibility of going to war.

Especially during the years between 2014 and 2016, facts such as the geographical proximity of the war, lack of border control, constant ambulance sirens, encounters with people who were injured in the war in hospitals and dangerously close mortar, cannon and gunfire sounds endangered people of Hatay, particularly the women. Sense of insecurity and the threat of war caused negative attitudes towards the Syrians in the city, particularly during the years between 2014 and 2016. It has been observed that this tension reflected on the streets and induced verbal, and sometimes physical fights in the park located in the center of the city. Turkish women’s attitude

¹⁸⁷ Bauman, *Thinking Sociologically*, 38.

¹⁸⁸ “Alevi Foundation: ISIS Being Trained in Turkey,” *AnadoluTürk Haber*, July 25, 2014, accessed January 24, 2020, <http://anadoluturkhaber.net/TR/Detail/Alevi-Foundation-ISIS-Being-Trained-In-Turkey/4028>. See different news on: <https://www.yenicaggazetesi.com.tr/egit-donat-kampi-hatay-icin-buyuk-tehlike-111710h.htm>; <http://www.halkinhabercisi.com/hatayda-egit-donat-korkusu>; <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/yeni-oso-egitimi-40464591>; <https://tr.sputniknews.com/turkiye/201508041016928702/>.

toward Syrian women who are having good time with their children in the park, where the police obliged to patrol constantly, signals the unrest and fear of war in the city.

A Turkish woman interviewed in 2015 relayed the fear she experienced:

“Bombs fall out of their pockets, even in the minibuses. The other day one of them dropped a grenade from his pocket in the hospital. They are all jihadists. Their wives prostitute themselves here. We are on the border. If a war breaks out tomorrow, we will be the ones in danger. People of Istanbul, Ankara do not care about us.” (T10, 45, F, Teacher)

The emphasis on “jihadism” draws attention here. Hatay is a largely Alevi city and historically, Alevis have been endangered by sectarian prosecution, fundamentalism and massacres. Turkey’s support for elements rebelled against the Alevi government of Syria, coupled with this historical background, causes great concern for Alevis of Hatay. Women whose concerns often reach the level of conspiracy theories, feel threatened by thoughts like “They want to kill us by using the war in Syria as an excuse.” Alevi massacres carried out by ISIS,¹⁸⁹ on the border areas of Syria and their portrayal in the media, also strengthens the fear in the region and increases the anxiety of being drawn into the war. This politicized environment in Hatay creates more problems for the Syrian refugees, who are thought to be brought Hatay by the Turkish government with a purpose.¹⁹⁰ Especially Alevi women's politicization pushes women to become hostile over politics. The training camps established in the city strengthened the fear of terrorism for women who felt the threat of war. Between

¹⁸⁹ “ISIS Blacklisted Churches, Alevi People and Their Worship Places,” *Agos*, January 7, 2016, accessed January 24, 2020, <http://www.agos.com.tr/en/article/15817/isis-blacklisted-churches-alevi-people-and-their-worship-places>.

¹⁹⁰ Constanze Letsch, “Syrian Conflict Brings Sectarian Tensions to Turkey's Tolerant Hatay Province,” *The Guardian*, September 3, 2013, accessed January 28, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/03/syria-crisis-threatens-turkish-tolerance>; “On Turkey's Syrian Frontier, Fears of a Sectarian Spill-over,” *Reuters*, October 22, 2012, accessed January 24, 2020, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-syria-crisis-turkey-alawites/on-turkeys-syrian-frontier-fears-of-a-sectarian-spillover-idUSBRE89L0MM20121022>; Çağaptay, “Syria's War.”

the years of 2014-2016, influence of the media with its news of terrorists who dropped a hand grenade in the hospital¹⁹¹ and rumors of mall bombing¹⁹² engulfed the daily life in Hatay and created a highly threatening environment. By 2019-2020, the fear of war and slaughter had decreased in the discourse of women, compared to the initial years of the war, but it was replaced by symbolic threats such as “falling into minority status”. Fear of war and sense of insecurity affect not only Turkish women, but Syrian women as well, who express their confusion about whom they should trust and prefer not to communicate over the same fear.

Besides, the groups that are most prone to perceiving intergroup threats are those that believe the groups have a long history of conflict.¹⁹³ Hatay and its residents have always had anxiety regarding Syria due to its aforementioned conflicted historical and political past, dating back to the 1930s. It is possible to infer this from the references made by women to the founding years of the Republic. Especially some statements by Syrian warriors from the initial years of the war, shared on the social media and published on various news outlets, like “we will bring Hatay back to Syrian territory with the war”¹⁹⁴ disturbed Hatay residents. Even in 2018, politicians who expressed their opinions on this issue¹⁹⁵ strengthened this fear of Hatay residents and negatively affected the social harmony in the region. In their narratives, women interviewed mention that before the war Syria and Turkey had very good relations, they visited each

¹⁹¹ “Hastaneye Getirilen Suriyelinin Cebinden El Bombası Çıktı” [A Hand Grenade Was Found in the Pocket of Wounded Syrian in Hatay Hospital], *Milliyet*, February 18, 2015, accessed January 24, 2020, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/hastaneye-getirilen-suriyelinin-cebinden-el-bombasi-cikti-2015769>.

¹⁹² “AVM'de Bombalı Saldırı İddiası Emniyeti Hareketi Geçirdi” [The Claim That a Bombing Will Be Happened in a Shopping Mall Galvanized Police Officers in Hatay], *Milliyet*, July 23, 2015, accessed February 24, 2020, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/avmde-bombali-saldiri-iddiasi-emniyeti-hareketi-gecirdi-2091821>.

¹⁹³ Walter G. Stephan and C. Lausanne Renfro, “The Role of Threat in Intergroup Relations,” in *From Prejudice to Intergroup Emotions*, eds. Diane M. Mackie and Eliot R. Smith (New York: Psychology Press, 2002), 191-208.

¹⁹⁴ Emma Lundgren Jörüm, “Syria's ‘Lost Province’: The Hatay Question Returns,” *Carnegie Middle East Center*, January 28, 2014, accessed January 22, 2020, <https://carnegie-mec.org/diwan/54340>.

¹⁹⁵ “Syria’s FM Vows to Retake Iskenderun Province from Turkey,” *Middle East Monitor*, August 28, 2018, accessed January 22, 2020, <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20180828-syrias-fm-vows-to-retake-iskenderun-province-from-turkey/>.

other and developed trade between the two countries. They express that the fear of war and the current policy reflected in the relations and fears dating back to Turkey's annexation of Hatay re-emerged.

In integrated threat theory, it is maintained that during intergroup encounters most of the threats are not real, but perceived. Ingroup members may infer realistic threats that are not actually present, and these perceptions are important regardless of the objective presence of threats.¹⁹⁶ Although the fear of Hatay being handed over to Syria, which originates from people of Hatay's past, proved itself to be far from reality in the short term, Hatay women dwell upon this possibility and act territorial with Syrian women. This situation politically and historically distances Turkish and Syrian women from each other and builds a wall between relations.

Here, considering the socio-demographic characteristics of women interviewed in Hatay, it is observed that Alevi women emphasize political conflicts and sectarian fears they felt. In interviews with Sunni women in the Yayladağı region, it was observed that many women were afraid of the sounds of war independent of the political rhetoric; and they developed more positive attitudes towards Syrian women in the region compared with the Alevi women. In this region, neighborly relations seem to be developed and the Syrian women seem to be protected by the Turkish women. Religious affinity induced positive attitudes among these women.

Another threat that emerges against women's relations in Hatay is the sharing of economic resources that arise as a result of encounters in the labor market. These economic concerns among women are particularly expressed over social welfare provided to Syrian refugees. Encounters between women of similar income groups in this area causes Syrian women to be accused of laziness and uselessness. The opportunities that were provided exclusively to refugees during the early years of the crisis, without considering social cohesion, increased inter-women tensions; even

¹⁹⁶ Stephan and Renfro, "Role of Threat."

though after 2018, this social welfare system was revised to be more inclusive and thus endorsing social cohesion. Two Turkish women, an agricultural worker and a hotel employee interviewed in 2019 expressed their anger over this situation with following words:

“I have been working at the fields of Mersin, Hatay for so long. My husband has been working in another country to support our children for many years. We understood this was war and shared our food. Then we looked and see they were dressing better than us. Walking around, eating better than us. While I am working day and night to feed my children, these women walk around the park, enjoying themselves with assistance coming from people.” (T9, 43, F, agricultural worker)

“I have spent thousands of liras just so my daughters could go to university. These people go to university just by writing their names, as if they were going to the market. And they beg on the streets, despite all that assistance. Just the other day, I yelled at a woman begging on the street ‘those who brought you here, they are the ones that should give you money’” (T26, 50, F, hotel employee)

In Hatay, the fact that the majority of Syrian women cannot work due to cultural pressures and live by assistance provided by NGOs, causes anger among lower income working women. Women who think this assistance comes from the state budget, and therefore “stolen” from them, perceive Syrian women as an economic threat. Especially the assistance given to single-parent women induces hostility in Turkish women who have similar conditions. On the other hand, the reality that Syrian women are preferred by employers, as they are susceptible to exploitation and work cheaper, cause lower-income women to feel threatened in the labor market. Although, as Collinworth points out, Hatay economy repaired itself within couple of years after the war, individual job losses reinforce hostile attitudes among women.¹⁹⁷ In addition to their own encounters, Turkish women have negative feelings about Syrian women over their job losses of

¹⁹⁷ Collinworth, “Hatay: The Syrian Crisis.”

spouses or problems with Syrian men in their workplace. An important point in this situation is that women feel hostile toward a subject at their own level, no matter where the threat comes from. As a result of these hostilities, it is observed that Syrian women shut themselves home and exclude themselves more from work life. A Syrian housewife explains her unemployment due to fear and insecurity with following words:

“When I first arrived, I looked for a job to feed my children and to support my family. God bless my husband as he did not object and supported my decision to look for work. I initially harvested vegetables at fields. But everywhere I looked there were hostile eyes. Then I worked as a dishwasher at a restaurant, but I could not hold that job either. I returned home as there was no place for us. We now live by my husband’s wage.”
(S7, 36, F, Housewife)

From this quote, it can be seen that women who are trying to empower themselves after migration feel even less powerful due to negative behaviors and shut themselves home. This prevents communication and delays familiarization between the two groups, causing them to feel more threatened.

The point to underline here is the importance of socio-economic status in women's economic competition. Stephan et. al, in the article where they revised *Integrated Threat Theory*, explain threat perception of groups of different levels as:

“[...] low power groups are more likely than high power groups to experience threats, but that high-power groups (to the extent that they actually perceive they are threatened) will react more strongly to threat. Low power groups are highly susceptible to perceiving threats because they are at the mercy of more powerful groups. High power groups react strongly to feeling threatened because they have a great deal to lose and, unlike low power groups, they possess the resources to respond to the threats. Under some conditions, perceptions of threat may also be high when the ingroup and outgroup are believed to be relatively equal in power. When equal power groups are in

open conflict or are competing with one another for valued resources, their equal power makes them evenly matched as opponents.”¹⁹⁸

It is observed that women with lower socio-economic status like Syrian women and those with similar income levels have a higher economic threat perception. It is observed that these women constantly compare themselves with the Syrian women. Among women with higher socio-economic status, it is observed that Syrian women were employed in areas such as baby care, house cleaning and market shopping to prove their superiority. Although they do not seem to appreciate Syrian women's housework and child care skills, they prefer to employ Syrian women at their houses. This has two reasons. First, Syrian women are cheap labor. Second, by employing these women, Turkish women give the impression of helping them and this situates Turkish women in a superior position compared to their Syrian counterparts. Under the guise of “helping refugees,” a tendency to overwork and underpay Syrian women as a display of superiority is observable among Turkish women. As a result of this blatantly shown “kindness,” Syrian women, labelled as “guest” and “needy,” feel weaker and lose their confidence.

Syrian and Turkish women come face to face in other areas such as the hospital, the school, the town center, the market and the streets where basic needs like health, education, nutrition and housing are being met. As these places are considered resources they own by the Turkish women; arrival of Syrian women and the consequent emerging necessity to share their resources with more people, makes them feel threatened regarding welfare sharing. As a result of the mass influx of refugees, close to 4 million, Turkey's infrastructure system has been rendered insufficient as demand has risen uncontrollably, which resulted in overcrowded hospitals and schools that are unable to provide adequate service. This issue pits Syrian and Turkish women against each other. This situation causes Turkish women to display hostile attitudes to the Syrian women they come across schools, hospitals, the market and the city center; and

¹⁹⁸ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory.”

as a result, Syrian women become more reclusive. Especially during my fieldwork in 2015, it was observed that most of them do not go to hospitals and prefer unlicensed doctors, do not send their children to school and do not socialize outside. This situation affects Syrian children greatly, who suffer from peer bullying, which has become increasingly common, and being forced into child labor and child marriages. It is observed that men, who suffer from a similar hostility in the school, the hospital and their workplace, take it out on their spouses at home. Thus, the post-migration setting renders women weak in all respects, including the gender roles.

- ***Symbolic Threat: Historical Conflicts, Sectarian Fears, Political Discussions***

Along with realistic threats, perceived individually or collectively, toward the in-group's more tangible elements like its resources, security and physical integrity, in their *Intergroup Threat Theory* Stephan & Stephan define another type of threats that are perceived by the in-group toward their habits, customs, standards, beliefs and morals. These threats toward abstract elements, which they call "symbolic threats", are defined as threats to a group's perspective on the world. According to them, this threat perception emerge with the fear that the central values of the group will change has the power to fill the in-group with prejudice and fear against the out-group. Therefore, negative attitudes and behaviors consolidate at the same rate that the newcomer group is expected to harm the values.¹⁹⁹ In the *Intergroup Threat Theory*, symbolic threats can occur towards the group or the individual, just as realistic threats.²⁰⁰ While those aimed at the group generally include religion, values, belief system, ideology, philosophy, morality, and worldview, individual ones are perceived as threats toward the honor, identity and reputation of individuals.²⁰¹

Particularly in the post-migration period, the host culture expects the newcomer group to immediately conform to it in order not to harm their culture. Therefore, the

¹⁹⁹ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, "Intergroup Threat Theory," 45.

²⁰⁰ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, "Intergroup Threat Theory," 45.

²⁰¹ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, "Intergroup Threat Theory," 45.

host culture envisages a swift assimilation process. In cases where this process is delayed, and the number of newcomers is high, the symbolic threat perception may intensify over time. On the other hand, as a result of the rejection of instant assimilation because of the desire of the newcomer group to preserve its own culture, the host may fear that its culture will lose its significance and deteriorate over time. This appears as a factor that will further strengthen the perception of symbolic threat over time. The fear for the threat of loss if significance of its culture exists not only for the in-group, but for the out-group as well. Generally, migrant groups often feel threatened by the prospect of having to assume the values of the host culture, which may conflict with their own values.²⁰² Within this conflict, importance of symbolic threats would increase and their role on established relations would become more prominent.

In this context, the existence of more than 4 million Syrian refugees across Turkey, and the fact that they constitute almost 28 percent of the population in Hatay,²⁰³ are factors that can strengthen the perception of symbolic threat. As Syrian refugees' duration of stay is nearing 10 years, and many of them still cannot even speak Turkish, the perception of threat to the culture is growing stronger.

In the case of encounters in Hatay, it can be stated that the causes of the realistic threats that were given in the previous sub-topic and symbolic threats are almost the same. The results obtained from the interviews show that symbolic and realistic threats are intertwined.

As mentioned in the previous section, what makes Hatay different from other provinces is the political conflicts and sectarian situation in the region. The reasons for negative attitudes and prejudices against Syrian refugees arising from Sunni-Alevi conflict depends on various reasons. As pointed out in the article published by Guardian

²⁰² Richard J. Crisp, Catriona H. Stone and Natalie R. Hall, "Recategorization and Subgroup Identification: Predicting and Preventing Threats from Common Ingroups," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 32, no. 2 (2006): 230-243 cited by Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, "Intergroup Threat Theory."

²⁰³ Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), "Temporary Protection Statistics."

in 2013, Hatay consist of many Alevi and Sunni families living both in the city center and surrounding villages and have family ties and relatives who live in Syria. As a consequence, the polarization inside Syria and Turkey has its own reflections in Hatay.

"Ankara increasingly displays a Sunni stance, in line with other Sunni axis powers such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar," said Tamer Yazar, a local journalist. "People in Hatay perceive this as taking sides in this sectarian conflict. Their open support of opposition fighters only made matters worse." ...Turkey's President (back then Prime Minister) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, caused anger with his comments about the deaths of 'Sunni citizens' after car bombings in Reyhanlı. The sense that the Erdoğan government, is opting to play the sectarian card and deepen ethnic and religious divisions is reinforced by a law that will reorganize provincial boundaries next year and split Antakya along sectarian lines. All Alevi districts are to be gathered under a new name, Defne, while the majority Sunni quarters, including industrial zones and the airport, will become Antakya. A similar partition is to be applied in nearby Iskenderun, the biggest town in Hatay province. While the authorities underline that the measure is aimed at simplifying administration and granting more autonomy to the local municipality, many see it as yet another step towards sectarian polarization. In Antakya residents are calling the new demarcation line "the Berlin Wall".²⁰⁴

Erdoğan's comments accentuating the loss of Sunni citizens after the explosion of car bombs in the Hatay's Reyhanlı town have drawn reactions from the local people. Quote from a local journalist below can be shown as an example of the reactions from the Hatay residents:

..."There's always been a Sunni undertone in Erdoğan's rhetoric and speeches on Syria, and his last remarks about Reyhanlı angered people here a lot. We are actually not sure if all those who died were Sunni, because until he said this nobody asked if they were

²⁰⁴ Letsch, "Syrian Conflict Brings Sectarian Tensions."

Sunni or Alevi, Kurds or Turks. If Turkey has come to the point where the dead are identified in such a way, the situation has become very bad. It's very dangerous." ...²⁰⁵

It may be argued that anti-Erdoğan feelings go hand in hand with fears arising from the presence certain armed groups involved in the conflict and known for their dislike Alevis which may potentially underly the basis of an anti-Syrian rhetoric. The President of the People's House Association in Antakya, Mr. Mahir Mansuroğlu states that "The government uses polarisation along Sunni lines as a political tool to rally their base, antagonising those that didn't vote for them and use religion to stir things up, creating a dangerous atmosphere." He further adds that "the government's support for Islamist Syrian opposition groups such as Jabhat al-Nusra had angered many Antakya residents, especially Alevis as these groups do not hide their enmity towards Alevis, and these same groups were walking around the streets in Antakya. As result people felt threatened and suddenly like strangers in their own city. It did a lot of damage to daily life."²⁰⁶

In this news that summarizes the change experienced with Syrian migration to Hatay, it can be seen how effective the politics are on the fears of local population. The parallelism between the changes made by the government in Hatay and the time of Syrian refugees' arrival causes the refugees to be seen as a plan of the government by the local population of Hatay. Local population, whose fears intensified especially with the government rhetoric that was employed after the Reyhanlı explosion, express their symbolic threat perception with statements such as:

"Everything changed with Reyhanlı. We have seen that the war is right beside us. When we go into that war, nobody will take care of us. Nobody cares for us. Whether there will be a massacre or sharia law here, we would remain just as numbers. It will be no

²⁰⁵ Letsch, "Syrian Conflict Brings Sectarian Tensions."

²⁰⁶ Letsch, "Syrian Conflict Brings Sectarian Tensions."

*different from what happened in Hotel Madimak.*²⁰⁷ *We will protect ourselves.*” (T23, 35, F, Coiffeur)

“We understand from the government rhetoric that Hatay does not mean much to them. Only Sunnis. They already gathered jihadists from Syria, so that the Alevi population would decrease. It is obvious they are preparing for yet another massacre. Turkey has experienced such events many times. They will kill two birds with one stone: cleanse Hatay of Alevis and raise their voting potential.” (T15, 31, F, Teacher-activist)

As expressed by the two quotes above, the state of being alone, and particularly, being politically left alone, force Alevi women in Hatay to confront the past fears, as shown by references to past Alevi massacres. For this reason, women who seek individual protection tend to avoid establishing relations with Syrians, whom they see as a means of the government. The jihadist emphasis on the Syrians settled in Hatay from the second statement forms the basis of this threat. This statement demonstrates how the government’s policy of Sunnization creates prejudices for Alevis in Hatay and constitutes a proof of the fact that Syrian refugees are held responsible for this symbolic threat. This tendency to hold Syrian refugees responsible has some specific reflections regarding women. A highlight in some (though not all) interviews was that women whose husbands were at the war were more under blame. In a few interviews, women whose husbands had fought for opposition forces were accused of being jihadists and they were accused of being specifically placed in Hatay to initiate cultural change.

As can be understood from the news above, the biggest threat perception encountered in Hatay is the fear of Sunnization, that is, depreciation of the Nusayri culture. The fact that the refugee population from Syria is largely Sunni, coupled with

²⁰⁷ “All Turkey Remembers Massacre in Madimak,” *Hürriyet*, July 3, 2009, accessed January 28, 2020, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/all-turkey-remembers-massacre-in-madimak-11993098>. Sixteen years ago, enraged crowds led by fundamentalist agitators set fire to the Madimak Hotel, causing the deaths of 37 people who had come to Sivas to attend the Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Festival. Two hotel personnel and two attackers who attempted to enter the building also died in the incident. Guests at the hotel, mainly Alevi intellectuals and artists, reportedly could not escape the fury of the crowds outside.

the Sunni emphasis of political discourses, reinforces these concerns. In Hatay, the perception of threat that Alevi women experience due to their sectarian affiliation is observed as the reason why they develop more negative attitude concerning Syrian women than other regions. In this situation where religious affinity does not have a positive effect, differences between Syrian and Turkish women became more pronounced and transformed into threats due to the government policies and fear of war, which resulted in negative attitudes. As was observed in 2014-2016 fieldwork, during incessant protests in Hatay city center, Turkey's Syria policy was highly criticized, local people chanted "they are killing us" and Assad's posters were carried by the protestors. The idea of "Syrians came to Turkey by betraying Assad" largely shaped Hatay residents' attitude toward the Syrians. In the interviews held in 2019-2020, it was observed that the difference between cultures did not falter as the time passed, but people became accustomed to the situation and tried to get along with each other.

While this symbolic threat that is referenced to Sunnization is observed to be prevalent among the Alevi women; during interviews with Sunni-Turkish women, religious affinity was more pronounced. In interviews with Christian women, a symbolic fear of losing Hatay's culture of tolerance and co-existence was discerned. Although Christian women do not have a direct hostility towards Syrian women, they have concerns that the culture in the region would change.

Regarding symbolic threats in interviews with the women, while political and religious threats were the ones most pronounced, the second factor that followed them were threats felt by the women in the cultural sense. Women who fear to lose Hatay's culture of co-existence and its characteristic of being a safe and comfortable place for women, blame Syrian women for this. In fact, it can be said that the most severe confrontations between the women take place in the context of cultural conflicts. In the interviews, the most accusatory statement on this subject was expressed as follows:

“They sleep all day and roam the night like vampires. We do not go out after dark. Those women do such things that we afraid that they will hurt our reputations too, so we prefer to stay at home after dark. They set a bad example for our daughters, so we warn our children not to speak with them. Their women, children, men, all of them are trouble. They left no prosperity, no morality in this city.” (T16, 38, F, financial consultant)

The concern for deterioration of the culture, morality and children’s manners is one of the most troubling symbolic threats for Hatay residents. Concerns about changes in daily life, changing routines due to the presence of strangers on the streets, and general uncertainty shape attitudes of locals towards Syrian women, especially attitudes of local women whose worries intensify due to aforementioned concerns. Here, ignoring each other’s cultures, lives and even their existence, caused formation of hostile attitudes; and these attitudes were strengthened by the continuation of non-communication. Media plays a very important role here. Influenced by the media and daily life practices, local women perceive Syrian refugee women as a threat; resource sharing becomes problematic and clash of different cultures define the scope and the context of the established relations.²⁰⁸ Inspired by the discriminatory rhetoric of media, some local women create rumors for Syrian women although they previously have not met or interacted. Sex-work news, polygamous marriages news reflected on the most popular TV shows, social media and the newspapers feed a sense of threat on local women afraid of losing their values and cultures. Because of the discourse in the media, the image of Syrian refugee women has turned into a dangerous person, prostituting and stealing men from their wives.²⁰⁹ This topic will be discussed in more detail in the next section examining gender roles.

Another point that should be emphasized is that not only Turkish women, but Syrian women too feel threats against themselves, their culture, faith, values and

²⁰⁸ Altunkaynak, “Intersecting Lives,” 492.

²⁰⁹ Altunkaynak, “Intersecting Lives,” 496-497.

morals; and develop their attitudes accordingly. Syrian women who are exposed to hostile attitudes in a culture where they do not even speak the language, feel concerned about protecting their family and raising their children according to their own culture. This symbolic threat causes Syrian women to be more defensive and introverted. Protective measures taken by Syrian women in accordance with this symbolic threat include not sending their children to Turkish schools, so that they do not forget Arabic; and marry their daughters to their Syrian relatives at a young age to keep their culture intact. Women who want to preserve their culture feel reluctant regarding social adaptation and they tend to ignore the culture they currently live in. This mutual opposition to social cohesion incessantly raises tensions in the region. It is possible to understand the threat experienced by a Syrian woman with the following statement:

“If something happens to us, I do not know where to go, whom to ask help for. Everyone here hates us. They think we are prostitutes. I am not letting my daughters out, they should not be in the public much, God bless them. By God, I wish to marry my daughters off with their honor intact, according to our customs, our traditions.” (S8, 33, F, non-employed)

When being asked why she does not send her children to school, the same woman answers: *“It is too costly, we cannot afford it. Besides, I do not know what they teach at those schools. They do not teach our traditions, culture, or language. Different things at school and home, I do not want them to be confused.”*

As can be understood from these statements, the drive to preserve their culture, traditions and morals hampers Syrian women’s adaptation to Turkish culture. Due to this situation, the culture of co-existence is rendered impossible as adaptation of refugees is delayed, and non-communication continues. In here, it is crucial to examine the effect of time on these relations and the adaptation process. Although there was not much difference regarding social cohesion observed between the interviews held in 2014-2016 and 2019-2020, a differentiation in the reasons that hinder cohesion, and

thus constitute a threat, was discovered. Confirming the aforementioned hypothesis asserting that the longer the adaptation process is delayed, the greater is the size of the symbolic threats; the perception of threat to the culture has increased compared to 2014. While realistic threats were more pronounced in the earlier interviews, they were replaced by symbolic threats such as social transformation, cultural deterioration, Sunnization and Syrianization, over time. In fact, these symbolic conflicts reached such severity that during 2019-2020 interviews, strict measures by the Hatay Governorship to cover the unrest in the region were observed. During the second stage of the interviews, it was observed that there was no social cohesion to speak of, and Syrian women were now more reclusive with fear of being sent back. In relation, they are observed to be more afraid of academic interviews. While Turkish women were more vocal with their complaints on cultural deterioration, Syrian women's fearful silence revealed the effect of time on relations.

