



**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**WOMEN ON THE MOVE: THE GENDERED-DIMENSION OF CONFLICTS
AND FORCED MIGRATION – PERCEPTIONS OF HUMANITARIAN
WORKERS ABOUT SYRIAN WOMEN IN TURKEY**

Master's Thesis

Soukayna Mouflih

Peace and Conflict Studies

October 2022



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ABSTRACT

WOMEN ON THE MOVE: THE GENDERED-DIMENSION OF CONFLICTS AND FORCED MIGRATION – PERCEPTIONS OF HUMANITARIAN WORKERS ABOUT SYRIAN WOMEN IN TURKEY

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The study's goal is to observe and address the effect of forced displacement on women, mainly Syrians in Turkey as a case study. The study's major goal was to critically examine the impact of forced migration, the experiences, and challenges faced by forcibly displaced women from the I/NGOs experts' perspective, the forefront of the response. With this vision in mind, and through this research I wanted to contribute to the existing literature on women and development. This study mainly discusses the disadvantages of being a displaced person and a woman simultaneously. By making use of the problems faced on the ground, this study seeks to analyse first the policies made in place to respond to the crisis and the role that I/NGOs have been playing in collaboration with the Turkish authorities in managing women refugees' access to public services and safety.

Keywords: Forced migration; displacement; conflict and gender relations; Conflict's impact on women; Syrian women in Turkey; refugees; I/NGOs; social cohesion.

ÖZET

HAREKET HALİNDEKİ KADINLAR: ÇATIŞMALARIN VE ZORUNLU GÖÇÜN
CİNSİYET BOYUTU – TÜRKİYE'DE İNSANİ İŞÇİLERİN SURİYELİ
KADINLARA İLİŞKİN ALGILARI

SOUKAYNA MOUFLIH

YÜKSEK LİSANS, BARIŞ VE ÇATIŞMA ÇALIŞMALARI

DANIŞMAN: Dr. SEVAL YAMAN

EKİM, 2022

Çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye'de başta Suriyeliler olmak üzere zorla yerinden edilmenin kadınlar üzerindeki etkisini bir vaka çalışması olarak gözlemlemek ve ele almaktadır. Çalışmanın temel amacı, müdahalenin ön saflarında yer alan I/STK uzmanlarının bakış açısıyla zorunlu göçün etkisini, zorla yerinden edilmiş kadınların karşılaştığı deneyimleri ve zorlukları eleştirel bir şekilde incelemektir. Bu vizyonla ve bu araştırmayla kadın ve kalkınma konusundaki mevcut literatüre katkıda bulunmak istedim. Bu çalışma esas olarak yerinden edilmiş bir kişi ve aynı anda kadın olmanın dezavantajlarını tartışmaktadır. Bu çalışma, sahada karşılaşılan sorunlardan yararlanarak, öncelikle krize yanıt vermek için uygulanan politikaları ve kadın mültecilerin sosyal hizmetlere erişimini yönetmede Türk makamları ile işbirliği içinde I/STK'ların oynadıkları rolü analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. kamu hizmetleri ve güvenlik.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Zorunlu göç; yer değiştirme; çatışma ve cinsiyet ilişkileri; Çatışmanın kadınlar üzerindeki etkisi; Türkiye'deki Suriyeli kadınlar; mülteciler; I/STK'lar; sosyal Dayanışma

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I want to thank all of my friends for their support and encouragement.

Finally, I want to dedicate this achievement and success to my mom, my source of inspiration and love.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Authority
ASAM	Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DEVAW	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women
DGMM	Directorate General of Migration Management
EU	European Union
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
FSA	Free Syrian Army
GBV	Gender Base Violence
ICMPD	International Centre for Migration Policy Development
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IS	Islamic State
LFIP	Law on Foreigner and International Protection
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PSL	Personal Status Law
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SONIMs	Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centres
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TPR	Temporary Protection Regime
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United National International Children's Emergency Fund
UNODC	UN Office on Drugs and Crime
VAW	Violence Against Women

WHO **World Health Organization**
WPS **Women, Peace, and Security**



CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

WOMEN AND MIGRATION

Many factors might be the reason why people chose migration over other alternative solutions such as to defeat poverty, escape wars and conflicts, or either to survive environmental disasters and/or economic conditions. The UN Secretary-General Mr. Ban Ki-moon (2013) said: “Migration is an expression of the human aspiration for dignity, safety, and a better future. It is part of the social fabric, part of our very make-up as a human family”. Migration is considered as one of the “greatest challenges of the 21st century affecting people worldwide”, said IOM Deputy Director General Laura Thompson (2014).

In general, women and men may share the same concerns for choosing to migrate and leave their countries behind, some seek better opportunities, better educational system, some migrate to find a job, to establish a family or to escape war and oppression or any sort of destruction that may threaten their lives. Nevertheless, migration is largely seen as a gendered phenomenon; where gender customs and prospects, authority dominance, oppressive rights outline the migration decisions and preferences of women (Yeoh et al., 2002).

According to Zlotnick (2003), the most noteworthy trend with respect to migration was the inclusion of women into the streams of migration that had so far been focused on men. Today, women constitute about half of the migrants in the world, and that has been the case for some decades now. The aforementioned estimation includes both international and internal migrants, whereas many women tend to accompany their male members of the family or join relatives, yet female migrants who took the journey on their own keep increasing. Generally, a significant number of women migrate voluntarily for many different reasons, however, a huge number are obliged to migrate, and flee their homelands because of conflicts, oppression, disasters, and variant circumstances that impact their living and livelihoods.

Given the types of migration, some women may find themselves facing deprivation, hardship, abuse, and discrimination that can be linked to their status, both as migrants, refugees or simply the fact that they are women, where some may have poor access to job opportunities and usually earn less than male counterparts and native women (Martin. S, 2003).

Women may face real risks of different acts of abuse and violence, during and in the country of destination especially with the absence of a male relative escorting them. Being at risk of facing human trafficking or sexual/physical assaults is not easy and tough. Furthermore, upon arrival to their destination, they have to endure all the pain, trauma, and hardships that they suffered yet they still stand on their feet to take on the responsibility of their household by playing both traditional gender roles (Bukachi et al., 2010).

Forced migration or in other words displacement, is usually a result of violence, war, and violation of human rights. Women who were forced to migrate presented many challenges to the international community when it comes to fulfilling their special needs for physical and legal protection. According to Christensen and Harild (2009), displaced women face several difficulties related to accommodation, livelihoods, psychosocial well-being, access to basic and public facilities including education, health, social cohesion, and receptive governance.

Forced migration might be a key cause to negatively impacting the political and social stability of the countries that oversee hosting the displaced persons if unaddressed. It may also affect its long-term prosperity since the presence of refugees or asylum seekers may increase the rate of grievances that leads to the outbreak of violent conflicts, crimes, violation of human rights and instability. Christensen and Harlid (2009), well described this argument, stating “Displacement may also have longer term negative developmental impacts affecting human and social capital, economic growth, poverty reduction efforts, and environmental sustainability.”

However, if the hosting countries well managed the situation, the displaced people may positively affect the growth of the society, in having development potential in making a good use of their abilities and skills in hand to integrate within the society. “Displacement may contribute to economic growth benefitting both the displaced and the host region, and may also in the event of return, or successful local integration, or

resettlement in third countries bring valuable human and economic capital to the recovery process” (Christensen and Harild, 2009).

In this research, I will be focusing on the Syrian refugee women residing in Turkey as a case study. At first, I thought that addressing the impacts and consequences of forced migration would be sufficient to review the key areas and challenges where further assets and devotion are needed to support both the female migrants in rebuilding their internal and relational lives to contribute to the hosting society. And support the I/NGOs and governmental institutions to detect the gaps to prioritize and enhance protection policies and mechanisms when it comes to women. However, and thanks to my Advisors, I figured out that it would not be sufficient nor effective to tackle only the challenges without seeing the whole picture which includes all key actors. Therefore, during my research I worked on understanding the policies made in place to respond to this crisis, as well as to the role of I/NGOs who are the key players and the forefront of the refugee response.

1.1. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Following the outbreak of war in Syria, a great number of people found themselves under the obligation of fleeing the country and move to neighbouring countries and elsewhere. Turkey was one of the first neighbouring countries that opened its doors and welcomed the Syrian displaced people as its own guests since 2011. Therefore, and through its migration policy that went through several amendments to adjust to this crisis. Turkey has tried to extend a helping hand to those in need and protect them accordingly.

Nonetheless, looking to the growing number of refugees who chose to settle in Turkey, along with the growing tension of the Turkish community toward them has negatively impacted the integration process and made it look like a public issue now than ever. According to experts, Syrian refugee women face several challenges arising from both their status as refugees and being women. Through this study I will shed light on the intersectional constraints’ women experience from the fact of being both migrants and women. Demonstrating how the intersection of gender and migrant status affects women’s lives and the services available to them. And how the process simultaneously reinforces and reshapes gender roles and relationships. Thus, I will be emphasizing the

gaps and issues that seem to be unaddressed or neglected with respect to the impact of forced migration on women, as well as to the role of the humanitarian actors alongside the Turkish government in the response.

1.2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The objective of the study is to address and analyse with a critical eye the consequences and effect of forced displacement on women, their internal alongside to their social lives. The research intends to document the experience of Syrian women residing in Turkey from the eyes of I/NGO workers in order to subsidise the existing literature. Due to their vulnerability, Syrian refugee women and girls require special care. In addition to facing discrimination for being refugees, their experiences during conflict and diaspora are influenced by their gender. Therefore, the study attempts correspondingly to analyse the forced migration' impact with respect to household roles and relationships in addition to socio-economic development. By analysing the development challenges of forced displacement, the policies made in place, and the role of I/NGOs including revealing the key areas that need to be addressed by the government and social workers related to social cohesion, housing, livelihoods opportunities, work, access to national services including education, health, and protection.

I believe that by focusing on the subjectivities of women in forced migration, it would enhance the work of future studies and investments.

Research questions:

What are the opinions and experiences of NGO and INGO experts working on refugee women regarding the gendered experiences of refugees, asylum policy in Turkey, and local governance of asylum policies with respect to actors and practical problems?

Sub questions:

- What do experts think about the challenges that may be encountered by refugee women in Turkey?
- What do experts think about Turkey's general policies regarding asylum/refugee issues in general and refugee women, specifically Syrian refugee women in particular?

- How do experts evaluate the implementation of these policies locally? is there any challenges with respect to the implementation of these policies when it comes to practice?

1.3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is merely a synopsis of the research approach that will be used in the context of this thesis, which will be covered in depth in Chapter IV. The research is adopting primarily a qualitative method to help in analysing the consequences of forced displacement on Syrian women as well as the challenges they encounter in Turkey from the eyes of experts residing in Ankara. Mainly, I appealed to the existing literature review to understand the situation in different contexts besides the situation in Turkey. I consulted a number of previous research/ documents with respect to the policies, legal framework, and the role of I/NGOs in the response to better understand the context and know how to clearly address the purpose of my thesis. In the finding part, a direct semi-structured interview was conducted with 13 staff members of NGOs and INGOs dealing with refugees in Ankara. The choice of experts instead of women refugees was based on different grounds where neutrality and experiences from the field with various cases were essential to better understand the context from a professional eye.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

2.1. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE SYRIAN CRISIS

Towards the end of 2010, when the uprisings started outbreaking in the Arab countries including Tunisia, Libya and Egypt; in the contrary to some locations in North Africa and the Middle east, peaceful protests against the Syrian regime grown into a civil war that was the root cause of the eruption of one of the greatest refugee crises nowadays.

