

ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM

A STUDY ON THE CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE SOCIAL
COHESION PROCESS OF SYRIAN WOMEN

Rukiye Şule ÇELİK

114605033

Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. Ayhan KAYA

ISTANBUL

2019

A STUDY ON THE CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE SOCIAL COHESION
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SURİYELİ MÜLTECİ KADINLARIN SOSYAL UYUM SÜREÇLERİNİN TOPLUMSAL
SERMAYE KAVRAMI BAĞLAMINDA İNCELENMESİ

Rukiye Şule Çelik
114605033

Tez Danışmanı:

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi



Jüri Üyesi:

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Özge Onursal Beşgül
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi



Jüri Üyesi:

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Tuba Demirci Yılmaz
İstanbul Altınbaş Üniversitesi



Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih:

10.01.2019

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı:

85

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Zorunlu göç
- 2) Cinsiyet
- 3) Toplumsal sermaye
- 4) Sosyal uyum
- 5) Suriyeli mülteciler

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) Forced migration
- 2) Gender
- 3) Social capital
- 4) Social cohesin
- 5) Syrian refugees

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the people who always supported and encouraged me throughout this MA study. I would firstly like to express my special thanks to my thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya for offering his support, assistance and encouragement through this work. I would like to acknowledge Havin Karahalil for translation of the process as a translator. I would like to thank all Syrian women who agreed to be a part of my thesis and made significant contributions to my thesis. Their participation and support enabled to conduct a precious fieldwork. Finally, I should express my very profound gratitude to my sister İrem and my family for providing me with unfailing support.

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ABBREVIATIONS

UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
UN	United Nations
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistanê)
AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency of Turkey (Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı)
PDMM	Provincial Directorate Migration Management
DGMM	Directorate General Of Migration Management
TPID	Temporary Protection Identification Card
ESSN	Emergency Social Safety Net Card
CCTE	Conditionally Cash Transfer For Education
USA	United States of America

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY ON THE CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL CAPITAL IN THE SOCIAL COHESION PROCESS OF SYRIAN WOMEN

This thesis aims to shed light on the social cohesion process of Syrian refugee women in Istanbul as an aftermath of the displacement. It also aims to contribute to the field of “forced migration studies”, and focuses on Syrian women’s experiences within the host community.

The study is mainly based on findings of a qualitative study conducted by researcher after displacement process. The study's research universe will cover 15 Syrian urban settler women with different ethnic origins, ethnic and cultural bonds and different classes. The research question to be answered in this thesis is what are the main components of social capital in the process of social cohesion of Syrian refugee women in Istanbul in terms of social capital. The findings of the fieldwork have been collected during the interviews with Syrian women residing in Esenler. These findings include the demographic, societal and economic characteristics, values and behaviors, their perceptions on host community, their assessments on public services, social cohesion, and common challenges they face as a refugee woman. It will help the reader understand how ethnicity, class, and gender in particular interact in the process of migration and settlement by especially focusing on cultural similarities during the social cohesion process.

This thesis is expected to contribute to the existing literature by exploring the relationship between social capital and social cohesion, and also by considering the social and cultural aspects of migration.

Keywords: Forced migration, gender, social capital, social cohesion, Syrian refugees.

ÖZET

SURİYELİ MÜLTECİ KADINLARIN SOSYAL UYUM SÜREÇLERİNİN TOPLUMSAL SERMAYE KAVRAMI BAĞLAMINDA İNCELENMESİ

Bu tez, İstanbul'daki Suriyeli mülteci kadınların göçten kaynaklı yerinden edilme sonrasında toplumsal uyum sürecine ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. Ayrıca, Suriyeli kadınların ev sahibi topluluk içindeki deneyimlerine odaklanarak “zorunlu göç çalışmaları” alanına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Çalışma temel olarak, yerinden edilme süreci sonrasındaki Suriyeli mülteci kadınlar ile gerçekleşen nitel bir araştırmanın bulgularına dayanmaktadır. Çalışmanın araştırma evreni, farklı etnik kökenlerden, kültürel özellikler ve sosyo-ekonomik sınıftan gelen onbeş Suriyeli kentsel yerleşimci kadını içerir. Bu tezde yanıtlanması gereken araştırma sorusu; İstanbul'da yaşayan Suriyeli mülteci kadınların toplumsal uyum sürecinde toplumsal sermayenin ana bileşenlerinin neler olduğudur. İstanbul, Esenler'de ikamet eden Suriyeli kadınlarla yapılan görüşmelerde saha çalışması bulguları toplanmıştır. Bu bulgular mülteci kadınların demografik, toplumsal ve ekonomik özelliklerini, değerleri ve davranışlarını, ev sahibi topluluğa yönelik algılarını, kamu hizmetlerine yönelik değerlendirmelerini, toplumsal uyumlarını ve mülteci kadın olarak karşılaştıkları ortak zorlukları içermektedir. Özellikle etnisite, sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet ile kültürel benzerliklere de odaklanarak göç ve yerleşme süreciyle nasıl etkileşime girdiğini okuyucunun anlamasına yardımcı olmak amaçlanmıştır.

Bu tezin toplumsal sermaye ile toplumsal uyum arasındaki ilişkiyi araştırarak ve göçün sosyal ve kültürel yönlerini de dikkate alarak mevcut literatüre katkıda bulunması beklenmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zorunlu göç, cinsiyet, toplumsal sermaye, sosyal uyum, Suriyeli mülteciler.

INTRODUCTION

Global and Local Context

Migration is a process that upholds a new socio-cultural transformation process both for refugee and hosting community. It is obvious that the assessment of migration has to be dealt within a framework that encompasses socio-cultural change. In this context, the displacement of Syrians has a significant impact on the demography, economy and social life in Turkey, starting from the border to western cities.

The current numbers of UNHCR show that by 2016, there had been 3.1 million Syrian refugees under "temporary protection" in Turkey, who fled the conflicts in their country. This number consists of Syrians who are living both inside and outside the camps. In this process, human rights-based solutions should be produced for refugees in domestic and foreign policy regarding the lessons learned from past migration experiences.

The Syrian Crisis, which started with the anti-regime demonstrations on 15 March 2011, spread rapidly throughout the entire country. Assad Government, against the anti-regime demonstrations, launched a harsh intervention with the security forces immediately. Turkey has encountered problems across its borderline with Syria since May 2013, and these problems were especially caused by different ethnic and religious groups in Syria and the conflicts occurred across the border of Turkey. Using of chemical weapons in clashes led Turkey to conduct military operations in Syria and and these developments also triggered the interventions of international actors in 2013. The Syrian Crisis transformed into an international crisis within a short time. It also caused the worst refugee crisis since World War II, which led to a huge movement of refugees and displaced people. As a result of both conflict process and the military actions, the refugee movements rapidly spread to neighboring countries. Broadly speaking, the ongoing conflict in Syria has forced millions of people to flee their country to settle in Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and to seek asylum in Turkey. Among these countries, due to its open border

policy, Turkey has received the largest number of Syrian refugees, who are mostly from the Aleppo region in northern Syria (Kaya, 2016).

Research Question

The main research question of this dissertation is as follows: What are the main components of social capital in the process of social cohesion of Syrian-origin refugee women in Istanbul. My primary argument in this thesis is to display the social, ethno-cultural networks and gender that are indispensable components for understanding migration and cultural change, with a reference to forced displacement. Also how the refugee networks of women led to their cultural transformation and contributed to their social cohesion process is explained. While the experiences of refugee men and women share a lot in common as they confront similar challenges, they have also different factors in the integration process to the hosting country. This experience includes relevant but also different factors in the process of incorporation and participation. Gender is also a crucial component to observe in their social cohesion process, which includes challenges that forced the women to integrate to the hosting community. Women are the most affected people by immigration and they confronted more social problems than men. This is why an approach which is particularly based on gender, ethnicity, race and generation is adopted, and this approach also follows the changing gender roles in patriarchal families after displacement.

State of the Art

This dissertation is based on three different bodies of literature: Gender studies, studies on social capital, and refugee studies. Literally, focusing on migration by using the gender roles is insufficient and diversified in the literature. Yet, while we know a great deal about the impact of women's position on other social outcomes such as fertility, we have to develop a truly gendered understanding of the causes, processes and the consequences of migration. Through the dissertation, the necessity to understand how ethnicity, class, and gender interact in the process of migration and settlement is stressed (Pedreza, 1991).

In the proposed thesis study, the role of social capital, gender and social connections (in the context of social capital) during the process of social cohesion and social acceptance of Syrian women in Turkey will be investigated. In literature, there are not many studies based on different social integration experiences of men and women and it needs to be studied.

Rationale of the Research

The aim of this research to present an assessment of the effects of social capital, gender and social connections (in the context of social capital) during the process of social cohesion and social acceptance for Syrian woman. In general, the researcher tries to shed light on the integration process and the main problems which play critical role in the integration process of Syrian women and to comprehend how ethnicity, class, and gender interact in the process of migration and settlement. For that reason, I would like to emphasize again that my aim is to understand the integration process of Syrian immigrant women who have different origins, and the language barriers, ethnic codes, classes to which they belong and cultural values in the process of their integration and social cohesion into Turkish society. How do these Syrian woman struggle with the problems in adapting to their new environment? What are the facilitating and complicating key factors during the social cohesion and adjustment process? For instance, do the most of the Turkmen (Turcoman) in brackets Syrian refugee women who can speak Turkish not face the same huge language barrier problems as Kurdish or Arab Syrians do? Or do the Turkish people who have nationalist and conservative ideology play significant role while Turkmen (Turcoman) Syrians are integrating to the host community. Does a refugee woman's access to the labour market facilitate the adjustment process? These have been the most common questions throughout the research.

For the gender based perspective, although displaced men and women face similar challenges, they have different adaptation processes after displacement process. For instance, women are more active in terms of participation and social cohesion in the everyday life during the adaptation process. Particularly, social

relations, neighbours and solidarity work can be functional tools which affects social adaptation and cohabitation processes among the individuals.

Methodology

This qualitative research, which is based on guided in-depth interviews and field observations, primarily focuses on the “underlying patterns” of interactions that regulate our daily lives. During the fieldwork process, the focus has been mostly on words, descriptions, accounts, opinions, feelings which tap into the integration process of Syrian women and on comprehending how ethnicity, class, and gender interact. When achieving this goal, describing the everyday reality of Syrians as experienced in Istanbul paints a picture for us, while determining the problems and effects of gender in the aftermath of the displacement process. Thus, this method addresses to describe with the analysis of words and images rather than numbers in the light of narratives and observations.

The researcher aimed to reveal a spatial ethnocultural assessment in the integration process of the displaced Syrian women who fled Syria, with the help of the findings obtained from the field research in Esenler. The research has been carried out as a qualitative research with semi-structured and in-depth interviews, and a translator with Syrian origin who spoke Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish (if necessary) was employed to collect data in the field. Hence, the convenient research method is an in-depth interview with semi-structured and open-ended questions for this study. The reason for using open-ended questions is that the informers keep the interview going intensely if they are more willing, so this method becomes more useful and practical and it makes the consequences clearer and more visible. The questions are mostly based on social networks like neighbour relations, access to labour market, language, identity and belonging, cultural intimacy, the understanding of classes, the perception and empathy of host community during their daily experiences. During the interviews, the answers of the informants were translated by a translator into Turkish for the researcher and recorded on a recorder to be transcribed later.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in October 2018 with these women. The Syrian refugee families were contacted for access to the interviewees by the researcher. Since the researcher had a working experience in a Local Non-Governmental Organization -an implementary partner of UNHCR in Esenler- as a field assistant in the Project of UNHCR, the first action was decided to be getting in touch with the familiar Syrian women who settled down in Esenler. Moreover, reaching the familiar women residing in Esenler accelerated reaching the other women with snowball sampling and getting answers to the in-depth questions explicitly and free. In the light of this information, the study's research universe will cover fifteen Syrian urban settler women who were living in rural or urban places in Syria, and these women were selected for the interviews as they were of different ethnic origins, cultural bonds, and socio-economic classes. As also mentioned within the popular view, the concept of class is defined in terms of income and in economic status. Poor people constitute a lower class, middle-income people a middle class, and rich people an upper class (Wright, 1979). On the other hand, whilst most of the sociologists include the other criteria in class analysis (social status, lifestyle), they often share the view that the class structure constitutes a hierarchy of hierarchies which comes along with the classes which are upper-lower and middle classes.

The interviews lasted 45-90 minutes depending on the answers of women. It was aimed to make people feel more free and at ease so they could express themselves clearly. For personal comfort, it was decided to meet a woman by conducting a one-on-one interview in each person's residence by the researcher. The records, observations and additional questions are closely followed through the interviews according to the responses of the informants. The audio and written recording of the interviews were saved securely and anonymously on the researcher's computer. Tapes and transcriptions offer more than just "something to begin", can be improved and analyses taken off on a different tack unlimited by the original transcript and inspect sequences of utterances without being limited to the extracts chosen by the first researchers (Silverman, 2000). For that reason, the

responses were written and transcribed with observation and also the remarks obtained from the observations of the researcher were added in the data collection part.

During the interviews, the fundamental necessity was to understand how ethnicity, class and gender interact in the process of migration and settlement is stressed (Pedreza, 1991). At this point, an ethnographic research is also planned to be conducted in the field by looking at cultural intimacy as a complementary concept for the refugee community, as cultural intimacy as a concept makes the mythical, visual, musical, cultural behaviours and everyday experiences of refugee community visible and clear during my field research. As A. Kaya mentioned; some spaces of cultural intimacy seem to provide them with an opportunity to their new place of residence with regard to religious, moral, architectural, urban, and sometimes linguistic similarities originating from the common past of the Turks and the Arabs (Kaya, 2018). As a result, it is obvious that cultural intimacy is a concept as important as social capital in the integration of refugees.

The universe of the research is composed of fifteen Syrian urban settler woman who have ethnic origins, ethnic and cultural bonds and different classes between 18-67 years of age; an association representative; and a shop owner between 18-30 years of age in Esenler. The women interviewed were informed about anonymity and confidentiality. Particularly, an informed consent was written in subjects' language, Arabic or Turkish was prepared before the interviews and all details were written to be shared with the women. The informed consent included giving information about the topic, official and voluntary participation and it required a written consent like a signature.

There were women who are married, widowed or separated from their spouses. The cities where women with different ethnic backgrounds come from were Aleppo, Damascus, Jarablus, and Raqqa cities of Syria. While women's educational backgrounds varied, some had never attended the school, some had

studied up to a certain class, and others worked in Syria. Some of the women had worked or are still working.

For the marital status of the women; The eleven women were married, three of them were divorced and one of the women was widowed. Four of the interviewed women were illiterate, ten of them graduated from primary school and one of them graduated from secondary school. Four women described themselves as housewives or unemployed. One of the women worked as an interpreter in a private hospital in Esenler and one of the women worked as a textile worker in Esenler. Lastly, three of the women stated that they had done handcraft works for the small textile factories at home.