Stephan & Stephan defines three main factors for how and why these symbolic threats emerge: individual, cultural and situational factors.²¹⁰ In regard to individual factors, Stephan et.al emphasizes the contact between individuals. They assert that the identity of individuals within the group, the intensity of communication with the other group and the status of the groups are all effective on individual experiences. According to them, the stronger the group identity of an individual and the weaker the relation they established with the other group, the higher the perceived threat would be. The authors argue that the higher the reputation of the individual in a group, the easier it would be to cope with the threat coming from the opposite group and consequently, individuals who are insecure for their position within the group feel more threatened.²¹¹ It is necessary to emphasize women's experiences here. As female refugees spend more time at home compared to male refugees, they experience less social encounters with the opposite group. Scant encounters widen the gap between the two groups and makes it difficult for them to learn about and communicate with each other. On the other hand,

²¹⁰ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, "Intergroup Threat Theory," 45-50.

²¹¹ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, "Intergroup Threat Theory," 49-50.

insecurity and fear women felt throughout the war reflect to their relations and cause them to be threatened by each other.

Stephan et.al. define cultural factors as the second cause of threats. They assert that certain constellations of cultural values can influence the perception of threats. As Schwartz and Bilsky argued, cultures that are characterized by a high need for security or by a belief that the world is an unsafe and dangerous place should also be particularly vulnerable to experiencing intergroup threats.²¹² This threat is particularly observable in Alevis. Discrimination and safety problems, they have endured for centuries and the fear of massacre, heightened by the war, rendered the Alevis a more apprehensive and reclusive group over the years. Consequently, they feel more threatened in their interactions with the newcomers.

Lastly, Stephen et. al. defines situational factors. They exemplify situational factors as how the intergroup communication is established, by which structure this communication progresses, which norms are being adhered to, the purpose of the interaction, and by whom this interaction is supported.²¹³ Situational factors in the context of Syrian and Turkish women include encounters in school, the city center and bazaar; distribution of wealth; and the historical and political condition. The situations most likely to create perceptions of threat are those in which people are uncertain how to behave, are in unfamiliar settings, believe they are outnumbered and “outgunned” (have lower power than the other group), feel unsupported by authority figures, and are competing against an outgroup that can harm them or has threatened to do so.²¹⁴ Alevi women dominated by the majority Sunni group would be likely to feel threatened because the situational factors put them at such a disadvantage.

²¹² Shalom H. Schwartz and Wolfgang Bilsky, “Toward a Universal Psychological Structure of Human Values,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 53, no. 3 (1987): 550-562 cited by Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory,” 47.

²¹³ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory,” 48.

²¹⁴ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory.”

Consequences of the threats on intergroup relations affects women's daily experiences. The consequences of threats will be discussed in detail under the next section; however, it is important to note here that the consequences of symbolic and realistic threats differ from each other. According to *Integrated Threat Theory*, symbolic threats have certain psycho-sociological implications including dehumanization, delegitimation, moral exclusion of the outgroup, and reduced empathy for the outgroup. Moreover, symbolic threats are more likely to result in assimilation to ingroup's culture. Another notable likely consequence of symbolic threats is violent physical behavior shown by the threatened ingroup, which includes genocide, torture and mutilation. When compared in the context of migration policy, symbolic and realistic threats have some notable differences. In case of symbolic threats, ingroup show preference for the assimilation of the outgroup to their norms and values. However, realistic threats result in more pragmatic coping strategies by the ingroup which include withdrawal, avoidance, and aggression. Another key difference between realistic and symbolic threats is that in case of symbolic threats, most groups display an aversion to compromise as their core values happen to be under threat. Regarding migration policy, separatism appear as a favored option in the existence of physical threats. Lastly, perceived power levels between groups constitute a more significant factor in realistic threats when responses to symbolic and realistic threats are compared.

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- ***Intergroup Anxiety: Uncertainty Leads Hostility***

Bauman draws attention to the effects of moral panic on people's relations after mass migration²¹⁶:

“One cannot help but notice that the massive and sudden appearance of strangers on our streets neither has been caused by us nor is under our control. No one consulted us, no one asked our agreement. No wonder that the successive tides of fresh migrants

²¹⁵ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory,” 52.

²¹⁶ Bauman, *Strangers at Our Door*, 1-3.

*are resented as harbingers of bad news. They are embodiments of the collapse of order (whatever we consider to be an order: a state of affairs in which the relations between causes and effects are stable, and thus graspable and predictable, allowing those within it to know how to proceed), of an order that has lost its binding force.”*²¹⁷

Similar to Bauman’s moral panic, Stephan & Stephan define an “anxiety” in their original *Integrated Threat Theory* as follows: the intergroup anxiety is defined as the third category of threat or is defined as an individual-level threat that can include both realistic and symbolic threats to the self and a sub-category of threat²¹⁸, people feel personally threatened in intergroup interactions because they are concerned about negative outcomes for the self, such as being embarrassed, rejected, or ridiculed.²¹⁹ Intergroup anxiety involves feelings of uneasiness and awkwardness in the presence of outgroup members because of uncertainty about how to behave toward them, which makes interactions with outgroups seem threatening.²²⁰

According to Walter Stephan, there are three interrelated components to *Intergroup Anxiety*: affective, cognitive and physiological.

As regards to affective component, intergroup anxiety is experienced as a negative and aversive feeling. Individuals feel themselves under immense anxiety and stress. Cognitive component entails the expectation that interaction with the outgroup would result in negative outcomes. There is no actual threat that exists. These negative outcomes include misunderstanding, being embarrassed, anger, fear, discrimination, harassment, abuse, contagion (disease), prejudiced, evaluated negatively, or not being accepted by the outgroup.²²¹ One of the biggest concerns for a member of the ingroup

²¹⁷ Bauman, *Strangers at Our Door*, 15-16.

²¹⁸ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory.”

²¹⁹ Walter G. Stephan and Cookie White Stephan, “Intergroup Anxiety,” *Journal of Social Issues* 41, no. 3 (1985): 157-175.

²²⁰ Stephan and Stephan, “Intergroup Anxiety.”

²²¹ Stephan and Stephan, “Intergroup Anxiety.”

is the fear that their relation with a member of the outgroup would not be approved by the ingroup, which would result in their rejection. Physiological component includes anxiety-related physical symptoms such as an increase in blood pressure.²²²

In this context, unprepared and sudden nature of the initial interaction between Syrian and Turkish women, coupled with the fact that despite their kinship, these women have never interacted or shared the same space before, resulted in confusion among both groups. Uncertainty regarding future, including the duration of stay of Syrian women, caused anxiety for both groups; and consequently, these women have experienced confusion on how to behave toward each other and how to establish neighborly relations. Issues such as differences in family structure and culture, and uncertainty surrounding Syrian women's stay in Turkey, hindered intergroup communication and both groups experienced reservations about how to become familiar with each other. Anxieties arising from uncertainty have created prejudices over time and obstructed the path to achieve social cohesion. It was observed during 2019-2020 interviews that as time went by, women's reservations about each other decreased. However, this initial uncertainty delayed establishment of relations and even totally obstructed them. In this context, intergroup anxiety has negatively affected intergroup relations.

Causes of intergroup anxiety include personality traits and characteristics, attitudes and related cognitions, personal experiences and situational factors. It has three types of implications: cognitive, affective and behavioral.²²³

Personality traits such as uncomfortableness in relations and anxiety of rejection affect the individual's relations with the outgroup. Individuals with aforementioned

²²² Linh Nguyen Littleford, Margaret O'Dougherty Wright, and Maria Sayoc-Parial, "White Students' Intergroup Anxiety During Same-Race and Interracial Interactions: A Multimethod Approach," *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 27, no. 1 (2005): 85-94 cited by Walter G. Stephan, "Intergroup Anxiety: Theory, Research and Practice," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 18, no. 3 (2014): 2.

²²³ Stephan, "Intergroup Anxiety: Theory, Research and Practice," 3-4.

traits are predisposed to expect the worst possible outcomes from relations established with the outgroup. Consequently, they display low empathy, prejudice and hostile behaviors in relations established with the outgroup.²²⁴ Attitudes' effect on intergroup anxiety emerge in the form of an anticipated reciprocity in negative behaviors; meaning, individuals who display negative attitude toward outgroup expect to receive a similar behavioral response from the outgroup. Therefore, the more negative the relationships develop, the more negative it would continue to progress.²²⁵ Considering personal experiences; lack of personal experiences with the outgroup, and thus uncertainty felt toward them, reinforces fear. Moreover, one negative experience increases anxiety felt regarding the whole outgroup.²²⁶ Lastly, situational factors such as necessity of sharing welfare, unfavorable political situation and uncertainty of power relations may adversely affect intergroup relations. Negativities in current situation may increase aggression, discrimination, lack of respect and misunderstanding, resulting in aggravated anxiety.²²⁷

In conclusion, with the emergence of intergroup anxiety, the group with anxiety devalues the other group, develops negative feelings about them, experiences anger, shame and fear of physical harm, and displays negative behaviors like raised voice, aggressive body language and other forms of offensive behavior and attitudes.²²⁸ In the interviews with women, the effects of aforementioned factors are frequently encountered. Detailed examples of this were presented while describing the realistic and symbolic threats.

As can be seen from these examples, anxieties arising from uncertainty dominate relations between the women. Women who were surrounded by fear of war and terror suddenly felt distrustful and weak, and tried to hide this feeling of weakness with negative behaviors such as anger, prejudice and discrimination directed toward

²²⁴ Stephan, "Intergroup Anxiety: Theory, Research and Practice," 5.

²²⁵ Stephan, "Intergroup Anxiety: Theory, Research and Practice," 6.

²²⁶ Stephan, "Intergroup Anxiety: Theory, Research and Practice," 7.

²²⁷ Stephan, "Intergroup Anxiety: Theory, Research and Practice," 8.

²²⁸ Stephan, "Intergroup Anxiety: Theory, Research and Practice," 8-9.

each other. Syrian and Turkish women's anxieties which stem from the current situation have hindered establishment of positive relations. It is particularly noteworthy that Syrian women who have relations with Turkish people have been accused by their community members of "Turkification"; and in turn Turkish women who establish ties with Syrian women have been accused by their neighbors of treason. These kinds of intragroup accusations prevent the development of relations, as individuals fear of being excluded by their own group.

An important point to mention here is that intergroup anxiety and negative attitudes have a reciprocal relation. Negative attitudes breed intergroup anxiety and intergroup anxiety breed negative attitudes.²²⁹ It has been shown that there is a correlation between outgroup attitude and prejudice, and intergroup anxiety. Moreover, individuals with higher anxiety levels are predisposed to display more biased attitude and behaviors. In this sense, there is a direct, positive correlation with intergroup anxiety and hostility and avoidance shown toward outgroup members.²³⁰ This reciprocity is evident in experience stated below:

"A Syrian family lived in my previous apartment. The husband did not stick around very often. We, as neighbors, were very scared that the husband was fighting in the war. We thought that he occasionally crossed the border, rested here, and then went to fighting again. We did not call the wife to meetings, did not let her come to our houses, lest we get in trouble. Later, we gathered signatures and threw them out of the apartment. They came back to the apartment, shouted at us. These are nasty people. They would soon bring down the apartment on our heads." (T18, 34, F, Housewife)

As can be understood from this statement, concerns arising from uncertainty have prompted Turkish women to develop negative attitudes toward Syrian families.

²²⁹ Stephan, "Intergroup Anxiety: Theory, Research and Practice," 3.

²³⁰ Blake M. Riek, Eric W. Mania, and Samuel L. Gaertner, "Intergroup Threat and Outgroup Attitudes: A Meta-Analytic Review," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10, no. 4 (2006): 338.

The result of these negative attitudes started a vicious circle by causing intergroup anxiety.

- ***Negative Stereotypes towards Negative Outcomes***

The fourth threat mentioned in the original *Integrated Threat Theory* is negative stereotype. The updated version of the theory defines negative stereotype as “a cause of threat involving characteristics of the outgroup that could have a negative impact on the ingroup (e.g., aggressiveness, deviousness, immorality).” Indeed, negative stereotypes also have been found to be a significant predictor of both realistic and symbolic threats.²³¹ W. G. Stephan *et al.* argued that negative stereotypes reflect concerns about negative outcomes from intergroup relations and therefore constitute unique types of threat.²³² W. G. Stephan *et al.* postulated that because negative stereotypes represent negative expectations about outgroups, negative stereotypes occur in conjunction with negative emotions (e.g., fear, anger) toward the outgroup, which intensify negative outgroup attitudes.²³³ Furthermore, similar to W. G. Stephan *et al.*'s findings, negative stereotypes are shown to have both direct and indirect relationships with outgroup attitudes. Although negative stereotypes have a moderate relationship with other threat types, they also maintain a direct, unique relationship with outgroup attitudes. Complicating the issue further is the possibility that negative stereotypes may also be a consequence of intergroup threat. Some suggestions have been made that prejudice can be the cause of negative stereotypes as well as vice versa. If true, then it seems reasonable to assume that intergroup threats may create negative stereotypes.²³⁴ Details of how stereotypes are formed and how they acquire a negative form will be discussed in the next section.

²³¹ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory.”

²³² Stephan and Stephan, “An Integrated Threat Theory.”

²³³ Walter G. Stephan and Cookie White Stephan, “Predicting Prejudice,” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 20, no. 3-4 (1996): 409-426.

²³⁴ Riek, Mania and Gaertner, “Intergroup Threat and Outgroup Attitudes.”

Like in intergroup anxiety, the reciprocal relationship of negative stereotypes is the precursor of prejudices and negative attitudes, as we will discuss in the next section. At this point, Turkish women's reluctance to communicate with Syrian women, whom they harbor negative judgments about particularly due to hate speech and stereotypes produced by the media, is understandable. The media strengthens the negative stereotypes and hinders women's relationships with each other by presenting reclusive Syrian women as a threat to the Turkish family structure and by portraying them as uneducated and dirty. Generalization and stereotyping of individual experiences have fueled hostile attitudes by making women feel more threatened and insecure.

3.2.2. Women Encounters dominated by Stereotypes, Prejudice and Negative Attitudes

Four major types of threats can be observed that show strong correlation with attitudes toward migrant groups: "Symbolic threats based on value differences between groups; realistic threats to the power, resources, and well-being of the in-group; anxiety concerning social interaction with out-group members; and feelings of threat arising from negative stereotypes of the out-group."²³⁵

Perceived threats, whether the threat assessment is correct or not, have real implications.²³⁶ In their *Intergroup Threat Theory*, Stephan et. al determine three types of responses concerning threat perception. First type is cognitive response which involves attitude and behaviors such as dehumanization, stereotyping, intolerance, prejudice and ignorance toward perceived source of threat. Second type is emotional response comprised of negative emotions like fear, anxiety, anger, grudge and hate.

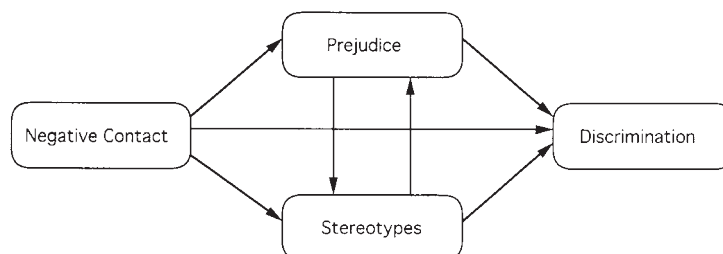
²³⁵ Walter G. Stephan, Oscar Ybarra, Carmen Martnez Martnez, Joseph Schwarzwald, and Michal Turk-Kaspa, "Prejudice Toward Migrants to Spain and Israel: An Integrated Threat Theory Analysis," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 29, no. 4 (1998): 559.

²³⁶ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, "Intergroup Threat Theory," 45.

Third type is behavioral responses that are hostile in nature, including alienation, discrimination, aggression, violence, harassment, sabotage and protest. Threat perception is positively correlated with cognitive responses such as “ethnocentrism, intolerance, opposition to policies favoring the outgroup, condoning more extreme behaviors to protect the ingroup, and justification of violence against the outgroup.” Likewise, threat perception is associated with emotional responses such as fear, anger, resentment, contempt, and disgust which may lead to moral exclusion and even emotional and physical harm to the outgroup.²³⁷

The fact that aforementioned responses to perceived threats result in negative contact, and negative contact conceive more threats, demonstrate how interactive and recursive these processes are.²³⁸ These recursive relations lead to negative generalizations on groups and constitute underlying prejudice and stereotypes. (See figure 4).

Figure 4: A Causal Model of Discrimination²³⁹



This section will discuss under four sub-sections how Syrian and Turkish women’s relations are affected by the perceptions of threats mentioned in the previous section. Factors that affect the dynamics of relations between these women will be

²³⁷ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory,” 50-53.

²³⁸ Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison, “Intergroup Threat Theory,” 54.

²³⁹ Walter G. Stephan and Cookie White Stephan, *Improving Intergroup Relations* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2001), 19.

examined under stereotypes, prejudices and negative behaviors with references to the interviews.

a) Stereotypes in Action

A notable conclusion drawn from interviews is that stereotypes strongly influences the relations between women. It has been observed that women's responses to the questions asking them to define women of the opposite group are largely shaped by stereotypes. Although it is known that a significant proportion of women involved in the interviews do not have a direct relationship with each other, it seems that women do not hesitate to define each other self-assuredly through convictions heavily influenced by stereotypes. Therefore, intergroup stereotypes play a key role in relations formed between Syrian and Turkish women.

The word stereotype comes from Greek “stereo = solid” and “typos = type, character.”²⁴⁰ It is defined as a mental representation of a social group and its members.²⁴¹ The word originated from the field of printing, in which it was used to describe the method where a metal cast was utilized to make repeated and identical images on paper. Journalist Walter Lippmann applied the word to the social sciences by making an analogy to refer to the ways people project their preconceptions to reality.²⁴²

Stereotypes can be defined as generalized, change resistant beliefs about the behavior and characteristics of a group as a whole. They emerge as a result of the categorization process and especially during internalization of differences between groups.²⁴³ According to Augoustinos and Walker, stereotypes can be viewed as

²⁴⁰ Walter William Skeat, *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: Dover Publications, 2005).

²⁴¹ David L. Hamilton and Jeffrey W. Sherman, “Stereotypes,” in *Handbook of Social Cognition: Volume 2*, eds. Robert S. Wyer Jr. and Thomas K. Srull (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1994) cited by Martha Augoustinos and Iain Walker, *Social Cognition: An Integrated Introduction* (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 208.

²⁴² Walter Lippman, *Public Opinion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922) cited by Augoustinos and Walker, *Social Cognition*, 209.

²⁴³ Rupert Brown, *Prejudice: Its Social Psychology* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

cognitive schemas. According to their formulation, stereotypes channel a person's mental resources (attention). As a result, only what is consistent with prior conceptions can be noticed. They lead codification and recollection of information and thus, only schema-consistent information is encoded and recollected. They protect cognitive resources as they do not require much thought or analyzing. They lead to behavioral expectations and create self-fulfilling prophecies. To summarize: Certain behaviors are expected from an individual. During interaction, it is behaved in a way to trigger the individual to display these behaviors and then, it is argued that this is already predicted. Stereotypes are employed to explain social events. They are not just cognitive representations within an individual's mind or individual schemas, they are also social representations; they are cognitive and emotional structures regarding social groups in the society, that appear and reproduce within the social environment. They may not entirely represent the truth.²⁴⁴ The consequences may follow automatically and unconsciously.²⁴⁵ Stereotypes grow in importance in intergroup encounters particularly during migration periods. They appear within Syrian and Turkish women's encounters as well. Often due to judgments they have produced without knowing each other, women experience difficulties in communication; and thus, they estimate the outcomes of their possible interactions based on these stereotypes. Existence of negative stereotypes during migration periods has a significant impact on establishment of relations in a negative fashion.

Why do stereotypes exist and how do they lead to negative attitudes? Hortaçsu, who studied the formation and outcomes of stereotypes, states that stereotypes may be the result of illusory correlations. Meaning, group members may perceive a relationship between two events that are not actually related, or they may exaggerate the level of relationship between the two events.²⁴⁶ On the other hand, stereotypes can be caused

²⁴⁴ Augoustinos and Walker, *Social Cognition*.

²⁴⁵ Augoustinos and Walker, *Social Cognition*, 18.

²⁴⁶ Nuran Hortaçsu, *Grup İçi ve Gruplar Arası Süreçler* (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi, 2014), 241.

by a disregard of the group conditions in interpreting group behaviors.²⁴⁷ Individual events and instances may be appropriated to the whole group or being acquainted with a member of the group may lead to formation of certain patterns regarding the whole group.²⁴⁸ According to instinctual explanations, they may occur as a result of one's comparison of self with others and determining themselves superior. Negative stereotypes may also arise from praising one's own group and social class,²⁴⁹ created due to a situational interest, or constructed by group members to preserve existing social order favoring their social position.²⁵⁰ Apart from that, they may arise when competing over insufficient resources.²⁵¹ Most of the dynamics mentioned here accelerated the emergence of stereotypes in the process of establishing relations between women in Hatay.

Non-communication caused by women's avoidance to establish a direct relationship with each other and resulting misunderstandings and illusory correlations breed stereotypes; and therefore, relations are impacted negatively. The statements below clearly demonstrate the effect of stereotypes and labels, arising from women's unfamiliarity with each other and mutual misunderstandings. Here, a question was asked to the Syrian woman to describe herself and discuss her daily life in Syria. The following quote, when compared with Turkish women's description of Syrian women, reveals how illusory correlations turn into stereotypes:

"Where I am coming from, the weather was very hot. People do not go out much during day. So, we get our things done after sunset, when the weather gets colder. During day, particularly in Ramadan, we cannot do much. Fasting in that hot weather is very hard. We go out at night after dinner, to get some fresh air." (s11, 37, non-employed)

²⁴⁷ Hortaçsu, *Grup İçi ve Gruplar Arası Süreçler*, 245.

²⁴⁸ Hortaçsu, *Grup İçi ve Gruplar Arası Süreçler*, 248.

²⁴⁹ Hortaçsu, *Grup İçi ve Gruplar Arası Süreçler*, 248-249.

²⁵⁰ Hortaçsu, *Grup İçi ve Gruplar Arası Süreçler*, 250-251.

²⁵¹ Hortaçsu, *Grup İçi ve Gruplar Arası Süreçler*, 252.

Highlighting that continue this habit in Turkey, many Syrian women claim that they are stigmatized by Turkish women because of this practice. Referenced many times during the interviews, Turkish women's impressions on Syrian refugees' night outs can be seen below:

"I don't know whether they were this loose in Syria. They escaped from war and make revelries at night here. You cannot see them outside during day, but when it is night, they are enjoying themselves with hookahs and kebabs. Their women are always out at night too." (T27, 54, F, housewife)

As can be seen here, due to the established illusory correlation, Syrian women are often accused of immorality and irresponsible, which substantially affects the relations between women.

In line with illusory correlation, it is observed that a few individual events influenced stereotypes regarding all Syrian women. For instance, when a Syrian woman engages in prostitution, or swindles a Turkish man with promises of marriage, all Syrian women are labelled as swindlers and prostitutes. A Turkish hotel employee's labelling of Syrian women as "horny," despite her admission of no prior direct relation with Syrian women, was observed as follows:

"We are a little different from them. For me, sex has not been that important ever since I had my children. My family comes first. They are not like that. They have their children and let them loose. Sex is very important for them." (T26, 50, F, hotel employee, the center)

According to Hortaçsu, group members develop attitudes according to stereotypes and dub anything does not conform to those stereotypes as individual events. Due to the stereotypes attributed to the group, all group members are considered

the same.²⁵² These generalizations of the group as a whole trigger discriminatory treatment.²⁵³ As observed during the interviews, the labelling of the Syrian women as “immoral” is one of the biggest obstacles to establish relations between the two groups of women. Syrian women whom they have a direct relationship with, or live in the same neighborhood as them, are labelled as “decent” by Turkish women. In a similar vein, they are sub-categorized as “non-typical,” meaning they are not like other Syrian women. This shows the strength of stereotypes. Syrian women who defined as “moral” are marginalized instead of breaking stereotypes. According to Stephan & Stephan, people sometimes avoid changing their stereotypes by subtyping. That is, they break a larger group down into smaller subcategories. For instance, when White people who stereotype Blacks as unintelligent are confronted with an obviously intelligent Black person, they may create a subcategory of smart Blacks to separate this person from other Blacks. Thus, subtyping preserves the stereotype of the larger group.²⁵⁴ Here is an example of how Turkmen groups who are perceived as more educated and closer to the Turkish culture are being set apart from Syrian refugees:

“Of course, the relations in Yayladağı are positive. No trashy people arrived there, [only] Turkmens did. They are more compatible and educated people. At least they know their place. They are not like other Syrians.” (T29, 32, F, small business owner)

This sub-categorization, by creating smaller groups, result in what can be defined as “hierarchy of others.” For instance, if individual experiences in a region resulted in better relations with Syrians from Aleppo, then it is “Syrians are bad, but Aleppians are good” or if there is a bad encounter with a Kurdish woman from Syria, then it is “Kurds from Syria are the worst,” This is what is meant by the hierarchy of others. This hierarchy does not only cover Syrian women, but also other ethnic or

²⁵² Hortaçsu, *Grup İçi ve Gruplar Arası Süreçler*, 258-260.

²⁵³ Hortaçsu, *Grup İçi ve Gruplar Arası Süreçler*, 262.

²⁵⁴ Stephan and Stephan, *Improving Intergroup Relations*, 38.

religious groups. An NGO worker vividly describes the hierarchy in the city with this example:

“There was a stabbing in the city lately. The news said, ‘A Syrian stabbed a Turk.’ People poured into the streets, the whole neighborhood riled up. It was later discovered that the landlord had harassed this Syrian man’s wife. Neighborhood residents reasoned: Our people would not do such things; the landlord was not from here anyways; he was a Kurd. That was it.” (T5, 27, F, NGO worker, Narlica)

As can be seen in this statement and many more, “others” of the past ranked up in the hierarchy and became “betters” or superior of the newcomers. When explaining the order of ranking in the city, stereotypes integrate with stories that are not based on reality. On this established hierarchy Farahani says: *“By problematizing the dichotomy between ‘host’ and ‘guest,’ I am also interested in whether a ‘guest’ can ever be transformed into a ‘host,’ and in the hierarchies created among guests depending on the length of time they have lived in a place or where they come from.”*²⁵⁵

Another factor in creation of stereotypes is the hierarchization of “womanhood,” With their tendency to show superiority toward the newcomer women, Turkish women creates many stereotypes that dehumanize the Syrian women. Consequently, a lot of stereotypes on Syrian women have been generated like dirty, incapable of raising children or uneducated. A 27-year-old receptionist, who legitimizes the stereotypes she utilizes, makes the following statement:

“I will not say we are perfect. Maybe they would make fun of us as well if we ever went to Europe. However, Syrian women are less educated and informed than us. They have no sense of hygiene.” (T28, 27, F, Receptionist, Samandağ)

²⁵⁵ Fataneh Farahani, “The Impact of the Refugee Crisis on Hospitality,” *Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation*, 2017, accessed February 15, 2020, <https://kaw.wallenberg.org/en/research/impact-refugee-crisis-hospitality>.