The protest erupted in March 2011, in a city called Daraa situated in the south of Syria, where a group of teenagers were assaulted and arrested by the authorities for drawing and writing some antiregime slogans on a school wall. This incident was a powerful push to enrage the habitants of Daraa and led them to start demonstrations calling for reforms. The protest didn't go as was peacefully planned by the people; they were met with violence and abuse; the security forces launched a mass arrest and opened fire at the civilians (Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017; Rodgers, Gritten, Offer, & Asare, 2016).

The cruel response of the authorities was the root cause of the people's outrage; it only added fuel to fire; protestors all over the country were calling for President al-Assad resignation, yet all of them were met with force. The aforementioned situation led the demonstrators to use arms to defend themselves and respond back. The violence escalated to the outbreak of a war where rebels were fighting against the regime forces. Giving that in July 2011, military defectors built the Free Syrian Army (FSA) aiming as a goal to overthrow the regime (Rodgers et al., 2016; Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017; "Syria's civil war explained", 2017).

As the conflict continued, it became more of a sectarian issue setting the country's Sunni sect majority against the Shia Alawites who hardly supported the authoritarian regime, and who most of them held titles within the government's military forces.

President Bashar al-Assad, benefited from the support of citizens belonging to Shia Alawites sect, as an Alawite himself, in addition to the support of other minorities since their rights to freely practice their religion were legally guaranteed (“Syria’s civil war explained”, 2017).

Upon the appearance of Daesh and the Nusra front, the situation was further escalated and worsen, resulting in a civil war. In addition, and to control parts of the country (Figure 1), Hezbollah began to side with the regime forces, the Kurds as well attempted to establish their own country. Meanwhile other external parties started to have a wider involvement in the conflict such as the Russians, the US along with its coalition supporting the opposition groups and the regime respectively, while fighting Daesh bastions (Rodgers, et al., 2016; Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017).

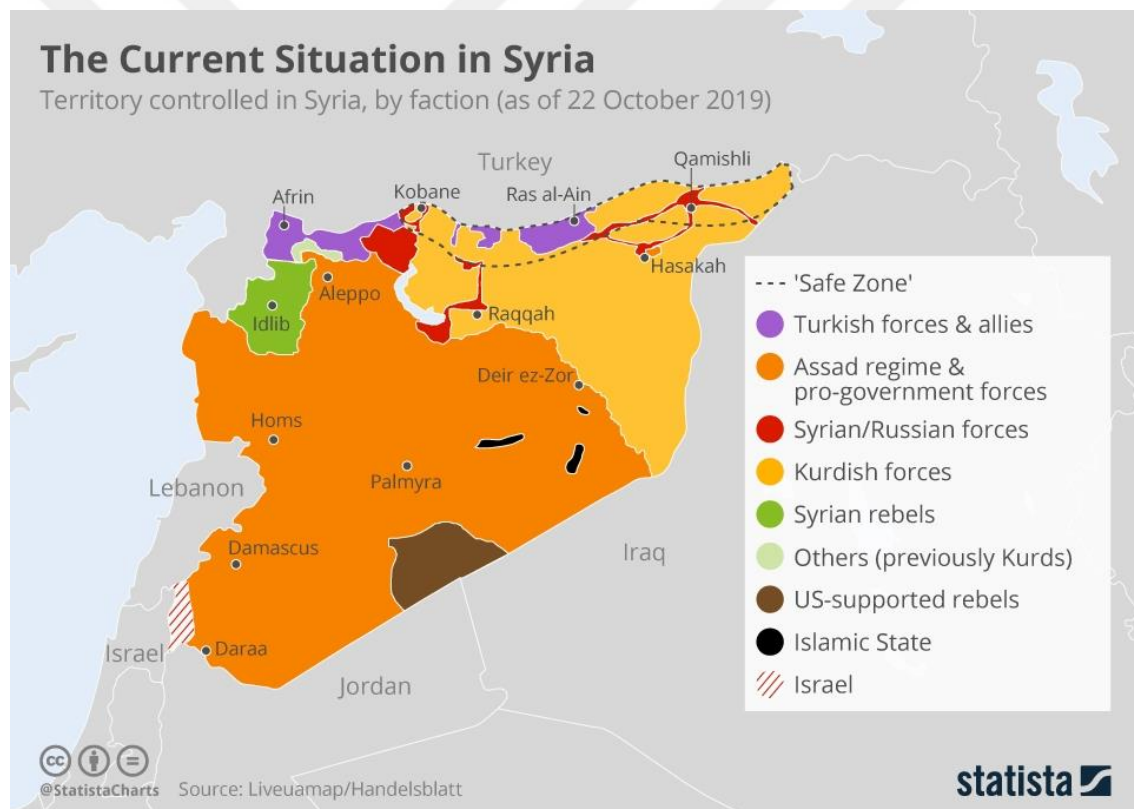


Figure 2.1. A map of Syria showing the parts controlled by different factions involved in the conflict (Source: Statista, the Current situation in Syria, updated: October 2019)

Acquiring numbers of fatalities was challenging due to uncertainty of figures and thus official Syrian death number report was stopped by the UN. The latest unofficial numbers in 2022 stated that between 499,657 and about 610,000 people lost their lives in

the conflict. Whereas the United Nations documented the death of at least 350,209 fatalities between March 2011 and March 2021. (BBC News, 2021).

The number of internally displaced people (IDPs) in Syria is 6.9 million, and over 5.6 million people are refugees in the neighbouring countries (ECHO, 2022).

According to UNHCR and ECHO, Turkey hosts the biggest number of the Syrian refugees; 3.7 million of them are registered. 839,000 are hosted by Lebanon, and more than 670,000 are in Jordan. The refugee definition as it is defined by UNHCR is 'Someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war, or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group' (UNHCR, 2017b).

2.1.1. Women in Syria: Social Norms

Syrian women's lives were often affected by the social norms and traditional customs, that had a great role in ruling the lives of these women and even their families, in preferences of law and sometimes religion. Many of them, remain unfamiliar with their rights and obligations with respect to domestic law. Some of these social norms differ in accordance with ethnicity, religion, sects, and from urban to rural areas, yet as an overview, these norms and customs always put women in second place and treat them as a cause of shame and disgrace for families.

Charles and Denman (2012) stated that after Hafez Al-1970 Assad's takeover of power, and notably under Bashar Al-Assad's regime, Syrian women's position has improved significantly. While the wheels of change have begun to turn, Charles and Denman argue that Syrian women's liberties have not been completely realized as a result of the combined action of authoritarian policies that deny citizens self-fulfilment and the pervasive patriarchal culture.

To build a modern, productive nation, the ruling Baath Party promoted a kind of socialist and secular state feminism during the beginning of Hafez Al-Assad's ruling (1970s–1980s) to put women on an equal footing with men in the development of Syria (Rabo 1996). Expanding employment options for educated women in public administration allowed the regime to both hire workers for the state's construction projects and co-opt women's liberation to bind them to the state's will (Sparre 2008). When the state-sponsored required to build a Ba'athist model of female citizens through their unilateral withdrawal from "backwardness" was undertaken, Rabo (1996) believes that

women paid a high price for the state's feminist rhetoric, which encouraged them to be good "productive citizens" while extending to fulfil their responsibilities as wives and mothers within the state.

In response to a variety of contemporary problems, including the 1980s economic crisis, rapid population growth, and labour market pressures (Perthes 1995), the regime attempted to reinforce the idea that women's key responsibility was to care for the family, with the goal of forcing women back into the personal space while favouring employment opportunities for young men (Sparre 2008). During Bashar Al-Assad's ruling, the country's economy's fiscal turn and promotion of privatization have emboldened 'space-based patriarchy' and decreased work prospects for women in both public and private sectors, notably in male-oriented industries (Kamla 2014).

The state and religious institutions have made multiple attempts to (re)frame the debate on female empowerment and equality to center on their responsibilities towards the household and their children, but Syrian women have been particularly active in exploiting the normative systems that impinge on them and taking advantage of any fissures in embracing capabilities to express their gendered identities and political organization. Gallagher (2007) shows several ways in which low-income women in Damascus could soothe a "gender-dependent scheme" while using various resources to avoid patriarchy and power. To the extent that Syrian women's agencies have been published by engaging in paid work while adhering to the socially accepted ideals of women's dignity, dignity, and integrity, as shown by Gallagher. Relied on negotiating practices that promoted the acceptance of women, which resulted in certain gender norms and redefinition of others. In line with the same policy, Totah (2013, 2) attribute Syrian women to them socially and politically to navigate their role as managers of collective memory and the power of male dominance. Analyse how it used its role as a "store of tradition, history, and genetics" from the ambitions of real estate developers to pursue hierarchy within government and essentially political goals. To protect the heritage of a historic country.

In other words, and from the abovementioned arguments we can say that the Syrian families constitute the main source of oppression and subjugation of females based on the traditional customs. Adding to that, women, particularly young girls, are victims of societal violence as an outcome of being discriminated against vis-à-vis to males. As

a common example that might be observed in pretty much all masculine societies; girls are supposed to help with chores and help their mothers after school, whereas for boys, it is considered a shame to help in the kitchen or a boy should not cry, a boy should beat her sister to educate her, and to protect the family's honour. Also, through the same norms, we can find that married women are obliged to carry the whole responsibility for all domestic chores even if she is an employee. Therefore, she has to work in and out and doesn't have the right to complain.

As a matter of fact, gender inequality shows up in different aspects of society. For instance, access to education. Many Syrian families prefer to marry their daughters at an early age, and deprive them of education, while it is not the case for the male members of the family, where they have total freedom to choose whether to study or not. For females, the parents are the ones who decide on their behalf. Syrian women, in the eyes of society, are weak and bottled-up, whereas males' members are strong, hard-working, and brave. For sure, by stating all the above facts, we can't generalize that these customs apply to all Syrian families. Syrian society is diverse in its form, as not all its adherents obey social norms and traditions. Countless Syrian females are independent and discard traditional customs, particularly if they were supported by their families. Hence, categorizing the whole Syrian society under one class would be inaccurate and unfair.

2.1.2. Syrian Women' Civil Status

Since Syria took independence in 1947, the condition of Syrian females was affected by the political decisions and the influential people of the country, since they both were and remain accountable for founding and employing the core laws that define the civil status of women, such as penal code, family law, and the constitutional law. Different examples from the local law that still occurred until these days, gives us a clear vision of how Syrian women were and are legally discriminated against. By consulting some articles from the Syrian civil law, we do notice that the Personal Status Law combines different elements taken after the French civil law, Ottoman, and Islamic law, seen as a main source of legislation. Yet, and according to Manea and Elham (2011) only laws that are related to women and family are treated separately, under a totally independent religious court, which contributes in a way and leads to legal inequalities, not only from a gender perspective but also this has affected women of different religious sects (Arenfeldt & Golley, 2012).

Nevertheless, acquiring a varied PSL (Personal Status Law) doesn't explain the subjectivity of Syrian women and that all the related articles are different in accordance with the religion or sect. All Syrian women were subject to discrimination when it comes to custody related laws, citizenship, freedom of movement, as well as to other basic rights. Syrian females don't have the right to transfer their nationality to their kids if they happen to marry a foreign man, although men are allowed. Females are not allowed to travel in the absence of the consent of their spouses, whereas males can. Moreover, having a male guardian to bond marriages is a must for all Syrian females regardless of their ages, although men can easily contract their own marriages. And if a woman happens to marry without having her guardian's accord, he has the right to annul her marriage. Similar inequalities can be observed in the penal code, when permitting anyone of her close male relative to murder her under "Honour killing". In fact, such incidents weren't considered as a crime, but as an "offense", therefore the punishment is a sentence of imprisonment that can vary from 6 months to two years max (Human Rights Watch, 2009). Yet before 2009, the sentence was even less; up to a year that might be shorten depending on the judge holding the case (The World Bank, 2009).

