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CONTACT BRIDGE ACROSS THE BORDER: SYRIAN WOMEN REFUGEES DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Dilşad Turan
115706002

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emre Erdoğan

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SINIR BOYU TEMAS KÖPRÜSÜ: SURİYELİ KADIN MÜLTECİLERİN SOSYAL TEMAS BAĞLAMINDA SÖYLEM ANALİZİ

Dilşad Turan
115706002

Signature

Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emre Erdoğan ..... Istanbul Bilgi University
Member of the Jury: Prof. Dr. Pınar Uyan Semerci ..... Istanbul Bilgi University
Member of the Jury: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şakir Dinçşahin ..... Hasan Kalyoncu University

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ITT	Integrated Threat Theory
SCT	Social Contact Theory
SIT	Social Identity Theory
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DGMM	Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management
UNHCR	United Nations High Commisioner for Refugees
AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Authority
TECs	Temporary Education Centers
RASIM	Refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants

ABSTRACT

In this research, the purpose is to understand the Syrian perception through Turkish people via social relationships. The connections between Syrians perception of local people and the level of conducted relationships between groups is examined. By these connections, social structures and constructed perceptions are analyzed via breaking and intersection points of narratives, on the basis of feeling of threat, self-identification, conducted acquaintance and transformations of family/gender structures. So, contrarily to the literature on minority/majority group research, this study focused on minority society's perception. Subsequently, discourses of Syrians are analyzed to see how narratives reconstruct and deconstruct the existing social structures.

For this study, 19 Syrian women in Istanbul are contacted to make in-depth interviews and their narratives are analyzed via the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on the roots of Social Contact Theory (SCT) and Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) from migrated community perspective. In literature, these theories are generally practiced from host community perspective, this research has focused on refugees' perspectives.

In results, it is deduced that Syrian refugees are not in a successful contact with locals, accordingly they feel threats and prejudices from Turkish people. In addition, gender structure and the roles of family are gradually being transformed and deconstructed. In other words, by immigration, the features of Syrian culture are also migrated and transformed via host geography's cultural characteristics. Accordingly, it is finalized that acculturation occurred through both integration and separation according to Berry's acculturation schemas.

Keywords: Syrian women refugees, Migration, Critical Discourse Analysis, Integrated Threat Theory, Social Contact Theory

ÖZET

Bu araştırmada amaç, Suriyeli mülteciler ve Türkiyeliler arasındaki gruplar arası iletişim dinamiklerini anlamaktır. Suriyelilerin Türkiyeli insanlara bakışı yardımıyla gruplar arasındaki ilişkilerin düzeyi incelenmiştir. Söylemlerin kırılma noktalarından ve paralelliklerden, söylemlerle inşaa edilen sosyal yapılar analiz edilmiştir. Bu analiz, tehdit algısı, kendini pozisyonlama hali, kurulan ilişkiler ve değişen toplumsal cinsiyet/aile rolleri parametreleri üzeriden kurulmuştur. Azınlık grup çalışmalarında akademik yazının aksine bu çalışma, azınlık grup perspektifinden önyargıları ve negatif pozisyonlanmaları anlamaya yoğunlaşmıştır. Kısacası, Suriyeli mültecilerin anlatıları üzerinden sosyal yapıların nasıl yeniden inşaa edildiği ya da nasıl yapı-bozumuna uğradığı tartışılmıştır.

Bu çalışmada Istanbul'da ikamet eden 19 Suriyeli kadınla derinlemesine mülakat yöntemi ile görüşmeler yapılmış ve bu görüşmelerin dökümünden elde edilen anlatılar ile Eleştirel Söylem Analizi yöntemi kullanılarak söylem analizi yapılmıştır. Analizlerde Sosyal Temas Kuramı ve Bütünleşik Tehdit Teorisi'nin temel prensiplerinden yararlanılmıştır. Akademik yazında bu kuramlar çoğunlukla yerel grup perspektifinden yazılırken, bu çalışmada Suriyeliler üzerinden okunacaktır.

Sonuç olarak, Suriyeli mültecilerin, yerel halk ile başarılı iletişim kuramadığı ve bununla ilişkili olarak Suriyelilerin Türkiyelilere karşı önyargıları olduğu ve yerel halkan tehdit hissettiği sonucu çıkarılmıştır. Öte yandan mevcut aile yapılarının ve toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin zamanla dönüştüğü ve yapı-bozumuna uğramakta olduğu analiz edilmiştir. Başka bir deyişle, göç ile beraber taşınan kültürler, gelinen coğrafyanın kültürü ile etkileşimi sonucu dönüşmektedir. Dolayısıyla "Berry'nin kültürlenme şemasında teorize ettiği 'entegrasyon' ve 'ayrı durma' halleri olduğu gözlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriyeli kadın mülteciler, Göç, Eleştirel Söylem Analiz, Sosyal Temas Kuramı, Bütünleşik Tehdit Teorisi

INTRODUCTION

This research attempts to focus on the life structure transformations of Syrian refugees after they migrated Turkey. To achieve these, intergroup relationship dynamics of Syrian and Turkish people aimed to handle. Via these dynamics, social structures of Syrians will be examined, and it will be discussed that whether their 'migrated social structures and cultures' are transforming and reconstructed or not. So, the study will investigate the questions of how the relationships of Syrians with Turkish people, do Syrians establish (and is there desire to attempt) successful contacts with locals, what they are thinking about Turkish people etc. By the answers of these questions, social structures will be discussed.

It is important for academic world to study on this topic. First of all, Syrian crisis has impact on approximately all the countries' inner balances. Among them, Turkey, is one of the highest Syrian refugee populated countries which hosts approximately 3.5 million migrants from Syria, so to overcome this huge mass of Syrian migrants' governance is not easy for any states (Uyan Semerci and Erdoğan, 2018). Accordingly, Turkey hosts both refugees and its own social issues. Hence, to study on Syrian immigration is valuable in Turkish literature.

Furtherly, even if migrants and locals are living altogether, there is a border between Syria and Turkey territories which creates cultural borders (Uyan Semerci and Erdoğan, 2018). too, so for Syrians it is not easy to adapt the life in Turkey as members minority group.

On the other hand, as some research shows, due to the economic and symbolic threats, polarization (creates inequalities for subaltern groups) and negative attitudes between locals and Syrians exist (Stephan and Stephan, 1996). To analyze the reasons and outcomes of this polarization and the structures concretize the negative attributions are the main concern of this research.

In the scope of in-group and out-group conflict, Stephan (2000) and Pettigrew (1998) studied on intergroup relationships including threat perception which is theorized in ITT. Different characteristics of groups and the discourses' institutional constructions create anxiety between group members and this anxiety prevents group members to contact with each other which reconstruct the boundaries between groups again and again like vicious cycle. The situation of Syrian refugees and locals in Turkey might be evaluated as an example of mentioned situation.

Allport (1954) on the other hand, studied on improvement of social relationships between polarized groups and theorized as SCT. Via this theory, many researches are conducted and resulted in positive ways. Threat perception is crucial for SCT since unsuccessful contact situation feeds prejudices which is important for Syrians and Turkish residents. In migration studies, research findings on intergroup contact revealed that successful contacts eliminate biases and unfavorable attitudes (Ward & Masgoret, 2008, Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

On the other hand, studies from ITT and SCT mostly focuses on the perspective of majority or privileged groups. In this study, as a subaltern group, Syrian refugees will be the focal point. It will be tried to give out a sound of threat perception of Syrians and its bringing constructed separative mechanisms.

In the second chapter, the situation of Syrian migrants in Turkey will be explained including the explanation of protection status and demographic information. This chapter aims to give the reader conceptual understanding of Syrian refugees' situation with statistical knowledge to sense the possible outcomes of mass migration flow. In the next chapter, SIT, ITT and SCT will be explained in order to foundation of the theoretical substructure of the study; in other words, to give the aspect of the author. Then, to understand the social constructions on the basis of gender, an abstract of gender theory will be explained and intersection of gender and migration will be stated since for the study, in-depth interviews are made by Syrian women.

Before to analyze the narratives of interviewees, the techniques of analysis will be explained which roots from CDA and Discourse-Historical Approach. After the process of research is explained, analysis and discussion will be stated.

1. CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

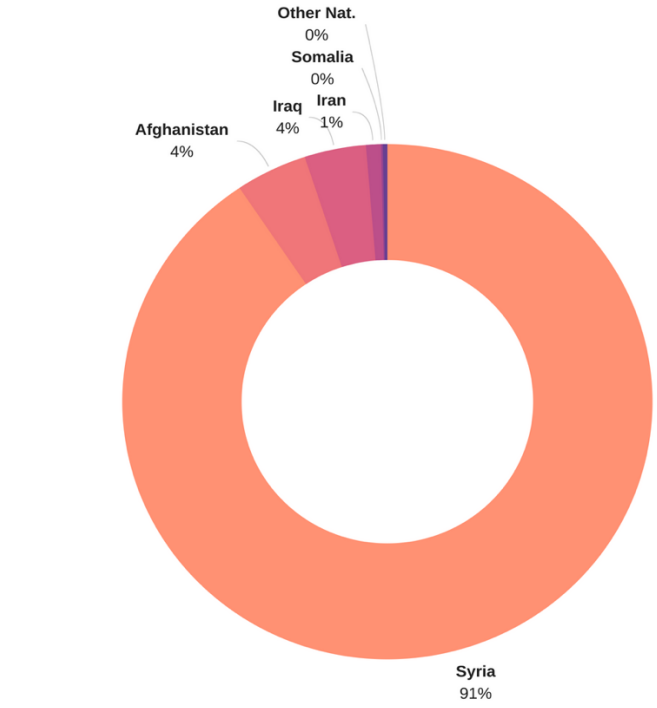
Since the beginning of the history, immigration is a phenomenon and in today's perspective it is multifaceted economically, politically, sociologically and psychologically (Karpat and Sönmez, 2003). According to United Nations definition, migration is not temporary mobility, immigrant is the one who migrates in order to come up in the world by economic and political reasons (Yılmaz, 2006).

In this chapter, contextual background of migration in Turkey will be explained by emphasizing on Syrian migration flow within its consequent position. The current protection status of Syrians and the rights of status provided in Turkey will be conducted and the issues of Syrian migrants in Turkey on education, labor world and social life will be discussed by the data in literature.

1.1. Migration Flow to Turkey

Turkey is immigration-receiving country from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Africa and mostly Syria. Most of the migrants coming Turkey as transition place and then apply to UNHCR for resettlement procedures. According to UNHCR 2018 March report, number of immigrants is Turkey is approximately 3.9 million and 3.5 million of them are from Syria because of war. The distribution of migrants in Turkey on the basis of emigrant countries is seen in figure 1 below:

Figure 1.1: Distribution of Migrants in Turkey by Countries



For Turkey settlement law, migrants are the ones who migrates alone or in mass adhere to the descendants of Turkish and Turkish culture. On the basis of Syrians, they cannot be evaluated as immigrants by this law ("T.C. Resmî Gazete", 2006). Due to this reason, in this research, "Syrian refugees" will be used irrespectively refugee status meaning by Turkish law.

As international laws, Turkey acceded to Convention on the Status of Refugees in 1951. Definition of refugee in Geneva Convention is:

> *"A person who owing to a 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." (Section 1A, 1951)

Turkey as a party to Geneva Conventions, made reservation for some matters like geographical limitation for refugee status. As geographical limitation, only the citizens of Council of Europe are acknowledged in refugee status while other countries' citizens are accepted as asylum seekers ("T.C. Resmî Gazete", 2006) Syrian migrants' status were regulated by made reservation of Geneva Convention and their status were "guests" by regulations in April 2011 (Kirisci and Salooja, 2014) due to the hesitation of refugee status' broad given rights. By this regulation, Turkish government aimed to decide about big mass of migrants by its own mechanism hence legal status for Syrian migrants are arranged by Turkish government's own rules.