Another situation that occurs during the creation of stereotypes is the disregard of group conditions. In other words, while labelling Syrian women as “dirty”, the possibility of those women not having access to hygiene supplies is not considered. People often explain the negative behaviors of outgroup members in terms of their internal traits. People fail to take situational causes of behaviors into consideration when they should, resulting in stronger negative stereotypes of outgroups than the evidence warrants.²⁵⁶ Regarding this, Simmel uses the Jews as an example of the stranger as a social type. Jews were subjected to different taxation practices than Christians in Frankfurt and elsewhere during the Middle-Ages. Christians paid taxes according to their assets, while for the Jews a uniformity of taxation was the case. According to Simmel, this was an outcome of social standing of the Jews. Differentiated and aggravated tax obligations of Jews required them to acquire certain traits, while affecting relations between groups. During this process of “alienation” of the Jew, situational factors regarding individual Jews were not considered.²⁵⁷ This example also portrays the current situation in Hatay. Criticisms and stereotyping on child marriages, polygamy and excess birth rates show that situational factors are not considered.

Another factor in the formation of stereotypes is the hatred that people are unsure of where to channel. It has been observed that in almost all of the cities of Turkey, but particularly in Hatay, locals direct their hatred for current migration policies and their dislike of the government toward “accessible” subjects. The locals who want to criticize the government due to their dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs, channel their hatred toward Syrian refugees whom they perceive as a “plot” by the government. Consequently, this situation hinders development of relations between the women. One of the key reasons why Syrian women are being stigmatized as “intruders” is the encounters in schools, hospitals and other public institutions. The tendency to view the newcomers as rivals in sharing insufficient resources also leads to

²⁵⁶ Stephan and Stephan, *Improving Intergroup Relations*, 37.

²⁵⁷ Simmel, *On Individuality and Social Forms*, 154.

stereotyping the Syrian women. In this regard, criticisms on the government and government policies are again directed toward Syrians.

To summarize, as stated in Stephan & Stephan's *Intergroup Relations* theory, stereotypes are all too often overgeneralized, inaccurate and negative. Stereotyping, by its nature, disregards diversity in the outgroup, leading all members of the outgroup to be stigmatized with the same negative traits. They are employed "to dominate, disparage, or dehumanize members of outgroups."²⁵⁸

All in all, stereotypes work as road maps in interpreting social life. They tell us how to interact with, what behaviors and attitudes should we employ toward certain groups of people. They simplify social life by negating and limiting people into certain traits and characteristics and providing a guideline on what behaviors to expect from them. Furthermore, stereotypes consolidate the group identity by nurturing the "us vs. them" dichotomy. To achieve this, "the differences between groups tend to be accentuated, and variability within the outgroup tends to be minimized."²⁵⁹

b) Prejudice

It is concluded from the interviews that stereotypes are an important determinant for the relations between women. Although prejudices often resemble stereotypes, they play a more decisive role than stereotypes in attitude formation. While Allport defines prejudice as an antipathy based on faulty generalization, he distinguishes stereotypes as beliefs that function to justify prejudices.²⁶⁰ Wright differentiates prejudice, stereotype,

²⁵⁸ Stephan and Stephan, *Improving Intergroup Relations*, 35.

²⁵⁹ Stephan and Stephan, *Improving Intergroup Relations*, 36.

²⁶⁰ Gordon Willard Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1954).

and discrimination as attitude, thought and action, respectively.²⁶¹ According to Wright, stereotypes are both cause and result of prejudices.²⁶²

A potent path linking stereotypes to prejudicial behavior is through expectancies. Stereotypes act as a kind of cognitive anchor for expectations about what another person or group of people is likely to do. Once activated, these behavioral expectancies act as self-fulfilling prophecies, confirming the initial stereotype. The self-fulfilling nature of stereotype-based expectancies renders stereotypes particularly difficult to change. Not only do such people interpret behaviors of others in ways that support their schematic knowledge of the world, but they actually elicit the very behaviors they expect others to perform.²⁶³

Allport points out that historically, the word prejudice has undergone a change of meaning in three stages. In the first stage “*praejudicium* meant a precedent — a judgment based on previous decisions and experience.” In the second stage “a judgment formed before due examination and consideration of the facts — a premature or hasty judgement.” In the last stage, “the term acquired also its present emotional flavor, favorableness or unfavorableness that accompanies such prior and unsupported judgement.” He gives the current meaning of the word as “thinking of others without sufficient warrant.”

Generally, prejudice is defined as having positive or negative attitude, judgment or feeling toward an individual due to generalizations regarding attitudes and beliefs of the group that individual belongs to.²⁶⁴ Prejudice, has cognitive, emotional and behavioral components. As cognitive component overlaps with stereotypes and

²⁶¹ Stephen C. Wright, “Collective Action and Social Change,” in *The Sage Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*, eds. John F. Dovidio, Miles Hewstone, Peter Glick and Victoria M. Esses (London: Sage Publications, 2010), 577-596.

²⁶² Zehra Yaşın Dökmen, *Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Sosyal Psikolojik Açıklamalar* (İstanbul: Sistem Yayıncılık, 2004), 98.

²⁶³ Augoustinos and Walker, *Social Cognition*, 245.

²⁶⁴ James M. Jones, *Prejudice and Racism* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997).

behavioral component overlaps with discrimination; prejudice is characterized as an evaluative response to members of a social category.²⁶⁵

While Augustinos and Walker emphasize negative aspects of prejudices²⁶⁶; Bilgin defines prejudice, or prejudgment, as negative attitudes toward the group rather than the individual, produced in advance and devoid of any real evidence.²⁶⁷ This is evident in many social spheres in Hatay. One of the most common prejudices regarding Syrian women is the idea that they will spread disease, due to the stereotype of them being “dirty.” This situation causes a noticeable miscommunication in hospitals and public spaces. Particularly, it triggers bullying in schools toward Syrian children, as Turkish parents’ prejudices equates Syrian people with the possibility of spreading disease to their children.

In their article “Predicting Prejudice” Stephan & Stephan elaborate on socio-psychological explanations of prejudice. According to them, personality traits are among the causes of prejudice, but not sufficient to explain it alone. The socio-economic profile is also related to prejudice, but it is not a very significant determinant either. Likewise, the socio-cultural condition also says something about prejudices, but it cannot provide a detailed explanation. What is relevant here is to focus on the relationship among stereotypes and threats, and prejudices.²⁶⁸ As regards to the Syrians, if the groups are in open conflict or great controversy surrounds relations between the groups, it would be expected that all four sources of threat explained before would predict prejudice.²⁶⁹ Bizman and Yinon state that the causes of prejudice can be

²⁶⁵ Joshua Correll, Charles M. Judd, Bernadette Park, and Bernd Wittenbrink, “Measuring Prejudice, Stereotypes and Discrimination,” in *The Sage Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*, eds. John F. Dovidio, Miles Hewstone, Peter Glick and Victoria M. Esses (London: Sage Publications, 2010), 45-62 cited by Meral Gezici Yalçın, *Göç Psikolojisi: Göçmen Gerçeğini Anlamlandırmaya Dönük Bir Sosyal Psikoloji Derlemesi* (Ankara: Pharmakon, 2017), 111.

²⁶⁶ Augustinos and Walker, *Social Cognition*.

²⁶⁷ Nuri Bilgin, *Sosyal Psikoloji Sözlüğü: Kavramlar ve Yaklaşımlar* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2003).

²⁶⁸ Stephan and Stephan, “Predicting Prejudice,” 409-410.

²⁶⁹ Stephan and Stephan, “Predicting Prejudice,” 422.

quite variable. According to them, personal values, current situations, past experiences are all effective in the formation of prejudices.²⁷⁰

Different theories are employed to explain intergroup bias. Hewstone et. al. summarizes these theories under the title of modern theories. According to the authors, prejudices can be utilized by the ingroups to superiorize their group, accentuate differences between two groups²⁷¹, or to prevent intergroup uncertainty and preserve their group's world view.²⁷² Furthermore, prejudices are among the attitudes that are employed to determine the hierarchy between groups.²⁷³ In particular, aforementioned sectarian structure and co-existence culture of Hatay, reinforce negative prejudices about the newcomer Syrian women that are viewed as more conservative. More than often, prejudices are produced based on the notion that Syrian women, who are labelled as uneducated, ignorant and conservative, will impair the comfort and modernity of the city.

Prejudice leads to different behaviors in high and low status groups. While prejudice is generally a part of everyday life of people from low status ethnic and sociocultural groups, prejudice perceptions and reactions of these groups are highly variable. Some are highly sensitive to prejudice. Some internalize prejudices about them. Conversely, some react violently toward prejudices. It is problematic to make generalizations over individuals on this. Various examples from the interviews reveal that prejudice does not depend entirely on a single factor. It has been observed that while in some regions educated women have positive views on the Syrian women, in other regions, or groups, they tend to be more prejudiced. When migrants arrive to a new society, they are placed within a specific scheme, and following their interactions

²⁷⁰ Aharon Bizman and Yoel Yinon, "Intergroup and Interpersonal Threats as Determinants of Prejudice: The Moderating Role of In-group Identification," *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 23, no. 3 (2001): 195.

²⁷¹ Miles Hewstone, Mark Rubin and Hazel Willis, "Intergroup Bias," *Annual Review of Psychology* 53, no. 1 (2002): 580.

²⁷² Hewstone, Rubin and Willis, "Intergroup Bias," 581.

²⁷³ Hewstone, Rubin and Willis, "Intergroup Bias," 583.

with the established majority, these schemas are either strengthened or replaced by a perception over time. All things considered, representations, perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of migrant and local groups emerge based on an interplay between these groups, and over time, they are either reinforced or changed.²⁷⁴ It should be especially emphasized here that prejudices have many components and thus, it is not possible to discern a general pattern.

Bauman observes the effects that the prejudices had on relations in society. According to him; enmity, suspicion and aggression towards the out-group is often cited as a necessary response to the hostility and malice of the outgroup. This enmity, suspicion and aggression breeds prejudice and advances through this prejudice.²⁷⁵ Prejudice means a direct rejection of the outgroup's virtues and a tendency to exaggerate their real or imagined vices. Acts of those who are declared as "enemies" are always interpreted as carried out with bad intents. Every action further harms their images. Prejudice prevents consideration of the possibility that the outgroup's intentions are good, they are true in their words and their peace offer is sincere and bereft of secret intentions. In a war against the "evil empire," every action of the enemy, no matter how harmless it may be presented as, is carefully scrutinized to pry out their treacherous ambitions. Prejudice also manifests itself in double moral standards. What the members of an ingroup assert that they deserve as entitlement, will be an act of grace and benevolence if granted to those of the outgroup. In a similar vein, what the members of an ingroup present as a commendable act of self-sacrifice, will be an ordinary human kindness unworthy of praise if done by those of the outgroup.

According to Bauman, a severe case of double moral standard is observed when morally questionable acts done by ingroup and outgroup members compared. While atrocities committed toward outgroup members are not subjected to moral condemnation, much milder acts done by the outgroup members are severely chastised.

²⁷⁴ Gezici Yalçın, *Göç Psikolojisi*, 120.

²⁷⁵ Bauman, *Thinking Sociologically*, 58.

²⁷⁶ Prejudice encourages people to approve the use of means to promote their causes, that could never be justified if they were to be employed by the outgroup members. Identical actions are called different names depending on their perpetrators. Inclinations toward prejudice are not uniformly distributed. Differences in the extent and severity of prejudices depend on the context in which the affected person lives and acts. Tendencies to buy into the idea of sharp boundaries between the ingroup and outgroup, and to vehemently try to protect the former from the latter; are closely related to the sense of insecurity induced by a scary change in usual and familiar living conditions. As the situation becomes more uncertain and less predictable; it feels more dangerous and therefore, scary.²⁷⁷ What people see as an efficient and effective way of dealing with life until then, suddenly becomes less reliable, prompting people to feel as if they were losing control. This fear breeds animosity toward the change. A strong need to defend old lifestyles emerge and resulting aggression is directed to the newcomers. Moreover, the newcomers are already different as they have their own lifestyles, and this fact makes them a tangible symbol of change. Thereby, the newcomers are held responsible for change, loss of prior security, disappearance of old customs, uncertainty of the current situation and disasters the future may bring.²⁷⁸

According to Elias and Scotson, “an influx of outsiders always presents a challenge to the way of life of the established population, whatever the objective difference between the newcomers and the old inhabitants.”²⁷⁹ Tensions arise from the intertwined necessities of making room for the newcomers and the need of the newcomers to find a place for themselves. This results in both groups to exaggerate the differences. Minor differences that could have been disregarded under different conditions morph into barriers preventing co-existence. They turn to objects of disgust that are used as evidence for the inevitability of separation and unthinkability of coherence. Resulting anxieties and hostile feelings reach a tipping point for both sides,

²⁷⁶ Bauman, *Thinking Sociologically*.

²⁷⁷ Bauman, *Thinking Sociologically*, 59.

²⁷⁸ Bauman, *Thinking Sociologically*, 60.

²⁷⁹ Elias and Scotson, *Established and the Outsiders*.

but the established inhabitants tend to possess better resources to act upon their prejudices. They can also invoke the rights they have acquired by their sheer length of inhabitation. The outsiders not only perceived as strangers, but also as occupiers and invaders. Since each action gives birth to another, the negative relationship between groups continues.²⁸⁰

The writings of Bauman as well as Elias and Scotson on prejudice provide a guideline to understand Syrian and Turkish women's relationship. Hatay's local women reclaim the place because they have inhabited there longer. They perceive the newcomers as occupiers and invaders, and they develop prejudices for them. In the interviews, the effects of these prejudices are frequently encountered in complaints about the Syrians. The biggest problem observed here is that prejudices and stereotypes turn into negative attitudes and behaviors, which can often lead to human rights violations.

c) **Negative Behaviors**

In the previous sections, the ways in which types of threats determine inter-group behavior based on Integrated Threat Theory were discussed with references to the interviews. Within this framework, the indicative role of stereotypes and prejudices, which are among the causes and consequences of negative attitudes, in relations between migrant and local women was addressed. The examples given in this section were in regard to how inter-women relations were affected based on the current situation, context and post-migration theories, without taking gender roles into consideration. In the next section, a discussion will be made about contexts in which the effects of gender roles in women's relations are visible and how they drag women into conflict.

The most common negative attitude observed in women's narratives is discriminatory behaviors against each other, which occur as a consequence of

²⁸⁰ Elias and Scotson, *Established and the Outsiders*.

intergroup threats, stereotypes and resulting prejudices. According to Dökmen, discrimination is behavioral expression of stereotypes and prejudices. Behavioral tendencies and intentions towards the judged group may turn into discrimination by taking shape of explicit attitude and actions and emerge as practices that are against them or at least not in their favor.²⁸¹

The most visible form of these practices are the conflicts that occur in women's areas of encounter and exclusionary discourses. These discourses are spread particularly through the media.²⁸² They can be perceived to be one of the causes in the establishment of relations between local and refugee women. As local women put a disgusted look on their faces, in return refugee women get more and more reclusive. Syrian women who are exposed to loud criticisms in hospitals, the city center and parks experience discrimination. As stated by some Syrian women, these discriminatory practices become sometimes unbearable:

"Sometimes I wish I was invisible. I go out very seldom already. I would not go out if I did not have to. Every time I am out, I see faces looking disgusted at me, like I am a thief, like I am diseased. The other day, my child came home from school crying. When they were playing with a Turkish child, the child's mother came and warned her children not to play with mine. It is not a problem for me, but I cannot bear my child crying." (S4, 32, F, cleaning lady)

The discrimination extends not only to Syrian women but also to other women who are in contact with Syrian women. A Turkish mother who expressed her positive views regarding Syrian women, tells how she has been criticized and excluded due to her close relations with Syrian women:

²⁸¹ Dökmen, *Toplumsal Cinsiyet*, 101.

²⁸² Hrant Dink Foundation, *Medyada Nefret Söylemi ve Ayrımcı Dil Ocak-Nisan 2014 Raporu*, 2017, http://hrantdink.org/attachments/article/274/HDV_ocak-nisan2014_rapor.pdf.

“I have a Syrian friend at work. She diligently works to raise her children, just like me. Why would ever be enemies with her? Everyone says Syrians are bad, Syrians are dirty. You can spot people like that in every nation. I have never had a bad encounter with them. Her children play with my children. We visit each other’s houses. But the society thinks otherwise. The other day, one of my neighbors said “Your children will catch something from them. That will bring you to your senses.” They act hostile as if I am a Syrian too. There are too many issues for the Syrians in Samandağ, anyways. They cannot live here.” (T30, 29, F, cooperative worker, Samandağ)

It is important to note here that this woman is from Samandağ, where the locals have overwhelmingly negative views on Syrians. The fact that she has such positive thoughts despite her economic issues, as emphasized before, shows that relations are formed and developed based on very subjective reasons.

Syrian women who have been subjected to such discriminatory behavior feel dehumanized as emphasized before. Syrian women perceive this discrimination as their destiny and their own doing, and thereby they blame themselves. In this regard, a non-employed Syrian woman de-favorites her own group and acknowledges Turkish women’s prejudices as justified:

“I do not know that to say. Local women are right. There are some Syrian women who runaway with their wedding gold, women who prostitute themselves and women who beg. They were just like that in Syria. But they show these behaviors and tarnish our names too.” (S10, 42, F, non-employed, Narlıca)

It is observed that apart from discrimination, negligence is also employed as an attitude when forming relations. Some of the interviewees gave answers such as “I do not have much to do with them, I do not know” – which shows their avoidance of not only forming relations, but also thinking about this subject.

When negative attitudes and behaviors are considered, it has been observed in the 2019 interviews that the time slightly changed women's relations. This differentiation reveals that instances of violent discrimination have gradually disappeared; women have now accepted each other's existence in the city and the attitude of inattention has increased. During detailed interviews, it has been seen that prejudices and stereotypes have not yet disappeared, but they have lost their former potential to turn into attitude and behaviors.

4. CHAPTER 4 - DAILY PRACTICES OF PATRIARCHY IN POST-MIGRATION PERIOD

4.1. Women as the Actors of Migration

4.1.1. The Historical Development of Gender in Migration Studies

According to Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler, women are individuals who not only shape borders but also cross and transcend them.²⁸³ However, this mobility is not always visible. Until the 1970s, even though women had migrated at the same rate as men, gender aspects of migration were largely disregarded by migration studies.

²⁸³ Nira Yuval-Davis and Marcel Stoetzler, "Imagined Boundaries and Borders: A Gendered Gaze," *European Journal of Women's Studies* 9, no. 3 (2002): 342.

Women were considered as “dependent” – in other words; wives, mothers, and daughters of the male migrants.²⁸⁴ Hence, previous historical and sociological studies gravely lacked the gendered reality of migration. Their reliance on conventional, male-centered explanations on migration rendered these studies insufficient to explain women’s role in the migration process.²⁸⁵ The quantitative and qualitative significances of female migration have continued to be unaddressed for many years.²⁸⁶ Therefore, migration was first and foremost considered as a male phenomenon, and women were thought to be ineffective, passive dependents of male migrants by researchers and policymakers alike. Lack of accurate statistics reflects this inherent gender blindness in research on migration. Nonetheless, recently, researchers have directed their efforts to bring women and gender to their much-needed place of attention in studies on migratory processes.²⁸⁷

Academics studying migration has for a long time disregarded gender because it was assumed that women only migrated to accompany or reunite with their migrant husbands. Since the 70s, however, many studies began paying more attention to women migrants as their main subjects, and many others included gender by collecting data on sex in quantitative research. As of late, in order to reach a more dynamic and fluid notion of gender as relational and situational, critical theorists have proposed not to compare males versus females and their gender roles.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁴ Hania Zlotnik, “The South-to-North Migration of Women,” *International Migration Review* 29, no. 1 (1995): 229.

²⁸⁵ Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni, “Reframing the Migration Question: An Analysis of Men, Women, and Gender in Mexico,” *Social Forces* 78, no. 4 (2000): 1311-1347 cited by Anjali Fleury, “Understanding Women and Migration: A Literature Review,” *Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD)* (Working Paper 8, February 2016), 1.

²⁸⁶ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 6.

²⁸⁷ Yvonne Riaño, “Women on the Move to Europe. A Review of the Literature on Gender and Migration,” in *Latinamerican Diaspora: Migration within a Globalized World*, eds. María da Gloria Marroni and G. Salgado (Mexico: Autonomous University of Puebla and Japan: Institute of Developing Economies, Japan External Trade Organization, 2005), 209.

²⁸⁸ Patricia Pessar, “Women, Gender, and International Migration Across and Beyond the Americas: Inequalities and Limited Empowerment,” Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and

Even though there has been remarkable variety in women's studies in the West since the 80s, research on women migrants remained attached to economic factors. Significant parameters that might have an impact on women's migration such as changing gender roles, global networks, and geographic, ethnic, educational, and legal factors were mostly overlooked. Only a small number of studies have shown interest in the creative ways these women devised to integrate with the new society they migrated to. Too much attention has been towards low-skill female migrants from rural backgrounds regarding the social impacts of migration while neglecting urban, high-skilled migration.²⁸⁹ Algerian sociologist Abdelmalek Sayad criticizes the too-readily-accepted image of migration that is characterized by homogeneity and undifferentiations, reduced to certain motivation of migration and mechanisms. According to Sayad, although the migration itself determines conditions and characteristics of the migration, it is built on different trajectories with an independent origin that precedes the migration itself. Several variables that affect the process of migration – pre-existing social characteristics, dispositions, and community-determined behaviors of migrants – cause varied processes of differentiation and thus behaviors, and people to perceive themselves in a certain way.²⁹⁰

When looked at the Middle Eastern societies, it is observed that the late arrival of women's studies postponed the emergence of the gender perspective.

The researchers adopting the feminist methodology in sociology and anthropology have contributed significantly with original and esteemed works regarding migrant women. However; the inclination to confine women in the private sphere regarding migration continues.

Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, UN Population Division, Mexico City, December 2005, p. 2.

²⁸⁹ Riaño, "Women on the Move," 231.

²⁹⁰ Abdelmalek Sayad, *La Double Absence: Des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1999) cited by Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 41.

This inclination to confine women in the private sphere, and reduce their roles to only those of family, wife, mother, and children; has existed as an issue in the literature on migration for years. Phrases deeply ingrained in migration studies during the 60s and 70s that confine women into the private sphere such as “migrant and his family,” “refugee and his family,” continue to consolidate men’s role as *the* migrant and *the* refugee – disregarding women’s place in migratory processes. Until recently, studies relying on statistical data on migrants and refugees were uninterested whether these migrants and refugees were men or women. Therefore, these notions were bereft of an examination through a gendered perspective. International literature on migration is still riddled with statistical data that merges women and children.²⁹¹

Aside from this aforementioned belatedness, another problem arises in studies conducted with a gendered perspective in Middle Eastern societies. In studies regarding Middle Eastern countries, the rise of women as a subject, triggers, almost reflexively, the association of Islam.²⁹² Although this significantly sheds light on the situation of women in these countries, looking at the issue only from an Islamic perspective causes many dynamics to be overlooked. A singular, Islamic lens cannot explain the differences regarding women in Middle Eastern countries. The differences in the histories, economies, and political regimes of the societies that women live in are treated almost as trivial details; and diversity of these societies are embedded into a single entity defined solely by Islam.

However, field observations reveal that even though some women’s faith and place of origin are the same, their migration experience may vary due to a myriad of dynamics. The emphasis on Islam and the erroneous tendency to explain women’s experience solely through Islam causes the failure in explaining the differentiation of Turkish and Syrian women. According to Kandiyoti, besides Islam, state-formation

²⁹¹ Nurcan Özgür Baklacioğlu, *Uluslararası Sınırların Gölgesinde Mülteci Kadınlar* (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2017), 16-17.

²⁹² Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurттаşlar*, 13.

processes of their origin country also affects women's condition.²⁹³ Following this statement, in our case an emphasis should be given to the structural differences between Turkey and Syria and their state formation processes. Kandiyoti propounds that different national histories and different social policies result in variation and specificities in the experiences of women living in Islamic countries.²⁹⁴

Turkey is the only Middle Eastern country that tackled the issue of women's rights explicitly and comprehensively in an earlier period. With the Republican reforms, Turkey aimed to replace the Islamic understanding of women's place in society with a modern understanding based on the Swiss Civil Code – which granted women equal rights in matters of divorce, child custody and inheritance. Reforms and changes for secularization were implemented.²⁹⁵ Conversely, in Syria, despite the existence of certain reforms, the main regulator of women's rights is still sharia law – which reveals the magnitude of structural differences between the two countries.²⁹⁶

As Kandiyoti pointed out, the Middle Eastern women's studies' propensity to reference Islam causes pre-migration conditions to be disregarded in both international and local literature of migration. Failure to take these conditions into consideration result in the neglect of important dynamics of conflict between Syrian and Turkish women. It is a common mistake to prototype all women in the migration process into a single "migrant woman" image. Migration experiences of women are strongly related to their pre-migration conditions. Differences in background characteristics, – including types of marriage and family arrangements – educational levels, and work experiences outside of the household, should be taken into consideration to correctly

²⁹³ Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*, 14.

²⁹⁴ Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*, 73.

²⁹⁵ Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*, 74.

²⁹⁶ United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), *Syria MENA Gender Equality Profile: Status of Girls and Women in the Middle East and North Africa*, October 2011, accessed March 4, 2020, <https://www.unicef.org/gender/files/Syria-Gender-Eqaulity-Profile-2011.pdf>. Shari'a is applied in matters related to personal status (including inheritance, marriage, divorce, and child custody).

gauge the relative impact on their post-migration characteristics. Hence, differences in women's pre-migration background characteristics must be analyzed as a component of migratory processes. It would not be right to emphasize the "traditional" aspect of those women's countries and disregard every other dynamic that shapes those women's migratory experiences.²⁹⁷ In post-migration relations among women, women's level of education, the origin of migration, individual migration experience, personal characteristics, family structure, and post-migration coping mechanisms are as important as Islam.

Another issue in gender and migration literature is conceptual differences surrounding post-migration period. According to Baklacioğlu, as the words "migrant" and "refugee" convey different meanings, experiences of migrant and refugee women are different too.²⁹⁸ Many works in the body of migration literature examine women's role in decision-making processes in economic migrations but they tend to disregard women's role in forced migrations. Very few academic works concentrate on the differentiation that arises between refugee and migrant women in forced migration experience. Having said that, women experience migration as a dual process. Here, the effects of not only transnational migration but also rural to urban migration should be considered. Considering the fact that most of the Syrian women in Turkey have migrated from rural areas, the literature on rural-urban migration is of pivotal importance for the examination of women's relations in post-migration context of Turkey.

According to Baklacioğlu, there are two perspectives regarding women's migration. The first one, liberal works of women migration studies, contextualizes women's issues in the process of migration as issues of victimization and poverty. They propound the need to empower migrant and refugee women economically and help their development through humanitarian assistance. On the other hand, the second one,

²⁹⁷ Ayşe Kadioğlu, "The Impact of Migration on Gender Roles: Findings of Field Research in Turkey," *International Migration* 32, no. 4 (1994): 534.

²⁹⁸ Baklacioğlu, *Uluslararası Sınırların Gölgesinde Mülteci Kadınlar*, 18.

gender and migration perspective, criticizes the image of “refugee/migrant woman as a helpless victim” created by liberal rhetoric of victimization. According to this perspective, this rhetoric aggravates and propagates women’s victimization and exploitation. To remedy this issue, it prescribes refugee women’s emancipation from male violence and abuse; and their access to basic women’s rights.²⁹⁹ This chapter will follow the latter perspective to examine coping mechanisms developed by women who experience forced migration. However, the existence of such coping mechanisms does not mean that all women would be empowered by migration. The discussion on post-migration changes and empowerment will be in the next section.

