

MARGINALIZATION OF WOMEN'S KNOWLEDGE:
THE CASE OF SYRIAN WOMEN IN TURKEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

EDA SÜNER KOÇ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF GENDER AND WOMEN'S STUDIES

OCTOBER 2019

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut Beşpınar (METU, SOC) _____

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör (METU, SOC) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. İlknur Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu (Hacettepe Uni., NEE) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Eda SÜNER KOÇ

Signature :

ABSTRACT

MARGINALIZATION OF WOMEN’S KNOWLEDGE: THE CASE OF SYRIAN WOMEN IN TURKEY

Süner Koç, Eda

M.S., Department of Gender and Women’s Studies

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör

October 2019, 143 pages

In this study, the relationship between international migration and women is problematized in the case of Syrian women in Turkey through knowledge production practices. Although almost half of the mass immigration population is composed of Syrian women, generated knowledge about them is quite limited. In this context, it is claimed that Syrian women’s knowledge is marginalized based on the assumption that their knowledge is invisible, left behind, and unrecognized. The feminist standpoint theory, which points at starting from the experiences of marginal groups to reveal this information, is both the theoretical and the methodological approach of this study. From this approach, it is argued that generating locally and globally positioned women’s knowledge would be a better reality narration, by criticizing universal, essentialist, and

hierarchical knowledge-producing practices. Concordantly, eighty-seven field, situation, and research reports, which were published between 2011 and 2018 by various institutions who were involved in the knowledge-producing process about Syrians, are examined based on feminist standpoint theory. Accordingly, it is analyzed that Syrian women's knowledge is marginalized through not addressing Syrian women as a research subject, male-dominated assumptions forming the design of the research including descriptive analysis ignoring power relations and stereotyping Syrian women as dependent and passive. Moreover, different types of marginality are found to intersect in the knowledge production process in epistemological, methodological, and socio-cultural spheres. Thus, it is understood that the knowledge about Syrian women is marginalized contextually and positionally.

Keywords: Syrian Women, Feminist Standpoint Theory, Knowledge Production, Marginalized Knowledge, Turkey

ÖZ

KADIN BİLGİSİNİN MARJİNALLEŞMESİ: TÜRKİYE’DEKİ SURİYELİ KADINLAR ÖRNEĞİ

Süner Koç, Eda

Yüksek Lisans, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Anabilim Dalı

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör

Ekim 2019, 143 sayfa

Bu çalışmada uluslararası göç ve kadın arasındaki ilişki bilgi üretim pratikleri yoluyla Türkiye’deki Suriyeli kadınlar özelinde sorunsallaştırılmaktadır. Suriye’den Türkiye’ye yönelen kitlesel göç akınının neredeyse yarısını Suriyeli kadınlar oluşturmalarına rağmen onlara ilişkin üretilen bilgi oldukça kısıtlıdır. Bu bağlamda, Suriyeli kadına ilişkin bilginin görünmez olduğu, geride bırakıldığı ve tanınmadığı varsayımından hareketle Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin marjinalleştirildiği savunulmaktadır. Bu bilginin açığa çıkmasında marjinal grupların deneyiminden başlamayı işaret eden feminist duruş kuramı; bu çalışmanın hem teorik hem de metodolojik yaklaşımını oluşturmaktadır. Böylece evrenselci, özcü ve hiyerarşik bilgi üretim pratikleri eleştirilerek yerel, ulusal ve küresel

konumlandırılmış kadın bilgisi üretmenin daha iyi bir gerçeklik anlatısı olacağı savunulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Suriyeliler hakkında bilgi üretim sürecine dâhil olan çeşitli aktörlerin 2011 ve 2018 yılları arasında yayımladığı seksen yedi saha, durum ve araştırma raporu feminist duruş kuramı üzerinden incelenmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, Suriyeli kadınların araştırma öznesi olarak ele alınmaması, ataerkil varsayımların araştırmanın tasarımını şekillendirmesi, güç ilişkilerini görmezden gelen betimsel analizlere yer verilmesi ve Suriyeli kadınların bağımlı ve pasif olarak stereotipleştirilmesi yoluyla Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin marjinalleştiği analiz edilmiştir. Bununla birlikte, epistemolojik, metodolojik ve sosyal-kültürel alanlarda farklı tip marjinalliklerin bilgi üretim sürecinde kesiştiği bulunmuştur. Sonuç olarak, Suriyeli kadınlar hakkında üretilen bilginin bağlamsal ve konumsal olarak marjinalleştirildiği anlaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriyeli Kadın, Feminist Duruş Kuramı, Bilgi Üretimi, Marjinalleştirilmiş Bilgi, Türkiye

To my beloved mother
and
To beloved Syrian women

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is a product of my migration story and of many people's continuous support. From this point, I would like to thank all my family, teachers, friends, and colleagues. Also, there are some people who deserve special thanks for this thesis.

First of all, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör. Without her understanding, encouragement, support and comments, I could not write this thesis. Also, I would like to thank members of the examining committee, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Umut Beşpınar and Assoc. Prof. Dr. İlknur Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu for their valuable comments, suggestions and critical reading.

I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Mehmet Ecevit for his suggestions, patience, believing in me, and his intellectual and personal support. I would also like to acknowledge Gamze Gül, Ece Yılmaz, Merve Akbıyık and Fethiye Beşir as a part of the METU Gender and Women's Studies, for whom I am grateful for their comments, support and friendship. In addition, I would like to thank my close friends Özge Çevik, Pelin Aslan ve Zuhal Gökçe for their endless laughing, extraordinary ideas and believing in me. Furthermore, I would like to thank Ebru Evcen and Anita Tjan for reading, editing and commenting on my thesis with encouragement, and supporting me with their patience.

Through the process of writing, I owe special debt to my family for providing me emotional, mental and physical support. I am grateful to my mother Zibiye Süner and my father İbrahim Süner for introducing me to books, for encouraging me to write, for allowing me to grow among the books in our stationary, creating for me a world where I can dream, and for always whispering in my "big ears" that "you can do it". Then I would like to thank my brother Mustafa Can Süner for his encouragement, unfailing support and huge hugs. He is more than a brother to me. He is also a sister, mother, father and a best friend. In addition, I would like to thank my mother-in-law and father-in-law for their continuous support. Also, I am gratefully-indebted to my husband Ahmet Bahadır Koç for

his suggestions, love, comments, belief in me and support. Without them, I could not finish this thesis.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank myself. I always forget to thank myself and underestimate the power inside me. This is because at times I felt desperate and thought that I could not complete my thesis. I always reminded myself that I have the power to write. However, since I can write all these thanks today, it means that I have completed my thesis! I wish this thesis, which is a collective product of both a personal and an academic story of mine, will contribute to understanding of the experienced reality of Syrian women.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES	xiii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xiv
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background of the study	2
1.2. Aims and objectives of the study	4
1.3. Assumptions of the study	5
1.4. Importance of the study	6
1.5. Methodology of the study	7
1.6. The structure of the thesis	8
2. FEMINIST STANDPOINT THEORY: BOTH THEORY AND METHODOLOGY OF ASSUMED “KNOWN” WORLD	10
2.1. The position of feminist standpoint in the feminist theories.....	11
2.2. The operationalization of FST to the subject matter of the thesis.....	14
2.2.1. How do we know what we know? In the quest for ‘her’ knowledge.....	15
2.2.2. An alternative way to think objectivity: ‘Strong objectivity’	19
2.2.3. The outsider within status	23
2.2.4. Intersectionality and marginality: Are there any space for creativity?	26
2.2.5. Methodology: A way to secure the marginalized knowledge	29
3. KNOWLEDGE OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION	33
3.1. Traditional way to understand migration: Mainstream theories	35

3.2. Feminist contributions to theories of migration	40
3.2.1. Women and migration.....	40
3.2.2. Gender and migration.....	44
3.3. The incorporation of feminist standpoint theory into the migration theorizing	49
4. THE MORE SYRIANS, THE MORE CHALLENGES.....	52
4.1. Historical and legal framework.....	52
4.1.1. The “novelty” of Syrian case	54
4.1.2. A new legal ground: Is it a break from the past?	57
4.2. Evolution of Syrian mass migration.....	61
5. A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PUBLISHED REPORTS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF FEMINIST STANDPOINT THEORY	72
5.1. Methodology of the study	72
5.2. Knowledge of Syrian women and marginalization.....	77
5.2.1. In pursuit of feminist standpoint epistemology.....	77
5.2.2. Situated, located and contextual knowledge	83
5.2.3. The outsider within status: Syrian women.....	87
5.2.4. Intersection of multiple forms of marginality	90
5.2.5. Methodology of the published reports	95
6. CONCLUSION	101
6.1. Contributions of the study.....	101
6.2. Limitations of the study	104
6.3. Recommendations for further studies	106
REFERENCES.....	108
APPENDICES	
A. LIST OF THE PUBLISHED REPORTS ON SYRIANS IN TURKEY	121
B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET	131
C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU	143

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

Figure 1 - The Number of Syrians under Temporary Protection (DGMM, 2019)	64
--	----

Tables

Table 1 - Distribution of the Reports	76
Table 2 - List of The Published Reports	121

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
AI	Amnesty International
ASAM	Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants
ASRA	Association of Assistance Solidarity and Support for Refugees-Asylum Seekers
CTDC	Centre for Transnational Development and Collaboration
DGMM	Directorate General of Migration Management
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
EU	European Union
FST	Feminist Standpoint Theory
GBV	Gender Based Violence
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICG	International Crises Group
IGAM	Association for Research Centre of Asylum and Migration
IHH	Humanitarian Relief Foundation
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMC	International Medical Corps
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migrations
KADEM	Women and Democracy Association
KDK	The Ombudsman Institution
LFIP	Law on Foreigners and International Protection
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Transgender and Queer
MAZLUMDER	The Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for the Oppressed
MBB	Marmara Municipalities Union

MC	Mercy Corps
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NNGO	National Non-Governmental Organization
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
ORSAM	Centre for Middle Eastern Studies
RI	Refugees International
SETA	Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
STL	Support to Life
TBB	Union of Turkish Bar Association
Red Umbrella	Kırmızı Şemsiye Cinsel Sağlık ve İnsan Hakları Derneği
TISK	Turkish Confederation of Employer Association
TPR	Temporary Protection Regulation
TTB	Turkish Medical Association
UCLG-MEWA	United Cities and Local Government Middle East and West Asia Section
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
USAK	Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Let's assume a baby is in front of us. This baby lacks an identity that shapes, directs and affects its life. The baby's family, society, and culture are ready to assign a distinct identity to this baby while it is in the mother's womb. After birth, which means the baby is alive and part of the physical world, society as an imagined or real community, assigned to this baby multiple identities, of which two of them are critical from my standpoint. The first identity is the biological sex of a baby, whether it is a boy or a girl. Gender, which is a socially-constructed identity, not a biological one, determines the baby's name, toys, social roles, and even the color of the clothes. The expected gender roles and gender identities within a given society shape and reshape the dynamics of social, political and economic life.

Another assigned identity of a baby is its nationality. A baby is identified as whether it is Turkish, Syrian, Italian or French. This identity, like its gender, has an impact on a baby's available resources, relations to power, and the realm of the free movement. Both identities intersecting with multiple others, I think, are essential to understanding the connection between gender and international migration because the dynamics of migration both constitute and are constructed by gender, and vice versa.

While imagining a baby irrespective of any assigned identity, we see that the world surrounds us and does not put us in an isolated space. We have diverse social locations and positions, where the material reality and historical circumstances shape our experiences of the world. These social, political, economic and cultural locations both limit and shape our way of knowing. Therefore, individuals from different locations have

to a certain extent different experiences (Intemann, 2010, p. 785). To understand the foundation of these differences, the intersection of the mentioned identities with various others seems to be an appropriate starting point to explore connections between gender and international migration. With this standpoint, this thesis is about the marginalized lives of those with a nationality and gender that affect their experiences. In this regard, this thesis is the story of the marginalized women's lives and their knowledge in the context of Turkey.

1.1. Background of the study

Migration is a complex and dynamic phenomenon in which different disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, economy, geography and psychology are analyzed from different standpoints. While analyzing the process of migration, each discipline has its own assumptions, theoretical background and methodology. Despite the existence of disciplinary diversity, the common feature is their gendered nature. In this sense, they fail to explain social reality. In other words, they explore social reality from the men's perspective. Theoretical explanations about what migration is, why people migrate, how people decide to migrate and how societies are affected from migration lack insights on women. In this respect, it is crucial to understand the relationship between women and migration. Also, it is obvious that the process of migration is not isolated from gender. The dynamics of gender or gender regimes of both receiving and sending countries play an important role for the experiences of migrant women. Moreover, gender regimes are also significant not only for women but also for men. Yet, women have been systematically ignored in the migration process; as a result, it is necessary to understand migrant women's experiences who are in the margins of social, political and economic spheres.

It is common knowledge that the mobility of human beings has increased and has been accelerated during the globalization process. Parallel with this, Castles and Miller calls this age "the age of migration" which international migration has been accelerated, globalized, feminized, diversified and become increasingly politicized (2009, p. 10-12). Different actors such as international organizations, supra-national bodies, NGOs are

involved in the process of migration. Most states are under the pressure of international community while claiming a sovereignty within their territory. Also, most migration policies are not gender-sensitive. This deficiency deepens the marginality of women. The issues related to women are perceived as the issues of low politics, and of private and personal problems. The distinction between public and private spheres intensifies the degree of this marginality.

In the migration literature, the conventional theories excluded women as a full human subject while analyzing migration. They neglected the agency and subjectivity of women in migration process. They were generally portrayed as “associational” and “dependent” migrants (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005, p. 4). In addition to this, Brettell states that

Although the geographer and statistician E. G. Ravenstein (1885) had observed gendered differences in migration patterns (women participate more heavily in short distance moves while men appear in greater numbers in longer distance mobility) toward the end of nineteenth century, these differences were not rigorously documented or considered and women in particular remained largely invisible in studies of migration (2016, p.1).

This invisibility and omission of women from migration studies marginalize women. Paradoxically, any effort to remedy this situation tends to marginalize women as well. As Hondagneu-Sotelo pointed out that women should not be analyzed as “a segregated subfield, separate from major dynamics of migration” (2005, p. 5). Thus, taking women into account separately and isolated from men is also deepening this marginalization. On the other hand, not only women have remained marginalized in migration studies but also “the field of migration studies as a whole . . . has remained marginalized because of the lack of a theoretical core” (Hirschman, 2001). This double marginalization gives different insight about the migration of women.

Taking into consideration these realities, this thesis aims to understand the marginalization of migrant women’s knowledge in the context of Turkey. This is because Turkey has experienced a new phenomenon called Syrian migration in the national context. Since the beginning of the Syrian conflict, the number of Syrians has increased gradually, and half

of this mass migration flow are composed of women. Although there are statistics and descriptive analysis about the conditions of Syrians, the produced knowledge on Syrian women is limited. From this starting point, Feminist Standpoint Theory (hereafter FST) provides a valuable perspective for the analysis of the neglected and underestimated knowledge of the marginalized groups, the Syrian women.

In the scope of this study, Syrian women are multiple, and heterogeneous agents of knowledge. This is why FST is chosen as theoretical and methodological approach of this study. In addition to this, I consciously prefer to use the term “Syrian women” because the legal definition of a Syrian has changed since the beginning of the Syrian conflict. At first, they were called “guests”, then they received the temporary protection status. On the other hand, some researchers referred to the Syrians as refugees in the literature. It is obvious that Syrians did not acquire refugee status in the legal ground because of the geographical limitations in the Geneva Convention. Therefore, the term Syrian women refers to Syrian women who live in Turkey, irrespective of their legal status.

In this study, the marginalization refers to the unrecognition, invisibility and exclusion of Syrian women’s knowledge in the knowledge generating practices. The degree and intensity of this marginalization intersects with age, class, educational level, socio-cultural background, nationality and economic position. To systematically investigate roots of this marginality in the knowledge production processes, this study focuses on the published reports on Syrians. Because various agencies or actors engage in the knowledge production processes through releasing field, situation and research reports.

1.2. Aims and objectives of the study

The aim of this thesis to understand whether the published knowledge on migration marginalizes migrant women’s knowledge or not. If the answer is “yes”, I would like to uncover how and why women’s knowledge is marginalized.

The main research problem of the study is the marginalization of Syrian women’s knowledge in the reports, which were produced about Syrians who live in Turkey with the

lens of FST. These reports, produced by various institutions, cover the period of 2011 and 2018. With this main problem, I attempt to answer the specific questions below:

1. Who produces knowledge on migration? What is the main subject of the reports? Are Syrian women the subject of knowledge in the reports? Are Syrian women seen as a heterogeneous category?
2. What is the relation between production of the information and power? What are the dominant institutions? Which factors influence the knowledge production in Turkey? What are the positions of the reports in knowledge production processes?
3. How are Syrian women portrayed in the reports? Do the reports recognize the subjectivities and agencies of the women?
4. What is the meaning of marginality? What are the spheres in which women are presented as marginal? What are the interlocking systems of marginalization in the released reports?
5. What is the methodology of the reports? Do these reports start from the women's experiences or not?

1.3. Assumptions of the study

This thesis assumes that migrant women are marginalized in the host country. In conjunction with this assumption, I started my research from the lives of marginalized migrant women, Syrian women. By assuming marginality of these migrant women, I am not assuming a universal category of migrant marginality with an essentialist perspective. In this assumption, I recognize the differences among women and the distinctiveness of their experiences. In addition to this, I do not mean that being a woman and being a migrant automatically make someone marginal. The foundation for the marginality of migrant women is based on how someone poses a question of women or how and why someone does not pose a question of women. In other words, the marginality of women lies in the way they are presented, understood, and constructed with society.

The second assumption of this thesis is strongly associated with the first one. The marginality of women is not perceived as a single form. Rather I propose a multiplicity of

marginality that is dynamic, changing, relational and conflicting with the given context. These marginalities may intersect with one area or more than one over time and space. In this sense, they may come to the surface in the following areas: space, culture, social, economy, politics, and knowledge. From this vantage point, I assume that the knowledge of Syrian women is marginalized in the context of Turkey. Operating on this assumption, I want to study the marginalized knowledge of Syrian women.

1.4. Importance of the study

The reason why I choose Syrian women's knowledge as a research topic is embedded in the general question of knowledge production. The importance of this study lies in the heart of knowledge problematizing because our understanding and perception of the world is shaped and constrained by the knowledge produced as I mentioned previously. The institutions/actors who are involved in the knowledge production processes have power to shape the reality from their point of view. In this regard, the dominant actors' way of seeing the world is presented as a universal and a general knowledge of the experienced reality. Contrary to this, I search for a located, partial and contextual knowledge from the standpoint of marginalized lives, women's lives by using FST. In this way, it is possible to uncover the prevailing knowledge and its limits to understand Syrian women's position in society. This perspective will add a new dimension to our storage of knowledge.

The other importance of this study is grounded in the case of Syria in the context of Turkey. At the time of this writing, eight years has passed since the beginning of Syrians flows to Turkey. To understand the recent phenomenon, various actors published information about Syrians in the scope of crises literature. This published information is conveyed through multiple forms and instruments such as newspapers, articles, policy papers, field analysis, and reports. It is obvious that there exists a growing literature on Syrian migration in Turkey. Despite the existence of this literature, the knowledge of Syrian women is limited in the various areas of the migration research. Analyzing the specific forms of knowledge production -the published reports- with the feminist standpoint methodology, this study offers a new way of migration theorizing and research. At the same time, this study will map the geography of knowledge on Syrian women in

systematic and comprehensive ways. With this approach, our understanding of the existing knowledge about Syrian women will be deepened. To this end, it is important to note that the produced knowledge has power to reproduce the misperceptions, inequalities and dominations in each society, to influence the policy formulations of different institutions, and to marginalize that which has already been marginalized.

1.5. Methodology of the study

I have selected FST and a qualitative research method to systematically analyze the marginalization of Syrian women's knowledge. To achieve this aim, I have preferred to examine the published reports on Syrians which have different backgrounds, epistemologies, methodologies and engagements in the field of migration. Their specific historical and material conditions allow me to understand current knowledge production processes in Turkey.

Operating from the base of my research questions, I examined the published reports by using five themes of feminist standpoint theory. First, I used the feminist standpoint epistemology to criticize traditional understanding of knowledge production. Second, I relied on the concept of "strong objectivity" to uncover power relations in different stages of the knowledge production processes. Third, I operationalized "the outsider within", "the self-definition" and "the self-valuation" concepts to discover representation of Syrian women's in the reports. Fourth, I used the concepts of "marginality" and "intersectionality" to understand the interlocking systems of multiple forms of marginalization. Fifth, I used feminist standpoint methodology to identify the report's methodological approach. Therefore, the use of the chosen themes reflexively represents my standpoint as a researcher and my interpretation of FST.

In adopting FST's themes in my thesis, I critically evaluate the knowledge which was already acquired from the diverse fields. In the scope of this thesis, I examined eighty-seven published reports about Syrians who live in Turkey. As a data source, I preferred to use the published reports to locate the produced knowledge about Syrian women in its

context and to understand how the produced knowledge and the knowledge production practices are negotiated through multiple intersected forms of marginalization.

1.6. The structure of the thesis

This thesis contains six chapters. The current chapter presents the subject matter of the research, the knowledge of Syrian women. It also provides the background of the study, aims and objectives of the study, the importance of the study, the assumptions of the study and the methodology of the study.

The second chapter is about FST which was selected as a theoretical and methodological framework of this study. The arguments of FST are presented by highlighting the differences and commonalities within and between its texts. This discussion enables locating FST in both the feminist theory and the social theory. Following this part, I operationalize themes of FST to the subject of the study. I advocate the relevancy and usefulness of the chosen themes such as feminist standpoint epistemology, partial and located knowledge, strong objectivity, the outsider within status, marginality, intersectionality, and strong reflexivity.

The third chapter is about the knowledge of international migration. It presents the critical review of international migration theories to understand the position of women's knowledge. The assumptions and perceptions of mainstream theories together with their arguments are discussed in the first part of this chapter. Then I emphasize feminist contributions to the migration theories under the following sub-headings: 'women and migration' and 'gender and migration'. In this way, the continuities and breaks in the knowledge generation processes are demonstrated. This transformative reflection about the literature provides the background of the knowledge production practices which marginalize the women and their knowledge. To uncover further marginalities, I try to incorporate FST into migration theorizing.

The fourth chapter is about Turkey's response to the Syrian case. It portrays Turkey's history of migration to show distinctiveness of the Syrian mass migration. The legal and institutional bases of Turkish migration system and the heteronormativity of its migration

policies are summarized. I present the evaluation of Syrian mass migration in two stages: the initial stage (2011-2014) and the ongoing stage (2014 -) by specifically concentrating on the responses of diverse agencies to Syrian situation. In this way, I draw a picture of the knowledge production agencies to uncover which knowledge was produced about Syrians, in general, and Syrian women, in specific, in the context of Turkey.

The fifth chapter is about the knowledge production process on Syrian women in the context of Turkey. First, I explain the methodology of the study, feminist standpoint methodology, in detail. Then I continue with the reflexive analysis of the published reports which covers the period of 2011 and 2018. The reports about Syrians are examined by using the specified five themes of FST: 1- Feminist standpoint epistemology, 2- Strong objectivity 3- The outsider within status, 4-Intersectionality and marginality, 5- Feminist standpoint methodology. In this way, I show how women's knowledge is marginalized through the knowledge production processes and I present the interlocking forms of knowledge marginalization about Syrian women.

In the conclusion chapter, I explain the potential contributions of the study with its limitations. Also, I provide a comprehensive approach of the findings of the study, then I concluded with some recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER 2

FEMINIST STANDPOINT THEORY: BOTH THEORY AND METHODOLOGY OF ASSUMED “KNOWN” WORLD

Thinking from the perspective of women's lives makes strange what had appeared familiar, which is the beginning of any scientific inquiry. (Harding, 1991, p.150)

In this chapter, I would like to clarify why I use FST to analyze the subject matter of the thesis. For this purpose, firstly, I mention the background of the theory by emphasizing its value for social theory. While doing this, I elaborate commonalities and differences within and between its texts. This discussion enables us to understand its main arguments while positioning FST in feminist science studies.

Secondly, based on this discussion, I would like to explain how I operationalize FST to understand the marginalization of women's knowledge in the context of international migration. With this aim, I explore and defend five themes of FST under the following headings: 1) How do we know what we know? In the quest for 'her' knowledge, 2) An alternative way to think objectivity: 'Strong objectivity', 3) The outsider within status, 4) Intersectionality and marginality: Are there any space for creativity? 5) Methodology: A way to secure neglected knowledge.

using these classifications, I examined reports which generate knowledge primarily about Syrian migrants in Turkey. Various institutions such as state, national, and international NGOs, think tanks and academia have produced these reports in different times. By using FST as both an epistemological and methodological ways, I aim to explore the marginalization of Syrian women's knowledge in the context of Turkey. Therefore, these

concepts are essential for the positioning of this thesis in both the feminist theory and the social theory.

2.1. The position of feminist standpoint in the feminist theories

There are different ways of being a feminist because social reality cannot be fully understood from one single viewpoint. That is why the same social reality is theorized in a variety of different ways. With this respect, it is more meaningful to call feminism not a single form but in a plural form, feminism(s). Differentiated forms of the feminisms have the potential to produce multiple and contradictory knowledge about women because many different women's lives exist, and this constitutes vulnerable grounds for knowledge. With the various social and political agendas of feminism, the scope of "scientific" study has enlarged. According to Hawkesworth and Disch (2016), feminist theory is "a vibrant intellectual practice" that has challenged academic disciplines including the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences (p. 1). Parallel with their argument, Wylie states that

... it is the political commitment that feminists bring to diverse fields that motivates them to focus attention on lines of evidence others have not sought out or thought important; to discern patterns others have ignored; to question androcentric or sexist framework assumptions that have gone unnoticed and unchallenged; and sometimes to significantly reframe the research agenda of their discipline in light of different questions, or an expanded repertoire of explanatory hypotheses. (2003, p. 32).

As Wylie highlights, feminist theory has opened new areas, brought new questions, and challenged taken-for-granted assumptions. In this sense, the contributions of feminists and feminist theories to science are undeniable. Reflecting the specific conditions of their emergence, feminist theories have diverse and contentious assumptions, claims, and concepts for understand women's position in society. Despite the differences among feminist theories, it is possible to identify three common characteristics in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries:

... (1) efforts to denaturalize that which passes for difference, (2) efforts to challenge the aspiration to produce universal and impartial knowledge, and (3)

efforts to engage the complexity of power relations through intersectional analysis. (Hawkesworth & Disch, 2016, p. 4).

Aligning with identified characteristics of feminist theories, FST seeks to reveal “the assumed known world”, the social reality, but their way of problematization of the social is different concerning both its epistemology and methodology. In this sense, I search for an answer to those differences. To examine this, I will mention the historical background of FST, and then I will focus on FST’s commonalities and differences. Firstly, it is not easy to explain what standpoint theory is. There is an ongoing debate about the meanings of FST, but it is evident that FST is the prominent and lively debated “critical” feminist theory that has roots in Marxist theory and second-wave feminism dating back to the 1980’s and 1990’s. As a result, FST advocates the value of experiences and transformative action.

In this sense, FST has two underlying assumptions and concerns that are in common, for my elaboration. These two commonalities have both an epistemological and methodological significance to understand my subject matter. The first commonality is about FST’s epistemological position. FST has a critical stance “about relations between the production of knowledge and practices of power” (Harding, 2004, p. 1). For FST, the relationship between knowledge and power reflects “the inseparability of politics, theory, and epistemology” (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p. 65). It means that FST rejects the idea that politics give harm the ‘scientific’ knowledge; so, it questions the institutions and actors who have the power to produce knowledge. In this way, it has challenged the traditional modernist understanding of objectivity through problematization of what counts as knowledge, how knowledge is produced, which knowledge is produced under what conditions, and what kind of power relations is critical for the knowledge production. Being critical about knowledge production is one of the major contributions of FST to feminist theory.

The other commonality is closely related to the first one in that the knowledge is grounded in the marginalized lives. For Harding, women’s lives and experiences provide the grounds for knowledge because women’s lives are a scientific and epistemic resource for

research, knowledge production (2004, p. 128). In other words, FST offers a methodology for research by claiming to start from the women's lives, not privileging the lives of any group of women. On the contrary, FST recognizes the significance of the intersectionality of power dynamics and diversity between women's experiences. As a result, it starts research from the lives of a different historical group of women. For them, each woman's life is a good starting point to explain certain aspects of the social order. That is why it criticizes the universalist and essentialist claims. Therefore, the knowledge which is produced for the marginalized (migrant) women is partial, locational and contextual.

Despite the commonalities, there are controversies within the theory. The first controversy arises from its engagement of modernism and postmodernism. While FST is harshly criticizing the modernist understanding of objectivity, universalism, essentialism, and binary thinking, it does not entirely reject modernism. At the same time, it benefits from the postmodern concepts like "specificity, multiplicity, situatedness of the subject" to analyze the realities of women's lives. Social change is at the middle of the tension between modernism and postmodernism. Modernism enables women to come together under "the umbrella of diversity" even though differences exist. This has the potential for social change.

The second controversy is related to differences within FST. As it is evident that there is not only one form of feminism; not surprisingly, there is not only one form of feminist standpoint. These differences are related to the interdisciplinary nature of FST because each discipline has its specific historical and material circumstances. For Haraway, "there is no single feminist standpoint because our maps require too many dimensions for that metaphor to ground our visions" (2004, p. 93). In this respect, Haraway highlights the plurality of knowledge by referring to situated knowledge. Like Haraway's argument, Harding claims that "standpoint theorists, like their critics, have differing views of what standpoint theory is and can do." (Harding, 2004, p. 4). Therefore, having "too many dimensions". In other words, "differing views" between feminist standpoint theorists have developed controversies within FST.

These controversies and tensions could be both a resource and a challenge to further development of FST. For Harding, this controversiality is a “valuable resource” to the development of the social theory (2004, p. 1). Firstly, she believes that differences within women’s lives produce differences within standpoint theories. These differences are a better way to understand the epistemological and political concerns of those groups. Secondly, feminist standpoint has emerged from different disciplines which have distinctive histories and concerns. As a result, FST is seen as both an anti-disciplinary and disciplinary theory because it challenges disciplines outside of them while transforming them from within. Like her, Rouse claims that this controversiality can be a resource if FST leads feminists toward the “philosophy of science” that is to say, “the practices of science” (Crasnow, 2009, p.190).

With this line of assumptions and claims, FST provides a new and valuable understanding of social reality. The social reality under this field of inquiry is “the international migration”, specifically Syrian women’s knowledge who live in Turkey. With this respect, I want to concentrate on the operationalization of FST to my subject matter in the second part of this chapter.

2.2. The operationalization of FST to the subject matter of the thesis

In this part, I want to focus on central themes of FST to make them operational in my subject matter, the marginalization of Syrian women’s knowledge. For this purpose, I divide this part into five subheadings. In the first subheading, I question the knowledge production on migration by introducing new agents of knowledge. This discussion enables me to explain why Syrian women a better starting point for knowledge production is. At the same time, this part reflects the FST’s critics to the universalist and essentialist knowledge claims. With these criticisms, I have the chance to see differences between and within migrant women.