1.2. History of migration from Syria to Turkey

Syrian crisis has begun in March of 2011 and consequently forced migration occurred from Syria to neighbor countries which one is Turkey (Ferris, Kirişçi, and Shaikh, 2013). In April 2011, Turkey opened border gates for Syrian migrants (Kirisçi, 2014; Orhan and Gündoğar, 2015) and "open door policy" of Turkey proceeded by guest status for Syrian though International refugee laws do not include such status (Ihlamur Öner, 2013). UNHCR reported the statistics about Syrian migrants in Turkey in which stated that 170, 912 people migrated till the end of 2012 (UNHCR, 2015).

By the end of 2013, especially after chemical weapon attack crisis (Syria Chemical Attack, 2013), Syrian people migration became in mass and the number has risen to 560,129 (UNHCR Syria Regional Refugee Response, 2015)

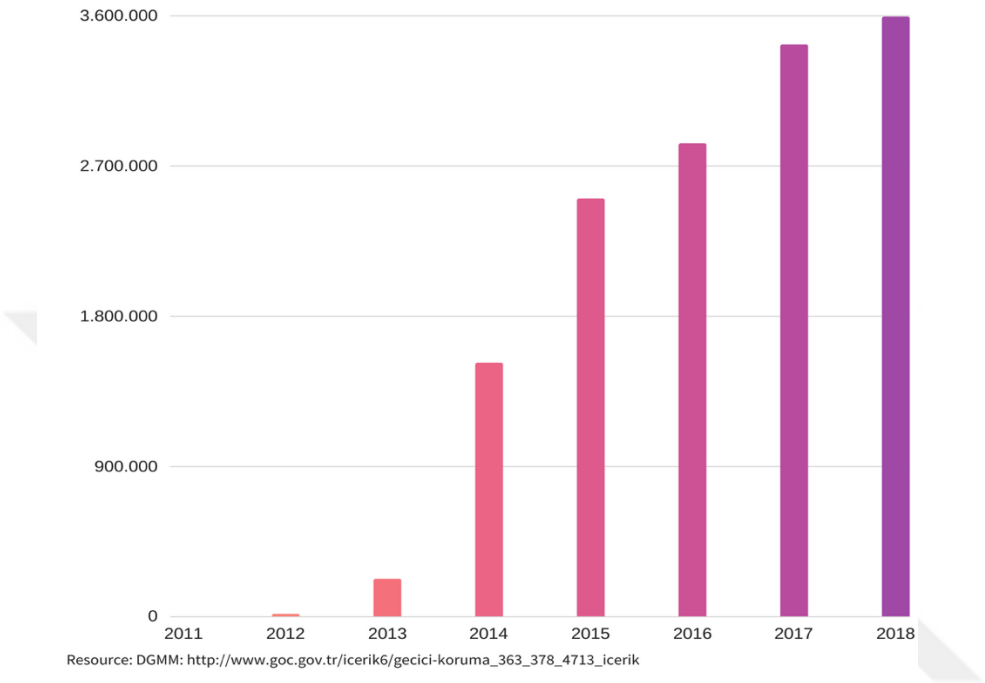
By 2014, because of the elevated number of Syrian migrants in Turkish territory, debates on status and the rights of migrants ended with given "temporary protection" under the Turkish Law on Foreigners and International Protection

(Uyan Semerci and Erdoğan, 2014). The Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) is in charge of the procedure of all asylum seekers and became also responsible for temporary protection status. Temporary Protection Status is for all individuals who comes from Syria to seek Turkish authorities' protection and this status holders are not deported under normal conditions if they do not want to return their own will. The definition of temporary protection status under Article 91 of the Law No.6458 on Foreigners and International Protection is:

> "temporary protection that may be provided to foreigners, who were forced to leave their countries and are unable to return to the countries they left and arrived at or crossed our borders in masses to seek urgent and temporary protection and whose international protection requests cannot be taken under individual assessment ; to determine proceedings to be carried out related to their reception to Turkey, their stay in Turkey, their rights and obligations and their exits from Turkey, to regulate the measures to be taken against mass movements, and the provisions related to the cooperation between national and international organizations."

As the border neighbor of Syria, migration flow through Turkey is crucial issue. As the last report of UNHCR (2017) stated that Syrian refugees approximate number in Turkey is more than 3 million and shares the burden with other neighbor countries which are Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt. In the middle east region including Turkey, 5 million Syrian refugees are spread, and more than half are the guests of Turkey. Distribution of given Temporary Protection Status to Syrian elevated as time goes on which is seen in graph 1 below.

Figure 1.2: Distribution of Syrians Under Temporary Protection by Years



For Syrians under Temporary Protection Status, AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Management Authority) is charged with support of other authorities like Foreign Affairs, The Ministries of Internal Affairs, The Red Crescent etc. Syrian refugees are settled in big cities like Istanbul, Ankara, Adana, Hatay, Gaziantep in urban sides as well as refugee temporary shelters and container cities (AFAD, 2014). Migrants under Temporary Protection Status have rights to access education, health system, social support mechanisms, labor market and psychological support (UNHCR, nd.)

1.3. Socio-economic and Demographic Status of Syrians in Turkey

Up to 3.5 million, in total 228.968 Syrians are living in 21 refugee camps and others prevailed to approximately all the cities of Turkey. In other words, 93% percent of Syrian refugees are residing in cities and rural areas within Turkish people.

According to 2017 data, approximately 516.000 Syrian refugees are registered under temporary protection in Istanbul which is the highest populated city of Syrians. This number includes only people have ongoing protection status from Istanbul and with unregistered refugees, 600.000 Syrians are estimated living in Istanbul (Erdoğan, 2017).

According to DGMM 2017 numbers, 1 million and 10 thousand children are at the ages between 5 to 17 who are supposed to enrolled in school by Turkish laws. 60% of the children are enrolled in schools including both public schools and Temporary Education Centers (TECs). On the other hand, the problem with education is that the proportion of class levels is high for 1st and 2nd degree and the ratio is decreasing drastically.

Sex distribution of Syrians under temporary protection is as 53.53% men and 46.46% women whilst between the ages of 19-29 the ratio is like 56.96% men and 43.03% women.

The number of newborn Syrian babies has also big impact on the statistics. According to the Ministry of Health 2017 data, average number in a day is 306 which means in one year 110.000 newborn Syrian babies exist.

The drastic change of the life of Syrians affected their life standards and Turkish citizens' also. Due to this high number of 'guests' since 2011, education system, labor work, political stability is also affected in Turkey.

First of all, due to war environment and migration, many children education is interrupted. In 2017-2018 school term, approximately 400.000 Syrian children are enrolled in public schools and this is the one third of children at school ages. Other one third is enrolled in Temporary Education Centers (TECs) legally opened by The Ministry of Education Circular 2014/21 on Education Services for Foreign Nationals". And the last one third are not enrolled school.

The children in public school system are facing adaptation and performance problems due to language problem and also, they are exposing discrimination which results in increasing number of drop out even if the integration plans of Turkish Ministry of Education. Children who are not enrolled to school and the drop out numbers indicates that approximately half of the Syrian children are the victims and may be regarded as “the lost generations”.

Labor world for Syrians also pose problems to sustain their lives. In 2016, the right to work for temporary protection is identified however the number of Syrians have work permit is almost only 10.000 in 1 million; in other words, 1% of Syrians in work force is registered. Their salaries are quite low, working conditions are tough with no prestige and they do not have any rights against violations.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section, theoretical background of research will be established. To understand the dynamics of Syrian threat perception, it is important to understand how social categories are established on Syrian refugee background and how participants identify or position themselves. This research tries to conduct a relationship between social contact level within intra-group members and threat perception/prejudices towards each other.

First of all, Social Identity Theory will be explained to acquire the parameters of identity formations and its categorization/labelling outcomes, then via identified social categories, Integrated Threat Theory will be discussed to conduct connection with social categories' dismissive features and, lastly Social Contact Theory will be provided to contact effects on reducing dismissive attitudes and feeling of threat.

Additionally, the research focuses on Syrian women participants and so gender is an important parameter for a comprehensive analysis. Intersectionalist approach in gender studies will be provided in the last part of this chapter and the overlapping points of migration and gender will be discussed based upon feminization of migration.

2.1. Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986) explains individuals general tendency to identify themselves in a social category and designing of attitudes, behaviors and associations according to these identity schemas (Reed et al. 2012). In cognitive perspective, people adjust their patterns with regard to similarities of belonged social group and differences of outer group features (Bhattacharya and Sen 2003). In affective perspective, commitment is the key feature for social identity, people behaves in compliance with their positive feelings and attachments to group which they are belong. (Bagozzi and Dholakia 2002). In evaluative social identity perspective, others point of view for group members is an

important element related to see self-worth (Ellemers 1999, Hogg and Turner 1985) so people are tended to adopt prestige of group success to have a high status and feeling of being successful (Mael and Ashforth 1992; Arnett, German, and Hunt 2003).

Social Identity Theory induces three major branches, which are social categorization, social identification and social comparison. When people place themselves in a group and identify themselves with respect to that schema, automatically there is self-categorization (Turner et al. 1987), accordingly intersecting with social identification. Individuals identify themselves in a group and others as out-group which results in social comparison with in and out group. Thereby individuals attribute positive features to in-group and negative features to out-group so positive self-identity is constituted (Tajfel, 1981).

In consideration of all aforementioned information, Social Identity Theory offers some perspectives for intergroup relations. In the immigration studies framework, it is important to understand how and why local and migrant people perceives each other as threat and how both unconnected and hostile behaviors between these group be solved. Social Identity Theory is practical theory to see public opinion on migrant studies that is examined by a few scholars (Citrin et al. 1990; Wright et al. 2012; Byrne and Dixon 2013) and both Integrated Threat Theory and Social Contact Theory will be the baseline for this study to understand how Syrian migrants perceive Turkish people as threat and whether there is real contact between these groups.

2.2. Integrated Threat Theory

Integrated Threat Theory's key issues are intergroup relations and intergroup contact between members. Pettigrew (1998) and Stephan (2000) investigated on the intergroup relationship dynamics and how the members or groups perceive outgroup characteristics as threat. Threat perception influences attitudes and shapes actions like passing over other beliefs and properties and so characters are perceived

as threat. This threat perception comes out especially when sources to cover both in and out group members life into question since individuals feel like outgroups are threats for sources which may be money, materials, knowledge or power. Against to these material and nonmaterial resources limitation, competition occurs, and people try to hold these resources for their own (Pettigrew, 1998; Stephan, 2000).

The aforementioned threat perception level changes according to intergroup contact, intra-group identity and status inequalities (Stephan & Renfro 2002). These groups can be gender, nationality, race or gender identity according to the context (Stephan, 2000). The feeling of threat shapes emotions and accordingly behaviors of others so it may lead to negative results like anger, humiliation, feeling of insecurity and fear which may result in conflict environment which then reveals reducing empathy towards out-group irrespectively of fact based or not. Therefore, prejudices are consolidated (Saatçi & Avcıkurt, 2015). Integrated Threat Theory's main concern is to give meaning of this perception of threat and to understand the size of it.

Theory defines four main themes for threat which are realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative opinions and intergroup anxiety (Stephan and Stephan, 1996).

2.2.1. Realistic Threats

In realistic threats, concrete interests are the main themes as like economical resources, materials, houses, occupation opportunities, healthcare materials etc. and conflict occurs due to the feelings of the instinct of these resources possession. Group members see other groups as threats of physical welfare and this feeling creates negative behaviors and discrimination (Stephan, et. al., 2000). The fear of loss of the limited resources by outgroup creates competition due to the desire of hold in-group interests (Gonzales et. al., 2008).

2.2.2. Symbolic Threats

If the threat is underlying the norm, belief or value of outgroup due to the cultural differences, it is called symbolic threat. Out-group new norms are perceived as opposite and the group members feel the possibility of losing their norms and values (Ward and Berno, 2011; Gonzales et. al., 2008). This fear creates hatred feelings and the belief of being superior as their part of the groups (Stephan, et. al., 2000) and the desire to show their negative attitudes exists. Some findings show related to symbolic threat by migrant studies in which minorities perceive this kind of threats and so manifest more negative attitudes (Gonzales et. al., 2008; Esses, Hodson, & Dovidio, 2003). As a result, in order to protect in-group own culture, negative behaviors may be exhibited against out-group.