Baklacioğlu emphasizes the importance of opting for a comparative approach, utilizing diverse research methods and switching among different point of views in gender and migration studies to enable theoretical advancement, - acknowledging that this is not an easy endeavor. According to Baklacioğlu, to understand a complex phenomenon such as migration with the notion of gender, which carries authenticities regarding country of origin, nationality, ethnicity, religion, class, and identity, can only be facilitated through local paradigms. In studies of migration, border, and gender; it is crucial not to approach the research independent of locality, and to avoid generalization of a singular prototype of women.³⁰⁰ It is clear that results obtained through this research in Hatay will not be the same with a research conducted in another region of Turkey.

4.1.2. The Image of “Migrant Woman”: From Soviet ‘*Natashas*’ to Syrian ‘*Kumas*’ in Turkey

²⁹⁹ Baklacioğlu, *Uluslararası Sınırların Gölgesinde Mülteci Kadınlar*, 26.

³⁰⁰ Baklacioğlu, *Uluslararası Sınırların Gölgesinde Mülteci Kadınlar*, 35.

The literature on women's role and status in society approach the image of migrant women through various aspects. One point of view places the migrant women in the framework of social problems defined by their stereotypical, traditional backgrounds. Here, migrant women are wives of the husbands, mothers of the children. They are not a person of their own - they are just a member of the family unit. Regardless of their ethnic and cultural background, they are perceived as unproductive and uneducated individuals. This approach places migrant women into a structurally inferior position that can only be remedied by adaptation or integration into the host culture. These women are appendices of their husbands who need to be reformed by the host society.³⁰¹

A second point of view perceives migrant women as social actors. This approach underlines the existence of migrant women in the labor market of host societies.³⁰² Here, the primary questions are whether and how migrant women's participation in the host society's workforce facilitates their emancipation. Another approach emphasizes women's specific social backgrounds. This view asserts the specificity of migrant women's migration experience. According to Moroksavic, a prominent thinker of this approach, post-migration changes should be perceived as a continuation of a process started before the migration, and "as a consequence of the interaction between the migratory and background influences." Essentially, Moroksavic highlights the importance of migrant women's backgrounds – which is often disregarded despite their crucial effect in the migratory processes.³⁰³

For Baklacioğlu, male-dominant society places borders in the realm of high politics through the duties of protection and security attributed to the men. In the same vein, the homeland, surrounded by those borders, is identified with the women and thus, "the motherland's" protection is deemed "sacred." In this manner, within the

³⁰¹ Kadioğlu, "Impact of Migration," 535.

³⁰² Kadioğlu, "Impact of Migration."

³⁰³ Mirjana Morokvašić, "Women in Migration: Beyond the Reductionist Outlook," in *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour*, ed. Annie Phizacklea (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 23.

framework of the contemporary nation-state, women are reduced to war refugees crossing the border, exiles, migrant workers, sex workers of military bases, diplomats' wives, and tourists. The territory within the borders of the nation-state is deemed safe and "ours" and set apart from the unsafe and "the others". Women inside the borders are given the roles of mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters. Their "honor" is sanctified. In this sense, migrant women are emphasized as "others" and "strangers" with different ethnic and religious identities from the lands outside the motherland's borders. They are categorized as victim mothers or unaccompanied women by virtue of their class, ethnic, religious, and national identities. Many women who are categorized as victim mothers or unaccompanied women due to their aforementioned identities are sexually abused through polygamy or child marriages. All in all, they are primarily defined by their "motherhood."³⁰⁴

Although there exists an image of migrant women created by researchers, it should be underlined that the perception of migrant women may differ due to the structure of society. Particularly, the image of migrant women differentiates in Middle Eastern societies as it is shaped by the view towards women in these societies.

Especially in countries like Turkey that has experienced both emigration and migration, the image of the migrant woman is constructed through an interplay between past experiences and patriarchal relations. Examples such as "Natashas" from the post-Soviet states, "German Turk" women who emigrated to Germany and Syrian "second wives" have heavily influenced the narrative constructed regarding the *migrant woman*.

Nocera who studies Turkish women who emigrated to Germany concludes that after the 1980s, especially in the field of socio-pedagogy, the narrative on Turkish

³⁰⁴ Baklacioğlu, *Uluslararası Sınırların Gölgesinde Mülteci Kadınlar*, 84.

women has been based on stereotypes about women. Consequently, migrant women are presented as victims of patriarchy with archaic and religious characteristics.³⁰⁵

Lutz emphasizes how Turkish migrant women in Germany are perceived as classic examples of the alleged “Oriental femininity.” According to Lutz, this femininity produced within the system of values envisaged by Islam is a direct expression of subordination of women by the patriarchal oppression.³⁰⁶ Nocera states that obvious manifestations of this oppression include social control practiced by men in their households, the meaning they attribute to the notion of “honor,” and social practices such as forced marriages. This control has had two intertwined implications for the Turkish migrant women in Germany. While they have been completely stripped of their personal histories and individual migration experience, they have been confined in a strict narrative on which they have no control of.³⁰⁷

The image of women as portrayed in narratives and studies of migration is also a vivid source of reference for migrants’ image as a nation. The image not only describes the situation migrant women are in but, more broadly, it is a representation of these migrant women’s nation - which is perceived as a homogeneous monolithic entity. In other words, Turkish women’s situation in Germany is perceived as both an unmistakable evidence for the Turkish homeland’s and migrant community’s inherent cultural characteristics, and grave cultural differences between Turkish and German societies.³⁰⁸ Therefore, attitudes shown toward migrant women in the host country, and the imagery surrounding those women, also constitute the image that host society constructed on the migrated society. In German public opinion, Turkish migration is a strong reference point to assess the cultural distance between the two nations. Narratives of forced marriages, honor killings, runaway women, and the women who

³⁰⁵ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 6.

³⁰⁶ Helma Lutz, “Orientalische Weiblichkeit. Das Bild der Türkin in der Literatur Konfrontiert mit Selbstbildern,” *Informationsdienst zur Ausländerarbeit* 4 (1989): 32-39 cited by Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 6.

³⁰⁷ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 7.

³⁰⁸ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 8.

are shut in their homes are elaborated with detailed references to Turkish cultural practices. Intolerance of an archaic, patriarchal system is emphasized in those narratives. Turkish women, victims of this patriarchal violence, are accentuated as the subaltern. While German society is defined as modern, secular, and democratic; Turkish society is identified as conservative and religious.³⁰⁹

As Hamit Bozarslan concluded in his study on Turkish women's integration in France, the image of the Muslim community in the host society's perspective is, above all, determined by the status they imposed on their women. In this sense, migrant women become instruments by which political projects try to invent the "new" man.³¹⁰ Essentially, Turkish migrant women are seen as weak subjects, victims of a social system that crushes any form of resistance or opposition attempts.³¹¹ While Turkish female migration in Germany is perceived through the lens of Orientalism, Turkish communities define migrant women through a rigid patriarchal point of view – identifying the women with “honor.” Lea Nocera's interview with author Yüksel Pazarkaya sheds light on this phenomenon:

“The attempt by men to regulate not just their wives and daughters, but all Turkish women who live abroad, have taken on a reactionary character: they see it as a national duty to protect “the honor of the defenseless Turkish woman from a seductive and corrupt environment”. [...] In the Turkish settlements in small German towns and cities and areas with a large Turkish population, this repressive form of control and regulation became extremely effective and particularly unpleasant for the women. The women describe the way they always felt the presence of a rigid set of rules weighing

³⁰⁹ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 243.

³¹⁰ Hamit Bozarslan, “Femmes Originaires de Turquie en France où en est L'intégration?” *Cahiers D'études Sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le Monde Turco-Iranien* 21 (1996), accessed March 5, 2020, <http://journals.openedition.org/cemoti/560>.

³¹¹ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 245.

down on their daily lives and behavior. [...] Every Turkish woman who had a German friend or a friend of another nationality was senselessly labeled as a prostitute."³¹²

According to Nocera, the media played a substantial role in the creation of this image in that period. Turkish newspapers presented it as if Turkish women have to lead unprincipled, immoral lives in the absence of a man by their sides, who is a conduit of social control imposed by Turkish society. The image of alone, ill-reputed Turkish woman is spread largely by the Turkish newspapers.³¹³

A particularly vivid example of patriarchy's effect on the image of migrant women in Turkey is the status of women who migrated from ex-Soviet states during the 1990s. Gülçür and İlkkaracan's article regarding the "Natasha" experience in Turkey, expresses that even though women who migrated from ex-Soviet countries participated in prostitution or not, these women were seen as "Natashas" – a derogatory term used to connote prostitutes. According to the article, the migration of women from the former Soviet Union became a nationwide phenomenon, especially in the Black Sea region and Istanbul. An examination of newspapers revealed that these women were portrayed as "ready, willing, and able" to satisfy the Turkish men's every carnal desire. The articles and interviews bared the fact that for the majority of Turkish people, women who migrated from the former Soviet Union had become synonymous with the word "prostitute" whether they had engaged in prostitution or not.³¹⁴ Eventually, the name "Natasha" which was originally given to sex workers from the Soviet Bloc, became equated with all the female ex-Soviet migrants.³¹⁵

³¹² Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 69. Interview with Yüksel Pazarkaya in 1983.

³¹³ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 70.

³¹⁴ Leyla Gülçür and Pınar İlkkaracan, "The 'Natasha' Experience: Migrant Sex Workers from the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in Turkey," *Women's Studies International Forum* 25, no. 4 (2002): 414.

³¹⁵ Gülçür and İlkkaracan, "'Natasha' Experience."

This image of “Natasha the prostitute” became so widespread and so accepted that it became the mindset of perpetrators of sexual harassment incidents against foreign women, particularly blond-haired women, for years to come. This harassment was carried out by not only the local men, but also by the law enforcers who abused their power “to arbitrarily harass, detain, ask for bribes, and/or deport” any women who remotely looked “foreign” regardless of their visa status.³¹⁶ Moreover, “the Natasha issue” became a social problem due to the concern it aroused regarding the sanctity of marriage and family.³¹⁷

Migrant women have often been blamed for the increase of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) as well as for the “collapse of the family.” Indeed, in Trabzon (a province in Turkey’s Black Sea – *Karadeniz* Region), disaffected women formed the “Association for the Struggle against Natashas,” devoted solely to banning migrant women from the city.³¹⁸ In 2000, a Dutch NGO which worked in coordination with local civil institutions and doctors in Van for family planning, called for the construction of a center, stating Iğdır had a high prevalence of AIDS – or, at the very least, an increased risk for various sexually-transmitted diseases – concentrated in this area due to the cross-border sex trafficking. Furthermore, this appeal underlined that the local women’s traditional roles were aggravated by this new situation. According to this point of view, those in need of protection and medical treatment were not the women engaged in this cross-border occupation out of desperation or even ones who were forced into it, but the men who bought this service and the locals that benefited from it. This point of view deemed women previously mentioned as “working in this profession with her own will” and “pariah/outclass”; and stigmatized them as “diseased,” “sick,” “immoral,” “exploiter,” “malevolent,” and “daring.”³¹⁹

³¹⁶ Gülçür and İlkcaracan, “‘Natasha’ Experience.”

³¹⁷ Gülçür and İlkcaracan, “‘Natasha’ Experience.”

³¹⁸ Gülçür and İlkcaracan, “‘Natasha’ Experience.”

³¹⁹ H. Neşe Özgen, “‘Öteki’nin Kadını: Beden ve Milliyetçi Politikalar,” *Toplumbilim* 19 (2006): 129.

Particularly, masculinity studies about Trabzon frequently emphasize the discourse on Natashas. Bozok's article mentions how the men in Trabzon present their "encounters" with the Natashas is a common incident – which pits migrant and local women against each other.³²⁰ However, the most influential discourse on the image of the migrant woman in Turkey continues to be "Natasha," even in the year 2020. It is common to hear negative statements on the character of Russian people, going as far as calling them "harlot-souled" in a discussion program broadcasted in a mainstream TV channel³²¹ – which reveals the importance of the image of the migrant woman even in the context of international relations.

Foreign women are frequently subjected to verbal abuse that cannot easily be used against Turkish women. In the context of the image of Syrian women constructed by the Turkish press and social media, being a female Syrian migrant makes sexual harassment and abuse independent from space and can manifest itself through victimization.³²²

When we take a general look at the image of the migrant woman in Turkey, Baklacioğlu points out that in the 1990s, public awareness had not been raised regarding sexual violence and abuse directed against refugee and migrant women. In the absence of necessary public awareness, sexual exploitation or abuse of Syrian women – who constitute more than half of the refugee population in Turkey – remained confined in the newspapers and TV news bulletins. While the dead bodies of African women were frequently displayed in Turkish newspapers, Syrian women were presented as child brides. Official statistics and reports combined the data on Syrian women with children, as if being a mother was the only possible role of those women. While childless and

³²⁰ Mehmet Bozok, "Eleştiren ile Eleştirilenler Arasında Nazik Karşılaşmalar: (Pro)Feminist bir Yaklaşımla Trabzon'da Erkeklikleri İncelemek," *Fe Dergi* 6, no. 1 (2013): 78-89.

³²¹ "Adil Gür'den İrkçi ve Cinsiyetçi Sözler: Ruslardan Başka Türlü Dost Olur." [Xenophobic and Sexist Discourse from Adil Gür: Russians Can Only Be Our Mistress], *Evrensel Gazetesi*, March 2, 2020, accessed March 15, 2020, <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/398514/adil-gurden-irkci-ve-cinsiyetci-sozler-ruslardan-baska-turlu-dost-olur>.

³²² Kivılcım and Baklacioğlu, *Sürgünde Toplumsal Cinsiyet*, 94.

unaccompanied Syrian women were disregarded, the same indifference was shown to the mothers among African refugees.³²³ In other words, all the images regarding migrant women were created within the framework of patriarchy.

On contemporary discussions concerning citizenship, Nira Yuval-Davis argues that one of the most visible patterns of colonization is “the feminization of migration.”³²⁴ Colonizers conduct this process through the image of “woman” they created. As a matter of fact, colonizers (re)construct “the other’s” – i.e. the colonized nation’s – women through their representations. Yuval-Davis speaks of a whole body of “colonial” literature built upon the process of feminization previously mentioned, in which humiliation and dignification patterns of the nation are consolidated. According to Yuval-Davis, the whole literature is riddled with examples of the feminization of the colonized nation by the colonizers.

For Özgen, it is noteworthy that while the “national,” what belongs to one’s nation, is extolled to the utmost; “other” women’s “lesser and contemptible” nationalities are constantly emphasized. Authors who study the state of women in Middle Eastern societies often speak of an “our women/other women” dichotomy existing in these societies.³²⁵ Özbay exemplifies Mernissi’s study of the Moroccan society, and Al-Hayat’s work on Iraq and Abu-Lughod’s study of Egypt: “In these debates, the focus is on honor and purity. For a man to be honorable, it is important to protect “ours” honor, especially their chastity. Moreover, it is only natural to see “other

³²³ Baklacioğlu, *Uluslararası Sınırların Gölgesinde Mülteci Kadınlar*, 16.

³²⁴ Nira Yuval-Davis, “Some Reflections on the Questions of Citizenship, Anti-Racism and Gender Relations,” *Institut Für Die Wissenschaften Vom Menschen (IWM)* (Working Paper 10, 2001), accessed March 5, 2020, <https://cdn.atrria.nl/epublications/2001/SomeReflectionsontheQuestionsofCitizenship.pdf>.

³²⁵ Özgen, “Öteki’nin Kadını,” 153.

women” as sexual objects. Ours are the women who are within the boundaries of kinship, or sometimes neighborhood. Others are the outsiders of these boundaries.”³²⁶

4.1.3. *Emancipation or Enslavement: Gendered Opportunities and Threatened Order in Post-Migration Period*

Migration is undoubtedly a phenomenon that creates great changes in the life of its subjects. During times of crisis such as migration where domestic relations are rendered upside down, significant changes occur concerning women’s social status. These changes bring about discussions on empowerment and disempowerment. According to Tienda and Booth “women’s status may improve or erode or gender asymmetries may be restructured” in the post-migration reality. This depends on various factors which include women’s pre-migration marital status; their employment status before and after migration, women’s financial autonomy (or lack of it), migration’s distance and duration, and the existence of female social networks to support the women. Another significant factor is the cultural characteristics of migrant women’s pre-migration society. The status migrant women had in there, what norms and values shape women’s lives, is an important determinant in migrant woman’s status in the host society.³²⁷

This section will focus on not only the migrant women but also the host women whose gender roles are affected by the migration. Within the scope of this focus, host and migrant women’s domestic and non-domestic daily life experiences will be

³²⁶ Ferhunde Özbay, “Evlerde El Kızları: Cariyeler, Evlatlıklar, Gelinler,” in *Leonore Davidoff – Feminist Tarihyazımında Sınıf ve Cinsiyet*, ed. Ayşe Durakbaşa, trans. Zerrin Ateşer and Selda Somuncuoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 16.

³²⁷ Tahire Erman, “Rural Migrants and Patriarchy in Turkish Cities,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25, no. 1 (2001): 121.

examined in the context of national and international literature. Moreover, the experiences of Turkish and Syrian women in Hatay will be covered.

A key issue concerning the migration of women is the social changes migrant women experience in the post-migration period – meaning whether migration will cause deterioration or an improvement in their social status. The migration process brings about radical changes in gender relations and the domestic division of labor.³²⁸ According to Daniş, new challenges, such as the necessity of providing subsistence for the household, subvert conventional gender constructions during the migratory period.³²⁹

Domestic changes such as the economic necessity for women’s participation in the workforce, women’s status as the household head, particularly in solo migrations, and women’s visibility in decision-making mechanisms support the theories on migration’s empowerment of women, at the first glance. Abadan-Unat, who studied how migrant women are empowered by the migration process, outlined the emancipatory effects of migration as the decline of extended family relations, adoption of nuclear family role patterns, fragmentation of family structure, entrance into a wage-earning production process, increasing media exposure, the decline of religious practices, increasing belief in egalitarian opportunities of girls and boys in terms of education and adoption of consumption-oriented behavior and norms.³³⁰

Along with the abovementioned articles, women’s active involvement in the workforce, their status as equals to the other members of the production process, and their involvement in workers’ struggle are needed for migrant women’s true

³²⁸ Riaño, “Women on the Move,” 215.

³²⁹ Didem Daniş, “A Faith That Binds: Iraqi Christian Women on the Domestic Service Ladder of Istanbul,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33, no. 4 (2007): 610.

³³⁰ Nermin Abadan-Unat, “Implications of Migration on Emancipation and Pseudo-Emancipation of Turkish Women,” *International Migration Review* 11, no. 1 (1977): 31-57 cited by Kadioğlu, “Impact of Migration,” 535.

emancipation by the migration experience. By means of the migration process, migrant women could reach the status of social actors rather than appendixes of the males of their household. Movement from traditional to modern societies is also regarded as “a development that relieves women from the oppression that they suffer in their home societies.”³³¹

During the fieldwork in Hatay, I observed the empowerment of both Turkish and Syrian women in many areas of the social life. The Syrian women whose husbands are at war or who have lost their husbands in the war have become the sole decision-makers of their nuclear family. In this way, they have been emancipated from their imprisonment-like state in their homes and stepped into the public sphere. Along being the sole decision-makers, migrant women often had to be the breadwinners of their household which propelled their involvement in the workforce. Many women attained financial autonomy they have never had in their lives. While the women who migrated alone acquired independence and economic freedom, women who migrated with their husbands, and had to work like their spouses because of the living expenses, also seen significant changes in their domestic status. It has been observed that with the enhanced self-confidence resulting from contribution to the domestic economy, women acquired the courage to raise their voices against inequality and preferred fairer share of the domestic workload. Although traditionally attributed domestic responsibilities like cooking and child-raising are still assumed by the women, they nevertheless seem to receive help from their spouses when cleaning parts of the house not visible from the outside. As they attain financial freedom, women criticize their spouses' unemployment or lower salaries, thus achieving domestic justice. Furthermore, migrant women express that they have achieved greater control in decisions regarding their children's education, compared to their lives in Syria. It has also been observed that Syrian women quarrel with their husbands about how to spend the money they have earned.

³³¹ Kadioğlu, “Impact of Migration,” 537.

When empowerment is examined in the context of Turkish women, it can be said that with the arrival of Syrian women, Turkish women have started to emphasize “superior” aspects of their femininity and constructed a hierarchical relationship with the Syrian women, thereby empowering themselves. Turkish women’s exploitation of the Syrian women employed in their households is the epitome of this “empowerment.” Syrian women’s silent acceptance of low-wage domestic work creates a comfort zone for the Turkish women who readily exploit them with less expenses. Existence of a low-status group to compare and aggrandize themselves enhances Turkish women’s self-esteem by empowering them in a new domain.

In her study of women and migration Fleury postulates that migration empowers migrant women by enabling their access to employment and education, promoting gender equality, and improving women's agency. However, she also underlines that migration may cause a decline in migrant women’s social status by rendering them vulnerable to exploitation, particularly when they have few formal qualifications or do not have the necessary legal status for residence.³³²

In the narratives of Syrian women in Hatay, it is expressed that the pressure on them has exacerbated as new responsibilities were added to their already oppressive and obedient lives. Moreover, this oppression does not only stem from their spouses but also their community and the host community – particularly from Turkish women.

Riaño looks at women’s changing role in the migration process from a different point of view: Migrant women do earn their financial freedom by joining the workforce and attain a more favorable position in the intra-household bargaining. However, many migrant women work in low-paying jobs and for them, their employment is not an emancipatory experience but “a necessary evil.” Hence, oversimplified arguments on the emancipatory effect of migration need to be revisited by considering variables such as nationality, the environment of origin, educational level, and marital status.

³³² Fleury, “Understanding Women and Migration,” 1.

Differentiation in perspective is needed in assessments on the effects of migratory experiences for women. Furthermore, access to the labor market does not necessarily empower migrant women when factors such as racial and sexual discrimination, poor workplace conditions, and underpayment are considered.³³³

As Riaño postulated, the empowering effect of migration depends largely on pre-migration conditions.³³⁴ Emancipation is observed in the lives of migrant women who originate from rural areas and oppressed within a patriarchal society. However, not every migrant woman experiences the same amount of liberation. The nature of the migration, whether it was forced or voluntary, is a significant variable. Patriarchal oppression may aggravate due to forced migration and cause a further decline in migrant woman's social status.

In Brouwer and Priester's study of Turkish migrant women's experience in the Netherlands, it is concluded that although women do earn money during the post-migration period, the patriarchal oppression does not weaken. Men acquire a new sphere of oppression in the form of women's earning during the post-migration process.³³⁵ It is frequently observed that men further restrict women's freedom of movement and wield power over their income.³³⁶ The problems migrant women experience during the process of entering in the workforce are added to their domestic troubles, rendering these women vulnerable to exploitation in the employment area as well as their homes.³³⁷

³³³ Riaño, "Women on the Move," 217.

³³⁴ Riaño, "Women on the Move."

³³⁵ Lenie Brouwer and Marijke Priester, "Living in Between: Turkish Women in Their Homeland and in the Netherlands," in *One Way Ticket: Migration and Female Labour*, ed. Annie Phizacklea (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983), 114.

³³⁶ Brouwer and Priester, "Living in Between," 127.

³³⁷ Nermin Abadan-Unat, "The Effect of International Labor Migration on Women's Roles: The Turkish Case," in *Sex Roles, Family and Community in Turkey*, ed. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 214.

Although migrant women enter the workforce in less than ideal conditions, still, employment might help in the reconsideration of their marital relations and gender-based division of labor. However, these changes may confine migrant women into an environment of exacerbated ideological conservatism.³³⁸ Nocera, in her examination of the domestic crises of migrant women in Germany, includes Fuat Bultan's quotation:

*“Family crises started to become very frequent upon spouse’s arrival since the husbands had lost their classic dominant roles in the family. Women who formerly depended on their husbands have, in fact, been replaced with women who have achieved economic independence and a newfound awareness about themselves. In this case, men strived to re-establish their dominant role by resorting to violence. Women who were subjected to such a treatment preferred to abandon their men. Many women who came to us was complaining about the dissolution of their marriage. Complaints pertained on how they earned their money just like their husbands, on how their life could have been so good. It was never about unfaithfulness. Complaints like these were common. A few days later, husbands would arrive and tell how their wives were disobeying them, rebelling against them. I can say that such a situation that is a danger to the wellbeing of the family was one of the biggest problems of the era.”*³³⁹

As one can see here, empowered women are subjected to more violence and oppression in efforts to control them. Gardner and El-Bushra describe women's changing domestic roles during the migration process as follows: Women whose husbands died or left for war have to assume the decision-maker role of the migration process and strategy. They also became the breadwinner of their family in the absence of their husbands. When the husbands return home, these former warriors whose weapons are taken away struggle to adapt to the changing dynamics in their family and conform to civilian life. They often fail to find a job. Consequently, they worry about

³³⁸ Deniz Kandiyoti, “Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliđin Çözümlemesine Yönelik Notlar,” in *1980’ler Türkiye’sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*, ed. Şirin Tekeli (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), 330.

³³⁹ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 115. Translated by the author.

their eroding authority in the family and resort to violence against their wives and children to re-establish their dominance. This increased violence can be interpreted as patriarchal men's inability to accept the empowerment of the women, and an attempt to pacify women by pushing them toward their traditional roles and their traditional place – that is the private sphere, mainly home.³⁴⁰

It has been observed that along with aggravated patriarchal violence and oppression, the notion of the absent husband is also influential in-migrant woman's life. In international literature, there are discussions on the dramatically increased number of female-led households with migration, and how this new role brings about new or increased responsibilities in migrant woman's life concerning child and elderly care, and other forms of domestic workload.³⁴¹ These additional roles further weaken the migrant woman by imprisoning her in various new areas.

In addition to issues previously mentioned, changes in the family structure emerge as a post-migration problem encountered by migrant women. Generally, the nuclear family draws apart from the rest of the extended family during the migration process and thus, traditional kinships weaken. According to Chant and Radcliffe, this process has contradictory implications.³⁴² On one hand, traditional patriarchy's control over the woman's position and role declines, and spouses' trust for each other improves. On the other hand, women lost their support network that is their extended family, which complicates women's situation. An opposite effect is observed for women who have lost their spouses. Widows are forced to live with their relatives, effectively imprisoning them in another hierarchical dynamic where they struggle with constant supervision.³⁴³ Consanguineous marriage in the name of protecting the widower is a

³⁴⁰ Judith Gardner and Judy El Bushra, eds., *Somalia - The Untold Story: The War Through the Eyes of Somali Women* (London: Pluto Press / CIIR, 2004) cited by Baklacioğlu, *Uluslararası Sınırların Gölgesinde Mülteci Kadınlar*, 122.

³⁴¹ Gardner and El Bushra, *Somalia - The Untold Story*, 312.

³⁴² Sylvia Chant and Sarah A. Radcliffe, "Migration and Development: The Importance of Gender," In *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*, ed. Sylvia Chant (London: Belhaven Press, 1992), 20.