In-depth interviewing, which is a common concept, is founded on the notion that inquiring into the subject's "deeper self" provides more realistic and open data. According to Johnson, J.M, in-depth interviewing begins with common sense perceptions, explanations, and understandings of some cultural experience and aims to explore the contextual boundaries of that experience or perception, to uncover what is usually hidden from ordinary view or reflection or to penetrate to more reflective understandings about the nature of that experience (Marvasti, 2004). However, it also should be taken into consideration during the interviews, as "Alfred Schutz (1967, 1970), who introduced phenomenology, argued that reality was socially constructed rather than being "out there" for us to observe. People describe their world not "as it is" but "as they make sense of it." (Babbie, 2011). Hence, such qualitative studies cannot be generalized although the narrowing of the research area/inputs is more verifiable in terms of outcomes. In common with crude inductivists refers to "the situation" as if "reality" were a single, static object awaiting observation (Silverman, 2000).

There are four types of nonprobability sampling: reliance on available subjects, purposive or judgmental sampling, snowball sampling, and quota sampling. According to Babbie, "Snowball" refers to the process of accumulation as each located subject suggests other subjects. This procedure is appropriate when

the members of a special population are difficult to locate, such as homeless individuals, migrant workers, or undocumented immigrants (Babbie, 2011). Undoubtedly, the snowball sampling technique gives the researcher a chance to find other people to interview as a result of the suggestion of the informant. Despite it enables to access to additional informants, this procedure also results in samples with questionable representativeness, this is why it's used primarily for exploratory purposes (Babbie, 2011). Hence, the snowball sampling strategy, which is the most efficient and practical way, is employed in this research with informants by reaching the additional informants in the same location and also snowball sampling strategy is remarkably taken into account with the ethnocultural, local and geographic restrictions.

In more general and theoretical terms, Chaim Noy argues that the process of selecting a snowball sample reveals important aspects of the populations being sampled: "the dynamics of natural and organic social networks" (Babbie, 2011). Furthermore, the snowball sampling also leads the researcher to find out ethnocultural networks and dynamics of Syrian women in Esenler.

Interviews with fifteen Syrian women (five Arabs, five Kurds and five Turkmens) were conducted in the neighborhoods of Tuna and Kazım Karabekir in the district of Esenler to narrow the scope of the research and reveal the local landscape of Esenler. Kurdish, Arab and Turkmen Syrian women were chosen so that the researcher could reveal how the language barriers, ethnic codes, social classes to which they belong and their cultural values have an effect on their integration and social cohesion into Turkish society. They were interviewed about their displacement process, experiences with services, labor market and workplace, their social cohesion process, the assessment of social network and asked to compare the conditions in Syria and Turkey. Furthermore, one informant who is the representative of the only existing ethno-cultural network among Turkmen Syrians named as Turkmen Association Of Charity and Solidarity reveals the situation of the solidarity and network process among the Syrians in Esenler, the perceptions Turkmen Syrians and their relations with the local inhabitants and the other

refugees with different origins. Lastly, one of the Syrian shop owners who had worked in Esenler for four years were asked how the behavior and perception of Turkish society to Syrian shops or restaurants and their prejudices were. During the interviews, the subjects were communicated in their mother tongue, in whatever language they spoke and in the best way they could express themselves. At this point, an ethnographic research was conducted in field by looking at cultural intimacy for refugee community as the cultural intimacy as a concept which makes visible and clear mythical, visual, musical, cultural behaviours and everyday experiences of refugee community during my field research. As A. Kaya mentioned; Some spaces of cultural intimacy seem to provide them with an opportunity to their new place of residence with regard to religious, moral, architectural, urban, and sometimes linguistic similarities originating from the common past of the Turks and the Arabs (Kaya, 2018). The representative and the Syrian shop owner were interviewed in order to find out how cultural intimacy is a complementary component of the social cohesion process to view of the broader spectrum in Esenler.

As the environment of the research, Esenler is an enclave which hosts a huge density of Syrian refugees who have different ethno-cultural origins according to the information obtained from the talks with refugee women. During the interviews, fifteen Syrian urban settler women with different ethno-cultural bonds made important contributions to the discovery of problems they encountered during their integration process into social life, and the difficulties in their accession to social services such as education, health and labor market. The aim of this research is to evaluate the effects of social capital, gender and social connections (in the context of social capital) in the process of social cohesion and social acceptance of Syrian women.

When its demographic, socio-cultural structure and its history is considered, we observe Esenler to be one of the districts where both domestic and foreign migration are experienced intensively, and we also see that Esenler has begun to host intense immigration, especially since the 1970s and 1990s. It is obvious that

the marginalized communities like Kurds, Alevi and Romani people are living together in Esenler. Furthermore, it is composed of 18 neighborhoods and Esenler is adjacent to Gaziosmanpaşa in the north, Güngören in the south, Zeytinburnu in the southeast and Bağcılar districts in the west, which also host a remarkable population of Syrians. According to the current statistics of Esenler Municipality, the total population of Esenler is 454,569 at the end of 2017.

Esenler is located in the European part of Istanbul which hosts a majority of Syrians who are ethnically Kurdish, rather than Arab and Turkmen Syrians. Although no specific information on the cultural or ethnic background was reached, it was observed that either ethnically Kurdish, Arab or Turkmen Syrians were living in neighborhoods of Esenler during the fieldwork. This district was chosen because of just hosting a majority of Syrians, Esenler is also observed to be a hosting district for migrant communities from Sub Saharan Africa, Central Asian Turkic migrants like Afghan, Uzbek, Pakistani and Algerian as well. On the one hand, Esenler hosts mostly conservative background communities of Muslims and Islamist and right-wing supporting the ruling government Justice And Development Party. The field of study was decided to be conducted in the same district of Istanbul/Esenler in order to narrow the scope of research and to emphasize the importance and uniqueness of fieldwork.

Scope of the Study

This study consists of four chapters. In the first chapter of the thesis, the definition of the concept of international migration is aimed to be presented within the theoretical framework. The conceptual framework of international migration and global migration is explained with fundamental legislations, international migration theories and concepts.

The structure of the second chapter focuses on the general knowledge about displacement as a chapter of the migration to provide an overview for the reader and secondly the effects of displacement with a focus on gender-based approach in

the existing migration literature. Notably, the second chapter aims to pay attention to displacement within the gender-based context.

The third chapter pursues a goal to analyze the results of qualitative fieldwork conducted by the researcher so that the reader has a knowledge of displacement process, with the narrative stories of Syrian women.

The fourth chapter firstly analyzes the results of fieldwork in the context of social capital and discusses the social capital concept to shed light on social cohesion process of Syrian women.



CHAPTER 1

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Globalization and the new world order bring us a new concept which is called migration. It has various reasons which lie behind the developments including climate change, economic conditions, conflicts, ethnic clashes, etc. Mainly, with the waves of refugees in the last quarter of the 20th century, Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller called this period “the age of migration” due to the increase in the number of migratory flows (Castles & J. Miller, 2004).

Migration, as a result of globalization, is not an isolated phenomenon which is evaluated without referring to modernization, developmentalism, and the nation-state. The concept of nation-state has a significant role in refugee studies. State borders are constructed as against the foreigners and showed who is the “other” by instrumentalizing the migrant people in the modern world (Habib, 2004).

The upsurge in migration is due to rapid processes of economic, demographic, social, political, cultural and environmental change, which arise from decolonization, modernization and uneven development (Castles & J. Miller, 2004). The number of international migrants worldwide has continued to proliferate in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 220 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000 (UN, 2017).

As Kaya mentioned, we see four migration waves in the mid-20th century, which are;

1. In the 1960s, migration from rural areas to urban
2. Worker migration after the devastation of the WW II
3. The people who are displaced by the political, ethnic, economic and cultural reasons
4. The ethnic enclaves following the collapse of the Soviet Union (Kaya, 2015).

There are two major migrations after the World War II. The first one comes with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the second one is the migration of Syrian

refugees. These two migrations prove that economic, political and social movements led to forced migration of people.

1.1. CONTEMPORARY MIGRATION IN THE WORLD

International Refugee Law, International Human Rights Law, International Humanitarian Law and National Law are the legal agreements that contribute to international refugee law. These are the legal frameworks based on protecting refugees in the scope of human rights principles.

1.1.1. The Legal Framework of the Refugee Law

In the context of the international legal framework, The 1951 UN Geneva Convention is the leading international instrument of refugee law which was signed by 149 countries and it constitutes the basis of the refugee law in the aftermath of World War II. It defines legal obligations to protect the right of displaced people.

The Geneva Convention was limited to protecting mainly European refugees in the aftermath of the World War II. The second crucial agreement is New York Protocols which was signed in 1967. However, with the New York Protocols, the scope of the Geneva Convention expanded to the problem of forced migration around the world.

In the context of the national legal frameworks in many countries, there are human rights principles such as the right to life and liberty, freedom from torture, etc. These “rights” are foundations of national courts.

1.1.2. The Basis and Concepts of the Refugee Law

According to Geneva Convention, which is the basis of refugee law, the definition of a refugee is: “As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and

being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (UNHCR, 2000).

Although refugees, asylum-seekers, and immigrants often share the same description in the literature, there are significant differences between them. Asylum seeker is a person who has applied on an individual basis for refugee status and is awaiting the result. Asylum seekers are given ‘international protection’ while their claims are being assessed, and like refugees may not be returned home unless it is on a voluntary basis (UNHCR, 2007).

As another concept, a migrant is a person who chooses to move from their home for any variety of reasons but not necessarily because of a direct threat of persecution or death. Migrant is an umbrella category that can include refugees but can also add people moving to improve their lives by finding work or education, those seeking family reunion and others (UNHCR, 2007).

An internally displaced person, or IDP, is a person who fled their home but has not crossed an international border to find sanctuary. Even if they fled for reasons similar to those driving refugees (armed conflict, generalized violence, human rights violations), IDPs legally remain under the protection of their government – even though that government might be the cause of their flight (UNHCR, 2007).

Stateless person is someone who is without a nationality of any country, and consequently lacks the human rights and access to services of those who have citizenship. It is possible to be stateless and a refugee simultaneously (UNHCR, 2007).

1.1.3. The Global Numbers of Refugees, Asylum Seekers, IDPs and Stateless People

In the post-Cold War era, international migration began to take an essential role in the world agenda and the studies on the subject gained momentum. The studies carried out in this area do not precisely determine how many migrants are

in the world due to the unknown numbers of illegal immigrants. In most discussions on migration, the starting point is usually numbers and these numbers have experienced a remarkable upsurge in international migration for the last decades. The current global estimate is that there have been around 244 million international migrants in the world since 2015, which equates to 3.3 percent of the worldwide population. The number of international migrants worldwide has continued to overgrow rapidly in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 220 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000 (UN, 2017). An estimated 10 million people are displaced each year in this way and many of them become international immigrants in time. However, about 51% of the world's immigrant population live in developed countries, while 49% live in developing countries. It is also estimated that statistics show that 48% of women in the international migration process are women (Castles & J.Miller, 2004).

The total number of refugees and asylum seekers in the world is increasing day by day. By 2016, Turkey hosted the largest refugee population worldwide, with 3.1 million refugees and asylum seekers, followed by Jordan (2.9 million), the State of Palestine (2.2 million), Lebanon (1.6 million) and Pakistan (1.4 million) (UN, 2017).

For the general overview of the refugees and asylum seekers who as a part of the international migration, 64 million individuals were forcibly displaced worldwide as a result of persecution, conflict, or generalized violence. As a result, the world's forcibly displaced population remained yet again at a record high. Globally, the forcibly displaced population increased in 2017 by 2.9 million. (UNHCR, 2018).

Table 1.1: The Global Numbers of Refugees, Asylum Seekers, IDPs and Stateless People

The Year	Refugees	Asylum Seekers	Internally Displaced People	Stateless People	Total Number Of People
2017	19,941,347	3,090,898	39,118,516	2,796,204	64,946,965
2016	17,187,488	2,826,508	36,627,127	3,242,207	59,883,330
2015	16,111,285	3,224,966	37,494,172	3,687,764	60,518,187
2014	14,385,316	1,804,465	32,274,619	3,492,263	51,956,663
2013	11,699,279	1,164,449	23,925,555	3,469,278	40,258,561
2012	10,497,957	942,797	17,670,368	3,335,777	32,446,899
2011	10,404,804	897,021	15,473,378	3,477,101	30,252,304

Source: (UNHCR, 2017).

1.2. SYRIAN CIVIL WAR AND REFUGEE CRISIS

The primary goal here is to present a brief Syrian history that includes political, social and economic structures by using internal variables and tools in Syria. This part proposes to understand the Syrian Crisis which is related to the historical background of Syria in the context of domestic and international approaches and specific internal and external actors. It is aimed to look through the Syrian Crisis with separate perspectives by focusing on rebellion, migration and international society's behaviors and attitudes.

1.2.1. Historical Background of Syria

Before the First World War, Syria was a country which belonged to the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East. However, it was under the French mandate between 1920-1946, but since the end of the Second World War (1945), it has been an independent state with its present borders by combining the political units outside Lebanon. In 1963, as a result of political and structural problems within the country, the Ba'ath party came to power by using socialism discourse in the internal policies and pan-Arabism rhetoric in foreign policy. As a form of governmentality,

Syria had been ruled by Hafez al-Assad with socialism for many years. In Syria, the ideological context was one of a socialist nationalist coloring that provided a basis for judgments and norms, an ideological, or rhetorical, underpinning that was influential from Egypt to Iraq (Haddad, 2012). For this reason, the primary indicators of Syrian Rebellion are shown under an umbrella that includes particularly social polarization, poverty, developmental exclusion, minority challenges and the reflection of socialist governmentality.

Apart from the history of Syria, a look through the structure of Syrian society is also required to understand the leading causes of the Syrian rebellion. Syrian society does not have a homogeneous ethnic and religious structure which consists of 74% Sunni, 11% Nusayri (Arab Alevis), 3% Druze, Christian and the Jewish community. In an ethnical perspective, there are approximately 80% Arabs, 10% Kurds, % 5 Turkmens and 5% other minorities in Syria. Because of the multiethnic and religious structure in Syria, there is no entire history of existence as a state and it is not possible to identify a real Syrian identity in this context.

In the last decades, Bashar al-Assad – contrary to his father – enjoyed the reputation of a reformer and a man willing to loosen the fierce grip on religious groups by the Baath government. Additionally, Syria is seen as a stronghold against Americanism because it has never signed a peace treaty with Israel; instead, it harbored the leader of the Palestinian Hamas and forged new bonds with Lebanese Hezbollah. The government also traditionally enjoys the support of religious minority communities.

1.2.2. Syrian Uprising and Destruction of the Taboos

In March 2011, Syrian people in Daraa took their concerns and anger to the streets when university students had been arrested and tortured for writing “Down with the regime” on a wall. The uprisings started in the provinces far from the ruling elite and the Sunni upper class of Damascus. In the beginning, people went out to the streets peacefully against unjust treatment of the regime and security forces. They extended their claims from “Down with the regime” slogans to a new

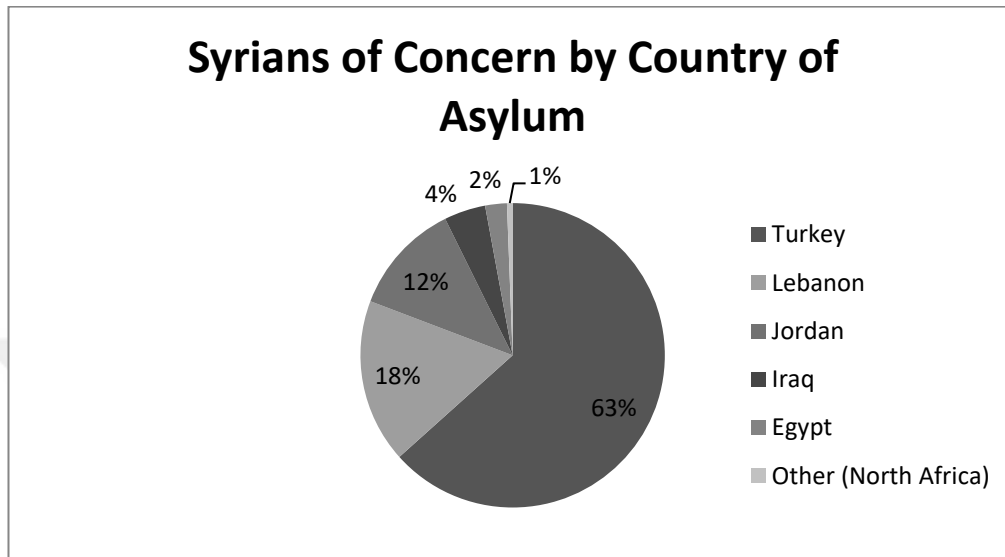
economic improvement. Indeed “Syria has combined the worst aspects of a state-dominated economy with the worst aspects of a market economy” (James, 2012), and neoliberal strategies such as privatization led to crony capitalism.