In the second subheading, I will discuss an alternative way to think about objectivity. This way is referred to as “strong objectivity” that implies the situated, partial, and located

knowledge by emphasizing the shifting natures of standpoints. This part also enables me to examine the relation between power and knowledge production.

In the third subheading, I will elaborate “the outsider within status” to understand the standpoint of marginalized people. While introducing this concept, I aim to understand the actualities of Syrian women. Furthermore, the process of self-definition and self-valuation provides for grounds of subjectivities of agents. With this approach, I would like to research how women are portrayed in the Syrian reports.

In the fourth subheading, I will explore the connections between marginality and intersectionality. With this discovery, I have a chance to understand interlocking systems of oppression, domination and marginalization to uncover subjectivities of agents. In addition to this, my aim is to understand whether the marginalized position brings about a space for creativity. If it is the case, I will aim to understand which forms.

In the last subheading, I mention the methodology of FST as a way of securing marginalized knowledge, women’s knowledge, in specific Syrian women’s lives in this context. While analyzing Syrian reports, I search for a methodology of FST as a way of revealing power relations to recognize the significance of Syrian women’s experiences. In addition to this, this part enables me to discuss my position as a researcher and different aspects of reflexivity related to both the researcher and the researched.

It is evident that each subheading is not isolated and independent of each other. These subheadings are all interconnected and add significance to understanding the marginalization of women’s knowledge. Therefore, thesis is based on each of these subheadings to question the information disseminated about migrant women and how this information deepens and intensifies their marginality.

2.2.1. How do we know what we know? In the quest for ‘her’ knowledge

While I am elaborating on this subheading, a question enters my mind, asking “Whose science/knowledge is it?”. As Smith states in her critique of sociology that “the subject of sociological sentences (if they have a subject) are male” (Smith, 2004, p. 27). What does it mean for sociologists? And the very same question is valid for all the disciplines from

humanitarian sciences to natural sciences. Where are the voices of women? Who speaks for women under what conditions? Is there any alternative way to produce knowledge and science? With this respect, Harding asks the following provocative question: “Could women become subjects of knowledge?” (2004, p. 4). In this thesis, the answer is “yes”. In the scope of this thesis, women, specifically migrant women, are the subjects of knowledge because their way of knowing is different from men, not only from men but also from different women.

Like Harding, Wylie highlights the significance of women’s knowledge by stating that

The claim attributed to this ‘women’s way of knowing’ genre of feminist standpoint theory is that, by virtue of their gender identity, women (or those who critically interrogate this identity) have distinctive forms of knowledge that should be valorized. (Wylie, 2003, p. 27).

By valorizing women’s knowledge, the oppressed, systematically excluded and marginalized group - women for this thesis - can gain a public voice to express the actualities of their lives and experiences. For this reason, FST creates an opportunity for the marginalized people to become “collective subjects of research rather than only as objects of other’s observation” (Harding, 2004, p. 3).

With this respect, Harding argues for starting research from the lives of marginalized peoples, the lives of women, because this “will generate less partial and distorted accounts not only from women’s lives but also of men’s lives and of the whole social order” (2004, p. 128). For standpoint theorists, women can become a site of an epistemic privilege because of their socially and politically marginalized position. This position can generate a double vision, a vision of both the dominant and oppressed, about the social order; so, women power to ask critical and new questions about the social order. On the other hand, the marginalized or oppressed groups’ epistemic privilege cannot be gained automatically. On the contrary, Harding refers to a specific moment. “The ‘moment of critical insight’ is one that comes only through political struggle, for it is blocked and its understandings obscured by the dominant, hegemonous ideologies and the practices that they make appear normal and even natural” (Harding, 2004, p. 9).

With this perspective, I want to start research from the lives of marginalized women, Syrian women because their everyday experiences provide a better account of social reality-migration itself. While starting from the migrant women's standpoint, I do not imply the common viewpoint for all migrant or refugee women in the host community. As Smith supports this idea by claiming that "to begin from women's standpoint does not simply imply a common viewpoint among women. What we have in common is that organization of social relations which has accomplished our exclusion" (cited in Jaggar, 2004, p. 163). In this regard, migrant women may share some commonalities during the migration process, but this does not simply mean that they have a common viewpoint. This only means that "they share a standpoint" because the degree of their experiences may differ (Hirschmann, 2004, p. 319). For example, women may undergo sexual harassment, but their material experience may differ. They might have different country of origin, history, culture, socio-economic background, and political affiliation. Therefore, agents of feminist standpoint epistemology are "the multiple, heterogeneous and contradictory or incoherent, not unitary, homogeneous, and coherent" (Harding, 2004, p. 134). The material basis of FST leads the idea that "differences in experience produce differences in standpoints"; in other words, recognition of differences in standpoints does not neglect "differences among material experiences of women across history, race, class and culture" (Hirschmann, 2004, p. 320). This material position locates FST within modernism while multiple standpoints are closely linked to the postmodernism. On the other hand, Hirschmann takes FST as a postmodern strategy by "arguing for a new way of conceptualizing the materialist dimensions of experience" which is more compatible to postmodernism (Hirschmann, 2004, p. 317).

In the adaptation of this concept to my subject matter, I approach this material reality as a more modernist perspective. By this way, I quest for the material and historical roots of knowledge in two lines of problematization. The first problematization is about the producers of the reports because they are produced by a variety of agents. Some of the agents have worked with academicians to produce knowledge while others have worked as activists. This problematization reveals to us knowledge and power relations.

The second problematization is about the actualities of women's lives, the experiences of Syrian women. I would like to understand how these reports produce knowledge about women. Being a woman and being a migrant may be a common viewpoint for migrant women in this context, but this is not enough to understand the experienced reality. The experiences of Afghan women may be different from the experiences of Syrian women. Also, this is not the end of the story. The experiences of Syrian women may vary by age, marital status, class, and educational level. Therefore, feminist knowledge enables us to comprehend these differences by starting from "many different women's lives" because "there is no typical or essential women's life from which feminisms start their thought..." (Harding, 2004, p. 134). With this respect, FST does not point out which women's lives are a good place to start research. On the contrary, they assert that "there is no single, ideal women's life from which standpoint theories recommend that thought start" because each life may be marginalized in different ways (Harding, 2004, p. 131). Thus, all social locations provide equally useful ground for understanding social reality.

With this line of argument, it is not misleading to claim that FST is critical of universalist knowledge claims whatever form they take for two main reasons. The first reason is that knowledge is "embodied" rather than "acquired through a universal, disembodied and rational mind" for FST (Intemann, 2010, p. 785). Similar to this, knowledge from feminist standpoint cannot be general. On the contrary, knowledge can be "local, regional or global", but not universal (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p. 66). The second reason is in the conventional understanding of science that an androcentric, male-biased, racist and Ethnocentric conceptual frameworks have systematically ignored the lives of marginalized people. As a result, they cannot produce knowledge for marginals while claiming universal knowledge. In this regard, FST takes a critical position to universalist discourse. As Harding states that "standpoint knowledge projects do not claim to originate in purportedly universal human problematics; they do not claim to perform the god-trick - seeing from nowhere (Harding, 2004, p. 128). As a similar way, Haraway argues for "politics and epistemologies of location, positioning and situating, where partiality and not universality is the condition of being heard to make rational knowledge claims...Only

the god-trick is forbidden” (2004, p. 94). While FST is harshly criticizing universalism, they entirely do not reject it because of their political commitment. Although there exist differences, there are some features in common that enable feminist political activity. What is remarkable in this point is that FST uses the differences and commonalities as a resource for both scientific knowledge production and political commitment. That is why the relations between knowledge and power are indispensable parts of the science question for FST. This also necessitates the newly-defined objectivity.

Being critical about universalism is crucial for the subject matter of this thesis for two reasons. The first reason is that migration has inherent complexities, dynamics, and conditions that cannot be understood from one single standpoint. Each movement of migration has distinctive features which reflect the material and historical conditions of its context. With respect to this, this critical stance has the potential to see differences not only for migratory movements themselves but also differences within and between women. The question of essentialism is embedded in this discussion and provides a ground for the epistemic privilege.

The second reason why FST’s critiques of universalism are critical for this thesis is that the recognition of the differences between and within women. These differences could be both a political and epistemological resource. Migrant women, which are under investigation, are diverse and heterogenous. They have a critical standpoint and double vision to understand the realities of society because of their marginality. Being a marginal position provides migrant women for the ground for “self-definition” and “self-valuation”.

Taking women as an epistemological resource for knowledge production necessitates being critical about universalism and essentialism. Considering this critical position in mind, I would like to discuss some concepts: “objectivity”, “strong objectivity”, “epistemic authority”, and “dynamics of power”.

2.2.2. An alternative way to think objectivity: ‘Strong objectivity’

Scientific research requires that research findings are impartial, general, and free from the researcher’s personal and political biases (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p. 48). Also,

being objective inherently implies the existence of subjectivity. The distinction between being objective and being subjective is a viewpoint of Cartesian dualism that these two terms, objectivity and subjectivity, are regarded as separable. If researchers free themselves from the subject matter of inquiry and are neutral about the research process, the produced knowledge is noted as objective. As a result, this objective knowledge grasps the reality of the social world, so its knowledge claims become true and valid.

On the other hand, FST claims that such a claim of objectivity only encourages “a partial and distorted explanation of why the great moments in the history of the natural and social sciences have occurred.” (Harding, 1991, p. 143). As a result, FST aims to produce “less distorted” and “less partial” knowledge about the world by not eliminating all social values and interest from both the research process and results of the research. In this way, FST has tried to overcome “weak objectivity of objectivism.” For this purpose, Harding develops a concept called “strong objectivity.” With this concept, Harding does not make a distinction between objective and subjective knowledge; on the contrary, she blurred this distinction claiming the maximization of the objectivity because she believes that there is not only one way to think about “objectivity”. As a result, she wants to think outside the dominant groups, from the marginalized lives. Parallel with Harding’s ideas, Haraway points out an alternative way of understanding objectivity that is not about “disengagement”. On the contrary, it is “about mutual and usually unequal structuring, about taking risks in a world where “we” are permanently mortal, that is, not in “final” control” (Haraway, 2004, p. 97). In this definition of objectivity, Haraway criticizes the conventional definitions of it by signifying the impossibility of splitting subject and object from each other. In this way, she defines feminist objectivity as “quite simply situated knowledge” and “limited locations” (Haraway, 2004, p. 86-87).

Additionally, she argues “for politic and epistemologies of location, positioning, and situating” by highlighting the significance of partiality (Haraway, 2004, p. 92). In this sense, the knowledge which was produced through a strongly objective way has the potential to recognize the needs and desires of the marginalized lives. Also, it does not neglect the marginalized knowledge on behalf of dominants own interest and use.

With this regard, I think that strong objectivity points out two important aspects of the feminist standpoint inquiry. Firstly, it implies the advantages of the epistemic community as epistemic agents. These agents have epistemic advantages because they can achieve a feminist standpoint as an epistemic community; this epistemic advantage “is neither automatic nor all-encompassing” (Wylie, 2003, p. 32). For Intemann, these communities that

(1) comprise those from diverse social positions, (2) share a broad political commitment to producing knowledge that challenges systems of oppression, (3) critically reflect on and expose the ways in which power structures limit and shape knowledge, (4) begin research from the experiences, interests, and values of members of marginalized groups, and (5) engage in a process of transformative criticism governed by a set of shared standards (including empirical adequacy) will have epistemic benefits. (Intemann, 2016, p. 272).

By this way, epistemic agents or marginalized lives can challenge the status quo to produce knowledge for themselves. In other words, feminist standpoint research can provide knowledge “that is more responsive to the needs and interests of marginalized groups, this is understood as an epistemic advantage” (Intemann, 2016, p. 272). This challenge to the status quo is both inherently and explicitly significant to the agency of marginalized lives.

Secondly, it implies the effects of power relations to knowledge production because the notion of strong objectivity aims to reveal the connection between the object and subject of the knowledge. For this purpose, standpoint theory places the subjects of knowledge on the same critical, causal plane as the objects of knowledge (Harding, 2004, p. 136). In this way, standpoint theory challenges “any assumption that the neutrality of epistemic agents, ... in the knowledge claims they produce” (Wylie, 2003, p. 30). This is a better way to think and rethink about power dynamics in knowledge production. Furthermore, standpoint theory offers “the way to stronger standards of both objectivity and reflexivity. These standards require that research projects use their historical location as a resource for obtaining greater objectivity.” (Harding, 1991, p. 163). In addition to this historical location, standpoint theory has aimed to use “the social situatedness of subjects of

knowledge systematically as a resource for maximizing objectivity” (Harding, 2004, p. 136).

Considering the notion of strong objectivity, it seems to me that this notion can adopt my subject matter in three interrelated ways. In other words, I can analyze reports – produced knowledge about Syrians in Turkey – from the lens of FST by using this notion. Firstly, strong objectivity opens the way to discuss the relationship between power and knowledge. For this purpose, I can question the knowledge producing institutions and their fund provider to create that specific knowledge. This analysis necessitates the problematization of the aim and policy proposals of the reports. As a result of this method, the relation between the subject of knowledge and object of knowledge will be revealed.

Secondly, in addition to the actors, I would like to reveal the historical and material conditions of knowledge production in the context of Turkey. With this aim, I analyze situated, partial, contextual, and locational knowledge by using time and space differentiation. From 2011 to 2018, the material and historical realities of women's experiences changed. This, in turn, changed the produced knowledge. As a result, the change in knowledge production will be revealed, and this allows me to see continuities and changes in knowledge production. Additionally, these processes enable me to see the changing nature of knowledge and the introduction of newly established agents. Because of this, it is possible to see how knowledge is embodied, and emergent according to Harding that “standpoint theory itself is a historical emergent” (Harding, 2004, p. 131). Moreover, some of the knowledge production agents have international connections while some of them operate at the local level. With this respect, both the location of women and institution is significant to understand the produced knowledge. Thus, the scope of the reports will be critical to understanding how partial the knowledge is.

In short, this part specifically concentrated on the notion of strong objectivity by criticizing the conventional understanding of objectivity as being “too rigorous or too ‘objectifying’... but that it is not rigorous or objectifying enough” (Harding, 2004, p. 128). As a result, feminist research should maximize objectivity to produce less distorted

knowledge. This discussion brings us the other important concepts “outsider within”, “specificities of subjectivities”, and “agency”.

2.2.3. The outsider within status

Standpoint theorists point out that marginalized people are systematically excluded from “the design and direction of both the social order and the production of knowledge” (Harding, 1991, p. 124). This claim is supported by the notion of the stranger or outsider. By using the terminology of Simmel, “the stranger”, Collins introduced the concept of “outsider status” to analyze Black women. According to Simmel’s conceptualization, the stranger “does not exist for us at all; they are belong being far and near” (1971, p. 143). The degree of nearness and remoteness produces the specific form of “stranger”, and the definition of it differentiates in following the context.

For Harding, the notion of a stranger leads to “... the combination of nearness and remoteness, concern and indifference, that are central to maximizing objectivity” (Harding, 1991, p. 124). With this regard, this status is a way to maximize objectivity in the research. On the other hand, what differentiates Simmer’s conceptualization from Collins is that of her notion of the outsider, which is not essentially “the man” (Harding, 1991, p. 124). In addition to this, Collins does not start research from the lives of strangers or outsiders, but of “outsiders within status” (Harding, 1991, p. 150). This starting point enables her to understand the relationship between outsider and insider (marginal and dominant).

With this point, the insiders can be identified as having a similar experience, possessing a common history, and sharing taken-for-granted knowledge that characterizes ‘thinking as usual’ (Collins, 2004, p. 117). Discovering the thinking that is unusual enables feminist standpoint theorists to produce knowledge about “an abnormal”, which is different from insiders “normal”. In this sense, “outsider within are liable to see anomalies” (Collins, 2004, p. 119). Also, insiders have “similar social class, gender, and racial background” because of the shared historical and material conditions of their life (Collins, 2004, p. 117). As a result, insiders represent a dominant group of people whose values, behaviors,

ideas, concerns, and assumptions represents a normal at a given moment in history. In other words, “men in the dominant groups are the "natives" whose life patterns and ways of thinking fit all too closely the dominant institutions and conceptual schemes” (Harding, 1991, p. 124).

Collins synthesized these two concepts, the insider and outsider, as “outsider within status” that the marginalized people are both inside and outside of the knowledge production. In this sense, the marginalized people have an insider relationship, but, at the same time, the marginalized people could not belong to the dominant relations. Despite the involvement of the marginalized into the dominant culture, they remain to be seen as an outsider. That is why the outsider within status is a better way to maximize objectivity. In this way, they looked “both from the outside in and from the inside out” (hooks, 1989, p. 20). Similar to this, Intemann describes this process as follows:

Because she is an insider, she has the relevant expertise to be able to understand and identify the assumptions that are being made in her field. Yet as an outsider, or member of a group that has been historically excluded from such research, she has had experiences that allow her to identify the limitations and problems with some of those assumptions. (2016, p. 275)

While this outsider within position provides an epistemic benefit to the marginalized, it does not mean that the experience of the marginalized is relevant in all contexts. With this viewpoint, Intemann points out that “the inclusion of insider-outsiders only yields epistemic benefit when their experiences are relevant to the research context” (2016, p. 276).

The concepts of “self-definition” and “self-valuation” are strongly related to “the outsider within” status of women. “Self-definition involves challenging the political knowledge-validation process that has resulted in externally-defined, stereotypical images of Afro-American womanhood” and “self-valuation stresses the content of Black women’s self-definitions-namely, replacing externally derived images with authentic Black female images” (Collins, 2004, p. 106). These concepts are produced in the context of Black women’s experiences, but they are crucial to understanding how migrant women perceive their experiences, circumstances, and conditions of their outsider within status. Moreover,

when they define themselves, they reject and resist the taken for granted assumptions, theories, and policies. This self-definition and valuation process enable them to name and rename different forms of marginalities. The complex nature of marginality gives migrant women an epistemic privilege to understand the material and historical roots of their marginality. But this privileged position does not imply automatic possession. According to Harding, this position is gained from the “moment of critical insight”, which was provided by the “self-definition and valuation” process (2004, p. 9).

Moreover, the process of the self-definition and valuation enables the researcher to recognize the agency of the researched. As Collins states that this process will create concrete material expressions and will be present in “social institutions like church and family, in creative expression of art, music, and dance, and, if unsuppressed, in patterns of economic and political activity.” (Collins, 2004, p. 112). With this respect, this process highlights the agency of women by picturing the object of knowledge as an actor and agent, rather than a screen (Harding, 2004, p. 95).

By adopting these concepts for my thesis, I believe that it provides for me productive ground for uncovering the actualities of Syrian women lives and the produced knowledge on them in three ways. Firstly, “the outsider within status” enables me to see the position of migrant women and their knowledge in the migration literature. With this concept, I aim to explore who is an insider, who is the outsider in the literature in general, and the literature in Turkey. Secondly, this status contributes to the understanding of my position as a researcher as well as the position of institutions, the agencies for knowledge production. Thirdly, this status is critical for the recognition of women’s agency and subjectivity. While problematizing the knowledge production process from the standpoint of marginalized lives, I aim to discover how women are represented in knowledge production. While doing this, I also want to examine the process of being an insider and outsider to see how these processes are portrayed in the Syrian reports.

Therefore, the notion of “outsider within status” enhances the claims of standpoint feminist theorist about the knowledge production and strong objectivity because the everyday reality of marginalized lives, (not only marginalized but also dominant lives)

will be grasped by this status which enables double visions while revealing interlocking forms of marginalization and oppression. I believe that this part allows us to discuss concepts about “marginality” and “intersectionality”.

2.2.4. Intersectionality and marginality: Are there any space for creativity?

In this part, I would like to make a connection between marginality and intersectionality because the marginality of women is better understood from the intersectional analysis of race, gender, ethnicity, and class. With this discussion, the interlocking systems of oppression will reveal the marginalization of women because each oppression and its intersection influence the available resources for women. Firstly, for this purpose, I question the concept of marginality, then intersectionality.

In the general theory of marginality, Robert Park developed the concept of “the marginal men”. For him, marginality is the result when the migrant group is not totally part of at least two cultures, its original culture and the dominant culture. These two cultures are dominant and original culture. The migrant person is an element of the dominant culture, but the migrant person is not entirely accepted by it. At the same time, the same migrant is unable to return to their original culture. With this respect, the migrant person is margins of the two cultures which never completely interpenetrated. By adapting Park’s concept, Weisberger identified "directions of marginality": termed “assimilation, return, poise, and transcendence” to develop a more complex understanding of marginality (1992, p. 432). The difference between Park’s and Weisberger’s understanding lies in the position of marginal men. While Park claims that the marginal men remain on the margins of both the original culture and the other, Weisberger argues that the marginal man is unable to return to the original culture without the influence of the new one. Thus, Park points out a unidirectional relationship between two cultures when Weisberger highlights a structure of double ambivalence (Pelc, 2017, p. 20-21). Also, Wright and Wright (1972) have differentiated the phenomenon described by Park into five categories: “marginality, the marginal man, cultural marginality, social marginality, and psychological marginality” (Goldberg, 2012, p. 206). With this differentiation, they enlarge the notion of marginality,

because every individual or social group is a part of multiple, conflicting and interlocking systems, so each of them is marginalized at the edge of more.

Moreover, Deegan criticized the concept of marginal men because this concept implies inherently the male; so, she introduced the concept of “the marginal person” whose experience of the world, access to material resources, understanding of self do not fit the hegemonic standards of “white, able-bodied, capitalist, and heterosexual men” (2002, p. 108). With this concept, the original understanding of the marginal men has extended beyond race and ethnic relations to a broader range of issues such as gender and occupations. Also, the notion of marginality has influenced different disciplines, such as sociology, geography, psychology, and the economy. In this sense, the interlocking systems of marginality or intersection of multiple systems of marginalization can be explained through spatial, social, political, and economic realms. This marginal position is, therefore, the starting point of feminist standpoint research.

This marginal position is seen as both advantageous and disadvantageous. While some scholars are emphasizing the negative consequences of marginality as being detached, dispassionate, and oppressed because of the unfavorable environment, some of them emphasize the creative capacity and potentialities of marginality. For example, marginality is defined as “complex condition of disadvantage which individuals and communities experience as a result of vulnerabilities” unequal development and economic perspective (Mehretu, Pigozzi & Sommers, 2000, p. 90). Unlike their understanding, Everett Hughes (1945; 1949) underlines the creative use of the concept of marginality “to gain insight into occupations, gender, and scientific innovation.” (cited in Goldberg, 2012, p. 205). Parallel with them, hooks (1989) and Collins (1986) recognize both advantages and disadvantages of the marginality by valuing its advantage as creativity.

For hooks, marginality is both “a site of deprivation” and “the site of radical possibility, a space for resistance” (2004, p. 156). In her earliest text, she expressed her marginality as a site of deprivation as follows:

To be in the margin is to be part of the whole but outside the main body. As black Americans living in a small Kentucky town, the railroad tracks were a daily

reminder of our marginality. Across those tracks were paved streets, stores we could not enter, restaurants we could not live in, and people we could not look directly in the face. We could enter that world, but we could not live there. We had always to return to the margin, to cross the tracks, to shacks and abounded houses on the edge of town. (1989, p.20)

However, hooks identified this marginality as quite the opposite the site of deprivation by positioning marginality as a space of resistance because marginality is a space for “the production of a counter-hegemonic discourse” (hooks, 2004, p. 157). For her, this space is a site of “creativity and power” that could be real and imagined (hooks, 2004, p. 159). Also, this space is a way of rediscovering the marginalized, and living in solidarity through eradication of the dichotomy between the oppressed and the oppressor. The dichotomous assumptions are criticized by Collins. For her, dichotomy implies the categorization of people, things and ideas in terms of their differences from one another. These differences are not complementary, but oppositional and this signifies the hierarchical relationship, the relationship of superiority and inferiority. Contrary to binary thinking, Collins suggests understanding the link between different forms of oppression. Thus, Collins challenges the binary or the dualist thinking by reinterpreting the interaction itself through the lens of Black feminism (2004, p. 110). The different experiences of women generate differences in perceptions of reality that the multiple structures of oppression have a significance to understand the marginalized lives. Firstly, the intersectional analysis has shifted the main themes of investigation from focusing on one element of class race, ethnicity, and gender oppression to links between these oppressions (Collins, 2004, p. 110). In this way, the intersection of the multiplicity of marginalization allows for the understanding of the actualities of the lives of the marginalized, the women. Secondly, the interlocking nature of oppression to analyze subordination, violence, discrimination, social inequalities provides “an alternative humanist vision of social organization” (Collins, 2004, p. 111). The intersectional analysis draws attention to the inequalities of power and diversity among women. Thus, the synthesis of different forms of oppression that creates the conditions of the lives of women provides for a ground for the understanding of marginalization of women.

In sum, the marginality of women and their knowledge will be analyzed, and the material conditions of their marginality will be uncovered within the scope of FST's concepts. With this approach, I will be able to explain the meaning of marginality in this context. In other words, I am going to describe the marginality of women's knowledge by explaining how and why women are marginal. By the analysis of marginality and intersectionality, I aim to understand whether the produced knowledge on women reflect the conditions of women's experiences or not. If the answer is yes, I will explore how the intersectionality of different social locations are portrayed. This analysis also connects with the questioning of the intersection of marginality of women and their knowledge. Lastly, in addition to this discussion, I want to concentrate on feminist standpoint methodology to show how different ways of viewing the world shape different ways of researching the world (Crotty, 2003, p. 66).

2.2.5. Methodology: A way to secure the marginalized knowledge

Epistemology is defined by Harding as “a theory of knowledge” (1987, p. 2), while methodology is “theory and analysis of how research does or should proceed” (Harding, 1987, p. 3). There is a strong relationship between these two concepts because the methodology of the research reflects the researcher's epistemological assumptions, ontological position, and method choices to understand social reality, the reality of marginalized lives. In this sense, the feminist standpoint is a means of both an epistemology and methodology as Harding claims that FST is “a feminist epistemology, philosophy of science, sociology of knowledge, and methodology” (Harding, 2009, p. 23). In this part, I want to analyze the methodology of FST as a way to secure the marginalized knowledge and lives through starting from their lives and being power aware/self-reflexive to research process, specifically knowledge production process.

One of the aims of investigation for FST is to remove or minimize heteronormative, an androcentric and patriarchal knowledge claims, and institutions to produce knowledge for the marginalized. This removing or minimizing process necessitates asking new questions about both the subject and object of the research. For this reason, standpoint feminists start their research from the lives of marginalized, specifically women that are systematically

devalued and neglected as a valuable resource for starting research. Contrary to this systematic exclusion, when researchers study from the margins, it means that the research is carried out by working with the marginalized groups to define and structure the problem, identifying the full range of actors affected by/ affect the problem, considering /reconsidering the ways in which the conventional frameworks may neglect the interests of different groups, investigating the manifestation of the problem according to the different social groups, and analyzing how various systems of oppression may play a role in or contribute to the problem (Intemann, 2016, p. 269). If researchers fail to study from the experiences of the marginalized, they may produce knowledge, technologies, programs, and policies that do not reflect the needs, desires, and circumstances of marginalized groups (Intemann, 2016, p. 270). That is why Jaggar argues that

... in a society where the production of knowledge is controlled by a certain class, the knowledge produced will reflect the interests and values of that class. In other words, in class societies the prevailing knowledge and science interpret reality from the standpoint of the ruling class. (2004, p. 56).

To reinterpret reality from the standpoint of the marginalized, the methodological position of FST opens multiple ways to produce less distorted knowledge. Otherwise, the existing inequalities and power structures continue to shape and limit knowledge production, which has the power to direct various policy actors. By this way, the epistemic advantage of the marginalized loses its importance; so, the transformative power for changing the oppressive systems also loses its relevance.

In addition to the recognition of the value of marginalized lives, FST acknowledges the role of power relations in the research process. To uncover these power relations, FST emphasizes the social and historical locations of epistemic agents for knowledge production. As a result, the neutrality of science and objectivity of research is criticized by claiming space for partial knowledge and situated truth, not an absolute one. By aiming “strong objectivity” in the research, the methodology of FST necessitates being critically reflexive.

Parallel with the conceptualization of “weak and strong objectivity”, Harding develops the concept of “weak and strong reflexivity”. While the notion of weak reflexivity implies

“the lack of any mechanism for identifying the cultural values and interests of the researchers” (Harding, 1991, p. 162), strong reflexivity is a development of “oppositional theory” from the standpoint of the marginalized lives (Harding, 1991, p. 163). With this notion of strong reflexivity, both the object of inquiry and the researcher are critically involved in the knowledge production process. With this perspective, the objects of investigation gaze back in “all their cultural particularity”; at the same time, the researcher gazes back at his/her own socially located research in all its cultural particularity and its relation to other projects of his/her culture through both theory and methods (Harding, 1991, p. 163). As a result, researchers not only critically reflect on the objectives of their investigation but also critically assess “evidentiary standards, including what kinds of data should be collected, what constitutes good evidence, and how much evidence is needed to accept a hypothesis, explanation, or model.” (Intemann, 2016, p. 271). With this way, the standpoints of the researcher and the research will be considered in the investigation process. Also, strong reflexivity enables us to uncover researchers’ power to perceive, interpret, and communicate the evidence collected. Therefore, standpoint theory as a methodology reveals the power relations that create both silence and trust to obtain the knowledge from an informant (Crasnow, 2009, p. 191).

In adopting this methodological position in my thesis, I will question in which ways knowledge is produced, how researchers approached the subject matter of their research, and how research findings are presented and interpreted. Furthermore, I aim to explore researchers’ position related to their methodologies to produce knowledge. By this way, I will analyze how researchers approach the social, how they set problems, and which questions they ask. In this questioning, Syrian reports will be analyzed with the feminist standpoint lenses.

Thus, FST as a methodology requires one to be reflexive critically about research questions and hypothesis, ontological positions, conceptual frameworks, background assumptions, methodological decisions, ways of gathering evidence, and interpretations of data. It also requires questioning of how the intersection of gender, sexuality, disability, ethnicity, and race have shaped and influenced objects of investigation/research.

In this chapter, I have explained the theoretical and methodological position of this thesis while seeking ways to adopt in my subject matter. In this regard, this chapter enables me to ground my research problem within the scope of FST. With consideration to the main themes of FST, this work will focus on knowledge production on women within the migration literature.

CHAPTER 3

KNOWLEDGE OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Feminist migration research remains a relatively ghettoized subfield. Feminist concerns and scholarships, and nearly all research that makes a central the analytical category of gender, remain marginalized from the core of international migration research (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000, p. 107)

Most articles related to migration started with the following sentence: “The history of migration is as old as the history of humankind”. Although this sentence reflects the known reality, theories of migration do not date to the ancient times like the history of it. In other words, the literature on migration is a quite new phenomenon compared to the migration history. It is obvious that the evaluation of these theories is not isolated from the movement of people and its history. The turning points in world history such as the Industrial Revolution, world wars and globalization have strong connections with the emerging conditions of various theories. In this respect, it is meaningless to understand theories of migration from their particular social, cultural and economic localities.