³⁴³ Kivilcim and Baklacioğlu, *Sürgünde Toplumsal Cinsiyet*, 70.

practice that creates serious social and psychological problems in this regard. These marriages lead to endless confinement for women whose right to divorce was taken away from them.³⁴⁴

Migrant women's entry to the public sphere is prevented by the aforementioned conservative behaviors and increased patriarchal pressures. As such, women are victimized by patriarchal culture and traditions. Both in cases where they migrate with their husbands or migrate as single women or single mothers, migrant women are a priori approached with the preconception that they are illiterate and/or helpless. They are excluded from decision-making processes and thereby, pacified, isolated, and confined to home with the "sacred duty" of motherhood. Baklacioğlu argues that in many cases husbands prefer to leave their wives undocumented and lock them their homes using neighboring men as an excuse. Women's confinement prevents their familiarization with the political, cultural, social, and governmental environment, rendering them passive and dependent on their husbands. In this way, men consolidate their domestic hierarchical position and their role as head of the family.³⁴⁵

It should be underlined that migration does not change gender roles by itself. Rather, migration works as a "catalyst" that enables the reaction altering gender roles. However, the result of this reaction is determined by an interplay between other variables, mainly the migration context and cultural background of migrant women.³⁴⁶ Daniş states that in the post-migration period, altered domestic roles are "constantly renegotiated by group members and form new bases for social relations." She also draws attention to migrant women's reactions to their new responsibilities.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ Erman, "Rural Migrants and Patriarchy," 121-122.

³⁴⁵ Baklacioğlu, *Uluslararası Sınırların Gölgesinde Mülteci Kadınlar*, 205.

³⁴⁶ Kadioğlu, "Impact of Migration," 552.

³⁴⁷ Daniş, "A Faith That Binds," 610.

As regards to Syrian women living in Hatay, it is observed that they experience difficulties in their daily lives due to the changes in gender roles. In their case, a decline in social status rather than empowerment is noted.

Syrian women are often struggling with serious psychological problems due to factors such as the disintegration of the family resulting from altered roles and responsibilities, physical violence; the trauma induced by war and death, loss of property, and change in the social environment.³⁴⁸ Consequently, women construct their daily lives around their residence in the country of asylum³⁴⁹ and places where they could get help such as NGOs. Entirely new living conditions away from their family circle and ingrained social habits cause great distress for migrant women. The permanence of this distress further weakens them.

In addition to temporariness and uncertainty, other causes of the physical and emotional decline of migrant women include distrust and financial problems. Women who had better socio-economic conditions in their country of origin are particularly affected by the changes following migration, including lower social status and low-paying job opportunities.³⁵⁰

Particularly in countries like Turkey that does not grant the status of refugee in the legal sense, and perceives migration as a non-permanent phenomenon, women asylum-seekers have a peculiar place. Restrictive perceptions and practices regarding their solo migration lead them to be visible and utilize only a small number of public places. And as policies for the harmonization of migrant women are lacking, “home” is identified as the woman’s place.³⁵¹ Refugee women resort to share the place with individuals from their community or benefit from male refugee’s protection as coping

³⁴⁸ Sema Buz, “Köken Ülke - Sığınılan Ülke Hattında Kadın Sığınmacılar ve Geçicilik,” in *Cins Cins Mekân*, ed. Ayten Alkan (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 2009), 315.

³⁴⁹ Buz, “Köken Ülke - Sığınılan Ülke,” 316.

³⁵⁰ Oliva M. Espin, “The Role of Gender and Emotion in Women’s Experience of Migration,” *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 10, no. 4 (1997): 445.

³⁵¹ Buz, “Köken Ülke - Sığınılan Ülke,” 304.

mechanisms against violence. The widespread preconception about “foreigners,” especially refugee women, concerning their inclination to consent to work in “non-ethical” professions is influential in women’s job search process. It also leads to the presentation of prostitution as an option, increasing the risk of sexual exploitation for Syrian women. This increased risk further restricts the places Syrian women can use and thus, these women’s only living places could be “home.”³⁵²

When the local women’s post-migration period problems are examined, it is observed that their re-positioning to a better hierarchical status and increased self-esteem withstanding, they struggle about sharing resources in the city and the daily life. The necessity to share insufficient resources with other women – including their husbands – arise the danger of losing their gains for the local women. Altered demographic structure and social environment, coupled with rumors circulating in both the media and the community, cause great insecurity for these women. Furthermore, local husbands’ increased patriarchal oppression and the danger posed by newcomer women trouble local women. The next sections will further detail Turkish men’s role in shared resources and negotiations.

4.2. Experiencing the Life Together: Syrian Women Meet Turkish Women in a Patriarchal Order

In this section, first, patriarchy and patriarchal bargain theories will be examined in the context of migration. Second, there will be a discussion on how Syrian and

³⁵² Buz, “Köken Ülke - Sığınılan Ülke,” 312.

Turkish women define each other and about which topics they bargain in the context of the aforementioned theories.

4.2.1. Reproduction of Patriarchy through Patriarchal Bargains: Women in Conflict

The previous section discussed the post-migration, sensitive position of women between emancipation and enslavement due to altered gender roles and responsibilities. Within the scope of this discussion, it was mentioned that displacement is an experience that is aggravated due to an interplay among factors such as ethnic identity, pre-migration conditions, and womanhood.³⁵³ It is obvious that this aggravated experience would be different in Middle Eastern societies where patriarchal structures are stronger compared to other societies.

Essentially, the literature on gender and patriarchy examines how gender hierarchies shape the roles men and women play in society. Through this examination it is revealed that “patriarchy, a social system of male domination and female oppression is a key ideology underpinning this hierarchy.”³⁵⁴ In Shankar and Northcott’s study of older female migrants, it is propounded that patriarchy is based on female exploitation and gender inequality. It is a social system that organizes and streamlines women’s oppression.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ Derya Demirler and Veysel Eşsiz, “Zorunlu Göç Deneyimini Kadınlardan Dinlemek: Bir İmkan ve İmkansızlık Olarak Dil,” in *Cinsiyet Halleri: Türkiye’de Toplumsal Cinsiyetin Kesişim Sınırları*, ed. Nil Mutluer (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınları, 2008), 172.

³⁵⁴ Cawo Mohamed Abdi, “Threatened Identities and Gendered Opportunities: Somali Migration to America,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 39, no. 2 (2014): 462.

³⁵⁵ Irene Shankar and Herbert Northcott, “Through My Son: Migrant Women Bargain with Patriarchy,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 32, no. 6 (2009): 425.

Hartmann defines patriarchy as follows: As a set of social relations between men, patriarchy has a material basis and although hierarchical, it breeds solidarity and interdependence among men to establish dominance over women. Even though men of different class, race, or ethnic origin have different standings in the hierarchical system that is patriarchy, men are united in their practices over establishing dominance over women, and they act with solidarity to maintain this dominance.³⁵⁶ Here, Hartmann underlines that patriarchy is a social system that is produced in solidarity.

Hondagneu-Sotelo broadens the definition of patriarchy by including women's acts of resistance. According to her, "*patriarchy is a fluid and shifting set of social relations in which men oppress women, in which different men exercise varying degrees of power and control, and in which women resist in diverse ways.*"³⁵⁷ When the ways of women's resistance to such kind of social structure are discussed, the theory of patriarchal bargains comes to the fore.

Kandiyoti criticizes the studies on patriarchy because of their monolithic and timeless conceptualization of patriarchy. In this regard, she underlines the uniqueness of gender and patriarchal relations in Middle Eastern societies. In her examination of "patriarchal bargains," Kandiyoti illustrates how women positions within patriarchy and they play an active role in the preservation of this structure.³⁵⁸ According to the theory of patriarchal bargain, not only men, but women too may show resistance to the alteration of patriarchal structure and for this purpose, they may obey and reinforce the imaginary "gender contract" to protect it.³⁵⁹ Kandiyoti argues that women operate within a set of limitations that "exert a powerful influence on the shaping of women's gendered subjectivity and influence the nature of gender ideology in different

³⁵⁶ Heidi Hartmann, "Marksızmlle Feminizmin Mutsuz Evliliği," in *Kadının Görünmeyen Emeği*, eds. Gülnur Acar Savran, and Nesrin Tura Demiryontan (İstanbul: Yordam Kitap, 2012), 174.

³⁵⁷ Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, "Overcoming Patriarchal Constraints: The Reconstruction of Gender Relations Among Mexican Migrant Women and Men," *Gender & Society* 6, no. 3 (1992): 393.

³⁵⁸ Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy."

³⁵⁹ Simon Duncan, "Theorising Differences in Patriarchy," *Environment and Planning* 26, no. 8 (1994): 1177-1194.

contexts.”³⁶⁰ Here, women’s power to shape patriarchy is undeniable. Abdi, in her study of Somali migrant women, underlines women’s collaboration with men in defense of patriarchy and describes that it is akin to contradictory gender ideals: “*While men clearly have a vested interest in maintaining gendered hierarchies, women are not passive actors but rather actively partake in both resisting and perpetuating these arrangements. The strategies men and women ultimately use might fuel identity constructions that influence women’s and men’s position in society.*”³⁶¹

In her book “The Republic of Cousins,” Kandiyoti describes the patriarchal bargain in which women aim to preserve their autonomy and spheres of power:

*“The notion of a patriarchal bargain is based on a simple logic: Women’s recourses to defend their rights can be explained by the logic of the system they live in. As with all domination systems, male-dominant systems have both protective and oppressive elements, and in all systems women have their own power and autonomy sources. Therefore, women may be dependent as much as men on the patriarchal systems that oppress them. However, patriarchal bargains are based on the assumption that several mutual expectations will be fulfilled, and the nature of these expectations may vary from community to community.”*³⁶²

In countries like Turkey where the patriarchal structure is strong, women are raised in accordance with certain gender codes since childhood. Although it has recently become important for women to achieve economic independence, traditionally, women pass over from their father’s dominance to their husband’s dominance and thus, they are kept away from the public sphere as much as possible. Being away from the public sphere caused women to live as dependent beings in social life, and in this dependent state, they have expected their husbands to meet and protect their basic needs. Women who have sacrificed their freedom in exchange for these expectations were imprisoned

³⁶⁰ Kandiyoti, “Bargaining with Patriarchy,” 275.

³⁶¹ Abdi, “Threatened Identities,” 462.

³⁶² Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*, 15-16.

under certain oppressive social rules. Social rules concerning their “honor” caused these women to be subjected to constant male control in their sexuality.

Yavuz, in her study of women’s role in the production of masculine values in Trabzon, states that women had certain expectations from men in exchange for the freedoms they have sacrificed. According to Yavuz, in return for their obedience to men, they expect men to protect and provide by taking care of the children and the elderly, seeing the home as a “shelter,” and keeping it “sacred,” and not defining themselves as individuals outside their families. As the subjects of the oppressor/oppressed relationship, women develop a certain resistance mechanism through patriarchal bargains.³⁶³

These bargains are not only present between men and women, but also among women themselves to control each other’s accordance with the gender contract signed within patriarchy. Women who internalized their gender roles fight against women who do not conform to these roles, thereby violate the imaginary contract. Their acts serve the patriarchy. This fight is also about who serves better to the patriarchy. Because whoever better conforms to patriarchy would receive their reward in the form of the protection and even improvement of their living standard.

Erman explains how women control each other in the squatter areas established during the rural-urban migration period as follows:

“In gecekodu (squatter) settlements, women, many of whom spend most of their time within the neighbourhood, exercise control over other women on behalf of the men, including checking on housewifely duties. Informal and spontaneous visits paid to neighbours at any time of the day create strong obligations for women to keep their houses clean and tidy at all times. Yet this is an impossible mission. The fact that

³⁶³ Şahinde Yavuz, “Ataerkil Egemen Erkeklik Değerlerinin Üretiminde Kadınların Rolü: Trabzon Örneği,” *Fe Dergi* 7, no. 1 (2015): 122.

gecekondu (squatter) houses are usually poorly built structures letting in dust and dirt, and gecekondu (squatter) settlements lack adequate infrastructure and services (such as proper roads) frustrates gecekondu (squatter) women and undermines their reputation as good housewives. In order to preserve their traditional identities, these women may extend their housekeeping responsibilities so as to include the streets, cleaning daily the pathways in front of their houses. In this way, they publicly display their concern for cleanliness. In brief, gecekondu (squatter) settlements provide the potential for patriarchal production.”³⁶⁴

With the example given by Erman regarding the control mechanism in the slums, it is seen that in fact, women play a policing role in the implementation of all the rules of the patriarchal system where men are superior and dominant, thereby reproducing the patriarchy among women. Here, it is fair to say that solidarity and cohesion among women have also been damaged by this control mechanism. Especially in times of crisis when the threat of the alteration of patriarchy is high, it is seen that women who show blind loyalty to gender rules will tighten the control and play a more dedicated policing role in the application of the general rules of the patriarchy. On women’s great struggles to protect the patriarchy and resist to change during times of crisis, Kandiyoti says:

“Women have very little to gain and a lot to lose by becoming totally dependent on husbands, and hence they quite rightly resist projects that tilt the delicate balance they try to maintain. In their protests, wives are safeguarding already existing spheres of autonomy. Thus, when classic patriarchy enters a crisis, many women may continue to use all the pressure they can muster to make men live up to their obligations and will not, except under the most extreme pressure, compromise the basis for their claims by stepping out of line and losing their respectability. Their passive resistance takes the

³⁶⁴ Erman, “Rural Migrants and Patriarchy,” 123.

form of claiming their half of this particular patriarchal bargain protection in exchange for submissiveness and propriety.”³⁶⁵

Women, just as they become oppressors for the advantages men provide in crisis periods, they maintain this oppressive behavior in their relations with other women. The toughest problems arise when social changes render mutual expectations invalid and the boundaries of the patriarchal bargain are pushed to the limits. Women’s reactions to such dilemmas vary. They can roughly be defined as actions to fix or defeat the system. Some women may resort to try and fix the family and maintain the status quo patriarchal bargain. For these women, pushing women out of the family makes them even weaker and more vulnerable, and renders men more irresponsible. The underlining problem here is that there are no visible alternatives for women to acquire strength and security outside the family.³⁶⁶ The collapse of patriarchy poses a danger for women at the same rate, and women often tend to resist this process of change, because they think that the old value system is being taken away from them without any compensatory alternative.³⁶⁷

Kandiyoti agrees with Maxine Molyneux’s thoughts on this regard. This situation cannot only be seen as a misconception of women. Rather, inconsistent changes may threaten short-term practical gender interests for some or may lead to situations in which the loss of women’s assurances – that they acquired through patriarchal bargains – cannot be compensated. Consequently, women’s struggle to prevent or minimize this loss would be fierce.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁵ Kandiyoti, “Bargaining with Patriarchy.”

³⁶⁶ Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacilar, Yurттаşlar*, 15-16.

³⁶⁷ Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacilar, Yurттаşlar*, 139.

³⁶⁸ Maxine Molyneux, “Mobilization Without Emancipation? Women’s Interests, the State and Revolution in Nicaragua,” *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 2 (1985): 227-254 cited by Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacilar, Yurттаşlar*, 139.

The phenomenon of migration precisely constitutes a period of crisis as discussed here. Hondagneu-Sotelo argues that patriarchal gender relations shape migration in two ways: changes in the balance of power and authority in the family, and access to community social networks.³⁶⁹ Regarding these changes both in the family and the public sphere with migration, researches on gender and migration, along with the more general literature on gender and patriarchy, focuses on how structural and cultural forces inform gender practices. Gender and migration studies examine how men and women experience migration.³⁷⁰ In her research with Vietnamese migrant women in America, Kibria examines women's solidarity patterns. According to Kibria, even though women are acting in solidarity against problems of individual women that arose from male oppression, they try not to hurt the traditional family structure – the most important constituent of the patriarchy: *“The women's groups use their enhanced power to support the struggles of individual women with male authority in the family, but they are careful not to disturb the traditional boundaries of family and gender relations. In their activities, the women's groups constantly displayed concern for upholding and preserving elements of the relationship they had had with men and the family system prior to settlement in the United States. For example, the women's groups did not support women in their conflicts with men in the family when they had violated traditional sexual norms. In one case, a widow had developed a reputation for sexual promiscuity. In the second case, a woman had left her husband for a man with whom she had been having an affair for several months. In both cases, the women's groups disparaged and isolated the two women, and in the second case, provided support to the husband. In general, the women's groups judged harshly those women who failed to show a high degree of commitment to “keeping the family together” or to the norms of behavior appropriate to wives and mothers. The women would mobilize their community resources to sanction and enforce these normative codes by withholding resources from offenders. Anything that threatened to disrupt the fundamental structure*

³⁶⁹ Hondagneu-Sotelo, “Overcoming Patriarchal Constraints.”

³⁷⁰ Abdi, “Threatened Identities,” 461.

and ideological coherence of the family was unacceptable to the women's community."³⁷¹

As seen in Kibria's work, although women act in solidarity during times of crisis, this solidarity is confined within the limits of patriarchy. The point that should be emphasized here is that patriarchal bargains are more visible in times of crisis such as migration where gender roles have changed, and women cling more tightly to the advantages they have possessed. Therefore, patriarchal bargains play a key role in relations established between women during the post-migration period as women are confronted by various threats in migratory processes, such as loss of spouse or loss of spouse's job or social status. For the local women, the risk of losing small privileges of patriarchy arises, such as sharing their husbands with more women or losing their job due to newcomer migrants. Therefore, it is likely for local women to initiate a struggle against migrant women whom they chose as the "enemies" for the preservation of their privileges.

It is clear that although Turkey and Syria have significant structural differences and varied efforts for modernization and reform, encounters between Turkish and Syrian women are to be shaped mainly by patriarchal bargains, due to the fact that both societies are Middle Eastern, where women's place in the society is determined by patriarchy. In this respect, it is important to remember that the cooperation and solidarity of women in the Middle East take place in a heavily patriarchal context, in which material and symbolic tools that pose the least threat to the existing privileges of men are utilized.³⁷²

As emphasized throughout this study, the lack of relations between the migrant and the local women, emerged as an interplay between the ingrained view about women in society and patriarchal bargains. It is in line with the theories on patriarchy that

³⁷¹ Nazlı Kibria, "Power, Patriarchy, and Gender Conflict in the Vietnamese Migrant Community," *Gender & Society* 4, no. 1 (1990): 18.

³⁷² Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar*, 86.

women who have been in a constant struggle over the sharing of space and resources do not wish for more competitors.

In countries such as Turkey and Syria where women's rights advanced late compared to Western countries, Islam is still a key reference point and patriarchy is strong, relations among women have always been problematic. Additions migration and strangerhood to this already contentious dynamic caused situations such as non-relation or misrelation among women to emerge.

4.2.2. Defining the 'Other Women' through Patriarchal Voice: Women are telling stories

Encounters among women in Hatay should be discussed in the context of patriarchy's role in shaping women's relations. During this fieldwork, Turkish and Syrian women were asked to define women in their community and the other community. The formation of the social cohesion dynamics among women from the two communities is evaluated within the context of these answers.

Nocera describes the image of Turkish and German woman following Turkish migration to Germany as follows:

“Turkish woman's image of a Muslim woman from a rural community, steeped in tradition, who was subordinate to her husband or father contrasted with the image of German women who were urban, western, modern and emancipated. The contrast between two figures of women is a representation of the process of creation of “otherness” based on dichotomies of traditional-modern; Islam-secularization; oppression-independence, and it is descriptive of the hierarchical relationship between

*the sovereign society represented by the host society, and subordinate society represented by the migrant community.*³⁷³

Similarly, the image of Syrian women created by Turkish women can be seen as an expression of the hierarchy between the established community and the newcomer community. In Turkish women's narratives, "Syrian woman" is pictured as backward, less educated, dirtier, less capable, and immoral. Here, an implicit comparison done by the established community members to elevate themselves to a higher status is visible. Definitions used by the Turkish interviewees revealed that Turkish women constructed their power and self-identity over a subject they perceive as inferior – namely the Syrian women. These claims are in line with Baklacioğlu's study. In her interviews with a conservative Turkish woman who volunteers in a charity for Syrian refugees and representatives of an organization that provides aid to Syrian refugees, Baklacioğlu has observed that Syrian refugee women were described as "backward, uncivilized, unqualified." She underlines that an "otherness" is built on social and cultural distances that are observable even in charity work.³⁷⁴

The crucial point here is that while creating the image of Syrian women, otherness and comparison are prioritized, but this comparison is done in dissimilar categories. When the field notes were compiled, the following three definitions regarding Syrian woman were frequently encountered: "carnal," "fancy," "gold-digger," "swindler," "ungrateful" for Syrian women; "victim," "uneducated," "subjects of violence" for Syrian second-wives and child-brides; and "urban," "educated," "beautiful," "clean," ..etc.

This excerpt from an interview with a Turkish receptionist woman shows how the image of Syrian women is shaped around these different points of view:

³⁷³ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 7-8.

³⁷⁴ Kivılcım and Baklacioğlu, *Sürgünde Toplumsal Cinsiyet*, 88.

“I think of two different women when it comes to Syrian women. One of them is an uneducated, ignorant, victimized, poor rural woman. The other one is an urban, educated, and well-dressed Syrian woman. But we mostly see the former in Hatay. The others we had seen at the beginning. They already had money. They were urban, educated, and English-speaking. Many went to Istanbul or Europe to work. Uneducated, ignorant, and problematic ones remained here.” (T28, 27, Receptionist)

As can be seen in the narrative of another Turkish woman below, along with educated-uneducated Syrian woman differentiation, another “two types of Syrian woman” image exists, created over morality:

“When I think about Syrian women, I always imagine the belly dancer I saw before. One or two years ago, my family and I went to a picnic in Samandağ beach, children included. A group of Syrian people was sitting right next to us. All of a sudden, one of the Syrian women rose, adorned a Shakira belt, and started dancing. In front of all those men. I barely stopped my father from beating that woman. These people are immoral like this. On the other hand, there is a Syrian woman in our neighborhood. She always works with her husband, takes care of her children. They are very good people. There are moral people among them.” (T40, 34, Housewife)

As seen in these two narratives, there is an ingrained belief that “the good ones” tend to leave the city or they are exceptional. It should be noted, however, that there is no single image of Syrian women among local women of Hatay, as there is an incessant construction of different images over comparisons and individual experiences.

When the aforementioned three major images of Syrian women are examined, clear reflections of patriarchy can be observed. Weak, rural, victimized, and inadequate Syrian women are stuck in the framework of patriarchal relations. Immoral Syrian women are subjects of patriarchal bargains. On the other hand, urban, strong, activist Syrian women are free of patriarchal relations, but also, outside of the “bargain.”

When Turkish women define Syrian women, they define their womanhood through comparisons and contrasts. For instance, Alevi women's portrayal of themselves as "stronger women" suggests a liberation through their belief. According to Erman, Alevism is more liberal on women's rights compared to Sunni sect of Islam. Erman describes Alevi's as supporters of the secular Republic of Turkey and propounds that Alevism is a stance against Islam's reactionism. According to Erman, in ethnic groups, the position of Alevi women becomes a signifier of that culture; it is used as an essential element of demarcation in dividing the world between "us" and "them." Women in Alevi families enjoy more power and autonomy compared to conservative Sunni families. Their embrace of leftist ideology which emphasizes equality (though more so in terms of social classes than in terms of gender), as well as their higher education and consequent employment as professionals may further help women become more autonomous and emancipated.³⁷⁵

Although the patriarchal structure and culture of the society they live in prevents Alevi women's freedom of religion, it is seen that they emphasize their power and freedom when defining Syrian women, and their perception of womanhood is very influential in their descriptions of Syrian women. Therefore, there are differences in Turkish Sunni and Alevi women's images of Syrian women. Establishment of more positive relations between Turkish and Syrian women in the Yayladağı region where the Sunni population is the majority, as mentioned earlier, is due to the excessive similarity between women. For the Alevi women who constructed a self-image of being more advanced in women's rights, more liberated, more conscious, and better educated, Syrian migrants' conservatism poses a threat against their social and political gains. Consequently, in their narratives, labels for Syrian women such as dirty, uneducated, ignorant, and reactionary are in more frequent use. Conversely, they live in greater cohesion with rural Sunni Turkish women.

³⁷⁵ Erman, "Rural Migrants and Patriarchy," 129-130.

In this regard, factors such as being rural or urban, faith, level of education are effective in the image of Syrian women created by Turkish women. However, it is important to note that the reference points of this image are hierarchization and “othering.” Another point that should be underlined here very few Turkish women who define Syrian women have direct relations with the latter. Most of their narrative is based on rumors and the things they have heard in media.

When Syrian interviewees' descriptions of Turkish women are examined, a standardization is apparent, which is a stark contrast to Turkish interviewees' varied imaginations. In the interviews, Syrian women generally define Turkish women as “loose/free” and express their disempowerment by Turkish women's discourse. Therefore, women's definitions of each other are important for women's ways of expressing themselves or the identifications they develop. Syrian women, who are constantly defined as weak, express that they have started to feel weak after a while. On the other hand, Syrian women form the image of the Turkish woman as a free, educated, clean, moral, hospitable, and good woman. This image is formed as a counterpart to the imaginations made about them. Although, before the war, these women defined themselves as equals to their Turkish counterparts, they are forced to re-define their identity over the post-war hierarchy. Considering the fact that a small percentage of Syrian interviewees have direct relations with their Turkish neighbors, it is fair to infer that the attitude against Syrian women creates the image of the Turkish women in Syrian women's eyes. A Syrian woman expresses the weakness she feels because of the image of Turkish woman through the following words:

“I see they are dressing better than us, spend their money comfortably at the market, their children are cleaner and neater. They call us dirty, uneducated. They do not come near us. They are looking at us with hatred in their eyes. I feel like a dirty beggar when I come across them. They may be better educated and richer than us, but this is war. What other choice do we have?” (S16, 27, Non-employed)

It has been argued by Kadioğlu that migrant women feel forced to operate in between tradition and modernity as balancing actors. This challenging role affects their psyches and perceptions. They have been observed to show hostility towards both women who they feel are too traditional and too westernized. Migrant women reduce the social entropy caused by migration among the migrants by taking the role of gatekeepers of their native culture in the host society.³⁷⁶

This weakness felt by Syrian women causes them to ostracize and scorn women from their community who are in a worse condition. They are inclined to show a more hostile attitude toward Syrian women who beg or engage in prostitution, as these women perceived to be tarnishing the image of the community as a whole. This previously used quotation is a notable example:

“I do not know that to say. Local women are right. There are some Syrian women who run away with their wedding gold, women who prostitute themselves and women who beg. They were just like that in Syria. But they show these behaviors and tarnish our names too.” (S10, 42, non-employed, Narlıca)

It is particularly observed in the 2019-2020 field study that in order not to be exposed to such charges, many Syrian women strive to resemble Turkish women, by dressing or even talking like them. It is revealed that some Syrian women, if they can speak Turkish particularly well, attempt to hide their true nationality in public space. Baklacioğlu and Kıvılcım state that migrant women utilize strategies of mimicking Turkish women and hiding their foreignness to ensure their safety.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ Kadioğlu, “Impact of Migration,” 550.

³⁷⁷ Kıvılcım and Baklacioğlu, *Sürgünde Toplumsal Cinsiyet*, 95; Hilal Sevlü, “Gündelik Direniş Deneyimleri: Gaziantep’te Suriyeli Kadınlar,” in *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Perspektifinden Türkiye’de Göç Araştırmaları*, comps. Kristen Biehl and Didem Danış (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Mükemmeliyet Merkezi ve Göç Araştırmaları Derneği, 2020), 56-79.