The harsh anti-regime conflicts against Bashar Al Assad’s government forces started on 15 March 2011 in Daraa Syria as a result of clashes with the government and it rapidly began to spread to the entire country. Even though the protests occurred just between government and regime opponents at the beginning of the war, they particularly have begun to occur between different ethnic and religious minorities in the border sides of Turkey and the other neighboring countries since May 2013. Since 21 August of 2013, international actors have increased their military operations due to the conflicts that began to embody into the use of chemical weapons in Syria. At the last stage, the migration and mobilization of displaced Syrian people to the neighboring countries like Turkey, Jordan, Iraq gained momentum because of the military operations, conflicts and the acts of international actors. As a result of the ongoing conflicts in Syria, millions of displaced people have been forced to flee their country to neighbouring countries illegally.

In the Syrian case, there are lots of things to talk about in Syria through the civil war. The peaceful protests for civil and human-rights turned into a deadly spiral of violence, atrocities and a civil war which has continued until today.

1.2.3. The Global Number of Syrian Refugees, Asylum Seekers, IDPs and Stateless People

Figure 1.1: Syrian Asylum Seekers Distributed by Countries



Source: (UNHCR, 2018).

The Syrian conflict has triggered the world's most significant humanitarian crisis since World War II. Since 2011, humanitarian needs have continued to rise, forced migrations have been increasing and an entire generation of Syrian children has been exposed to war and violence, so they are increasingly deprived of essential services, education and protection.

The Syrian Crisis is an unfortunate tragedy beyond numbers. According to the UNHCR, the amount of an registered 5,602,386 million Syrians, who are in need of humanitarian assistance and most of whom are women and children (UNHCR, 2018), are internally displaced. The conflict has driven almost 6 million people out of their country, especially to neighboring countries such as Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, including Iraq, Egypt and Europe. 2 million Syrians are registered by UNHCR in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon, as well as 3.5 million Syrians who are registered by the Government of Turkey.

Alone in Turkey, there are 3,545,293 registered Syrian refugees, of which around 44.3 % are children under the age of 18, 52.6 % between 18 and 59, and

3.1% older adults above 60 (UNHCR, 2018). Those are the current quantitative numbers that are updated and increasing day by day.

1.2.4. Turkey's Policy Priorities on Syrian Crisis

Turkey has been a country of emigration (migrant-sending country) which has been exposed to different migratory movements from Iran, Bulgaria, Afghanistan and The Black Sea countries throughout its history. However, the reality has changed and Turkey has morphed into a transit country as a result of intensive migratory practices over the last two decades (İçduygu, 2015). Turkey's geopolitical position to conflict ridden countries and the gates of the European countries identify Turkey as a first destination for refugees and asylum seekers. Hence, as a country of transit for asylum seekers to go to the European Union countries and being a Mediterranean country, Turkey has shaped the policies regarding the migratory movements, this situation has also affected the EU-Turkey relations. This reality became more visible and remarkable since the start of the Syrian Crisis with the forced migration of Syrians.

What does the position of Turkey in Syrian Crisis as a turning point mean in such a highly political issue? There are political, economical and practical reasons behind the Syrian Crisis which have been effective throughout the history. The economic integration between Turkey and Syria during the first decade of the new Millennium has helped to strengthen the local economies of the Turkish Southeastern regions. Besides, Turkish companies have started up businesses in Syria and the latter became a transit country for Turkish trucks transporting goods to other Arab states. Turkey did not want to lose these economical advantages. However, it soon became clear that Turkey's policy of peaceful transitions would not be feasible in Syria (Alessandri & Altunısık, 2013). Turkey decided to side with the opposition, risking its established economic ties with the regime and its border security. The Justice and Development Party tried to influence the political developments through its connections to the Muslim Brotherhood and Foreign Minister Davutoğlu urged Bashar al-Assad to introduce reforms. As this approach did not prove successful, Turkey tried to back the opposition through direct support,

and weaken the regime through an economic embargo and military threats. (Alessandri & Altunısık, 2013). As a result, The Syrian Crisis has now become a significant security issue for Turkey itself due to the high number of Syrian refugees searching for shelter and jobs within its borders and the Syrian regime's declaration to not hold back PKK fighters anymore. Turkey's stand against the Syrian regime compromised all its past political, social and economic investments in the country. Economic relations were cut with significant impact on the bordering towns in Turkey (Alessandri & Altunısık, 2013). Turkey quickly became embroiled in the Syrian crisis, taking a staunchly anti-Assad stance. This reflected the government's concerns for the future of Syria –which is home to significant Kurdish and Turkmen populations- as well as its strategic goal of being seen as an important player in the region, with an active and direct role in the ongoing crisis (İçduygu, 2015).

Turkey's political attitude to the Syrian Crisis which is called the open door approach is accompanied by three political components; ensuring temporary protection, upholding the principle of non-refoulement and providing optimal humanitarian assistance. Turkish Government brought into force "Temporary Protection Directive" and "Open Door Policy" for Syrian refugees. While both Jordan and Lebanon have restricted entry to Syrian refugees, the Turkish government has maintained its generous open-door policy (Kemal Kirisci, 2018). By early July 2011, 15.000 Syrians took shelter in tent cities which were set up in Hatay Province near the Syria border (AFAD, 2014). At the start of the 2014, almost half of the Syrian refugees lived in camps and by 2015 the vast majority of people - almost four out of five refugees – were sheltered in towns and cities (AFAD, 2014). Since the beginning of the Syrian Crisis, as a result of the Turkey's "open door policy", numbers of Syrian refugees have been increasing in Turkey day by day.

The political reactions to the Syrian refugee crisis anticipated that it would be not long-term and its parallel attempts to align its asylum and protection regime as part of its process of so-called EU-ization (İçduygu, 2015). The number of refugees and asylum seekers indicates that the Syrian refugees have been the main reason to

rethink the legislation regarding the asylum seekers in Turkey, and the cause of a long-term humanitarian crisis. The Syrian Crisis is an example to Turkey's contemporary migration policies, which was affected by EU-ization.

Throughout the Syrian Crisis, Turkey is the best destination to escape for Syrian refugees due to the closed doors of Europe. In the beginning of the war, Syrian refugees tried to reach the EU due to the legal status dilemma, overcrowded camps, unemployment and insufficient conditions in Turkey. Hence, they are using Turkey as a transit country to access to Europe. This means, Turkey has not only been a destination country for Syrian migrants and refugees, but it is also a transition key country for aspiring to move to the European Union.

In conclusion, Syrians and other refugees sandwiched between Turkey & European Union. Refugee population reached to record level and Turkey is officially hosting more than 3 millions asylum seekers. Even if Turkey is shouldering a significant responsibility for Syrians, the European Union's contribution is implicitly limited. Instead of the cooperation and resolution, the European Union preferred to strengthen its border and Turkey's detention facilities. Consequently, Turkey eventually has become a "buffer state" as an option for Syrian refugees during the Syrian Humanitarian Crisis.

Turkey's role on the Syrian Crisis is unique and it evolves to play larger position on the world politics. However, Turkey does not have unlimited resources and services, facing a large number of refugees during the ongoing migratory movements. Thus, the Syrian refugee crisis should be governed at the global level, with a collaboration among states, international organizations, and NGOs to integrate resources and processes related to various economic, political, social and cultural aspects of the Syrian refugee crisis (İçduygu, 2015).

1.2.5. Broader Context of Immigration and Asylum Policy Reforms

Syrian Crisis which came along with unexpected migratory flows triggered Turkish authorities to reconsider and reconstitute the legislation systems for responding to the shortcomings of the prior administrative and legal process. When

accession negotiations between Turkey and EU were finally launched on October 2005, the negotiating framework approached the free movement of people in a negative light, partly due to grave concerns about migration (İçduygu & Ustubiçi, 2014). The Law on Work Permits Of Foreigners of 2003 and the Law On Foreigners and International Protection in 2012 are the laws which outlined of the latest immigration policy of Turkey in the Europeanization led to several revisions to Turkey's migration and asylum legislation (İçduygu, 2015). However, the Syrian Refugee Crisis broke down the taboos and made the legislation insufficient compared to its previous experiences. Syrian Crisis which causes the most significant mass influx on recent times pushed Turkish State to reassess its legal framework for asylum and international protection, and to accelerate pre-existing reform efforts; there have been gaps in the management of the crisis on the ground (İçduygu, 2015).

The first law initiative of Syrian immigrants, "Law on Foreigners and International Protection" entered into force in April 2014 which is based upon Article 91 of the Law On Foreigners and International Protection has expanded contextually and Temporary Protection Directive has entered into force on 22 October 2014 (DGMM, 2014). These are the two fundamental legislation texts that determine the status of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Turkey granted all Syrian refugees "temporary protection" which was formalised with the introduction of the newly accepted Law on Foreigners and International Protection.

According to these newly legislations, temporary protection does not encompass refugee status for Syrians in Turkey. Hence, Geneva Protocols which outline the refugee status to understand the legal justification of the refugees, it will be seen that Turkey can provide refugee status for foreigners who come from only the European countries following "geographical restrictions". The geographical restrictions clause means that Turkey does not have any place for a fully refugee status determination process for asylum seekers coming from outside. Temporary protection is provided to the Syrian asylum seekers until reaching a final decision and they can be resettled to a third country by the help of the UNHCR. Because of

the geographical restrictions, Syrians in Turkey are under the regime which is called “temporary protection” as it is mentioned before. Turkey recognizes only European asylum seekers as refugees regarding with the legal texts and does not enable refugee status to the people who come from non-European countries. Turkey provides Syrians with temporary protection until they have gone to the third country in this context. It regulates a protection that will be provided for the foreigners who are forced to leave their country. The Syrians cannot return to their country and so they seek immediate and temporary protection. This means that Syrians applied to Turkey in order to find an immediate solution and acceptance of Syrians/durations/rights & obligations/entrance and leaving process in Turkey are organized by The Council of Ministers (DGMM, 2014). This means, according to Council of Ministers, Turkey follows an “open door” policy and it also provides “temporary protection” status for Syrians.

The results of the geographical restrictions of Turkey’s asylum law, which excludes non-EU asylum seekers from refugee status in Turkey, the overcrowded camps, unemployment and housing conditions are increasing day by day. Reaching Greece and the European Union brings the images of better asylum systems and employment opportunities. Thus, some Turkish conditions and functions deterred the refugees to stay in Turkey due to the European Union’s better migrant conditions. This is why Turkey’s pivotal role means becoming a “transit country” and “buffer zone” for the transition process of Syrian refugees to European countries.

While Turkey has been coping with the booming numbers of Syrians since 2014, the case of refugees in Turkey entitles noteworthy concerns and attention for several reasons; the growing effect of refugee inflows on host communities, Turkey’s reception system, implications for the region and broader context of immigration and asylum policy reforms (İçduygu, 2015). In another word, the Syrian Refugee Crisis is a significant case to encompass, as it is a potential force for more people to flee and it has caused Turkey to empower its policies. Because of the fact that Turkey encountered a huge amount of refugee population for the

first time in its history and it led Turkey to strengthen its refugee policies in a short amount of time.



CHAPTER 2

A LITERARY REVIEW IN THE SCOPE OF GENDER AND FORCED MIGRATION

Throughout the world, long-standing migratory patterns are persisting in new forms, while new flows are developing in response to economic change, political struggles and violent conflicts (Castles & J.Miller, 2004). One of the recently new flows is forced migration which refers to refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced people. The number of displaced people has dramatically grown after The Cold War which makes it remarkable on contemporary societies.

In order to link forced migration and gender, a review of the literature regarding forced migration will be followed with the gender-based effects and gender-based lines in this chapter. With this in mind, it is planned to pay particular attention to how forced migration affects refugee women and what the challenges are within a forced migration context, because recent migration studies illustrate that gender variables have been explicitly played a significant role in most of the migration types as well as forced migration, labor migrations, and many refugee movements. For that reason, this chapter aims to outline an overview of the forced migration and gender as a key variable in understanding of the migration literature.

2.1. FORCED MIGRATION

This chapter provides an overview of the forced migration and discuss the broader spectrum of why people forcibly move with the existing migration literature. The changing dynamics and theories of forced migration and the contextual background of forced migration pertaining to refugees are properly covered in the field of forced migration studies. The debatable case of refugees is will be discussed in this section.

2.1.1. What is Forced Migration?

The movement of people across borders has often been simplified into metaphors about “roots” (see Handlin 1954) or “flows” (Rechitsky, 2014). However, studies on migratory flows indicate that the movement of people have

shown that focusing on individualistic and structural reasons of migration and reasons' effects on the shaping of migration makes the process multi-dimensional, complicated and questionable.

Forced migration including refugee flows, asylum seekers, internal forced migration and development-induced forced migration has increased considerably in volume and political significance since the end of the Cold War (Castles, 2003). A key dimension of forced migration-whether politically, economically, environmentally or developmentally driven is just that: it is forced (Indra, 1999). As a result of wars, crises, earthquakes, natural disasters, conflicts; forced migration which involves refugees, asylum seekers and displaced persons has become a major issue of political debate in many countries.

Forced migration is uncontrollable because of conflicts, economic developments, industrial and ecological disasters. In almost all cases people lose not only their homes but also their livelihoods and networks that cannot be reproduced when they are forced to move to different locales and environments (Morvaridi, 2008). There are some common themes that are responsible for forced migration, including wars, local conflicts, strong states, weak civil society, the intervention of global actors (such as the US vis a vis oil supplies, or the 'war on terrorism' and 'Political Islam'), and large-scale development projects which are implemented by international development institutional to promote the economies of developing countries (Morvaridi, 2008). All of these cause to more displaced individuals around the world and refugee movement as a political concern on world politics. Many of both the world's inter- and interna- tionally displaced women, men and children at least temporarily experience poverty, disempowerment, stigmatization, and marginalization as a result of forced migration (Indra, 1999).

The sheer number of forced migrants in the world today has been estimated at between 100 and 200 million (Castles, 2003). Particularly, Syrian and Bosnian people experienced the most significant and worst forced migration cases that illustrate the displaced people's challenges and resettlement worldwide since the

Second World War. In the context of refugee studies and resettlement, current policy frameworks fail to protect the right of forced migrants because they mostly view migrants as ‘problems, victims, and recipients of charity.’ At the same time, the North does more to cause forced migration than to stop it, through enforcing an international economic and political order that causes underdevelopment and conflict (Castles, 2003). A policy framework for the protection of displaced persons cannot be about charity or alms but has to be about securing rights and entitlements (Morvaridi, 2008).