The issue of migration has gained attentions from a variety of different disciplines. Geography, sociology and economy have engaged in this issue longer than the other disciplines such as demography, anthropology, history, political science and law. Each discipline with its own disciplinary boundaries, hypotheses, assumptions and concepts adds to our store of knowledge about international migration. The introduction of each conceptual framework has enriched our understanding of migration. On the other hand, these multidisciplinary approaches pose a challenge to the development of a unified and general theory of international migration. For Arango, theory building process did not

cumulative in migration literature, but rather it was fragmented (2000, p. 283). Parallel with his argument, Massey etc. all (1993, p. 432) and Thieme (2006, p. 1) emphasized the fragmented set of migration theories in the literature. In accordance with the current patterns and trends in migration, a full understanding of the process of migration could be possible through the dialogue between different disciplines with a multiplicity of perspectives, assumptions and levels.

In the literature, migration theories generally are classified in three ways: initiation/perpetuation of migration, disciplinary approach (sociology, economy and geography), and the level of analysis (micro, meso and macro). These classifications are not rigid, and they are intertwined with each other while understanding migration. As a result, there is no clear division among them. One theoretical explanation about migration can fit into several categories.

The first classification refers to initiation and perpetuation of migration. The former explains the phenomenon of migration by concentrating on the questions of how migrations starts, why people migrate, and what are the motives for migration. The latter is associated with the continuation of migration. In this regard, they ask the questions about the how and why migration continues and what are the mechanisms that perpetuate migration. The condition of the migration may be quite different from the initiation of migration over time and space. In a changing world, new conditions have emerged such as social networks, transnational spaces, and the changing meaning of work (Massey etc. all, 1993, p. 448). The second classification sets boundaries between various disciplines. From this point of view, the migratory movements are analyzed under the assumptions of each discipline (Bijak, 2006, p. 5). The last classification approaches the migration through three levels of analysis: micro, macro and meso. While micro-level analysis concentrates on the individual decisions, the macro-level analysis focus on aggregate migration trends and structural reasons in the migration processes. The meso-level analysis is located between micro and macro analyses and includes household, community decisions and social networks. The level of analysis classifies the different theories in accordance with their subject matters (Hanger-Zangen, 2008, p. 5).

In reviewing theories of international migration, my objective is not to list all theories, but rather I aim to analyze how they approach the phenomenon of international migration, what kind of issues they searched for, and what knowledge they produce. In this aim, I will assess the evaluation of international migration theories through a historical perspective. In this way, I would like to explore continuities and changes in the literature while particularly tracing the geology of migrant women's knowledge. For this purpose, I will mention the mainstream migration theories to constitute a foundation for the next discussion. Then I will focus on the contribution of the feminist knowledge on the migration research by emphasizing the shift in feminist knowledge production. Through this method, I will understand whether the knowledge of migrant women is marginalized or not in the literature. If it is marginalized, I will specify the possible indicators of these marginalization processes. Last, I would like to incorporate FST into theories of international migration by revealing the possible contributions and limits of it.

3.1. Traditional way to understand migration: Mainstream theories

The early study on migration generally produced the knowledge regarding the following question: why do people move? The answer to this question has aroused researchers' attention on the causes, determinants and patterns of international migration. Within all these theories, the neoclassical economic theory has dominated the study on migration for a long time. One of the most influential attempts to theorize migration was carried out by the nineteenth-century geographer Ravenstein (1885, 1889). He formulated "the Laws of Migration" through statistical information of the British census. In his work, he claimed that people have a tendency to move short distances and to move from low to high-income areas. What makes his work special in terms of this thesis is his recognition of the differences between men and women in the migration process. For him, "woman is a greater migrant than men"; but his claim is relevant for the short-term migratory movements (Ravenstein, 1885, p. 196). Although the existence of Ravenstein's false claim with the introduction of the concept of feminization of migration, the gendered differences in migration patterns were not regarded as significant; so migrant women has remained undocumented and largely invisible in the literature on migration (Brettell, 2017, p.1).

In the neoclassical paradigm, Lee's study, "A Theory of Migration", combined pull and push factors to explain the causes of migration (1966). His argument was based on the principles of utility maximization, rational choice, factor and price differentials between regions and countries, which dominated the thinking on migration during the mid-twentieth century (King: 2012, p. 13). Additionally, he portrayed women as dependent on men. From his standpoint, the decision to migrate could not be given to all persons. According to him, children were dependent on their parents and "...wives accompany their husbands though it tears them away from environments they love" (Lee, 1966, p. 51). In this theory, the role of women in migration processes was underestimated. The women were portrayed as followers and dependents, whether these identities were real or not.

Regardless of the differences in the neoclassical theory, it has two important assumptions: rational choice and market equilibrium. For the macro form of neoclassical theory, international migration and movement of people stem from the wage differentials between countries (Massey etc, 1993, p. 434). For the micro forms of it, individuals are rational and have perfect knowledge regarding the wage levels. Therefore, they can make rational choices about the migration processes (Castles and Miller, 2009, p.22). From this viewpoint, this theory neglects the role of other factors which influence the migration decision except for economic ones. As a result, this theory has been subjected to criticisms by reducing migration determinants, homogenizing migrants, and being ahistorical and static (Kurekova, 2011, p. 7). Also, it lacks gender insight in migration theorizing.

The assumptions of neoclassical paradigm are challenged by the new economics of migration (NEM) in two senses: the introduction of new level of analysis and newly-defined determinants of migration. In this theory, migration decisions are made by families, households, or culturally-defined units of production and consumption rather than isolated individuals (Abadan Unat, 2006, p.6). Unlike the neoclassical theory, people act collectively not only to maximize income, but also to minimize the risks in NEM (Massey etc., 1993, p. 436). In short, this theory shifts the focus of migration theory from "individual independence (optimization against nature) to mutual interdependence

(optimization against one another)” which means that migration is a “calculated strategy” (Stark and Bloom, 1985, p. 174-175). While it contributes to knowledge about migration, it neglects the gendered-power relations within the decision-making units. In other words, this theory does not recognize the differentiated role of men and women in the migration processes. For Hangen-Zanker, family structure can also influence a woman’s decision to migrate, which is ignored in this theory (2008, p. 12).

In addition to micro and macro analysis of the economic theories on migration, the dual (segmented) labour market theory provides a macro analysis of migration by stressing institutional factors as well as the race and gender in labour market segmentation (Castles and Miller, 2009, p. 23). According to this theory, the labour demand of industrial societies causes the international migration. This situation inherently creates a market dualism: the primary sector (capital intensive) and the secondary sector (labour intensive). In the former, the employment structure is mostly-dependent on the native labour force. The workers in the primary sector have stable and skilled jobs. Also, employers provide education and training to migrants for the purpose of specialization in the jobs (Massey et al, 1993, p. 442). The latter refers to the unstable and unskilled jobs with low wages, long working hours and unpleasant working conditions. The demand of the secondary sector is met by the migrants, specifically women and the young (Massey et al, 1993, p. 443). The women in the labour market induced the category “subsidiary workers” and their wages tended to be seen as “complementary wages” because of the man’s association with the notion of “breadwinner” (Morokvasic, 1984, p. 889). This idea finds its ground in the ascribed social identity of women as “a sister, wife or mother” (Massey et al, 1993, p. 443). As a result, migrant women are recruited in the secondary market with segregated jobs. In addition, the changing role of women in the migration processes is underestimated.

Like the dual (segmented) labour market theory, the world systems theory contributes to the knowledge on migration by underlying the importance of structural factors. While the dual-labour market theory focuses on the national level, world systems theory, pioneered by Wallerstein, makes a global-level analysis and perceives migration “as a function of

globalization” (Kurekove, 2011, p. 8). For this theory, international migration stems from unequal development of the world market economy. As a result, the underdeveloped regions migrate to the developed regions of the world. These structural theories ignore the individual factors while silencing the voices of migrants. In addition, these theories overestimate the importance of the structural-economic factors, neglecting the cultural and social factors. Last, the gender regimes of the various countries were ignored by these theories while analyzing structural factors. The role of capitalist development was not addressed in the process of unequal power relations between men and women.

Up to now, I mentioned the influential theories on migration which specifically explain the initiation of migration. In these theories, migration is closely connected with the economic activity of males; so, they provide a model for “male migration” with economic analysis. Also, they provide “simplistic explanations” on migration, basing their arguments on labour migration and one-sided move to the new destination (O’Reilly, 2015, p. 28). Assuming migration as a linear process can hinder the comprehensive understanding of migration (O’Reilly, 2015, p. 29). Moreover, the early theories on migration, as reviewed in this part, competed to get supremacy in their claims in the period 1960’s and 1980’s (Piche, 2013, p. 156). Contrary to this perspective, contemporary migration studies have aimed to theorize “movement, mobilities and processes” rather than “acts and effect” (O’Reilly, 2015, p. 31). They have developed new concepts and frameworks to produce knowledge on diverse types of migratory movements while considering the role of gender differences. Before mentioning the contributions of feminism to knowledge production on migration, I would like to briefly review theories and approaches which explain the perpetuation of migration with its complexity and diversity.

The network theory explains the maintenance of international migration with its specific focus to the social networks – the “ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin” (Massey etc. all, 1993, p. 449). These networks are “a form of social capital” (Arango, 2000, p. 291). The interpersonal relations can be lower the uncertainty and cost of the migration by conveying information about employment, accommodation and

institutional structure of the receiving country. The interconnected ties expand the magnitude of migration because they have “a multiplier effect” (Arango, 2000, p. 292). Although it has contributed to the subject, this theory is criticized by being indifferent to gender relations. These critiques draw attention to the importance of gender in networks. For example, the gendered division of labour is necessary to understand the connections between gender and networks in migration. In this sense, the assumption of public and private distinction should be abandoned in the analysis of the strategies and networks of women migrants (Piche, 2013, p. 148). Furthermore, Hondagneu-Sotelo investigated the gendered nature of the social networks in Mexican migration. Her study suggested that migrant women may be part of different social networks from men. Due to these networks, they could resist the “domestic patriarchal authority” because both families and society were gendered in the Mexican context (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000, p. 115). In a similar vein, Mahler and Pessar highlighted that the gender analysis was neglected in the constitutions of social network although social resources were not equally shared in the same family (2006, p. 31). In short, the network theory does not recognize how the knowledge of the women has been differentiated over the gender regimes of the country as well as the contextual specific conditions of the migration. Also, the differentiation between networks needs to be further investigation to theorize women’s connections with the multiple networks.

In addition to network theory, migration systems theory explains the maintenance of international migration. According to this theory, systems can be identified by the unequal exchange between core and periphery countries. The creation of systems depends on the existence of prior links between sending and receiving countries. These links may be created in the field of politics, culture and economy. Each migratory movement can be the product of the pre-existing or newly-created links between countries (Castles & Miller, 2008, p. 37-38). In this sense, the proximity between countries loses its significance. Additionally, countries may be parts of more than one system of migration. The previous, current and emergent conditions -economic instability, social change or social conflict - between countries can affect the compositions of the systems. While the dynamic nature

of the migration is grasped in this theory, its macro-level analysis hinders the understanding of the gender relations. Additionally, the countries' gender regimes were not included as a form of link that connects countries.

After the critical overview of the landmark theories of international migration, it is self-evident that conventional theories have been lacking gender insights. Traditional efforts of theorizing migration have shed light on certain topics. The explanations about “labour migrants, settler migrants, and refugees” have dominated the study of migration (King, 2012, p. 9). Although the usefulness of these theories to understand the face of migration, the knowledge is limited and partial to explain contemporary conditions (Arango, 2000, p. 294). This partiality does not necessarily imply a problem. The problem arises when they tend to make “grand claims” about the different aspects of the migration (Arango, 2000, p. 294). The other forms of migration and its connections needs further analysis to produce contextual, located and less partial knowledge about migration. From this vantage point, the feminist knowledge, particularly feminist standpoint theory, should be incorporated into the migration theories.

3.2. Feminist contributions to theories of migration

Feminist theories have contributed to the evaluation of migration theories by enlarging the context and content of the migration studies. They bring new and useful knowledge to the research field. The evaluation of knowledge on migration cannot be considered without the evaluation of the feminist theories. This knowledge production process is reflected in migration studies in two different ways: “women and migration” and “gender and migration”. While the former aims to cure the invisibility of women in migration studies, the latter has aimed to grasp the relation between different and divergent dynamics of migration and gender.

3.2.1. Women and migration

Early efforts to incorporate feminist knowledge into migration studies emerged in the period of 1970's and early 1980's. The International Migration Review's 1984 special issue on migration, which was titled “Women in Migration” reflected these efforts. This

review represented the first phase of feminist contributions to migration studies. It starts with the essay of Morokvasic, “Birds of Passage are also Women” by addressing Piore’s book, called “Birds of Passage” to highlight the exclusion of women in the studies of migration. At the very beginning of Morokvasic’s article, the exclusive omission of women was emphasized following the quotation from the book of Berger and Mohr, which was about migrant men in Europe:

Among the migrant workers in Europe there are probably two lion women. Some work in factories, many works in domestic service. To write of their experience adequately would require a book itself. We hope this be done. Ours is limited to the experience of the male migrant workers. (cited in Morokvasic, 1984, p. 899)

This quote signified that how the knowledge on women is limited in the specific area of study. This invisibility could be extended through other areas of social science. On the other hand, the limits of androcentric migration studies were enlarged by many scholars through the inclusion of women’s knowledge in the migration studies. These limitations reflect the patriarchal assumptions and stereotypes about migrant women. Also, these limitations inherently shape and reshapes the marginalization of migrant women in different spheres of life in general, and the marginalization of their knowledge in the mainstream migration literature in specific.

The very first assumption is the dependency of women to men in migration processes. Challenges to this dependency claims were raised by many authors. In Boyd’s work related to the occupational attainment of foreign-born women in Canada, she noted that the dependency assumption had two important implications for the migration research. In her case study, she discovered out that the subject of the migration research was the male workers, not female ones. As a result, the experiences of women were not appreciated in the research as a subject. Another implication was the underestimation of women’s labour force participation in the official data. Boyd stated that “such neglect and stereotyping of migrant women is problematic” (Boyd, 1984, p.1092). For this purpose, Boyd investigated the occupational attainment of foreign-born women in Canada to fill this gendered gap. In accordance with her findings, foreign born women in Canada were disadvantaged because they were relatively of lower status to native-born women and males occupying lower-

status occupation (Boyd, 1984, p. 1101). This study showed how the dependency assumption masked the migrant women's experienced reality. The implications of the dependency perspective can be extended from an economic field to political, social and cultural fields of migration.

Parallel with the Boyd's study, the work of Khao, Smith and Fawcett revealed how the assumption of "women migrate only as a part of family" failed to understand the experiences of women. Their study addresses the absence of data regarding young Asian women who migrated to cities to find work. In their case study, they noted the lack of comparable data to assess the volume of male and female migration (Khao, Smith and Fawcett, 1984, p. 1248).

Another assumption is the passiveness and submissiveness of the migrant women. Under this assumption, women were perceived as being too traditional and culture-bound in the early studies of migration in the 1950's, the 1960's and early 1970's (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000, p. 113). One possible reason for this could be related to the domination of the neoclassical paradigm. In accordance with this paradigm, the rational individual inherently implies that "white men" are risk-takers and achievers. In contrast to male images, women are "guardians of the community, tradition and stability" (Pessar, 1999, p. 578). These kinds of stereotypical images ignore the roles and potentialities of women. In this respect, the study of Mirdal addressed the wrong impressions regarding the migrant women as being "oppressed, depressed and clustered" by their problems. Contrary to stereotypic assumptions, the case study of Turkish migrant women in Denmark revealed that Turkish women fought for their rights and self-determination (Mirdal, 1984, p. 1000). It is also important to keep in mind that all these examples are culturally-located and situated within time and space. From this standpoint, the produced knowledge of women is partial.

The outcome of these assumptions regarding the migrant women is that we know little about them. This is a way of justification the migrant women's invisibility in the study of migration. This invisibility means that research have been carried out with men. The knowledge is produced about the interviewed male respondents. As a result, the research

findings represented the reality of male migration. Therefore, the analysis and policies have been formulated by the knowledge of male migrants because as Connell pointed out that “there is no research on women migrating, there is little information on which women are migrating, why they are moving and where they are moving to, how autonomous and passive their migration decisions are....” (Connell, 1984, p. 964-965). As a result, the knowledge of migrant women was marginalized in the mainstream studies of migration because of the traditional patriarchal perceptions about women.

To remedy the long standing omission of women’s role in migration studies, scholars produced knowledge on the labour market participation of migrant women, their role in the labour market, female rural to urban migration in the third world and dimensions of the neglected issues and perspectives on women through a regional and national case studies. Despite the appreciation of migrant women’s knowledge and experiences, this first phase of feminist knowledge production on migration is subjected to the several criticisms.

First, this phase is referred to as “add and stir” approach because women were added to research simply as a “variable”. Their existence is measured regarding the labour force participation in the market and the comparisons between male and female migrants in terms of their numbers and their patterns (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005, p. 5). Although, this approach is widely used in quantitative analysis, it fails to acknowledge gender as a “central theoretical concept” rather than as a variable (Pessar, 1999, p. 579). For example, the ratio or number of women’s labour force participation is a valuable finding, but this empirical finding needs to be contextualized in larger discussions and extended through an examination of women’s participation to the wider communities (Pessar, 1999, p. 580). It is simply because gender is about the relations of power. Also, it “informs different sets of social relations which organize immigration and social institutions (e.g., family and labour markets) in both immigrants’ place of origin and place of destination” (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005, p. 5).

Second, the early feminist attempt to cure women’s omission is closely related to the sex role theory that women and men learn and play out different sex roles. The activities of

men and women are perceived as complementary and functional. This idea finds its ground in the public and private sphere distinction. Contrary to this, gender relations are “relational, contested and negotiated, and imbued with power, privilege and subordination” (Hondegrou-Sotelo, 2005, p. 5-6). In this respect, the sex role paradigm in migration studies underestimates the power relations about gender (Hondegrou-Sotelo, 2000, p. 114-115). Therefore, this understanding of gender also neglects the fluidity of gendered relations and dynamic.

Thirdly, bringing women into the studies of migration may produce some conflicting outcomes because producing specific knowledge on women - as if women were isolated and separate subject matters- tends to marginalize women. Also, this approach may produce further marginalization for women even if their realities were not totally different from the major dynamics and trends of international migration. The historian Donna Gabaccia mentioned this controversy that “the numbers of volumes exploring immigrant women separately from men now exceeds the volumes that successfully integrate women into general accounts” (cited in Hondegrou-Sotelo, 2005, p. 5).

In sum, the “women and migration” approach introduces new concepts, mentions neglected issues and includes the half of the historically-ignored subject of the migration research, the women. In this sense, they contributed to literature by curing the invisibility of women and suggesting a promising line of discussion points for the researchers in this field. These contributions have also its limitations as I mentioned above. But what is remarkable about the first phase is that this phase is the first small steps to understand the dimensions of women and migration. The next part, the second phase, is the reflection of the development of the feminist discussions in the migration research.

3.2.2. Gender and migration

In the 1980’s and early 1990’s, the focus shifted from women to gender in the studies of migration. The concept of gender was recognized as a set of social relations that both shaped and was shaped by the migration processes. The research that were conducted in this period concentrated on the meso institutions such as family, household, community

institutions or social networks (Hondegrou-Sotelo, 2005, p. 8). In recent studies, it is possible to observe how the understanding of gender has changed and how the macro institution has become the subject matter of the studies. In this emerging area of work, gender is regarded as a constitutive element of migration.

This understanding is represented in another special issue of the *International Migration Review* that was titled “Gender and Migration Revisited”. After twenty-two years, the articles in this special issue comprise the reflection of a paradigm shift in the migration literature. The formation for this shift laid in two important developments. First, the number of women migrants has reached the number of men in recent years. In this respect, the term “feminization of migration” has gained currency. For Castles and Miller, the feminization of migration can be identified as the general tendencies of migratory movements despite the existing diversity and differentiation of migration (2009, p. 12).

Second, migration itself began to be a gendered phenomenon. According to Castles and Miller, “the migrant is gendered subject, embedded in wide range of social relationships” (2009, p. 38). Like racial and ethnic divisions, it is also one of the most important aspects of the social differentiation (Castles and Miller, 2009, p. 38). With its increasing diversity and complexities, researchers in this area has needed more sophisticated theoretical and analytical tools to investigate the process of migration in a broader context (Donato etc. all, 2006, p. 3).

The *International Migration Review* special issue (2006) started with the introductory essay of Donato etc. all with the following question: “Another special issue on gender? Haven’t there been enough of those?” (2006, p. 3). This question can be explained by focusing on three important dimensions of recent theories of international migration. First, the contemporary studies on international migration and gender have appreciated the significance of gender. Unlike the early attempts to understand the relation between gender and migration, the concept gender has gained different meanings. In the previous works, gender was used interchangeably with the biological sex, and equated with the dichotomous variable sex. Reduction of gender to biological sex brings with it limits when analyzing the realities of migrants. It shadows the gender identities, relations, and

ideologies that are fluid and dynamic. In a similar vein, “gender cannot be viewed and analyzed in isolation” with the social structures (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 29). Similar to human beings, gender ideologies and practices change over time and space (Donato etc. all, 2006, p. 6). The definition of gender regarding the relationship of maleness and females signifies the superiority of one to another. This hierarchical perception of the idea of dichotomous and fixed gender relations is challenged. The relational and contextual nature of gender are often recognized by migrants. This is why migrants try to fulfil gender expectations of the society where they live (Donato etc. all, 2006, p. 6).

Following early attempts to incorporate feminist knowledge in the migration research, the studies which highlighted the significance of gender and migration addressed two interrelated issues: extending the area of the research and opening a space for methodological diversity.

The former suggests that undervalued issues and emerging areas in migration research should be appreciated to discover how various agencies are interconnected, and how the personal is political in the field of migration. In addition, the recognition of understudied areas has a potential for a more comprehensive and less partial theorizing in migration. In this sense, what are the under-investigated issues? And how one can engage them into the migration studies? Considering these questions in mind, one of the under-investigated area is the gendered politics of migration and the gendered practices of the state. It is evident that state is as sole institution which sets the rules, controls the borders, provides the multiple status and formulates policies on the area of international migration. Also, the state is inherently male and patriarchal in its policies. Therefore, the area of investigation needs to be enlarged through the analysis of the politics, welfare state policies and practices, and sexuality in the context of migration (Donato etc. all, 2006, p. 6). In this regard, the number of studies focusing on women migrants in the political context is limited (Piper, 2016, p. 134). To understand the migrant women’s realities, it is recognized that the processes of migration is affected by the state decisions, policies, activities and military headquarters (King, 2012, p. 28). That is because the political concerns of the states have a strong connection with the implemented policies of it. In other words, “policies

cannot be divorced from politics” (Piper, 2016, p. 140). The historical ignorance of state policies to gender issues is reflected in the gender-neutral policies. On the other hand, the implemented policies affect men and women differently because of the “gendered socio-economic power structure”, “the sociocultural definition of appropriate roles” in both the sending and the receiving countries and “the concentration of men and women in different migratory flows” (Piper, 2016, p. 139). In addition, although women have become a part of various categorizations of migration, the state-centered analysis in the political science tends to classify the issue of gender as low politics while the security issues are recognized as a part of high politics.

In the second phase of migration theories, scholars also suggest privileging gender in migration studies. They claim that gender is “a principle factor that organizes social life” (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 29). In this respect, the gendered reasons of migration and constructed gender identities suggest the need to be investigated. In addition, Manalansan recommends looking closer into “... how migrant lives and conditions set the stage for dramatically altering normalized ideas of the family primarily as reproductive units, marriage as economic transactions, and sexuality as always and already heterosexual” (Manalansan, 2006: 235). In this regard, the identities, practices and desires of sexuality are perceived as pivotal factors for migration (Manalansan, 2006, p. 225). From this point of view, “the heteronormative meanings, institutions, and practices” in migration studies should be challenged to uncover the function of sexuality (Manalansan, 2006, p.224). According to Manalansan, female sexuality is a “symbol of homeland tradition” and “the site of ideological and material struggle” (Manalansan, 2006, p.235). This sexuality is disciplined by various social institutions and practices to normalize heterosexuality and to protect the honour of the family through the heterosexual practices including the formation of family, marriage and reproduction mechanisms (Manalansan, 2006, p.225).

Regarding the methodology, feminist scholars claim that there is a need for “interdisciplinarity” and “methodological pluralism” in the studies of migration because “migration is one of the most cross-disciplinary fields in academia today” (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 31). In this regard, each discipline can learn from each other to develop

gender analysis in migration research. Also, feminist scholars from the second phase criticize the duality between the qualitative and quantitative research methods. The former is associated with the research methods such as in-depth interviews, focus groups and participant observations. The latter refers to the surveys and questionnaires. The qualitative methods which are widely used in gender analysis are referred to as “soft methods” while qualitative methods are appreciated (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 31). In addition to this, the information gathered from this method is classified as “soft data” which is incompatible for the theorization of migration (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 31). In this way, the gender analysis in migration research is marginalized in the methodological form (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 50). From this point of view, scholars criticized “the hierarchy of methods” (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 31) by claiming a bridge between methods and opening a room for “methodological eclecticism” (Donato etc. all, 2006, p. 19). For this purpose, feminist scholars suggest the combination of these two methods to advance migration theorization.

In conclusion, feminist knowledge production has contributed the field of migration in a variety of ways. It provides a detailed documentation of gender in migration studies. It also recognizes the dynamics of gender mobility. Also, feminist knowledge claims have enlarged our understanding of migration to various interrelated social areas by making visible the experiences of women. In this line of argument, the universal category of women, the division between public and private spheres, stereotypes about women and misrepresentation of women as submissive, passive, dependent and docile in migration processes is criticized by feminist scholars. In this regard, the areas in which women are marginalized are determined and tried to be curved by feminist scholars. Furthermore, the differences among women including age, class, ethnicity, culture, life experience and socio-economic states are acknowledged with the intersectional analysis and interdisciplinary dialogue.

In addition to these feminist contributions, the study of migration is still a challenging field. First, the “typological and terminological complexity” together with the context poses a challenge for migration theorizing. (King, 2012, p.9). In a similar vein, Arango

stated that the difficulty of defining migration is because of its “multifaced and multiform” (Arango, 2000, p.295). To put it differently, the extreme diversity of migration lies in the heart of building theory. Following this, the integration of gender in the migration theory is resisted to change because of the assumption that “men migrate, and women stay behind” (King, 2012, p. 27).

All in all, it can be said that the knowledge about women, gender and migration has progressed through different stages. First, scholars attempted to remedy the invisibility of women and marginality of women studies in migration literature. This was followed by the attempts of incorporating the contextual and fluid understanding of gender by bringing a dialogue between different disciplinary boundaries and extended issues of research.

3.3. The incorporation of feminist standpoint theory into the migration theorizing

After critically reviewing the literature on migration, I think that FST provides a valuable foundation for the development of the migration theories because of its epistemological and methodological claims. Although FST is a modernist theory, it harshly criticizes the assumptions of modernism (essentialism, binary thinking and universalism) by benefiting from the post-modernist approach. From this point, I will try to incorporate FST into the migration theorizing through five critical lines of arguments.

First, as mentioned above, the women’s knowledge is located in the margins of the migration theories because of the understanding, perception and assumption of conventional theories about women while theorizing migration. This marginalized knowledge can be better investigated through and analyzed by the FST – as both a theory and a methodology - which states that the lives of the marginalized women are the sources of knowledge. In this way, the tradition of being gender-blind in migration theorizing can be curved. In migration research and theorization, women should be taken as a subject of inquiry not as an object with the FST.

Second, as noted earlier, the process of migration is diverse and complex to theorize. However, FST provides a fresh ground on which to grasp these complexities because the knowledge itself is historical and locational emergent and embodied. The changing

context, patterns and trends of migration can be better theorized through the FST without making universal claims. The recognition of the specificities of the migrants, their material and their historical conditions and the effect of power structures during the several stages of migration can be discovered by the concept of “strong objectivity”. For example, the Syrian migration is different from the Bulgarian migration because of the changing context and conditions of the lived reality. The historical, social, political and economic locations of any given reality are resources for generating migration theories with “a greater objectivity” (Harding, 1991, p. 163). In this line of argument, the theories of migration can be less distorted and more local, regional and global to understand experiences of the diverse group of migrants and host community.

Third, the conventional migration theories tended to universalize all categories of migrants including the women and the men. The universalizing tendencies limit the understanding of migration in general, women in specific. The feminists contribute to the knowledge of migration by recognizing the diversity of the experiences, motives and values of the migrants. From this point of view, FST can also deepen the realization of these differences. This is because the agents of knowledge are taken as multiple and heterogeneous categories, not a unified one (Harding, 2004, p. 134). In addition, the intersectional analysis of FST can enable us to understand the multiple forms of oppression and of marginalization by revealing the power dynamics. In this way, it is also possible to analyze how the mainstream agencies of theory building such as dominant power structures, shape and limit the produced knowledge (Intemann, 2016, p. 272).

Fourth, there exists various dichotomies in the migration literature such as temporary vs. permanent, voluntary vs. forced, regular vs. irregular, and economic vs. refugees. These categories can be beneficial to a certain extent, but they can break down in the practical world (King, 2012, p. 8). In addition, these distinctions are highly problematic categories for doing intersectional analysis of the multidimensionality of migration. It is also difficult to distinguish refugee migration and other forms of movements because of the wide range of interconnected factors. Migration itself does not follow linear paths. As one of the feminist standpoint scholars, Collins offers a link between the constructed dichotomies by

criticizing the dichotomic approaches (2004, p. 110). The intersectional analysis of the multiple forms of the dichotomous differences can extend our analysis by challenging the mainstream assumptions. With this analysis, the constructed hierarchical distinction between men and women can be blurred through feminist standpoint methodology. In this regard, the limits of statistical information on women and men are shifted toward the more power-infected one.

Fifth, the feminist studies in migration literature recommended an interdisciplinary dialogue between various methodologies. From this standpoint, Jaggar states how the prevailing knowledge interprets the social reality from the standpoint of the dominant (2004, p.5) Based on this argument, it is clear that the conventional migration theories carry out such a risk because they produce knowledge from the dominant and gender-blind standpoints. Starting investigation from the marginalized lives and being self-reflexive in the research process are constructive steps for migration theorization because this methodology can encapsulate the multiple forms of marginality without breaking its ties from the locations of the research subjects.

All in all, I analyzed the knowledge of migration by focusing on two lines of developments: the traditional theories and the feminist contributions to them. At the same time, I tried to specify how women's knowledge is marginalized in the migration studies by explaining how they are located in the margins of the knowledge production. After drawing a picture of the literature on migration, I searched for evidence of a feminist standpoint migration theory and, at the same time, tried to incorporate themes of FST into the theorization of migration. In the scope of this theoretical background, the next chapter focuses on the specific conditions of migration and its knowledge, together with the knowledge-production agencies.