A Syrian Turkmen tells the answer she gives to the question “Where are you from?”:

“In school, the most terrifying question was “Where are you from?” I knew my answer would alter all of my friendships. I thought my Turkish was good, I am Turkmen, what difference would that make? Normally I would have never done such things, but I told a lie thinking how would they know? I said I was from Karabük. Soon afterward I felt shame and I feared that my lie would come out. Because of this fear I could not form proper friendships. I eventually told the truth to my closest friends. I felt relieved. But at that moment, I instinctually lied.” (S13, 21, Interpreter/Student)

A similar example is given by Eşsiz and Demirler in their article on Kurdish women’s rural-urban migration. They state that women were uncertain about how and with whom to share their migration experiences due to fear of being criticized.³⁷⁸ Safety strategies such as gaining favor or acceptance of the established, resembling them and hiding their nationality complicate the issue for Syrian women to establish a solidarity network among each other. Images created reciprocally and within the communities encircle the relations between women in the region. “Sovereign” women conduct patriarchal bargains to protect the hierarchal relations, and their husbands and the other resources they have. Mutual relations are built over these bargains.

4.2.3. Conflict on Shared ‘Patriarchal Resources’: How Syrian and Turkish Women Bargain with each other?

³⁷⁸ Demirler and Eşsiz, “Zorunlu Göç Deneyimini Kadınlardan Dinlemek,” 169.

In their 2013 report on Syrian migration's effects on Hatay population, The Human Rights Association stated that the conflict in Syria and the subsequent influx of migrants have profoundly affected the peoples of Hatay and aggravated polarization:

“The conflict in Syria and migration victimize women the most, as in all wars. Particularly in Reyhanlı, some people earn money by marrying Syrian women off with Turkish nationals. It is stated that 60-70 people in Hatay are in this profession. Although there are no official data, people who mediate the marriages state that approximately two to three thousand women have been married off in this way. Syrian women victims of war have been married off, without a passport or legal document, with an Imam marriage and was sent all over the country.³⁷⁹ Even girls below the age of consent were married off this way. These women and children victims of war have been victimized. Syrian women have been married off to married men as second or third wives. In this “woman trafficking” that is bereft of regulatory statutes and records, these women may be victims of the mafia who prostitutes them.”³⁸⁰

In the same report, there are details of the interview with Abdulkadir Demir, a resident of Harranlı village in Reyhanlı district of Hatay, who alleges that he, along with 70 other people, is in this profession. Demir explains how he marries off Syrian women as follows:

“Men from Çanakkale, Bayburt, and other cities of Turkey are coming here to marry the women. I have married 65 people since. Some take their second, third wives from here. Men who marry pay a price to the person who mediated the marriage. We marry off women whose husbands died in Syria or were separated from them. Those women find themselves in harsh conditions here, without anyone to take care of them. First,

³⁷⁹ Marriage performed by an Imam (*imam nikahı*) is not recognized under the Turkish Civil Code.

³⁸⁰ İnsan Hakları Derneği. *Suriye’de Yaşanan Çatışmalı Süreç ile Bunun Neticesinde Yaşanan Göçün Hatay’da Halk Üzerindeki Yansımaları ile İlgili Araştırma - İnceleme Raporu*, March 2013, accessed March 16, 2020, <https://www.ihd.org.tr/suryede-yaanan-catimali-suerec-le-bunun-netcesnde-yaanan-gocuen-hatayda-halk-uezerndek-yansimalari-le-igl-aratirma-nceleme-raporu/>, p. 12.

they have a religious marriage, then some prefer to have a civil marriage, some not. We cannot track that. They arrive here with the intent of marriage, taking the women with them. If something happens to them, it is these women's problems. We only mediate for the marriage."³⁸¹

When the official statistics of the Turkish Statistical Institute are examined, it is seen that by the year 2019, Syrian women constitute the majority of foreign brides who married Turkish nationals. According to the official data, in 2019, the number of foreign brides were 23.264, and Syrian women constitute 14.5 percent of this figure.³⁸² Considering the fact that religious marriages, child brides, and second wives are common in marriages with Syrians, which are all illegal according to the Turkish Civil Code, the real number is likely much higher. It should be noted that among women who were interviewed for this study between the years 2014 and 2020, there were no Syrian women who were officially married to Turkish men.

The phenomenon of *kuma* (second wife), which I have encountered frequently in my interviews and has become the focus of mainstream media, has a significant role in forming relations between women. According to a news article translated from the German magazine *Stern*, in 2015 there were 372.000 *kuma* in Turkey, a considerable number of them being Syrian. According to the article, the price for marrying a Syrian woman was approximately 1800 Euros, but in some regions the price goes down as low as the equivalent of 2 kilos of potatoes.³⁸³ The article includes quotes by Özlem Ulutaş, President of the Şanlıurfa Women's Rights Association. Ulutaş expresses that second wives are not only the "privilege" of rich men now.³⁸⁴ Here, it is seen that once, a phenomenon confined to a limited number of people/class, taking a second wife with

³⁸¹ İnsan Hakları Derneği. *Suriye'de Yaşanan Çatışmalı Süreç*, 6.

³⁸² "Türkiye'de En Çok Suriyeli Gelin, Alman Damat Var," *Sözcü Gazetesi*, February 26, 2020, accessed March 16, 2020, <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/hayatim/yasam-haberleri/turkiyede-en-cok-suriyeli-gelin-alman-damat-var/>.

³⁸³ "Türkiye'de 372 Bin Kadın 'Kuma' Durumunda," *Evrensel Gazetesi*, April 8, 2015, accessed March 16, 2020, <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/109937/turkiyede-372-bin-kadin-kuma-durumunda>.

³⁸⁴ "Türkiye'de 372 Bin Kadın 'Kuma' Durumunda," *Evrensel Gazetesi*.

an religious marriage, has become accessible to everyone with the arrival of Syrian women, and thus normalized. Consequently, the established women have been feeling increasingly under threat.

One of the most important consequences of second wives is the increased divorce rate – and men’s maltreatment of their spouses in this regard. According to a statement by the President of the Urfa Bar Association in 2015, the number of second wives has increased with the arrival of Syrian women, leading to domestic problems and economic distress. As a consequence, the divorce rate in Urfa has increased by 20 percent.³⁸⁵ A news article based on Turkish Medical Association’s report on second-wives’ effect on the psychology of women from Hatay states that women are more depressed due to the increased number of second wives.³⁸⁶ Moreover, according to Coşkunarda’s article, the established women of Southeastern Anatolia Region, in particular, expressed that they are forced to accept Syrian second-wives, as their husbands threaten them with divorce and physical violence if they object. These women state that as the majority of the *kuma* are younger than them, they are obligated to act as their “mothers.” The article also shares a story from a woman whose husband used her need for dental care to force her to accept a *kuma*.³⁸⁷ Due to these incidents and news, the established women feel distressed and they want to see Syrian women leave. Özdener states that Syrian brides and the established women are under threat in several ways. According to Özdener, as marriages with second wives became more prevalent; domestic peace was disturbed, economic troubles arose, stories about scam-marriages

³⁸⁵ “Şanlıurfa’da ‘Suriyeli Kuma’ Nedeniyle Boşanma Sayısında Artış,” *Hürriyet Gazetesi*, November 19, 2015, accessed March 16, 2020, <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/sanliurfada-suriyeli-kuma-bosanmasinda-artis-40016032>.

³⁸⁶ “Suriyeli Kumalar Hataylı Kadınları Depresyona Soktu,” *T24*, November 27, 2013, accessed March 16, 2020, <https://t24.com.tr/haber/suriyeli-kumalar-hatayli-kadinlari-depresyona-soktu,244865>.

³⁸⁷ “Dişlerimi Yaptıracağı İçin Kumayı Kabul Ettim,” *Milliyet Gazetesi*, April 10, 2016, accessed March 16, 2020, <https://www.milliyet.com.tr/pazar/dislerimi-yaptiracagi-icin-kumayi-kabul-ettim-2224326>.

were spread, and marital conflicts turned into violence – which all de-empower women through increased oppression and violence.³⁸⁸

Rumors and news they hear about scam-marriages are another source of concern for the established women. Stories about how numerous Syrian women trick men, especially the elderly, with promises of marriage, and run away with their money and gold are spread in public through word of mouth. As the news spread these stories in a particularly effective way, every interviewee of this study has shared some scam stories they have heard about the Syrian women. In this regard, women who are confronted with the danger of both sharing their husbands, fathers, and other male relatives, and being defrauded; cling strongly to patriarchy and they create rivals/enemies in their struggle to protect their advantages.

During interviews, it is also observed that Turkish women who have been compared with Syrian women by their spouses. Although they alleged that their husbands were mostly joking, these “jokes” were translated to real threats in their minds. It is observed that reprimands such as “A Syrian wife would have been cheaper” or jokes like “Get today’s dinner right or I swear to God I will take a Syrian wife” have become common, which have caused the local women to take against Syrian women. A Turkish interviewee shares her husband’s efforts to convince her to accept a second wife in a joking manner:

“The other day I was grumbling about how tired I was because of the kids, housework, and market work. My husband came and said ‘If you get too tired, let us take Syrian second wife. She would help you. She could take care of the kids and me.’ And then he laughed.” (T12, 35, Local Market Owner)

³⁸⁸ Jüpiter Özdenler, “Suriye’den Türkiye’ye Kadın Evlilik Göçleri: Mardin Kenti Örneğinde Süreçler, Deneyimler ve Sorunlar” (Master’s Thesis, Isparta Süleyman Demirel University, 2018).

As the local women attribute every change that happened in their lives after Syrian women's arrival to the Syrian women, they form the relations between them and the refugee women accordingly. Essentially, these relations end up as a reproduction of patriarchy – their husbands' threats and the local men's attitude, in general, being the prime motivation for the established women. It was predicted as early as 2012-2013 that the relation between refugee and the local women would become a conflict soon after their initial encounter, based on comments made in news websites and the content shared on the social media. Although it had been foreseen that a massive influx of people to a city would result in problems for the sharing of space, institutions, and material resources; the conflict between the local and refugee women has been about patriarchal gains. Turkish women perceive their husbands as the only source of resources they have in all areas. Their primary concern during the migratory process has been sharing their husbands. Their concerns for sharing resources provided by their husbands, surpass the concerns for sharing the resources of the hospital, the market, the school, or the city. Consequently, their resistance to possible changes is strongest in this area. As the local women are aware that their access to all the resources they have is ensured by their husbands; they feel threatened by the prospect of sharing this source of means with a Syrian woman. This fear is fed by the non-existence or ineffectiveness of the Syrian men, and Turkish men's threats of "turning the crisis into an opportunity." Consequently, Turkish women find themselves competing with Syrian women in patriarchal bargains. Jealousy born in this tense atmosphere has become an important dynamic that determines the relations (or the state of non-relation) between women of the two groups.

Hereafter, there will be a discussion centered on the questions of how Turkish and Syrian women negotiate over the image of "good woman" created by patriarchy; what sacrifices they make to be a better woman for their husbands, and how they compete with other women in the same negotiation. This discussion will involve ideals imposed by patriarchy such as beautiful/well-groomed woman, self-sacrificing

mother/wife, virtuous woman, and will describe how women use patriarchy as a resource.

- ***Bargain over being more attractive, better looking and better groomed***

In his book about the dominance over women's body "Masculine Domination," Bourdieu propounds both men and women are aware that the female body has the combination of a power of attraction and seduction.³⁸⁹ Bourdieu indicates that men and women accept this reality unanimously, and women endeavor to make their bodies more suitable for masculine domination. Bourdieu uses the metaphors of "a body for others" and "mirror" to portray this desire of women to transform their bodies into things "to be looked at." In the book, Bourdieu quotes Sandra Lee Bartky's claim that the "fashion-beauty complex" causes women to have "profound anxieties about their bodies" and "an acute sense of their physical unworthiness" – though he does not agree that the fashion-beauty complex is the sole creator of these concerns.³⁹⁰ To ease these negative feelings, women attach significant importance to beauty and grooming. Bourdieu points out that "for men, cosmetics and clothing tend to efface the body in favor of social signs of social position (dress, decorations, uniform, etc.), in women they tend to highlight it and make it a language of seduction." Women are "socially inclined" to treat themselves as aesthetic objects and thus to show constant attention to things related to "beauty, the elegance of the body, its attire and its bearing."³⁹¹

In Demir's article on gender roles in commercials, it is argued that a woman's body and her identity are portrayed as one and the same. Having a beautiful and well-groomed body is depicted as a prerequisite for being a good mother and wife. According to Demir, being a thin, athletic, and pretty woman is presented as a social ideal. In these

³⁸⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *La Domination Masculine* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1998), trans. Bediz Yılmaz as *Eril Tahakküm* (İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2014), 45.

³⁹⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, *La Domination Masculine*, 89-90.

³⁹¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *La Domination Masculine*, 125-126.

commercials, consumer products are shown as the key to acquire this socially ideal, “young at all ages” body – which is equal to individual success.³⁹²

This anxiety about their body and obsession with beauty of women also tends to “honor the men on whom they depend or to whom they are linked, and a duty of selective refusal which adds the price of exclusivity to the effect of 'conspicuous consumption.’” Bourdieu draws attention to how much the man gains from this situation.³⁹³

While men accumulate these gains and honors, women make every effort to be beautiful, well-groomed, and attractive in masculine domination. As it is thought that the prettier, better-groomed, and more attractive women would benefit more from the advantages of patriarchy, the competition among women in patriarchal bargains is based on these criteria. In situations where social changes are prevalent such as migration, with “the husband” as a resource, women’s encounters are shaped around these standards of beauty, under masculine domination over the body. Essentially, to keep their husbands, gain their favor, and to “win” the competition among women, women start to compare themselves based on their beauty.

A comparable situation is observed in Hatay between Syrian and Turkish women. It is observed that the issues of makeup and hairdressers were prominent in the creation of the initial ideas, stereotypes, and prejudices about Syrian women. While defining each other, women enter into a bargain based on who is more beautiful, attractive, or well-groomed. This can be seen as an effort to alleviate the crisis that arose after the migration. For instance, a Turkish woman defines a Syrian woman as a “bad woman” for putting on makeup:

³⁹² Nesrin Kula Demir, “Kültürel Değişimlerin Reklamlarda Kadın ve Erkek Rol Modellerine Yansımaları,” *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 16, no. 1 (2006): 292.

³⁹³ Pierre Bourdieu, *La Domination Masculine*, 45.

“You can never see them without eyeliner. It is not clear whether they escaped from war or came for vacation. They walk around with their big doe eyes, wearing chador but God knows what inside. If you ever to escape from a war; would you have time to think about makeup, eyeliner? They do. They are like that.” (T17, 36, Fortune Teller)

A hairdresser from Hatay tells about the day a Syrian woman was forced to leave her saloon:

“She came here, unabashedly, to get her hair done, to have her eyebrows plucked. Women started to talk among themselves telling “Why does she even need to beautify herself?” One of them asked “Do you get pretty for the night? Syrian women left the saloon abruptly. It was the first time I have ever seen such a thing.” (T23, 35, Hairdresser)

The reason hairdressers and makeup became such a critical issue is the importance given to such beauty standards by women. A Syrian woman who wears eyeliner or goes to the hairdresser is attacked immediately within the framework of patriarchal bargains.

When this situation is examined concerning the Syrian women, it is observed that they feel more unkempt and dirtier in the post-war period due to their economic conditions. They explain that they have created “home saloons” among themselves where some pluck eyebrows, others blow-dry hair, because of the pressure they met outside. A woman expressed that she would open a hairdresser if she had the money, and she even spared a room in her home for this purpose. (S17, 24, Non-employed) This Syrian woman tells that in Syria, men gave significant importance to beauty and grooming of women, and women felt obligated to maintain some of their habits here to gain their husbands’ favor. While they express that they feel better this way, they also share their desire to be more like Turkish women who dress better and cleaner. A Syrian woman shares her efforts to look more like Turkish women as follows:

“Women dress freer and better here. Their outfits always look good. I cannot take my eyes off them. I always check where they dress. If I had money, I would buy something there.” (S15, 31, Textile Worker)

It is noteworthy that one of the Syrian interviewees, who was alone at home during the time of the interview, greeted us wearing a lace gown – indicating a behavior displayed to assert her sexual power and attractiveness, which is a strategy adopted to keep her husband during the time of crisis. She explained that she dresses like this in her home to look beautiful to her husband all the time (S17, 24, non-employed) This is an example of a patriarchal bargain, a woman’s endeavor to hold onto her husband with the means she has in her socio-economic condition.

One of the remarkable changes in the city during the post-migration period is an increase in the number of lingerie stores. A similar effort to look well-groomed and attractive by the women who compete in masculine domination is observed in Gaziantep, also.

Some Turkish women appear to opt for another strategy. Rather than competing with their beauty and attractiveness, they choose to emphasize their success in wifely duties and motherhood. This is particularly preferred by women who are over a certain age.

- ***Bargain over being a self-sacrificing mother***

While patriarchy burdens men with a massive amount of responsibilities and roles in the public sphere, it gives all the authority of domestic order to women. Responsibilities such as house cleanliness and neatness, household welfare, elderly care and childcare, and household organization lie with women.³⁹⁴ Marriage in the context of patriarchy appears as the acceptance of these responsibilities by a signed contract. In

³⁹⁴ Rea Mae Estrella and Reynaldo B. Inocian, “Women’s Voices in the Images and Shadows of Patriarchy,” *International Journal of Advanced Research* 7, no. 1 (2019): 205.

exchange for men's contribution to the household with money and protection, women are expected to be "good wives" – a home organizer and a mother (babysitter). A woman's domestic role is so sanctified that she is expected to be a good wife and a good mother even if she has an outside, full-time job like her husband. Expectations about the husband do not change in such cases. Although this situation is changing gradually; in families with deeply ingrained patriarchal codes, a woman's responsibility to be a self-sacrificing mother and wife remains incontestable.

Patriarchy has certain criteria for a woman to be good or bad, such as keeping the house clean and tidy, being an excellent cook, ironing her husband's clothes and having well-behaved and clean children. In the patriarchal bargain, these criteria often came up in women's cases of being a "better woman" because popular wisdom says "a good woman subordinates herself to please the needs of the man and the family"³⁹⁵ and "a good woman is a good mother and wife."³⁹⁶

Local and newcomer women's bargain, over both their beauty and attractiveness and their quality of being a self-sacrificing mother and wife, reproduces patriarchy. Turkish women frequently belittle Syrian women over their alleged failure to be self-sacrificing mothers and wives and emphasize their superiority in those areas. An excerpt from Turkish women's comments on Syrian mothers and wives reads as follows:

"We are a little different from them. For me, sex has not been that important ever since I had my children. My family comes first. They are not like that. They have their children and let them loose. Sex is very important to them." (T26, 50, hotel employee)

³⁹⁵ Annika Andersson, "Honor Killings - The Survival of Patriarchy in Different Societies" (Master's Thesis, University of Lund Department of Sociology, 2003), 7.

³⁹⁶ Jan Hjärpe, "Kvinnovåld, Hedersmord Och Religion," *Kvinnor & Fundamentalism* 19 (2000): 5-9 cited by Andersson, "Honor Killings," 45.

“Their children have no manners. How would they? Their mothers are not by their side as they only care about themselves. They are uneducated, honey. They know no home organization, no motherhood.” (T41, 53, Housewife)

“Such a shame. I feel pity for those children. They walk around sickly, covered with fleas. There is no proper food in their home. If you ask their mothers, they will say they have no money, but they have money for the hairdresser, makeup. You cannot feed those children by putting on eyeliner.” (T17, 36, Fortune Teller)

It is underlined in Turkish women’s narratives that Syrian women are “inadequate mothers”. Their choice to wear makeup is portrayed as evidence of their failure in motherhood. Although some women expressed that Syrian women are excellent cooks, or they dress their children very well despite the economic hardship they have been experiencing; most of the Turkish interviewees criticize them of being “bad mothers”.

Artar, in her study on the construction of national and foreign identities, relays following observations about the label of “bad mothers” stuck on Syrian women:

“Some Turkish participants have made negative comments about the Syrian people’s cleanliness. You frequently hear complaints such as “It is dirty everywhere” (34, Local woman) in the said neighborhoods, and almost all of them proceed with comments on the importance Syrian women give to personal care. This dichotomy of “clean and tidy Turks” and “fancy Syrians” is used in the creation of identities. “They are very dirty. There is no order in their homes. Their way of living is very different from ours. They do not know how to clean. No cleaning, just makeup.” (52, Local woman) Children’s upbringing is also used as a way to accentuate cultural differences. Behaviors that can be observed in all children are regarded as odd by the local people, and cause conflict between families: *“Their children get up and start to play football. They do not have to behave; they are out of control. I have hidden heart disease; I feel scared when they*

climb upstairs. I have warned them multiple times, they have not listened." (65, Local woman)

Local women who make comments about Syrian women's motherhood simultaneously begin to pay extra attention to the behavior of their children to carefully construct the identity of "well-raised Turkish children." The distinction between them and the "naughty Syrian children" serves to justify the hierarchical relationship that is desired to be established. It has also been noted that Turkish mothers who act this way do not allow their children to play with Syrian children. Artar observed a Turkish child who stopped talking and moved away from his Syrian friend as soon as his mother arrived, and another Turkish child who responded to his mother's criticism by saying "*They have escaped from the war, mother.*"³⁹⁷

As seen in Artar's work, Turkish mothers criticize Syrian mothers about child upbringing, home organization and cleaning, and consolidate their image as better and cleaner mothers. These behaviors indicate their intentions to build a hierarchical relationship, and to construct their patriarchal bargain on this basis.

Similar comparisons are noted in the interviews with Syrian women. There are narratives by Syrian women who find Turkish women's food "tasteless" and criticize them of being "coldhearted" toward their husbands and children. These women present themselves as better wives and mothers. Another noteworthy situation here is the presence of young Syrian women who strive to become better mothers and more self-sacrificing wives because of the accusations they have been constantly exposed to. Some Syrian women have become "tiger-mums" to prevent complaints about their children's manners or have been religiously cleaning their houses. Here, examples of

³⁹⁷ Feray Artar, "Suriyeli Komşularla 'Yerli' ve 'Yabancı' Kimliklerinin İnşası," in *Farklılıklar, Çatışmalar ve Eylemlilikler Çağında Sosyoloji: VIII. Ulusal Sosyoloji Kongresi Bildiriler Kitabı*, eds. Feray Artar and Akın Bakıoğlu (Ankara: Sosyoloji Derneği, 2017), 96.

Turkish and Syrian women who have entered into an endless patriarchal bargain over the well-being of the husband and home are prevalent.

- ***Bargain over being more moral/honorable***

Culture of honor, as one of the building blocks of patriarchy, is one of the most key factors that suppress women today. The dichotomy of “honor/shame” exists for men and women. Although these notions concern both men and women, a man's public role is characterized by honor whereas a woman's role is characterized by shame. Man must strive to prove his honor and elevate his reputation. The woman must keep her honor intact while she constantly carries the feeling of shame. Women’s place in society is to stand by her man and be his helper. She must fully dedicate her life to her husband and family. Man’s duty is to protect her female relatives’ “honor” by incessantly supervising their sexuality. A woman becomes “dishonorable” if she loses her sexual purity whereas man's promiscuity does not taint his honor in any way.³⁹⁸

According to Bahar, a woman’s failure to protect her honor may even be punished by death. In patriarchy a woman’s honor and her sexuality are seen as the same, and particularly in Turkey, the civil code entrusts a woman’s honor to her husband. Honor, as an unquestionable value, appears as a mechanism by which the husband can establish all kinds of pressure and control over his wife.³⁹⁹

Culture is a principal factor in patriarchal oppression over female sexuality.⁴⁰⁰ Men feel the need to police women’s and girls’ sexuality because it is seen as a threat to family solidarity. It is seen as an activity that might potentially bring disgrace to the family or tarnish its honor. Honor-shame systems have a highly gendered component

³⁹⁸ Andersson, “Honor Killings,” 7.

³⁹⁹ Halil İbrahim Bahar, “Patriarchy, Gender Inequality and Criminal Victimization of Women in Turkey,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Criminology and the Global South*, eds. Kerry Carrington, Russell Hogg, John Scott and Máximo Sozzo (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 931.

⁴⁰⁰ Charlotte Watts and Cathy Zimmerman, “Violence Against Women: Global Scope and Magnitude,” *The Lancet* 359, no. 9313 (2002): 1232–1237.

of masculine cohesion that is enhanced through female subordination and surveillance which should not be seen only as systems of protection over commodified resources.⁴⁰¹ Masculine identity is closely tied with family honor while femininity is linked to “potential shame”.⁴⁰²

To summarize, the notion of honor can be defined as men’s patriarchal control over women’s bodies and sexuality.⁴⁰³ Inherent to this definition is the implication that a woman cannot protect herself and needs masculine control regarding her honor. Consequently, a woman’s honor indicates the success of the control and protection mechanisms of her husband and/or male relatives. In order to make the man stronger and more successful, the woman accepts oppression of all sorts performed under the guise of protection of her honor, and even maintains these pressures onto other women. A comparison of honor is one of the most frequently observed competitions in a patriarchal bargain. Here, the notion of honor attains primary importance in determining which woman is “better.” Due to the role ascribed to women regarding the transfer of cultural codes and values, women fight hard to render their man “stronger.”

As regards to migration, female members of the migrant family are expected to adhere to traditional norms more closely than their counterparts in the homeland.⁴⁰⁴ As patriarchy demands them to be “honorable” women, while the migrant woman tries to protect her honor under strict oppression, the established woman wants to prove that she is more honorable. This competition of honor, of course, serves to patriarchy.

For the Syrian and Turkish women living in Hatay, honor is one of the most important topics of patriarchal bargains. It is observed that this bargain among women

⁴⁰¹ David Tokiharu Mayeda, Raagini Vijaykumar and Meda Chesney-Lind, “Constructions of Honor-Based Violence: Gender, Context and Orientalism,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Criminology and the Global South*, eds. Kerry Carrington, Russell Hogg, John Scott and Máximo Sozzo (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 948.

⁴⁰² Deniz Kandiyoti, “Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case,” *Feminist Studies* 13, no. 2 (1987): 317–338.

⁴⁰³ Sana Al-Khayyat, *Honour and Shame: Women in Modern Iraq* (London: Saqi Books, 1990).

⁴⁰⁴ Nocera, *Manikürlü Eller*, 243.

causes them to feel under more pressure, thus supporting and recreating patriarchy over women's competition.

Local women narrate the anxiety they have been feeling since Syrian women's arrival by underlining Syrian women's honor as follows:

"They walk around at night. Parks, gardens are full of them. In fact, some of them go to hairdressers. They doll themselves up and wander around. If a woman wanders around at night, she is no good. There are now lots of pavilions in Antakya because of them. Our husbands are always there. We have no peace anymore." (T38, 45, housewife)

"They sleep all day and roam the night like vampires. We do not go out after dark. Those women do such things that we are afraid that they will hurt our reputations too, so we prefer to stay at home after dark. They set a bad example for our daughters, so we warn our children not to speak with them. Their women, children, men, all of them are trouble. They left no prosperity, no morality in this city." (T16, 38, financial consultant)

"They established a pavilion on every corner, enjoying themselves until the morning lights. And they say there is a war." (T2, 41, Café manager)

"I don't know whether they were this loose in Syria. They escaped from war and make revelries at night here. You cannot see them outside during the day, but when it is night, they are enjoying themselves with hookahs and kebabs. Their women are always out at night too." (T27, 54, housewife)

These quotations show us that Turkish women blame Syrian women, who are "immoral," for their increased anxiety. In Hatay, Syrian women's immorality is defined as nightly walks, makeup, and rumors of prostitution. In other cities of Turkey, similar accusations that form around modest dressing are observed. Saygı, in her study on

refugee and local women living in a Central Anatolian city, tells how wearing stockings and no make up became a standard for being a good Muslim woman. During her fieldwork local women narrated stories where refugee women are portrayed as opportunists who are trying to steal their men by using their femininity and make-up which is also perceived as a tool by the local women cover the reality. Two main suspects appear in these narratives. Defiant, indecent refugee women and ragged, careless local women who fail to use her femininity. These stories show male characters as the authority of the approval and subjects who can be fooled by dangerous and tricky refugee women.