2.2.3. Negative Opinions

Stereotypes are argued in negative opinions, it has not directly but indirectly effects on threat because stereotypes create expectation from out-groups and so expectations lead to prejudices. When these expectations are negatively, the group prepares itself as if out-group has negative attitudes like violence, hostility etc. (Stephan et al., 1998). On the other hand, stereotypes as a threat has impact on realistic and symbolic threat also due to stereotypes are the underlying mechanism for them (Stephan et al., 2002; Curse, Stoop, & Schalk, 2007).

2.2.4. Intergroup Anxiety

Intergroup anxiety comes out as the feelings of fear and being excluded; members of group generally have the feeling of inadequacy and they perceive insufficient to themselves so cannot have successful interactions with outgroup members (Ward and Berno, 2011This feeling of inadequacy reveals tension and stress during interaction with others (Plant and Devine, 2003On the other hand, existing anxiety leads conflict due to negative attitudes hence causes discriminative behaviors (Curse, Stoop and Schalk, 2007).

Integrated threat theory explained above clarifies the effects and underlying mechanism of feeling threats and prejudices. It emphasizes the key elements of intergroup conflict and inequalities. Negative feelings induce unsuccessful of less contact experiences and so lack of communication feeds prejudices again like a vicious cycle (Abelson and Gaffney, 2008) So, this study suggests examining Social Contact Theory in light of integrated threat theory information. In immigration framework, findings support intergroup contact for favorable results like decreased anxiety and to have more positive attitudes (Ward & Masgoret, 2008; McLaren, 2003; Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

2.3. Social Contact Theory

Intergroup contact as idea resides in the literature by the midst of 1930 with the ideas of Zeligs and Hendrickson (1933) which states the reducing effects of bias in intergroup contact. They argued the positive correlation between claimed acquaintanceship with cross races and the social tolerance. Then on 1940s, F. Tredwell Smith has pivoted intergroup contact idea (1943) in his book called *An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Toward the Negro* on the example of Black leaders in Harlem on the basis of inter-racial social contact. In this study, students experienced the inter-racial contact schemas showed less negative attitudes on black people. Other findings also supported intergroup contact idea like the study of American soldiers after World War 2 analysis which concluded that white soldiers in the mixed combat troops have more positive attitudes to black soldiers (Stouffer, 1949; Singer, 1948).

In addition of these observations, Lett (1945) emphasized in a conference in the University of Chicago that sharing experiences and having common purposes in order to have mutual horizon. Also, Bramfield (1946) accomplished that ‘where people of various cultures and races freely and genuinely associate, there tensions and difficulties, prejudices and confusions, dissolve; where they do not associate, where they are isolated from one another, there prejudice and conflict grow like a disease’ (p. 245).

After all these assumptions, Pettigrew's theory of contact started to get in its shape (Pettigrew, 2000) Wiliams (1947) wrote a book, *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*, and created some hypothetic techniques to advance intergroup contact and explained its potential profits on the basis of intergroup relations. Sherif et al (1954) studied on a group in a conflict field in Oklahama and resulted that a common goal, subsequently cooperation, is needed to improve relationships and to decrease conflict. They achieve these findings via implementing a set of activities both competitive and cooperative; so, it was concluded that it was not enough to conduct a simple and neutral intergroup contact.

As a result of all these findings, Allport (1954, 1958) comprised his Contact Hypothesis and then stated four prerequisite features to have an exact intergroup contact so to minimize conflict which are (1) equal status within the contact situation; (2) intergroup cooperation; (3) common goals; and (4) support of authorities, law, or custom (Pettigrew, 1998).

In 2000, Pettigrew and Tropp published contact hypothesis implementation analysis of study results and deduced that contact hypothesis parameters serve have strong signs to reduce biases between group members not only for the majorities but also for the minorities. By conducted relationship with contact and bias, Allport Contact Hypothesis formulation is developed in three matters: (1) to test and check Allport's prerequisite features, (2) to mediate mechanisms by creating new processes and (3) to conduct the ways of generalization of changed attitudes from the small group to the belonged identity (Allport, 1954, 1958).

2.3.1. Prerequisite conditions of contact

Allport (1954, 1958) identified and studied on some prerequisite conditions which are assistive norms for his formulation on contact hypothesis. One of them is to conduct an equal status before the groups are starting to contact (Brewer & Kramer, 1985) in which it eases to have less bias. And also, during to contact it is also important to have equal situation which leads to cooperative interdependence

(Blanchard, Weigel, & Cook, 1975) and cooperative learning (Slavin, 1985) between the groups.

Another prerequisite condition for successful contact is the chance to develop personal acquaintanceship by supporting familiarity which gives opportunity to personal information processing connected less from their social category (Miller, 2002). Negative attitudes, anxiety and stereotypes are diminished due to personalization of these relationships and so monist perspectives are spoilt between the groups, elevated acquaintances change perceptions of intergroup heterogeneous stereotypic views through homogenous body (Amir, 1976; Brewer & Miller, 1984).

In addition, Pettigrew (1997) found out that intergroup members relationship has effects on developing inner contact consequently diminishes bias in substantial amount. By friendship, bias in social categories are breakdown, successful contact is established, intergroup relations are developed, and negative stereotypes are distrusted (Herek & Capitanio, 1996).

Furthermore, all prerequisites aforecited are based on cooperation and interaction rise. Common goals are another feature to increase intergroup contact according to some findings as promoter function (Chu & Griffey, 1985), to have a common goal leads cooperation between group members and so supports successful contact (Landis, Hope, & Day, 1984).

2.3.2. Mediating mechanisms

Prerequisites conditions explained above explicit the culture medium for successful intergroup interaction. Mediating mechanisms offer an insight into underlying inner phases and point out psychological needs & returns for breaking down negative perspectives between outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Across the years, some potential mediating mechanisms studied onto prerequisites conditions so as to understand and achieve transition through positive relationships which are 2.1) intergroup functional relations, 2.2) behavioral factors,

2.3) affective reactions between groups, and 2.4) ingroup/outgroup cognitive responses.

2.3.2.1. Functional relations

Sherif et al. (1961) classic functional relations view, cooperative actions between outgroup members lead positive perspectives whilst competitional actions produce negative attitudes. Competition between intergroup members feeds negative stereotypes, attitudes and biases. Positive interdependence triggers to eliminate biases and so favorable thoughts and feelings come out (Worchel, 1986). Instrumental Model of Group Conflict (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Arm- strong, 2001), Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Campbell, 1965;) and Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) also criticize the crucial effects of positive and negative interdependent factors on intergroup contact on the basis of stirring favorable and unfavorable attitudes.

These aforementioned functional relation approach has examined through changing attitudes by Brewer & Miller (1984) and Miller & Davidson- Podgorny (1987) and they deduced that cooperation and positive interdependent factors have beneficial effects on associating behaviors with outgroup members; in other words, this factor promotes positive contacts. Consequently, it became a significant point for next evidences as transition of attitudes on the bases of behavioral factors, affective reactions between groups, and ingroup/outgroup cognitive responses.

2.3.2.2. Behavioral factors

Existing successful intergroup contact conduces toward transition of intergroup norms via acquiescence initiating by members and promote generalization (Pettigrew, 1998). Generalization in here starts from positive intergroup contacts, leads to acceptance and other behavioral schemas changes by time, as a result intergroup contact becomes favorable instead of unfavorable. Favorable attitudes affect psychological schemas and develops balance cognitively (Miller & Brewer, 1986).

2.3.2.3. Affective factors

Affective factors as mediators are studied by Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) on the basis of the feeling of bias. They pointed out the roles of emotions in intergroup contact; the contact shapes itself via affective reactions. Negative affective patterns reveal anxiety and stereotypes get stronger accordingly creates unsuccessful contacts and distrust through outer group members. And vice versa, positive affective patterns diminish anxiety and so successful contacts are established (Islam & Hew- stone, 1993).

Empathy is one the factors on positive attitudes which is related to promoting intergroup contact. Empathy can be increased via successful intergroup contact and hence biases and negative attitudes are diminished. Members have more favorable feelings via empath in which biases are decreased naturally. Additionally, regardless of the personal feelings towards someone, empathy gives some motives to people that triggers them emotionally to behave with less negative prejudice. As a result, empathy promotes to invest for others and develop to behave through others welfare (Batson, 1991).

2.3.2.4. Cognitive factors

Learning new information and social representation are two elements of cognitive factors.

First of all, Pettigrew (1998) explains the importance of 'learning about others' to emphasize intergroup contact efficiency on the basis of eliminating bias. Stereotypes are demolished by individual relations which give chance to construct new associations purified from negative stereotyped perspectives (Russin, 2000). Additionally, to learn more information about outgroup individuals eludes unpredictability; eases to contact others without discomfort originates from uncertainty hence the fear of communication is reduced (Crosby, Bromley, & Saxe, 1980). On the other hand, to get knowledge on the cultural entities about outgroup members has another impact on diminishing bias by awareness of inequality

opportunity between societies, so individuals may distinguish unfair treatments which leads to decrease negative attitudes (Stephan & Stephan, 1999).

Secondly, social representations which has findings from Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) in intergroup bias. Social categorization defines individuals as group identities, so it leads to favoring ingroup members and unfavoring outgroup members emotionally (Otten & Moskowitz, 2000). Emotional bias increases to memorize more positive sides of belonged cycle and vice versa for outgroup; as a result, less contact and less interdependence through ingroup acquired (Howard & Rothbart, 1980; Dovidio et al., 1997). Based on this social categorization bias corroboration effects, 3 approaches are expanded and practiced which are *decategorization*, *recategorization*, and *mutual intergroup differentiation*.

In order to breakdown in cycle boundaries, Wilder (1986) underlined *decategorization* and emphasized individualistic representations instead of collective intergroup actions. To get knowledge of outgroup members not based on social group identities but on the basis of individuals brings *personalization*, in consequence of category itself is not a separative function anymore. So, foreknowledge about outgroup category is not a baseline for communication and this triggers to accept outgroup members in an unrestricted manner (Marcus-Newhall, Miller, Holtz, & Brewer, 1993). Subsequently, Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) explains *recategorization* process in which membership representations transumes from separate groups to single unit. Positive attitudes through ingroup members processed to general by motivating ingroup members to intake outgroup members (Allport, 1954, 1958; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000).

Acquired common group identity by *decategorization* and *recategorization* processes needs to be processed to be sustainable in order not to transform positive distinctiveness' between members (Hewstone, 1996). In this point, *The Mutual*

Inter-group Differentiation Model (Hewstone & Brown, 1986) structures and strengthen the contact process via cooperative actions. Common goals are improved for both outgroup and ingroup members and so positive interdependence can be developed so as to sustain positive distinctiveness via cooperation (Deschamps & Brown, 1983).

All aforementioned representations may be sequential processes to eliminate bias between groups and may operate as combined (Pettigrew, 1998; Hewstone, 1996). In general, *recategorization* may create *personalization* process via getting new information about individuals which strengths intimate and different social interaction schema (Dovidio et al., 1997; Nier, Gaert- ner, Dovidio, Banker, Ward & Rust, 2001). Subsequently, *decategorization* may create new identity via common group actions which may breakdown the prejudice chamber and creates interdependent relationships (Pettigrew, 1998). And *The Mutual Inter-group Differentiation Model may strength the existing relationships and make them sustainable* (Hewstone & Brown, 1986).

2.3.3 Generalization

As third prerequisite feature of Allport to achieve successful contact and so reducing bias is *generalization*. Intergroup contact is furthered and promoted to reduce bias from particular group to out-and-outer (Allport, 1954, 1958) via *salient categories* (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000; Hewstone and Brown, 1986), and *personalization* processes (Miller, 2000).

First of all, resuming group representation salience is crucial for generalization. Positive contact attitudes are needed to be spread from personal contacts to intergroup actions. Existing personal communications are linked to outgroup members and improved via association of personal contacts so interpersonal experiences are transposed to group as whole. By making positive contact experiences of interpersonal contact to union contact schema, group representations become salient. (Hewstone and Brown, 1986).