CHAPTER 4

THE MORE SYRIANS, THE MORE CHALLENGES

Migration is embedded in societal rules and norms by migrants' 'home society' and their 'society of arrival'. (Thieme, 2006, p. 2)

International migration has not been a new phenomenon throughout the history of Turkey. Although it has a long-standing experience with migration, Turkey has faced new challenges in recent years. Institutional and legal structure, dynamics of civil society and academia have undergone various changes to understand and respond to a large amount of migration flows from Syria to Turkey since 2011.

In this chapter, I aim to understand the distinctiveness of the Syrian case in Turkey while focusing on the knowledge production processes on women, specifically Syrian women. Firstly, I will briefly portray Turkey's history of migration to situate the Syrian case in its wider context. By doing this, I will critically analyze the continuities and discontinuities of Turkey's migration policies. This analysis will constitute the ground of legal and institutional basis of migration management in Turkey. Secondly, parallel with this aim, I will examine the evaluation of Syrian migration to Turkey during the period covering 2011 and 2018. In this manner, I would like to reveal information which was produced regarding the international migration and migrant women in Turkey.

4.1. Historical and legal framework

Since its establishment, Turkey has experienced various migration flows. Its responses to those movements have shown some differences according to the domestic and

international politics, the scale and the volume of the flows, and the characteristics of the migrants. It can be said that Turkey has developed various policies and programs to respond to both the needs of the people and of the state itself. However, the former sentence provides partial knowledge related to the migration policies of Turkey. As a result, this sentence can be corrected as follows: Turkey has developed partial and situated migration policies which are compatible with the material realities of recognized migrants, usually of men. One of the possible reasons for this ignorance may lay in the lack of theorization about migrant women or the state's assumption that “gender makes no difference”. Because of this perspective, migration policies in Turkey have developed considering only half of the migrant population, the men. In its male-centered development, Turkish migration policies can be categorized into three phases (İçduygu, Erder & Gençkaya, 2014).

The first phase is strongly related to the nation-building processes that covered the period of 1920s to 1950s. The formation of the nation-state determined the legal and institutional structures of the migration policies. In this phase, the state had a priority of the construction of a homogeneous Turkish nation-state and therefore the policies of migration were called the policies of population. “The 1934 Law on Settlement” represented this logic and regulated the immigration of Muslim and Turkish people. For Topuzlu, this settlement law “was designed to encourage the return of people of Turkish descent or Turkish culture” (2007, p. 4). Parallel with him, İçduygu and Aksel state that this law reflected two status simultaneously. This law was facilitating the migration of people who are from “Turkish origin and culture”. At the same time, it was discouraging the entry of people who did not fulfill these criteria (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013, p.171).

The second phase covers the interval between the 1950's to 1980's. During this phase, European countries implemented less-restrictive visa and work policies to overcome the negative impact of world wars. Compatible with this aim, they adopted the principle of free movement of labor, capital, and goods. The requirements for the cheap labor force was met by the human beings from developing countries. This was the central thinking and described the peripheral relationship between developed and developing countries.

Affected by international economic trends, Turkey adopted developmental policies to increase “foreign currency earnings”. To achieve this aim, the state began to send workers to European countries and started to give incentives to increase the number of tourists (Erder, 2016, p. 123-124). As a result of global trends, Turkey has become a country of emigration.

In the third phase, Turkey witnessed the influx of “non-Muslim and non-Turkish migrants” for the first time in the mid-1980’s (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013, p. 174-175; Özer, 2015, p. 2). The reason for the mass migration toward Turkey may be explained by the historical-material realities of the sending countries. Because of the impact of internationalization and globalization, each country has begun to affect each other more than the previous decades. In this sense, the relations between countries has become more complicated. Together with this, the policies of Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq towards minorities, the war of Iran-Iraq and the Gulf War created the insecure environment for the residents of these countries. In the same time period, the Soviet Union collapsed, and citizens of the Eastern European Countries migrated to Turkey for temporary work. Following the trend of its past policy, the Turkish government started to open its border by inviting tourists, foreigners, and guests in the 1990’s (Erder, 2016, p. 123-124). In line with these developments, Turkey has become a transit and target country because of both its geopolitical position and the changing political, economic and social dynamics of the other countries (Ekşi, 2014, p. 7).

4.1.1. The “novelty” of Syrian case

In the light of the given information about the phases of Turkey’s migration history, I would like to extend this discussion toward the mass migration flows situating the Syrian case in the third phase. In its history, Turkey dealt with several mass migrations, but these movements themselves are not the focus of this chapter. On the contrary, the main question is, “If Turkey experienced mass migration in its history, what is the novelty of the Syrian case or why does the Syrian mass movement deserve to be investigated?” To answer this question, I would like to mention those mass movements.

In 1989, ethnic Turks in Bulgaria were forced to migrate to Turkey. The first reason for this movement is connected to the relationship between these two countries. During the Cold War period, Turkey and Bulgaria were located in different political poles. For this reason, the government of Bulgaria questioned the loyalty of the Turkish minority. It practiced assimilation policies like the closure of mosques and prohibition of Turkish language courses (Kirişçi & Erder, 2015, p.301). From the perspective of Bulgaria, the presence of the Turkish minority was a security issue. When the mass migration of ethnic Turks started, the government implemented an open-door policy since the people who migrated were the descendant of those with Turkish ethnicity. Additionally, there was a legal ground, the 1934 Settlement Law, for their acceptance. During this mass migration, the government did not take the support of the international community. The UNHCR were not completely involved in the migration process (Kirişçi & Erder, 2015, p. 298). One of the crucial reasons for this political choice has rested in the idea of Turkishness. The reaction of Turkey to Bulgarian migration reflected the domesticity of the case because this was about people with Turkish ethnicity and culture. Consequently, Turkey approached this migration situation as if it was solely a domestic policy.

When Turkey faced the Kurdish Iraqis influx of mass migration in 1988 and 1991, it carried out a different policy from the Bulgarian case. After the Halabja Massacre in 1988, a group of Iraqis arrived in Turkey. The government was unwilling to accept them and to implement an open-door policy at the beginning of the movement. In contrast to the Bulgarian case, the Turkish government preferred to refer to the Kurdish Iraqis as “guests” (Kirişçi & Erder, 2015, p. 303). Not surprisingly, it invited the international community to accept those people (Danış, Taraghi, and Perouse, 2009, p. 495). In 1988, the entry of approximately fifty thousand Iraqis was allowed. Those people settled in the camps in the southern part of the country (DGMM, 2013, p. 9-10). In 1991, Turkey witnessed more influx of migration from Iraq and accepted six hundred forty-seven thousand people to the country (DGMM, 2013, p. 9-10). For this situation, Turkey insisted on the formation of a safety zone, which was created by NATO in Iraq’s territory. In addition, UNHCR played an important role in providing humanitarian relief and supporting Iraqis’ return. In the

case of Iraq, the migration policy was formulated by security concerns. The presence of Kurdish Iraqis was identified as a national security problem. After the 1991 case, Turkey changed its legislative system by implementing the 1994 Regulation, which determined the scope of the mass migration and individual asylum application system.

The massive influxes from Syria had differences from the previous experiences of Turkey. First, the arrival of the massive flows has expanded over time (Kirişçi & Erder, 2015, p.306). In addition to this, they have spread through various provinces of Turkey. In this sense, both the volume and the nature of migration differ from the past situations (Yazgan, etc. all, 2015, p.184-185). Second, Turkey, supporting the anti-Assad regime, gave reinforcement to the persistent migration from Syria. This stance of Turkey was interpreted as supporting the development of radical groups in Syria by some scholars. However, the Turkish government denied this interpretation of its stance (Kirişçi & Erder, 2015, p.308; Yetkin 2014).

Third, the organizing principle of Turkish migration policy depends on whether the group is Turkish or Muslim. The earlier migrant groups were either ethnic Turks, such as the Balkan migrants, or non-Turkish Muslims who would be easy to integrate into Turkish society (Makavsky, 2019, p. 1). Because of this migration policy, the result was that these immigrant groups did not generate tension in society. Similar to the Kurdish Iraqis, Syrians were expected to return their country. When it was realized that Syrians have weak options for return, the government of Turkey started providing the right of “citizenship” and “work permits” (Paçacı Elitok, 2018, p. 9). Unlike the Iraqi experience, Turkey did not hesitate to implement an open-door policy for the Syrians. While ethnicity was the reference point in the case of Bulgaria religion became the new point of reference for the Syrian experience (Kirişçi & Erder, 2015, p.308) Therefore, the Syrian migration necessitated a shift in the response of the Turkish government to meet the needs of both Syrians and citizens. The tradition of state-centricity in migration management has gradually shown differences from the past. In addition to the involvement of various agencies in local, national and international levels, the newly established bodies have

taken their roles in the Syrian case for the implementation of comprehensive, long term, and well-developed solutions and plans.

All in all, these examples have shown that Turkey's policy options regarding those movements reflect the political, economic and social environment of its time and conditions. The Syrian case represents a break in the migration history of Turkey. The above-mentioned reasons have revealed why we need to examine the Syrian case more deeply.

4.1.2. A new legal ground: Is it a break from the past?

Until 2013, two crucial documents have dominated the Turkish migration system. The first legal document was the 1934 Law on Settlement. This law reflected the rationale of the Turkish nation-building. In this sense, it set rules regarding the people with “Turkish descendants and culture”. In 2006, this law was amended; but “traditional admission policy” did not change radically with the introduction of the new law on settlement (Gülfer İhlamur-Öner, 2013, p. 193-194).

The second legal document was the 1951 Geneva Convention and its 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. After World War II, this Convention was ratified by various government agencies, including Turkey. This international treaty guarantees the dignity of all human beings regardless of their race, religion, and nationality. This convention defines the term “refugee” by setting criteria with two limitations. The first limitation is geographical by stating that people who leave their country because of the events occurring in Europe were defined as refugees, while others were not. The second is related to the temporal limitation. People fleeing events occurring before 1st January 1951 were included in the definition of a refugee. On the other hand, those limitations removed by the 1967 Protocol. With this perspective, the Convention and Protocol have gained universal coverage and become an international tool for refugee protection (UNHCR, 2010, p. 2-3).

On the other hand, Turkey has continued to preserve a geographic limitation. This situation has produced lively debates in various published works, in light of the influx of

Syrians. In addition to this, the international community, and various national and international agencies have criticized Turkey for not lifting this limitation. What is critical for the status definition of the Syrians was deeply-rooted in the definition itself. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, “refugees” were defined

people who ... 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, 2010, p. 14)

When evaluating the conditions of Syrians who fled from their country because of the occurrences of violent events, they fulfill the criteria of the definition of a refugee. As a result, they are “refugees” and that is why within the literature, the Syrian case is described with the term “Syrian refugees”. However, this definition only makes sense when defining the actual state of the Syrians. In the legal ground, however, the mass migration situation is identified differently. Even if they are evaluated in the asylum procedures, they are not refugees in the legal ground because, first, they are not coming from the European countries. Therefore, they are not able to get refugee status. In addition to this, Syrians have arrived in Turkey in large numbers, so they comply with the definition of mass inflows, which was regulated in the 1994 Asylum Regulation. This regulation weakly specifies the establishment of the camps, coordination of agencies and measures to be taken from the government in case of the mass migration.

Independent from the Syrian case, Turkey has undergone a restructuring process in its legislative system on migration in the 2000’s; but it is not surprising that the events in Syria have accelerated the reform processes. One of the reasons why Turkey has restructured its migration systems is grounded in Turkey’s pre-accession period to the European Union (EU). This process is called the Europeanisation of Turkish migration system. In addition to the EU accession process, the Turkish legal system had legal gaps in terms of the rights of refugees, asylums, and migrants. Existing laws were based on the Passport Law and the Law on Residence and Travel of Aliens. These multiple legal

structures caused the “arbitrary” and “reactive” situations in implementation processes (Özer, 2015, p. 17).

The second reason why Turkey has restructured its migration systems is the increase in the number of European Court of Human Rights’ decisions against Turkey regarding the migration and asylum issues. Previous experiences suggested that legal, administrative and physical capacities were lacking for managing migration and respond to the need of migrants. As a result, a new law and comprehensive reforms in Turkey’s migration and asylum policies have been adopted with the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LIFP) and came into force in 2013. A new actor with its previous heritages, Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), was established as a sole agency to manage migration with its civil experts. Together with this law, the principles and procedures of entry into, stay in and exit from Turkey were defined for foreigners, who do not belong the Turkish citizenship. In addition to this, the scope and implementation of international protection is regulated. This law reflects attempts to change “temporary” or “ad hoc” policies in the Turkish migration system (Köşer Akçapar, 2012, p. 573). Furthermore, the adaptation of LIFP is also “a clear sign of Turkey’s efforts to establish effective migration management system in line with EU standards” (Paçacı Elitok, 2013, p. 164). In short, this law is a critical political instrument for the unified and comprehensive legal ground of Turkish migration management. The official status of Syrians was defined in LIFP Article 91 titled Temporary Protection as follows:

Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection.

It is understood from the definition that temporary protection is provided in the case of the mass influxes. It is applied when the individual asylum procedures are no more applicable to mass influxes. With this regard, this protection aims to provide an immediate response to the emergency as a form of complementary protection.

To specify the procedures and principles of temporary protection, and right and obligations of the people who are under temporary protection, the Temporary Protection

(TP) Regulation entered into force in 2014. With this regulation, the Turkish government aimed to provide an effective legal system for Syrians by outlining the services provided to people who are under TP and the coordination between various agencies. This Regulation guaranteed the multiple rights of migrants such as access to education and health services for free. Additionally, the non-refoulement principle was guaranteed introducing the new legal system - LIFP and TP Regulation. According to this principle, no one “shall be returned to place where he or she may be subjected to torture, inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment or, where his/her life or freedom would be threatened on account of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (LIFP, 2013, Article 4; TPR, 2014, Article 6). This principle brings Turkish legal structure in the international migration to the universal ground.

Regarding the work permits, the state amended the previous law, which regulated the employment of foreigners. In 2016, the new Law on International Workforce was introduced. With this law, the conditions for applying for work permits were defined. In the same year, Regulation on Work Permit of Foreigners under Temporary Protection were published in the Official Gazette. With this regulation, the employment conditions of Syrians who were under temporary protection was defined more clearly.

The official status and definitions have significance for Syrian women because the scope of rights and obligations have been determined by these regulations. The LIFT and TP Regulation was criticized for preventing Syrian women to access international protection. Also, the government policies failed to prevent and sanction the abuse and discrimination of Syrian women in the economic, social and legal levels. The government actors and their policies, programs, and activities signified the existence of “legal violence against Syrian female refugees” (Kıvılcım, 2016). In this sense, not only implemented policies but also the non-implemented policies are important to understand the gendered nature of the existing structures because the policy choices reflect the ideology of the actors. In this connection, the lived experiences of women should be appreciated to develop migration policies.

The brief overview of the Turkish policy on international migration reveals that the legal and administrative structure on migration reflect the continuities and discontinuities at the same time. The existence of the Settlement Law signifies the relevance of the “Turkishness” notion in the context of Turkey. Since 1934, the meaning of immigrant has not changed. This is one of the continuities with the past. In addition to this, Turkey has preserved the geographical limitation while granting refugee status since 1951. Thus, it is hard to claim that the tradition of migration policies has shown a radical break from past experiences. On the contrary, the new legal and institutional framework is depended on the pre-existing bodies. For Paçacı Elitok, the increase in the migration reforms in the 2000’s was the continuation of the previous effort of the governments (2018, p. 5). That is why we do not observe the gender-sensitive migration policy in the context of Turkey.

The discontinuity with the past were shown in the flows of the Bulgarians and Kurdish Iraqis cases. The response of the Turkish government was “flexible” and “ad hoc”. Depending on the case, the government priorities have shifted from human rights and moved toward security matters and vice versa. In the 2000’s, the Turkish policy on migration became relatively less state-centric. The case of Syria also exerts pressure on the tradition of state-centricity. As a result, various actors are involved in the decision-making processes, but this situation can be called controlled involvement of the multiple actors. In this respect, Paçacı Elitok states that the state-centricity has continued to dominate Turkish migration policy despite the participatory environment (2018, p. 9).

Consequently, the differences in state policies have revealed that the government response to each migratory movement reflects its specific conditions of time, the nature of the agencies and the political choices. In different epochs, the Turkish government shifted its policies depending on the perceived realities of the migrants. Gender ignorance was the prevailing policy choice of the government.

4.2. Evolution of Syrian mass migration

Before examining the evaluation of Syrian migration toward Turkey, it will be better to question why many of the articles, reports, and researches regarding the Syrian case in

Turkey call this situation a “crisis”. What does the term “the Syrian crisis” signifies in the context of Turkey? According to the published reports, “the Syrian crisis” is recognized as one of the worst refugee crises which world has experienced since the Second World War (Amnesty International, 2015; Benner etc. all, 2015). In a similar vein, some of the researchers identified this as a “refugee crises” or “humanitarian crises” that is needed to be managed through both international and national levels. Naming this situation as a “humanitarian crisis” may be a product of a rationale to cover its connection with foreign policy. Parallel with this point, Bélanger and Saracoglu criticized the term “Syrian refugee crisis” by asking “whose crisis”. For them, Turkey’s foreign policy choices have played an important role in the acceleration of conflict in Syria; therefore, the Syrian situation turns into the case that is not easy to manage. The notion itself, “crisis”, implies the existence of negative discourse on Syrians because it links migration with an abnormal situation. In this sense, Syrians are perceived as the root cause of crises in Turkey as if there were no crises and tensions before them (Bélanger & Saracoglu, 2018, p. 5-6). As a result, they suggest leaving the term “crisis” because this term has larger social and political implications on various parties of migration processes and knowledge production.

Although there is a domination of a “crisis” notion in Turkey, the evaluation of the Syrians mass movement to Turkey can be analyzed in two stages: the initial stage and the ongoing stage. The general patterns of the movement and response of the various actors determined the nature and characteristics of these stages.

In the initial stage, covers 2011 and 2014, the responses and policies to the emergent situation reflected the idea of “temporarily”. As a result, the legal status of Syrians preserved its ambiguity since the enforcement of LIFT. At the end of 2012, the government of Turkey has opened space for the involvement of international actors. In the following years, multiple actors have begun to engage in the field by providing humanitarian assistance to Syrians. Most of the published studies of these actors have reflected their gender-blind assumptions and finding.

In the ongoing stage, the field of migration management in Turkey has become more fragmented although the government is still a central figure. Legal and institutional grounds of the migration management were introduced. As a result, the rights-based assistance and services have become clearer compared to the previous stage. Divergent needs of the Syrians, including women, men, and children, have been recognized by various agencies, but it is still limited. The differences among Syrians have started to be investigated together with their gender-specific conditions. However, the long-standing presence, the increasing visibility and negative stereotypes related to Syrians have produced social tensions and unrest among both host and migrant communities. This situation poses a new challenge for involved actors ranging from government to citizens.

Therefore, it is self-evident that each agency – state institutions, national and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and academic and research institutions - has experienced differently the Syrian migration because of its divergent missions, organizational capacities, and available resources. It can be claimed that each agency has experienced its specific inner fractions while mutually influencing and being influenced by the general atmosphere of the migration situation. In other words, the wider and interconnected sets of material conditions have affected the actors in the field of migration. With Turkey's historical heritage, the central government actors have played a pivotal role in the coordination and management of the migration situation. Not surprisingly, the government's ignorance of gender issues can be observed in this area, as noted above. As a result, the one cross-cutting issue, gender, has not been appreciated in migration management at the beginning of the Syrian conflict; but the future is always promising. With the involvement of various actors in this field, the term "gender" with its connections has started to be investigated. In fact, considering the magnitude of the number of Syrian refugees, these studies are late studies of already existing and deeply-rooted realities of both migrant men and women.

In 2011, the first group of Syrians arrived in Turkey. They were generally "political activist youths" who escape from the regime (Özden, 2013, p. 3). Since then, the women and children who escaped from the violence entered the country (Erciyes, 2016, p. 27). In

2013, the Syrian influx gained new momentum with the use of chemical weapons to attack civilians (Gülfer-Ihlamur Öner, 2013, p.203). In the following years, the number of Syrians continued to increase due to the growing domestic unrest in Syria. The officially-registered number of Syrians under temporary protection are indicated in Figure 1. Syrian women constituted approximately half of the Syrian community in Turkey.

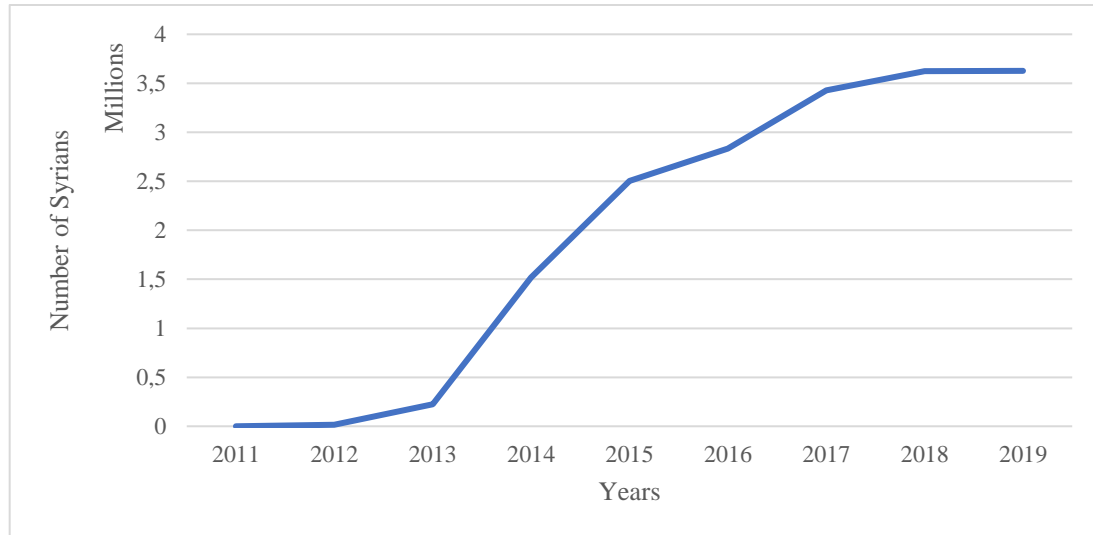


Figure 1 - The Number of Syrians under Temporary Protection (DGMM, July 2019)

Up to the present day, Turkey hosted approximately 3.6 million Syrians in both camps and cities. At the onset of migration influx, the exact number of Syrians was not known. This reality has not changed radically because of the several reasons such as the following: the continuous mobility of Syrians, their attempt to reach European countries through an illegal way, their unwillingness to register themselves, and giving birth without official registration. The possible reason for the fluctuation in their number may be results of the mentioned realities of migrants. Although there exist data verification policies, the number of Syrians who live in Turkey is not exactly known.

When the Syrians entered Turkey, they were settled in tent cities, which were established at near to the border, following the temporary acceptance procedures. In March 2012, there were only seven camps. The number of camps increased to fourteen in 2013, to twenty-two in 2014 (AFAD, 2014, p. 18), and to twenty-six in ten provinces of Turkey (Hatay, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Kilis, Mardin, Kahramanmaraş, Osmaniye, Adıyaman,

Adana, Malatya) in 2016 (AFAD, 2016, p. 16). These camps are composed of tent cities and containers. The increase in the number of camps may be associated with the government assumptions regarding the Syrians. It was expected that Syrians would leave the country in a short period. For this reason, Turkey provided temporary solutions to meet the needs of Syrians. Contrary to expectations, the conflict intensified, and the volume of forced migration reached unpredicted levels.

The temporariness of the Syrian case has gradually transformed into the idea of permanence. The change in the rationale of the state can be observed in two important developments in camp policies. The first one is related to the authority which administers camps designated as “temporary accommodation centers” or “refugee camps”. From the beginning of the Syrian influx, camps were administered by the Disaster and Emergency Management Authority (AFAD). This agency is a national emergency office responsible for the management of the risk situations. This agency’s responsibility and the concept of management were extended in the realm of migration management in the case of Syria (Dramgold, 2015, p. 76). The administration, coordination, and establishment of camps with service provisions were under the jurisdiction of AFAD. In the camps, healthcare, educational and social services were provided for Syrians (AFAD, 2014, p. 120; AFAD, 2016, p. 48). Moreover, the camps include prayer rooms, sports area, playground, laundries, dishwashing units, internet halls, resting halls, and grocery stores. In this respect, these camps are called “five-star camps”. The physical structure and administration of camps were lauded by the national and international community. In 2018, the management of the camps was transferred to the DGMM. The change in administration is a sign of a policy shift because DGMM is an institution solely-responsible for the implementation of policies and strategies related to the foreigners and for the coordination between related agencies and organizations, while AFAD is responsible for emergency matters.

The second one is associated with the number of camps. In 2019, there were only eleven temporary accommodation centers in eight provinces (Şanlıurfa, Adana, Kilis, Kahramanmaraş, Hatay, Osmaniye, Malatya, Gaziantep) (DGMM, 2019). The decrease

in the number of camps implies the transition from the perception of temporality to permanence. This situation can be associated with the Syrians' willingness to stay in the camps. According to the DGMM, approximately 90 percent of Syrians live out of the camps in 2019. It means that Syrians have dispersed to different cities in the country. At the beginning of the influx, Syrians preferred to settle in Hatay, Kilis, Gaziantep, and Şanlıurfa which were near to the border and camps, but then they began to move to the western parts of Turkey (ORSAM, 2014, p. 15; Support to Life, 2015, p. 2; TESEV & ORSAM, 2015, p. 16). Although they have relative comfort and security in the camps, Syrians have decided to leave camps because of family ties, political reasons, privacy concerns, permission to enter and exit, being close to the border, lack of camp capacity and financial independence (MAZLUMDER, 2013, p. 9; İçduygu, 2015, p. 8). The main reason can be associated with the limitation of their freedom of movement because Syrians described the camp as a prison (MAZLUMDER, 2013, p. 9). Also, life in camps was described as "monotonous and limiting" (Erciyes, 2016, p. 28-29). The long stay in the camps increase the risk of hindering the integration of migrants to the host community.

The growing number of urban refugees has shifted our attention from camps to urban spaces. With this shift, the role of local governments has gained more importance because the number of Syrians has created pressures on the social and municipal services provided by local governments. The public transportation, the number of municipal police, water supply and distribution, garbage collection and the cleaning of the city are designed by the city's population. In addition to this, municipalities receive a budget regarding the population ratio (TESEV & ORSAM, 2015, p.9). This means that municipalities do not have additional budgets to meet the needs of Syrians because there is no special state fund that is allocated to them. (Elicin, 2018, p. 80). According to the Law on Municipality, the citizens of Turkey, not migrants, can be benefited from the municipal services (Coşkun & Uçar, 2018, p. 112). This law limits the ability of municipalities providing public services to Syrians. Both the legal ground and financial conditions are new challenges for the municipalities. To overcome this, some municipalities integrate Syrians to existing service provision and enlarge their outreach programs to Syrians. If municipalities continue to

provide services and humanitarian aids despite the legal and financial restrictions, there is a risk of attracting more refugees and migrant from other localities (Kirişçi, etc. all, 2018, p. 3). This situation causes a paradox in service provision and assistance.

It is also important to note that each municipality does not confront the same challenges. The historicity, ethnicity, economic activity and social structure of the cities have affected the degree and magnitude of the challenges. Furthermore, each municipality has diverging political affiliations, and available administrative, and financial capacities that affect their policies and practices. As a result, each of them has developed its unique and various responses to meet the needs of Syrians (Coşkun & Uçar, 2018, p. 104). For example, while the border cities – Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, Kilis, Hatay, Adana, Mersin – and the economically attractive cities – İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir – hosted most of the urban Syrians, the other cities deal with relatively small numbers of Syrians. The lack of statistics and “the accurate information” regarding the urban refugees has constituted the other area of challenge for municipalities (Elicin, 2018, p. 80-81). Furthermore, the lack of gender-segregated statistic prevents the formulation of gender-based policies into the local level. In a similar vein, the case study of Alacadağlı and Mamur Işıklı suggests that the lack of knowledge about migrant women hinders the development of specific policies for them (2018, p.156). The activities of the local governments do not directly address the Syrian women. In other words, they tend to underestimate the women-specific problems and needs (Alacadağlı & Mamur Işıklı, 2018, p. 148). This reality can also be observed in the studies which were carried out with specific focus to those municipalities (Çamur 2017; Erdoğan, 2017; TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası İstanbul Şubesi, 2017; MBB, 2017; Elicin 2018). To understand the reality of the migration, local actors have begun to support field research on Syrians with strong collaboration with academia and civil society organizations. The missing part of these studies and the research findings are the investigation of the material real conditions of Syrian women. Thus, it is required to evaluate specific policies, activities, and programs targeting women.

In addition to the central and local government agencies, international and national actors are increasingly engaged in the field of migration. When the mass migration of Syrians

started, Turkish government undertook the responsibility of provision of aids and its finance. However, the government could not maintain the financial and humanitarian burden of the growing number of Syrians, and subsequently asked for the assistance of the international community, United Nations (UN) at the end of the 2012 (Dramgold, 2015, p. 96). As a result, a Regional Response Plan (RRP) and a Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) were created to respond to the needs of Syrians in a more coordinated and effective manner. International organizations like UN Agencies - UNHCR, United Nations Development Program (UNDP), and UN Women - International Organization for Labor (ILO), and International Organization for Migration (IOM) have actively operated in the field of migration management.

In the meantime, the number of actively-involved national and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has increased in the migration field (Badael Foundation, 2019, p. 13). Furthermore, currently active NGOs have developed and diversified their scope of work and capacities to address migration-related issues at various levels. They have added new topics to their fields of work, for example, the rights of migrant women. While NGOs provided humanitarian assistance including the basic needs of shelter, clothing, food, and health in the initial stage, they have begun to address the rights of migrants and integration issues. However, the marginalization of rights-based approaches to the migration issues has affected negatively the understanding of the conditions of Syrian women (Badael Foundation, 2019, p.6). Faith-based NGOs, closer with the government, have tended to assist with the principle of charity. The main beneficiaries of the provided services are Syrian women because men either work or believe that taking aid is humiliating. This form of organization portrayed women as a dependent without understanding the causes for the presence of women in receiving aid. On the other hand, the right-based approaches may help us to understand migrant women-specific challenges: gender-based violence, language barrier, the practices of child marriage and polygamy, exclusion, discrimination and relative deprivation of basic human rights.

The aim, structure, activities, and function of these NGOs have differed from each other. In the literature, there was a lack of knowledge and the comprehensive study regarding NGOs' area of work, the capacity, the carried projects and activity, the fund providers, the partnerships and the challenges (IGAM, 2013, p. 1). The NGOs have carried out their activities according to the available funds. In this sense, the priorities of the fund providers have become priorities of the NGOs. However, the differences in priorities and activities of NGOs have extended the power of the NGOs through the various lived-realities of migrants with multiple backgrounds and identities. In this sense, while some of them has organized with the right-based approach, some of them organized with humanitarian relief activities. This diversity can be seen in their reports, policy suggestions to bring social change in the realm of migration. Differences in knowledge production are both results and causes of the diversity in the area of migration governance.