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The noteworthy point here is that regardless of the criteria of conservatism, the notion of honor plays a decisive role in the relations between women in patriarchy, and it always serves patriarchy. In the narratives of Syrian women, it is seen that the notion of honor has engulfed their lives, especially in the post-migration period. A stain to honor is described as worse than starving by most women. To protect their honor, many girls are married off in child marriages or marriages where the age gap is too much, or as a *kuma*, completely disregarding their education and health. It is seen that women make many sacrifices such as giving up their education, getting married to protect themselves, and shutting themselves in so their husbands or fathers would not be “insulted.” Accusations of immorality, similar to those directed by Turkish women, are observed among Syrian women toward each other. These accusations constitute a protection mechanism for Syrian women who by claiming those who are not honorable enough defame all Syrian women, guard their honors. This comparison imprisons Syrian women into massive pressure to prove their honor and protect their men’s pride.

⁴⁰⁵ Hasret Saygı, “Dilbilimsel Etnografik Açıdan Anadolu’da Kadınlığın Müzakeresi ve İnşası,” in *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Perspektifinden Türkiye’de Göç Araştırmaları*, comps. Kristen Biehl and Didem Daniş (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Mükemmeliyet Merkezi ve Göç Araştırmaları Derneği, 2020), 110.

Kıvılcım and Baklacioğlu, in their study on refugee women living in Istanbul, cites a Syrian mother's dilemma between the notion of honor and her love for her daughter:

*“My daughter is 12 years old. I do not want her to menstruate. If she menstruates, I will have to marry her off. I am protecting her. I would not let her out at night, fearing something might happen to her.”*⁴⁰⁶

A 19-year-old Syrian interviewee tells how she had to marry someone older than her, and how other women perceive this necessity:

“Three years ago, when we first entered Turkey, my father forced me to marry a man who is older than me. First, I did not want to marry him, but my father hit me saying that if I want to be prostitute or miserable. My husband is a rich man but very aggressive. He does not let me leave home. I have a few neighbors around; I was used to going to their house, but I do not want to talk with them anymore. Last time I went there, a single woman made me sad saying that: ‘Oh, you came here and found a rich man. You are lucky and must be very happy.’” (S24, 19, Housewife)⁴⁰⁷

In summary, especially during post-migration crises, women sanctify marriage and having a husband to preserve their honor. The transformation of the husband into the most valuable resource that the woman possesses makes him the most powerful weapon in the patriarchal bargain. The next subsection will discuss bargains made over men by women.

- ***Bargain over men***

In her book “The Main Enemy,” Delphy discusses how patriarchy's political economy affects women's behavior. According to Delphy, as women have not attained

⁴⁰⁶ Kıvılcım and Baklacioğlu, *Sürgünde Toplumsal Cinsiyet*, 93.

⁴⁰⁷ Altunkaynak, “Intersecting Lives,” 500.

economic independence, their economic and social status is defined by their husbands' class. Women also develop different attitudes and services depending on the needs of their husbands in exchange for the economic and social advantages that their husbands provide to them. Women enter into a race to have a rich and high-status husband as women's place in the society is defined by social and economic advantages provided by their husbands. Consequently, those whose marriages have ended lost not only their marriage but also their class because they do not possess the means of production and thus do not have their own class. Most of them are forced to wage work and lose their status.⁴⁰⁸ According to Erman, social organization in Turkey is based on the family unit, and Turkish society is predominantly patriarchal. Political Islam reproduces this patriarchal character through its traditional social arrangement of strict gender roles and the importance of family. Marriage is the singular institution and source of their identity, security, and financial support for most Turkish women. Migrant women keep their marriage intact to preserve their protection and respectability in society but have to become subordinate to men's authority to do so.⁴⁰⁹

Therefore, the situation that established and refugee women fear the most in the post-migration period is the dissolution of their marriage, divorce and thus losing the advantages provided by their husbands. For this reason, women find themselves in a continuous struggle with other women and their husbands; to protect their husbands and their marriages, and to prove the superiority of their social status. As women fight over the labels such as more beautiful, more attractive, more self-sacrificing, and more honorable, they also fight over their husbands' character, the capability to protect, social and economic status. As a husband's poor qualities (including but not limited to social status) also reflect poorly upon the woman, or as

⁴⁰⁸ Christine Delphy, *L'ennemi Principal: Economie Politique du Patriarcat*, trans. Handan Öz and Lale Aykent as *Baş Düşman: Patriyarkanın Ekonomi Politiği* (İstanbul: Saf Yayıncılık, 1999), 43-45.

⁴⁰⁹ Tahire Erman, "The Impact of Migration on Turkish Rural Women: Four Emergent Patterns," *Gender & Society* 12, no. 2 (1998): 163.

Bozon put it, women feel diminished by marrying a “lesser” man, women bargain over their husbands too.⁴¹⁰

At first glance this bargain manifests itself as comparisons between Syrian and Turkish men. Loss of status experienced by Syrian men following the war, accompanied by their disempowerment, situated Turkish men to a higher position in the hierarchical relationship, as observed in women’s narratives. In Turkish women’s narratives, the Syrian man transformed into a figure that is a deserter, a traitor, and a man incapable of providing to his family. For Turkish women, this point of view caused them to experience anxieties over losing their men to the Syrian women. It appears that the increased value of Turkish men through this process has created the incentive for competition between established and refugee women.

This way of relating is built upon negative judgments about Syrian women, formed around the sentence “Our husbands would have stayed and fought, not run away like your husbands.” Here, the definition of a bad husband is seen as the same as the definition of a bad woman. Therefore, the wife of a traitor or a terrorist is perceived as equally guilty. In most of the established women’s narratives, Syrian husbands are portrayed as cowardly and treacherous, similarly, Syrian wives are accused of not convincing their husbands to fight for their homeland. Here, it is observed that the established women accuse Syrian women of treason too.

In two interviews done with established women, references were given to Turkish women’s role in the War of Independence – which shows that the expectation from Syrian women is them to help their husbands’ fight at the frontlines. A narrative on Turkish women’s strength is built upon the rhetoric of “We fought side by side our husbands, saved our homeland.”

⁴¹⁰ Michel Bozon, “Les Femmes et L'écart D'âge Entre Conjoints: Une Domination Consentie,” *Population* 2 (1990): 327-360.

In interviews with Syrian women, it has been observed that these accusations of treason and cowardice have prompted Syrian women to take a defensive stance about these topics. Generally, they allege their husbands' physical ailments as an excuse for their absence from the war, without even asked about. They often underline that the situation in Syria is too dire to fight. When talking about their husbands' physical ailments, "herniated disc" is the most commonly used excuse. It is noticed that even though they explain this absence by their husbands' lower back discomfort, women do not feel comfortable with their husbands' absence from the war. Among Syrian interviewees, only one of them has professed that it is their right to refuse to fight in the war. This comment came from a college-educated woman, indicating there is a correlation between the level of education and diversified defense mechanisms.

To understand established and refugee women's bargain over men, one needs to examine Syrian and Turkish men's post-migration social status. Pessar explains how women's empowerment through migration negatively affects men's social status:

*"If international migration often leads to an improvement in women's status, the opposite can hold for men who commonly experience a decrease in relative authority and privilege within households, workplaces, and the wider community."*⁴¹¹

Syrian man's problems related to this disempowerment, such as the loss of the power he possessed in his homeland; his dependency on his kids or wife; working in harsh conditions only to earn less money or failure to find a job weaken his domestic authority. This decline in domestic authority is caused by his inability to satisfy his wife's patriarchal expectations. This situation completely alters the domestic balance, creating significant ramifications for refugee men and women's lives.

It has been observed that middle-aged male refugees particularly struggle to find a job as most employers prefer to benefit from the physical prowess of younger men or

⁴¹¹ Pessar, "Women, Gender, and International Migration," 7.

the cheapness of women's labor. In most families, children, and sometimes women, participate in the labor market, which weakens Syrian men vis-à-vis his Turkish counterparts. Furthermore, his wife's potential to enter into a work relation with Turkish men mentally and financially troubles Syrian men. Facing these problems, Syrian men resort to physical violence to maintain their male power and authority. The wife often does not object to this treatment to protect her family because, as mentioned before, "protection of the hearth and home" becomes an important coping mechanism in the post-migration crisis period. However, due to the difficulties they experience, the image of the Turkish man is shaped as stronger and more protective than the Syrian men's image.

During the interviews, some Syrian women speak in praise of Turkish men:

"The men here value their wives. We work outside, work at home, and then take a beating." (S34, 31, Seasonal Worker)

"Our men eat, drink, sleep, and constantly want things from us. I have seen here that women do not work but they are held in high esteem. Their men are hardworking." (S30, 54, Housewife)

Conversely, some Syrian women find Turkish men unreliable and express their reservations about them:

"I do not trust the men here. We hear their incidents of buying and selling women for money. They marry little girls. They debauch those girls." (S18, 21, Non-Employed)

"So many Turkish men have deceived Syrian women with the false promise of marriage and made them second-wives. They had a kid with these women, took the child and throw the woman into the street. You cannot trust the men from here." (S31, 47, Housewife)

“All they think about is how to bed Syrian women. I do not trust the men from here.”
(S28,29, *Cleaning Lady*)

To summarize, although not without exceptions, in the eyes of both established and refugee women, Turkish men are empowered while Syrian men are disempowered. This is one of the reasons why Turkish men have transformed into a resource that Turkish women are adamantly unwilling to share.

Turkish and Syrian women are also affected by Turkish men’s changed behavior due to their elevated status. Turkish women feel anxious over Turkish men’s constant mention of Syrian women in their daily conversations. Conversations centered on new pavilions, Syrian women working in those places, and Syrian women’s beauty and their “sensuality” creates anxiety for both Turkish and Syrian women. While Syrian women have a fear of exploitation; Turkish women fear losing their husbands to Syrian women. Bozok and Özgen state that a similar fear was observed among women from Trabzon about “Natashas.” According to them, masculine domination over women’s bodies was a significant obstacle to women’s solidarity during that time.

Özgen, in her study on the situation of Soviet “Natasha” and local women in Iğdır province during the post-migration period, tells how the solidarity between two groups of women was hindered: “Shaming of women’s bodies, attacks directed against women – not only the ones who are forced into prostitution but local women too; are furthered over women’s bodies and even beyond that, their nationalities. Through this embodied nationalism the solidarity between two groups of women in the city is hindered. In Iğdır, both the women drawn into prostitution and the local women of the city are victims of a market and geography.”⁴¹²

⁴¹² Özgen, “Öteki’nin Kadını,” 125.

Bozok, in his study of masculinity in Trabzon, relays his observations on how Turkish men exercise control over Turkish women through “Natashas”:

“After a long, politically correct conversation with a 70-year old shop keeper, he used the following expressions about woman’s ultimate domestic role at the end of the conversation: *Although... It is your (the woman’s) duty to keep your man satisfied. Actually, I have a friend who expresses this much more vulgarly. He says: your duty is to be your man’s whore. A woman is a man’s sex slave.* Another sexist and misogynist example that I frequently encountered in Trabzon was related to sex workers originating from the former USSR and the Eastern Bloc. When I asked about it to men, at first, halfheartedly admitted that all men, including them, were going to “Natashas.” Then, they stressed the economic losses induced by the presence of sex workers; subsequently, they pointed out that many families were upset; and finally they expressed that as their existence prompted women of Trabzon to go to beauty salons to become more attractive, sex workers in question “might be beneficial to Trabzon.”⁴¹³

In line with the factors mentioned above, it can be asserted that women’s post-migration coping mechanisms are built largely upon patriarchal bargains. The phenomenon of *kuma* is a manifestation of these bargains. Although there was no *kuma* among the women interviewed in Hatay, it is observed that fears of being taken as a *kuma* or their husbands to take a *kuma* were prevalent – creating a major source of stress for both established and refugee women. Consequently, husbands have turned into a bargaining factor. It is seen that polygamous marriages have been taking place with mutual acceptance in the post-migration period. In Günel-Yılmaz’s study, a considerable number of established women stated that they have agreed to their husbands’ demand for *kuma* for the advantages their husbands would provide and share housework. *Kumas* stated that they agreed to be second wives for economic and physical security. Established men explained their decision to take *kuma* as they are

⁴¹³ Bozok, “Eleştiren ile Eleştirilenler Arasında Nazik Karşılaşmalar,” 84.

cheaper and do not require a formal marriage.⁴¹⁴ It is apparent that this mutual acceptance supports patriarchy and ensures its reproduction.

Due to the advantages established women have, their hierarchical relationship with refugee women results in favor of patriarchy. In Chanter's words, established women, consciously or unconsciously, invoke patriarchal conventions to strategically set themselves against refugee women, and their alignment with patriarchal power structures reproduces patriarchal norms.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁴ Seda Günel Yılmaz, "Uluslararası Zorunlu Göç Çalışmalarında Feminist bir Metodoloji: Mardin'de Suriyeli Kadınların Deneyimleri" (Master's Thesis, Mardin Artuklu University, 2018), 122.

⁴¹⁵ Tina Chanter, *Gender: Key Concepts in Philosophy* (London: Continuum, 2006), trans. Mehmet Erguvan as *Toplumsal Cinsiyet* (Ankara: Fol Kitap, 2019), 89.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCHES

5.1. Summary of the Thesis Chapters

Main reason why theoretical discussions in the literature and field notes will be presented together is because established relations have an idiosyncratic nature; and therefore, these relations do not always include a single theory and could include more than one theory. Another reason to structure the thesis in this way is the multiple dimensions of the relations. It is important to explain such a vast field that cannot be interpreted with a single theory by utilizing various theories and multiple notions. Consequently, rather than testing existing theories and moving from theory to data, this study adopts an approach of moving from data to theory through the instrument of existing theories. Regarding this, Layder, who points the importance of typology-building by following the footsteps of theories, says:

“The development of a typology alongside a substantive analysis facilitates a process of mutual influence between theoretical ideas and concepts and the collection and analysis of data in an ongoing manner. Thus typology-building is yet another strand of a multi-strategy approach which can feed into theory elaboration and development in a cumulative sense. It actively encourages a dialectical interplay between 'emergent' theorizing based on the discovery (collection) of data and information and the use of extant theoretical materials derived from different sources. Each influence tempers and conditions the other. Such an approach to research underlines the fact that it is not a unilinear process of steady development whereby the researcher gradually uncovers material and develops ideas in a highly ordered fashion. Rather, it suggests a zigzagging back and forth between theoretical ideas, data collection and analysis — with each pointing to gaps and insufficiencies in each other and thereby prompting

creative and investigative responses which produce a cumulative and organic theoretical end-product.”⁴¹⁶

This thesis makes good use of Layder’s zigzags. It blends hypotheses derived from theories and field data. Accordingly, rather than creating a theoretical framework in a different part, this study opted for sections intertwined with the field. Collected data has not been presented to confirm existing theories. Rather, the intent was to draw attention to the originality of relations Syrian and Turkish women formed in Hatay. As stated before, this is the reason why a feminist perspective was adopted as explained in the previous chapters.

This thesis consists of 5 chapters in which theoretical discussions are blended with the findings of the field work. It discusses largely matters pertaining to the methodology and the researcher’s positionality with direct quotes from the women who have been interviewed with a view to portray their perspectives and experiences.

The first chapter, in which the background of the thesis is being discussed, it is stipulated that there wasn’t a clear cut definition of social cohesion up until 2019 in Turkey. The chapter also points out to the fact the very definition of the harmonization in the Law on Foreigners and International Protection is one sided, and portrays a perspective in which only foreigners can be harmonized within the host country by the virtue of Turkish language classes. In 2019, the concept of harmonization (social cohesion) is still far from showing a clear understanding albeit its earlier products have started to emerge within the academia, civil society and the state authorities by 2016. This chapter discusses, the perception of temporariness in Turkey and the narrative of guesthood, as a root cause of the social cohesion problems exarcabated by the lack of clarity on social cohesion which also hinders attempts to discuss social cohesion from a gender perspective. It furhter focuses on the challenges and problems stemming from

⁴¹⁶ Derek Layder, *Sociological Practice: Linking Theory and Social Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998), 76.

lack of gender perspective in the society, in which the migration is situated in the middle of the daily life.

The fact that migration studies focuses on women with the secondary roles such as mothers and wives, underpins the male dominant approaches when combined with the dominance of the pathriarchy. In return, this results in the neglect of women's individual experiences and hence hampers the policies and activities related to social cohesion. This chapter thus argues that studies focusing on the pre-migration status of the women and on the women's individual experiences would be more suited for the purposes of social cohesion and that these studies would provide targeted suggestions rather than repeating and reproducing the male dominant and wide spread narrative.

The subject matter of this thesis has emerged as a result of the curiosity to understand the hatred between Turkish and Syrian women, when conducting a research on the sources in 2013. It aimed to understand and analyze the reasons of hatred between women, in a time where migration was relatively a new issue to create conflicts. Noticing the shadows cast by the patriarchal system and narratives in the expressions of women when blaming each other; this thesis pursues to focus on women's unique experiences and intends to understand the effects of time and space on the relationships established between the women. On the one hand, it aims to analyze the results of the strangerhood and guesthood, on the other hand it seeks to observe the impact of patriarchal structure on inter-women relationships. By doing so, this thesis seeks to contribute to the discussions around social cohesion policies, where there are huge challenges between the host and refugee community, from a perspective based on the observations from the field.

In its first chapter, where its importance is discussed, it is underlined that the Hatay province, where the field work took place, has many measurable elements such as its historical, political conflicts, sectarian problems and family-kinship relations in

its unique context as a border province. The contributions of such a field work have been highlighted in terms of the Turkish migration and gender academic literature.

The second chapter, where the methodological discussions and individual experiences of the researcher have been put forward, firstly accomodates qualitative research defitions and chracterictics, then emphasizes that the feminist perspective has been adopted as a research method building upon social and individual experiences. After defining the feminist methodology, it underlies the reasons why the feminist perspective terminology has been used, instead. The second chapter highlights the importance of having a feminist perspective in the field work, thanks to the certain qualities attributed to feminist method such as positioning the women as the subjects, considering them as the primary source of information, making women's voice heard, focusing on individual and daily experiences as well as the lack of hierarchy between the researcher and the women. The second chapter also includes the historical evoloution of the feminist methodology and puts forward the characteristics differentiaing it from other qualitative research methods.

The second section of the second chapter builds on the methodological discussions from the positionality of the researcher and its ethical dilemmas. It puts forward the idea that the researcher is a part of the thesis' subject with the research group, by the virtue of the researcher's choice of topic, location, example group, questions and interview methods which all have added different layers of subjectivity into the thesis. One of the important features of this chapter is that I have discussed my own impact into the thesis as a researcher.

In this section, where the identity of the researcher and its experiences as an insider or outsider in research groups has been discussed, regard has also been given to the effects of working with interpreters and also to the individual and unique experience of being a women researchcer in a sentive area, in a sensitive time and with a sensitive group. This section also includes the restrictions and limits that have been encountered

when undertaking the field work. The fact that conducting field studies with Syrians has been banned, security concerns in the area, the coup attempt which took place right in the middle of the field study have all shaped the thesis.

The third chapter, blended with theoretical discussions and findings of the field focuses on the inter-women relations upon the rhetoric of guest and stranger with theoretical discussions on how the newcomers have been identified by the groups of the host community. In that regard, Simmel's definition of Stranger, Elias and Scottson's concept of Established and Outsider, as well as Park's Marginal Man narrative has been analyzed. While discussing the strangerhood concept and phenomenon, the third chapter also took note of the guesthood rhetoric in Turkey targeting Syrians and its impact on the relations. The fact that the guesthood concept creates a hierarchy between the newcomers and the host community and that it feeds a perception of temporariness while also lacking a rights based approach; is put forward building on Kant's, Derrida's and Levinas's definitions of guesthood. The third chapter also highlighted the negative impact guesthood narrative and its association with the temporariness has between the local women and women from the host community as they both create a substantial amount of negligence and ignorance.

Stephan and Stephan's theory of Integrated Threat has also been construed in understanding how the prejudices and stereotypes between women leads to negative relations and how they create an anxiety amongst the groups. The roles played by the policies and rumours have also been emphasized by illustrating Syrian and Turkish women's realistic and symbolic threat perceptions.

The fourth chapter of the thesis explores the impact of the patriarchal structure in terms of the relations between women. Instead of attributing to migrant women a secondary role, the fourth chapter positions migrant women as the primary subject and explores their individual experiences with other subjects in their relations with them in their daily relations.. While exploring the discussions at the historical background on how women have been portrayed in migration studies, the fourth chapter highlights that women started to become visible by the 70s in the academic work and that in the 90s women migrant and refugees in the Middle East have been studied with a feminist methodology. However, this was within a slow pace and in fact that still nowadays women are not treated as the primary subject in most of the scientific studies.

The determining role of the pre-migration experiences on the post migration experiences as well as their contribution to the inter-women relations has been emphasized in the fourth chapter. In that regard, the chapter also put forward the idea that the coping mechanisms in the post migration period are shaped with the individual experiences of women.

The following section of the fourth chapter includes the roles and definitions attributed to migrant women in Turkey. It touches upon how migrant women from USSR have been labelled as *Natasha* and how this labelling had a significant role in the determination of future definition targeting migrant women coming from other countries, underlining how Syrian women have been affected by this perception as much as the Soviet and African women whose countries were not defended and thus failed. An important finding here was the fact religion had a very limited role when defining the migrant women and that the migrant women image was created regardless of her faith be it muslim, or christian and from another belief. It was also observed that the image of muslim women – which is a very strong image in Turkey, has lost its importance when encountered with the migrant women image. This showed the influence of the rhetoric equalling the defense of the country with the preservation of women's dignity and honor.

This section also included a discussion on how the migrant women image Turkey has been an element of oppression on not only for migrant women in Turkey but also for Turkish migrant women who migrated to Europe. The rising influence and power of men within the host community and the two-way judgements/accusations of women over the male dominant narratives, have been explained with the reproduction of patriarchy.

The fourth chapter also includes the discussion on the empowerment and enslavement of women in the post migration period. Basing upon women's individual experiences, it concludes that there are various factors determining the empowerment or the enslavement such as the pre-migration experiences and other individual experiences. It illustrates examples from the field where migration caused structural changes in the gender roles and family structure which resulted in some cases for the empowerment of women, whereas some cases portrayed examples on how women became more oppressed..

Finally, the fourth chapter provides examples on the reflection of patriarchal bargains in field, resulting from the patriarchal structure. It portrays how the male dominant family structure oppressing the women is protected by women and how it turned into an element of bargain while underlining how other patriarchal tools such as beauty, honor and setting example as a good mother have fueled the competition between women. Reflecting on how Syrian and Turkish women have defined each other, this chapter discusses how patriarchy has been reproduced by the virtue of these definitions and how this reproduced patriarchy influenced even strongly the relations between women.

After having provided an overview of the chapters constituting this thesis above, the following section will portray the main findings of the thesis in the light of the theoretical discussions in the third and fourth chapters.

5.2. Discussion on Main Findings

In 2013, before even making applications for Ph.D. studies I was trying to materialize the potential areas of research building upon the comments and the news I have seen online. The effects of the Syrian migration en masse were newly noticeable in the country, but the unified comments of Turkish women targeting Syrian women and the creation of certain narratives were already signaling potential conflict areas. At this point, my curiosity as a researcher directed me to explore how women could create and embrace such prejudices in such a short time and how these would impact the daily encounters and relations. After a deep dive in the online forums, I found out that there were chat groups in which women from Hatay have been engaged in conversations depicting how Syrian women are immoral. As I read through these comments, the topic of the thesis has been concretized and I decided to go to Hatay and Gaziantep in order to conduct a field work with Syrian and Turkish women and to find answers to my research questions.

In my first field visit, I realized that Hatay provided such a very large and significant data flow that I considered that including Gaziantep within the scope of this thesis, will prevent me from attaching the importance that Hatay deserves in it and that it will make me miss some important points. Moreover, the dynamics were so different that it was merely impossible to make a comparison without having an in depth analysis of Hatay.

Following the decision to make Hatay the location of the field work, I have had several visits to this province and my research questions have been materialized. My early observations have been to realize the importance of exploring the migration stories pertaining to the daily life and the role that the study of these stories would play in understanding the dynamics of the relations between women.

The most important fact where the most of my questions was being shaped was to understand how social cohesion could indeed take place in the field. How the Syrians who arrived en masse to Turkey's borders were supposed to be accepted by the host community? What would be the role of gender in this acceptance? How would the daily experiences will differentiate with the time and the location? How the diversities and similarities will be constructed throughout social cohesion? Building on these questions, my focus during the fieldwork has been to understand through which dynamics the perception of foreigner and patriarchal structure has been influential upon in inter-women relations.

5.2.1. Women are building similarities and differences: the concept of 'Stranger' as a threat

An accurate analysis of how local women from Hatay percieves Syrian women and defines them lays the basis for the development and implementation of appropriate social cohesion policies. In that regard, it is equally important to understand what kind of similarities and diversities are constructed by the local women vis-a-vis the Syrian women. The process of the first encounters between women also creates the dynamics that will set the course of the future relations that will be established.

This thesis takes the word stranger as defined by Simmel as someone "who comes today and stays tomorrow". It is observed that Syrian women came to the urban setting as strangers, established their physical presence inside the city together with the other urban resident population in the daily life but failed to become one of them. With the influence of the guesthood narrative, they are not considered as individuals with whom the locals are sharing the same place but they are rather perceived in a certain for of mobility as people who will leave the next day. Hence, there is no compelling reason to establish relations. As there is an understanding that they will leave after the time that is allocated to stay as guests, the first behaviour is to refrain from establishing

relationship in order to avoid problems and hope to spend this time frame at ease and peace. Therefore, although they see each other in the market, school, hospital, parks and other public places everyday, they tend to ignore each other and deny their existence unless there is a problem. This is mutual ignorance observed both for Syrian and Turkish women. The perception of temporariness, shaping the mindset of both groups puts forward the idea to endure today's difficulties with the belief that it will soon be over.

Additionally, as defined by Simmel, the unknown nature of the stranger plays a significant role in shaping the relations between the women in the urban setting. The idea that "they are here, but I don't know them and I don't know what to do with them" also hampers the establishment of relations. The prejudices and stereotypes against these unknown persons, fueled by the negative images in the media and rumours, creates an environment where there is a significant lack of relationships. The general feeling of insecurity and unrest within the city is added up with this unknown nature of the strangers. Therefore, almost inevitably, the newcomer is considered as the only source of all problems inside the city; making the already non-existent level of relationship to evolve into a negative direction. The fundamental reason for this to happen is the lack of social cohesion policies enabling the two groups to get to know each other and develop joint living practices together. Consequently, the locals and refugees who are left on their own, don't spend time and spare efforts to establish relationships, against a background in which they, themselves go through hard times.

Here, one should also emphasize the socio-economic background of such reactions. To illustrate, while the upper-middle class families perceives refugees as a threat to the culture and public security, for low income families, the refugees are also considered as a threat to their economic security. That being said, this is not to suggest that every person in each socio-economic status will go through the same experiences. This is to underline the importance of individual experiences. In addition to the socio-economic situation, the approach of the different ethnic origins is equally and fundamentally important. For instance for a member of the Alevi faith, the newcomers

can also be seen as a threat against their freedom of religion and thus they may be less easily accepted.