Concerning Syria's constitutional code, which also clearly discriminates against women and males, as well as men of other religious sects, Article 3 of the amended regulations of 2012 specifies that Syria's president must be a Muslim. Also, the fact that legislation is mostly derived on Islamic jurisprudence, by doing so, any chance of amending the legislations into civil law is eliminated (Al-Rahbi, 2014). All these laws were reflected when ratifying the 'Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)' in 2003, wherein various important reservations were made but not endorsing the Optional Protocol yet. The following articles were questioned and reflected in the convention: Article 9(2), related to the transfer of nationality from the mother to her kids; Article 15(4), concerning the freedom of movement in addition to the place of domicile; Article 16(1), requiring equal rights and obligations in marriage/divorce with respect to guardianship, affiliation, and adoption; Article 16(2), related to child marriage; and Article 29(1), addressing international negotiations in the case of a conflict (Buecher, B. & Aniyamuzaala, Rwampigi, J., 2015).

The application of all these assizes and regulations appears to be against Syrian women became a form of common social standards within the community and in everyday activity. As it adds to gender inequality and gives males lawful control over women, as one of the various sorts of women's human rights breaches. Theological groups in Syria can also help to affirm these traditions by employing them when appropriate or inventing religious justifications for their preservation (OECD, 2015).

2.1.3. The 2011' Uprising and The Shifting Role of Syrian Women

The 2011' uprising impacted greatly the Syrians lives and was a watershed moment in the history of the entire nation, particularly, women. Since the beginning females with different backgrounds were involved in peaceful protests and tried to assist those in need of humanitarian and medical intervention. Later on, when the situation aggravated, women found themselves obliged to shift their roles, and take other responsibilities rather than being housewives/employees/mothers. They had to fill the blanks and served as first-aid nurses, some joined the revolution insurgencies, others joined the military, etc. therefore and like their males' counterparts, these women were targeted and subjected to violence, abuse, detention and even they were tortured by the regime' forces (SNHR, 2015). As the situation continues to deteriorate, the number of discriminatory boundaries toward females kept increasing, hence violence. However, all these circumstances didn't stop women from carrying out other roles like; being head of households, caregiving, and being the main provider as wage-earners.

At the time, civilians were facing frantic conditions, and increasingly with the constraint of goods, and with the dwindling presence of men and their ability to accomplish traditional roles, increasing numbers of female-headed households arisen. Where families became more dependent on women to first provide for the family, second, allot humanitarian aid, and take care of those injured during the clashes (Human Rights Watch, 2014). Studies and many reports showed that the places controlled by extremist militant groups, witnessed greater discrimination, notably towards women, where they were obliged to follow a certain and strict dress code, and weren't allowed to engage within the community or move freely without being abused or harassed. They were restraint from accessing education and working. As a result of these harsh conditions, thousands of Syrian women have been forced to leave Syria either alone or accompanied with family members to neighbouring countries in search of security, hope and dignity.

2.2. TURKEY'S MIGRATION POLICY

Who would have anticipated that all this turmoil and devastation in all aspects of the Syrians lives would start with just some teenagers drawing some graffiti in Daraa governorate! It is factual that, in March of the year 2011, those teenagers arrest had such an immense impact on the whole country that did lead to anti-government demonstrations which later on escalated to a civil war lasting over 10 years forcing over 6.6 million to flee to other countries while leaving behind over 6.7 million people internally displaced. The first destinations for those fleeing their country were the close countries like Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt and few made it further to EU countries either legally through humanitarian programs or illegally smuggled to what the historians refer to as The Old Continent. Out of the said 6.6 million Syrians who left their country, 3.6 million are seeking shelter and protection in Turkey as per the DGMM statistics given in May of 2021. In other statistics provided by the Refugees Association in May of 2021, the number of women refugees in Turkey is 1.7 million. With few exceptions and since the start of the Syrian conflict until the year 2016, Turkey has adopted and implemented an “Open Door” policy towards the Syrians fleeing their persecution in their own country, ensured their rights against refoulement and that, their basic needs are met. Of course, all of this was done in accordance with international law and the universal principle of human rights. Since Turkey has the longest borders with Syria which is more than 900 kilometres extended all the way from the east to the west of the northern part of Syria, this fact had its influence on huge numbers of refugees arriving in Turkey as mentioned earlier. In 2013, the government of Turkey has identified its response to the Syrian crisis and the mass influx of Syrian refugee arrivals to its territory according to the law initiated in 2013 named ‘Law on Foreigners and International Protection (6458)’ that put in place a new regime called "Temporary Protection". The regulation specifies when and how temporary protection will be implemented, as well as how it will be terminated. The legislation states that immigrants arriving in large numbers at the borders for compelling reasons other than individual international protection claims would be granted temporary protection by a Cabinet Decree.

The legislation also specifies the obligations of the entities and describes how emergency management would be carried out by which public bodies in the event of a

large inflow. The newcomers are expected to be registered and moved to reception centers or allocated to provinces selected by the Directorate-General of Migration Management.

The policy also specifies how services like healthcare and education would be delivered to individuals granted temporary protection, emphasizing on work permits and other restrictions. In addition to how returns will be executed and how collaboration with other organizations and other stakeholders will be established if the situation in their homeland improves.

In general, the defined law drew the responsibilities and rights for the Syrians falling under its scope outlining the procedures, the services granted to beneficiaries, and finally how the local, national, and international organizations or agencies involved shall cooperate in the response.

However, with all the regulations, efforts, and services put and implemented to preserve the rights of refugees to a secure and full of dignity life, women remain the most negatively affected among the refugee population in many aspects.

2.2.1. Legal framework

After the mass arrival to Turkey from Syria, the local authorities decided to revise and make amends to the Turkish laws and regulations related to immigrants. The reason for such a decision was the fact that, at the time the already existing laws and regulations were insufficient to provide full protection. Before the 1994 Regulation on Asylum law, Turkey only accepted people of Turkish descent and culture according to the Settlement Law of 1934 as well as the geographical limitation on the 1951 Geneva Convention and its 1967 Additional Protocol, allowing only asylum rights to Europeans. As a result, all asylum seekers in Turkey not included in the aforementioned criteria, were defined by Turkish law as “illegal” and were not allowed to stay in Turkey even if they were recognized as refugees. In 2013 the new Law on Foreigners and International Protection replaced its 1994 predecessor. Non-European asylum seekers were still not entitled to stay in Turkey; however, the law granted them temporary protection and limited rights to access of health, education, social services and labour while their claim for refugee status was evaluated by UNHCR and eventually resettled out of Turkey to other countries. The law also includes an emphasis on integrating immigrants into Turkey and treating asylum seekers and irregular migrants in accordance with international norms. Furthermore, the law does not limit migration into the country of people of Turkish descent and culture.

All this sudden changes in Turkey paved the way for the Government to announce the ‘Law on Foreigners and International Protection’ (LFIP) (No 6458) where a devoted agency named Directorate-General for Migration Management (DGMM) a filiate managed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs was established to control the flow of migration and its related policies in 2013.

Turkey is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, and it has maintained the 1951 Convention's geographical restrictions. This means that, only those fleeing because of events taking place in Europe can be recognized as refugees in Turkey. Therefore, and following the new regulations announced in 2013, Turkey has adopted two new asylum laws that would define the status determination processes, the rights and obligations of refugees, and the ensuing services. The first was the Law on Foreigners and Internal Protection (LoFIP), that was adopted in April 2013 and became effective in April 2014. This law which is serving Non-Syrian/Non-European asylum seekers was drafted after involvement of several bodies such as international organizations, experts and civil societies that are specialized in migration and asylum laws; “The Law ensures important safeguards and addresses critical shortcomings of the national asylum system of Turkey which were raised by UNHCR, human rights NGOs and the committee reports”¹.

The second law was the Temporary Protection Regime (TPR) for Syrians and Stateless Persons which was declared by the Turkish authorities in October of 2011. However, having access to education, health and social services was provided via a secondary legislation under the Turkish law due to the absence of law stated under the TPR that could regulate the rights of Syrians.

Any Syrian national/individual whose last habitual residence place is Syria that is seeking protection in Turkey is going to be covered under the TRR. The laws state that, recipients of Temporary Protection shall be having access to protection and assistance in Turkey. This certainly includes the right to reside in the country until a better solution is found. Moreover, the law ensures the right against refoulement and access to the essential needs and rights. The TPR ensures variety of rights such as access to livelihoods, social assistance, and other primary services such as education, health and so on...

¹ UNHCR Periodic Review

Considering shifting legal framework and the growing engagement of state agencies in integrating refugees into the public service facilities and within the society, the following parts will give us a better understanding of these concepts in details with respect to defining the protection frameworks applied under the national legislation standards, i.e., International Protection and Temporary Protection.

2.2.2. International Legal norms

The 1951 Convention approved on July 28th, concerning refugee status, and known as ‘Geneva Convention’, defines the modalities according to which a State must grant refugee status to persons who seek it, as well as the rights and obligations of these persons. After World War II, the convention was adopted through a conference of plenipotentiaries on the status of refugees and stateless persons convened by the United Nations, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 429 (V)² of December 14th, 1950³.

This convention was supplemented in 1967 by the Protocol concerning refugee status, therefore defining as follows the individuals should be considered as a refugee:

“As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.” (Article 1(2))⁴

The 1951 convention not only brought up the definition of a refugee, but also an arrangement containing the rights of the displaced people and drawn the legal obligation for each state within the agreement, therefore it has been considered as a critical document aiming for the protection of human rights⁵. Still, and since the documents was adopted

² Assemblée générale des Nations unies, « 429 (V). Projet de convention relative au statut des réfugiés »

³ Assemblée générale des Nations unies, « Projet de convention relative au statut des réfugiés : projet d'acte final

⁴ Article 1(2) of The United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees in 1951 and amended version of its Optional Protocol in 1967.

⁵ D, (2016). Refugee Convention of 1951 still crucial cornerstone of human rights.

after WWII, the refugee convention was confined by the temporal and geographical bounds until this option was abrogated; “The Convention of 1951 has been subject to only one amendment in the form of the 1967 Protocol, which removed the geographic and temporal limits of the 1951 Convention.”⁶. Though, the 1967 Protocol revoked these bounds, yet Turkey did only agree on the cancellation of the temporal limit and non the geographic bounds when accepting a refugee on its territory. Therefore, those who fled from a non-EU country are not considered as refugees, thus, they will not be granted the status by the Turkish Republic, until the new amendments took place in 2014, related to the Turkish law No. 6458 of 2013 regarding Foreigners and International Protection and Temporary Protection.

Following the international human rights law, and under its decree; the principle of non-refoulement ensures that “No one should be returned to a country where they would face torture, inhumane, humiliating and harsh treatment or penalty and other irreparable harm. This principle applies to all migrants at all times, irrespective of migration status” (OHCHR). This principal was adopted to protect any individual from being subjected to any type of violence, including its right the live. Thus, abiding to this principal is a have to, for all the states who signed the 1951 Convention, in which Turkey is one of them, even with maintaining its geographical’ boundaries. Still, the effectiveness of this principal should be questioned in cases where the refugees is not recognized or accepted by the state as a refugee but an asylum-seekers. And this may worsen if the host countries are not parts of the convention and its 1967 protocol, such as Lebanon and Jordan; people seeking refuge and escaped persecution may remain therefore, unprotected, yet these states and according to their national law vis-à-vis foreigners, they did normalize the recognition of a person as a refugee and/or asylum seeker (MoFAD, 2014).