The increase in the non-governmental organizations on migration coincided with the increase in the number of academic research units within the academia. In academia, the study of migration has been a marginalized issue; but the volume of academic studies including Masters and Ph.D. theses, working papers, policy sheets, articles, and academic conferences has dramatically gained attention with the extension of the Syrian conflict. Parallel with the evaluation of the Syrian case, the initial studies, covers the period of 2011-2014, mainly produce knowledge on the reasons and outcomes of the "Syrian crisis" by addressing the EU accession process, the relations between Syria and Turkey, the asylum policies of Turkey and the case studies where Syrians were more visible. Although Syrian women were the first arrivals in the country, the academic studies neglected the reality of Syrian women in the initial stages of the Syrian situation.

The legal and institutional ground and the evaluation of Syrian mass migration provide some clues about the nature and characteristics of published information on migration. In the first years of mass migration flows from Syria, the area of knowledge production was dominated by the field works of the local, national and international NGOs and the specialized units of national and international organizations (Yazgan etc. all, 2015, p. 185-186). The number of academic studies was limited during this process. In the third year of

the Syrian Conflict, the Syrian case has begun to be investigated in the academia (Apak & Tatlıcıoğlu, 2018, p. 234). The information produced in the initial stages of the Syrian migration aimed to understand the recent phenomenon by concentrating on the countries that host largest Syrians in the region: Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan (Yazgan etc. all, 2015, p. 186). In addition to this, the early studies on migration aimed to reveal the issue of international migration, policy responses of the receiving countries and public attitudes towards the new arrivals, Syrians (Özden, 2013). These studies descriptively analyze the situation by collecting data and observing and carrying field work the situation in the camps.

When I analyze the ongoing studies since the beginning of 2015, it is obvious that the academic studies have shifted their interest to the diversity of areas with multiple disciplines (Apak & Tatlıcıoğlu, 2018, p. 240). The news about human tragedies in the Mediterranean Sea diverted more public attention. Policymakers and scholars began to discuss humanitarian aspects of the migration policy while stressing the significance of burden responsibility sharing in the field (Yazgan etc. all, 2015, p.184). The news about Aylan Baby also intensified the discussions on the humanitarian side of migration. In addition to this, the growing number of Syrians with the extension of their stay has produced new concerns and areas of interests. In the second phase of the Syrian case, scholars, researchers, and activists have begun to investigate the political, economic and social impact of Syrians in Turkey. The impact is generally associated with the receiving countries' financial costs with receiving the Syrians. (Yazgan etc. all, 2015, p.186). Additionally, the political and social impact of migration, the management of migration, the experiences of refugees, the media representation of Syrians, the Syrians right to access education, the health problems of Syrians, and the provincial case studies have dominated the academic research on migration. However, the study on Syrian women and their specific conditions were represented in a relatively small body of work. This tendency, unsurprisingly, has been deeply embedded into the academic research heritage in Turkey. The issues of women and gender have sat at the edges of this academic heritage for a long time.

In conclusion, I try to place the case of Syria in its specific political, economic and social contexts to understand the material real conditions of Syrian women. The continuities and discontinuities in Turkish migration policies have revealed that the case of Syria deserves special attention. It reflects a turning point in the history of migration in Turkey. The legal and administrative reforms bring together the limits and potentials of knowledge production. In conjunction with these reforms, the actors in the migration management ranging from central government actors to NGOs have affected the nature of produced information about the migrant community. However, the relationship between agencies and the published knowledge is not static; on the contrary, it is always influenced by each other.

The evaluation of the Syrian case follows the parallel line with the published information with its androcentric biases. The ignorance of Syrian women tends to marginalize their experiences. The notion of the "guest" and the perception of "temporarily" dominated the initial stages of Syrian migration (Apak & Tatlıcıoğlu, 2018, p. 237). The term "temporariness" produces "a feeling being in and in-between situation" for the Syrians in Turkey (Erciyes, 2016, p.32). Furthermore, these notions have the potential to exclude them in the prevailing realm of society. This situation is intensified by the social, cultural and economic barriers that situate Syrian women to the periphery of the society. As stated above, they are marginalized to the edges of the activities, programs, and policies of most of the actors in the initial stage. The invisibility and diversity of Syrian women have been acknowledged by multiple actors in the ongoing stage. The issue of Syrian women has not been the subject of research and area of interest since the beginning of the Syrian mass movement.

CHAPTER 5

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PUBLISHED REPORTS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF FEMINIST STANDPOINT THEORY

In this chapter, I would like to problematize the knowledge production processes on Syrian women in the context of Turkey. To this aim, I critically analyze the published reports on Syrians, covering the period of 2011-2018. While analyzing these reports, I try to operationalize five interrelated themes of FST. In this way, I would like to understand how the knowledge of Syrian women is marginalized and how FST as both a methodology and an epistemology provide a less partial knowledge about Syrian women. To achieve these aims, I start with explaining my methodology, and continue with the marginalized knowledge of Syrian women.

5.1. Methodology of the study

In this part, I want to explain why I used feminist standpoint methodology and a qualitative research method in this study. To make a detailed analysis of my methodological choices, I shed light on the following issues: the reflexivity, the data collection and the data analysis processes.

First of all, I want to explain my position as a researcher. I have been working in the field of migration as a migration expert since 2015. In this professional work, I had a chance to make field observations about the conditions of the migrants and refugees in different provinces of Turkey as well as other countries. Also, I met with various practitioners, activists, and researchers with different backgrounds in the field of international migration. While discussing the current migration trends with some of my colleagues, I

noticed that the differences among women and men in the migration processes were generally underestimated. Most of the time, the issues of women and gender in the context of migration would often be mocked. My efforts to explain the significance of the gender relations in this field were interrupted by the following ideas: you should study more ‘serious’ issues, we have more urgent needs and problems to be addressed, and we need to work on more important subjects. It is not difficult to extend these sets of idea.

In this gender-blind environment with a few exceptions, I felt myself at the margin of the mainstream understanding and perception of migration in the institutional and ideological context. In other words, I think that my way of understanding the phenomenon of international migration is being marginalized. Then I reflexively asked the following question: why? To understand the roots of this marginalization, I decided to study the relation between women and international migration in the context of Turkey. Being critical about the traditional knowledge production, I wanted to reflect my social, political and ideological positions in this thesis. In other words, I wanted to make my voice visible. That is why I deliberately preferred to use the language of “I”. In this regard, feminist standpoint theory allows me to practice reflexivity as researcher.

With this critical eye, I began to assess and read the written and visual materials related to migrants and refugees in Turkey. Although there is an increasing research in the field of migration, specifically the Syrian massive migration, there is a limited knowledge about Syrian women who live in Turkey. The researches, articles, field reports, policy papers and situation analysis produced the knowledge of Syrian phenomenon without addressing the specific conditions of and the needs of the Syrian women. Being placed at the edges of knowledge production processes, the experiences of Syrian women has remained an untouched source of knowledge. In this regard, I started my study from the marginalized lives with the lens of the feminist standpoint methodology.

While searching for Syrian women’s knowledge, I have selected the document analysis as a qualitative research method because the document analysis enables researchers to interpret systematically the document around the research topic (Bowen, 2009). Also, the document analysis combines elements of both content and thematic analyses. While the

former refers to the organizing knowledge into categories related to the main problem of the research, the latter refers to “a form of pattern recognition” within and between the data (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 84). In addition to this, the document analysis provides information on the context to understand historical and material roots of specific subject. In this regard, this analysis is an instrument for tracing the developments in the chosen subject. To understand the complexity of the Syrian migration through the knowledge production practices, I used the document analysis in the feminist standpoint methodology, and I coded content into feminist standpoint themes. For this purpose, I selected the published reports on Syrians as a data source. The first reason for this preference lies in the number of reports. In addition to the numbers, the reports are a good way to understand multiplicity of standpoints. Since the beginning of the Syrian conflict, various actors ranging international organizations to local NGOs have produced knowledge about the issue of Syrians. The plurality of standpoints is valuable for me to understand how knowledge is partial, locational and contextual. Also, the reports are an important indicator of the existing body of research and the gaps within it.

Regarding the data collection process, I reviewed the web sites of different institutions such as state institutions, international organizations, national and international non-governmental organizations, think tanks, and the research centers of universities. At the same time, I reviewed the leading web sites such as ReliefWeb and Refworld which provide reliable information on global issues. To enlarge my sample, I also benefited from the references of the reports that I have already collected.

At first, I collected data about the general characteristics of the reports. Then I used five interwoven themes of FST to analyze whether Syrian women’s knowledge is marginalized or not in the context of Turkey. The former is associated with the reports’ general features such as date of the publication, knowledge producing institution, fund provider, scope, main themes, purposes, critiques, limitations and hardships and suggestions. The knowledge gathered from this analysis contributed the understanding of both the current situation and its historicity. The latter relates to FST’s themes of feminist standpoint epistemology, strong objectivity, partial knowledge, the outsider within status,

intersectionality and marginality, self-reflexivity and feminist standpoint methodology. These themes guided me to generate data about Syrian women in specific and the Syrian case in general.

In the scope of this thesis, I examined eighty-seven field, situation and research reports which were published between 2011 and 2018. I included the list of the examined reports in the Appendix A. These reports make up of a total 4561 pages. While the shortest analyzed report is two pages, the longest report is 300 pages.

While analyzing the data, I categorized the knowledge-producing institutions as follows: 1- State institutions, 2- NGOs including NNGOs and INGOs, 3- International organizations and 4- Academia and research institutions and 5- Mix (It means that the report was written by one or more institutions). Table 1 shows the distribution of reports which produced knowledge on migration. According to Table 1, NNGOs and INGOs published more reports on Syrians than the other institutions. At this point, I do not want to make generalizations about the institutions of knowledge production. On the contrary, I just want to highlight the trend in the field of knowledge generation and to indicate the involvement of various actors in the information production practices.

Table 1 - Distribution of Reports by Institutions

Institution	State Institutions	Non-Governmental Organizations		International Organizations	Academia and Research Institutions	Mix
		National	International			
2011	-	-	1	1	-	-
2012	1	1	1	-	-	-
2013	2	4	2	1	3	-
2014	3	2	6	1	2	2
2015	1	3	2	1	5	1
2016	2	3	3	7	2	1
2017	2	3	-	1	1	1
2018	2	1	2	4	3	1
Total	13	17	17	16	18	6
Overall Total Reports					87	

Before starting the data analysis process, I had in my mind that the knowledge of Syrian women is marginalized in Turkey. While analyzing the documents, I realized that the marginalization of the Syrian women's knowledge is not isolated from the social, political and economic marginality of Syrian women. When Syrian women are located at the margins of the society, their knowledge tend to be marginalized because of the invisibility, ignorance and stereotypes about them. However, the marginalized knowledge causes the creation of new types of marginalities for Syrian women. Simultaneously, this situation causes re-marginalization of the knowledge which has already marginalized. This is like a circle of marginalization. Multiple structures, ideologies, epistemologies, methodologies have the power to shape and reshape the marginalization of Syrian women's knowledge. Therefore, I noticed that the marginalization of knowledge is multiple, interconnected and unstable. At the beginning, I believed that the issue of marginality can be eliminated when we reduce the invisibility and omission of women's knowledge. During the analysis, I realized that not only general reports on Syrians but some specific reports on Syrian women tend to marginalize Syrian women's knowledge in the field. This indicates that starting from the lives of the marginalized is not sufficient to produce less distorted

knowledge. The relations between power and knowledge should be constituted to produce less marginalized knowledge about Syrian women. This created a paradoxical situation for my part and confused me during the analysis. As a result, I re-examined the analyzed data considering the relations between the general and the specific reports on the Syrian women. It was then that I noticed that the marginality of Syrian women's knowledge is contextual and located.

5.2. Knowledge of Syrian women and marginalization

In this part, I concentrated on the relationship between the produced knowledge on Syrian women and the term marginalization by using FST's five themes. As a result, I divide this part into five sub-sections: 1- In pursuit of feminist standpoint epistemology, 2- Situated, located and contextual knowledge, 3- The outsider within status: Syrian women, 4- Intersection of multiple forms of marginality, 5- Methodology of the published reports.

5.2.1. In pursuit of feminist standpoint epistemology

In this sub-section, I discuss whether feminist standpoint epistemology is used or not in the analyzed reports. As mentioned in the second chapter that FST is being critical of general and universal understanding of the knowledge. To produce less distorted and partial knowledge, it argues for starting the study from the marginal. From this vantage point, I investigate the nature of the produced knowledge in the published reports. Then I continue with the question of epistemic agents which are not unified and homogeneous, but rather multiple and fragmented from the standpoint of FST.

In the third chapter, I discuss evaluation of Syrian mass migration through two stages: the initial stage (2011-2014) and the ongoing stage (2014-). In this regard, the year 2014 represents the turning point in the Syrian case. In the initial stage, Syrians are mostly settled in the camps, and their vulnerabilities are not captured. In addition to this, the Syrian case is perceived as civil unrest, and the state perceived them as guests. The state responded the situation with the understanding of a temporarily situation. As a result, it produced reactive policies about the Syrian situation. In the ongoing stage, Syrians are mostly resided in urban spaces and their vulnerabilities captured by NGOs and local

agencies. Also, we can observe changes in state responses. The state implemented more anticipatory policies regarding the case. Also, the migration management model is more decentralized in the Turkey (UNHCR, 2015, p.8).

In the analyzed reports, I found a similar trend within the evolution of Syrian migration. The reports, which were published between 2011 and 2014, usually focused on situation analysis, observation of camps, and conditions of Syrians in the neighbor countries. The number of published reports were thirty-three between 2011 and 2014. Only sixteen of them were released in 2014. That is why 2014 represent a shift in the Syrian case. In 2015-2018, fifty-four reports were published. The subject matter of the reports was diversified and fragmented with the introduction of various actors in the field as well as the urbanization of the Syrian migration. The reports' purposes ranged from general situation analysis to thematic issues such as health, education, economy, protection, and access to basic services regarding the conditions of camps and non-camps Syrians.

In this framework, the subject matter of the reports gives some clues about how the issue of Syrian women is located at the margins of the research field. For this purpose, I elaborated the subjects of the analyzed reports. The number of reports whose subject matter was explicitly identified as Syrian women was twelve in the period of 2011 and 2018 (RI, 2014; International Medical Corps-CARE, 2014; MAZLUMDER Women Studies Group, 2014; AFAD, 2014; HRW, 2014; IHH, 2015; CTDC, 2015; Theirworld, 2016; KADEM, 2016; Helpdesk, 2018; KADEM, 2018; UN Women &ASAM, 2018). This figure constitutes approximately 14 percent of the total reports. In accordance with the specific purposes of the studies, I categorized them as specific reports on women and gender. There is also one report, which was prepared with a specific focus to LGBTQ (Red Umbrella, 2017). In addition to this, some reports devoted special chapters on Syrian women and gender (TTB, 2014; UNHCR, 2016; TBB, 2016; OCHA, 2017; KDK, 2018). Their number is five.

The categorization of the general reports on Syrian case and of the specific reports on Syrian women is not enough to understand whether these reports provide a less distorted information about Syrian women. In this point, it is necessary to understand their

ontological and epistemological positions. However, it is not easy to grasp these positions because most reports, with a few exceptions, did not directly express them.

In the published report of MAZLUMDER Women Studies Group (2014, p. 7), the ontological and epistemological position of the study is clearly defined that

... gender mentioned here does not refer to the 'biologic sex' difference between the concept of man and woman; however, it implies a connotation of a more extensive socio-psychological phenomena conceptualized as 'gender'.

In a similar manner with the mentioned report, the understanding of gender is specified in the report of CTDC as follows

.... to provide an overall comprehensive picture of the situation, through reviewing the main issues facing Syrian refugee women, men and LGBTQ groups through a gender analysis of their situation. (CTDC, 2015, p. 2)

To understand conditions of marginalized people, CTDC executed a gender analysis that included Syrian women, men and LGBTQ. Parallel with the CTDC's perception of gender, International Medical Corps & CARE identified its purposes accordingly

to provide a better understanding of the differences in gender norms and protection concerns for women, men, boys and girls in the Syrian/Kurdish community (2014, p.6)

As understood from the examples, some reports' understanding of gender is beyond the perception of biological sex. This position of the reports is important because it affects research design processes, policy proposals and suggestions about the Syrian population in Turkey.

In addition to the given examples, there are some clues about a report's perceptions on gender differences. Few reports recognized explicitly the different experiences of women and men in the migration processes. In other words, gender makes a difference in the analysis of these reports. The below quotations reflect some of the reports' standpoint.

We take a particularly sensitive approach to the different challenges and opportunities faced by girls and boys. (Mercy Corps, 2014, p.5)

By considering “social gender” to be a component structuring the process of seeking refuge and the fact that females are affected in various ways (AFAD, 2014, p. 15)

Different from men, women escaping from the tyranny they faced with in their country need special security, therefore they are characterized as “fragile group” like the refugee children (MAZLUMDER Women Studies Group, 2014, p.7)

... these women and girls remain vulnerable to multiple forms of gender-based violence ... (RI, 2013, p.1)

These mentioned examples revealed whether gender makes difference or not in the Syrian case. Contrary to these reports’ understanding, some of them did not mention gender issues. While explaining their purposes, they refer the case of Syria in general. For example, the aim of the reports was declared as follows

to establish constructive dialogue and a relationship of trust with the authorities of Council of Europe member states in southern Europe faced with mixed migration flows at their borders (Ad Hoc Sub-Committee, 2011, p. 1-2)

This report examines Turkey’s humanitarian efforts, the tension between its public’s sympathy for, and unease toward, Syrians, and the government’s changing role with regard to Syria’s political and military opposition (ICG, 2014, p.1)

The aims of the reports can be listed as the situation analysis, the determination of the condition of Syrians and the effect of Syrians to Turkey. My findings suggest that limited number of reports recognizes the different experiences of Syrian women. Also, the number of specific reports indicates that Syrian women and their knowledge are marginalized through ignorance, invisibility and omission of the women specific needs and differences. In this sense, an epistemic privilege of Syrian women is underestimated and their experiences as full human subject is not valued. From this point, Syrian women’s position in the reports is epistemologically marginalized.

As mentioned earlier, the categorization of general and specific reports on Syrian women is limited to uncover the report’s way of knowing about the Syrian case. By keeping in mind this reality, the report’s starting point and research problem are first indicators to reveal whether the experiences of Syrian women make difference or not to understand migration phenomenon in the context of Turkey. It is obvious that our way of naming the

problems is strongly connected with our way of analyzing the reality. In this point, starting research from women's experiences changes the whole findings of the research. In this sense, the report of UN Women and ASAM highlights the invisibility of Syrian women in the published reports as follows

While numerous reports, including the Turkey chapters of the Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP), have over the past several years described and analyzed the need of Syrians under temporary protection, few have emphasized women and girls' specific needs, opportunities, access to services and relations with the host community. (UN Women and ASAM, 2018, p.11)

After emphasizing the report's understanding of the Syrian case, it is critical to grasp whether the reports describe Syrians as homogeneous group or heterogeneous group. As stated earlier, the subject of the feminist standpoint epistemology is "multiple, heterogeneous and contradictory or incoherent" because there is a difference between historical material conditions of the experienced reality (Harding, 2004, p.134). This reality is different from the standpoint of women and the men. As noted previously, the differences about women and men is appreciated by some of the reports.

In addition to this appreciation, it is necessary to examine differences among Syrians and differences among Syrian women. In this regard, differences among Syrians are manifested itself in the spheres such as education, ethnicity, health, living conditions, employment structures in the examined reports. When some of them specifically focused on these issues implicitly, some of them mentioned these differences within text. In this sense, differences among Syrians are embedded in the some of the reports. For example, one of the reports aims to understand the role of Syrian intellectuals and academicians in the harmonization processes (HUGO & IGAM, 2017). This signifies the presence of other group of Syrians with various educational backgrounds.

In addition to this example, the diversity within the Syrians is recognized in accordance with the ethnicity of the Syrian population and of the host community. The report about Syrian Dom community in İstanbul emphasizes the diversity of Syrians in accordance with their ethnicity (MiraKoç, 2018). Also, the report of ORSAM and TESEV suggests that the ethnic composition of the cities exerts an important role for the acceptance of

Syrians. While Hatay as an ethnically heterogeneous city accepts Syrians, the presence of Syrians creates tensions in Kilis as an ethnically homogeneous city (ORSAM & TESEV, 2015, p.25-26). In a similar vein, ICG points out the ethnic composition of Syrians like that “most are Sunni Arabs, but there are significant numbers of Syrian Turkmen as well” (ICG, 2014, p.2).

These examples indicate that the recognition of differences is important for the prevention of generalizations in knowledge production processes. On the other hand, the mentioned differences do not reflect the gender differences.

As stated earlier, the historical material roots of knowledge are divergent and multiple. To discover these roots, the historical material conditions of the experiences of Syrian women need to be investigated. In some of the reports, the various forms of violence ranging from wartime violence to domestic violence are constituted the basis of the differences among Syrian women (IHH, 2015). In addition to this, structures such as culture, economy and law may constitute differences among women. To illustrate, CTDC’s report suggest that women are affected from isolation because of the cultural restrictions and the status of women in Turkey (2015, p. 11). Also, the different experiences of camp and non-camp Syrians, which was highlighted in some reports, was formed the differences in experiences (AFAD, 2014; KADEM, 2016; MMB, 2017, AFAD, 2017). Lastly, “the age group, education level, income level, household size, etc. of these Syrian women...” are other bases of the divergent experiences (KADEM, 2016, p. 20). With the evaluation of Syrian migration, these mentioned material conditions may move one axis to another. In this sense, these conditions are not stable. These examples show that the Syrian women do not constitute a homogeneous category. Their experiences of migration and their background make them as a heterogeneous group. Specific reports on women and gender tend to recognize gender compared to other reports.

In addition to this diversity, the Syrian women shared history of oppression and present-day segregation in the context of Syrian civil war. These commonalities can enable them develop group consciousness. However, the limited number of reports emphasized the commonalities between them without eradicating the differences. To illustrate, the report

released by KADEM suggests “creating a community for Syrian women where they can come together and share their problems....These communities can also help Syrian women psychologically as they will feel stronger being around other women and sharing their feelings with them” (2016, p. 49).

In sum, first, I analyzed the published reports in accordance with their subject matter. This analysis indicated that limited number of reports, referred to as specific reports, were published with a specific focus to Syrian women. In this regard, they tend to produce less distorted knowledge about Syrian women than general reports because they perceive women as a full human subject and a source for knowledge. The analysis deduced that specific reports are prone to use feminist epistemology. In addition to this, multiplicity of epistemic agents, Syrians, is valued in most of the reports.

5.2.2. Situated, located and contextual knowledge

This sub-section presents to what extent the produced knowledge is situated, located and contextual. To uncover this, I specifically focus on the relationship between power and knowledge. Following this discussion, I want to explore the different reflections of locationality and situatedness of the knowledge. I search for the diverse social positions of the reports by tracing the conditions of the historical and material basis of knowledge.

As I mentioned earlier, there are four main types of knowledge production agencies in the scope of this thesis: state institutions, academia and research institutions, international organizations and NGO including NNGO and INGO. There exists also mixture of these agencies; in other words, different combinations of them involve in the knowledge production processes. The produced knowledge can be affected by the institutions’ mission and aim together with the fund provider. Regarding the fund provider, relatively small number of published reports were explicitly indicated the fund providers (IGAM, 2013; ORSAM, 2014; ICG, 2014; KADEM, 2016-2018, HUGO & TISK, 2017; Red Umbrella, 2017; UN Women & ASAM, 2018). They declared their fund providers in the following words.

...we acknowledge the generous support from the UN Women National Committee in Iceland and the Icelandic Government in funding and supporting this comprehensive need assessment. (UN Women & ASAM, 2018)

Women on the Move Project is a project that is co-funded by European Union and the Republic of Turkey in the context of Civil Society Dialogue Program. (KADEM, 2016)

It was founded by the British Embassy in Ankara (MiraKoç, 2018)

In this regard, my findings suggest that EU, UN agencies and British Embassy in Ankara tend to fund projects and research reports about the Syrians. On the other hand, UN Agencies and EU prone to develop more gender-infected reports. It is obvious that power relations in the knowledge creating processes cannot be understood in this way. Because the composition of the research team and their standpoints can influence the nature of the produced knowledge. Mostly, this situation blurs the relationship between the nature of produced knowledge and its producers. In this sense, it is not totally possible to understand power structures by examining the type of institution who publish reports. This is because academicians, experts, public officers and activist with various backgrounds can take part in the same research. This is valuable for the development of the less partial and strongly objective knowledge. Not only the differences in the Syrian women but also the differences in the researchers can enable the production of less distorted knowledge. However, it does not mean that these differences guarantee the generation of feminist knowledge. The engagement of various actors suggests that the different actors in the field of migration are deeply involved in the sphere of knowledge production, and they are intertwined with each other. In other words, the writers of the state-funded report may represent academia or civil society sector and vice versa.

In addition to the fund providers, the aims and missions of the knowledge producer agencies have a power to shape produced knowledge. This is not coincidence that women studies' groups, women rights-based NGOs and UN Women agencies released reports on Syrians, which were more gender-women sensitive than others, which were generating knowledge either gender indifferent or taking gender as an only variable. This analysis points out an inseparability of the knowledge and the politics.

According to FST, the power structures can both limit and shape the knowledge. The agendas and ideologies of prevailing institutions ignore the experiences, interests, cultures, traditions and values of the marginalized groups. The strongly objective knowledge which is generated through the feminist standpoint lenses is more responsive to the needs, desires, interest and concerns of the marginalized group. In this regard, the suggestions of the reports enable us to understand whether they are responsive to the needs of the Syrian women or not.

Various women groups and organizations from Turkey should unite their forces to overcome the problems by cooperating closer with Syrian women institutions. (Türkiye’den farklı kadın grupları ve kuruluşlar, Suriyeli kadın kuruluşları ile daha yakın iş birliği yaparak sorunların aşılmasında güçlerini birleştirmelidir.) (IHH, 2015, p.43)

Providing a list of non-government organization which can help the Syrian women in case they face any problems. Creating a list just as the list of Government organizations would be created. (KADEM, 2016, p. 49)

Include gender equity targets in all future education sector response plans and integrate strategies between protection and education sectors to curb the practice of child marriage and other forms of discrimination that affect girls. (Theirworld, 2016, p.6)

The below quotation shows how the knowledge producer is sensitive about the gender issues in the project implementation process.

Men, women, and children do not share the same experiences and as a result of that failure to address their specific needs can lead to failure in the implementation of projects. (CTDC, 2015, p. 10).

The knowledge produced about the Syrians generally restricted with the spatial locationality. In the initial stage of the Syrian mass migration, most reports generate knowledge about the situation of Syrians who resided in both camps and tent cities (Ad Hoc Sub-Committee, 2011; TBMM, 2012). The scope of the reports enlarged to include non-camp locations near to the border cities. The locations outside of the camps that were selected “... the districts or streets where Syrian refugees reside intensely” (AFAD, 2013, p.11). Parallel with this trend, the later reports conducted their research where Syrians were concentrated. With the spread of Syrians to the cities, the different districts of İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara are chosen to generate data. The differences among various

cities and inner-city configurations are used in most of the reports. Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, Kilis, Hatay, Mersin are some of the cities that were most investigated.

The report of ORSAM and TESEV emphasizes the specificities of the cities by mentioning the historicity, culture, political affiliations and demographic structures. They stated that

Demographic structures, economic conditions, culture, and political environments of the cities hosting Syrian refugees differ from each other. Correspondingly, the impacts of each city appear in a different form and size. So, overlooking general categorization, it is possible to say each town has its own special case. (Suriyeli sığınmacı ağırlayan sınır şehirlerinin demografik yapısı, ekonomik durumu, kültürü, siyasi ortamı farklılık göstermektedir. Buna bağlı olarak her şehirde yaşanan etkiler farklı şekil ve boyutta ortaya çıkmaktadır. Dolayısıyla genel sınıflandırmaya karşın her şehrin kendine özgü durumunun olduğunu söylemek mümkündür.) (ORSAM & TESEV, 2015, p. 21)

By this way, their report indicated that how knowledge is local; but not general. In a similar vein, the report of STL recognized the differences between districts in İstanbul by conduction their study in six districts: Küçükçekmece, Bağcılar, Başakşehir, Fatih, Sultanbeyli, Ümraniye (2016). In addition to analysis of spatial localities, some reports highlight the historicity of the produced knowledge by creating a link between past and present. According to report of KADEM, Syrian women's problems regarding the participation of economic life began in Syria, not in Turkey (2018, p. 9).

In conclusion, my findings suggest that women studies' groups, women rights-based NGOs and women agencies were prone to produce information about Syrian women. Based on this reality, it can be concluded that Syrian women's knowledge is institutionally marginalized because they were not considered as subjects of the research in the knowledge generation processes. In addition to this, the complex nature of knowledge production institutions in the field prevents us from understanding the power relations which are also embedded in the structure of the given agency. Lastly, aims and objective of the reports also signify that most general reports tend to produce knowledge that is not strongly objective.

5.2.3. The outsider within status: Syrian women

This sub-section presents the relevance of outsider within status in the context of Syrians and Turkey. I critically evaluate the presence of both the insider and the outsider positions in the published reports by specifically focusing on Syrian women. In this way, the inseparability and connectedness of these terms is shown. Then I exhibit the published reports by considering concepts: the self-definition and the self-valuation. These concepts are critical for the recognition of women's subjectivities and roles in knowledge creation processes.

As noted in the second chapter, the outsider within status is a better starting point to understand the lives of marginalized. Because this position enables marginalized people to look "both from the outside in and from the inside out" (hooks, 1989, p. 20). Also, this position enables them a double vision to grasp existing reality. To understand the status of outsider within, the relations between the marginal and the dominant is investigated to specify who is outsider and who is insider in the context of Syrian women in Turkey.

The insiders can be described as having similar socio-historical position, experience, and history. It represents the dominant groups, the host community, in this context of Turkey. However, the nature of being an outsider and being an insider is shifting in the given context. This is why the produced knowledge is contextual. In this point, some reports pointed out the shared experiences of Syrians as a group of outsiders. The following quotation manifests how Syrians sense being an outsider.

Relations between newcomers and old-timers may be weak, but once they are in a foreign environment the ties become closer as they share the same language, ethnicity, culture and religion. Therefore, they develop a mutual reliance with each other (STL, 2016, p. 20)

The report's findings suggest that language, ethnicity, culture and religion are some of the conditions of being the outsider. These specified conditions also reflect the roots of being insider in the host community. In other words, the host communities' culture, tradition, language and ethnicity represent the dominant way of understandings and conditions of being insider, which is not relevant for Syrians in this context. On the other hand, this

example is limited to understand position of Syrian women in the host community. Because this general knowledge can only help us to position the Syrian community and the host community. In the previous example, Syrian women is located as the outsider with reference to its nationality. In the following example, they are positioned as the outsider regarding their gender.

Pressure on women is also practiced from the hosting community. It has been reported that Syrian refugee women face harassment and exploitation, as they are perceived as ‘guests’ and strangers in the country of exile... (CTDC, 2015, p.12).