Secondly, personalization of representations derives more positive generalization actions through outgroup individuals (Miller, 2002). Friendships from outgroup members as personalized situation eliminate intergroup biases with the mechanism of increased tolerance of outgroup patterns and hence decategorization occurs. Personalization and category salience are needed to be compatible, furtherly without category memberships are defined and become salient, generalization may not actualize (Miller, 2002).

2.4. Feminization of Migration

Gender is one of the primary things in migration studies since gender mirrors main themes according to everyday life practices. Gender in social lives makes transparent the possible reasons of constraints and opportunities and so power relations.

> *"Gender is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather it is an identity tenuously constituted in time an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts. Further, gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gender self.* "(Judith Butler 1988:519)

As Buttler states, gender is an identity which is socially constructed and repeat itself by everyday practices under social norms. Acts reconstruct identities of individuals as a norm base and not in a preferential perception. So constructed gender frames everyday life actions which gives a concept for us to analyze power relations and social processes behind it.

Social relations via construction of gender roles and beliefs pose biases between women and men which reflect the instutional practices like in education or politics

(Boyd 2006) moreover it creates social inequalities. This inequality is a core element that frames migration models (Parrado and Flippen 2005:606).

2.5. Women, Gender and Migration

As in most fields, in international migration studies also women are disregarded due to the perception of women inclusion as being dependent to men; the point of view towards women as they migrate with men's decision as their wives, daughters and also mothers (Schmidt, 1993). This perception generally based on the inception of being economic actors and so women are latent (Donato *et al.*, 2006). On the other hand, for instance, the proportion of migrated women from Ireland to United States in 1870s was higher than men migrated in order to find job opportunities however its shown as women migrated for marriage (Holland, 2000). This perception was consistent till 1980s and a migrant stereotyped as man and young with occupational intention (Holland 2000) and women migrants were invisible in academic literature as being out of that stereotype (Kofman 1999).

2.6. Intersectionality in gender and migration

The topo is crucial for discussion on gender and its attributed features since spaces construct and frame gender in its own practical schema. Social processes are shaped by space itself like houses, villages, metropoles or job places which are experienced in another constructed schema. (McDowell 1999).

Intersectionality gives an approach to identify multi identifications like gender and race and it uses intersection points of them so emphasizes that identities are constructed as occasions required (Valentine, 2007). To identify overlapping lines reveals the obscured categories and its dismissive patterns (Davis 2008).

Migration studies intersection with gender norms revealed that gendered connections and its attributed or constructed meanings migrate with women body (Maher and Lafferty 2014). In other words, the social relational and perceptional schemas are also migrated (so identities are carried) which are important to be

discussed in this thesis when it is connected within social inclusion and contact (Leonard 2008).

As Butler, existing ways of behaviors and regular practices might be challenged and undergo a change via repetitive actions. Expected roles from society might be changed (1988). Transformation begins with individual level later on interactional and instutional level (Parreñas, 2005). For migrants, topo change and its bringing everyday practice change is valuable to discuss on women center. Everyday practices examination studies are a good environment to see migration effects both for individually and interactionally (Holdsworth 2013).

Intra-group differences emphasis on intersectional approach is a key element. Working class intersection with gender for instance discussed in London by Mcllwaine and Bermudez about Colombian migrants and they concluded that working class Colombian women have more resistance of gender construction than Colombian working-class men and middle-class women (2011).

The studies on privilege is another element of intersectionality study in migrants. Riaño for example in their study in Switzerland checked the obstacles of accessing job opportunities so for them intersectionality is good medium to analyze the benefits and drawbacks which mirrors gender, race and class effects on privilege (2011).

In this research, intersectionality is important point of view even if migrants contact level and their feelings of threat from Turkish citizens is main theme since migration process is bound to gender and class status so as the interaction (Bastia, 2011). Gender, class or migration is not salient categories to be discussed, they are not essential, but the intersection points of these categories reveals the core elements to understand power relations as well as discourses framed between intragroup (Jacson & Pearson, 2005).

When the reasons and the results of migration taken into consideration, even if the migration is forced, for job or voluntary, in a place it is gendered (Mahler et al.

2006, Ghosh 2009). Laws, gender attributions, social norms as well as the roles at home are the parameters which decides who will migrate or not; especially towards women alone. On the other hand, host country's state laws and gender frames decide whether women might stay or return their home country, indeed which migrant women might (White middle-class men or black low-class women). So, emigrant countries' as well as immigrant-receiving countries' law and stereotypes are gendered and biased (based on status and family roles- being mother) (Chow, 2002). Consequently, women and men face different kinds of attitudes and opportunities as migrant hence migration becomes gendered which results in inequalities (Chow, 2002). The condition of "multiple jeopardy" or "double-disadvantage" will be emphasized through defining the subordination of women (Gregoriou, 2013).

In this research, I centered my questions on Syrian migrants perceived threat and its effects on social contact and social inclusion and I recognized the intersection of migration with gender. It will be discussed that how gender identities are affected via migration and what is migrant women experiences refers in social contact perspective.

2.7. Review of Past Studies on SCT Perspective

To understand the intergroup contact effects on prejudices, it is found that to conduct friendship is crucial for successful and sustainable contact (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011). As it is aforementioned, to have equal status, and common goals are the main facilitators of intergroup contact which are considered as the core elements of generalization the reduced prejudice from personal level to outgroup as well as to the ideology (Allport, 1954). Some findings strength Allport's suggestion on reducing prejudice and its generalization mechanisms. Tausch et al.'s (2010) for example conducted studies with high numbered samples in Cyprus for the conflict between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. They found by checking secondary outgroups that both groups had successful contact and generalized in their homelands (In Turkey and in Greece).

Previous contact experiences increase the contact effect level even if the previous experience is fortunate or unhappy (Hodson, Harry, & Mitchell, 2009). A research in Northern Ireland with a sample of Catholic and Protestant students give evidence that if intergroup contact behaviors and prejudice levels are high (due to negative experiences), foundation of new contact and reducing level of prejudice become more successful (Al Ramiah, Hewstone, Voci, Cairns, and Hughes, 2013). Consequently Al Ramiah, A., & Hewstone, M states that even if there was an extreme condition of conflict and prejudice, previous contact experiences support newly founded conduction due to presence of more tools to be processed (2013).

Institutional support is another core element to reduce prejudices toward outgroup members (Allport's, 1954). If negative attitudes are a form of social norm and defacto for society, it is hard to decrease prejudices, discrimination and anxiety in intergroup associations; thereagainst, people hesitate to contact in discriminative ways (Green, Stolovitch, & Wong, 1998; Alexander & Tredoux, 2010).

Intergroup anxiety is one of the mediating factors of intergroup contact and reduced prejudices (Allport, 1954). In Bangladesh, Islam and Hewstone (1993) made a research on Hindus and Muslims conflict and concluded that intergroup contact situations reduce intergroup anxiety, consequently prejudices. In their research they saw that Hindus and Muslims possessed anxiety to each other and their approach was negative in the beginning and after contact occurs, attitudes has shifted decreased prejudices.

Friendship with outgroup members is other factor to mediate successful contact situation and to eliminate prejudices (Pettigrew, 1998). The effects of friendship on reduced prejudices are studied by Catholics and Protestants Northern Ireland and it is concluded that outgroup friendships lead to eliminate anxiety between groups (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns, and Voci, 2004).

To conduct empathy is a powerful mediator to have successful contact and to reduce anxiety as Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) analysis. Swart et al. (2011) study

on empathy concluded that contact by emphatic emotions to one individual from outgroup members results in generalization of sympatric attitudes of outgroup as a whole.

As another parameter, Allport (1954) emphasized the importance of new knowledge against to prejudices. Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) from their research concluded that knowledge is a mediator for successful contact and reducing negative attitudes however not so big impact like empathy or others mentioned below.

All aforementioned factors mediate intergroup associations are in individual levels and ingroup concerns. On the other hand, perceived threat by ingroup members from outgroup is another core feature for reducing negative approach (Stephan & Renfro, 2003). Symbolic threats and realistic threats are considered as group based due to the fear of resources loss (like job opportunities for immigrant situation) as a group while intergroup anxiety is personally oriented (Stephan & Renfro, 2003). So, it is stated that successful intergroup contact decreases threat and opens the door to reduce conflict (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In a research including Malays, Chinese and Indians on intergroup contact resides in a camp in Malasia concludes that successful intergroup contact has an influence on elimination of symbolic threat perceived by minority groups but vice versa has not since major groups are holding the power which symbolic threat constituted (Al Ramiah, Hewstone, Little, and Lang, 2013). On the other hand, similar study made in the same area between 2 minor groups induced reciprocity in realistic threats which showed decreased negative approach (Al Ramiah et al., 2013).

2.8. Review of Past Studies on SCT in Turkey

When the studies on intergroup contact in Turkey are reviewed, the effects of SCT is seen. First of all, Bikmen (1999) has research on ten ethnic groups and found that increasing social contact has positive effects on negative attributions.

Güler (2013) studied on Kurdish-Turkish and Yürek (2014) on Turkish-Greece racial inter-group conflict while Çırakoğlu (2006), Gelbal & Duyan (2006) and Sakallı & Uğurlu (2002) on women wearing head scarf. The findings of these research suggest that inter-group contact reduces tension between groups and reduces prejudices. For example, acquaintanceship has positive effects like understanding attribution on next contacts with homosexual individuals as Sakallı and Ugurlu (2002) states. Similarly, Kunduz (2009) related to veiled/unveiled women and also Guler (2013) related to Kurdish-Turkish anxiety studied on intergroup marriages and found that marriage contacts have positive contacts on decreasing negative thoughts.

Additionally, Durmaz (2015) on his study on Alevis and Sunnis conduct relationship with intergroup conduct and reducing biases and he suggests that successful contacts increases prejudices and have positive effects for next relationships. Also, Husnu and Lajunen's study (2015) on North Cyprus revealed that biases through out-group members reduces contact so increases streotypes.

Yurek (2014) in his study on Kurdish migrants and local people, he found that locals and migrants have different effects on contact experiences. Kurdish immigrants generalized their positive experiences to all locals whilst host people perceives their positive emotions as exceptions, individually (Küçükkömürler and Uğurlu, 2017)

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CONTENT

3.1. Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis main framework is to understand how discourses produce discrimination and how the reproduced inequality is shown in linguistics. Main concern of CDA is to make questions of social issues via the analysis of social structures and its consequent social relations (Van Dijk 2001). Hence, CDA focuses on power, history and the ideology behind them. Power and dominance shape discourse, history strengths discourse in time and then power via own productions of ideologies justify the social dominance. CDA in this point tries to manifest the inequalities with hidden components of power and resistance mechanisms (Wodak, 2004). Foucault stated in his work of genealogy in Discipline and Punish (1979) that discourses are the mirrors of power structures which are constructed to govern societal issues of communities and power manifests itself tacitly in everyday practices.

What is heard and read is a concrete phenomenon, but the frames of understanding are constituted by power and dominance. Produced ways of schemas broaden perceptions and force go through in a narrow way (Derida, 1967). From this point of view, definition of deconstruction is:

> "Rather than seeking a way of understanding-that is a way of incorporating new phenomena into coherent (i.e. bounded) existing or modified models, a Deconstructive critique seeks to uncover the unexamined axioms that give rise to those models and their boundaries." (Davis and Scleifer, 1989:205)

As Davis and Scleifer (1989) deconstruction definition, to deconstruct the discourses is crucial as a critique method in order to contextualize the cognitive limits (Davis and Scleifer, 1989) and show the expressionlessness of the meanings through standard ways.

CDA features language as constructed and manipulative which frames social affects and so attitudes (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Changing discourses

reconstructs and reframes social ideologies and also power is able to be made visible by language itself (Weiss and Wodak, 2003). Fairclough (1992) says on discourse as "language as a form of social practice" and emphasize to language within society which is the mirror of practices and the 'given' patterns.