The Turkish Republic opted for two cores legal agendas: managing and controlling the flow of migration, as well as to the designation of asylum’ circumstances with respect to the 1934 Law of Settlement of Turkey and the 1951 refugee convention (Icduygu. A, 2015). Therefore, the process of identifying those who can hold the status as refugees from economic migrants remain a bit challenging.

⁶ UNHCR Introductory Note. (2010). In Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. (p.2).

After the mass influx resulted out of the Syrian crisis, the Turkish government considered it as an opportunity to amend and revise some of its inadequate agendas, even though, the revised version of the law couldn't provide the fully protection' expected, besides to the geographical limitation that remains playing a huge role in weakening the effective implementation of the current law, for instance, those who should be recognized as refugees (Non Syrians particularly), or have been guaranteed this status through UNHCR, are been considered under the Turkish law as conditional refugees.

However, Syrians and due to the doubts and legal incertitude on how to categorize them, they've been considered as "Guests", the term that didn't grant them any rights or effective protection, until the Turkish authorities introduced and amended the national law with respect to the adoption of the new norm of "Temporary protection".

2.2.3. National Legal Norms and Temporary Protection

Following the Arab Spring and the conflicts been escalated, since April 2011, Turkish authorities were a forerunner to implement a "self-declared open-door policy", particularly towards Syrians as an immediate and short-term emergency response plan which included providing shelter and food to the arrivals. However, this plan turned out to be not as been drafted and expected, the numbers kept hugely increasing in a short period of time, while the authorities hadn't legally contextualized the concept of the so-named open-door policy.

Taking into consideration the mass influx resulted out of the mass arrivals of Syrians who fled their homeland in order to survive, Turkey opted for a new law amendment in order to secure the safety of those in need, one created under the name of LFIP (Law on Foreigners and International Protection) that entered into action in April 2014, in addition to other new legal norms known as TPR (Temporary Protection Regulation) that entered into action in October 2014.⁷ Where they both aimed to provide protection for non-EU comers to its territory; one related to the non-Syrian citizens that falls under LFIP law, in this regard the government of Turkey introduced two concepts instead of granting the refugee status, it categorizes refugees under either "Conditional refugee status", or "Subsidiary protection status". However, the other norms concerned

⁷ Temporary Protection Regulation (Council of Ministers Decision No: 2014/6883) dated 13/10/2014 was published in the framework of Article 91 of Law No. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP).

the Syrian citizens, that were granted status of temporary protection, according to the law No. 6458.

Therefore, the term of temporary protection has been defined under LFIP law as:

“Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Turkey in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection.” (Article 91/1)⁸.

Consequently, Syrian citizens, and stateless persons, those who enter Turkey owing to the events that occurred in Syria after April 2011, are been provided with temporary protection (TP) by the Government of Turkey which could be considered as an ad-hoc protection system and/or a subsidiary legislation based on the Article 91 from LFIP, where, the DGMM is the main governmental body in charge for the whole asylum measures, including the temporary protection regime.

“The Directorate General of Migration Management has been established under the Ministry of Interior in order to implement migration policies and strategies, ensure coordination among relevant agencies and organizations, and carry-out functions and actions related to the entry into, stay in and exit from of foreigners in Turkey as well as their removal, international protection, temporary protection and the protection of victims of human trafficking.” (Article 103)⁹.

Hence, and as part of the temporary protection regime, stateless persons arriving from Syria in addition to Syrian citizens who seek out protection from the Turkish authorities “under normal circumstances are admitted to Turkey, and thereafter can seek and receive temporary protection from the Government of Turkey. They are under normal circumstances not sent back to Syria unless they themselves request to do so.” (UNHCR).

UNHCR had and still plays a great role in assisting and protecting refugees, before DGMM took responsibility for registering the non-Syrians arrivals in September 2018, UNHCR was the main responsible body for registration and refugee status determination

⁸ Turkey: Law No. 6458 of 2013 on Foreigners and International Protection, Article 91/1.

⁹ Turkey: Law No. 6458 of 2013 on Foreigners and International Protection, Article 103.

and resettlement eligibility by conducting thousands of interviews to ensure the implementation of the best durable solution that the person of concern can benefit from. Nowadays, the Turkish Government of Turkey leads the response to protect and assist refugee and asylum-seeker girls, boys, youths, women, and men while UNHCR provides direct capacity development support and technical advice to the Turkish authorities. As the refugee agency, UNHCR also coordinates the efforts of UN agencies and partners to strengthen Turkey's refugee response and to make sure that refugees and asylum seekers can access their rights. Working in close collaboration with the Turkish government and particularly DGMM, UNHCR, aims to strengthen the national asylum regime as well as, to provide various type of assistance to refugees/asylum seekers, those living in camps and cities, through its sub-offices, local stakeholders, NGOs, municipalities, and partners to ensure the wellbeing of those in need.

Women's inclusion in law' amendments

The main and primary legislation that was intended to address women refugees' issues in Turkey and aim for their protection was under law No 6284 to Protect Family and Prevent Violence Against Women. This law was founded in 2012, after a deep revision with stakeholders, alongside with some grassroots women's arrangements, with respect to the promises made of the "Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence" (see Istanbul Convention 2011), and the Convention related to the 'Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women' (CEDAW). In fact, this law has been considered since then as a milestone, an innovative plan to protect women residing in Turkey, regardless of the gender-neutral discourse, it refers to the protection of the family in its composition.

Following the implementation of law, No 6284, Violence Prevention and Monitoring Centres (referred to as ŞÖNİM) have been formed in order to look after and assure the providence of comprehensive and effective guidance in addition to rehabilitation facilities to those facing risks and to the survivors of violence, besides, managing transfers to women's lodgings/shelters which is regarded as a positive point, yet it has many challenges. Apparently, the Ministry of Family, Labour, and Social Services (MoFLSS), did issue an internal decree in which it authorises the admission of only registered women survivors of violence to access to shelters and to benefit from

ŞÖNİM's services¹⁰. Whereas the unregistered ones shall pass through an ID verification system first, then to register to be admitted which creates a great challenge for the newcomers who don't possess any ID yet, or the unregistered ones due to quite a lot of factors.

On the other hand, some of the institutional fences and the complexity of the necessary administrative procedures, besides the insufficient capacity to support many women in shelters, or to access ŞÖNİM's available services due to the admission related complexities, have impacted the effective implementation of the mechanism in place. Adding to that, the inadequate empowerment programs and language barriers that are seen as the main aspects that obstruct these women from benefiting from the protection apparatuses and services mentioned under the amended legislation which leads these women to choose to stay only for a short period in shelters, then find themselves facing the unknown and struggling on their own.

2.2.4. Achievements and challenges

Turkey has been hosting the large numbers of refugees since 2014, and still. Recent data from 2022 shows that the number of Syrian citizens under TP regime (registered with DGMM) is 3.7 million, from whom 98% living in urban areas, while less than 2% reside in temporary accommodation centres (camps/ including women shelters). Whereas those under IP, found nearly 320.000 (both asylum and refugees), from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan other nationalities (UNHCR, Factsheet 2022).

According to the same report, due to the large -mass influx- arrivals, Turkey started changing its open-door policy slightly, and became somehow strict to better manage its borders, especially with Syrians, that are only allowed to enter Turkey in case of medical purposes, family reunification, and/or in cases of humanitarian exceptions. Given the fact that the EU-Turkey statement has affected the onward movements towards western borders, that UNHCR and DGMM had to handle closely.

As stated, beforehand, DGMM is the body responsible for Syrians' registration under TP regime, as well as the registration of non-Syrians under IP application and its processing since September 2018. While UNHCR supported closely DGMM into verifying the registration records – 2.7 million records were successfully conducted, and

¹⁰ MoFLSS, Directive on Foreign Survivors of Violence Against Women and Girls.

UNHCR do keep maintaining its support for the ongoing registrations. Working together with DGMM to successfully keep us on the implementation of international protection and status determination with respect to the law of LFIP. In the meantime, some challenges were faced, related to the legal framework with regards to the place of residence that strictly has to be applied.

With respect to the LFIP law, Temporary Protection regime and international protection application opted to offer a strong and wide-ranging legal framework for persons in need of protection when it comes to their legal stay, registration, status determination and accessibility to rights and services. National institutions alongside with provincial and local authorities took an active role in providing needed services and assistance to refugees/ asylum seekers. However, taking into consideration the vast number of refugees, the services provider' capacity is stretched, and therefore, they require some extra technical support to improve access and sustain quality of public services, especially for those with specific needs. Though, UNHCR woks on strengthening its operational relationships with relevant state institutions and authorities, nationally and locally. UNHCR has liaised with DGMM in the roll-out of the "Harmonization" strategy, that has been adopted since 2018 by the Turkish government, through various initiatives, in order to contribute to awareness, discourse and communication. The Law on Foreigners and International Protection also presented actions to strengthen the social cohesion and promote self-reliance, allowing both parts; the host community and foreigners, including refugees, to live in harmony (UNHCR, Factsheet 2022). Giving the aforesaid facts, Turkey always shows responsibility when it comes to the refugee response, it has called for sustained international responsibility-sharing in line with the Global Compact on Refugees.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1.1. Root Causes of Forced Displacement

To comprehend and identify the reasons of forced displacement, we shall for sure address at the first hand the root causes of conflicts as they were classified the main reason causing human displacement. According to UNHCR (2002), armed conflicts and wars are the primary and one of the leading causes of forced displacement. The assessments prepared by UNHCR show that the reasons for conflicts and violative acts may be related to the fact of having control over economic resources like diamonds, metals, drugs, oil or disputed territorial boundaries. Countries like Sudan and Colombia experienced the intensification of the destitution of men and women due to the oilfield discovery. Both nations have been targeted, abused, killed, and forced to flee due to the oil development in which resulted into a war. Controlling resources is similar to exercising authority and it is gendered indeed. According to El Jack's argument (2003, 10-11), individuals who do not reach the power or have resources are not the ones who start wars. Thus, the frequent struggles over resources which remain unresolved or questionable are usually resulting in armed conflicts. In addition to the fact that conflicts tend to bring and perpetuate disparity amid ethnic groups and discrimination against marginalized groups, giving way to conflict outbreaks.

The complexity of armed conflicts and tensions in the twenty-first century around the world is increasing. El Jack (2003, 9-11) argues that structural inequalities between communities and/or population-state do cause regional and worldwide violent conflicts to flare up. Conflicts' nature has shifted in a dramatic way over the years due to the improvement in the weapons industry and the development of technology. Many

countries worked on reinforcing and strengthening their military instead of development. The fact that played a huge role in worsening the existing restraints on women's rights, and therefore intensifies inequalities in gender related relations.

Women's rights within countries have been limited due to the increased militarisation, and gender equality has also been a subject justifying military involvement in many sovereign states. For instance, liberating women from the oppressive regime of the Taliban was one justificative of a set of motives to invade Afghanistan in 2001 by the US. Though throughout the five years leading up to the invasion there was a constant contempt for the plight of women, irrespective of efforts by humanitarian agencies to bring attention to the human rights abuse against the Afghan women (El Jack, 2003, 10). Generally, and in most situations, armed conflicts reinforce gender inequities and escalate aggressiveness and prejudice against ethnic minority groups. Thus, these marginalized groups found themselves obliged to fight injustice and oppression by forming rebel groups. Although, facing these repressions and injustices through armed conflicts aiming to resolve and stop inequalities based on gender, religion, class, and race related issues is not the right response under any circumstances.