2.1.2. Why People Forcibly Move?

Discussions on forced migration and displacement are closely linked to national level concerns with border control and national security. These themes are, in turn, bound up with global considerations about migration, conflict, and development (Castles, 2003). This is why, the questions of why people move have largely been addressed by demographers and economist (Rechitsky, 2014).

Migration occurs as a result of the social and economic changes and in this context, globalization needs more emphasis. Globalization includes accession to security, justice and human rights and it creates differences in living standards. Because globalization is not a system of equitable participation in a fairly-structured global economy, society and polity, but rather a system of selective inclusion and exclusion of specific areas and groups, which maintains and exacerbates inequality (Castles, 2003). Forced migration, including the ‘migration industry’ of people trafficking and smuggling, can provide a kind of window on these processes, a way of examining and understanding them (Turton, 2003).

Why forced migrants go to one country rather than another and what is the role of informal economies in the North as a pull factor are the main questions. Regarding the causes of forced migration, neoclassical economists and demographers largely focus on macro-level push and pull factors as a result of the “invisible hand” of the labor market or population pressures (Rechitsky, 2014). According to them, the reason and decision of the forced migration is to maximize

individual self interest by rational economic factors. However, the neoclassical economic theories are insufficient to explain the forced migration without tackling the political factors and social networks during times of crisis and forced migration.

2.1.3. Theories of Forced migration

Refugee flows had been stereotyped as ‘singular’, ‘unruly’ and ‘unpredictable’, since they arose from causes such as civil strife, changes of regime, war or government intervention (Paul Boyle, 1998). It has been mentioned that it is unique and involves unique causes. However, Zolberg rejected this dichotomisation and suggested that it should be possible to view refugee flows in theoretical perspective, as particular instances of a general phenomenon that is as much a concomitant of World politics as ordinary migration is of world economics (Paul Boyle, 1998).

International migration is mainly divided into three parts which are outlined micro, mezzo and macro migrations in the literature. Macro migrations involve the large scale internally displaced people due to the nation state dissolutions and the ups and downs of globalization process. The most well-known international migration theory, Wallerstein’s World System Migration Theory, explains that migration naturally occurs as a result of relocation. Capitalist development and expanding global market cause ruptures in political and economic dimensions. It is possible to mention that the last visible refugee flows like Syrian and Bosnian migrations are seen as examples of this migration theory due to the mass refugee flows from peripheral countries to central capitalist countries. While the consequences of globalization from above are engaged in this account, the causes of migration may be taken for granted: here the world system may appear as self-perpetuating without account for the political and social causes of international mobility (Rechitsky, 2014).

From the view of the political sociology, globalization is a theory which contains economic interdependencies and social processes in the world system. Conflict, forced migration, refugee flows can be undertaken the understanding of

global context that are related to the political economy and globalization. As, Aristide Zolberg (1981) pointed out, changes in the World system global can not be explained without taking into account the forced migration of refugees and its control by nation states (Rechitsky, 2014). Gary Freeman (2004) argues that despite variation across different states, time, and type of migration, governments can enforce control of “unwanted” migration (Rechitsky, 2014).

2.2. GENDER AND FORCED MIGRATION

Gender has begun to play a significant role with the increase of female migration, diversified female migration movements, and accelerated the process of female migration in the migration literature. This part displays gender-based approach by focusing on forced migration and analyzes the forced migration from the gender perspective in the current migration literature.

2.2.1. An Overview of Gender in the Migration Studies

Gender plays significant role in both migration and forced migration process; thus, gender relations change with migration processes in modern times. While earlier studies focused mainly on writing women as active actors into migration studies, the following stream, which emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s, deals with gender and migration (Szczepanikova, 2006). In the literature review, the gendered refugee is less common, and the refugee literature is still biased toward undifferentiated people without gender, age or other defining characteristics except ethnicity (Colson, 1999).

Gender is the concept that societally and culturally constructed notions of women and men, how these notions structure human societies, including their histories, ideologies, economies, politics, and religions (Indra, 1999). Likewise, gender brings about the discussion on ‘maleness’ or ‘femaleness’ that is seen as a fundamental sourced shaping the everyday life. It is easy to see migration is both a gendered and gendering process; it is important researchers recognise this to better comprehend how it effects the lives of migrant in regard to their their social, civil and political rights in a destination society (Ingrid Palmary, 2010).

A range of topics including gender based violence in times of armed conflict, the gendered nature of forced migration and the lives in a destination country are the titles which indicates that migration is both gendered and gendering process. In what follows, while the literature on the general impacts of forced migration is relatively limited, it is visible that highlighting the experiences and challenges of women within a forced migration context. Whether it concerns voluntary or forced migration, poverty or betterment, internal or external, temporary, permanent or shuttle migration, the gender factor seems to be indispensable for a sophisticated anatomy and a sound understanding of the subject area (Szczepanikova, 2006).

Feminist inside and outside anthropology argue that framing research with an axiomatic, invariant category “woman” risks a number of things: focusing on presumed, rather than research-supported similarities among women; masking or backgrounding differences between them, such as differences in class, social race, ethnicity, and power; naturalizing or essentializing women—that is, seeing (questionable) fundamental commonalities among women deriving from their putatively common biology, psychology, or social position; and unproductively deflecting attention away from context-specific social, political, and cultural constructions of gender (Indra, 1999). In the literature, there remains much value in studying women in specific contexts as women; such as an approach may help avoid the conceptual trap of women defining themselves against men as an Other—especially of being constructed both ethnocentrically and phallogcentrically as an opposite of a stereotype of Western man (Indra, 1999).

2.2.2. The Evaluation of Gender Analysis in Migration Studies

Gender is a constitutive element which reshapes identities and institutions of refugees and immigrants. The integration of gender analysis in migration studies first emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s with a conception of gender as an individual-level, static category determined at birth (Nawyn, 2010). Since the 1980s, the scholars have strongly emphasized the gender relations are affected by migration instead of focusing on the differences between men and women. This was an approach which avoids just women and men and gender relations was first seen

very clearly with the International Migration Review in 1984 (Nawyn, 2010). With the article of “Birds of passage are also women”, Mirjana Morokvasic writes in the International Migration Review, which tries to reveal the current tendency of women's invisibility on the migration studies (Morokvasic, 1984). In her introduction to that issue, Morokvasic (1984) connects the decision to migrate and the post-migration experience with gendered systems of inequality in households, labor markets, and cultures (Nawyn, 2010). Morokvasic, as a pioneer feminist migration scholar in the literature, provides the framework of gender analysis to the feminist migration scholars in the context of migration studies.

Gender and migration research has produced numerous and complex understandings of how gendered institutions and gender relations are reconstituted and transformed following migration through interactions of micro and macro level processes (Nawyn, 2010). That is why it is significant to state that gender as a structure shapes power relations in families, communities, and whole societies. Although the wars and economic problems in the phenomenon of migration are considered as triggering factors, social factors that involve gender issues should be addressed. Therefore, it is necessary to examine migration not only in terms of political, economic and social factors, but also in accordance with the experiences of gendered beings in the migration paths and it is important to mention the stories of migrants particularly in gender perspective.

2.2.3. Theoretical Orientation of Gender and Migration Literature

The renewed interest for migrant women is closely linked to the establishment of women's studies from the 1980s onwards in many western societies and international institutions (Lutz, 2008). In this regard, the studies illustrate that gender has commonly been referred to and the main focus has been on women, however feminist theory has not dealt with gender the same way in the early migration literature.

As Helma Lutz mentioned, there are four migration stages in the development of the gender and migration studies;

1. The compensatory approach which aims to make women visible and demonstrate typical female migration patterns as well as special aspects of female migratory processes.
2. The contributory approach which focuses on the contribution of women to various migration movements and involve the women in the studies as a particular topic within the migration context.
3. Race-class-gender approach is launched to study from the mid-1980s looked at specific differences in power relations between women by American feminists and it is stated differences in social positioning (social inequalities through citizenship status, economic and cultural inequalities) and, 'racialised or ethnicized genealogies of identity formation, separating indigenous from immigrant women (Lutz, 2008). Black feminists contributed to the studies with a highly politicized dimension. Anthias stated that an important insight from this debate is the understanding that gender relations are always mediated by other socially constructed categories as 'race'/ethnicity and class etc.; vice versa, various studies have illustrated that the analysis of 'race'/ethnicity, class or nationality cannot do without looking at its gendered dimensions (Lutz, 2008).
4. The fourth approach of the gender and migration studies has transformed women's studies into a gender studies perspective since mid-1990s. Gender was introduced in the social sciences to emphasize the difference between a person's 'biological'(sex) and the 'socially acquired and performed' (gender) identity, way of living and role in society (Lutz, 2008). Given that the objective of this approach is to focus on how gender inequality is a product of the social order, in institutional and socio-political processes; gender roles appear as structures in power, family and social relations.

However, gender as a structure which creates power relations in family and social relations should not focus only on women. At this point, the experiences as gendered beings triggered feminist scholars to argue that gender is a critical factor in the understanding of migratory processes and how gender affects the migrants'

access to social, civil, political rights in the following years. Following years of migration literature, migration scholarship emerging from anthropology, political philosophy, history, law, area studies, and non-U.S.- and Canadian-based sociology often incorporates more postmodern conceptions of gender, focusing on gender as a discursive category rather than a category with clearly defined boundaries as is typical of more modernist frameworks (Nawyn, 2010).

The Australian feminist theorist Connel is the prominent scholar who emphasizes that how migration and settlement shape gender relations in migration studies within the context of gender relations theory. The scholar described four dimensions of gender relations (power, production, emotional and symbolic relations) that interact with one another in social institutions, with each institution having a particular regime of gender relations that shape how people's individual gender performance is constructed (Nawyn, 2010). Men are gendered beings who work in gendered labor markets, garner resources through gendered social networks, interact within family relations shaped by gendered power dynamics and are subject to gendered state policies and laws. By contrast, women also work in the manufacturing sector, domestic works or service industries as a more exploitable source of labor than men or native-born women as a result of the preference of employers. Thus, accession to the labour market and the conditions make space for moving away from monolithic and universalistic notions of the female and male by studying gender relations as expressions of asymmetry, inequality, domination and power not only between the genders but also within one gender category; as will be shown for the case of domestic work, a relational perspective can show how the work of migrant domestic and care workers can enable their female employers to pursue their professional career, thereby 'undoing' their gendered obligations in care work to a certain extent (Lutz, 2008). These policies of the labor market illustrate that how gender relations have been designed to recruit migrant employer preferences and the institutional support. To put in another way, the key subject is the social construction of masculinity and femininity, the differential meaning of private and public as a work place, and the

gender specific evaluation and the differential consequences of migration experiences for male and female migrants in the context of being couples, parents and families ('fragmented families', distant parenting, livelihood experiences etc.) (Lutz, 2008).

2.2.4. Gender, Development, Refugees and Resettlement

The gendered refugee is less common, and the refugee literature is still biased toward undifferentiated 'people' without gender, age, or other defining characteristics except ethnicity (Colson, 1999). In other words, while the literature on the general impacts of forced migration is relatively limited, even fewer empirical studies consider gender-differentiated effects (Ozge Bilgili, 2017).

Even though the literature mostly focuses on women and children are affected by forced migration, the basic gender and age identities have become reorganized as men, women, and children in refugee camps or in exile.

Given this awareness that "gender counts", when people are uprooted because their land is wanted for economic reasons usually associated with visions of national development, their multiple identities tend to disappear: they become the ungendered uprooted, or are dealt with as undifferentiated families or households (Colson, 1999). However, the studies of forced migration and resettlement put too much emphasis on women suffer and are affected more than men. The authors only hint at the many ways that gender roles are affected in relocation by disruption of status and power hierarchies, geographical dispersal of kin and friendship networks, new residence patterns, loss of economic resources, differential access to new resources, shifts in work patterns, exposure to strangers with different lifestyles, and different expectations (Colson, 1999).

CHAPTER 3

THE FIELDWORK

This chapter explores how ethnicity, class and gender interact in the process of migration and settlement by focusing on especially cultural similarities during the social cohesion process. The role of woman is a part of post-migration and integration process in the society and it deeply makes gender-based migration visible. This chapter also analyzes the questions regarding the displacement process of Syrian refugee women, their accession to public services and labor market, their daily experiences, assessment of solidarity networks, their sense of belonging to the host community and perception of the local community, and focuses on being a refugee woman.

3.1. HISTORY OF DISPLACEMENT

Fifteen refugee women who were living in different neighborhoods of Esenler were visited in their homes and asked questions in eight main chapters by the researcher. The content of the questions were prepared to get responses regarding the story of displacement, their experiences in the urban in Istanbul/Esenler, how they benefit from public services and labor market accession, their assessment of social network and social cohesion and their expectations from future. The first chapter contains a history of migration by deepening the story of women and describing the process of coming to Turkey. The questions primarily aimed to know how, when and with whom they came to Turkey and the explanations about the migration process.

The women arrived in Turkey passing through the borders in Latakia, Karkamis, Jarabulus, Kilis-Azez, Gaziantep. One of the women did not remember the name of the port of entry. The answers showed that fourteen women came through using illegal ways but one of the women went through legally.

According to the responses, the women arrived in Turkey on foot across the border. They mentioned that a high amount of money was paid to human traffickers and smugglers for entering Turkey. Three of them mentioned that they paid a huge

amount of money to cross the border. As an example, one of the women stated that \$ 2000 was paid to human traffickers for a five-person family. These responses shows that the humanitarian crisis displays a growing human trafficking and smuggling sector between the close borderline of Turkey. When asked about her entrance in Turkey, a 36-year-old woman expressed their process of migration as follows:

“We arrived in Turkey illegally passing through the Latakia border. My ex-wife died in Syria, I came here with my sister and her husband. When I came to Istanbul, I lived with my sister’s family in Esenler. Then I got remarried and came to Esenler to live. Esenler is like Aleppo for me, we have relatives and friends here. During our migration to here, no one helped us. We had to pay money to human traffickers and smugglers so that they could help us pass the borders of Turkey. When we were coming here, we gave all our money to the smugglers because they could carry our bags and belongings. However, our bags and all the stuff we had were stolen by the smugglers.”

Most of the women mentioned that the primary reason for moving to Istanbul was having existing networks or to get a job. Immediately after the husbands of the women came and found a job in Turkey, the women arrived in Turkey and the family settled down in Esenler. In general, the rest of the family was preparing to migrate by saving enough money. Having relatives/acquaintances living in Turkey were the primary reasons expressed by Syrian women during the interviews.

The places where women, after arriving in Turkey, lived in are as follows: four of women lived in Gaziantep, one of the woman stayed in Izmir and two of the women lived in Kilis for a while, then they came to Istanbul.

Regarding the experiences in another country, just one woman had resided in another country before Turkey. One of the women stated that she had lived in Lebanon for six months before she arrived in Turkey. She strongly stressed that the living conditions and the perception of host community and the Government of Lebanon were not satisfying and the refugee rights in Lebanon were not protected.