The relations between Syrian women and the host community reflects the degree of being an insider and an outsider. These relations manifest itself in the realm of social structures together with the employment opportunities. For example, native women have developed negative attitudes toward Syrian women because of the emergence of polygamy. According to the report of TTB,

It is observed that there is a high level of reactions from local women about polygamy, child marriage, and selling women, and also concerns about Syrian women about taking their spouses or will be taking them. It is stated that the infighting is common among local and refugee women. (Yerli kadınlar çok eşlilik, çocuk evliliği, kadınların satılması ile ilgili tepkilerin yüksek olduğu, Suriyeli kadınlar eşlerimizi elimizden alacak, alıyor şeklinde kaygılarının fazla olduğu gözlemlendi. Yerli ve sığınmacı kadınlar arasında sürtüşmelerin yaygınlaştığı ifade edildi.) (2014, p. 62-63)

In the given example, Syrian women are located at the margins of dominant culture because of their unacceptable conditions. This positionality of Syrian women implies how they are the outsider, but the same position simultaneously implies Syrian women involvement in the society.

In addition to practices of family formation, UN Women and ASAM report on Syrian women uncovers the existence of social exclusion in the host community. The “exclusionary behavior of the host community” causes a feeling of isolation from the perspective of Syrian women (2018, p. 55). This isolation may be intensified when the mechanisms or practices of common to an insider fails. The following quotation clearly exemplifies this situation.

Syrian women said it was difficult to find a social environment to learn the language of the host community, which deepens cultural as well as spatial segregation. Where there is greater social cohesion, this helps women learn the language. (UN Women & ASAM, 2018, p. 55).

It is obvious that both being an outsider and an insider creates different forms of marginalities for Syrian women. At the same time, outsider within status enable them to develop double vision about their situation. The development of this double vision manifest itself in the self-valuation and the self-definition processes. These processes are important for women to make their voice visible. In this regard, my findings suggest that few reports give rise the voice of Syrian women. To illustrate, the work of Mercy Corps portrays how Syrian boys and girls verbalized their experienced isolation. According to their results, their isolation

...stems in large part from the language barrier, although Turkmen adolescents who are proficient in Turkish also reported feeling left out. It is also a result of their experiences of harassment by Turkish men in their neighborhoods and other parts of the city, and their resulting feelings of insecurity and vulnerability. (2014, p. 17)

Parallel with this approach, some Syrian women express their feelings about their changing roles. The differences in experiences manifest itself in the conflicting perceptions among Syrian women.

In many cases, women felt uncomfortable performing new roles, which are deemed 'masculine' and not suitable for women....Other women felt empowered by their new roles as providers for their household, and felt that work has given them new opportunities in life, and gave them a sense of independence. (CTDC, 2015, p. 13)

In the above quotation, we can observe that how the same reality produces different feelings and understandings regarding the subject's material and historical conditions together with the subject's internalization of the dominant ideology.

In a similar vein, HRW's report enable Syrian women to express and evaluate their conditions. In this report, Syrian women's subjectivities and experiences are volarized accordingly.

Out of 18 family members living together in Kilis, Safiya is the only one with a steady job. (HRW, 2014, p.31)

Zeinab is the head chef at the organization's income-generation project, through which women prepare lunches that local businesses and organizations purchase for meetings and events (HRW, 2014, p.38)

These examples also show the capacities, capabilities and skills of Syrian women, contrary to representations of women as passive and submissive agents. While the stereotypical images about women were eliminated in the mentioned reports, there are still reports that present Syrian women as vulnerable and as victims.

Consequently, I found that outsider within status is relevant in the context of Syrian women in Turkey. Also, process of being insider and outsider is continuously negotiated through various agencies. In this regard, the self-definition and self-valuation of Syrian women is critical for the creation of less distorted and more reflexive knowledge. On the other hand, my feminist standpoint analysis of the text indicate that few reports tend to make visible the voices of Syrian women by enabling them to self-reflexively evaluate their own situations. Invisibility of women's voices implies the existence of insufficient attention to the experiences of women, which resulted in the marginalization of Syrian women's knowledge. Because knowledge itself is a form of recognition (Ocholla, 2007, p. 2). In this standpoint, an unrecognition of women's knowledge signifies the marginalization of that knowledge.

5.2.4. Intersection of multiple forms of marginality

In this sub-section, I examine the published reports to determine whether there is a link between marginality and intersectionality or not. To this aim, I investigate the meaning of marginality from the perspective of the reports, the areas where women are presented as marginal and the variables which were used in the intersectional analysis. To uncover the intersection of multiple forms of marginality, I present the reports' approach to the Syrian women and their way of producing knowledge with the lens of FST.

To be a margin means that one is a part of the whole but remains outside of the main body (hooks, 1989, p. 20). From this point of view, the main body can be a dominant society,

culture, economy, politic, space, legal framework and knowledge production. Our point of view can change the definition of the margin. Also, the meaning of marginality can be negotiated across various bodies. According to the prioritized concerns, the definition of marginality can be constructed and reconstructed by the dominant parties and their perception of realities.

Based on this understanding of marginality, I found that Syrian women's situation was presented as "a site of deprivation" in most of the reports (hooks, 2004, p. 156). This manifest itself in a variety of areas such as health, social relations, access to resources, use of spatial location and gender-based violence. These areas also reveal the meaning of marginality from the perspective of reports.

Regarding health issues, women's health is reduced to the reproductive capacities of women. Most reports focused on the pregnant women and their health conditions. This focus ignores other health needs of Syrian women. In addition to the health conditions, Syrian women's limited access to some resources is presented in the reports. The following data shows how women are deprived of resources and services.

It is observed that living conditions outside the camp are unspeakable for women. Plenty of women said that because they have so many children to feed, they do not eat at all. Some women stated that they have lost six, seven or ten kilos. (Kadınların kamp dışındaki yaşam koşulları tarif edilemeyecek kadar kötü olduğu gözlemlendi. Çok sayıda olan çocuklarını beslemek adına birçok kadın yemek yemediğini paylaştı. Altı, yedi, on kilo kaybettiğini ifade eden kadınlar vardı.) (TTB, 2014, p. 61).

In addition to women's deprivation of basic food items, the gender-related roles of women prevent them to integrate in the host community. According the findings of KADEM, women are unable to join courses because of "language barrier, financial difficulties, and timing" (KADEM, 2016, p.42). Among these reasons, timing problem is related to the gendered division of labour. In this regard, the timing issue is explained as follows

these women may not have time due to their responsibilities at home and their children as it was found in the demographics that a lot of their households have more than 3 children (KADEM, 2016, p. 42).

This example indicates how domestic chores of Syrian women produce more marginalities. Also, KADEM's previous quotation is a good example of how demographics can be interpreted. This interpretation reflects the report's understanding of gender.

In a similar vein, Syrian girls stated that they are being isolated by "their demanding schedule of work and domestic duties.... When they come home they are responsible for house chores, watching younger siblings, and preparing food." (Mercy Corps, 2014, p. 17).

Furthermore, the report of MAZLUMDER emphasized the disadvantages position of Syria women while acquiring legal status. While the male members of the household acquired residence permits, in some families, women could not get this permit because of the lack of financial resources (MAZLUMDER, 2013, p. 10). This information shows how resources can be distributed within the same family. In this sense, some of Syrian women were located at the margin of resource distribution.

In addition to these disadvantageous conditions, the issue of social cohesion and perceptions about Syrian women highlighted their position within the society. For example, the report of ICG highlights second wife case and polygamy to illustrate how these situations create tensions between the host and Syrian communities that

Turkish men taking young Syrian wives through non-official, religious marriages cause discomfort, as do alleged child marriages among Syrians. (ICG, 2014, p. 21).

According the report of TTB, women are excluded from the decision-making mechanisms regarding the decision of residence. Because they are dependent on the male. The males are the ones who considered that the conditions of camps do not secure the honour of the family (TTB, 2014, p. 61). Patriarchal assumptions about the sexuality of women positions them to the margins of the society. On the other hand, non-camp conditions or urban spaces creates further insecurity for women because they began to live in peripheries of the cities with unsecure and unhealthy conditions. They began to share their houses with three or more families. They had difficulty in finding rental houses. The abandoned spaces

of the cities, the peripheries, has become a new home for Syrians. These abandoned spaces have become a new area of competition for the urban poor. The female-led families have faced with more hardships in the urban spaces (AFAD, 2013).

In short, it can be claimed that these mentioned realities represent the report's understanding of marginality. Although this analysis is important to determine specific needs of Syrian women, these needs should not be only evaluated as "a site of deprivation" but they also should be evaluated as "a site of radial possibility, a space for resistance" (hooks, 2004, p. 156). In this sense, some specific reports mentioned the possibility of the marginalized because this new form of marginality in host community, meaning that both being a woman and Syrian, creates space for Syrians to transform existing unequal relations. For example, UN Women and ASAM mentioned some opportunities for Syrian women as follows

The increased visibility of women in the public sphere has emerged after women, and particularly young girls who have learned Turkish and have joined the labour force. Further emancipation depends on opportunities to improve self-confidence, set their own rules for their lives and act accordingly. This in turn requires greater access to economic resources and educational opportunities. (UN Women & ASAM, 2018, p. 56)

In this point, I want to note that this is only a possibility for some Syrian women. This reality may change in terms of divergent social, cultural, political and economic positions of Syrian women.

After discussing the meaning and forms of marginality, I want to focus on the issue of intersectionality. My feminist standpoint analysis of the intersectionality suggests that ethnicity, gender, disability, discrimination and violence are considered in some of the reports. However, all these variables do not co-exist together in most reports. While some of them were prioritizing the role of ethnicity – Arab, Kurdish, Turkmen-, other prioritized the intersection of disability and gender. In the analyzed reports, there exist only one report, named "Syrian refugee women, girls and people with disabilities in Turkey", was written with a specific focus of nationality, gender and disability.

In addition to this intersectional focus, the diversity among Syrian women is stated explicitly in the aim of the report.

The purpose of this section is to provide a better understanding of the differences in gender norms and protection concerns for women, men, boys and girls in the Syrian/Kurdish community (International Medical Corps & CARE, 2014, p. 6).

Parallel with this understanding, the study of Red Umbrella took our attention to the growing sex industry, which is affected by the intersection of poverty, insecurity, gender-based violence and discrimination, xenophobia, language barrier, laws and political practices (2017, p.33). In addition to this, Red Umbrella devoted special section named “Intersected Realities” (Kesişen Gerçekler) to grasp full complexity of the Syrian sex worker’s experiences (2017).

In addition to this report, it is possible to find a connection between different forms of marginalities in some special reports. It is remarkable to see interconnected forms of marginalities with a critical eye to reveal complexities of Syrian women’s experiences. The below quotation presents how poor living conditions produce sexual and ideological vulnerabilities.

Due to poverty and harsh living conditions, Syrian refugee women are prone to sexual and ideological exploitation by several actors, including those who are supposed to provide them with aid and support. (CTDC, 2015, p. 16)

Furthermore, new forms of marginalities are created while escaping from the old ones. In this point, CTDC’s analysis of the women’s conditions enable us to see interlocking systems of oppressions. The following quotation indicates how the perception of sexuality creates spatial marginalization for Syria women.

Isolation has become a huge problem for Syrian refugee women and girls, and it has also become part of their lives, causing some of them fear of being in public spaces...Within the refugee context many Syrian women find themselves restricted to stay at home because of the social and cultural pressure placed on them by their communities in exile. In some cases, restrictions over women’s movement are also linked to controlling their sexuality to preserve the families’ honour, as families’ honour is linked to women’s sexual conduct and behaviour. (CTDC, 2015, p. 12)

As it is understood from the given examples, the position of Syrian women was presented as marginal to various bodies in the published reports in the context of Turkey.

In short, the analysis of marginality and intersectionality suggests that Syrian women's marginality in the society is presented as a site of deprivation. In this sense, the produced knowledge about them reflected this understanding of marginality. On the other hand, the marginality of Syrian women is also a site of resistance and change. Few reports emphasized the power of marginality to transform existing unequal social relations. In addition to this, the intersection of multiple forms of marginalities were grasped in the limited number of reports. The intersecting areas can be listed as ethnicity, gender, women and disability. Also, demographic features (age, sex and marital status) are considered when making analysis. Lastly, research findings show that when the recognition of reports about the diversities of Syrian women increases, their probability of producing intersectional analysis raise. Also, the marginality of women's knowledge can be better analyzed through an intersectional analysis.

5.2.5. Methodology of the published reports

This sub-section presents the methodological analysis of the published reports. I reflectively assessed researchers' choices about research design processes, data generations and hypothesis as well as their way of interpreting the collected evidences.

In the analyzed reports, multiple forms of methods were used to examine Syrians in Turkey. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were selected to collect data. In this sense, data is collected from different sources such as newspapers, previous reports, official documents, annotation notes, field observations and interviews. There was not found any similar patterns in the methodologies of the reports. Some of them used hybrid methodologies, while others used single methodologies. The reports way of asking questions, designing research and interpreting the data makes them different. These differences lie in the heart of the variations between reports' methodologies

As noted in the second chapter, feminist standpoint methodology is strongly connected with feminist standpoint epistemology because the chosen methodology and methods reflect the researcher's epistemology. The question of epistemology and the starting point of the reports was discussed in the first sub-section. It revealed that only twelve reports

started their investigation from the lives of Syrian women. This can be an indicator of the women's exclusion in knowledge production process because it signifies how they narrate the complex reality of Syrian case.

In addition to starting points of the reports, the profile of the samples reflects method choices of the reports. In this regard, I found that the gender-blind use of household surveys tend to cover knowledge of Syrian women in the scope of the examined reports. The below quotation presents how it is seen in the text.

A total of 2,700 households were included in the survey. Among these households, 1,500 lived inside the camps, and 1,200 lived outside the camps. (AFAD,2014, p. 15)

Without differentiating the sample, it not possible to understand whose knowledge this is. In this point, household units should be specified while analyzing the findings of the reports because being a female-headed household or male-headed household can generate different outcomes for the researched subjects. In addition to this, there is also another risk for this type of household surveys. Because the ideas of the respondent regarding their conditions and family members are presented as if they can be generalizable to all family members. The example below shows how it appears in the text.

The respondent was an adult from the household who gave information also about every individual in the household. (AFAD, 2013, p. 11)

This type of acquiring knowledge prevents the researcher from revealing the experienced reality of the marginalized lives as well as the power dynamics and relations. In the patriarchal societies like Syria, it is evident that the head of the household is male. As a result, the answers of male headed families represent the model of men's knowledge. In this regard, we can only produce the knowledge about women when the male figure is absent as the head of the family.

In addition to household surveys, the following quotations show an ambiguity in the sample of the reports.

Most of the people (the ones who can be reached) who are interviewed –especially those who live in Küçükpazar- are Syrian Kurdish refugees. The number of Arabic refugees who are interviewed is relatively less than others. (Görüşme yapılanların

(ulařılabilenlerin) çoęunluęu -özellikle Küçükpazar’da yařayanlar- Suriyeli Kürt mültecilerdir. Görüşülenlerden, Arap mülteciler nispeten daha az sayıda olmuřtur.) (MAZLUMDER, 2013, p.10)

The delegates conducted individual and/or group interviews with approximately 300 refugees from Syria, including Syrian nationals and Palestinians. Amnesty (AI, 2014, p.8).

EMHRN delegation had meetings with Turkish non-profit organizations from İstanbul, Antakya and Ankara, authorities, and other shareholders. (EMHRN delegasyon İstanbul, Antakya ve Ankara’da bulunan Türkiyeli sivil toplum örgütleri ve yetkililer ve dięer paydařlar ile görüşmeler geręekleřtirdi.) (EMHRN, 2011, p. 3)

In the given examples, the way of gathering knowledge is loosely specified. When I read these texts, I would like to learn compositions of the sample. Otherwise, it is not possible to interpret the gathered evidence. These examples also present gender-blind assumptions of the reports because the mentioned samples were explained in gender indifferent ways.

In addition to unrecognition of Syrian women as source of knowledge, the term “opinion leaders” tend to produce existing inequalities because they represent the dominant culture and the patriarchal ideology of the Syrian community, which have already muted the voices of women. In this regard, it is crucial to explain who the opinion leaders are. To discover gendered relations in knowledge production processes, it is necessary to state this. The below quotation represents how the term “opinion leader” is used in the analysis.

The vital part of the study is based on semi-structured, face-to-face (in-depth) interviews conducted with 134 opinion leaders from businesses in 18 economically flourishing provinces. (TISK, 2015, p.12)

This example shows the importance of the selected sample in knowledge production process. If we do not declare the roles and backgrounds of the interviews, it is possible to produce and reproduce knowledge of the dominant.

In addition to this, the tendency to give descriptive analysis about the Syrians can reproduce the marginality of women. The below example shows how women are used only as a variable in the research process.

More than half of the Syrian population who immigrated abroad are composed of women and children under 18 years old and most of them have been living under

difficult conditions. (Ülke dışına göç eden Suriyeli nüfusun yarısından fazlasını kadınlar ve 18 yaşın altındaki çocuklar oluşturmakta ve büyük çoğunluğu zor koşullar altında yaşamlarını sürdürmektedir.) (TESEV-ORSAM, 2015, p.10)

This illustration repeats what is apparent in the field. They generated superficial knowledge about the Syrians. The descriptive analysis about the profile of Syrians such as age, marital status and numbers is not enough to analyze the case in a comprehensive and systematic ways. Because of this logic, it is crucial to locate these statistics within the relevant context.

In this sense, it can be concluded that some of the general reports tends to marginalize knowledge of women by excluding, omitting and not recognizing the value of women's experiences. This represents the form of methodological marginalization. From this point of view, I would like elaborate specific reports' methodologies to understand their presentation of Syrian women.

The below examples, which were taken from special reports, indicate why these reports start their investigation from the lives of Syrian women and how they recognize the different experiences of them.

Obviously, women who have been taken into custody or arrested can tell this desperate situation in the most explicit and right way. (Elbette bu vahim durumu en açık ve doğru haliyle bizzat bu acı tecrübeleri yaşayan gözaltına alınmış veya tutuklanmış kadınlar anlatabilir.) (IHH, 2015, p. 8)

Recognizing women's multiple and significant roles in the conflict, and their experiences as both actors and victims, is critical to developing appropriate responses to women's needs... (HRW, 2014, p.1)

The aim was to understand the common problems of Syrian women, male perceptions, the perspectives of host country citizens, and differences of opinions between the Syrian and host country women. The groups also offered the opportunity to observe how women preferred to narrate and interpret their experiences. (UN Women & ASAM, 2018, p. 16)

As seen in the quotation from IHH, the arrested and detained women's experiences constituted the bases of knowledge. In a similar vein, the report of HRW appreciated the experiences of women. Parallel with them, the report of UN Women and ASAM created space for women to make their experiences visible.

In addition to recognition of differences, the profile of the sample is important to locate produced knowledge in the context. From this point, some of the reports are clearly defined their samples as follows

As a part of this research, 72 Syrian woman refugees as a technique were interviewed in depth including company executives and representatives of non-governmental organizations ... (MAZLUMDER Women Studies Group, 2014, p. 8)

The points mentioned in this report are based on the data obtained from 26 Syrian sex workers by using various methods. (Bu raporda dile getirilen hususlar, 26 Suriyeli seks işçisi ile çeşitli yöntemler kullanılarak gerçekleştirilen görüşmelerde elde edilen verilere dayanmaktadır.) (Red Umbrella, 2017, p.43)

This open statement of the sample signify that the presented knowledge is acquired from women. Also, the chosen method and rationale behind this selection are important to understand researcher's position, which is not isolated from the research process. The below quotation reflects the background of research and researcher.

... the data collection methods were mainly qualitative, with the aim of giving voice to research participants, particularly the refugees (CTDC, 2015, p. 6)

Related with the above example, some of the reports consciously break the hierarchy between the researcher and the researched, which is presented in the following examples. In the way, both object and subject of the knowledge can be involved in the research processes.

The interviews were in-depth and semi-structured, which were designed in the form of a conversation that is based on creating a shared coequal status between the interviewer and the interviewee... (CTDC, 2015, p. 6)

Necessary environment has been provided in these meetings for the women to be able to express themselves and cooperate. (Bu toplantılarda kadınların kendilerini ifade etmeleri ve birbirleriyle dayanışma göstermeleri için uygun ortam sağlanmıştır.) (Red Umbrella, 2017, p.102)

STL field officers (surveyors) worked in teams, generally one male and one female officer, but if the interviewee was not comfortable, same-sex teams were assigned on-demand. Essentially, if a woman was home alone and did not want a male in her home, STL field supervisor would send two female officers to conduct the interviews. (STL, 2016, p. 12)

A total of eight focus groups and three individual interviews took place. Women and men were interviewed separately, and focus groups were held in gender sensitive locations. (International Medical Corps & CARE, 2014, p. 8)

The given examples imply how researchers approached their research to generate knowledge from women and how they structure the research process.

In addition to relation between the researcher and the researched, the below examples reveal how specific reports interpret their data. To escape from generalizations and misinterpretations, they explicitly identified the historicity and material conditions of the research.

It should also be noted that almost all of the women in this survey are living outside of camps so the results should be interpreted accordingly. (KADEM, 2016, p. 31)

Selecting the interviewers; ethnic, socioeconomic and cultural diversity was paid attention to in order to reflect a dispersion of Syrian refugee' demographic and socioeconomic structure as much as possible. However; for sure, it cannot be claimed that the interview group reflects the conditions of all woman refugees at the same rate. (MAZLUMDER Women Studies Group, 2014, p.8)

Taking into account the ethnicity, diversity, and space among Syrian women, they approach to produce less distorted and partial knowledge. Also, the report of MAZLUMDER Women Studies Group openly defined a position regarding knowledge generalizations.

In some of the reports, methodological limitations of the reports are identified as language, lack of prior research and patriarchal structures. Red Umbrella found that language is the main challenge in the field (2017, p.42). According to the UN Women and ASAM, "... lack of prior research studies on the topic and available and/or reliable data on Syrian women and girls" are limits of the study (2018, p. 14). The limitations are noteworthy to understand the reasons for not amplifying the voices of women.

In this sub-section, I self-reflexively analyzed the methodologies of the reports. I found that methodological choices of specific reports tend to produce less distorted knowledge about Syrian women. In other words, general reports are more likely to marginalize the knowledge of Syrian women by excluding, omitting and not recognizing the value of Syrian women's experiences.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Each produced knowledge and the body of research simultaneously contain both the potentials and limitations of it. In this regard, I would like to elaborate possible contributions of this thesis with its limitations. Then I would like to give some recommendations for the future studies by depending on the existing body on knowledge on Syrian women in Turkey.

6.1. Contributions of the study

In this thesis, I wanted to understand whether the published reports on Syrians tend to marginalize Syrian women's knowledge or not in the context of Turkey. For this aim, I selected FST as both an epistemology and methodology to grasp the experienced realities of the women and the knowledge of these realities in a less distorted way. Through five themes of FST, I analyzed the reports of various institutions across different fields of migration, which covers the period of 2011 and 2018.

In addition to published reports, I pointed out two more reservoirs of knowledge to examine the existence of this marginality: the literature on international migration - in general - and the evaluation of the Syrian mass migration with specific focus to Turkey. In the former, I discovered that the issue of women has been margins of the mainstream migration literature. Although the feminist contributions on this literature, the realities of women were relatively invisible with regard the realities of men. The normative assumptions and perceptions regarding women on the move hinder the recognition of women's experiences. Seeking to understand Syrian women's position, I tried to

incorporate the claims of FST into migration theorizing. This presents one of the contributions of this study in the field of international migration.

In the later reservoir of knowledge, I explored the heteronormativity of Turkish migration policies. Despite the shifting responses of government and respective agencies, the ignorance and patriarchal representations of migrant women prevail in the migration policies of Turkey. To situate Syrian women in its historical and specific context, I took a closer look to the evaluation of the Syrian mass migration. To this end, I indicated the critical turning points of this movement with the existing and newly-created body of actors. The discussion uncovered the role of multiple actors in the production of knowledge. At the same time, I examined the institutional and legal grounds of the Syrian women's conditions in Turkey.

Considering FST, migration literature and Syrian women's position in Turkey, I aimed to locate knowledge of Syrian women in its context. In this regard, my feminist standpoint analysis offers that Syrian women's knowledge is contextually and locationally marginalized in Turkey. This finding is limited with the analyzed reports. That is why the knowledge gathered from this study is locational and contextual. It is locational because the developed knowledge (the analyzed reports) is deeply embedded in the institutions, writers, researchers and researched subjects' specificities, fund-providers positions and the experiences of Syrian women. It is also contextual in that the presented knowledge in this study is historically and materially specific. In this sense, the marginalization of Syrian women's knowledge is negotiated through texts (the analyzed reports) in accordance with the context and location.

By using five themes of FST, I found that the exclusion, omission, unrecognition and invisibility are signifiers of the marginalization of Syrian women's knowledge in the reports. In this point, I want to clarify that I do not offer universal signifiers of women's marginalization. These are relevant in the context of my study. In addition to this, FST's theme analysis enabled me to understand different ways of knowledge marginalization in the context of Syrian women in Turkey. These ways can be listed as epistemic, institutional and methodological marginalization. The first refers to undervaluation of

Syrian women's experiences. The second is related to the institutions, which generate knowledge. The third associates with the research design process. There is a strong connection with the intersected forms of knowledge marginalization in accordance to my findings.

My report analysis lastly suggests that general reports tend to marginalize Syrian women's knowledge compared to specific reports. However, it is not possible to state that all general reports marginalize the knowledge of Syrian women. Paradoxically, some specific reports have a risk of marginalizing Syrian women's knowledge. This shows why the knowledge of Syrian women is marginalized contextually and locationally in the specific report.

In addition to this conflicting reality, there is also risk of victimization for Syrian women when they are more visible in the knowledge production processes. To overcome this risk, the generated knowledge about the Syrian women should focus on the capabilities, capacities and survival strategies of the Syrian women. It is obvious that the effect of wars and armed conflicts together with the other causes of migration tend to increase the vulnerabilities and the marginalities of women. In this specific focus, the studies were generally conducted with the intersection of sexual violence, human right violations, insecurity, and the impact of social change, various types of social exclusion, gender-based violence, economic hardships and health issues of women during and after migration. In addition to these specific challenges that women faced with, the opportunities for refugee and migrant women should be addressed (Helpdesk Report, 2016, p. 3). In this way, the victimization and the categorization of all women as a vulnerable group is prevented. This is simply because the conflict situation will not destroy the previous skills, strengthens, capacities and histories of people on the move (El-Bushra, 2000, p. 3). In this regard, the FST enables making visible the voices of Syrian women without victimizing them.

In this point of view, some of the reports can be a good example of grasping the realities of Syrian women. The report called "Gender Justice and Feminist Knowledge Production in Syria" specifically focuses on the everyday realities of Syrian women to document and voice their concerns, needs and experiences by using intersectional analysis (Women Now

for Development, 2019). In this report, “semi-structured interviews and short life-stories” were selected to gather a history of Syrian women’s “collective experiences, understanding and positionalities” by recognizing the social political, cultural, economic, religious and ethnic differences among them (Women Now for Development, 2019, p. 2). In a similar vein, the report named “Voices from Syria 2018: Assessment Findings of the Humanitarian Needs Overview” highlights the gender-based violence protection needs of Syrian women (Whole of Syria, 2017). This report emphasizes the different forms of gender-based violence, the divergent experiences of Syrian women in various governorate in Syria, and both the negative and the positive coping mechanisms.

All in all, this study contributed the knowledge of international migration by its effort to incorporate Feminist Standpoint Theory into the migration theorization. Also, this study added to our storage of knowledge by critically evaluating the Syrian case in Turkey. In addition to this, feminist standpoint analysis of the reports provides the ways of operationalizing these concepts into the context of international migration and knowledge production.

6.2. Limitations of the study

While investigating the marginality of Syrian women’s knowledge, I conducted my research with the published documents, the published reports. These reports provide me a background information, historical insight, contextual understanding, trends and perceptions about the Syrian case. While enriching my understanding of phenomenon of the Syria migration, these reports draws a general picture of how the produced information has changed over time. With this understanding, I have the chance to contextualize how the agencies, as knowledge producers, operate in the field and what they investigate and report. Although there are multiple advantages of studying the case through reports, there are some limitations. Understandably, in a sense, the limits of the reports turn into a limit of this thesis.

First, documents, specifically published reports, are “non-reactive” and “stable” (Bowen, 2009, p. 31). It means that the researcher’s existence does not affect the subject of the

study. In addition, the case was being observed previously. As a result, the researcher could not proceed the same case differently. For Bowen, the document analysis challenges the issue of reflexivity in the research, which is counted as advantageous of the document analysis (2009, p. 31). Contrary to his perception, the lack of reflexivity is a limitation of this study simply because I used a reflexive methodology of FST to examine the published reports. However, my aim was not only to study the topics of the reports but also to study how and why these reports set problems, asked questions, interpreted data and used certain methodologies the way they did. Also, I self-reflexively evaluate, perceive, and interpret the reports while communicating the evidence collected.

Second, in addition to methodological limitation, the published reports which were used as subject of inquiry in this thesis, have their own limitations regarding the fieldwork and the case they studied. Some of the reports explicitly identified these limitations ranging from data collection to institutional and socio-cultural barriers like the prohibition of research, language barrier and male-dominated cultural assumptions. It is notable that the types of limitations differ by the time, space, legal ground, actor, and the responsible institution. This is why the published knowledge is contextual and located.

Third, this study analyzed the marginality of Syrian women's knowledge by examining critically the published reports. Another limitation lies in the number that some of the published reports can be excluded from this study. Also, the number of published reports was limited regarding the Syrian women. This posed a challenge for this study because the more detailed information there is on the women, the more possible it is to understand the marginality of Syrian women's knowledge. On the other hand, this limitation has a meaning for this thesis. It enables us to see how knowledge of the Syrian women is located in the margins of the mainstream production of knowledge.

Fourth, the published reports focused on the cities where Syrians mostly resided in. The field studies were carried out in the border cities - Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Kilis and Mersin- and mostly affected cities - İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. Therefore, the scope of the reports restricts our understanding of knowledge with the mostly Syrian populated cities of

Turkey. At the same time, the knowledge presented in these reports signified how knowledge is local, regional and global, not universal.

In conclusion, this thesis is a limited effort to narrate a full complexity of the experienced reality of Syrian women and their knowledge, but I believe that it is a starting point to incorporate Syrian women's knowledge in the multiple fields of international migration.

6.3. Recommendations for further studies

Since the beginning of Syrian flows to Turkey, the studies about Syrian women have been limited to not only with their number but also with their understanding and perception about the realities of Syrian women. The differences among Syrian women in terms of their ethnicity, class, age, marital status, and socio-economic positions have been underestimated in most of the studies. They are regarded as numbers, statistics; but it is obvious that they are more than numbers. First and foremost, they are human beings. They experienced various types of violence, discrimination and sexual harassment before and during migration processes and they have continued to undergo interlocking systematic oppressions in the host community. In this sense, it is urgent to study their experiences without disconnecting them from the wider social relations. From this point of view, FST enables us a valuable epistemology and methodology to investigate differences among and between women. To this end, I suggest a study for and about Syrian women while acknowledging the existing gender regime in Turkey.