The outbreak of armed conflicts in most African countries were characterised by breaches in power or the unfairly distributed resources within the different classes of the society and surely among groups who do belong to different religious sects, races, ethnicities, and regions.

By looking to the historical background of some nations we can say that inequitable governance was the major causal factor of armed conflicts. Taking the case of Sudan, whose boundaries have indeed been contested owing to autocratic government under colonialism and even after its independence. Where the most strategic and powerful position were represented by Southerners while the educated individuals from the north oversaw lower government ranks. Although both needed to cooperate and join forces to overcome the British colonialism, yet after reaching independence the alliance got outdated and the role of the southerners' representation in constitutional institutions turn out to be inactive. Though it was set by Khartoum government that any attempt by Southerners threatening the unity and peace of the country would be suppressed (DMPF/OSSREA, 2000).

According to UNIFEM (2002, 1-4), several research show that gender could be a key factor causing forced migration; when women's rights are violated, they found themselves under obligation to flee. Most fights in developing countries are of a racial and internal nature. They mostly occur in poor emergent nations and persist for several years. Women and children's security is most of the time not taken into account when relief assistance is provided to those need by humanitarian actors (Cohen & Deng, 1998, 10).

The main reasons of forced migration comprise armed and internal conflicts with constant violations of human rights (USCR, 1997, 16-17). Additionally, to the fact that those internally displaced are generally individuals who found themselves obliged to flee their homes due to persecution, violence and the lack of protection as indicated by UNHCR. The position of these women is indeed of enormous apprehension because women and children make up the majority of displaced people in most circumstances.

Armed conflicts might also be triggered due to the human nature of individuals and the struggle for authority. Several theories and studies mentioned that violence and aggression have a biological background. We all agree that humankind is controlled by desires and manners alike self-attention, greed, dissatisfaction, sense of competition and even violence are normal behaviours of a human being.

According to Schellenberg (1996, 13) statement; conflict is regarded as a means of social interaction between people by social process theorists, who strive to generalize the nature of this process. We do understand that not all conflicts are seen unhealthy, he argues that the fundamental resolves of integrating activities emerge from the social processes of conflict and competition. Hence, many social academics admit the likelihood for individuals or societies to overcome fight under certain conditions yet consider conflict to be an ordinary step of social interaction. In accordance with the aforesaid, Schellenberg (1996, 65-70) argued that some academics do see and think of conflicts as ascending from societies or division of societies adding that the differences in class, race, ethnicity, nationality, economic status, and gender can all occur. When the structure of a society is unjust and exploitative, it produces conflict, which may be resolved by altering these societies to attain equality and justice. According to these scholars, conflicts are caused by unequal social structures generated by society's dominant forces. Human antagonism and power dynamics are at the heart of social systems. By way of explanation,

those who rule reach these positions and authority using their power, which in fact needs to be abstracted and restructured fairly between the different classes.

Other theorists refer the circumstance of forced migration to push-pull factors, according to Weeks (2002, 189), individuals are forced to migrate because they are pushed to do so, whereas others chose to migrate because they may be attracted (pulled) to the lifestyle or conditions of other places. He clarifies that sometimes pull factors are way more important than push factors. For instance, there is always a willingness for material self-improvement but the longing to flee from a disagreeable state; War, for example, that is primarily responsible for the majority of women's forced displacement in the twentieth century.

3.1.2. Theoretical Orientation of Gender in Migration Studies: Feminist Contribution

Academics of Feminist migration have contributed significantly to the field, where family relations, migrant household and social network were the most touched upon subjects. First and foremost, the choice to move, as well as the alternatives that aid in its facilitation, are frequently embedded in domiciliary gender relations. Raising economic prospects for female migrants in general contributed to migration feminization (Castles and Miller 1993), particularly when women show ability to seek up chances for domestic chores (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Mattingly 1999; Parrenas 2001; Romero 2002), sex work (Lutz 1997; Morokvasic 1993), and health care as argued by Donato and Tyree (1986). Yet, non-economic reasons, like fleeing violence from a spouse (Adams 2002; Gamburd 2000; Hart 1997; Minter 2002; Phizacklea 2003) or from prevalent regular violence that led to the creation of significant refugee movements (Boyd 1999; Hyndman 1998) might be the main factors why women may be also drawn to migration. Men also share the same reasons when migrating; to escape persecution and violence, however women remain the most vulnerable categories because they are either holding subordinate position in home or because women are sought as ambassadors of a vassal state as transmitters of racial culture in their families (Albanese 2001; Enloe 2000; Hodge 2007; McClintock 1996; Sackellares 2005; Silverman et al. 2007; Smith 1991; Yuval-Davis 1997).

Marriage can also be considered an increasing factor of women's migration. The research made by Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2003), shows that many of the women who

migrated as “mail order brides” are mostly coming from Latin America, Eastern Europe, the Former Soviet Union, and Southeast Asia, walking on the same path as those migrating for labouring purposes, moving to wealthier countries seeking settlement.

Theories addressing migration’s aspects and causalities typically argue that movements begin with coherent economic linkages between nations, governments, or with ferocious uprisings or international political relations, these fluxes are sustained using social networks. In fact, these networks make access to various structures from which potential migrants obtain resources (like needed materials and info) which lowers migration's fiscal expenses, minimise the hazards connected to migration and facilitate assimilation into the host community (Boyd 1989; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Curran et al. 2005; Gold 2005; Kanaiaupuni et al. 2005; Massey and Espana 1987; Massey et al. 1993; Winters et al. 2001).

According to Curran and Sagui (2001), men and women access to the types of social network is shaped through the standard gendered expectations. For instance, women have large access to kin social network where they are likely to keep close familial ties, and vis-versa they tend to have less access to non-kin nets where women’s sexual relationships are exceedingly prohibited. In general, women are more linked to female nets than males are to male nets; it depends on the purpose of these networks if they do offer variant levels of resources, so women and men associated to them may obtain at their disposal more or less support and resources (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes, 2003; Curran et al., 2005). The majority of gender and migration research and related studies emphasis on the time following migration, addressing the gendered procedures with respect to integration and readjustment into the host community. In accordance with George (2005) and Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) arguments, women and men usually adopt new cultural practices and behaviours when families experience separation through migration that overturn their previous position and responsibilities within the family. Spouses face the urge to learn how to cook and do house chores, while wives evolve and show more autonomy in the absence of their male counterparts. Cultural customs related to gendered activities are rather contested, despite the fact that several studies concluded that those customs are unexpectedly enduring despite the heavy loads faced by families when trying to preserve them (Dreby, 2006; Kibria, 1994). Various studies in the field have found that women who migrate find even the changes occurring and challenging the

patriarchal authoritarian system in their families annoying and disruptive. According to Kibria (1993, 1994), defying the patriarchal authority of immigrant men also defies the authority of immigrant women as mothers, which sometimes leave immigrant women in an even worse and inconvenient position when marital assault occurs (Bui 2004; Bui and Morash 1999; Sokoloff 2008). Many women are forced to give over their child and families in their home country in order to pursue employment prospects overseas. Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997) stated that because lengthy distances contradict the expectations of mothers, communities, and children, transnational motherhood practises stress the mothers' bonds with their children. Therefore, and to cope with the tension, women often refer to the decision of migrating as an extending to their maternity responsibilities, because it permits them to provide for their families when sending the necessary remittances to care for their child (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997; Menjivar and Abrego 2009). When fathers are away from their children, they also struggle to see themselves as good parents; they believe they are fulfilling their parental responsibilities by transferring remittances home, they are sometimes chastised for their extended absences. (Dreby 2006, 2009; Mahler 1999). Meanwhile, when fathers start new families abroad, they overwhelmingly stop sending remittances home to avoid any potential controversy with the new partners; nevertheless, moms almost never stop sending allowances when they develop new ties (Menjivar and Abrego, 2009).

Furthermore, Feminist research related to migration has also highlighted and addressed gender amid migrant kids, both generations; the oldest child 'foreign-born' and the youngest child who is a native-born of a migrant parent. According to Lopez (2003), on a study made of second-generation Caribbean children, girls were more successful at schools than boys, referring the reason of being motivated to succeed to their familial background and hardship faced in their country of origin; they want to avoid the hard life their mothers experienced. Other international research looked at migrating parents' parent-child relationships when parted to seek employment abroad and their enfants who stayed in the home country which revealed a kind of tension and resentment feelings towards their parents, in particular the mothers as the enfant feels that he is unwanted and left behind for the sake of money (Dreby, 2006; Parrenas, 2005).

The regulations related to the family law in different countries also play a huge part in shaping the gender relations of men and women within migrant families. The

policies with respect to migration outline the family constitution, while excluding family ties outside of nuclear families from the opportunity of applying to family reunification (Luibheid, 2005; Manalansan, 2006). In concordance with what Crawley (2001) concluded, women may also be a target of persecution due to their family connections, they might be family members with men who are being chased by the government or associated to entities considered harmful to the society, or simply using them as targets to penalise male family members who have been the main concern of the prosecutors. Therefore, the probability to accept their applications of asylum is low and questionable comparing to men.

3.1.3. The Concept of Intersectionality

Gender and security researcher Carol Cohn notes that "the vulnerability of women and men cannot be understood without a [multifaceted] gender analysis". She emphasizes that this analysis moves from the unintentional ontological hypothesis that women are a "naturally" susceptible group, to a clear assessment of how gender intersects and refracts with other power structures, plays into specific lives, and influences each person's life differently (Cohn, 2012: 28).

Intersectional theory provides a theory-based viewpoint and model, paired with a set of methods to investigate the nature and implications of structures that perpetuate social inequality (Hankivsky, 2011). Intersectionality puts forward the idea that multi-level interactions exist between privilege and categories of oppression that are constructed through social means (McCall, 2005). In many cases, intersectionality can provide a driving force for desirable social change (Hankivsky, 2011). From the perspective of intersectional theory, the conceptualization and creation of human identity are underpinned by interconnections and intersections of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and other categories.

According to Hankivsky (2011), structural oppression is viewed by intersectional theorists as consisting of several interacting levels, including the individual, organizational, and social levels, which play a role in bringing about social inequality through complex interdependencies. At the micro-level, intersectional theory does not posit that the combining of identities definitively heightens an individual's burden; rather,

it suggests that these intersections of social categories contribute to distinctive lived experiences (Association for Women's Rights in Development, 2004, p.2).

Feminist intersectionality centers on the interactive connections and interdependencies that exist between gender and other forms of identity, diversity, or categories of marginalization. Knowledge is viewed as inextricably connected to the challenges that many females have in terms of oppression. As argued by Vakalahi (2010), the feminist intersectional approach links the oppression of females to systems of patriarchy and conceptualizes systems of oppression as intersecting with various types of discrimination, including discrimination based on disability, sexual orientation, class, national origin, gender, race, and other characteristics. To understand the experiences of women and, significantly, to foreground the importance of equity and equality, it is vital to acknowledge the intersecting factors – other than a woman's gender – and to consider other identities.

Intersectional analysis, as opposed to feminist intersectionality, offers a paradigm for analysing qualitative data that it isn't necessarily gendered. Intersectional analysis is sometimes used in articles as a "lens" to examine the findings of a specific research.

To conclude, in every scenario involving social action, the use of a gender lens is crucial. Nonetheless, it is of the utmost significance when it comes to humanitarian response. In fact, how refugees react to conflict and receive asylum is heavily influenced by gender. It's crucial to remember that other groups also influence the needs and circumstances of refugees. To clearly understand and address the needs of refugees, a variety of measures and aspects shall be taken into account including class, sexual orientation, age, and religion.