Van Dijk (1987) stated that the role of mass media is crucial on public discourses in interpersonal dialogues on discriminatory discourse which products the schema of public opinion through outgroup members. In other words, public media governs individuals' way of thinking and so emotions by the discourses of newscast (Hartmann and Husband, 1974). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) takes its root from this approach and deals with social actions originated from socially constructed discourses; establishes a connection between linguistics and its conducive sociopolitical context.

Discourse analysis as critical has impact on to define social problems and also the methodologies. Contextualization is one of the core element of CDA to settle relationships between language and constructed ideologies. By contextualizing, the ways of construction of knowledge, instutionalized backgrounds and power mechanisms are able to be questioned by analysis of language and so power structures comes into question (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Habermas also states that

> *`language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. In so far as the legitimations of power relations, . . . are not articulated, . . . language is also ideological' (Habermas, 1977:259).*

In racist, discriminative discourse studies, discourse-historical approach is used, which is improved by Fairclough and Wodak (2000), in order to discuss how prejudiced discourses constituted. In sociopsychological and cognitive perspective, *strategies* cover subaltern groups (like migrants) are given frames by language

holders with a good or bad grace hence these frames shapes the perception of reality which is formed unconsciously.

3.1.1. Discourse-Historical Approach

The "*discourse-historical approach"* on the other hand is a socio-philosophical approach which focuses generally on three features in which recognition and action are the core elements (Reisigl, 2017). First of these features is *"text or discourse immanent critique"* checks the existence of paradoxes and contradictions in discourses. Inconsistent discourses give come clues to get exact emotions about the determined themes. Secondly, "socio-diagnostic critique" concerns not only the salient information itself but also evaluates in its context. Discourse analysis is grounded on social theories and researcher's contextual background. Thirdly, *"prognostic critique"* focuses on tools of advancement of relationships (Wodak and Meyer, 2015) which is not be discussed in my research.

Wodak and Meyer stated discourse-historical approach features (Wodak and Meyer, 2015) as listed above:

> *"1. The approach is interdisciplinary.*
> *2. Interdisciplinarity is located on several levels: in theory, in the work itself, in teams, and in practice.*
> *3. The approach is problem oriented, not focused on specific linguistic items.*
> *4. The theory as well as the methodology is eclectic; that is theories and methods are integrated which are helpful in understanding and explaining the object under investigation.*
> *5. The study always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation (study from the inside) as a precondition for any further analysis and theorizing.*
> *6. The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary.*

7. Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied, and inter- textual and interdiscursive relationships are investigated. Recontextualization is the most important process in connecting these genres as well as topics and arguments (topoi).

8. The historical context is always analyzed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts.

9. The categories and tools for the analysis are defined according to all these steps and procedures as well as to the specific problem under investigation.

10. Grand theories serve as a foundation (see above). In the specific analysis, middle range theories serve the analytical aims better.

11. Practice is the target. The results should be made available to experts in different fields and, as a second step, be applied with the goal of changing certain discursive and social practices." (Wodak, 2001)

3.2. CDA studies on Immigrants

Critical Discourse Analysis is a good medium for Refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants (RASIM[1])Wodak (1996) states the importance of recognizing the out group and ingroup institutional frames on linguistic perspective. The used pronouns, generalization, personalization/depersonalization processes mirrors construction of definitions and analysis tries to maintain the aftermath dynamics of discourses like prejudice. For instance, Wodak (1996) steeps oneself in a research in Austria on racist discourse and explains the schema of self-justification process via 'we' pronunciation as:

> "The aim of ... a discourse of self justification, which is closely wound up with 'we discourse', is to allow the speakers to present herself or himself as

[1] Term is used in *Journal of Language and Politics* 9:1 (2010), **1–28**. doi 10.1075/jlp.9.1.01kho issn 1569–2159 / e-issn 1569–9862 studies.

free of prejudice or even as a victim of so-called 'reverse' prejudice." (1996: 116)

As she underlines, to position in group as 'free of prejudice' and to position out group as 'foreigners' creates opposed discourses which produce stereotypes as cognitive and relates with deviance, consequently threat perception. In this frame on, the basis of RASIM conditions, foreign individuals are posing threat, give harm to economical welfare, ruin local culture and by stereotyped as others (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001).

As aforementioned above, CDA in RASIM (also in general for out-groups) relates prejudice and the processes of legitimations via discourses, accordingly discrimination. For Hall (1989), discourses in this sense reconstruct the 'knowing' and in this line discourses are a 'racist' execution; disseminates the discriminative ideology intimately. Therefore, prejudices and stereotypes are strengthened. (van Dijk 2005b). At this point, CDA serves deconstruction of discursively secured negative attitudes.

3.3. Research Process

In this research, migrants are studied as a case study and critical discourse analysis is made via discourse-historical approach characteristics in frame of the perceived threat and existing contact situations.

The reason to have research on case study is to get in-depth information and emotions directly from the field and so via the findings from a small sample to try to have an understanding of general. It is obvious that approximately for all case studies it is hard to claim to be universal however by the case, some techniques are able to be developed to have a better understanding of the social relations and its behind.

In a case study, observations, documents/texts or archive records are the means to an end and all tools are used to find the common data to be able to

generalize and particular data to differentiate (Hyett et al. 2014). In this research, qualitative method is used to have an insight on immigrant social interactions.

3.4. Semi-Structured Interviews

In the research, semi-structured in-depth interviews are made with Syrian women participants between the ages of 18-65. From Istanbul Bilgi University Ethics Commitee, approval for interview questionnaire is received before visits. Questionnaire includes questions to understand how Syrian women refugees' daily life in Istanbul/Turkey, to what extent they have contact with Turkish citizens, how they perceive attitudes of local people toward them and vice versa etc.

For interviews as Elder et al (2003) states, open questions are prepared to get migrancy experiences in order not to restrict possible information and comments.

In this research, 19 participants are selected from some districts of Istanbul where Syrian refugee residents are in high numbers which are Okmeydanı, Fatih, Gaziosmanpaşa and Balat. Women as participants are chosen who are living in standard conditions with average income group according to Syrian refugees' common way of life.

Interviews are made in participants houses or community centers in their neighborhood according to their own preferences. Some women in Yedikule region preferred to make interview in community center which is called "Qunishyo" in where most of the women's children are part in some social activities hence the center was familiar for them which is crucial for feeling comfortable. The responsible person in community center arranged a private small room for interviews. Consequently, to make interviews in location of women themselves supplied me an observation and inner vision about their everyday practice which is crucial for this kind of case studies to be more comprehensive (Elwood & Martin 2000). Snowball sampling is used to reach desired participant profile and it was a complementary part of the case study.

Participants are informed that they are allowed to terminate interview at will and to not answer any questions make them feel uncomfortable. It is declared that all personal data they give will be in confidentiality and will not be shared in any platform. Also consents of participants are taken for tape recording before to start interviews, none of the participants were uncomfortable for voice record.

It was afforded to make interviews in privacy and individually however in only one interview in the direction of a participant, it is made in company with two women who are living in the same house. Any interruptions or comments occurred by listeners during interview.

Two of the interviews are made in English and rest of them in Arabic. It was asked for English speakers whether they prefer to make interviews in their mother tongue which one of them stated her mother tongue as Armenian and both participants were comfortable to express herself in English. Other participants preferred to conduct in Arabic language.

Interviews are made by the assistance of four different translators in each meeting and the time interval of interviews was approximately one-one and half hours including the translations. Narratives are translated one by one and all records are checked by another translator because of the possibility of some missing points. All translators were preferred to be women to minimize the risk of uncomfortable feelings of participants especially of sharing especially on women experiences.

3.5. Limitations

Before to start the evaluation of the narratives of participants, to recognize the limitation of research is crucial for a researcher. There are some limitations in this study.

First of all, to generalize the idea of the contact situation and feeling of threat, sample size of the study is important. This study includes a small size of

focus group, so it is hard to deduce that the discourse analysis of this research represents all Syrian migrants in Turkey.

The second limitation of this research is the language problem. Interpretation of narrative are made according to the translations in which not easy to internalize the emotions and feelings exact points; in which part interviewee hesitations, angers, silence or fears, so this weakens the analysis itself. Furtherly, even though the double check of translations, some crucial points might be easily lost.

Moreover, the translations are made from Arabic to Turkish or Arabic to English; interviews are made by me, as a Turkish woman citizen, and the research was on to insight on prejudice, negative or positive attitudes and threat feelings towards Turkish individuals. These parameters are fine details and critical points to acquire sincere sharing. So, during discourse analysis, these factors are also taken into considerations. Translations into English and Turkish reflects dynamics of power (Valentine et al. 2008).

3.6. The Position of Researcher

In case studies, researchers are a kind of representative and the voice of the group conducted. Produced knowledge of the study is not irrespectable of personal entities (Wimark et. al., 2016) so I would like to remark on my position in this thesis.

First of all, I am a member of a subaltern group in Turkey, I am Kurdish. Since long time, there is a conflict between the state and Kurdish people and this conflict created an ethnic discrimination towards Kurdish individuals. Because of the discriminative discourses of diverse media tools, stigmatization occurred in Turkey on Kurdish minority members (Bora, 2006). Hence, strong prejudices and negative attitudes between Turkish and Kurdish members are constructed (Bilali, Çelik ve Ok, 2014). As a Kurdish woman, I am exposed to various prejudices and negative attitudes from Turkish people, even from my close friends. Furtherly, my

family migrated from the city of Van (majority of people identify themselves as Kurdish) to Adana before I was born, and I lived the vulnerabilities of being a migrant throughout my life as a subaltern group member.

Additionally, I am working in a non-governmental organization mainly concerns about immigration struggles in Turkey, especially on Syrians. My position in the organization is based on the field and I have daily connections with Syrian migrants, mostly women, since one year. So, I have in-depth observations on the regions where Syrian refugees mostly residing in Istanbul.

On the other hand, I am privileged in some ways, graduated from one of the top universities in Turkey from a prestigious department and living in an average life conditions (middle-class).

In this research, I am going to understand how Syrian migrant woman are experiencing the life in Turkey as an out-group member evenhandedly and discourse analysis is going to be based on my theoretical knowledge and the experiences shape my position.

3.7. Backgrounds of Participants

To have a more comprehensive understanding of perceived threat and contact status of women, some introductory information about participants will be summarized in this section which includes demographic information within the stories of passing borders and the life conditions in Istanbul.

Participant 1: She is 41 years old, living with her husband and 3 children in Yedikule. She is from Aleppo. She tried to go Europe through illegal ways she is deported from Greece; lived in Egypt for a while and then came to Turkey. Two of her children are enrolled in school; one is underage and child labor. She is living in Turkey for 5 years.

Participant 2: She is 36 years old, living with her 5 children in Yedikule. She is from Rakka. Her husband killed by ISIS and then they decided to come Turkey. Two of her underage children are working. She could not enroll her children to school since they do not have protection status. She is living in Turkey for 7 months.

Participant 3: She is 42 years old, living with her husband and 6 children in Fatih. She is from Aleppo. Husband is disabled, and two sons are working to cover their expenses. She lived in Gaziantep for 2 years and residing in Istanbul since one and half year.

Participant 4: She is 42 years old, living with her husband and two children in Fatih. She is from Aleppo. She came first Osmaniye through illegal way, stayed there for 3 months and then came to Istanbul. Husband is not able to work due to medical concerns, her son is working to cover their expenses. One of her children is enrolled in school. They are residing in Istanbul for 2 years.

Participant 5: She is 50 years old, living with her sister and sharing the house with onother Syrian family in Balat. She came Turkey through illegal way which was so traumatic as she explained. She is the only one working on religion course. She is from a city near Palestine border, living in Turkey for 2 years.

Participant 6: She is 41 years old, living with her husband and four children in Fatih. She is from Azez. She came Turkey through illegal way before 4 years. Her husband and a son are working in textile. One of her children was enrolled in school but now she is not due to discriminative attitudes.

Participant 7: She is 56 years old, living with her two daughters and two sons in Yedikule. She is living in Istanbul for 3 years.

Participant 8: She is 68 years old, living with her husband; sharing the house with another family in Yedikule. Neither she nor husband are able to work due to their age and the son in Sweden supporting them financially to cover their expenses. They lived in Beirut before to come Turkey and living in Istanbul for 2 years.