Additionally, various institutions ignored the specific needs of Syrian women in their policies, programs and strategies. This situation extends into the political, economic and social integration of Syrian women into the host community. As a result, it is necessary to investigate the gendered nature of the respected institutions and the implication of their gender-indifferent policies on Syrian women. It is significant to formulate gender-infected migration policies and programs by recognizing gender as one of the main dynamics of migration, not a sole variable.

Furthermore, I examined only the published reports on Syrians to understand marginality of Syrian women's knowledge. On the other hand, the knowledge can be produced in the

wide variety of ways. Therefore, this study can be enlarged by the analysis of other information-gathering instruments.

All in all, I strongly recommend the need to bring Syrian women' knowledge margin to the center.

REFERENCES

Abadan Unat, N. (2002). *Bitmeyen Göç*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Alacadağlı, E., & Işıkcı, Y. (2018). Yerel Yönetimlerin Sığınmacı Kadınlara Yönelik PolitikalarıŞ Bayburt ve Giresun Örnekleri. *Yalova Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*.

Allen, B., Orbe, M., & Olivas, M. (1999, November 1). The Complexity of Our Tears: Dis/enchantment and (In)Difference In The Academy. *Communication Theory*, 9(4), 402-429.

Altamirano, A. (1997). Feminist Theories and Migration Research - Making Sense in the Data Fest. *Refuge*, 16(4), 4-8.

Arango, J. (2004). Theories of International Migration. In D. Joly, *International Migration and the New Millennium* (pp. 15-36). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Badael Vakfı. (2019). *Suriyeli Kadınların Türkiye'de Yaama Bakışları Haklar, Toplumsal İlişkiler ve Sivil Toplum*. İstanbul.

Banner, H., Uraz Yavas, A., De Berry, J., & Wiseman, W. (2015). *Turkey's Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis and the Road Ahead (English)*. Washington D.C.: World Bank Group.

Bar On, B. (2014). Marginality and Epistemic Privilege. In L. Alcoff, & E. Potter, *Feminist Epistemologies* (pp. 83-100). New York: Routledge.

Belanger, D., & Saracoglu, C. (2018). Syrian Refugees and Turkey: Whose "Crises"? In C. Menjivar, M. Ruiz, & I. Ness, *The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises*. Oxford Handbooks Online.

Brettell, C., & Hollifield, J. (2008). *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*. New York: Routledge.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a Qualitative Research Method, *Qualitative research journal*, 9 (2). pp. 27-40.

Buz, S. (2007). Göçte Kadınlar: Feminist Yaklaşım Çerçevesinde Bir Çalışma. *Toplum ve Sosyal Hizmet*, 18, 37-50.

Castles, S., & Miller, M. (2009). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Code, L. (1991). *What Can She Know? Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge*. Cornell University Press.

- Cohen, R. (1996). Introduction. In R. Cohen, *Theories of Migration*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Collins, P. (1990). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston: Hyman.
- Collins, P. (2004). Learning From the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought. In S. Harding, *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies* (Vol. 33, pp. 103-126). Routledge.
- Coşkun, G., & Yılmaz Uçar, A. (2018). Local Responses to the Syrian Refugee Movement: The Case of District Municipalities of İstanbul. *Movements*, 4(2).
- Crasnow, S. (2009). Is Standpoint Theory a REsource for Feminist Epistemology? An Introduction. *Hypatia*, 24(4), 189-192.
- Cullen, B., & Pretes, M. (2000). The Meaning of Marginality: Interpretations and Perceptions in Social Science. *The Social Science Journal*, 37(2), 215-229. doi:10.1016/S0362-3319(00)00056-2.
- Donato, K., Gabaccia, D., Holdaway, J., Manalansan, M., & Pessar, P. (2006). A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies. *International Migration Review*, 40(1), 3-26.

Dromgold, M. (2015). *M.S. Thesis: A Culture of Managing Difference: The Field of Migration Management and Syrian Movers To Turkey.*

Eder, M., & Özkul, D. (2016). Editor's Introduction: Precarious Lives and Syrian Refugees in Turkey. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 54(1), 1-8.

El-Bushra, J. (2000). Gender and Forced Migration: Editorial. *Forced Migration Review* (9): 4-7. Retrieved 16.09.2019 from <https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/gender-and-displacement/elbushra.pdf>.

Eliçin, Y. (2018). Refugee Crisis and Local Responses: An Assessment of Local Capacities to Deal with Migration Influxes in Istanbul. *Hrvatska i komparativna javna uprava : časopis za teoriju i praksu javne uprave*, 73-99.

Erciyes, J. (2016). Guests, Asylum-Seekers, Refugees or Transit Migrants? Syrians in Turkey 'Purgatory'. *Human Geography*, 9(2), 24-34.

Erder, S. (2016). Preliminary Thoughts on the Syrian Refugee Movement. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 54(1), 119-130.

Erdoğan, M. (2015). Türkiye'ye Kitleli Göçlerde Son ve Dev Dalga: Suriyeliler. In M. Erdoğan, & A. Kaya, *Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihi: 14. Yüzyıldan 21. Yüzyıla Türkiye'ye Göçler* (pp. 317-342). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press.

- Fereday, J. & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), 80–92.
- Goldberg, C. (2012). Robert Park's Marginal Man: The Career of a Concept in American Sociology. *Laboratorium: Russian Review of Social Research*, 4(2), 199-217.
- Hagen-Zanker, J. (2008). Why People Migrate? A Review of Theoretical Knowledge. *SSRN Electronic Journal*.
- Haraway, D. (2004). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. In S. Harding, *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies* (Vol. 14, pp. 81-101). Routledge. doi:10.2307/3178066.
- Harding, S. (1991). *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?: Thinking from Women's Lives*. Cornell University Press.
- Harding, S. (2004). Introduction: Standpoint Theory as a Site of Political Philosophic, and Scientific Debate. In S. Harding, *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies* (pp. 1-15). Routledge.
- Harding, S. (2004). Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: What is "Strong Objectivity?". In S. Harding, *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies* (Vol. 36, pp. 127-140). Routledge.

Harding, S. (2009). A Socially Relevant Philosophy of Science? Resource from Standpoint Theory's Controversiality. *Hypatia*, 19(1).

Hartsock, N. (1983). The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism. In M. Hintikka, & S. Harding, *Discovering Reality* (pp. 283-310). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishing.

Hawkesworth, M., & Disch, L. (2016). Feminist Theory: Transforming the Known World. In L. Disch, & M. Hawkesworth, *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory* (pp. 1-15). Oxford University Press.

Hekman, S. (1997). Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited. *Signs*, 22(2), 341-365.

Hollifield, J. (2008). The Politics of International Migration: How Can We Bring the State in? In C. Brettell, & J. Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* (pp. 183-237). New York: Routledge.

Hondagneu-Sotela, P. (2000). Feminism and Migration. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 571, 107-120.

Hondagneu-Sotela, P., & Cranford, C. (1999). Gender and Migration. In J. Chaffetz, *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender* (pp. 105-126). New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publisher.

Hooks, B. (1989). Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness. *The Journal of Cinema and Media*, 36, 15-23.

İçduygu, A. (2015). *Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The Long Road Ahead*. Washington D.C.: Migration Policy Institute.

İçduygu, A., & Aksel, D. (2013). Turkish Migration Policies: A Critical Historical Retrospective. *Perceptions*, 18(3), 167-190.

İçduygu, A., Erder, S., & Gençkaya, Ö. (2014). Bir Siyaset ve Siyasa Alanı Olarak Uluslararası Göç: Son Yüzyılda Dünya ve Türkiye. In A. İçduygu, S. Erder, & Ö. Gençkaya, *Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Göç Politikaları: 1923-2023 Ulus-Devlet Oluşumundan Ulus-Ötesi Dönüşümlere* (pp. 26-77). Istanbul.

Ihlamur-Guler, S. (2013). Turkey's Refugee Regime Stretched to the Limit? The Case of Iraqi and Syrian Refugee Flows. *Perceptions*, 18(3), 191-228.

Intemann, K. (2010). 25 Years of Feminist Empiricism and Standpoint Theory: Where Are We Now? *Hypatia*, 25(4), 778-796.

Intemann, K. (2016). Feminist Standpoint. In L. Disch, & M. Hawkesworth, *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory* (pp. 261-283). Oxford University Press.

Jaggar, A. (2004). Feminist Politics and Epistemology: The Standpoint of Women. In S. Harding, *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies* (pp. 55-66). Routledge.

King, R. (2012). *Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and A Primer*. Malmö.

Kirişçi, K., & Karaca, S. (2015). Hoşgörü ve Çelişkiler 1989, 1991 ve 2011'de Türkiye'ye Yönelen Kitlemel Mülteci Akınları. In M. Erdoğan, & A. Kaya, *Türkiye'nin Göç Tarihi: 14. Yüzyıldan 21 Yüzyıla Türkiye'ye Göçler* (pp. 297-314). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Press.

Kirişçi, K., Brant, J., & Erdoğan, M. (2018, June 19). *Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Beyond the Numbers*. Retrieved from [brookings.edu: https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/06/19/syrian-refugees-in-turkey-beyond-the-numbers/](https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2018/06/19/syrian-refugees-in-turkey-beyond-the-numbers/).

Kivilcim, Z. (2016). Legal Violence Against Syrian Female Refugees in Turkey. *Feminist Legal Studies*, 24(2), 193-214.

Kofman, E., Raghuram, P., & Merefieid, M. (2005). *Gendered Migrations: Towards Gender Sensitive Migration*. London: Institute of Public Policy Research.

Kourany, J. (2012). The Place of Standpoint Theory in Feminist Science Studies. *Hypatia*, 209-218.

Köşer Akçapar, Ş. (2012). Uluslararası Göç Alanında Güvenlik Algılamaları ve Göçün İnsani Boyutu. In S. Ihlamur-Öner, & N. Öner Şirin, *Küreselleşme Çağında Göç Kavramlar, Tartışmalar* (pp. 563-577). Istanbul: İletişim Press.

Makavsky, A. (2019, March 13). *Turkey's Refugee Dilemma*. Retrieved from Center For American Progress: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/reports/2019/03/13/467183/turkeys-refugee-dilemma/>.

Manalansan, M. (2006). Queer Intersections: Sexuality and Gender in Migration Studies. *International Migration Review*, 40(1), 224-249.

Mazlumder. (2013). *Türkiye'de Suriyeli Mülteciler - İstanbul Örneği - Tespitler, İhtiyaçlar ve Öneriler*. Mazlumder.

Mehretu, A., Pigozzi, B. W., & Sommers, L. (2000). Concepts in Social and Spatial Marginality. *Geografiska Annaler*, 82(2), 89-101.

Morokvasic, M. (1984). Birds of Passage Are Also Woman. *The International Migration Review*, 18(4 Special Issue: Women In Migration), 886-907.

Oishi, N. (2002). *Gender and Migration: an Integrative Approach*. San Diego: The Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies - University of San Diego.

O'Reilly, K. (2015). Migration Theories: A Critical Overview. In A. Triandafyllidou, *Routledge Handbook of Immigration and Refugee Studies* (pp. 25-33). Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge.

Özden, Ş. (2013). *Syrian Refugees in Turkey*. Migration Policy Centre.

Öztiğ, L. (2016). The Syrian Conflict and Turkey's Humanitarian Response. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 15(3), 139-147.

Paçacı Elitok, S. (2013). Turkish Migration Policy Revisited: Moving Forward? *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 12(1).

Paçacı Elitok, S. (2018). Turkey's Migration Policy Revisited: (Dis)Continuities and Peculiarities. *IAI Papers*, 18, 1-18.

Park, R. (1928). Human Migration and The Marginal Man. *American Journal of Sociology*, 33(6), 881-893.

Pelc, S. (2017). Marginality and Marginalization. In R. Chand, E. Nel, & S. Pelc, *Societies, Social Inequalities and Marginalization, Marginal Regions in the 21st Century* (pp. 13-28). Springer International Publishing.

Pessar, P. (1999). Engendering Migration Studies: The Case of New Immigrants in United States. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 42(4), 577-600.

Pessar, P., & Mahler, S. (2006). Gender Matters: Ethnographers Bring Gender from the Periphery toward the Core of Migration Studies. *International Migration Review*, 40(1), 27-63.

Piore, M. (1979). *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labour and Industrial Societies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Piper, N. (2006). Gendering the Politics of Migration. *International Migration Review*, 40(1), 133-164.

Ravenstein, E. (1885). The Laws of Migration - I. *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 48(2), 167-227.

Ravenstein, E. (1889). The Laws of Migration - II. *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 52(2), 214-301.

Rolin, K. (2009). Standpoint Theory as a Methodology for the Study of Power Relations. *Hypatia*, 24(4), 218-226.

Simmel, G. (1908-1971). The Stranger. In D. Levine, *On Individuality and Social Forms*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Smith, D. (1974). Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology. *Sociological Inquiry*, 44(1), 7-13.

Tatlıcıoğlu, O., & Apak, H. (2018). Suriyeliler Hakkında Yapılan Lisansüstü Tezler Üzerine Bir İnceleme. *Sosyal Politika Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 40(2).

The Directorate General of Migration Management. (2013). *Türkiye ve Göç*. Ankara: Pozitif Press.

Thieme, S. (2006). *Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labour Migrants in Delhi*. 36-40.

Tokuzlu, B. (2007). *Migration Law in Turkey*. European University Institute - Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Tomasi, S., & Tomasi, L. (1984). Introduction. *International Migration Review*, 18(2).

Uzun, R., & Asrak Hasdemir, T. (2017). Representing Migration: Analysis of Media Portrayals of Syrian Migrant Women in Turkey. *İletişim Kuram ve Araştırma Dergisi*, 44, 263-272.

Weisberger, A. (1992). Marginality and Its Directions. *Sociological Forum*, 7(3), 425-446.

Whole of Syria. (2017). Voices from Syria 2018: Assessment Findings of the Humanitarian Needs Overview. Retrieved from 14.09.2019 from https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/sites/www.humanitarianresponse.info/files/documents/files/2017-12_voices_from_syria_2nd_edition.pdf.

Women Now for Development. 2019. Gender Justice and Feminist Knowledge Production in Syria. Retrieved 12.08.2019 from <https://women-now.org/wp-content/uploads/Gender-Justice-and-Field-Research.pdf>.

Wylie, A. (2003). Why Standpoint Matter? In R. Figueroa, & S. Harding, *Science and Other Cultures: Issues in Philosophies of Science and Technology* (pp. 26-48). New York: Routledge.

Yazgan, P., Eroğlu Utku, D., & Sirkeci, İ. (2015). Syrian Crisis and Migration. *Migration Letters*, 12(3), 181-192.

Yüksel Oktay, E., & Es, M. (2015). Türkiye'ye Sığınan Kadınların Problemleri: Isparta Örneği. *Siyaset, Ekonomi Yönetim Araştırmaları Dergisi* (16. Çalışma Ekonomisi ve Endüstri İlişkileri Kongresi Özel Sayısı), 383-402.

APPENDICES

A. LIST OF THE PUBLISHED REPORTS ON SYRIANS IN TURKEY

Table 2 - List of the Published Reports

No	Year	Institution	Type of the Institution	Name of the Report	The total number of the pages	The main subject of the report
1	2011	Council of Europe Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population / the Ad Hoc Sub-Committee	International Organization	Syrian refugees on the Turkish border: report on the visit to Antakya (Turkey), 26 July 2011	10	General
2	2011	Avrupa-Akdeniz İnsan Hakları Ağı (EMHRN)	International NGO	Belirsizlik: Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Mültecilerin Durumunu En İyi Anlatan Kelime	18	General
3	2012	Support to Life (STL)	National NGO	Situation report - Syrian refugees in Turkey, 17 September 2012	13	General
4	2012	Refugees International (RI)	International NGO	Syrian Women & Girls: No Safe Refugee	2	Women Specific
5	2012	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi İnsan Hakları İnceleme Komisyonu	State Institution	Ülkemize Sığınan Suriye Vatandaşlarının Barındıkları Çadırkentler Hakkında İnceleme Raporu	16	General
6	2013	Brookings Institution	Academia and Research Institution	Turkey and Syrian Refugees: The Limits of Hospitality	44	General

7	2013	European University Institute, Florence Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Migration Policy Centre (MPC)	Academia and Research Institution	Syrian Refugees in Turkey	17	General
8	2013	International Crisis Group (ICG)	International NGOs	Blurring the Borders: Syrian Spillover Risks for Turkey	54	General
9	2013	Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD)	State Institution	Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Sığınmacılar, 2013, Saha Araştırması Sonuçları	62	General
10	2013	Association for Research Centre of Asylum and Migration IGAM (İltica ve Göç Araştırmaları Merkezi)	National NGO	Sivil Toplum Örgütlerinin Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Mülteciler İçin Yaptıkları Çalışmalarla İlgili Rapor	114	General
11	2013	Amnesty International (Uluslararası Af Örgütü)	International NGO	Türkiye: Suriyeli Mültecilerin İhtiyaçlarını Karşılama İçin Ulusal Yetkililer ve Uluslararası Toplum İşbirliği İçinde Hareket Etmeli	18	General
12	2013	Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu (USAK)	Academia and Research Institution	Sınırlar Arasında Yaşam Savaşı Suriyeli Mülteciler Alan Araştırması	70	General
13	2013	Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management	State Institution	Türkiye Göç Raporu	90	General
14	2013	The Association for Human Rights and Solidarity for the Oppressed (MAZLUMDER) (İnsan Hakları ve Mazlumlar İçin Dayanışma Derneği)	National NGO	Türkiye'de Suriyeli Mülteciler - İstanbul Örneği – Tespitler, İhtiyaçlar ve Öneriler	20	General

15	2013	Support to Life (STL)	National NGO	Situation report - Syrian refugees in Turkey, 15 February 2013	10	General
16	2013	Support to Life (STL)	National NGO	Situation report - Syrian refugees in Turkey, 15 January 2013	9	General
17	2013	United Cities and Local Government Middle East and West Asia Section (UCLG-MEWA)	International Organization	Syrian Refugees Report Turkey-Jordan-Lebanon	19	General
18	2014	International Medical Corps - CARE	International NGO	Rapid Gender and Protection Assessment Report Kobane Refugee Population, Suruç, Turkey	22	Women Specific
19	2014	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)	International Organization	Syria Crisis Influx Situation Report - 24 Sept 2014	3	General
20	2014	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies	International NGO	Emergency Appeal Turkey: Population Movement	14	General
21	2014	Mercy Corps (MC)	International NGO	Understanding the needs of Syrian and Turkish adolescents in Gaziantep, Turkey to support personal resilience - Report	28	Gender Specific
22	2014	International Crisis Group (ICG)	International NGO	The Rising Costs of Turkey's Syrian Quagmire	54	General
23	2014	Amnesty International (AI)	International NGO	Struggling to Survive: Refugees from Syria in Turkey-Hayatta Kalma Mücadelesi Türkiye'deki Suriye'den Gelen Mülteciler	66	General
24	2014	Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD)	State Institution	Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Kadınlar	84	Women Specific

25	2014	Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD)	State Institution	Population Influx from Syria to Turkey: Live in Turkey as a Syrian Guest	152	General
26	2014	Turkish Medical Association (TTB) Türk Tabipler Birliği	National NGO	Suriyeli Sığınmacılar ve Sağlık Hizmetleri Raporu	153	Special Section on Women
27	2014	MAZLUMDER Women Studies Group	National NGO	The Report on Syrian Woman Refugees Living out of the Camps	49	Women Specific
28	2014	Amnesty International (Uluslararası Af Örgütü)	International NGO	Dışarıda Bırakılanlar: Uluslararası Toplum Tarafından Terkedilen Suriyeli Mülteciler	43	General
29	2014	Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management	State Institution	Türkiye Göç Raporu	45	General
30	2014	Brookings Institution and USAK	Academic and Research Institution	Syrian Refugees and Turkey's Challenges: Going Beyond Hospitality	51	General
31	2014	Centre for Middle Eastern Studies (ORSAM)	Academic and Research Institution	Suriye'ye Komşu Ülkelerde Suriyeli Mültecilerin Durumu: Bulgular, Sonuçlar ve Öneriler	62	General
32	2014	Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA)	Academia and Research Institution	Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin Hukuki Durumu: Arada Kalanların Hakları ve Yükümlülükleri	81	General
33	2014	Human Rights Watch (HRW)	International NGO	"We Are Still Here" Women on the Front Lines of Syria's Conflict	27	Women Specific
34	2015	Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA)	Academia and Research Institution	Turkey's Syrian Refugees: Toward Integration	54	General

35	2015	Brookings Institution	Academic and Research Institution	Not Likely to Go Home: Syrian Refugees and the Challenges to Turkey and the International Community	30	General
36	2015	Transatlantic Council on Migration and the Migration Policy Institute (MPI)	Academic and Research Institution	Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The Long Road Ahead	23	General
37	2015	Refugees International (RI)	International NGO	Birth Registration in Turkey: Protecting the Future for Syrian Children	12	General
38	2015	Centre for Middle Eastern Studies (ORSAM) / TESEV	Academia and Research Institution	Suriyeli Sığınmacıların Türkiye'ye Etkileri	44	General
39	2015	Support to Life (STL)	National NGO	Durum Raporu: Edirne'deki Suriyeli Mülteciler	6	General
40	2015	Turkish Confederation of Employer Association (TISK)	National NGO	Türk İş Dünyasının Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler Konusundaki Görüş, Beklenti ve Önerileri	100	General
41	2015	Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH)	National NGO	Suriyeli Kadınlar Bitmeyen Acılar Kaybolmayan Umutlar	48	Women Specific
42	2015	Centre for Middle Eastern Studies (ORSAM)	Academia and Research Institution	Suriyeli Mültecilerin Türkiye'ye Ekonomik Etkileri: Sentetik Bir Modelleme	45	General
43	2015	Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management	State Institution	Yıllık Göç Raporu	56	General
44	2015	Centre for Transnational Development and Collaboration (CTDC)	International NGO	Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Gender Analysis	24	Women Specific
45	2015	Bezmialem Foundation University	Academia and Research Institution	İstanbul'da Yaşayan Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyeliler İhtiyaç Analizi Raporu	25	General

46	2015	World Bank (WB)	International Organization	Turkey's Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis and the Road Ahead	18	General
47	2016	United Cities and Local Government Middle East and West Asia Section (UCLG-MEWA)	International Organization	Suriyeli Mülteci Akını Yönetiminde Türkiye ve Lübnan'daki Belediyelerin Rolü	60	General
48	2016	Theirworld	International NGO	Building a better future: Syrian girls' education in Turkey (Brief)	7	Women specific
49	2016	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)	International organization	UNICEF Turkey Crisis Humanitarian Situation Report – November 2016	7	General
50	2016	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)	International organization	UNICEF Turkey Crisis Humanitarian Situation Report – September 2016	6	General
51	2016	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)	International organization	UNICEF Turkey Crisis Humanitarian Situation Report – October 2016	6	General
52	2016	International Organization for Migrations (IOM)	International organization	Migrant Presence Monitoring - Situation Report (July 2016)	2	General
53	2016	Danish Refugee Council (DRC)	International NGO	Synthesis Report of Mixed Migration Trends: Turkey (January - July 2016)	11	General
54	2016	International Organization for Migrations (IOM)	International organization	Migrant Presence Monitoring - Situation Report (October 2016)	2	General
55	2016	International Crisis Group (ICG)	International NGO	Europe Report N°241 - Turkey's Refugee Crisis: The Politics of Permanence	39	General
56	2016	Transatlantic Council on Migration and the Migration Policy Institute (MPI)	Academia and Research Institution	The Evolving Approach to Refugee Protection in Turkey: Assessing the Practical and Political Needs	34	General

57	2016	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	International Organization	Evaluation of UNHCR's Emergency Response to the influx of Syrian Refugees into Turkey - Full Report	238	Specific Section on Gender
58	2016	Union of Turkish Bar Association (TBB)	National NGO	Sığınmacılar ve Mülteciler Raporu	144	Specific Section on Women
59	2016	Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD)	State Institution	Syrian Guests in Turkey	126	General
60	2016	Women and Democracy Association (KADEM)	National NGO	Kadınlar Göç Yolunda Projesi Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Kadınlar: Sosyoekonomik ve Hukuki Sorunlar	50	Women Specific
61	2016	Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA)	Academia and Research Institution	Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin Eğitiminde Yol Haritası-Fırsatlar ve Zorluklar	52	General
62	2016	Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management	State Institution	Türkiye Göç Raporu	102	General
63	2016	Support to Life (STL)	National NGO	İstanbul'daki Suriyeli Mültecilere İlişkin Zarar Görebilirlik Değerlendirme Raporu	60	General
64	2016	Ministry of Health AFAD World Health Organization	National NGO International Organization State Institution	Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Mültecilerin Sağlık Durumu Araştırması: Suriyeli Mültecilerde Bulaşıcı Olmayan Hastalık Risk Faktörleri Sıklığı	90	General
65	2017	the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) Turkey	International Organization	The 2017 Annual Report	42	Specific Section on Gender

66	2017	TBMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası İstanbul Şubesi	National NGO	Kent Mülteciliği ve Planlama Açısından Yerel Sorumluluklar Değerlendirme Raporu Suriyeli Yeni Komşularımız, İstanbul Örneği	132	General
67	2017	Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD)	State Institution	Türkiye’deki Suriyelilerin Demografik Görünümü, Yaşam Koşulları ve Gelecek Beklentilere Yönelik Saha Araştırması	110	General
68	2017	Kırmızı Şemsiye Cinsel Sağlık ve İnsan Hakları Derneği (The Red Umbrella)	National NGOs	Türkiye’de “Geçici Koruma” Altında Suriyeliler ve Seks İşçiliği	138	Specific to Gender
69	2017	Association of Assistance Solidarity and Support for Refugees- Asylum Seekers (ASRA)	National NGO	Geçici Koruma Altındaki Yabancıların Eğitim Hizmetlerine Erişimleri Önündeki Engeller ve Bunların Okullaşma Oranlarına Yansımaları (Ankara Örneği)	14	General
70	2017	Hacettepe Üniversitesi Göç ve Siyaset Araştırmaları Merkezi (HÜGO) & IGAM	Academia and Research Institution	Elite Diyalogu: Türkiye’deki Suriyeli Mülteci Akademisyen ve Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Durumu, Sorunları ve Beklentileri Araştırması-2017	65	General
71	2017	Marmara Municipalities Union (MBB)	State Institution	Kopuş’ tan Uyum’a Kent Mültecileri: Suriyeli Mülteciler ve Belediyelerin Süreç Yönetimi: İstanbul Örneği	138	General
72	2017	BAUMUS	Academia	İstanbul’daki Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyeliler	2	General
73	2017	İstanbul Policy Centre at Sabancı University	Academia	Engaging Syrian Communities: The Role of Local Government in İstanbul	22	General

74	2017	BAUMUS	Academia	Suriyeli Çocukların Eğitimi Konusunun Medyadaki İkili Tezahürü	6	General
75	2018	Helpdesk	International NGO	Syrian refugee women, girls, and people with disabilities in Turkey	23	Women Specific
76	2018	World Health Organization (WHO)	International organization	Syria Crisis: Whole of Syria response, Turkey Update: Situation Report 6, November – December 2018	7	General
77	2018	Tufts University	Academia	Sultanbeyli, Istanbul, Turkey: A Case Study of Refugees in Towns	15	General
78	2018	International Organization for Migration (IOM)	International organization	Analysis: Flow Monitoring Surveys in Turkey, December 2017 - February 2018	27	General
79	2018	International Crisis Group (ICG)	International NGOs	Turkey's Syrian Refugees: Defusing Metropolitan Tensions	34	General
80	2018	International Crisis Group (ICG)	International NGOs	Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler: Kentsel Gerilimleri Azaltmak	8	General
81	2018	Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi İnsan Hakları İnceleme Komisyonu	State Institution	Göç ve Uyum Raporu: Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler	300	General
82	2018	The Ombudsman Institution	State Institution	Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler Özel Raporu	258	Special Section on Women
83	2018	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)	International Organization	Humanitarian Situation Report	7	General
84	2018	MiraKoç	Academia	İstanbul Tarlabası Suriyeli Kentsel Mültecilerin İhtiyaç Tespit Raporu	32	General
85	2018	Women and Democracy Association (KADEM)	National NGOs	KADEM Sığınmacı Kadınlar Merkezi Profil Tarama Çalışması Raporu	28	Women Specific

86	2018	UN Women / ASAM	International Organization	Türkiye’de Geçici Koruma Altındaki Suriyeli Kadın ve Kız Çocuklarının İhtiyaç Analizi	90	Women Specific
87	2018	İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Göç Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi /İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Sivil Toplum Çalışmaları Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi	Academia and Research Institution	Birlikte Yaşamak Projesi Göç Alanında Saha Çalışanları İhtiyaçlar ve Öneriler Raporu	22	General

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

KADIN BİLGİSİNİN MARJİNALLEŞMESİ: TÜRKİYE’DEKİ SURİYELİ
KADINLAR ÖRNEĞİ

Uluslararası göç oldukça karmaşık ve dinamik bir süreç olup göçün hızlanması, politikleşmesi, kadınsılaşması ve çeşitlenmesiyle birlikte insan hareketliliği içinde bulunduğumuz çağın gerçekliği olmuştur. Bu küresel göç hareketliliği bağlamında Türkiye çeşitli göç akımlarıyla karşılaşmıştır. 2011 yılında başlayan Suriye’deki olaylar neticesinde, Suriye’den komşu ülkelere göç akınları yaşanmış ve Türkiye en çok Suriyeli barındıran ülkelerden biri haline gelmiştir. Suriyelilerin ülkemizde bulunduğu durumu anlamak, ihtiyaçlarını belirlemek ve politika önerilerinde bulunmak amacıyla çeşitli alanlarda akademik çalışmalar, raporlar, analizler ve değerlendirmeler yapılmıştır. Alanda üretilen bilginin artmış ve çeşitlenmiş olmasına rağmen Suriyeli kadınlara ilişkin bilgi oldukça kısıtlıdır. Tam da bu sebepten, bu çalışmada, uluslararası göç ve kadın arasındaki ilişki Türkiye’de bulunan Suriyeli kadınlar özelinde bilgi üretim pratikleri yoluyla sorunsallaştıracaktır. Bu amaçla, Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin Suriyelilere ilişkin üretilmiş raporlarda marjinalleştirilip marjinalleştirilmediği tartışmaya açılmıştır. Eğer Suriyeli kadın bilgisi marjinalleştiriliyorsa bu marjinalleşmenin hangi yollarla gerçekleştiği açığa çıkartılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu sebeple, 2011-2018 yılları arasında çeşitli kurumlar tarafından Türkiye’deki Suriyeliler hakkında üretilen durum, saha ve araştırma raporlarından oluşan toplam 87 rapor Feminist Duruş Kuramı (FDK) açısından incelenmiştir.