3.2. WOMEN AND FORCED MIGRATION

Gender plays a significant role in shaping migration aspects, unrelatedly to the push factors behind it. Women and especially girl migrants, may lack education or have less access to accurate information related to regular migration that may put them at risk of abuse and exploitation including human trafficking (UNFPA, 2015). Temin et al. (2013) also agree that migrating alone as a woman, put her in danger and therefore women become vulnerable. Thus, according to Fleury (2016), female migrants are likely to face and averse to risks more than male migrants. For example, Farah (2006) stated that 80%

of female migrants were victims of trafficking. Generally, migrants tend to create social networks to support each other that allows the newcomer women who belong to the same community to pursue the same steps (Temin et al., 2013). Thus, decreases the “shame” caused by “breaking traditional gender norms” by finding and engaging with their communities (relatives, neighbours, women with similar background...). (De Haas, 2009).

The migration choice (where and why) to be taken is usually affected by gender norms. Women frequently have not as much control as men when it comes to taking a fateful decision over migration if not taken by their families (Yeoh et al., 2002). According to Kanaiaupuni (2000), whenever females seem to be more dependent on spouses or their families in general, besides their lack of autonomy challenges the differentiation between voluntary migration and forced one. He stated that gendered prospects could also interfere into directing family decisions. For example, some families think that girls or women are more likely than men to send home allowances in regular basis and support the family, or they may be expected to emigrate so that the parents would be able to provide for the rest of family and send their children to school.

As reported by Temin et al. (2003), not all migration decision is taken by their families, many women choose to emigrate to escape some family abuses and mistreatments like early and forced marriage or even to escape some harmful practices like FGM (female genital mutilation). Yet according to Shaw (2005), gender standards can sit boundaries for some women to migrate; when families think about the household concept they may fear of “moral corruption” or challenges to find a husband in the future. Additionally, and at a national level, some states banned the migration of women, instead of treating the causes of gender discrimination or the dangers of immigrant women that they may face abroad, as a way for women and children to be protected.

According to Ferrant et al. (2014), the outcomes of migration for females are affected by the gender and social norms within their country of origins, where these norms may determine whether migration is considered as an empowering step to take or in the contrary, it exposes women to harm. In fact, females are to be expected to migrate to countries where biased social institutions are lesser than those in their country of origin, which are more likely to provide better economic prospects (Ferrant and Tuccio, 2015).

Still, we can also find some examples of women fleeing from their countries of origin that are recognized with higher levels of discrimination to other countries with similar background or higher, probably since the decision to emigrate wasn't up to them (Ferrant et al., 2014) or they were pushed by economic condition and poverty.

From another point of view, migration influence gender and social norms, either on an individual level or as a society, from being self-reliant and improving their autonomy, to developing their self-esteem, migration may also help and encourage them to acquire new skills and then provide for their families the thing that affect the power dynamics of a family and the household. Checking Sijapati's (2015) conclusion, migrants have an immense role in shifting the norms of their home community and implement more equitable ones in different aspects; marriage, education, gender roles within the community etc... Yet, it is not easy to employ all of this changes at once, sometimes they have to struggle to convince their societies with the outcomes and reintegrate, cause of many factors, such as tradition, stigma, close mentality...

However, some scholars reported that when females migrate with their partners, to more open and liberal countries, some discriminatory gender acts taken out of their country of origins may persist, like restriction of movement without a spouse outside, or that they shall remain at the house to care for the family while their spouses have to work and improve his skills for the benefit of the family. These circumstances push women to be more isolated if not vulnerable. For instance, Kabeer (2000) concluded that employment serves better to empower Bangladeshi women those who moved internally within different cities and managed to work in factories than those who migrated with their spouses to London and stayed isolated at home.

3.2.1. The Consequences of Forced Displacement on Women

The costs of forced displacement have a significant part in the emergence of gender issues, because men and women are affected differently by their experiences. Human rights violations; family collapse; social and cultural disruption; instability; joblessness; psychological trauma caused by torture; and poverty caused by poor economic performance are only a few of the consequences.

Family breakdown: Family and household structures are likely to change as an outcome of displacement, as are gender roles. Males in their adult and adolescent years are frequently separated from their families, as a result of being captured or because they

preferred to stay home to preserve property or chose to emigrate looking for better job opportunities. Men are more likely to serve or be accused of serving as combatants during times of conflict. Therefore, they go either missing, get killed in the conflict, or become handicapped. When families show willingness to stay with each other, the burden of forced migration places significant straining on them, where divorce is becoming increasingly prevalent (UNICEF, 1998, 11). As a result of these factors, the number of female-headed families rises dramatically in times of displacement, shattering the social order. When women become the sole wage earner in their families, this lays a great strain on them. In cases of forced migration, however, limited economic prospects, instability, and discriminatory behaviours make it difficult for women to assume full responsibility. Women in camps or places of refuge frequently fail to improve their socio-economic condition due to the uneasiness in the camp settings, where individuals lack productive abilities. Because they are accustomed to receiving handouts from relief agencies due to a lack of sufficient means of production, women acquire a dependency mindset.

Internally displaced women's families and communities are more vulnerable to GBV, including assaults, rape, forced marriage, prostitution, and enslavement. When a family stays together, the fear of being separated typically leads to an increase in domestic violence, such as abuse and marital rape. Rape is an act of violence that shatters the collective spirit of women and their communities. It leaves an everlasting indelible impression. Assault survivors represent symbols of communal failure and proof of the enemy's savagery. Because of the trauma they suffer, they are treated as flawed properties and are frequently rejected, divorced, and/or abandoned (Benjamin 1998:13).

Insecurity: According to Boyle et al. (1998, 191-192), during a battle, the choice to flee seeking safety is taken under duress. They are compelled to relinquish their attachment point, as well as their means of economic survival, and move into an uncertain environment. Some chores place women at a higher risk of being hurt by landmines or going through combat zones while searching water or grabbing firewood. Many of them may be subjected to clash wounds or face rape, be obliged to prostitution, or even be forced into marriage. Owing to a lack of security procedures, many types of assault violate fundamental women's rights. In contrast to refugees, who have institutional security procedures in place.

Displaced individuals are frequently dehumanized on purpose in order to embarrass not just women, but their spouses and the entire society. The humiliation coming along with rape is exacerbated by the exemption of the offenders. Peruvian officials, for instance, acknowledged to Amnesty International that facing rape was normal and anticipated when armed forces were positioned in remote regions where they could not be punished (Amnesty International August, 1990, 16). Most women are reluctant to disclose rape occurrences because of the fear of retaliation of the offenders. As a result, implementing programs designed to tackle the condition of women when migrating in order to protect them is indeed essential.

Psychological trauma: Women and children constitute more than 80% of individuals displaced owing to wars and violent conflicts whereas the majority of the males join the military or the rebels. In the face of uncertainty, weakness, robbery, and kidnapping, women bear the load to providing for their dependents. As a result of violence, fleeing, and grief, trauma affects both genders in different shapes. According to Hagengimana (1994) Rwandan women disliked giving birth to infants coming out of rape months way after the genocide.

A number of pregnant women visited the Kigali maternity hospital every day, seeking abortions, which are prohibited in Rwanda. During the fighting, these ladies had been raped. Two mothers had previously given birth unexpectedly and refused meeting their own children (Hagengimana, 1994, 6).

Violations during armed conflict exacerbate abuses of reproductive and human rights for women. As a result, women's psychosocial and factual demands do not appear to be handled in a gender-sensitive approach.

Human rights violations: Gender violence is the ultimate violation of human rights. In concordance to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights UDHR (1948), CEDAW (1979), and the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984), because it affects human mental and physical integrity. The greatest source of insecurity among displaced women is gender-based violence. During a crisis, women typically face threats from both their spouses and armed troops who regard them as spoils of war (Crush, 2000, 103-105). When women found themselves under obligation to flee and abandon their homes, they flee without packing their personal belongings. Usually, they are the ones concerned about their

families' safety. Even they flee without protection and lack basic essentials like shelter, cloth, basic equipment's food, and water. Shelter (Anderson, 1999, 1-8). They even cannot approach or receive healthcare or sanitary amenities. Opportunities for earning a living or obtaining an education are eliminated (Benjamin, 1998, 14-16). Moreover, even if NGOs strive to offer equipment aid to displaced victims, this assistance might be reflected ineffective due to unsafe environment and security issues. For instance, in Kibeho, Rwanda, humanitarian organisations' relief assistance was useless to a large number of victims found murdered in the camp (Zetter, 1999, 46-80).

Accommodation: It should be highlighted that displaced people are seen as transitory, and their support is likewise classified to be immediate assistance, and so are the provided housing, which is unsuitable for a long stay living, despite the fact that some wars endure for a long period of time. As a result, temporary accommodation centres turn to be long-term, if not perpetual, negatively affecting their psychology (Schmidt, 2003, 1-7). The physical, psychological, economic, and social aspects of human needs are frequently overlooked by authorities and humanitarian workers, preferring to focus on practicalities such as transportation and temporary accommodations (Slim, 1997, 343-351). Many women are forced into prostitution as a result of a lack of suitable housing, like in Sierra Leone, women who fled to metropolitan extents are now unable to come home since they are scared, not to be welcomed. These wounded women require assistance in reintegrating into society (MacDonald, 2001, 124-128).

Education and training: One of the effects that displaced women revealed which has an immense importance is the lack and poor access to education and relevant trainings, alongside to the lack of the economic opportunities. These women tend to be lacking the necessary equipment to create income for self-reliance and growth. As a result of a lack of skills, there are very few jobs available for displaced women. Because of lower literacy rates, most women are unlikely to find work in cities (Benjamin, 1998, 17-18).

Health: Another severe issue that displaced women face is a shortage of health-care personnel and facilities. Most displaced persons' camps lack basic health care amenities, such as cleanliness and decent nutrition, thus impacting their health. Displaced women often have a substantially higher death rate than the others in different sittings. The deficiency of family and reproductivity control facilities and STD examinations

endangers their lives. Since certain cultures do not allow women to obtain medication from males, displaced women in some sittings do not have access to female health practitioners. For instance, the war in Iraq in 1990 had quite a lethal influence with respect to the medical condition of the people both during and after the conflict. According to the United States Committee for Refugees, in less than six days almost 3 million fled their homes, with around 75000 becoming homeless. The infrastructure of Iraq, including power, purification of water systems, treatment of sewage, was severely destroyed (Miller, 1991,3). Therefore, diseases like typhoid, gastroenteritis, and other disorders swept across community. All the past diseases that were controlled became lethal and its fatality rate jumped recklessly as was stated by health officials (Roe, 1992, 36-40).

Legal rights: The majority victims of displacement don't receive equality of treatment when it comes to property and inheritance rights, making it impossible for the ones who lost their spouses or kids to return to their own country of origin. Women who were forced to flee need legal counselling and consultancy in the field of inheritance and legal rights. According to Gore (1993, 440-443), in Burundi, for example, women are not permitted to possess or inherit family properties. Women's access to land is also restricted in Mozambique due to the country's legislative system. Women's right to return home is hampered by such issues, which has a negative influence on their financial situations. The restrictions applied on land and agriculture deprive women from supplying themselves and their families' basic needs as well and thus negatively do affect their self-reliance and growth (Benjamin, 1998,16).