The woman also expressed an interesting dimension which came up with regard to Lebanese with the following words:

“We were in Lebanon before. They did not want us there, and they mistreated us there. When the war broke out in Damascus, we first went to Lebanon, where we stayed with my husband for six months. That six month was like six years to me... However, when there was a war in Lebanon, we opened the door for them. Then we returned to Syria and lived with my mother-in-law when my husband was in Turkey. Then we came to Turkey (28, woman, 28 November 2018, Esenler).”

3.2. ACCESSION TO THE PUBLIC SERVICES

The common and visible problems generally cover inadequate housing, health and nutrition facilities, education, labor market accession, language barriers, social exclusion among the Syrian refugees. In this part, the goals of the questions were to receive clear responses about the overview of health care services, educational services, social services and aid or support from municipalities after having clear information about their identity acquisition process. This part covers the findings of identity, health care services, school attendance and aid support through the interviews respectively.

3.2.1. Temporary Protection

Turkey has granted all Syrian refugees “a temporary protection” which was formalised with the introduction of accepted Law on Foreigner and International Protection (İçduygu, 2015). The temporary protection regime regulates the protection that will be provided for the foreigners who are forced to leave their country, they cannot return to their country and they seek immediate and temporary protection.

Within the scope of “temporary protection”, the health care services, educational services, social services and aid or support from municipalities, interpretation, the accession to labor market are the basic services which are regulated by Turkish Government until reaching a permanent solution.

The Temporary Protection Directive is grounded on providing the public services and mitigating the risks and vulnerabilities of mass displacement on basis of focusing on basic needs of Syrians. That is why this part covers the questions regarding their needs and vulnerabilities. Despite the rights granted under the Temporary Protection Directive dating from 04 April 2013, refugees have encountered huge problems in the spheres of health, education, labour market, and housing in Turkey (Kaya, 2016). The responses also directed the researcher to obtain more information about the children who actually do enjoy the right to primary education, or about the refugees who do have access to health care, or who are provided with a working permit.

First of all, the essential thing is the enrollment to Provincial Directorate Migration Management (PDMM) and have a Temporary Protection Identification Card (TPID) to access to rights and services. Moreover, Syrians are obliged to live in the city where they are registered in to access to their rights.

The eleven of the informants mentioned that they had TPID which was registered in Istanbul (the current city they lived in) and they updated their TPIDs within the last year. This explicit information should be taken into consideration that all Syrian are obliged to update their IDs in the PDMM where they live in. The other three women stated that they were registered in different cities of Turkey; one of them was registered in Izmir and two of them were registered in Kilis and they had obstacles to access to public services. Just one of the women mentioned that she had been granted citizenship of Turkish Republic since 2015. That was the reason why she and her children had access to rights as a citizen without regardless of TPID.

3.2.2. Education and School Attendance

The question related to education is the indicator of their accession to public rights in Turkey. Three of the children were dropped out of school since their registration place was Izmir and they did not live there. According to interlocutors, three of the children were not able to enroll in a school as stated by the enrolment

officers in school, a fifteen year old child, who was at the school age, was also dropped out of school because of the school age problems and another two children who were fifteen and seventeen years old were working as a child laborer and they were dropped out as well.

A 21-year-old Kurdish Syrian woman mentioned on child labour issue with the following words:

“I have a sister at school age who is fourteen years old, but she can't go to school. We can't send her to school because she has to work. She wants to go to school so much, she speaks Turkish very well but we could not send her to school since we needed income. There is a small textile factory in the lower floor of our house, she has been working there for 2 years and gaining 1600 TL monthly.”

In accordance with the answers, it was obviously seen that the Syrian children, regardless of their gender, were dropped out of school as they were working in an informal sector like textile sector. Child labour as a coping strategy is a common practice among Syrian refugees living in Istanbul (Kaya, 2016). During the interviews, two 15 year old school-age children made it clear that they became child workers in order to contribute to the income of their families. As a result of this, they started to work as a child laborer and this process resulted in getting expelled from of school.

A 28-year-old Arab Syrian woman with four children stated the problems about education with these following words:

“Our biggest problem in the recent days is the language barriers at school. My older daughter goes to school. But she has faced with difficulties such as language barriers. She has just started to school last semester and she doesn't understand her teacher because she doesn't know Turkish. My daughter cries when she comes home from school; she cries because she wants to learn Turkish. I don't know Turkish and I can't help her with her studies. My

children have a lot of difficulty in learning the Turkish language and all I want for them is to learn Turkish.”

One of the most important challenges Syrians in Turkey encounter, and that should be resolved in order to better adapt to society, is the education of immigrant Syrian children. It is estimated that more than half of the Syrian migrants are children. In the interviews, questions for detecting Syrian school-age children’s access to educational services in Turkey were asked. The questions focused on how many of these children had access to the education services they needed and the difficulties they faced in this process.

A 35-year-old Arab Syrian woman with three children mentioned the problems about their children’s expulsion from school with the following words;

“I have three children who are 11, 12 and 14 years old. 10-year-old and 11-year-old children are going to primary school. They don't have any problems at school, but it's hard to provide the school materials for them. The school demanded 65 TL for the costs at school, but I couldn't afford it. My older daughter, who is 14 years old and in the school age is not attending the school. She's staying with me at home and she's supporting me for the house works. When she was enrolled to school, they let her start in 4th grade, but my daughter never understood the lessons and was not able to be successful any more. For this reason, she didn't want to go to school and we couldn't send her to school. Now she's home and she's helping me though she is at the school age.”

3.2.3. Health Care Services

The granted rights of health care services varied in accordance with the registration document. Although the women who had an updated TPID could efficiently benefit from the health care services, the women who did not have an updated TPID could not benefit from the health care services. For instance, the

women who was registered in Kilis stated that she could not access to the public health care services because of the registration place.

A 35-year-old Arab Syrian woman expressed her thoughts about the accession to public health care services and also the language barriers she encountered in hospital;

“I have a registered TPID number which starts with 99. I can go to the hospital, I'm taking my medicine and I'm glad with the health care services in Turkey for Syrians. The only problem I have is language barriers in the hospital. I don't know Turkish and I have faced with problems when I go to the hospital. As a solution, I go to the hospital with my children so that they could do the translation for me. My children know Turkish and help me understand what the doctor says. When I become sick, I occasionally go to the Migrant Health Center in our neighborhood, and it is easier for me because they can speak Arabic with me.”

Mainly, theoretically or practically, the language barrier also plays a significant role in benefiting from the health care services. Looking at the the questions of health access, it is possible to notice the language barrier is a highly problematic issue. It is also the most important problem that Syrian women experience in their accession to public health services, as also stated by all the displaced people. Language, as seen in the example of access to health services, is one of the problems, especially encountered in the public services. Thus, as a solution to this problem, Syrian women receive translation support from their children when they are trying to access to public services.

An Arab Syrian woman expressed herself with the following words:

“I don't know Turkish at all. I'm going to the hospital with an interpreter. Even when I'm going to the family health center in my neighborhood, I go there with him. We were charged ₺50 in Bağcılar Hospital, ₺ 25 in Esenler Hospital and ₺ 20 in Family Health Center. These interpreters, who are Syrian

Turkmens, were recommended to me as an interpreter and I get in touch with them when I need interpretation assistance. As I stated, the price of interpretation depends on the hospital, which is between ₺ 25-50 per day. In fact, sometimes I go to a Syrian Doctor, not to pay the interpreter (28, woman, 28 November 2018, Esenler).”

According to the responses of the women, most Turkmen Syrians, who do not have language barriers, worked as an informal interpreter for Syrians and they earned income from Syrians. The payment depended on the processor hospital. Also, it encourages Syrians to go to informal Syrian doctors and medical centers. Upon their statements, it will pave the way for informal sectors created as a result of the language barriers and this situation will create more informal medical path ways.

A 34-year-old Kurdish Syrian woman first arrived in Gaziantep and then in Izmir, and finally in Esenler/İstanbul. She is registered in Izmir and her identity card is also registered in Izmir. At the beginning, they firstly moved to Gaziantep and then to Kilis, and then they moved to Izmir. Afterwards, they directly moved to Esenler from İzmir since their relatives were living in Esenler and the rents are lower in these parts of Istanbul. She shared her thoughts about the local health care services as follows;

“I have an ID, but we are registered in Izmir, so when we go to hospital we can't be examined. We need to re-register our identity in Istanbul but it is very difficult to change the identity. We need to go to Izmir.”

3.2.4. Aid Support

The questions go a step beyond a general descriptive analysis and present whether the Syrian women receive help (if necessary, the conditions of aid), and

they were asked about the details of the aid support criteria related to economic activity, school attendance and the basic results.

The aid model for Syrians funded by EU is implemented by Turkish Kızılay, United Nations World Food Programme and Republic Of Turkey Ministry Of Family, Labour and Social Services in partnership (Crescent, 2018). The first aid, called Emergency Social Safety Net Card (ESSN), is ₺120 per person to assist the families by providing the daily basic needs for vulnerable families. The second aid, called Conditional Cash Transfer For Education (CCTE) programme, provides vulnerable refugee families with bi-monthly cash payments to help them send and keep their children in school and it has been in force since May 2017 and the payment is between ₺ 35-40 monthly, separately for girls and boys (Unicef, 2018).

According to the responses, two women explained that all her six children had received support through the programme by Red Crescent. Five of the women mentioned that they had received the ESSN support provided by Red Crescent. Moreover, three of the women mentioned that they were not able to receive the support due to the registration place problems. The reason was that, as explained, they did not have eligible criteria to apply since their ID was registered in a city other than Istanbul. Another important response was that aids were provided to the families with three or more children. That means a family consisting of less than three children did not meet the criteria to apply. These findings encouraged the families to have more than three children while they were coping with poverty and it caused more pregnancies in refugee families, and the population to grow. It is likely to create a perception for women, and to encourage them to have more than three children for getting aid. Another important finding is the insurance conditions in labour market accession. One of the women stated that CCTE and ESSN aids had been given to the family until the husband was granted with a social insurance. As soon as the husband started to work with an insurance, the CCTE and ESSN aids were cancelled. Conversely, a family was given food package support worth ₺ 75 by a Syrian Association called Ulama Al-Sham, which is a well-known association among the Syrians, and it is located in Fatih district of Istanbul. Lastly, the woman

who were granted citizenship for three years pointed out that they received the aid from Fatih Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation as a school support and encouragement. This was the only family supported by local authorities.

These findings revealed that the majority of Syrians benefited from well-known Red Crescent Aid, although the application criteria have shown dilemmas and challenges. It was pointed out that the basic criteria for receiving the aid were having a social insurance and the number of family members during the assessment of the applications. As far as it was mentioned, if a person in a family works with an insurance, the family cannot apply to ESSN and CCTE aid provided by Red Crescent.

3.3. LABOUR MARKET ASSESSMENT

This part aims to reveal the following: child labor and its effects on children's well being, and adults' accession to labor market and the labor exploitation in the informal sector.

3.3.1. Child labour

The researcher encountered four children during the interviews. These four children who were fourteen, fifteen and two of them seventeen were working as a child labourer and not attending the school. A remarkable information regarding the seventeen year-old girl was that she was working in textile as a child labourer, was just married and she had a baby. To put emphasize, the girl who was exposed to child marriage and child labour expressed that she willingly married and loved her husband.

The families sent their school-age children to work under the precarious working conditions in textile sector in Esenler. The fourteen year-old Kurdish girl, who was the daughter of one informant, expressed the child labor picture with the following words:

“I am 14 years old. I want to go to school very much and I speak Turkish. But I can't go to school because I have to work. I work as a machinist in the textile

workshop on the ground floor of our residence and earn ₺ 1600 per month. My father is still in Damascus/Syria, we send him money.”

The statements of an interviewee, whose son was exposed to child labor as a result of poverty and exploitation, as follows:

“When we arrived here, my husband was just working but we couldn’t make a living. Then, my 15-year-old son started to work and he has worked for 2 and a half years in different sectors. First, he worked in Beyazıt as a worker in a shoe workplace, but his employer didn't pay his 6-month salary, so he quit his job there. He is currently working as a worker in textile workshop in Esenler. Regarding the conditions of work, he is working 5 days a week and from 8.00 am to 8.00 pm. The salary is ₺750 per month.” (27, Kurdish woman, 20 October 2018, Esenler).

Those are just two children who were exposed to child labor, labor exploitation, and expelled from school due to poverty. This phenomenon which is related to labor exploitation and refugee child labour explains that the recruitment of children was done compulsorily, forcibly, illegally or voluntarily, as a child labor with no insurance, under precarious conditions especially in informal sector.

3.3.2. Accession to Labour Market

This chapter briefly reviews the assessment of labor market of Syrian women on the basis of specific points which led to facilitate the labor accession, and the reasons of women who were exposed to labor exploitation in the informal sector because of unemployment and poverty. In the light of the interviews, it is observed that the labor market accession has led the Syrian refugee women to work under precarious conditions and to face challenges regarding labor exploitation. Also, the findings show that the local employers have a tendency towards preferring immigrant women as a more exploitable source of labor compared to men.

One of the Turkmen women worked as a translator in a private hospital in Esenler. Her husband also worked and earned income to make a living. The

Turkmen Syrian woman who was graduated from secondary school explained her job with the following words:

“Women in Syria would not work since our income was sufficient. A woman would not work because of prejudices and thoughts of the society but everyone is working in Turkey, both women and men. I was graduated from the secondary school in Syria and I could not continue to high school because of the war. Since I was Turkmen, I was lucky to learn Turkish very easily. I am currently working in a private hospital by providing translation for foreign patients in Esenler. My husband also works in Esenler”. (27, Turkmen woman, 20 October 2018, Esenler).

Another Turkmen woman, graduated from the primary school, said that they did not face any difficulties arising from language barriers because of being a Turkmen, and expressed as follows:

“When we were in Syria, women wouldn't work, so when we came here, we were forced to pay rent and bills. In Syrian culture, women would not work. My husband was a shoe maker in Syria, who currently works as an interpreter at Bağcılar Training and Research Hospital. The Ministry Of Health organized an exam to recruit translators. My husband passed the exam organized by the Ministry of Health in Ankara, he is employed by Bağcılar Training and Research Hospital. He is currently working as a translator there. I have also worked in a local NGO for one year.” (40, Turkmen woman, 20 October 2018, Esenler).

Four of the Syrian women were manufacturing light handcrafts at home such as beadworks assigned to them by their employers. They made the handcrafts with the lowest price like ₺ 5-7 per day and ₺250 per month, so it shows that they were exposed to labour exploitation by their employers. Another woman also worked in a small factory and she earned ₺ 800 per month.

Another woman easily portrayed the labor exploitation, coercion or force relations in the labor market with these following words:

“When I was in Syria, I was a tailor, I had a machine at home, I used to sew clothes. As we came here, I started to do light handcraft manufacturing works like beadwork at home. I had to work with the lowest price when I compared this to the other. I saw that they paid much more salary back then. For this reason, I decided to stop working since I was explicitly exposed to labour exploitation and discrimination by my employer. Now, my husband works as in a small textile factory without an insurance five days a week and earns ₺ 2000 per month.” (40, Kurdish woman, 21 October 2018, Esenler).

The responses demonstrate a very convincing argument that the labor market accession leads to precarious working conditions and labor exploitation. Employers seeking workers in domestic carework (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Lan 2003), light manufacturing (Espiritu 1997), and service industries (Tyner 2003) have shown preferences for immigrant women workers as a more exploitable source of labor than men or native-born women (Nawyn, 2010). That is why, Feminist migration scholarship has uncovered a variety of gendered patterns of economic push and pull dynamics that lead to different migration experiences for women migrants compared to men (Nawyn, 2010).