Sunulan arka plan bilgisine dayanarak bu çalışma altı bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm çalışmanın araştırma soruları, temel varsayımları, önemi ve yapısını kapsamaktadır. Suriyeli kadınların marjinalleştirildiği varsayımına dayanan bu çalışma göçmen marjinalliğinin sadece göçmen olmaktan ya da sadece kadın olmaktan

kaynaklanmadığını ileri sürmektedir. Aksine kadınlar hakkındaki konuların ele alınması, soruların sorulma biçimi ve sunulması bağlamında en genelde Suriyeli kadınların, özelde ise Suriyeli kadına ilişkin bilginin marjinalleştirildiğini savulmaktadır. Bu sebeple de Suriyeli kadınlar homojen bir grup olarak değil heterojen bir grup olarak ele alınmakta ve Suriyeli kadınlar arasındaki farklılıklar gözetilerek evrenselci ve özcü bilgi iddiaları eleştirilmektedir. Marjinalliğe ilişkin bir diğer varsayım ise marjinal olma halinin ve marjinalleşmenin belli bir formunun bu çalışmada işaret edilmemesinde yatmaktadır. Çoklu marjinallik biçimlerinin varlığına ve bunların dinamik, ilişkisel ve çelişkili doğasına vurgu yapan bu çalışma marjinalliklerin bağlama göre yeniden üretildiğini varsaymaktadır. Tam da bu sebepten bu tezde bahsedilen marjinallikler konumsal, ilişkisel ve kesişimseldir.

Bu çalışma, bilgi üretim süreçlerine ilişkin sorduğu sorular yoluyla literatüre katkı sağlamayı hedeflemektedir. Çünkü bildiklerimizi nasıl bildiğimiz kadar neden belli bir formda bildiğimiz de önemlidir. Bu bağlamda, Suriyeliler ve özelde Suriyeli kadınlar hakkında bildiklerimizi nasıl bildiğimize ilişkin sorduğumuz sorular bilginin nasıl üretildiği, şekillendirildiği ve nasıl kısıtlandığıyla yakından ilişkilidir. Çünkü bilgi üretim sürecine dâhil olan kurum ve kuruluşlar gerçekliği kendi bakış açılarından sunmaktadır. Belli bir pozisyondan sunulan bu gerçeklik anlatısının sanki genellenebilir evrensel bilgiymiş gibi sunma gücüne sahip olan bilgi üretim mekanizmalarının hâkim olanın odağında bilgi üretme eğiliminde olduğu aşîkârdır. Bu yaklaşıma eleştirel bakan bu çalışma ise marjinalleştirilmiş grupların deneyiminden hareketle daha az taraflı ve bağlamsal bilgi üretiminin önemine dikkat çekmekte ve gerçekliğin başka bir anlatısını sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Böylece alandaki bilgi üretimine yeni bir boyut kazandırmak hedeflenmektedir. Ek olarak, bu çalışmada Suriye’de yaşanan olayların üzerinden (bu çalışmanın yapıldığı tarih itibarıyla) sekiz yıl geçmiş olmasına ve Suriyeli kadınların Türkiye’de bulunan Suriye nüfusunun neredeyse yarısını oluşturmuş olmasına rağmen Suriyeli kadına ilişkin üretilen bilginin sınırlı ve kısıtlı olduğuna dikkat çekilmektedir.

İkinci bölümünde çalışmanın teorik çerçevesini oluşturan FDK’nın ana temaları, varsayımları ve kavramları incelenmiştir. FDK’nın kendi metinleri içinde ve arasında

çelişkiler olmasına rağmen gerçekliğin daha iyi bir anlatısını sunmak için oldukça eleştirel, üretken ve farklı bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır. Çünkü FDK moderniteyi eleştirmesine rağmen modernitenin sınırları içerisinde kalmakta ve aynı zamanda postmodernitenin temel kavramsallaştırmalarından faydalanmaktadır. Öznelliklerin vurgulanması, bilginin kısmiliğinin işaret edilmesi ve farklılıkların anlamlı kılınması bağlamında postmoderniteye yaklaşan FDK; Marksist köklerinden ve politik eğilimlerinden dolayı ise modernitenin sınırları içerisinde kalmaktadır. Ancak bu pozisyon, evrenselci ve özcü bilginin eleştirisine engel olmamaktadır. Aksine FDK marjinalize olmuş grupların araştırma öznesi olarak ele alınmasının ve onların deneyimlerine dayanarak oluşturulan bir gerçeklik anlatısının daha iyi bir gerçeklik anlatısı olacağını savunmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, FDK, güçlü nesnellik kavramı ile nesnellik terimine yeni bir boyut kazandırmakta ve geleneksel nesnellik anlatısını eleştirmektedir. Bu kavramdan hareketle, bilginin tarihsel materyal kökleri anlaşılmağa çalışılmakta ve öznelerin toplumsal olarak konumlandırılmış pozisyonlarına dikkat çekilmektedir. İçerideki dışarıklı kavramıyla ise hem hâkim kültürün içinde hem de bir o kadar dışında olan marjinal grupların bu pozisyondan dolayı çifte vizyona sahip olacağı vurgulanmaktadır. Ancak çifte vizyon otomatik olarak kazanılmamakta ve kendini tanımlama ve kendini değerlendirme süreçlerinden sonra ulaşılabilir. Ancak bu süreç öznelerin öznelliklerinin ve özgünlüklerinin açığa çıkması ve kendi durumlarını anlamlandırmalarına denk düşmektedir. Bununla birlikte, FDK marjinalleşmeyi bir yoksunluk alanı olarak kurgulamaktan ziyade bunu radikal bir olanaklılık olarak görmektedir. Düalist yaklaşımları kurduğu hiyerarşik ilişkiler sebebiyle eleştiren FDK; marjinal olanın durumunun kesişimsel analiz yoluyla anlaşılabilirliğini savunmaktadır. FDK'nın metodolojik yaklaşımındaysa epistemolojik duruşuyla paralel bir şekilde marjinal olanın deneyiminden araştırmaya başlamak işaret edilmekte ve araştırmacı ile araştırılan arasındaki hiyerarşik ilişki eleştirilmektedir. Bu noktada, bir çalışmanın ne kadar güçlü nesnel olursa o kadar öz-düşünsel olacağı iddia edilmektedir. Öz-düşünselliğin yüksel olduğu çalışmalardaysa daha az konumlandırılmış ve taraflı bilgi üretimine imkân sağlamaktadır. Kısacası, FDK'nın ana temaları bu çalışmada operasyonelleştirilmeye çalışılmış ve raporlar bu temalar bağlamında analiz edilmiştir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde uluslararası göç bilgisini anlamak ve kadın bilgisini literatürde konumlandırmak için uluslararası göç literatürü eleştirel bir perspektifle incelenmiştir. Uluslararası göç birbirinden farklı aktörlerin rol aldığı hem dinamik hem de oldukça kompleks bir süreçtir. Bu sürecin anlaşılması ve sistematik bir şekilde değerlendirilmesi ise bu alanda üretilecek teorilerle mümkün olmaktadır. Bu bağlamda sosyoloji, siyaset bilimi, ekonomi, coğrafya ve psikoloji gibi farklı alanlar uluslararası göçü anlamlandırmak için çeşitli teoriler ve yaklaşımlar geliştirmiştir. Ancak uluslararası göçü açıklayan tek ve kapsamlı bir teoriden bahsetmek henüz mümkün değildir. Diğer taraftan, uluslararası göç giderek “kadınsılaşmakta” ve toplumsal diğer kategorilerin dâhil olduğu bir sürece doğru evrilmektedir.

Uluslararası göç bilginin sorunsallaştırılması amacıyla geleneksel göç teorileri ve feminist bilgi üretiminin göç teorilerine katkısı olmak üzere iki alt başlık bağlamında literatür incelenmiştir. Geleneksel teorilerin temel varsayımları ve hipotezlerinde kadına ilişkin bilginin çalışmadığı, farklı öznelerin göç sürecine ilişkin deneyiminin bilgisinin üretmediği ve kadın bilgisinin görünmez kılındığı anlaşılmıştır. Bu görünmezliğin ataerkil varsayımlarla yakından ilişkili olduğu ve göç süresinde kadına ilişkin gerçekliklerin geride bırakıldığı ortaya koyulmuştur. Zira kadınlar bu süreçte erkeğe bağımlı olarak görülmekte, eş, kardeş ve anne olarak konumlandırılmakta ve hak ettiği bilimsel ilgiyi görememektedir. Sonuç olarak geleneksel teorilerde kadın bilgisinin görünmez olduğu, dışarıda bırakıldığı ve bağımlı, eş, anne gibi stereotipler yoluyla marjinalleştirildiği anlaşılmıştır.

1980’lerden itibaren ise literatürde bir kayma yaşandığını ve feminist hareketin gelişimiyle birlikte, kadın bilgisinin uluslararası göç literatürüne girmeye başladığını söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır. Feminist bilgi üretiminin göç literatürüne katkısı ise literatürde yaşanan kayma yoluyla anlamlandırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu değişim “kadın ve göç” merkezli araştırmalardan “toplumsal cinsiyet ve göç” odaklı çalışmalara yoğunlaşılmasıyla belirginleşmiştir. Özellikle 1970 ve 1980’in başlarında hâkim olan “kadın ve göç” yaklaşımı, kadınların uluslararası göçün teorize edilmesinde hesaba katılmasını sağlamak ve geleneksel teorilerde görünmez kılınan kadın bilgisini açığa

çıkarmak temelinde yapılan araştırmalardan oluşmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımda kadınların göç sürecinde bağımlı, pasif ve takip eden olduğuna yönelik varsayımlar eleştirilerek bu varsayımların sosyal gerçekliğin yorumlanmasını ve anlatısını nasıl etkilediği ortaya koyulmaya çalışılmıştır. Ayrıca kadın ve erkeğin göç sürecini farklı deneyimlediği varsayımına işaret edilmiştir. Toplumsal cinsiyet ve uluslararası göç yaklaşımıysa 1980’li ve özellikle 1990’lı yıllarda feminist teorideki gelişmelere paralel olarak, cinsiyet temelli eşitsizliklere dikkat çeken “toplumsal cinsiyet” perspektifine vurgu yapmıştır. Bu yaklaşım, sadece kadının değil; erkeğin ve LGBTİ bireylerin de göç deneyiminin farklılaştığını varsaymaktadır. Ayrıca göç sürecinin anlaşılabilmesi için hukukta, cinsiyet çalışmalarında ve siyaset bilimi gibi alanlarda toplumsal cinsiyet perspektifine yer verilmesine ve göç çalışmalarında yöntembilimsel çeşitliğe alan açılmasına dikkat çekmektedir. Özetle, göç olgusunun ekonomik, sosyal, psikolojik ve kültürel etkileri, göç etme nedenleri ile göçle baş etme yöntemleri gibi uluslararası göçe ilişkin süreçlerin kadın, erkek ve toplumsal diğer kategoriler açısından hem teorik hem pratik düzlemde görünür kılınmaya çalışıldığı söylenebilir. Son olarak, literatürde yaşanan gelişmeler ışığında ise Feminist Duruş Kuramının ana kavramaları göç teorilerine dâhil edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Böylece daha az taraflı Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin elde edilebileceği ileri sürülmüştür.

Çalışmanın dördüncü bölümündeyse Türkiye’nin Suriye’den yönelen kitlesel göç akınını nasıl deneyimlediği bilgi üretim süreçleri bağlamında incelenmiştir. Bu sebeple öncelikli olarak Türkiye’nin göç tarihi ve politikaları ele alınarak Suriye’ye özgü öznelliklere odaklanılmıştır. Bu amaçla, Türkiye’nin göç tarihine ilişkin dönemleme Türkiye literatüründeki üç tarihsel dönem temel alınarak incelenmiştir. Birinci dönem ulus-devlet inşası olarak adlandırılmakta ve 1920-1950 arasındaki süreci kapsamaktadır. Bu süreçte devletin önceliği homojen bir ulus oluşturmaktır. Bu nedenle, 1934 tarihli İskân Kanunu Türk soyundan ve kültüründen olanların Türkiye’ye göç etmelerini kolaylaştırma ve teşvik etme rasyoneline dayanan bir yasal düzenlemeye işaret etmektedir. Türkiye’nin göç politikalarının ikinci dönemi ise 1950-1980 arasına denk düşmekte ve ekonomik liberalleşme ile daha az kısıtlayıcı politikaların hayata geçirildiği dönemi kapsamaktadır.

1980 sonrası ise Türkiye'nin göç politikalarında üçüncü dönem olarak görülmektedir. Bu süreçte Türkiye; Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılışı, Körfez Savaşı ile küreselleşmenin artışı gibi gelişmeler ışığında hem hedef ve hem de geçiş ülkesi haline gelmiştir. Ayrıca Türkiye çeşitli kitlesel göç akınlarıyla 1980 yılının ortalarına doğru karşılaşmıştır. 1989 yılında Türk kökenli Bulgarların Türkiye'ye gelişi ile 1988 ve 1991 yıllarında Iraklı Kürtlerin savaştan kaçarak ülkemize sığınması Türkiye'nin göç tarihinde kitlesel göç akınlarını deneyimlediğini göstermektedir. Bu noktada, yöneltilmesi gereken soru eğer Türkiye göç tarihinde kitlesel göç akınlarıyla karşılaştıysa Suriye'den ülkemize yönelen göç akınını araştırmayı gerektiren ve de Suriye örneğini önemli kılan nedir? İlk olarak Suriyelilerin sayısı Türkiye'nin deneyimlediği diğer kitlesel göç akınlarına göre oldukça fazladır. İkincisi sayıca fazla olan Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye gelişi sürece yayılmış ve Suriyeliler sınır kentlerinden diğer illere doğru yaşam alanlarını genişletmiştir. Ek olarak, göç politikalarında devletin merkezi konumu değişmese de yerel, ulusal ve uluslararası çeşitli aktörlerin Suriyelilerin gelişiyle birlikte alandaki varlıklarının arttığını söylenebilir.

Diğer bir taraftan, göçe ilişkin yasal zemine baktığımızdaysa hem devamlılık hem de kopuş unsurlarının birlikte varolduğunu söylemek yanlış olmayacaktır. Öyle ki Türklük nosyonu etrafında şekillenen İskân Kanunu değişikliğe uğrasa da ana rasyonelini korumuş ve 1951 tarihli Cenevre Sözleşmesine Türkiye'nin koyduğu coğrafi çekince geçerliliğini korumaya devam etmiştir. Diğer bir taraftan, 2013 yılında yabancılara ilişkin iş ve işlemleri düzenleyen 6458 sayılı Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu yürürlüğe koyularak göç yönetiminde kapsamlı bir yasal düzlem oluşturulmuştur. Suriyelilerin yasal statüsü ise bu Kanunun 91 inci maddesiyle birlikte belirginlik kazanmıştır. Suriyelilerin sahip oldukları hak ve hizmetler ise 2014 tarihli Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği ile düzenlenmiştir.

Bu yasal gelişmeler ışığında, Suriye durumunun gelişimini iki dönemde ele almak mümkündür. 2012'den 2014'e kadar uzanan dönem başlangıç dönemi olarak adlandırılmakta ve Suriyelilere ilişkin bilgi üretimi geçicilik ekseninde gelişim göstermektedir. Kamplardaki Suriyelilerin durumu, sınır illerindeki Suriyeliler ile Suriyelilere ilişkin çeşitli temalardaki durum analizlerine bu dönemde yer verilmiştir.

2014 yılı itibariyle Suriyelileri ilişkin geçicilik vurgusu yerini kalıcılık tartışmalarına bırakmıştır. Kent mültecilerinin sayısında görülen artışla birlikte yerel yönetimler, ulusal ve uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşları ile uluslararası organizasyonların sahadaki aktivite, proje ve programları artmıştır. Bu süreçte farklı misyon, vizyon, organizasyonel kapasite ve kaynaklara sahip olan çeşitli kuruluşlar göçe ilişkin bilgi üretim sürecine dahil olmuştur. Bu süreçte devamlılık gösteren unsur ise bilgi üretiminin “kriz” kavramı etrafında gelişim göstermesidir. Kriz literatürü etrafında tartışılan Türkiye’deki Suriyeliler gerçeği epistemolojik olarak üretilen bilgiyi kısıtlamakta ve baskın söylem üzerine şekillendirmektedir.

Kısacası, Türkiye’nin göç akınlarına karşı geliştirdiği politikalar ve tepkiler içinde bulunduğu dönemin iç ve dış politikasına, göç akınlarının hacmine ve göç edenlerin karakteristik özelliklerine göre şekillenmiştir. En temelde Türkiye’nin göç akınlarına ilişkin pozisyonu ülkenin içinde bulunduğu tarihsel ve materyal koşullar çerçevesinde gelişmiştir. Ancak görülmektedir ki toplumsal cinsiyet ne göç edenlerin ve ne de devletin ihtiyaçları doğrultusunda genellikle bir öncelik alanı olarak görülmemiştir. Bu durum ise Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin çeperden merkeze gelmesinin önündeki sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik sınırları derinleştirmektedir. Sonuç olarak, Türkiye’de göç politikalarının göç eden nüfusun yarısına yakınına görmezden gelme ya da dikkate almama geleneğini sürdürdüğü söylenebilir.

Çalışmanın beşinci bölümünde incelenen raporların toplanma ve analiz yöntemi ile araştırma bulguları ortaya koyulmuştur. Bu amaçla, FDK’nın metodolojisi ve nitel araştırma metodu kullanılmıştır. Ek olarak, feminist duruş kuramının epistemolojisi, güçlü nesnellik, içerideki dışarıklık, marjinalleşme ve kesişimsellik ile metodoloji olmak üzere beş ana teması üzerinden yayımlanmış raporlar eleştirel bir çerçeveden incelenmiştir. Özel bir bilgi üretim aracı olan raporların araştırma verisi olarak kullanılmasındaysa bu raporların farklı aktörler tarafından çeşitli tarihlerde üretilmiş ve farklı plan, epistemoloji, metodoloji ve sosyal gerçekliği yorumlama gücüne sahip olması yatmaktadır. Bu açıdan, raporların üretilme süreçlerinin tarihsel maddi koşulları Türkiye’de Suriye durumunun nasıl geliştiğini anlamak açısından oldukça kritiktir. 2011-

2018 yılları arasındaki toplam 4561 sayfadan oluşan 87 raporlar analiz edilmiştir. Raporların en kısası 2, en uzununu ise 300 sayfadan oluşmaktadır. Rapor yoluyla bilgi üretim sürecine dâhil olan kurumlar beş kategori üzerinden incelenmiştir: 1- Devlet kurumları, 2- Uluslararası kuruluşlar, 3- Ulusal ve Uluslararası sivil toplum kuruluşları, 4- Akademi ve araştırma merkezleri, 5- Karma yapılar (Birden fazla kurum iş birliğindeki oluşumlara işaret etmektedir.). Böylece alandaki bilgi üretimine ilişkin genel trendler ve eğilimler anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Feminist duruş kuramı evrenselci ve özgü bilgi üretimini eleştirmekte ve kadın ile erkek arasındaki farklar kadar kadınlar arasındaki farklılıklarında dikkate alınmasını işaret etmektedir. Bu bağlamda, duruş kuramının epistemik öznesi marjinalize edilmiş gruptan oluşmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, yayımlanmış raporlarda Suriyeli kadınların araştırma öznesi olup olmadığına bakılmıştır. Sınırlı sayıda raporun Suriyeli kadını araştırma öznesi olarak ele aldığı, 87 rapor içerisinde 12 raporun açıkça Suriyeli kadın deneyimine odaklandığı ve ayrıca bir raporun ise Suriyeli seks işçilerinin deneyimine kadın ve LGBTİ merkezli yaklaştığı görülmüştür. Ek olarak, Suriyeli kadın için özel bir bölüme sadece beş raporda yer verilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, sadece araştırma öznelerine ve bilginin kaynağına bakıldığında bile Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin epistemolojik olarak marjinalize edildiğini söylemek mümkündür. Bu marginalize etme hali Suriyeli kadının araştırma öznesi olarak ele alınmaması, raporlarda görünmez olması ve deneyimlerinin farklılığının göz önünde bulundurulmamasına dayanmaktadır. Bu bulguya ek olarak, Suriyeli kadınlar arasındaki farklılıkların raporlarda nasıl ele alındığına bakılmıştır. Böylelikle farklı deneyimlere sahip olan öznenin feminist duruş kuramına göre çeşitli, heterojen ve farklılaşmış olduğuna işaret edilecektir. Yapılan inceleme sonucunda Suriyeli kadınların yaş, evlilik durumu, eğitim düzeyi ve hanehalkı yapısına göre farklılaştığı raporlarda dile getirilmiştir. Etnik kimlik, sağlık durumları, yaşam koşulları, ekonomik durumları ve iş hayatına katılım durumları ise Suriyeli kadınlar arasındaki diğer farklılıkların kaynağıdır.

Epistemolojik sorguya ek olarak, raporların bilgi üretim sürecindeki pozisyonları, bilgi üretim sürecindeki baskın kurumlar ve bilgi üretimini Türkiye bağlamında etkileyen

unsurlar güçlü nesnellik kavramlaştırması üzerinden okunmuştur. Kurumların amaçları ve misyonları ile fon sağlayıcıların öncelikleri üretilen bilginin niteliğini etkilemekte ve en temelde hangi bilginin üretildiğini belirlemektedir. Bilgi üretim süreçlerindeki dinamikleri analiz ederken fon sağlayıcılar ile bilgi üretimi arasındaki ilişki, kurumların amaç ve misyonları ile bilginin hangi yerel dikkate alınarak oluşturulduğu feminist duruş kuramı üzerinden analiz edilmiştir. Marjinalize olmuş grupların deneyimlerinden yola çıkarak bu grupların ihtiyaçlarına işaret eden bilgi üretim süreçlerine FDK vurgu yapmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bilgi üretim süreçlerinde marjinalize edilmiş grupların deneyimlerinden beslenmeyen bir araştırmanın gerçekliğin anlatısını sunmakta yetersiz olacağı savunulmaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle, ana akım kurumların ideolojisi marjinalleştirilmiş grupların ilgi, kültür, ihtiyaç, gelenek ve değerlerini görmezden gelmektedir. Bilgi ve güç arasındaki ilişkinin açığa çıkmasında fon sağlayıcılar ile bilgi üreten kurumlar arasındaki ilişki ele alınabilir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında Avrupa Birliği, Birleşmiş Milletler Birimleri ve İngiltere Büyükelçiliğinin toplumsal cinsiyete ve kadına duyarlı raporlar üretilmesine imkân sağladığı görülmektedir. Bununla birlikte, sadece fon sağlayıcılara bakılarak bu ilişkilerin açığa çıkması oldukça güç olup farklı kurumların işbirliği içerisinde yaptıkları araştırmaların ve hazırladıkları raporların güç ilişkilerinin açığa çıkmasını zorlaştırdığı aşikârdır. Bu noktada kurumların misyonları ve amaçları yol gösterici olabilmektedir. Kadın araştırma gruplarının, kadın hakları temelli sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ve Birleşmiş Milletler Birimlerinin hazırladığı raporlar toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri hesaba katılarak hazırlanmaktadır. Bilginin yerelliği ve konumlandırılmışlığını işaret etmek için ayrıca raporların kapsamlarına bakılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, başlangıç aşaması 2011-2014 yıllarını kapsamakta olup bu aşamada üretilen bilgi kamplara, komşu ülkelerdeki Suriyelilerin durumlarına ve sınır illerinde yaşayan Suriyelilere odaklanmaktadır. 2014'ten günümüze kadar uzanan süreci kapsayan dönemde ise Suriyelilerin kentlere yayılmasıyla birlikte kentli Suriyeliler, özellikle büyük şehirlerde konsantre olan Suriyeliler ve sınır illerinde yaşayan Suriyelilere odaklanılmıştır. Bazı raporlarda kentlerin tarihi, etnik dağılımı, demografik yapısı, politik yapısı ve kültürü dikkate alınarak Suriyelilerin durumuna ilişkin üretilen bilginin çeşitliliğine vurgu yapılmakta ve bu durum bize bilginin nasıl konumlandırılmış ve yerel olduğuna işaret

etmektedir. Diğer bir taraftan, Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin kısıtlı sayıdaki kurum tarafından üretilmesi kurumsal olarak Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin marginalize edildiğine işaret etmektedir. Çünkü raporların birçoğunda Suriyeli kadınlar araştırma öznesi olarak ele alınmamaktadır. Bilgi üretim mekanizmalarının karmaşık doğası ise güç ilişkilerinin analizini zorlaştırmaktadır.

Güçlü nesnellığe ek olarak, içerdeki dışarıklı kavramının Suriyeli kadınlar bağlamında geçerliliği olup olmadığı tartışılmıştır. Hem içeride hem de dışarıda olmaya ilişkin pozisyonları belirleyen ve raporlarda vurgulanan değişkenlere yer verilmiştir. Dil, etnik kimlik, kültür ve din ön plana çıkan unsurlar olup baskın ve marjinal pozisyonda kimlerin olacağını belirlemektedir. Bu açıdan Suriyeliler ve ev sahibi toplum ile Suriyeli kadınlar ve ev sahibi toplum arasındaki ilişkilere, çeşitli dinamiklere ve algılara bakılmıştır. Çok eşlilik, erken evlenme, şiddet ve yoksulluk Suriyeli kadınların dışsal olarak konumlandırıldığı alanlara örnek teşkil etmektedir. İçeride ve dışarıda olmanın derecesi ise bağlama, kent yapısına ve Suriyeli kadınların pozisyonuna göre sürekli inşa edilmektedir. Bu sebepten aynı gerçeklik farklı biçimlerde anlaşıp yorumlanmaktadır. Ayrıca içerdeki yapmayı sağlayacak mekanizmaların eksikliği sosyal izolasyon ve dışlanma ile sonuçlanmakta ve baskın kültürün çeperine Suriyeli kadınların konumlandırılmasına neden olmaktadır.

İçerdeki dışarıklı kavramına ek olarak, farklı tip marjinalliklerin kesişimselliğinin incelenen raporlardaki iz düşümlerine yer verilmiştir. Marjinalleşme kavramının analiz edilen raporlarda nasıl ele alındığı incelenmiştir. Çünkü FDK'ya göre marjinalleşme sadece bir dezavantaj değil yani sadece bir yoksunluk alanı değil aynı zamanda da bir direnme alanıdır. Suriyeli kadına ilişkin marjinalliğin yoksunluk alanı olarak kurulduğu rapor analizinde ortaya koyulmuştur. Fakat bu marjinallik aynı zamanda bir direnme ve yenilik alanı olarak bazı raporlarda ele alınmaktadır. Ancak bu raporların sayısı oldukça kısıtlıdır. Farklı formdaki marjinalliklerin kesiştiği ve bu bilgiye raporlarda yer verildiği de gözlemlenmiştir. Toplumsal cinsiyet, etnisite, kadın ve engellilik kesişimsel analizde kullanılmıştır. Raporların Suriyeliler arasındaki çeşitliliği tanıma oranları arttıkça kesişimsel analiz yapma ihtimallerinin de arttığı anlaşılmıştır.

Marjinalleşme incelemesine ek olarak raporların metodolojileri feminist duruş kuramının metodolojisi bağlamında incelenmiştir. Araştırmacı ve araştırılan arası ilişki ile araştırmaların araştırma öznesinin ne olduğu gibi temel sorular ışığında raporların varsayımı, veri toplama yöntemleri, örnekleme, araştırma sonuçlarının yorumlanma biçimi ve araştırma süreci analiz edilmiştir. Raporlarda çeşitli metodolojiler kullanılmış olup sadece nicel ya da sadece nitel araştırma yöntemlerine ek olarak melez metodolojilerde kullanılmıştır. Yapılan incelemede hanehalkı ve kanaat lideriyle yapılan görüşmelerde cinsiyete ilişkin yeterli bilgi verilmediği ve görüşmeciler bilgilerinin muğlak ifade edilmesi sebebiyle üretilen bilginin kimin bilgisi olduğunun belirsizleştirdiği tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca Suriyeli kadınların araştırma sürecinde sadece bir değişken olarak ele alınması metodolojik olarak kadın bilgisinin marjinalleştirildiğini göstermektedir.

Bu çalışmanın sonuncu bölümündeyseniz araştırmanın literatüre katkısına, kısıtlılıklarına ve ileriye dönük çalışmalar için önerilere yer verilmiştir. Raporlar yoluyla üretilen bilgiye ek olarak, diğer bilgi üretim pratiklerindeki kadın bilgisinin marjinalize edilme haline odaklanılmıştır. Bu sebeple, “uluslararası göç bilgisi” ve “Suriye’den Türkiye’ye yönelen kitlesel göç konusunda üretilmiş bilgi” incelenmiştir. Bununa birlikte, uluslararası göç teorilerine FDK uyumlaştırılmaya çalışılmış ve literatüre bu yönde katkı sağlamak hedeflenmiştir. Türkiye göç politikalarının ve Suriye realitesinin ele alınmasıyla alandaki bir devamlılık unsuruna; kadınların göç politikalarına dâhil edilmeyişine vurgu yapılarak literatürdeki zayıflıklar görünür kılınmaya çalışılmıştır. Araştırma sonuçları göstermektedir ki Suriyeliler hakkında üretilmiş genel raporlar Suriyeli kadınlar özelinde üretilmiş özel raporlara göre Suriyeli kadın bilgisini marjinalize etme eğilimindedir. Paradoksal bir şekil de Suriyeli kadınlar odağında üretilmiş raporlarında Suriyeli kadın bilgisini marjinalize etme riski vardır. Ek olarak, yayımlanan raporlarda Suriyeli kadın bilgisi epistemolojik, kurumsal ve metodolojik olarak marjinalize edilmektedir. Ancak bu marjinallik evrensel değil, aksine bağlamsal ve konumsaldır. Başka bir deyişle, Suriyeli kadın bilgisi bağlamsal ve konumsal olarak marjinalleştirilmektedir. Bağlamsallık, tarihsel ve maddi faktörlere işaret ederken; konumsallık sosyal, politik ve zamansal konumlar ile kurumlar da dâhil olmak üzere öznel ve öznelliklerine işaret etmektedir. Bu

noktada unutulmamalıdır ki bu çalışma sadece Suriyeliler üzerine yayımlanmış raporlarla sınırlıdır. Bu bağlamda, sadece incelenmiş 87 rapor üzerinden Suriyeli kadına ilişkin bilgi sunmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, raporlarda bilgi edinimine ilişkin belirtilen çeşitli kısıtlılıklar dolaylı olarak bu çalışmanın da kısıtlılıklarını oluşturmaktadır.

İleriye dönük olarak ise Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin Türkiye’deki cinsiyet rejimi de dikkate alınarak analiz edilmesi, toplumsal cinsiyete duyarlı politika ve projelerinin geliştirilmesi ve diğer bilgi üretim pratikleri yoluyla bu çalışma bulgularının genişletilmesi önerilmektedir. En nihayetinde Suriyeli kadına ilişkin ve Suriyeli kadın hakkında daha fazla çalışma yapılması Suriyeli kadın bilgisinin çeperden merkeze alınmasına katkı sağlayacaktır.

C. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : SÜNER KOÇ
Adı / Name : Eda
Bölümü / Department : Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Anabilim Dalı

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) :

Marginalization of Women's Knowledge: The Case of Syrian Women in Turkey

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master ☒ Doktora / PhD ☐

1. Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide. ☒
2. Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of two years. * ☐
3. Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for period of six months. * ☐

* Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir.

A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.

Yazarın imzası / Signature

Tarih / Date