Unemployment: According to Cohen and Deng (1998, 93-94), one of the worst impacts of forced migration is unemployment, as financial demands grow substantial during migration. Those who are unemployed frequently face considerable risks to their self-worth as a result of their decreased level of life. This denies expecting moms, the ill, the elderly, and children access to food, housing, health care, and education. Thugs who wander the camps owing to a lack of job make the displaced susceptible to violent assaults on camps, kidnapping, and murder.

According to Macdonald (2001), female household who lost their family members, houses, careers, tend to be more devastated and traumatized and face difficulties in integrating with their current conditions. Because of the unfavourable atmosphere, the communities concerned develop feelings of animosity toward one another. When

attempting to adjust to a new environment, severe complications might arise. When women assume masculine duties in order to thrive in the host community, they may end up damaging the surroundings (Castles, 2003, 15-32).

Forced migration, according to Benjamin (1998, 100), affects both women and development. Separation of families; gender violence; loss of assets and residences; and ill health are among the most catastrophic short-term consequences. Poverty, sadness, and physical decline are long-term effects. Chronically displaced women often suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Unemployment, irreversible loss of sociocultural connections, and other aspects are also long-term effects. Displacement stress causes divorce in some relationships, affecting family ties, particularly women and children.

3.3. SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMEN IN TURKEY

A large number of refugees are now being hosted in Turkey. Syrian refugees make up the majority of those seeking refuge. According to PMM (2022), more than 3.6 million Syrian nationals live in Turkey under the government of Turkey's temporary protection scheme. Syrian refugees were seeking to escape the unrest and bloodshed that had already claimed the lives of over 250,000 Syrians (UN News, 2022).

These circumstances have a significant influence on the destiny of about 46.1% of women refugees (PMM, 2022). Women encounter opposition upon their arrival to the country of asylum, in this case, Turkey, that is specifically motivated by their gender, necessitating greater tenacity on their part as they adjust to their new community. Due to their gender and their social standing as women, women and girls have particular difficulties during the migration process. Syrian women's access to employment and integration into Turkish culture is conditioned by children, who are mostly dependent on their mothers. In this regard, programmes have been established with Turkish civil society actors to empower Syrian refugee women. Understanding the unique characteristics of women in the integration process into a new environment requires viewing migration throughout a gender lens. This raises the question of how gender influences how Syrian women assimilate within the Turkish society.

Turkey does not distinguish between eligible and unqualified children, teens, women, and the elderly when recognising some rights of immigrants and offers refuge to everyone fleeing conflict, violence, and hardship (PMM, 2017). For immigrants, adaptation programmes have been set up. These programmes include classes that promote social and professional skills as well as Turkish language proficiency. Sets containing storybooks in Turkish, English, and Arabic, narrative colouring books, pattern colouring books, painting books, colour pencils, and pencil boxes have been sent to children between the ages of six and eleven (PMM, 2016). Offering immigrants access to free of charge services including education, healthcare facilities and benefiting from psychological support is one of the most significant social measures when enjoying the temporary protection status. Further to the possibility of applying and obtaining work permit (İçduygu, 2015).

Generally speaking, women have extra societal barriers to obtaining financial resources, including gender norms that place emphasis on women as providers and unpaid caregiving. Because of their parenting obligations, and inability to obtain consent from their husband or family to work, care for the elderly and disabled members of the home, and do housework, most Syrian women living in Turkey do not actively pursue employment. When a livelihoods program is developed without taking into account these significant challenges faced by women, this means that the project has some flaws as it is not evenly accessible for both genders. Women are thus the ones who get left behind since they are the least suitable for getting into the job market. The policies when it comes to migration and the right of those seeking asylum shows clearly that the government 's attention is highly given to matters including accommodation, education, and health more than any other social concern (Çankaya, 2020).

The right to education and enrolling Turkish schools is granted to all asylum seekers and refugees who have been issued a foreigner identity number (TP ID/ IP ID). A comprehensive education system for Syrian refugee children is mandated under long-term educational policy that Turkey has adopted for refugees. Furthermore, refugees may continue their studies in their own countries when returning thanks to the accreditation offered by the Ministry of National Education. Turkish efforts for refugee children's access to enrol education are greater than those of other countries hosting refugees (Cinkir, 2015; Erdem, 2017). Children of refugees can be successfully integrated within

the host community when education is adequately given, thus, their past or present fears and traumas can be healed accordingly.

Although refugees residing in Turkey have access to work permits regardless of their gender, the low employment rate of Syrian refugee women has been noticed and it may be due in part to their legal situation, lack of Turkish language proficiency, security- and gender-related restrictions, in addition to their traditional duties and obligations (UN Women, 2018). Additionally, domestic work, caregiving, and family-related businesses make up the majority of the job opportunities available for working refugee women (Ng and Estable 1987).

According to Sevlu (2022), Women also confront more challenging working conditions, including increased instability, lack of societal safety, and strenuous work that is frequently required of them. They continue to be trapped in precarious situations doing low-paying, unskilled employment. The lack of access to employment for women due to gender-based discrimination widens social and economic disparities among refugee groups. These women after fleeing the ill circumstances of the war with a lot of losses; they were obliged to work to provide for their families and this explains much of why Syrian women take on duties that few others would, notwithstanding how difficult the tasks might be.

3.4. HUMANITARIAN ORGANISATIONS' PARTICIPATION IN TURKIYE'S POST-SYRIA HUMANITARIAN CRISIS RESPONSE

According to Sözer (2017) and Yılmaz (2018), Turkey has become a major actor in the sector of humanitarian activities whereas local and international NGOs are involved, and both have different approaches to addressing critical situations. Turkey has attracted many humanitarian actors, which involved those experts in the field as well as recently founded ones. When it comes to delivering emergency relief to refugees, usually, faith-based humanitarians have always been in the lead (Erdoğan & Kaya, 2015).

Cetinoglu (2019), argues that although Turkey has become one of the major international dominant actors in the humanitarian sector, it has a restricted history and background experience in the field, except for the Turkish Red Crescent. According to Kirişçi (2008), the evolution of Turkey in the humanitarian field started in 1960 when the

United Nations got to hand in hand with the Turkish government to protect and provide first aid to refugees coming from the Soviet Union. In that period many refugees arrived in Turkey from different places such as Africa and the Middle East. The non-refoulment principle was not applied due to security concerns, but with the UN initiatives, things changed in the mid of 1990s. When it came to deportation there were three ways to stand against it; either through appeals, by providing appropriate training to Turkish officials on refugee-related matters, and/or by pushing the Turkish government to liaise more with the NGOs /INGOs with regard to the matter, following the UN-led procedure. Despite being a signatory to both the 1951 Refugee Agreement and its 1967 Protocol, Turkey restricts the scope of the convention by stating that it would not admit refugees from regions other than Europe.

In concordance with Cebi's (2018) argument, the presence of humanitarian organizations has developed and become more active in the past twenty years. Some expanded and became more involved in political and civil matters. Humanitarian organisations' presence has even become more solid, especially when reaching areas at risk and providing them with emergency kits where the government presence wasn't reported. Mackreath and Sagnic (2017), stated that local Turkish humanitarian organizations' involvement and presence in the humanitarian sector developed mainly in the period 1999 during the famous Marmara earthquake where their involvement became a duty, at that time international NGOs faced difficulties in covering the whole area with their emergency aids, this incident has shown Turkey the necessity and importance of having local humanitarian organisations present in the field. The massive increase in local NGOs has taken place after the outbreak of the Syrian war in 2011, where a huge number of Syrian refugees fled to Turkey legally and illegally. The number of Syrian refugees entering Turkey was huge and unknown but through the involvement of the local NGOs, they managed somehow to have an average idea of the numbers.

According to Sözer (2017) and Yılmaz (2018), when the crisis erupted the communication between the government and the NGOs was very complicated however subjection to changes was indeed needed. From the outset of the crisis, foreign and local humanitarian actors were already carrying out aid operations for the urban refugees whereas the government was preoccupied with meeting the needs of those in the camps. Referring to the Research Centre on Asylum and Migration (2013) and Mackreath and

Sagnic (2017), The Turkish government's emphasis on camps has emerged as one of the main causes of the necessity for humanitarian actors to operate in urban areas since they were required to fill the void left by the government due to the population's continual growth. Even though the Turkish government took control over the urban refugees eventually, its initiatives remain unable to meet the refugees' fundamental requirements due to the massive numbers of refugees fleeing to Turkey from different regions. Therefore, and in order to effectively address the humanitarian issue in Turkey, the involvement of humanitarian actors has ultimately become imperative (Ilcan et al., 2018; Sunata & Tosun, 2018).

According to Kilic (2016), responding to a humanitarian crisis within Turkish borders involves three key objectives for humanitarian actors: receiving asylum seekers and hosting them in camps, providing them with their basic needs, in addition to helping them integrate within the Turkish society by introducing their legal rights and protection services available to them, assisting the local host in accepting and embracing refugees as the final approach for smooth assimilation (Cebi, 2018). According to Türk (2016), the key areas of focus for local and international humanitarian organizations might be divided into the following classes: providing financial support, and food, facilitating their access to health facilities, providing briefings related to their rights to work including legal support when needed, counselling to access education and programs for children as well as to enhance and launch programs to empower Syrian women, and finally, taking steps to facilitate refugees' assimilation within the Turkish community. There are also programs tending to raise awareness and provide protection to the survivors of gender-based violence, and child labour, where most of the topics focus on addressing early child marriages and child labour-related issues (Çetinoğlu, 2019).

As argued by the scholars in this section, I/NGOs offer a range of humanitarian assistance. at first, they sought to provide protection-related services (e.g., accommodation, clothes, food) in close communion with the state organisations, notably, the Turkish Red Crescent (TRC) and the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD). As time passes by, numerous organisations have begun to broaden their operations, especially with the continuous eruption of the conflict. They have concentrated increasingly on initiatives promoting financial wellbeing, child and youth programs, social cohesion, and sociocultural and psychosocial support.

To sum up, I/NGOs play a crucial role in the response to the refugee crisis in Turkey, because of their specialized knowledge, understanding of the situation and needs locally, and their accessibility to the most disadvantaged groups. Given that, the beneficiaries that seem to be out of reach due to many aspects with access limitations to services are best identified through grassroots and community-based organisations. These actors are critical in reaching out to people in rural and hard-to reach locations. Enabling access to services, as well as offering additional needs-based and customised help at the regional scale. In this sense, I/NGOs do major complementary efforts to adequately address the fundamental needs of refugees and host communities including protection-related services, education, livelihoods, and health support, along with the fostering of social cohesion within and between various groups. Being secure venues for the provision of services and social engagement, NGO-led community centres provide vulnerable refugee and host communities with a range of support services, including legal counsel, professional counselling, skills development programs, case management, psychosocial support, wellness counselling, awareness-raising, and referral to state institutions. These services are essential for connecting to state services, empowering disadvantaged populations, and fostering harmony.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

To define the conditions and circumstances under which gendered migration is seen as a phenomenon, and to better understand the situation and challenges refugees face in Turkey, particularly women, we should specify and select the best and feasible method to review the issue from all the possible perspective and angles. Therefore, this study will use in-depth interviews with open-ended questions as a qualitative approach to disclose three main sections: (i) the gendered experiences of refugee women, (ii) asylum policy in Turkey, and (iii) local governance of asylum policies with respect to I/NGOs and practical problems. The data collected will give us a comprehensive vision of women's conditions and whether there is a way to prevent and surmount these hurdles in the future. To accomplish this goal, qualitative data will be acquired and analysed using a grounded theory as basement and intersectionality as lens.