Participant 9: She is Syrian Armenian living in Balat, 39 years old. She is in Turkey for 3 years, for one years lived in Bursa and for the last two years she is living in Istanbul. In her house, self and husband are living; both are working. She is working in a non-governmental organization as translator.

Participant 10: She is 45 years old, widowed. She is living with her 2 underage daughters, a son and son's wife. One of the children is enrolled in school. She and her son are working. She is living in Turkey for 4 years.

Participant 11: She is 45 years old, living with her husband, two kids and husband's family. One of the children is enrolled in kindergarden. She is not working. She is living in Turkey for 5 years.

Participant 12: She is 39 years old, living with her husband and 5 children. 3 of her children are going to school. They came Turkey in illegal way 3 years ago.

Participant 13: She is 36 years old, from Damascus. She is living with her husband and 5 underage children in Okmeydanı. They came Turkey 2 and half years before. 3 of the children are going to school.

Participant 14: She is 52 years old and from Qamişlo. She is living with her son's family in Okmeydanı. They are living in Turkey for 4 years. Her son is working to cover their expenses.

Participant 15: She is 35 years old from Damascus. She is living with her husband and 4 underage children. She is living in Okmeydanı. She is not working, husband is working to cover their life. 2 of the children are going to school. She came to Turkey by illegal tough ways 4 years ago.

Participant 16: She is from Damascus, 29 years old. They came Turkey before 3 years by legal ways; lived in Antalya for 8 months and then Istanbul. She is living with her husband and a daughter who is enrolled in school. She is not working.

Participant 17: She is 26 years old from Aleppo. She came to Turkey 5 years ago by illegal ways; for 2 years she lived in Hatay and 3 years in Istanbul. She is living with her husband and 2 children, one of them is enrolled in kindergarten. She is working at home, beading.

Participant 18: She is 26 years old. She came to Turkey before 2 years. She is living with her parents and a child, husband is dead. She is not working.

Participant 19: She is 28 years old and living with her husband and her a son. She came to Istanbul via illegal ways before 3 years. Husband is working to sustain their life.

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I will make in-depth discourse analysis of participant's narratives and check the commonalities and breaking points of discourses. The main purpose is to understand participants' perception through Turkish people and to look the level of intimacy of their relationships with each other. SIT and ITT focuses on host community perspective, the studies on these theories underline the threat perception of locals on immigration cases, on the other hand, refugees also perceives threat. I will read the literature and perception from the mirror of Syrian immigrants.

The thin line for analysis on relationships is first to see whether participants maintain perception of equality with host community or not and subsequently to detect the level of recognition through their communication. Based on these parameters, it will be discussed the participants' feeling of threat and current disposition towards Turkish individuals.

For the discourse analysis, Discourse-Historical Approach will be used as it is shown in Table 1 below:

Table 4.1: Discursive Strategy of the Study Based on Discourse-Historical Approach of Wodak

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Referential/nomination	"Syrians" as ingroup, "Turkish" as outgroup	Self-identification, how to categorize self
Predication	Limited interaction, ingroup bias, categorization, social identification, threat perception, otherization	Stereotypical attributions towards Turkish people, given negative/positive meanings and attributions, material action in the new way of life/geography, changing family and gender roles, friendship/acquaintanceship status towards in-group members
Argumentation	How to justify biases and less positive attributions towards self and others	Discriminative and biased narratives, perception of the unfortunate incidence, Recognition levels

(Resource: Wodak and Meyer, 2001)

4.1. How to Identify Self and the Others

The tendencies of self-identification and categorization of self in a social context is explained by SIT (Tajfel and Turner 1986) and so attitudes and behaviors are shaped by these identified schemas. As indicated before, identified categories creates a group and also "others" as out-group which results in social comparison with in and out group (Tajfel, 1981). In this study, I will introduce in-group as Syrians and out-group as locals on the contrary of theory emphasis. So, firstly I will discuss participants' self-portraying through their discourses.

When participants are asked how they identify themselves, they expressed that most of them are confused about it. None of the participants directly dedicate their identity as Syrians however they commented through how Syrian people are and in what senses they do not feel as Syrians. Some participants stated that before the war they were feeling as Syrians, they had good reputation and they were proud to be Syrians. They mentioned that Syrians were emotional, societal and never run for their profits. Furtherly, they stated that after the war, in Turkey, they do not feel attachment to Syrian identity since in here Syrians are so different, nobody has their social values and good reputation as in their own country. Hence, they stated that they do not feel like whether Turkish or Syrian. Participant 9 expressed like below:

> "I do not know what my identity is, but I do not feel like Syrian. For me Syria is the worst identity ever. I got surprised when I came to Turkey. In Syria it was not like that, we had reputation as Syrian, it was important. Now in here, Syrians are impolite, they steal, say bad words, they all are begging. I feel only like a human, not Syrian, not Turkish or others."

Also, participant 1 expressed as:

> "Actually, I am confused. I can't say I am Syrian since there is not a chance to live my Syrian identity in here. Also, I can't say that I am Turkish since they have high status, so I can say I am just human."

4.2. How to Conduct Social Identification

According to SIT, subaltern group members improve some strategies in order to possess a positive identity which one is to behave personally. Disadvantageous group members position themselves with respect to the perception of intergroup fluency. In other words, if the boundaries between ingroup and outgroup are seen as permeable, they sense as they might be part of advantageous group hence they left their subaltern schemas. In this case, individualistic maneuvers and the belief of having high status exist. There are kinds of practices for this which seen in this research are splitting from in-group psychologically and

denial or concealing of belonged ethnicity (Gezici, 2017). As seen above, participant 1 and 9 prefer to behave as personal so as not to feel drawbacks of being Syrian in Turkey.

Supportively, some participants replied the question of identification as they are human, there is not any differences between Syrian and Turkish or other nationalities. On the contrary to participants' dedications above, they do not express bad feelings towards Syrians. They admitted that there are some good people and bad people, identification is not about nationality.

> "I am like you. Our tradition is same, our way of life is same. I am human like all others, there are some good people and bad people."

4.3. The Way of Life as Predicational Strategy, Ingroup Biases

After the identity question, participants are requested to mention about one of their routine day in Istanbul. The aim of this question was to understand their social relationships and analyze the level of social contact in their daily life especially with Turkish people. As Pettigrew (1998) introduced as one of the prerequisite condition for successful intergroup contact and so diminish prejudices is to attain equal status. Via Daily life fluency information, the level of recognition of being equal will be acquired.

Most of the participants (16 of 18) were not working, housewives. In general, they deduced that they are mostly at home, they go outside rarely for visiting their neighbors and for shopping. They are mostly going to Syrian markets in their neighborhood and when they need to go Turkish market, they are just satisfying their supplies and returning their home. Most participants have children going to school and husbands working. Some of them attending Turkish classes. Participant 3 expressed her Daily life as below:

> "In general, I get up in the morning and send my sons for work. Then I go for shopping to satisfy the needs as nurture. Sometimes I go out with my

> Syrian friends to seaside in Yedikule. I go out of our region very rarely with bus for hospitals and Immigration Authority Office."

And participant 2 expressed as:

> "I only look after my kids at home. Due to language problem, I do not have any connection with my neighbors, but I feel that they like me via their body language. Besides, sometimes only me and my children go seaside because in here, Syrians are hanging out only with each other, let say women from Aleppo get connection between each other. I am from Damascus and I have no friends in here. When I go seaside, I try to get in touch with Turkish people but because of language problem we only say hello to each other."

Participant 16 expressed as:

> "The life in Istanbul is tough, both husband and wife need to work a lot. Life in here is routine, standard; wake up in the morning, housework, preparing food, shopping and then the same things……sometimes I go out with my friends, when there are some problems with my husband we go out together to talk."

As it is seen from quotations above, participants do not have connections with Turkish people even with Syrians also due to the life conditions. Also, language barrier is another effect to limit social interaction as they expressed. Beyond, social categorization lead individuals to hold group identity emotions so positive bias happens through ingroup members (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Especially for immigrants, since they are far from their own cultures, the efforts to hold own identity and feed positive emotions through own group members is understandable. This biased categorization prevents members to develop relationships with outgroup members (Howard & Rothbart, 1980; Dovidio et al., 1997). From the same point, when participants are asked to their neighborhood relationships, most of them expressed their limited connections with Turkish people and a few closed interactions with Syrians. Most of them conduct language barrier

as a reason but some Turkish speaker participants are also deduced the same. For instance, participant 1 stated that:

> "I have a Turkish woman residing ground floor, when we see each other we say just 'hello' to each other. She wanted to learn Arabic language from me. I also speak a little bit Turkish and we understand each other however our communication is limited. Sometimes they ask me about how we came to Turkey and how was the war environment in Syria. They support us but that's all, no more."

Participant 4 also states her relationship status with her neighbors as:

> "Actually, I do not have relationship with anybody, we do not deal with each other, they say us only 'hello' ant that's all. They do not come close to us and not torture us also, just they want to be far away."

As Turkish speaker participant 10 also express as:

> "I do not have any relationship with my neighbors generally. Three of them are Syrians and others are Turkish. With Syrians sometimes, we drink coffee together, but I do not deal with Turkish neighbors and they also. We have just 'hello' to each other. I do not want to disturb anybody."

As in these examples, most of the participants commented in similar way. They specified neighborhood relationships with Turkish people like limited, interaction is neither in a bad way nor in a good way. This situation gives some clues about the possibility of threat perception. Whilst ITT explains the core elements of intergroup conflicts and inequalities states that avoidance from interaction might be stem from negative feelings and like a vicious cycle, less conduction strengthens these negative attitudes and might feed prejudices (Abelson and Gaffney, 2008: 810).

Furtherly, some but few participants expressed their negative feelings towards Turkish people and they conduct causality to their negative attitudes. Participant 12 expressed like:

> "My neighbors are good, have smiley face whenever they see me, but I do not have deep relationship with Turkish ones, just say 'hello'. Because there are some neighbors see Syrian people, they look at in a disgust way. They are looking at me and say some words for insulting me (she cried in here). You feel like you are burden, you are homeless, and you are not in your country. They do not like us (Syrians). There are some good people of course, they pray for me because I am from Syria."

As participant 12 reflects her feelings of being burden and undesirability, she is expressing that negative attitudes prevent her to get contact.

4.4. Friendship Situation as Predicational Device

Miler (1984) states that personal acquaintanceship supplies opportunity to diminish anxiety and gives chance to have successful relationship. Via friendships, social categories and biases through belonged groups are decayed and so stereotypes and prejudices are deconstructed (Herek & Capitanio, 1996).

In order to identify the friendship status of participants and to analyze whether conducted friendships have positive effects on reducing negative emotions, participants are asked about their acquaintances. Most of the participants described as they have mainly Syrian friends and very limited relationships with Turkish people. None of the participants mentioned the existence of deep relations with Turkish individuals. When it is requested to mention about their friends, participant 3 stated as:

> "In general, I spend my time with Syrian women in here. We just say 'hello' to each other when we come across with them."

Participant 16 also replied as:

> "I only have connection with my neighbor across, she is Turkish. Due to language problem, I do not share my private life; maybe after I learn Turkish, we might be close friends. We just drink coffee together."

And participant 17 says:

> "Except my landlord, I do not have any connection with Turkish people. I have Syrian friends, but Turkish people do not want to get in touch with us."

As it is deduced from interviews, participants do not conduct intimate relationship with locals at all. The same question is posed through their children whether they have local friends at school or in neighborhood. The purpose of this question was to address the effects of mothers' possible anxieties and threat perception on their children. A few notified that their children have good friendships with Turkish children and they conduct causality on knowledge of language. On the contrary, most participants stated as their children have interaction with only Syrian kids.

Participant 6 verbalized as below:

> "None of my children are enrolled in school. My elder daughter was going to school and then her classmates beated her, broke her teeth, whenever they saw my daughter they chase her and beat, so that's why I forced her to leave the school."