3.4. EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF LIFE IN TURKEY/ISTANBUL/ESENLER

This chapter aims to obtain information about the daily experiences of Syrian women with Turkish people in Esenler/Istanbul, and the differences and similarities between the Syrian and Turkish communities are the topics to be covered through the daily practices in social life.

3.4.1. Everyday Experiences of Syrian Women

Turkey has faced a mass influx of refugees which caused various problems and social turmoil including unemployment, exploitation of the labor market, poverty, exclusion, and violence. These social dynamics unlikely came along with unexpected economic reasons, social tensions and labor market distortions and

increasing rental prices. And as a result, these problems can also be observed in daily experiences of Syrian refugee women.

The most remarkable answers are related to daily experiences, poverty and language barriers to cope with among the Syrians in this part. When women compared the living conditions between Istanbul and Syria, they said that their income and living conditions were excellent and they did not even have any rent, or pay high utility bill prices in Syria. They had to make their economic conditions better in Istanbul with more family members working and by spending more time at work. For example, four Kurdish Syrian women worked in small textile factories and did handcrafts to earn income. However, the Arab Syrian women did not prefer to work. They mostly stayed home and were interested in doing the housework. However, Turkmen Syrian women expressed that they could easily find a job because of not having any language barriers. Language barriers were stated to be the most important obstacle for especially Kurdish and Arab Syrian woman in their daily experiences. This situation is an good example showing that ethnicity has a significant role in the labor accesion of immigrants from different ethnic communities.

An Arab Syrian woman expressed her feelings about the language barriers with the following words:

“I don't speak Turkish. I want to learn Turkish. Since I did not speak Turkish, I had problems in the hospital, in the market, in everywhere. I have to go with my husband whenever I go and I had to bring my child even I am going to the market. I bring my children with me because the using an interpreter is not for free. Fortunately, my children can speak Turkish.” (35, Arab woman, 27 October 2018, Esenler).

Throughout the history, one of the most important problems of integration for refugees is the language problem. The interviewed Syrian migrant women stated that not knowing Turkish generally complicates the provision of services and causes problems to raise awareness of their rights. The asylum-seekers stated that they did

not know Turkish and could not reach the interpretation support in public institutions. The language problem is a serious obstacle to access to public services, as in all other matters.

Most of the women did not leave Esenler because their relatives and affiliates also live in Esenler. They stated that they generally preferred to go to Esenyurt and Zeytinburnu districts of Istanbul where their relatives lived in.

The presence of arabesque music on TV is the essence of tragedy, poverty and sadness to feel. Today, arabesque music is likely to create a space of cultural intimacy and iconicity among the Syrians and the Turks living in the suburbs of Istanbul (Kaya, 2016). From this point of view, the existence of arabesque music, observed as a cultural instrument between Turkey and Syria, was expressed by a woman with the following words:

“We knew Turkey before, and we listened to singer Ibrahim Tatlis and Emrah (who are the pioneers of arabesque music) on television. We had never been to Istanbul before but we loved here with music and with a feeling of cultural belonging and Istanbul was like a dream for us.” (40, Kurdish woman, 27 October 2018, Esenler).”

Another Syrian woman mentioned the following words:

“We knew about Turkey, our relatives from Turkey were coming to us when we were in Syria to visit especially during the festival time. We had relatives who lived in Gaziantep and Karkamis border, they used to visit us.” (30, Arab woman, 21 October 2018, Esenler)

A Turkmen Syrian woman stated that the following;

“We often attend the meetings of Turkish people. We can understand their language. We attended many meetings with Turks during the Ramadan and had dinner dinner together. We also go to mosque with Turkish women. Sometimes they invite us for breakfast and we accept their invitations, we chat together.” (54, Turkmen woman, 20 October 2018, Esenler)

3.4.2. Discrimination

Discrimination exposed by the host community on everyday life experiences of women seems sturdy and visible within a given area like shops, neighborhood relations, hospital as well. The aim of this course is to take their discrimination experiences and thoughts into consideration.

A 34-year-old Kurdish Syrian woman mentioned about perceptions of host community as follows;

“Turkish people on the street and in the neighborhood behave us badly. They think that Syrians are responsible for, and one of the reasons of the increasing rents prices and the economic crisis. They accuse the Syrians of being dirty and smells. I encounter negative speeches and behaviors in my daily life in the bazaar or market.”

A 40-year-old Kurdish Syrian woman made the following statements about her daily experiences;

“We arrived in Turkey and everything became more expensive in the bazaars and markets, in addition the youth of the Turkish went to fight in Syria. Some Turkish people are right to have a negative approach towards us, because some of the young Syrian people are doing wrong things on the street. Because of them, all the Syrians are perceived as bad people by the Turks. When we first arrived, the Turks were more compassionate towards us, they would come to us to talk and speak, but now they are negative to us. I have some Kurdish friends in the neighborhood who are closer and more sincere to me. I would also like to have a chat and spend time with the Turks, but unfortunately I don't know Turkish. Despite everything, I like to live in Turkey, Turkish people are freer. Women in Syria have no rights, no freedom. We have rights in Turkey and I feel freer here than in Syria, I do not want to return to Syria.”

Another Syrian woman explained her experiences regarding the discrimination with the following words:

“I have been exposed to discrimination by both the employer in the work place and people in the neighborhood in Izmir. We lived in Izmir before going to Istanbul. In Izmir, my children were playing in the neighborhood; a Turkish man accused them of throwing stones at the balcony. They plundered our house and we were unfortunately forced to move to another place in Izmir. The man who accused my children did not stop following us, we went to the court, and finally, the police sent us from Izmir to Istanbul. With the support of a charity association in Esenler we asked for a lawyer, and the case continued. The association summoned me to courthouse for the trial and my children were decided as innocents by the judge. We had to flee from Izmir because of this accusation and we left our home and life in İzmir. My children are afraid of everyone, we are psychologically not fine. “ (34, Kurdish origin Syrian woman, 21 October 2018, Esenler).

The daily experiences of the Syrians and the interviews revealed an expected and growing social tension between the local population and Syrians based on discrimination and exclusion. In addition to the stress and psychological problems caused by displacement of Syrian women, the findings revealed the need to combat the psychological distress more heavily as a result of discrimination.

3.5. SOCIAL COHESION

The current studies show that social cohesion is not a one-dimensional concept and social and cultural aspects of migration should also be taken into consideration. There are different components of social cohesion that are influenced by language, ethnic codes and neighborhood networks, and these components may show differences in the adaptation process of refugee women together with their existing social capital. In this study, I investigate the extent to which elements of social capital affect the integration process of the Syrian refugee women who have different origins in Istanbul. It will help us understand how ethnicity, class, and

gender interact in the process of migration and settlement by especially focusing on cultural similarities during the social cohesion process.

The aim of this part is to figure out the effects of language barriers on social cohesion, the cultural intimacy and cultural interactions between host and refugee communities and the perceptions of the host community in the neighbourhood.

Arabs and Kurds who did not speak Turkish had obstacles especially in public places such as hospitals and schools. In order to solve this, they said that they received support from their children, as they can speak Turkish because of working or going to school in Turkey, or they received the interpretation support for which they had to pay for. On the other hand, the Turkmen, whose mother tongue is Turkmen language, did not encounter any language problems and they could easily find a job though they were uneducated and unqualified. To put another way, the situation with respect to the social cohesion predominantly depends on the language barrier. One point that should be taken into consideration here is that, since children went to school, they could help the women with the Turkish translation. In other words, the Turkish language problem is partially solved with the support of children in the family who attended the school.

A 54-year old Turkmen woman stated her every thought about the cultural intimacy with the following words:

“We have no difficulty in living here, we do not encounter any negativity and we meet our neighbors. We do not have cultural similarities between the Syrians and Turkish people. But everyone knows that Arabs are different from Turkmen Syrians. Turkmen and Turks alike, are the same... I am not against the marriage of Turks and Syrians.”

When questions about Turkish cultural proximity were directed to them; “everyone's life and culture are different, our food is different from Turks, our language is different from them but our religion is the same”, were the most common answers to get from the Turkmen, Arab and Kurdish Syrians.

Most of the women stated that the Syrian women felt as if they belonged to the same community as the Turks because they shared the same religion. They said that even the voice of prayer made them feel a good and a unified sense of sympathy. As Kaya mentioned, the Syrian refugees residing in Istanbul at large, and in conservative neighbourhoods in particular, are likely to construct bridges between themselves and the members of the majority society by means of visual, musical, religious, gastronomic, and even linguistic iconicities, which create a space of intimacy the host communities (Kaya, 2016). For Turkmens, language was a cultural affinity, and for Arabs, the importance of belonging to the same religion was emphasized as follows: “We are all Muslims”.

The responses of the Kurds regarding the cultural proximity can be explained with the following sentences. A 34-year old Kurdish Syrian woman utters her thoughts about the cultural intimacy with the following words:

“The cuisine, cultures, languages of Turkish Kurds are close to ours. But, they consider themselves superior to us in term of societal classes and living conditions. Turkish people don't like us. My top floor neighbor in the apartment is a Kurdish Syrian, I just met her.”

Another 21 year old woman mentioned the cultural intimacy with the following words:

“The Kurdish boss we worked with supports us in all matters. He took us to the doctor, he recruited us and he gives us money when we need. My brother's boss helped us when he was coming here, he helped us with everything. He is a Kurdish origin Turkish man and we can speak Kurdish with him. It is very difficult to speak with Turks because we do not know Turkish. So, the only person who supports us is my brother's boss. He leads us to the doctor when we are sick. We do not meet our neighbors in the neighborhood, we do not go anywhere.”

3.6. SOLIDARITY AND ASSESSMENT OF NETWORK AMONG THE SYRIAN WOMEN & A CASE OF THE INTERVIEW OF TURKMEN SOLIDARITY ASSOCIATION

This part aims to understand the network assessment among Syrian women and their motivations to come to Esenler and to form network ties, so it will contribute to a better understanding of migration and cultural transformation. Particularly, social relations, neighbourhood and solidarity structures, changing gender roles and anticipations in the migration process can be influential in the process of social cohesion.

A 40 year-old Turkmen Syrian explained the solidarity and social networks in Esenler with the following words:

“There are associations of Turkmen Syrians here; my husband is going there, they are meeting the other Syrians there. Everybody takes their children to this association so that they can know each other and remember their relatives. Primarily, men are gathering there on each feast morning. Most Turkmen Syrians meet there and they chat together. At the same time, women are also going to the association on Thursdays, the meetings are held on religious issues.”

As an addition to assessment of the solidarity and social networks, it was observed that, unlike the Kurdish and Arab Syrians, such associations regarding the solidarity and social networks were widespread among the Turkmen Syrians in Esenler. During the field research in Esenler, the Turkmen Association was visited and a meeting was held with the deputy chairman of the association. Information about the establishment purpose, activities, target group and solidarity meetings of the association was provided by the vice president of the association.

The Turkmen Solidarity Association has 250 Syrian members living in Esenler. In line with the information obtained, there is also another Turkmen Solidarity Association in Sultançiftliği that was recently established. The statements of the representative of Turkmen association in Esenler are as follows:

“When we were in Syria, we didn't have such associations. The association is open from 11.00 am to 12.00 pm except Fridays. The aim of this association is to know each other and to be in solidarity with Turkmen. For this reason, Turkmen Syrians usually come to this association. The activities carried out are religious ceremonies and condolence-oriented events related to special occasions on religious days and holidays. For women, at a specific time, which is every Thursday at 2.00 pm, religious conversations and meetings are held. For children; there are courses for Koran knowledge, English and Turkish language and Turkmen history. Also Turks are coming from the local community associations. Those who are the members of the association pay a monthly fee of ₺ 20. Additionally, we have employed a person with a disability in our association. He works here full time and we make monthly payments to him.”

Two Turkmen women aged 54 and 47, stated that they had met the Turks in the neighborhood and the Turks invited themselves to religious conversations and mosques during the month of Ramadan. They said that they attended the conversations organized by women in the neighborhood during Ramadan as they could easily understand the languages of the Turks. They also stated that the Turks invited them as guests, had conversations with them and also called them for a breakfast.

On the contrary to Turkmen Syrians, the following quote was explicitly stated by a 28 year-old Arab Syrian woman:

“I have relatives and friends in the neighborhood, they are Arab Syrians. We usually go to Syrian markets and do shopping. We don't talk to Turks at all, sometimes I greet the Turks in the apartment but they don't answer my greetings. I don't know Turkish women and never know about their lives. I spend time with my family and my husband's relatives.”

The bounds and bridges which are based on solidarity and social networks vary due to the ethno-cultural-language backgrounds. The Kurdish Syrian woman

also provided the details of solidarity and social cohesion relations influenced by the various backgrounds within the following words:

“They invited me from the Municipality of Esenler to a trip they set up for Turks, Syrians and their children. But we did not talk to the Turks because of the language problems. Afterwards, they called us to participate in women's solidarity groups organized by the Municipality. Both the Turks and the Syrians were called, but they sat us down on separate tables, we could not socialize because we could not speak Turkish. People invite me, but I can't speak Turkish with them and for this reason I'm so ashamed. I would love to speak Turkish.”

3.7. EXPERIENCES AS A REFUGEE WOMAN

The everyday experiences of refugee men and women have a lot in common as they face similar challenges. These experiences include different factors which clearly offer relevant information about the process of inclusion and multicultural participation in the host community. In the context of the gender and migration studies, it is mentioned that men appear to be more committed to the maintenance of public and institutionalized transnational ties than are women, while women appear more committed to participating in the life of the receiving country (Itzigsohn & Saucedo, 2005). Social relations in the labor market, public and institutional relations, neighbourhood structures and the relationship with solidarity associations are important reasons that create different integration models for men and women.

For gender-based perspectives, although displaced men and women face similar difficulties, there are different adaptation processes after the displacement process. For example, as men have to work during the day, women have to be more active in the process of participation in everyday life in terms of social cohesion and integration process. In particular, social relations, neighbours and solidarity can be functional tools that affect social cohesion and coexistence processes among individuals.

The aim of the questions in this part is to put emphasizes on why gender has not been a mainstream in the gender-based migration literature. Hence, the questions, asked in this section, aim to find out how “being a refugee woman” was identified by the refugee women themselves. Accordingly, this part explains the process of women's roles in the household and informs about the changing domestic roles and responsibilities concerning the family relations in the process of pre-displacement and the aftermath.

In this context, questions were asked about the psychological problems experienced by the women in the process and after the process, and how to evaluate the situation. Displacement affects refugee women to live in a certain socio-economic level in Syria and to experience more difficult living conditions. Particularly, it is a difficult process for women to move away from their own cultures, identities and habits and to adapt a new life and a new role woman in a new culture with the identity of foreigners and asylum seekers.

3.7.1. The Roles of the Refugee Women within the Gender Perspective

As the responsibilities of women (such as taking care of the children, doing the houseworks and shoppings and also working to contribute to the family income) in the family have increased as a result of the migration process, the problems they encounter in their daily lives have also increased with the effect of these responsibilities. According to their statements, their husbands generally come home tired because of the long working hours and lower salary and this situation leads them to aggressive arguments in their families.