It may be argued that this entire situation has initiated a dehumanization process for Syrian women. Syrian women who often perceives themselves as outcast, uneducated, uncultivated, dirty and as threats, started to see themselves less worthy over the course of time and began to create their own coping mechanisms. For instance, all of the interviewees have underlined a point related to the traditionally attributed roles to women which they considered themselves to be superior compared to others and constructed their differences by siding out other women.

Building on the negative prejudices and the process of dehumanization, the rhetoric of guesthood creates two separate groups, one of which has superiority over the other in the relations between the women. With the perspective that the powerful will set the rules, women from Turkey created an element of oppression against the women from Syria. In the previous sections, the impact of the patriarchy has been discussed in detail on how it caused the creation of the oppression against women from Syria. In the same vein, it should be noted that the current narrative of guesthood induced by a religious background and built on the idea Muslim-Sunni brothers/sisters should be supported, is perceived an act of oppression on the non-sunni groups in Hatay. When all of these factors are considered from an holistic point of view, the entire situation creates two different groups of women and women develops their relationships in this narrow avenue. It is also observed that Syrian women who have a relationship with Turkish women are excluded from the group they identify themselves to be a member of and vice versa.

As pointed out by Stephan and Stephan's integrated threat theory, it appears that in Hatay, the definitions of symbolic and realist threats have been set. The environment of insecurity attributed to the presence of Syrians, made women weaker, vulnerable and insecure; the thrust of Sunnis is perceived as a threat against the cultural

structure of Alevis in the region and the idea that the limited employment oppurtunities will be shared with the newcomers are considered as a menace to the economics of Hatay. These threat perceptions are not specific to the locals, as Syrian women have been observed to have such concerns. In particular, among them some identified themselves to fear that their children will lose their authentic Syrian culture and will be influenced by the Turkish culture; leading them to marry off their young girls to elderly Syrian relatives and preventing them to send their children to schools over these concerns.

In sum, the unknown nature of the stranger combined with the narrative of guesthood and temporariness have a significant impact on the already existing fragile dynamics between the Syrian and Turkish women whose relation is defined with the integrated threats, prejudices and streotypes. However, it should be noted that these dynamics are shaped on the individual experiences.

5.2.1. Patriarchy in reproduction: “Women do not only shape borders but also cross and transcend them.”⁴¹⁷

This thesis, throughout its journey, argued that women is the primary subject in the migration phenomenon and that they experience migration individually which leads to the fact that they develop personal coping mechanisms and have witnessed subjective post migration processes. While putting forward this argument, women have not been considered as a homogenous group but instead subjects with different and unique backgrounds and experiences. This approach assisted in the findings of the thesis in terms of the analysis of different dynamics in inter-women relations rather than ordinary dynamics. Religion, social status, space, perception of the stranger, joint and common experiences were amongst the top of these dynamics.

⁴¹⁷ Hania Zlotnik, “The South-to-North Migration of Women,”229.

In addition to these dynamics, Turkey's past migration experiences have also been observed to have a role in the creation of Syrian refugee women perception. Both the image of migrant women resulting from the wave of migration from ex-Soviet countries and the experiences of Turkish women in the migration of Turkish nationals to Germany have contributed significantly to the current Syrian refugee women in Turkey. The details of this perception are explained in great details the 4th section but here it would suffice to highlight that the dynamics in the creation of this perception can not be constrained to religious grounds such as Islam and any other national foundations since there are multiple factors.

The perception of the refugee women has direct and concrete impacts in the daily lives of refugee women. As a result, men can position women as objects that can be abused and that local women define refugee women as a competitor as a result of the above mentioned positioning. Findings of the field study also revealed that local men believe that they can easily have access to Syrian women, local women felt insecure about this competition and that Syrian men became more oppressive as a result of this circle. In particular, in the post migration experience, all men believed that their women were to be protected as an object of honour, whereas other women could be abused.

This situation led to the discussions on empowerment and disempowerment between refugee and local women. Were the women to be empowered or disempowered as a result of these experiences ?

On the one hand, findings of the field suggest that women have reached a more independent and powerful status, especially in cases where the head of household is unemployed, at war or deceased, building on the fact that women became the sole decision maker and the breadwinner of the family and perhaps participated in the workforce for the first time in their life, thus altering the gender roles.

On the other hand, there are signs of disempowerment as the migration exacerbates the responsibilities incumbent on the women, brings additional tasks, results in working at low paid jobs, creates discrimination, fuels the oppressive environment and causes further concerns about the economics and future.

While refugee women are observed to feel that way, local women have developed in the post migration period a sense of superiority influenced by the presence and increase of refugee women as cheap labour that can help them in domestic works. That being said, they were disempowered in the sense that they now had to compete with Syrian women over the low paid jobs and that local men started to threaten them with Syrian women. In sum, the theory on the empowerment of women by migration can be confirmed to some extent but it should also be noted that the very opposite of this empowerment can be possible in the field.

Women were asked to define each other in in-depth interviews to assess the impact of refugee women perception. Local women, when asked to tell about Syrian women, referred to certain adjectives more frequently:

Incapable, uneducated, narrow minded, dirty, immoral, uncivilized, gold digger, flirty, weak, rural, victim, ungrateful were amongst the most referred titles. However, in the interviews with local women who have established close and/or closer relationship with Syrian women, the image was much more different and exceptional. The Syrian women they knew and spent time with *were urban, well-educated, beautiful, clean* but at the same time exceptional. This difference showed that there was a perception of Syrian women who may exceptionally be existing amongst other Syrian women. However, the difference between these exceptionally nice Syrian women and other Syrian women is that the latter is in some kind of a close relationship with the local women community. Local women have been observed to be more generous in using negative adjectives for Syrian women with whom they have no previous relationships.

When Syrian were asked to describe local women, similarly the difference between exceptional local women and ordinary local women came to the surface. While the women from Turkey, with whom no previous personal relationship has been established are described as independent, cold heart, presentable and cynical, the local women with whom personal relations existed are defined as merciful. It should also be noted that Syrian women, when defining local women, expressed that they were superior to Turkish women in some aspects whereas in some cases they admired them. To illustrate, while many Syrian women accused Turkish women of not being a good wife for the family life, they also praised them by the virtue of their independence.

One of the factors here, affecting the relations and migration experiences of women, was that both sides knew that these terms were being used by to other side to define eachother. The field findings also portrayed that Syrian women started to define themselves from the perspective of Turkish women and started to feel less powerful. Some were observed to develop certain coping mechanisms as to praise Turkish women, accuse Syrian women and highlight that she is nothing like them. Especially Syrian women who can speak Turkish were witnessed to hide the fact that they are Syrians in common places.

With all the above mentioned issues, women were observed to be in a bargain induced by the gender roles attributed by the patriarchy and positioned themselves as opponents and competitors.

The field work process witnessed bargains between the women on who is prettier, who is the better mother, who is more honorable and finally and most importantly who is the better wife for her husband. The fact that women enter into this patriarchal bargain over the traditional gender roles rather than the competition over the material sources and wealth by holding on to these very structures who oppress them in the first place can be explained by the reproduction of patriarchy in the post migration period. It must be highlighted here that women have a substantial role in the

reproduction of patriarchy. Women's competition and struggles over these values leads the gender norms to intensify their oppressive character over the women in the post migration period, which also points out to the increase in the sacrifices by the women as a measure to adapt themselves into this competition.

5.2.3. Hatay, the importance of the city

The spatial factors that were discussed in great details in the previous sections have a significant impact on the dynamics of the relations between women. Hatay's demographical, social, political, historical and economic traits have been found to be very influential in the creation and establishment of relations between local and refugee communities and groups. First of these findings, was to understand how the element of language barrier – often referred as the most impactful fact in social cohesion studies played a role, if any, in the relationships.

Hatay is a border province with a significant population who speak Arabic and is of Arab ethnic origin. At the first glance, it might be argued that thanks to these features, Syrian refugees may easily be adapted into the city and that problems related to language barrier would be less of concern thus social cohesion could be achieved with a quicker pace. However, the findings of the interviews suggest that speaking the same language did not have the positive and expected outcomes; and that the predominant ignorance within the city had a much more stronger impact. Therefore, my hypothesis on the catalytic role of the language became meaningless to some extent. While language is still a contributing factor in the development of the established relations, it does not have the same impact in their establishment.

Hatay has a multi-ethnic demography and is composed of areas and districts clustered with ethnic and religious communities. Interviews conducted in these districts serve the basis to obtain very valuable data to observe the perspective of these groups to refugees and in particular to refugee women. The biggest ethnic group in Hatay are the Nusayris, who are of Arab-Alevi ethnic origine. This group, already offended by

the Sunni oriented policies of the current Government, is inclined to percieve the arrival of Syrian refugees with a Sunni majority as a threat to their existence. This group worried by what they consider to be the deliberative Sunnification policies of the Government has hostile feelings against the Syrian refugees because they percieve them as an element of political oppression. The prevention of Syrian refugees to enter certain districts where the Nusayri population is predominant such as Samandağ, is a result of these sectarian conflicts. On the other hand, in Yayladag district, where there is a majority of Sunni population such political tensions did not almost exist. Interviews with the Nusayri individuals also reveal how current politics and secterian conflicts can influence the relationships. The general discontent of some Hatay residents over the Government's current policies can also be considered as the conflict of opposing political groups rather the encounter of host and newcomer communities, highlighting the significance of politics and secterianism in the relations.

Another factor contributing to the dynamics of Hatay in the nature of the relations between local and refugee women is the historical background of Hatay. The exchange of population following the determination of the borders of both countries, the fact that some families were split between Turkey and Syria as well as the family ties are important dynamics in that regard. While one might argue that this state of affairs would contribute and facilitate social cohesion, the very fact that there is a war near the borders of Hatay has broken the peace amongst the residents and aroused the same concerns and unclarities, as has been the case in the 1930s. While until the beginning of the armed conflicts, the two populations were in good relations thanks to family ties and economic relations; these have been worsened by the deterioration of the security environment in and around the province. As a result, the social cohesion within the city has been negatively affected by the armed conflicts and the environment of insecurity.

The war and armed conflicts near the borders of Hatay has also severe impacts on the economic structure and the wealth of the province. As mentioned in the

first chapter, Hatay's economy is based on the trade between the two countries. While Hatay managed to compensate to some extent the impact of the war from an economic perspective, the challenges have been attributed to the arrival of Syrian refugees. It should also be mentioned that Turkey has gone through an economic crisis at the same time, thus exacerbated by these challenges the lack of livelihood opportunities have been another reason to condemn Syrian refugees and consider them as burden. In particular, single female head of households and single women who benefit from social assistance schemes have been considered to threaten wealth sharing and caused negative reactions.

Leaving the economic aspect aside, the armed conflicts and the state of war near and inside the city has caused insecurity. In the initial phases of the field study, the city was hearing bomb explosions almost everyday and in fact explosions took place in Reyhanli district resulting in serious casualties. The fact that the border controls were neglected and that the rumours were spread about the entries and treatment of fighters in city hospitals have fueled negative sentiments towards Syrian refugees, making them the scapegoats of these serious concerns.

To summarize, all of these problems combined with the conflict against the policies current government, historical background and economic challenges have been linked with the arrival and presence of Syrian refugees as they are being held accountable for all events before and after the armed conflicts. Noting that a significant majority of the Syrian women have either their husbands fighting or killed in Syria, the reaction towards the general situation within the city is constructed through the Syrian refugee women.

5.2.4. Is social cohesion possible over time?

When discussion social cohesion, it is important to recall that time is a significant factor both for host and refugee community to adapt themselves into the lives of each other. Both cultures need time and profilation of daily experiences to learn about their sensitivities and their routines. This thesis -with its extended field study- aimed at analyzing the impact of time over these relations among with other factors such as strangerhood, patriarchy and spatial effects.

In that regard a total of 77 interviews have been conducted in two phases. The first phase covered the years between 2014 and 2016 whereas the second phase covered 2019 and 2020. The first phase covering 2014-2016 can be defined as the period of encounter and ignorance whereas the second phase can be called the period of silent acceptance.

When measuring the impact of time on the relationships it should be mentioned that the women who were interviewed in the first phase were completely different than those who were interviewed in the second phase. The women interviewed between 2014 and 2016 had either moved to another city and/or moved to another unknown location in Hatay, or returned back to Syria. The collection of data as to assess the evolution of the relationship has not been affected albeit this difference. Some of the local women were interviewed again in the second round and there have been also new local interviewees for the period of 2019 and 2020.

The first phase interviews pointed out the shocks experienced by the women in their daily encounters, their prejudices and their state of ignorance. In this phase women have been observed to define eachother more on the narratives they hear over the media and the neighborhood rather than their direct interactions. It would be fair to say that a grand majority of the interviewees be it refugee or local women had very limited contacts with eachother. However, the comments they have made about eachother were made as if they knew and had previous/direct relationships. It was interesting for me to

find out that they believed in what they have told as if they personally went through that particular situation. I have also witnessed that the same story/narrative was being told in different neighborhoods with changing subjects. This portrayed image influenced by the media and prejudices had negative impacts on the nature of the relationships and at the same time fueled the state of ignorance.

The narrative of the guesthood was at the driving seat of this state of ignorance. All existing and potential conflicts were put on hold by the mere fact that the Syrian women were soon to be returned and therefore there was no particular reason to be engaged in establishing relationships with them. This was a joint approach both attributable to local and refugee women, as the perceptions driven by these narratives convinced the communities that everything was in fact temporary.

By the second phase covering 2019 and 2020 the perception of temporariness has disappeared, but the state of ignorance did not evolve entirely into a positive direction as to establish relationships. This situation can perhaps be defined as the silent acceptance over the course of time. In the first phase of the interviews, women often claimed that they have different cultures, that they dont know eachother's customs as the reason to avoid establishing relationships. On the other hand, for the period covering 2019 and 2020, women focused more on the fact that they were different and that establishing friendship with such a difference was very difficult. This underlines the fact the there are no changes in the state of non-establishing relationships but its reasons have been altered and diversified.

The persistent ignorance phase which was observed in the province at the earlier stages of the migration waves evolved in the silent acceptance of the residents. Now, the encounters in hospitals, schools, markets and neighborhoods are routine and women seem to be accustomed to live together and share daily joint living experiences. However, no changes have been observed in the perception that the local women are different resulting from the narrative of temporariness.

The interviews conducted in 2016 reveal that the guesthood concept is one of the reasons why the local women have produced negative sentiments towards Syrian women. The period of tolerance seems to have reached its limits in 2016, referring to the Turkish idiom which stipulates that guesthood is welcomed for its short period of time. However, by 2019-2020, the perception of guesthood is gradually and slowly deconstructed, permanency is more like an issue and acceptance is more widespead. As a result, the lack of relations at the earlier stages did not evolve in the development of relations but instead resulted in the establishment of two separate groups of women in the province. While Syrian women socialize amongst eachother, local women continued to establish relationships internally.

Obviously, there are exceptions to this situation. The friendship stories between refugee women and women from host community are not that rare. However, this kind of relationships have an exceptional nature against the general background in the city. It is also observed that the Syrian women with whom the Turkish women have become friend are categorized differently from the general perception surrounding Syrian women. Reciprocally, the Turkish women with whom Syrian women have established friendship ties, are distinguished from other Turkish women.

The most important factor that needs to be highlighted here, is the impact of pre-migration conditions in the establishment of relationships. In 2014, there were women who, out of fear, did not go to the markets. Similarly, there are still some women who are affraid to go out on the streets. However, there have been interviews with women who became member of solidarity groups only after a year of arrival, contributing to the gathering of local and refugee women. As a result, it would be important to suggest that individual experiences are as important as the impact of time over the relationships. This understanding and narrative will prevent generalizations and will make the existence inter women solidarity groups more visible and clearer.

5.3 Further Researches and Questions

This thesis has a leading characteristic in the Turkish and international literature on the analysis of the relationships between the Turkish and Syrian women in the sense that it contains a fieldwork that is comprehensive and spread over a long term. It contributes to the literature as a study observing the evolution of the relationships in a 5 year time period, while also focusing on the daily life experiences of women at the earlier stages of the Syrian migration *en masse*.

That being said, still the number of academic studies with a gender perspective are not sufficient. On the other hand, the ones with a gender perspective focus more or less on similar topics. In order to prevent this, it is fundamentally important to increase the number of field studies like this thesis. Field studies addressing different provinces will ultimately have a leading role in the design and development of social cohesion policies and activities connecting host communities with the refugee community.

This thesis does not include daily – individual life experiences of women residing out of Hatay, as the Hatay province provided a very large data set and data flow pertaining to the sectarian, historical and political dynamics of Hatay. In the light of the findings of this thesis, it will be important to conduct studies comparing Hatay and other provinces and to understand which factors become more prevalent under which conditions. Such studies are likely to contribute significantly to the academic literature.

It is also important to study the experience of Syrian women in other countries in the Middle East, in addition to Turkey. These studies will contribute to analyze the impact of religion and other governmental regimes as well as other the refugee policies over the relationships between women. Moreover, comparative studies between Europe and Middle East will enrich the academic literature on migration and gender

considering the amount of various and differentiated experiences on such a large geographical scale.

All in all, gender and migration studies need to change the focus they attribute to women. Post migration experiences of men and their empowerment as well as disempowerment stories are required to be studied as a component of gender studies. Throughout this thesis, it has been observed the experiences of women show parallels with the experiences of men, while the reproduced patriarchy empowers the men in the host community, it may have a completely different consequence on the men who migrate. Therefore, further studies and researches from a gendered perspective with men are required to have holistic understanding of the situation.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: Interviewee Information

Turkish	Age	Occupation	District	Ethnicity	Education	Marital Status
T1	47	Housewife	Yayladağı	Sunni	Primary School	Married
T2	41	Cafe House Manager	Center	Nusayri	High School	Divorced
T3	19	University Student	Samandağ	Nusayri	University	Single
T4	34	Teacher	Center	Sunni	University	Single
T5	27	NGO worker	Narlıca	Nusayri	University	Single
T6	46	Seasonal worker	Dağ Neighborhood	Sunni	İlleterate	Married
T7	31	Accountant	Center	Nusayri	University	Single
T8	55	Tailor	Center	Christian	High School	Widowed
T9	43	Seasonal worker	Dağ Neighborhood	Sunni	Primary School	Married
T10	45	Teacher	Center	Nusayri	University	Married
T11	60	Housewife	Yayladağı	Sunni	İlleterate	Widowed
T12	35	Local Market Owner	Samandağ	Nusayri	High School	Married
T13	29	Agriculture Cooperative Worker	Center	Nusayri	Primary School	Married
T14	52	Agriculture Cooperative Manager	Center	Nusayri	High School	Married
T15	31	Teacher/Activist	Center	Nusayri	University	Single
T16	38	Financial Consultant	Center	Nusayri	University	Married
T17	36	Fortune Teller	Samandağ	Nusayri	Primary School	Single
T18	34	Housewife	Dağ Neighborhood	Sunni	Primary School	Married

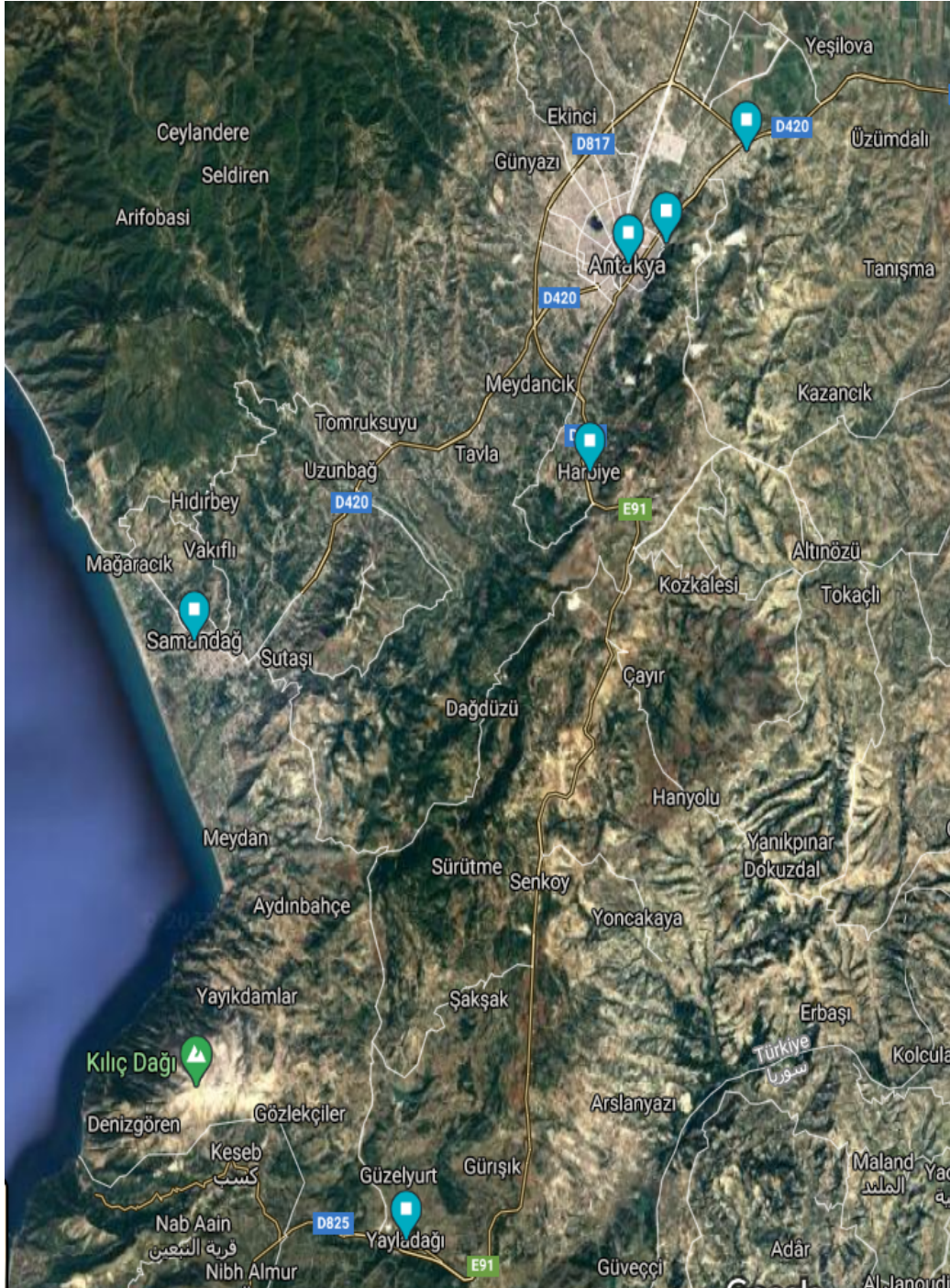
T19	27	Non-Employed	Dağ Neighborhood	Sunni	High School	Single
T20	28	Seasonal worker	Dağ Neighborhood	Sunni	Primary School	Married
T21	17	Seasonal worker	Dağ Neighborhood	Sunni	Primary School	Single
T22	21	Waiter	Samandağ	Nusayri	High School	Single
T23	35	Hair dresser	Center	Nusayri	High School	Married
T24	52	Guest House Owner	Center	Christian	High School	Single
T25	48	Cook	Center	Christian	High School	Married
T26	50	Hotel Worker	Center	Nusayri	Primary School	Married
T27	54	Housewife	Center	Nusayri	High School	Married
T28	27	receptionist	Samandağ	Nusayri	University	Single
T29	32	Local Shop Owner	Narlıca	Sunni	High School	Single
T30	29	Agriculture Cooperative Worker	Samandağ	Nusayri	High School	Married
T31	27	NGO worker	Samandağ	Christian	University	Single
T32	19	Non-Employed	Harbiye	Nusayri	High School	Single
T33	26	Activist	Center	Nusayri	University	Single
T34	29	Activist	Center	Nusayri	University	Engaged
T35	36	NGO worker	Harbiye	Nusayri	University	Single
T36	28	NGO worker	Center	Sunni	University	Single
T37	32	Housewife	Yayladağı	Sunni	Primary School	Married
T38	45	Housewife	Yayladağı	Sunni	Primary School	Married
T39	23	University Student	Yayladağı	Sunni	University	Single
T40	34	Housewife	Harbiye	Nusayri	High School	Married
T41	53	Housewife	Narlıca	Sunni	Primary School	Widowed
T42	37	Architect	Center	Nusayri	High School	Divorced

T43	56	Lawyer	Center	Nusayri	University	Widowed
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Syrian	Age	Occupation in Turkey	District	Home Town	Education	Marital Status
S1	42	Housewife	Dağ Neighborhood	Halep	Primary School	Married
S2	24	Non-Employed	Narlıca	Halep	Primary School	Married
S3	36	Cleaner	Dağ Neighborhood	Halep	Primary School	Married
S4	32	Cleaner	Center	Latakia	High-School	Married
S5	35	Non-Employed	Center	Halep	Primary School	Married
S6	24	Non-Employed	Yayladağı	Hama	High-School	Married
S7	37	Housewife	Center	Latakia	High-School	Married
S8	33	Non-Employed	Dağ Neighborhood	Halep	Primary School	Married
S9	28	Non-Employed	Yayladağı	Raqqa	Primary School (drop out)	Widowed
S10	42	Non-Employed	Narlıca	İdlib	Primary School	Married
S11	37	Non-Employed	Center	Halep	Primary School	Married
S12	32	Activist-Interpreter	Center	Şam	University	Single
S13	21	Interpreter/Student	Narlıca	Şam	University	Single
S14	17	Non-Employed	Center	Humus	High-School	Engaged
S15	31	Textile Worker	Center	Humus	Primary School	Married
S16	27	Non-Employed	Center	Deyrez zor	Primary School	Married
S17	24	Non-Employed	Center	Deyrez zor	Primary School	Married
S18	21	Non-Employed	Center	Deyrez zor	Primary School	Single

S19	16	Non-Employed	Center	Halep	High-School	Engaged
S20	29	Textile Worker	Center	Halep	Primary School	Widowed
S21	31	Hairdresser Worker	Center	Halep	Primary School	Married
S22	24	Domestic Worker	Dağ Neighborhood	Idlib	Primary School (drop out)	Widowed
S23	27	Domestic Worker	Dağ Neighborhood	Idlib	Primary School (drop out)	Widowed
S24	19	Housewife	Dağ Neighborhood	Idlib	Primary School (drop out)	Married
S25	24	Housewife	Dağ Neighborhood	Raqqa	Primary School (drop out)	Widowed
S26	37	Interpreter	Narlıca	Latakia	High-School	Divorced
S27	32	Housewife	Yayladağı	Halep	High-School	Married
S28	29	Cleaner	Yayladağı	Hama	Primary School	Widowed
S29	30	Cleaner	Yayladağı	Hama	Primary School	Widowed
S30	54	Housewife	Narlıca	Idlib	Primary School (drop out)	Married
S31	47	Housewife	Narlıca	Idlib	Primary School	Married
S32	38	Housewife	Narlıca	Idlib	Primary School (drop out)	Married
S33	37	Seasonal Worker	Dağ Neighborhood	Halep	High-School	Divorced
S34	31	Seasonal Worker	Dağ Neighborhood	Halep	Primary School	Married

ANNEX 2: Fieldwork Locations





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