After that response, she was asked of her opinion for the possible reasons of her daughter treated in a bad way. She indicated the problem as her daughter is hardworking and clever. Afterwards, when she is asked about children's playmates at their region, she told they are not allowed to go out due to her insecure feelings. In addition, she admitted that none of the family members has connection with Turkish people, no occasion to get in touch.

Participant 1 also states that:

> "My daughter is enrolled in school. At the beginning, she lived hard times related to being a Syrian. After she get used to, she has no struggles anymore. She has good relationships with her schoolmates however she sometimes does not want to go to school, I really do not know why. Sometimes she states as they (friends) are smiling to her but talking behind her back. I do not know why she feels like this. Maybe the reason is that she heard some discriminative comments on Syrian people."

Subsequently, she was demanded to give some information on her daughter's friendship in neighborhood and she replied as her daughter does not want to go out, she has no friends and the reason is that her daughter loves to stay at home.

Stephan et. al. (2000) indicates that threat perception frames emotions and so behaviors. Feeling of insecurity and fears shape behaviors of participants as they expressed above; aforementioned emotions resulted in avoidance of getting in contact. According to the predication of participants, it might be deduced that their fear for interaction and this insecure disposition operated on children actions.

4.5. Changing Family Roles by Migration

From intersectionalist approach point of view, narratives on children open a window for transforming family structures and functions via migration. Due to language problem, most of the Syrians face some difficulties to adapt the life however their children are oriented easily. According to participants stories, it can be deduced that children are learning Turkish easily, adapted the life even they forgot to speak Arabic, so children has a central role for interaction with locals. For example, participant 13 told as:

> "Due to language problem, it is very hard for us to get contact with people in bus, markets or especially hospitals. But my daughter speaks Turkish very

well and when we are at hospital, she is translating. Also, sometimes I am going to her school for parents' meeting, she is translating what is said."

Herewith, the transformation and in a way deconstruction of family structures comes into question. Fathers' steady authority ascriptions weaken, the knowledge hierarchies are upside down due to fast adaptation and ability to comprehend social competences. All in all, the strengthen status of children weakens fathers' role in family and this reflects on women whose status are also elevated related to men's convulsed authority in the family (Gezici, 2017).

4.6. Otherization

Participants are aspired to learn their thoughts about Turkish people. The aim of this question was to see the level of othering through local group and to observe what sort of narratives they have. The narratives provision gives some clues about whether participant categorized and stereotyped to Turkish people.

As deduced in chapter 3 before, Pettigrew (1998) on his investigation on intergroup relations proposed that perception of negative outgroup characteristics molds the way of acting and do narratives. Because, mentioned perception poses feelings of threat to the resources.

Whilst the opinion of participants is asked towards Turkish people, most emphasized on social values and social interaction. For instance, participant 1 disclosed as:

> "They (Turkish people) do not give harm to us but they are so materialist. For example, if there is a very poor man, they never help, they said just nothing to do. They have more rules and borders, they do not give and do not take. We (Syrians) are more emotional, societal and people and our relationships are concentric, not individually."

Participant 6 also answered the question in close perspective:

> "In Syria, all care about people, we are more humane, more good-humored. In here (Turkey), for example people look at us (Syrian) in a disgust way."

When she is requested to share her thoughts about the reasons of the glance of local people to Syrian in a way she explained, she answered as:

> "I do not know but maybe they think of that we (Syrians) came here and the rent of houses increased. We did not want to come here, it was not in our hands. There were bombings, that's why we are here."

Some of the participants have common idea about the characteristics of Turkish people on being 'materialist', 'individualist', 'less societal', 'not sharer', 'serious' etc. Also, as it is seen in quotations, it might be deduced that polarization become exist via the use of words of "we" and "they" as well as existing comparison. Participants give some 'more valuable' attributions for in group members (Syrian) and negative ascription for out-group members (Turkish). Social representations according to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) are examined in that intergroup biases exist, in which ingroup members are favored and their positive characteristics are memorized whilst on the contrary, outgroup members are attributed as negative aspects (Otten & Moskowitz, 2000). Additionally, as aforementioned, subaltern group members create some mechanisms to conduct a positive identity and if members feel they never have possibility to become privileges as a part of their group, they reconstruct the attributions of belonged society (Gezici, 2017). In this research as quoted above, some participants attribute positive characteristics to in-group and negatives to host community; Syrians as humane, societal and good-humored whereas Turkish people as materialists, serious, not sharer and individualists. So ingroup members are cohesive and solidarist whilst out-group members are 'cold' (Gezici, 2017).

4.7. Justification of Negative Attributions

On the other hand, some of the participants when they are asked about Turkish people, they mentioned about how they are discriminated by Turkish individuals. Two kinds of responses are received according to discriminative behavior justification.

First of all, some participants deduced that there are some good people and bad people, for Syrian people this is the same. They believe that Turkish people become kind if Syrian do not give harm. Participant 3 indicates as:

> "Some Turkish people make me feel like I capture their jobs, their bread, their houses. We escape from the war, we are working so much. I know some Syrians made bad things to them but there are some good people and bad people, if I respect them they respect me too."

Secondly, as some participants stated that they feel themselves inferior, they are making self-dehumanization. Since they are treated in a bad way, they feel as different as minority; the problem might be stemmed from innate or essential characteristics so coming from absence of 'human nature traits' or 'uniquely human traits' are absent whose traits comes from culture, educational features or refinement (Haslam, 2006). Participants perception through these traits is that they give credit for out-group individuals' attribution on aforementioned traits as minor, hence they live self-dehumanization (Bastian et. al., 2013)

Participant 3 expresses as:

> "Turkish people see us from different perspective. For example, when I go to bazaar for shopping some are looking at me and laughing as saying me 'look she is Syrian'. They look like in evil eyes, they despise us. They treat us like a dirt. I feel like I am inferior. Once I was walking on the Street and my hand hit a car by mistake and owner of the car started to shout at me. After a while the same thing happened with a Turkish woman and he said

nothing. We are already in a bad situation and this kind of treatment makes us worse. As another example, once I went to playground, my son was playing with children and a woman come and said that 'you are Syrian, go to the corner of the park and play there'. I feel like we do not have right to share public places."

When it is requested to share their opinion about the possible causes of negative attributions, generally they give rights. They expressed the cause as due to Syrian's harmful actions. So, they placed themselves as inferior so Turkish as superior. Supportively, some participants who has positive attitudes indicates that local people supports them for households and food stuff; inferiority also might be discussed. Additionally, some women with positive attitudes commented on unfavorable behaviors of Syrians when they are asked about Turkish people. Since there is helping-receiving relationship in here, equality cannot be established. Allport (1958) theorizes prerequisite conditions for successful contact in ICT as one of them is to establish equal status; none of the interviewees elucidated narratives to achieve that. As an instance participant 5 said:

"As human being, the traditions very close to each other. Firstly, they are welcoming and respective through big quantities of refugees in here whereas in Lebanese, Lebanon people were discriminating and accusing us. They are happy, they care about their children. Syrian parents are sleeping and wake up late, do not care about their children are hungry or not…… Some Syrians are trying to show bad picture towards Turkish, but it is not true."

Also, interviewee 2 indicates as:

"I feel like a temporary in here. Of course, everybody wants to live in her own county. I feel like a guest in here. All in all, if I need to do something in order not to locals pretend me in a bad way, I do."

According these narratives, participants are re-identified the meaning of membership of the group which is called social creation strategy; this strategy is

used when group's disadvantageous situation seen as unchanged especially materialistic conditions (Gezici, 2017). Participant 8 comments below supports this vision:

> "Turkish people are right not to trust Syrians since when they rent a house some gave much harm to houses and not paying the bills."

ITT categorizes 4 different themes on feeling of intergroup threat as aforementioned in Chapter 3 which are realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative opinions and intergroup anxiety (Stephan and Stephan, 1996: 410; Stephan, et. al., 2000b: 242; Riek, et. al., 2006: 339; Gonzales et. al., 2008: 669; Ward and Berno, 2011: 1559; Colombo et. al., 2012: 135; Redmond, 2013: 2). Negative opinions and intergroup anxiety are already discussed above. On the other hand, participants explicitly identified perceived realistic threat which includes the menace of houses and job opportunities. About rents of houses, interviewee 10 comments as:

> "Sometimes we have a talk each other (Syrian neighbors) and we heard that landlords rent their houses to Syrian more and more than local tenants. I do not know why but maybe they (Turkish) are thinking like due to the false perception of Syrians. They think like we are working more than locals and they believe we took their jobs, so they have more money and they (Syrians) deserve to pay rent more."

In here, economic resources show itself as realistic threat for locals and inter-group anxiety come to exist due to limited sources which poses negative opinions, consequently unsuccessful relationships and discriminative feelings become exist. ITT focuses on the feeling of threat of host community however I aimed to reveal refugees' perception of threat by reading ITT's basic patterns from the other side. Participants implies their fear of sustaining their lives economically due to the discriminative attitudes of locals. They feel anxiety of reaching economical resources like job opportunities and houses because of the locals' repulsive actions.

So, negative attitudes reflect Syrians access to resources which bring forth the realistic threat. Participant 7 comments as the signs of threat like:

> "Syrians do not have right like Turkish people in Turkey. Nobody recruits us, we can't find jobs. My sons are working 12 hours in a day and they can't get satisfying salaries. He has bachelor's degree but none of the Turkish job owners give him a job due to the perception of Syrians in Turkey."

4.8. Social Recognition

Apart from all these, participants' sense of confidence levels is examined and when they are asked as "Do you feel safe in Turkey?" majority of them approved as 'yes'. The purpose of this question was to receive their inner feelings about the life in Turkey and to acquire their social recognition level. For instance, participant 5 declared as:

> "I feel safe. After all difficulties, safety is so important thing for me. I did not face any problem and threat here."

Participant 2 replied the question safety as:

> "I am very comfortable in here, feel safe. When we first come Turkey, especially children were very anxious when they hear the voices of airplanes. I tried to teach them the sound is from the planet hat is used for transportation, so they got used to it."

And also, participant 4 stated:

> "We love Turkey so much, Istanbul is so beautiful. I feel safe in here"

As the quotations declared, most of the participants expressed their feeling of safe in Turkey however they stated the confidence occasion from survival level because they came to Turkey because of the war. In here it can be deduced that they do not possess recognition as residents of Istanbul. As Allport's (1954,1958) prerequisite

functions for intergroup contact, the recognition of being in equal status reveals and founds intimate contact and so brings the recognition of social life. Majority of the participants comprehended the question from basic safety rules, not from intimacy.

From another angle, few of the participants replied the same question as they do not feel secure exactly from the same point of view. Participant 19 stated as:

> "I do not feel comfortable since everybody says if Erdoğan (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan) can't be president, others (referring other candidates of presidency) will send us to Syria. I don't want to go back there, I am afraid."

Then, participant 15 expressed in same way about her concerns. And participant 14 expressed like:

> "I don't feel secure in here because I am afraid of something will happen in Turkey also. If Istanbul is bombed also, what can we do? There is not any place to go after here. On the other hand, all my family is in Syria right now, I can't sleep at nights because of the fear of bad news from my relatives."

As it is clearly seen from the comments, all participants conduct relationship with security on survival concerns. Solely participants 17 mentioned about her concerns about thieves as she heard from her neighbors however she admitted as she feels secure although this fear since she told that in everywhere this possibility exists.

4.9. Transformation of Family and Gender Roles

As aforementioned in chapter 3, intersectionality is a good medium to analyze the multi-identifications. In this research, it is valuable to discuss the intersection points of migration within gender and class.

As Butler (1988) clarified, everyday practices and roles are constructed actions by society and institutions as well as geography itself. Everyday way of life alters due to the geography change in migration, so gender and its roles are expected to under evolution process (Leonard 2008). The purpose of interviews with solely

women was to identify if gender roles are under deconstruction and if power balance is altered via migration or not.

Participants are asked how they are experienced the life in Turkey. Majority of them indicated the emphasis of "freedom" for women in Turkey. Participant 2 specified as:

> "I feel free in here, there is nobody to decide what should I do. It is not good to say like this but after my husband died and we come here, I feel comfortable. Our region in Syria was so underdeveloped place, they forced me to marry when I am 14. I wanted to divorce after two years but they did not permit. In here, women have more rights, they exist in society; in Syria women were absent. Women cannot speak, cannot decide. But in here women have a life."