One of the woman shared her thoughts as follows;

“Syrian women are forced to work in Istanbul. Living conditions are extremely difficult. In Syria, we did not pay any rent and bill and the schools did not demand books or such materials from us. However, the schools here demand money and books. We are having financial problems, my husband gives me money each month. At the end of the month, he is telling us to live

on insufficient amount of money, we run out of money before the end of the month. Then my husband blames me and becomes more aggressive. Also my husband is constantly working and it makes him more aggressive, I do not see his face at home. Our relationship was different when we were in Syria, now it's different. He comes to home tired, does not take care of his children, he is eating and sleeping, he is using his home like a hotel. In Turkey, our family relations have changed. In Syria, he didn't work for long hours, he would come home and care for the children and spend more time with the family. Now we do not see his face, even when fulfilling the responsibilities regarding the kids, houseworks and shopping..." (28, Arab Syrian woman, 28 October 2018, Esenler).

3.7.2. Being a Refugee Woman

Interviews with Syrian women once again demonstrate the importance of women as the group which is most affected by adaptation problems during and after migration. Women and immigration have always been intertwined.

In this part, the statements of the women put emphasis on the concept of resilience in displacement to display how quickly women adapt to coping mechanisms in the Syrians context. So, what is resilience? According to the UK Department for International Development (DfID): "disaster resilience is the ability of countries, communities and households to manage change, by maintaining or transforming living standards in the face of shocks or stresses - such as earthquakes, drought or violent conflict - without compromising their long-term prospects." (Majidi & Hennion, 2014). Resilience is a necessary condition to enable positive adaptation and change in displacement process. Considering resilience as a process puts the emphasis on actions which will increase the capacity of the affected population to cope and recover (Kassell, 2014).

The question on how war and displacement affected them as a refugee woman was answered in the context of resilience by a Kurdish Syrian woman and the answer is as follows:

“Of course, most women were affected by the war, ISIS enslaved women, their honor went away. War and migration affected women more. In Syria, women were more coward, and war and migration strengthened women. We witnessed war and violence, we are fighting poverty. We've learned to struggle with living conditions, we're not as scared as we were before. Thanks to my experience in the migration process, I trust myself. If a person can trust himself, he will achieve everything. Being a refugee woman has strengthened me.”

Another 30 year old woman mentioned the resilience in the displacement process with the following words:

“Back in Syria, women just did the houseworks and took care of the children. Conversely, we have to work in Turkey to survive. Here, I am like a man, because of the domestic responsibilities, and the conditions force my husband to work more. We started our lives from scratch here, I feel like I am reborn. In Syria, my husband didn't allow me to work because he was supporting me economically. However, after we came to Turkey, he began to force me to work. But I got used to working along with my responsibilities at home. I can stand on my own feet and I don't expect my husband to help me in financial means.”

A 34-year-old Kurdish woman mentioned about the changing domestic roles on their family after displacement process;

“Women in Syria did not work and looked after their children, they wandered around. But here my husband comes home from work too late, is not interested in the house and the children and does not undertake the responsibilities of the house. I'm working here, doing home management

and learning what is livelihood, how the market and shopping is done, how livelihood is provided, how the utility bills are paid.”

It is a fact that women who had a good income when they were in Syria now have a serious dependency, and they face poverty, labor exploitation, uninsured and precarious working conditions. So, in addition to the process of displacement, the experiences of war also affected the women who are delicate and fragile, and their psychological well being.

3.7.3. Losses Following War

Women were under pressure in various perspectives due to gender-based discrimination in the war environment and they experienced different forms of gender-based violence practices. Women are the ones who experienced the most painful side of the Syrian war. Men were punished by ISIS since their wives were not wearing burka, a dress that is worn by women to cover their bodies completely. The ISIS were also forcing the men to lock their wives in their house in the evenings (after the evening adhan). ISIS fighters were also killing people in the villages. Nobody could move away from the villages. The statements of a woman from a village in Syria are as follows:

“It is fortunate that we could make it here in Turkey. Our relatives back in Syria are still in trouble, they can't even go to hospital. Even the men cannot go out as everyone is armed outside. Our psychology is broken due to what we have witnessed. Syrian women suffered a lot because of the war, most of the women in Syria is wishing that they were in Turkey. For us, our only problem is being away from our homeland but we're more comfortable in here. Additionally, there is no security at nights in Syria, so it is hard to go out at evenings.”

3.8. SENSE OF BELONGING

This section will draw a picture that depicts the expectations of the refugee women from future regarding their hopes from, and sense of belonging to, the host

community. These questions will discover their sense of belonging to the host community, especially to Esenler.

The “sense of belonging” concept and their expectations from the future were aimed to be understood with the questions regarding their desire to have a citizenship, their repatriation (forcibly or voluntarily) after the war and their resettlement applications to UNHCR. Additionally, repatriation, local integration and resettlement were the subjects that were discussed with the interviewees to obtain information about the durable solutions for refugees. According to UNHCR, empowerment, particularly of women and enhancement of productive capacities and self-reliance of refugees through durable solutions would lead equipped and capacitated refugees to either of the durable solutions as voluntarily repatriation to their country of origin, local integration in the country of asylum or resettlement to a third country (UNHCR, 2003).

3.8.1. Resettlement

Resettlement in a third country is an UNHCR procedure that is highly demanded by refugees to have better living conditions particularly in European countries or in the U.S. There are three Syrian women who applied for resettlement to go to a third country. According to these applicants, there is just one family application that was accepted by UNHCR, however, the evaluation process concerning the applications of the other two families still continue. Even if the results of the applications for women do not give a broader perspective to the researcher about the resettlement process, it is a remarkable information that only one family was admitted by the USA.

The interviewees were asked questions regarding their sense of belonging and feeling of security in the environment they were living in. Of fifteen women, four stated they only trusted in their families, two stated they trusted in their employer and three stated they only trusted in themselves and expressed their reliance on their self-confidence. These three women also stated they discovered their strength in Turkey and felt safe here as they trusted the host community. Additionally, older

Turkmen interviewees expressed that they trusted the Turks and felt themselves as a part of the society.

3.8.2. Granted Citizenship and Repatriation

Granting citizenship is a policy adopted by many countries, which is also employed by the Turkish government, to accelerate the integration process of the refugees into the host community. Turkey have implemented various forms of policies throughout the history and it was the first time Turkey adopted a temporary protection policy when the Syrian crisis erupted.

When they were asked about citizenship as a permanent solution, the interviewees' answers were as follows:

“Citizenship is not important to me, I do not want it as long as I have access to fundamental rights. I don't have much knowledge about granting a citizenship, but I heard that some people attended to interviews to apply for citizenship. In particular, there are rumours that Turkmen received messages related to granting citizenship options for only specific ethnical communities.” (34, Kurdish origin Syrian woman, 21 October 2018, Esenler).

Recently, there have been news on social media and tv channels about the returning of the Syrians. The news claimed that the Syrians were willingly or forcibly sent back to Syria by buses. In particular, these news became more visible and widespread after the Operation Olive Branch that was conducted in Afrin. The researcher asked the interviewees whether they heard, or received any information about such news. A 40 year old Kurdish Syrian woman commented on these questions as follows:

“One day, we received a unknown call which said “There is no more conflict in Afrin, you can go back to there if you want”. But I said “My house in Afrin was destroyed, I cannot go back”. Moreover, they mentioned that they would even buy furniture for us if we went back to Afrin. Regarding the citizenship, I do not want to get it, as it would cause the Red Crescent to cancel my ESSN

card. We have turned into stateless persons from citizens, and even if we got citizenship in Turkey it won't matter much as we are not in our home country anymore.”

Also another woman mentioned that her relative from Afrin received the same call and he was sent back to Afrin. Additionally, another woman claimed that they received such messages and calls just because their birth place was Afrin, as written on their TPIDs. It is noteworthy that these three women claimed they all received the same call which said: “Afrin is rescued and the war is over. You can now return to Afrin.” These women also stated that they read posts and announcements on social media that said the information they received was false and the calls were unverified.

Each interviewee portrayed a different picture when they were asked about being a stateless or a displaced person. The answers regarding their sense of belonging to the host community directed the researcher to have a perspective about the feelings and thoughts of stateless persons. A woman uttered her feelings about being a displaced person and being an “other” with the following words:

“When a person is in her own homeland, she feels strong and secure, but after she leaves the country, she feels weak and precarious. Being a refugee always feels weak and “other”. Whatever Turks say about us, they are right, as this is their homeland, not ours”.

One of the woman explained how she faced the challenges related to otherization and discrimination with the following words:

“There are definitely differences between Turkish and Syrian women. Even our appearances are different. On our first days in Turkey, we dressed like Turks did so that we would not look different. One day, A Turkish woman blamed me because of the increase in prices of the potatoes in the market and she called me a filthy Syrian. This is just one of the stories I face in my daily life outside... Unfortunately, you can see this kind of stories especially in public places such as hospitals and markets. The Turkish people are not

hospitable and they have no tolerance for us. As a Turkmen, I think that we share the same language and the same religion, and I wish they were looking at us thinking we were brothers... I do not feel like I belong here, but I do not want to go to another country. Even if I am away from my homeland, it is enough for me to hear the call to prayer.

3.9. THE WOMEN'S EXPECTATIONS FROM FUTURE

At the end of the interviews, women expressed their feelings about future and their expectations. When the questions were over, the researcher asked if they had anything to add regarding their displacement process. The statements of a Syrian woman were as follows:

“As Syrians and Turks, we live together here. We are refugees now, you should ask the Turks the question of living together. Now, I only care about the future of my children, as they have no future or education anymore. Even if we go back to Syria, they will not be able to read or write because they do not know Arabic. We don't see any future and that worries me. Psychologically, I'm tired and I do not feel good. I have financial problems, but I do not want the charities to help me financially or to provide any money. All I want is to work and earn my own money. Apart from these, I have to add that there is respect for people in Turkey” (40, Kurdish origin Syrian woman, 28 October 2018, Esenler).

“The poor is poor everywhere, and the rich is always rich” (35, Arab Syrian woman, 21 October 2018, Esenler).

“Now here is our homeland. We lost our homeland back there and this is the homeland now. And its biggest challenge is poverty and working conditions.” (67, Turkmen Syrian woman, 20 October 2018, Esenler).

“All I want is Arabic language classes in schools for my children to learn Arabic. Our children have the right to learn Arabic, as it is their mother tongue and they have to know it. My children can't read and write in Arabic, they will not be able to speak or write in Arabic when they return to Syria. So what

will the future of my children be if one day we go back to Syria?”(28, Arab Syrian woman, 28 October 2018, Esenler).

Above, the researcher mentioned the consequences of war and displacement process and also their hopes for the future, which were stated by the women. The class conflicts, poverty, sense of otherization, stigmatization and education problems are the main complaints that forced them in everyday experiences. Those are the voices of only a few women in a small picture who experienced the aftermath of the displacement process.



CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1. CRITERION OF CODING

An inductive methodology was used during the fieldwork regarding the refugee settlement, transcription process and analysis of the data in line with ethical issues. The interviews were transcribed via a recorder by the researcher. In the scope of ethical codes, confidentiality and anonymity were particularly taken into consideration due to the concerns of the women. These concerns, which would be pictured as a balloon of feelings, thoughts, fears, worries, excitements, reliefs, were the problems to overcome with the help of coping mechanisms after the displacement process. In this sense, words, sentences, linguistic factors and observations play significant roles in the observations of the researcher and translator who aims to support their data and portray the current picture of the struggles of women, as it must be emphasised that there is no single agreed understanding of the results and interpretations particularly in qualitative research data settings.

4.2. CATEGORIZING THE CONCEPTS

After the transcription of data by the researcher, three concepts -gender, ethno-cultural bounds and social networks- were mentioned below. The answers given in the context of these concepts were interpreted.

4.2.1. Social Capital

Many sociologists and political scientists support the idea that social capital leads to a positive relationships among individuals within a network and connection. Social capital is a concept studied in different contexts of social sciences such as economics, sociology and politics especially pioneered by Bourdieu. Bourdieu's concept is connected with his theoretical ideas on class and he identifies three dimensions of capital each with its own relationship to class: economic, cultural and social capital (Siisiäinen, 2000). In this research, it is aimed to explain the social capital as a link between refugees within the scope of common

values and collective approach to bring them together and integrate to the host community.

Basically, social capital approach consists of three main categories; (OECD, 2007):

i. Bonds: Links to people based on a sense of common identity (“people like us”) – such as family, close friends and people who share our culture or ethnicity.

ii. Bridges: Links that stretch beyond a shared sense of identity, for example to distant friends, colleagues and associates.

iii. Linkages: Links to people or groups further up or lower down the social ladder.

Social networks or relationships within the social capital perform a social function in individual and group interactions within broader structural contexts, such as political institutions, labour markets, the health care system and the education system (Grece-Edward Galabuzi, 2010). The same background like ethno-cultural ties or linguistic mutualities have impacts on refugees’, the positive past experiences like “us” and “other” and institution based trust kind of certificate like a a degree or credential from an institution (R.Curran & Saguy, 2001). According to Siisiäinen; the voluntary associations, like Turkmen Association, as social capital can be understood as resources produced by the association as a collective and shared by its members.

4.2.2. Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is one of the complementary elements of diversity among immigrants’ social capital as well. Social cohesion refers to a process and outcome of social solidarity based on shared values, common norms and common bonds within a national population or community (Grece-Edward Galabuzi, 2010).

4.2.3. Diversity

In multicultural societies, even if living with an “other” effects the receiving country, the diversity is perceived as a valuable social function for countries that has newly encountered with the voluntarily or forced migration in contemporary societies. The cultural differences that exist between immigrants and receiving populations can be harnessed for community renewal, building mutual support and solidarity within communities as a basis for effective integration into mainstream society (Grece-Edward Galabuzi, 2010). Particularly, social relations, neighbourhood and solidarity structures, changing gender roles and anticipations in the migration process can be influential among the important reasons for the progression of social cohesion.

4.2.4. Cultural Intimacy

According to anthropologists, cultural intimacy is a concept which makes tangible contributions to the studies on nationalism in the long term field researches and it also causes a change in dynamics of the public life. Herzfeld defines cultural intimacy as “the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality”. (Kaya, 2016). Perhaps people everywhere use the familiar building blocks of body, family, and kinship to make sense of larger entities (Hezfeld, 2003).

In this field research, cultural intimacy is seen as a concept frequently encountered in the daily experiences and narratives of the people, especially among Turkmen Syrians having same values and identity aspects of Turkish society. This is why cultural intimacy was mentioned to be a concept which enables the communities with similar characteristics to create bonds between each other during the social cohesion process of Syrian women.

4.3. INTERPRETATION OF DATA

In this research, the aim of the researcher is to discuss the role of social capital and social cohesion by focusing on gender, ethnicity, race and classness within the

framework of eight elements. According to Onyx and Bullen; the participation in local community, neighbourhood connections, family and friends connections, tolerance and diversity, working conditions, proactivity in a social context, feeling of trust and safety and value of life are the eight factors or elements that can be said to constitute social capital in action (Grece-Edward Galabuzi, 2010). After the assessments of results and analysis, different outcomes were discovered by researcher in the context of social capital. The problems of refugees are listed as follows; the history of displacement, accesss to appropriate public services like health and education, labour market accession, everyday experiences of their lives, social cohesion including the prejudices of host community, social networks and solidarity, the experiences of being a refugee woman in the context of social capital.