Also, participant 19 gives the similar details:

> "I am attending women group in an NGO, they are presenting some seminar on women rights. I realized that in here women rights exist. I love this situation. In Syria, 3 years of my life passed through the war and I did not feel that I was alive. I've grown up in Turkey, I learned the life, I learned what actual life is."

As it is seen from interviewees' comments, women's perspective is changing. The topo and its own societal schemas frame the gender and the norms are constructed according to power groups. So everyday practices are shaped by that constructed power (McDowell 1999). So, migration redound the rigid norms and practices, so the existing power begins to be deconstructed.

Participant 15 states that:

> "When I came to here, I saw that in Syria women has no value, unworthy but in here women are treated as important human beings. Some women in

> Syria are not allowed to even look at from window to Street. They cannot go for shopping without a man with them. For Syrians, here is another planet. Sometimes I think that Turkish people, who say Syrians do not know anything, are rights. Women in Syria do not know anything since they are always at home."

In here, she is expressing that she is recognizing how they are suppressed whilst she does not give any details about what is changed for her in practice. Participant 12 give some details on actualized patterns:

> "As a woman I got so much experiences. Here is very different from my life in Syria. Women were not allowed to go out even for shopping. In here I am doing something. I do shopping, paying the bills, accessing to hospital; all the things are on me. I am more confident, and I feel more power. This situation added something to my personality, made me stronger, gave me identity."

As it is aforementioned, the transformation via changing geography by migration deconstructs the family structure. Children with their fast adaptation and developing knowledge, accompanies to the family members to some Turkish institutions which weakens the authority of father at home (Gezici, 2017). In addition, the changing perspective of women related to their recognition on gender roles and suppression also diminish the husband's power.

Acculturation (Gezici, 2017:72) is a term used for the alteration of thoughts and behaviors of people with whom they are interacted in a different cultural environment. It is a process of an individual's ability to comprehend the cultural society that she entered. According to Berry's model (1980), if a member receives host community culture and at the same time holds her cultural heritage, it means there is integration.

Acculturation concept is important for migrant studies since immigrants face a new culture and reality. To become exist successfully and to have functional abilities,

they need to comprehend the meaning of the new system. So as Chirkov (Gezici, 2017:75) suggests, in this research, acculturation is a good medium to understand the intergroup contact relations and dynamics since recognition might be read with acculturation.

CONCLUSION

The aims of the study were to see how Syrian refugees perceive Turkish people and how is their relationships/contact status with locals. To analyse the relationship status and contact situation was important in order to reveal the underlying perception of Syrians towards Turkish people. The perception of threat was also one of the main topic to analyze since the contact situation and the level of relationships are the output of threat feeling.

As if there are borders between people like countries, even if they are not living in the same territory now, it is seen that there are not intimate relationships between Syrian and Turkish people. Contact theory focuses on the reasons of unsuccessful relationships and theorize the main prerequisite conditions to form contact which are to have equal status, intergroup cooperation, common goals and institutional support (Pettigrew, 1998).

In the literature, the research on social contact theory on migration studies are one sided, from the eyes of host community, whilst in this study theory is discussed from migrant perspective. Syrians feel threat and this threat perception prevents them to get contact, so prejudices and stereotypes elevated. Physical borders exchanges to cultural borders which are strengthen by feeling of threat and prejudices.

On the other hand, aforementioned dynamics of unsuccessful contacts affects the Syrian life fluency. Acculturation is the term in this research which defines how Syrian migrants comprehended the culture of Turkish people. This perception affects the level of social inclusion and via recognition it can be integration, separation, assimilation or marginalization which are not unrelated to host community disposition.

The important question in here is how the categorizations between local and Syrian refugees are established. It is valuable to identify the dynamics of how these categorizations are constituted and reconstituted via narratives and discourses. By

this research it is tried to understand the formed, the 'given' perceptions and to suggest possible ways of deconstructing them via reading the narratives of Syrians from another, more positive sides. Because discourses are produced by power and then power institutions reestablish the existing categories so to look at from the unseen narratives is valuable to deconstruct them.

In order to analyse the narratives, discourse-historical approach of Wodak and its predicational strategies and devices are used. It is concluded that Syrians in this research sample define self as in-group while Turkish people as out-group. To achieve this conclusion, self-identification discourses and self-categorization mechanisms are analysed. Stereotypical attributions and negative feelings towards Turkish people remarked on the limited interaction and subsequently threat perception through locals; so otherization occurs.

On the other hands, contrarily to discourses, discriminative and biased attitudes are shown by everyday life stories though they express their attitudes to all as "human". Justification mechanisms are also other devices to reveal the underlying perception of others. When they expressed the unfortunate incidence they faced, they developed biases towards in-group members and self-categorized themselves.

Even if they express like they do not have negative attitudes toward Turkish people, their friendship/acquaintanceship status and the stories they told shows their threat perception and otherization conditions. They have limited interaction, formed social group identification and they tried to protect themselves via defence mechanisms towards researcher. Self way of identification kept locals at bay and explained all their stories behind the schemas which they feel belong to.

Migration is a multidimensional incidence; which intersects with gender and class. It is concluded that gender structures and the roles of family of Syrian refugees are changing. Geography change resulted in children status in family roles due to knowledge of language fast recognition of life fluency in Turkey. From the

gender perspective, according to women narratives, it is concluded that perception of Syrian women through their way of existence transformed and they feel that they are more in life. This transformation deconstructs the order of patriarchy in their life.

In conclusion, this study aimed to give voice of the Syrian women as a multidimensional subaltern group so as to contribute to the literature which produce academic materials mostly from Turkish people perspective. All in all, this study revealed underlying feelings of in-group bias and out-group discrimination of Syrian refugees on the contrary to the literature.

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APPENDIX-INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- Firstly, can you introduce yourself? What is your name, how old are you?
- I would like to hear your story come to Turkey. When did you come to Turkey, how long have you been living in Istanbul? Where did you live before you came to Istanbul?
- Let's talk a little bit about your house. How many people do you live in this house, with whom do you live?
  - Do you have children, are they going to the school, if not why?
  - Let's talk a little bit about the other family members. Who are they? Where do they work? Regular or irregular?
  - Who else is there? Do they read, do they work?
- Could you tell about a routine day in Istanbul? How you spend your time?
- Are you spending time outside? (traveling, eating, shopping, fun, etc.) Do you use urban transportation means?
  - Is it easy for you to use public transportation? Could you talk about the troubles you've had?
  - How is your neighborhood relationship? How do you communicate with people in your neighborhood? Who are the people you often see?
  - Do you have any relationship with Turkish people? Do you have Turkish friends?

    What about your children? Do they have Turkish friends, how is their relationship with Turkish children?

    How's your kids at school? How their teachers treat them? Do you know how their friends behave them?

    Do you go to their school and talk to teachers? Do you face any problems? How do they treat you?
- Do you have television and / or internet at home? Which channels and news sites are you following?

- Have you faced any health problems? If so, did you try to reach your health care system? Could you tell me a bit about the process? (Language problem, communication with hospital staff, doctor referrals etc.)
- Are you in contact with any organization? Do we have contacts with local / national organizations? If so, what kind of relationship you have?
- In general, are you feeling safe in Turkey? And your neighborhood?
- Have you established close relations with Turkish people? Could you tell me a bit about the content of your relationship?
- Did you face any difficulty when you communicate with Turkish people? If yes, would you elaborate a little?
- What is Turkish identity mean to you? What do you think about Turkish people?
- Can you describe Syrian identity? What kşnd of differences between Turkish and Syrian people for you?
- As a woman, how did you experience the life in Turkey? Could you tell me a little bit about the difficulties or the things that make life easier?

EK 1- MÜLAKAT SORULARI

Önce size tanıyabilir miyim, isminizi, yaşınızı öğrenebilir miyim?

Pekiyi, Türkiye'ye gelme öykünüzü dinlemek isterim. Türkiye'ye ne zaman geldiniz, ne zamandır İstanbul'da yaşıyorsunuz? İstanbul'a gelmeden önce nerelerde yaşadınız?

Biraz da ev halinizden bahsedelim. Bu evde kaç kişi yaşıyorsunuz, kimlerle yaşıyorsunuz?

- Çocuklarınız var mı, çocuklarınız okula gidebiliyor mu, gidemeyeni var mı? Neden gidemiyor?
- Diğer aile bireylerinden biraz bahsedelim. Kimler var? Hangileri çalışıyor, nerelerde çalışıyorlar? Düzenli mi, düzensiz mi?
- Başka kimler var? Onlar okuyorlar mı, çalışıyorlar mı?

Istanbul'daki rutin bir gününüzü anlatabilir misiniz? Vaktiniz nasıl geçiyor, meşguliyetleriniz nelerdir?

- Dışarıda zaman geçiriyor musunuz? (gezmek, yemek yemek, alışveriş, eğlence vs) Evetse şehir içi ulaşım araçlarını kullanıyor musunuz?

- Toplu taşımaları kullanmak sizin için rahat oluyor mu? Varsa karşılaştığınız sıkıntılardan bahsedebilir misiniz?

- Komşuluk ilişkileriniz nasıl? Yaşadığınız mahalledeki insanlarla, esnaf vs iletişim durumunuz nasıl ? Sık sık görüştüğünüz kişiler kimler?

- Türkiyelilerle görüşüyor musunuz? Arkadaşlık kurduğunuz, evlerine gidip geldiğiniz Türkiyeliler var mı?

- Çocuklarınızın durumu nasıl? Onların Türkiyeli arkadaşları var mı? Beraber oyun oynuyorlar mı?

- Çocuklarınızın okulda durumu nasıl? Öğretmenleri onlara nasıl davranıyor? Arkadaşları nasıl davranıyor, biliyor musunuz?

- Okula gittiğiniz, öğretmenlerle konuştuğunuz oluyor mu? Bir sıkıntı çekiyor musunuz? Nasıl davranıyorlar size?

Evde televizyon ve/veya internet var mı? Hangi kanalları ve haber sitelerini takip ediyorsunuz?

Herhangi bir sağlık sorunuyla karşılaştınız mı? Evetse, sağlık sistemine ulaşmayı denediniz mi? Süreçten biraz bahsedebilir misiniz? (Dil problemi, hastane personeliyle iletişim, doktor yönlendirmeleri vs)

Herhangi bir kurum/kuruluşla iletişim halinde misiniz? Yerel/ulusal organizasyonlarla ilişkiniz var mı? Varsa ne tür ilişkiniz olduğundan söz eder misiniz?

Genel olarak düşündüğünüzde Türkiye'de kendinizi güvende hissediyor musunuz? Pekiyi ya mahallenizde?

Yakın ilişki kurduğunuz Türkiyeli kişiler var mı? Varsa ilişkinizin içeriğinden biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?

Türkiyeli insanlarla iletişim kurarken zorluk yaşıyor musunuz? Evet ise biraz ayrıntılandırır mısınız?

Türkiyeli kimliği (Türk kimliği) size ne ifade ediyor? Türkiyeliler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Suriyeli olmayı tanımlayabilir misiniz? Suriyelilerle Türkiyeliler arasında ne gibi farklar gözlemliyorsunuz? Anlatabilir misiniz?

Bir kadın olarak Türkiye'de yaşamak sizin için nasıl deneyim? Zor gelen ya da hayatı kolaylaştıran yanları var mı, biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?

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

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

Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Dilşad Turan

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: Gruplar Arası Temas ve Etkileşimin Sosyal Mesafeye Etkisi: Suriyeli Göçmenler Üzerinde Söylem Analizi

Proje No. / Project Number: 2018-20045-35

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

Değerlendirme Tarihi / Date of Evaluation: 24 Nisan 2018

Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

Doç. Dr. Itır Erhart

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Turgut Tarhanlı

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Koray Akay

Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Ali Demirci

Üye / Committee Member

Doç Dr. Ayhan Özgür Toy