4.3.1. Impacts on Basic Needs and Public Service

The most common difficulties Syrian women emcountered are registration and benefiting from public services as they mentioned during the interviews. Concerning the registration process, the refugees have only access to public services following their registration in the city they are living in. Anyone who has TPID which is registered in another city other than Istanbul, cannot benefit from the public services in Istanbul. Hence, the person can benefit from the services only in the city which they were registered in.

In Esenler district, informal sectors like manufacturing of textile products were commonly preferred by refugees due to the lower salary of the working class and higher unemployment problem in the area. The higher production and long working hours in small factories show that the network of the job-sharing is a strong feature among refugees. Working in informal sectors without insurance and work permit makes Syrian refugees more exploitable and more open to abuse. Child refugees also face the same problems such as suffering from child labour, struggles related to being expelled from school and their level of education. The poverty and child labor exploitation prevent them from accessing to the education services. This seems like a vicious circle of abuse and exploitation for children in a long term. The problem of language barrier also plays a significant role in adaptation process of

the children to school. And deprivation of their right to learn their mother tongue, the Arabic language, is another problem. In particular, they expressed their sadness that their children between the ages of five and ten started the school with the Turkish language and this made their children to lose their knowledge of Arabic language, written or spoken.

4.3.2. Social Impacts on Syrian Women in the Context of the Gender-Based Approach

The gender-based approach which refugee women face in the host country, the intersection of ethnicity, class and gender have a remarkable absence in the literature. My aim is to display the relations between social capital and gender since the problems faced by women in their social life are especially related to the social capital. In here, the social capital refers to highlight the social networks and gender are essential elements for understanding migration and cultural change, refers to international, internal, permanent, and temporary migration (R.Curran & Saguy, 2001). Social networks or relationships perform a social function in individual and group interactions within broader structural contexts, such as political institutions, labor markets, the health care system and the education system.

The gap in the literature shows that migration experiences provide an overview of cultural dynamics and societal outcomes which are extremely interrelated and the gender perspective needs more attention. The explicit elements of differentiating gender roles, household relations and the role of networks in each of these have different contexts. It is recommended to evaluate this research in the context of social capital. In the scope of this, this research firstly aims to understand how social capital might be related to, and used to understand, social cohesion and integration processes. It secondly aims to provide insights on how women are affected by the migration process and how the conditions lead women to empowerment as a result of changing gender roles.

During the interviews, it was evident that there were women who felt more powerful and had a high self-confidence. The Syrian women forced themselves to integrate into social structures even if they had not discovered an existing cultural

change in gender roles after the migration process. It shows that the patriarchal order has undergone a cultural change as a result of the post-migration process. The expressions of the women about identity and self-confidence of women as an individual display the changing roles and cultural transformation in the family structures of Syrians. For instance, they always expressed that they, the husband and the wife, were both the household heads. Two options were observed during the interviews. In a family, either both man and woman work, or the man works intensively, the woman is interested in all problems related to the social life. Both cases cause women to feel powerful and transform the patriarchal structure.

Migrants' participation in labor markets that are structured on the basis of gender and ethnicity certainly takes different forms regarding sex, and migrants encounter different working conditions as well as different forms of exploitation and exclusion depending on their countries of origin (Toksoz & Ulutas, 2012). As I encountered during my research, one of the Turkmen women, who was working as a translator in a private hospital in Esenler because her language was close to Turkish, had a better salary, while one of the Kurdish women who was working in the textile sector had a lower salary. The latter mentioned that she worked for longer hours in exploitable jobs compared to the Turkmens in Esenler. Without the knowledge of Turkish language, finding better jobs was hard and opportunities were gradually decreasing. With the influence of the nationalistic sentiment in this area, Kurdish or Arab Syrian women could be more readily exploited than Turkmens. As a resource derived from social relations that can be harnessed for building social cohesion, social capital promotes social inclusion and the empowerment of local communities (Grece-Edward Galabuzi, 2010). Turkmens are not seen as 'cognates' or 'other' by employers, are treated more warmly in the domestic labor market and Turkmens also do not face labor exploitation, coercion or force relations in the labor market, unlike the Kurds or Arabs. Most of the women mentioned that, as they did not work in Syria, their responsibilities were not extremely intensive and they did not have to work thanks to better economic conditions. They also stated that they did not have much impact

on the financial conditions and the income of their families in Syria. At this point, a few women who were working in Turkey mentioned that they were also working in Syria. Most of the women who were in middle class or upper class in Syria said that they had to work to enable sufficient income. The economic conditions play an important role in Turkey for women as the conditions are pushing them to work in the informal sectors without social insurance.

During the last twenty years there have been three important developments in the field of migration. The first development has been the recognition that there are significant differences between men and women in terms of motivations, risks, and norms governing and promoting their movement and assimilation, as well as differential consequences. The second development has been the incorporation of social network concepts to model a more dynamic migration process. And, the third development has been the recognition that migration decisions are not made by atomistic individuals but conditioned by membership within households and communities (Curran & Saguy, 2001).

4.3.3. The Future Expressions and Sense of Belonging to the Host Community

The displacement of women has created uncertainty about their future. Refugee women who had no say in the process of displacement were asked about their future wishes and thoughts. The important thing is that they decide their own future for themselves and have a say in their future. To obtain information about their expectations from the future, they were requested to answer questions regarding their expectations from future, citizenship and repatriation.

When women were asked questions about citizenship, the responses varied. 6 women wanted to get citizenship, one woman stated that she had citizenship for three years and the others had no idea about citizenship. According to the responses of the woman, they preferred aids over getting citizenship. If the citizenship was granted, they could not receive the aid provided by Red Crescent. This is why, they did not prefer to have citizenship. However, when they were asked about the public rights by the researcher, most of them changed their thoughts positively about the

citizenship. It was observed that poverty and economic conditions were important factors that caused them to change their responses. According to the claims of some women, some Syrians were granted citizenship upon receiving messages about granting a citizenship in April-May 2018. Particularly, the wealthy Syrians who had been living in Turkey for five years, was granted citizenship in Turkey. Three Syrian women said that they had applied to UNHCR to go to a third country. There was only one family who were decided to be resettled to USA by UNHCR, but they did not go to the USA. The expressions of the family show a visible cultural intimacy and preference of living in a Muslim society in Turkey. Based on the statements of the women, cultural intimacy was visible among refugees since living with a Sunni-Muslim society was a priority for Syrians. One of women stated that hearing the calls for prayer from the minarets and going to a mosque is enough for them.

Most of the Syrian women mentioned they were very reluctant to go back to Syria when the war was over. Three of the women were not sure about returning. If the war ended and the living conditions got well, they would return to Syria, as they stated. That is to say, the repatriation of Syrians will be more clear as a result of the improvement of the post-war period connected to public services and living conditions in Syria. Conversely, only two Kurdish Syrian women said that they did not want to return to Syria at the end of the war. They emphasized that there are reasons to live in here. According to them, Turkey is a country including freedom of speech, respect for human beings, equality of men and women to live in here.

Moreover, the expressions of Kurdish women were observed to be overlapping with the claims in the press and social media which are related to the recent repatriation by the authorities. Specifically, it was reached this information was sent to Kurdish Syrians to send back them to Syria within 3 three months. The military operation launched in the beginning of 2018, "Olive Branch", is aimed at moving Kurdish forces from Afrin by Turkish Government (News, 2018). As a comment, after Turkish troops had an operation in Afrin, the Kurdish Syrians were called to go back to Afrin because the war was over and they were asked to live in

Afrin. At this point, it was observed that political and military operations had implications for refugees to determine their future.

4.3.4. The Assessment of Social Capital and Social Networks in Social Cohesion Process

Social capital thus has two components: it is, first, a resource that is connected with group membership and social networks (Siisiäinen, 2000). Portes and Sensenbrenner stressed that most importantly, they show how social structures and individual positions within structures (social capital and embeddedness), such as migrant enclaves, can influence individual identity and behavior (for better or worse) (Curran & Saguy, 2001). Furthermore, the facilitating role of ethnocultural and social networks to adapt to the host community was revealed in this field research. Migrant embeddedness in dense social networks offers resources and opportunities that motivate an individual's sense of obligation and commitment to the group as well as his or her identification with the group and its needs (Curran & Saguy, 2001). In this research, social networks have been evaluated and monitored in the context of social capital among the Syrian women who have different ethno-cultural origin. The social cohesion of Syrian women into the hosting community is researched based on the concept of social capital and the role of women occurred as a key role because of the connection and communication with the social life. The man always worked for long hours and he did not take responsibilities related to the social life of his family outside .

In this research, while the results has shown that the gender-based approach indicates changes in domestic roles after migration, the ethnically based approach allows to measure the impact of social networks on social cohesion of Syrian women. In this respect, the role of ethnographic studies is much more needed. Because Esenler is a cross-sectional area where different ethno-cultural Syrians live and networks of solidarity exist. Ethno-cultural ties, common past and values within the concept of social capital contribute to the development of refugee networks. Fieldwork results obtained from Esenler demonstrate that ethno-cultural differences of women caused an exclusion from, or an inclusion to, the society, resulting in

different solidarity bounds and networks. For instance, the Turkmen Syrians living in Esenler have established more solidarity networks compared to other Syrians and have more easily adapted to the hosting community due to the language similarities, and density of social networks and accession to labor market have made the social cohesion process easier for them.

Moreover, networks can shape the economic and social makeup of the place of destination by, for instance, leading to segregation of migrant groups in their new destination (Curran & Saguy, 2001). Migrant enclaves also lead to a transformation process in terms of social, economic and cultural capital. In this context, the perceptions of the host community, kin-based relations, labor market opportunities, recruitment of the people by employers and social structures are reconstructed in Esenler. Dense kin-based networks promote intense, continuing involvement in kin groups and may slow down assimilation and acculturation in destination areas (Curran & Saguy, 2001). Acculturation and assimilation are processes by which immigrants become more like non-immigrants culturally and socially, but by themselves these processes cannot bring about upward mobility (Gans, 2007). According to Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, acculturation is defined as “the process of cultural change that occurs when individuals from different cultural backgrounds come into prolonged, continuous, first-hand contact with each other”. Regarding this issue, the women also mentioned their experiences of discrimination and acculturation in Esenler with refugee and host community. Finally, they all mentioned that they did not want to go anywhere outside Esenler and they got used to living with inhabitants in Esenler. The fundamental reasons, kin-based relations, social networks and profound bonds with refugee community, are intimately related to reinforcing the ethno-cultural links among Syrian women. Inevitably, this research is limited only with fifteen Syrian women. The research may vary according to women's human capitals, classes, and rural and urban differences.

CONCLUSION

The current studies show that social cohesion is not a one-dimensional concept and social and cultural aspects of migration should also be taken into consideration. There are different components of social cohesion that are influenced by language, ethnic codes and neighborhood networks and these components may show differences in the integration process of refugee women together with their existing social capital. This thesis adopted an inductive research approach to assess the effects of social capital and gender on Syrian women in the process of social cohesion. In this study, I investigate the extent to which elements of social capital affect the integration process of the Syrian refugee women who have different origins in Istanbul. It will help us understand how ethnicity, class, and gender interact in the process of migration and settlement by especially focusing on cultural similarities during the social cohesion process. The fieldwork was conducted with Syrian women in one of the refugee settlements in Esenler.

The primary aim of the interviews is to discover the domain factors of integration such as education, public services, registration, health, employment, citizenship acquisition, social networks and social connection between the Syrian groups, by focusing on ethnicity, gender, linguistic and generation-based questions that were asked to the Syrian women. The secondary aim is to explore the changing life dynamics of refugee women by focusing on the gender-based approach and changing of gender roles in patriarchal refugee families after the displacement process.

In this research, while the results have shown that the gender-based approach indicates changes in domestic roles after migration, the ethnically based approach allows measuring the impact of social networks on the social cohesion of Syrian women. Ethno-cultural ties, common past and values within the concept of social capital contribute to the development of refugee networks. In this respect, the role of ethnographic studies is much more needed. Esenler is chosen as the environment of fieldwork as it is a cross-sectional place which hosts Syrians with different ethnocultural origins and various networks of solidarity. Fieldwork results obtained

from Esenler demonstrate how ethnocultural differences of women caused them to be excluded from or included in the society, and how it led to the creation of different solidarity bounds and networks. For instance, the Turkmen Syrians living in Esenler have established more solidarity networks compared to other Syrians and have more easily adapted to the hosting community due to the language similarities, and density of social networks and accession to labor market have made the social cohesion process easier for them.

There is a clear need for a study concerning social capital as an explanatory concept including bonds, bridges, links and networks. Migrant networks are particularly important vehicles for cultural change precisely because migrants are often considered innovators, migrants serve as gatekeepers to facilitate the movement of others, and early migrants are situated at the margins of several different networks (R.Curran & Saguy, 2001). Particularly, the concept of social capital needs more emphasis regarding belonging to, and being a part of the same community.

While social cohesion or integration can facilitate the integration of refugees into the host community, it can also lead to assimilation of refugees. For this reason, more local ethnographic studies are needed to address that the ethnocultural links and bonds should be argued in the concept of social capital. As this study examined, Turkmens can easily integrate into Turkish society without assimilation, while Arabs and Kurds cannot be integrated without obstacles. Integration can result in assimilation for the Kurds and Arabs who face much more social cohesion problems than the Turkmens. For this reason, the results of the studies emphasize that there is a fine line between the concepts of social cohesion and assimilation, which are controversial and hotly debated issues.

Responses and descriptions varied from woman to woman, changed over time, and depended on the social capital, cultural intimacy and social networks of women concerned their social cohesion process into the host community. Inevitably, this research is limited only with fifteen Syrian women. The research

may vary according to women's human capitals, classes, and rural and urban differences.

In the fieldwork of this research, although findings are not representatives of all displaced Syrian women, it represents a nuanced picture to assess, analyze, compare, contextualize and interpret the displacement process regarding daily experiences and coping strategies. This thesis study is a unique research aiming to analyze the challenges faced by forcibly displaced women in their social cohesion process into the host community. As we consider the extent of today's literature covering the refugees, we see the absence of studies regarding the forced migration, that is carried out especially from the gender perspective in terms of social capital. The concepts of social capital and social cohesion can be more efficiently explained with more fieldwork conducted in relevant areas, as fieldwork is an accessible resource to depict the present conditions and there is a more need for fieldworks regarding the refugees. As mentioned above, the gap in the refugee studies can be filled with more fieldwork carried out by using qualitative and quantitative methods. The studies within scientific and holistic perspectives of Political Science, Sociology, Anthropology, International Relations, Development, Gender and Migration Studies needs more attention so that the fieldworks can fill in the gap in the literature and enhance to Refugee Studies. We can assume migration to be a natural phenomenon which can be witnessed because of different factors at different times and it is unlikely to disappear.

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**ETİK KURUL DEĞERLENDİRME SONUCU/RESULT OF EVALUATION BY
THE ETHICS COMMITTEE**

(Bu bölüm İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurul tarafından
doldurulacaktır /This section to be completed by the Committee on Ethics in research
on Humans)

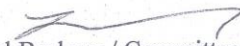
Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Rukiye Şule Çelik

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: Suriyeli Mülteci Kadınların Uyum Sürecinin Toplumsal
Sermaye Kavramı Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi

Proje No. / Project Number: 2018-20013-110

1.	Herhangi bir değişikliğe gerek yoktur / There is no need for revision	XX
2.	Ret/ Application Rejected Reddin gerekçesi / Reason for Rejection	

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 22 Ekim 2018


Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

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Üye / Committee Member

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