Because the vitality of research process in grounded theory, I want to explain some of the difficulties I encountered when conducting the interviews. One of the difficulties I had, for instance, was the power imbalance in the interview discourse. To lessen it, I was upfront about my study objectives and that I don't have any ulterior motives with regards to the subjects we would talk about. Also, I felt that the interviewees were uncomfortable to answer questions related to the policies with respect to refugees, many of them refused to be recorded even though I was clear about the purpose of this study and the confidentiality terms. Some of them told me clearly that they don't feel confident talking freely about such topics, especially with the growing societal resentment toward refugees.

The Grounded Theory: The concept of change is the foundation of the inductive process known as grounded theory. Building change, through process, into the technique is crucial since phenomena are not thought of as static phenomena but rather as ongoing altering in response to changing situations (Corbin & Strauss, 1999). Information is

therefore tightly related to space and time (Corbin & Strauss, 1999). In addition to identifying pertinent circumstances, grounded theory aims to ascertain how actors react to evolving contexts and the outcomes of their actions.

Intersectionality as a methodological approach: The link between many aspects of the social interactions and subject forms is the core of the intersectionality analytical approach (McCall, 2005, 1771). this methodological approach explores the intricacy of a person's social position, which is “created by the junction of social conceptions that signify privilege and oppression” according to the article. (Murphy et al., 2009, 7). When analysing a topic from an intersectional perspective, no category is essentialized, meaning that no one social group's members are treated uniformly or as though they had the same experiences (Hankivshy, 2010). The analytical goal of intersectionality is to highlight differences and similarities in order to eliminate prejudices and inequities, not to demonstrate that one party is more oppressed or valued above another.

4.1. QUALITATIVE APPROACH

Interviews are often regarded as one of the most commonly employed strategies by qualitative researchers. In according to Saldana (2011) argument, interviews are an efficient method of gathering data to solicit and record people’s opinions, ideologies, perspectives, feelings, as well as to beliefs, related to their personal experiences and society norms, where the questions can be used as a base to the subject while interviewing. Hence, and sometimes even the spontaneous conversations coming along, may also help in highlighting different insights and unexpected hidden sides of the issue for further interrogation (Saldana, 2011).

The premises of qualitative studies are based on inductive rather than logical thinking. It is from the observable aspects that queries are posed and sought to be explained. The strong correlation between the reviewer and the dataset distinguishes qualitative research from quantitative research, in which the researcher is totally outside of the phenomenon being studied. There is no beginning point of truth or any established assumptions from which the researcher can begin (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

The purpose of this study is to clarify the experience and challenges lived by women ‘refugees from the experts’ perspective. The study aims to look for the essential underlying meaning of the fact and emphasize the intentionality of consciousness where it contains both the outward appearance and inward consciousness based on what exactly happened and the causes that made it happen.

On the other hand, to better illuminate this case, I will need to go for a document analysis as well, this approach is considered as an important social research tool and is a precious part ‘of most schemes of triangulation, the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon’ (Bowen, 2009). The indicated method has been applied in support of the qualitative method to reinforce the study. As it can be used in many subjects of research, either as the main approach used to collect data or as a complementary method to support others. Document’s analysis can make any background information reachable and can broadly cover any needed data to help contextualizing studies concerning its field (Bowen, 2009).

4.2. CHOICE OF CASES

Expert interviews are effective in terms of providing accurate data based on their own experiences coming from the field. Thus, this method will allow us to discover the root causes of the issues faced by women and the actions that need to be taken from the eyes of experts in the field with different backgrounds and experiences. For this aim, the target will be focused on 13 interviews; all the 13 are experts residing in Ankara working in the humanitarian field with local NGOs and others are working for INGOs dealing with refugee-related matters. The interviewees wished to keep their profiles anonymous even the name of the agencies they work for due to work related confidentiality and sensitivity. Hence, they were open enough to give us information related to their field of work. I mainly focused on having profiles with different fields of work; Protection, Registration, Field, and Resettlement since these people have more access to cases and usually conduct face-to-face interviews with refugees accordingly. The reason that lies behind choosing these types of interviews; is its effectiveness that takes place in a genuine discussion environment. It allows to gather detailed information being deeply absorbed in the real events by empathizing the situation happening.

4.2.1. Participants

For ethical issues, in this study we are not going to reveal the participants' real names, in its place we will be using pseudonyms. Participants' pseudonyms are shown below in table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Pseudonyms and demographics

Interviewees' names	Workplace	Field of work	Gender
Participant 1	UN agency	Field Unit	M
Participant 2	UN agency	Protection Unit	M
Participant 3	UN agency	Protection Unit	F
Participant 4	UN agency	Resettlement Unit	M
Participant 5	UN agency	Registration Unit	F
Participant 6	Local NGO	Protection	F
Participant 7	Local NGO	Protection	F
Participant 8	Local NGO	Protection	F
Participant 9	Local NGO	Protection/case worker	M
Participant 10	Local NGO	Protection	M
Participant 11	Local NGO	Protection	F
Participant 12	Local NGO	Protection	F
Participant 13	Local NGO	Protection/Legal	F

4.3. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

A semi-structured interview with humanitarian professionals was conducted, with the help of an interview guide.

4.3.1. Choice of Semi-Structured, Face-to-Face Interviews

To gain a proper answer to the study questions, interviews shall be conducted. The interview was semi-structured, with questions that were not all the same. The questions may vary from one interview to the next. Data gathering can be divided into two stages: taking notes or conducting a voice-recorded interview. The semi-structured interview continues to be the most effective method for understanding an interviewee's own perspective on a certain issue. Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to dig

further into addressing a certain issue; yet they are time demanding. The interviews were held entirely in English.

The following questions were asked during the interviews:

1. Do you think that refugee women in general and Syrian refugee women in particular are facing gendered experiences?
2. What are the challenges that may be encountered by refugee women in Turkey? Could you suggest any solutions for these kinds of challenges?
3. What do you think about Turkey's general policies regarding asylum/refugee issues in general and refugee women, specifically Syrian refugee women in particular?
4. Based on your experience how do you see these policies, what are the strong and weak aspects of them and how they can be improved for future preparedness?
5. How do you evaluate the implementation of these policies locally? Is there any challenges with respect to the implementation of these policies when it comes to practice? How they can be improved?

4.3.1.1. Interview Guide

Chapter three explains and highlights the effects of forced migration and the hurdles encountered by women. My inquiries were narrowed down based on topics such as access to livelihoods opportunities, education, social cohesion, as well as to protection related matters to ease the process while interviewing the participants and the Data collection.

Researchers conduct face-to-face interviews in the research field of study with respondents which involve interactions and exchanges from both ends. For my thesis, I chose the face-to-face interview approach since it permits the respondents to provide further information with respect to the research issue. The researcher may ask more or less questions as wished depending on the respondents' field of work, and more queries may arise throughout the interview.

4.3.2. Open-Ended Questionnaire

In accordance with to W. Lawrence Neuman (2014) argument, open-ended questions an ideal approach for observing events in the field, a method for measuring

factors and content mainstreamed in the media, documents and reports, and/or representing a conceptual framework. The main advantage of an open-ended questionnaire is that there are no response limits. An open question cannot be responded by a simple “yes” or “no” response, or with a firm answer. It is formulated as a statement that should be answered properly.

4.4. ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The concept of data analysis entails organising the data, dividing the outcome to convenient parts, interpreting, determining what is important to take and include and deciding about the right information that should be delivered to the readers (Strauss & Corbin 1990:57). The analytical process was carried out using the first, second, and third interpretations to give careful consideration and cohesive meaning.

Persons engaging in social activities or acting with different behaviours do for sure own personal motivations or objectives explaining the reason behind their manners and actions, according to W. Lawrence Neuman (2014, 179), this is considered to be a first-order interpretation. And since we do want to uncover more in details on what happened, when we find and reassemble this first-order interpretation, it becomes a second-order interpretation. We evoke an underlying coherence or perception of meaning of the findings using a second-order interpretation. We proceed to a wide level of clarification, or what we call a third-order interpretation, to expand or relate the second-order interpretation to an existing theory or general knowledge.

Therefore, attaining the research objectives, information reached through individual interviews and document analysis, primary and secondary written resources were examined together. When it became clear that the data attained was satisfactory enough to analyse the research issues and answer the research question, the researcher analysed it by compressing and categorizing the data to sections through outlining all the written resources aiming to ease and facilitate the process of data’ interpretation to attain effective results.

The Coding Process: Corbin and Strauss, a grounded theorist, contend that theoretical sensitivity must be added to coding in order to discover difficulties pertaining to class, gender, ethnicity, and power, and so many more (Corbin & Strauss, 2012). It involves being capable of placing oneself in the individuals' shoes and see through their

eyes. As soon as the 13 interviews' data became saturated, the coding procedure was initiated based on the three main steps of the grounded theory: Open (categorizing the information, Axial (linking the formed categories) and Selective (combining the key codes and build a storyline). In this light, the responses were reviewed a second time after reading them all once to acquire an overall overview of the responses including examining commonalities and variances between contexts and actions. When the responses were reviewed a second time, notes were written identifying key terms or phrases; in other words, the responses were coded. The primary ideas and main concepts were then defined after a full assessment of the codes. The voiced issues and challenges were made apparent via categorising the responses into notions and subcategories.

4.5. LIMITATIONS

One major limitation I can tell is that the research was carried out in Ankara with experts residing in Ankara and include information about the incidents and experiences of refugee women living in Ankara basically, however, experiences of Syrian refugees living in other refugees densely populated cities like Gaziantep, Istanbul, Mersin, Hatay, Izmir and other was not reflected in the study.

- **About Syrian refugees in Ankara**

Ankara is considered home to 100,651 Syrians who are registered under Temporary Protection Regime according to The Presidency of Migration Management (PMM), 2022. Many people moved to Ankara in search of better living circumstances, more accessible shopping, and more job prospects, all of which have grown scarce in other cities (Artar, 2018, 16). Most of the refugees who chose Ankara over the other large cities were aiming to find better opportunities including work and housing since Ankara is in fact a large urban city, less saturated in terms of jobs and housing due to a historically low rate of migration in comparison to other cities in the southeast or Istanbul. According to Varcin et al. (2019), Despite being one of the main Turkish cities with a robust manufacturing sector (particularly in furniture), Ankara was initially disregarded by many asylum seekers due to its image as “the city of bureaucracy”.

When the refugees first arrived in Turkey, they landed in cities near Syria in the country's southeast. The bulk of Syrian refugees continue to dwell in cities along the Syrian border (Hatay, Gaziantep, and Şanlıurfa), as well as İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir

(Saraçoğlu and Bélanger 2019, 363). Moreover, the majority of donors have concentrated their efforts on assisting Syrians who have settled in border regions of Turkey such as Gaziantep, Urfa, Hatay, and Kilis. However, there is greater cultural continuity and less animosity between citizens and refugees along the border regions than within western Turkey's metropolitan districts. Along the Syrian border, Turkish residents frequently speak Arabic or Kurdish, allowing them to connect with Syrian Arabs and Kurds. Furthermore, because they are predominantly rural, culturally conservative communities, they are more welcoming to the Syrians who sought refuge there, many of whom are from the countryside (International Crisis Group, Report, 2018).



CHAPTER V

KEY FINDINGS

5.1. CHALLENGES FACED BY SYRIAN WOMEN UNDER TP REGIME

According to experts, Syrian refugees living in Turkey are continuously feeling that they are legally and socially insecure, although, the TPR ensures many rights and services to all individuals in the refugee population, yet in general, access to education, healthcare services, livelihoods remain quite hard-to-reach. Displaced women in particular face serious challenges and problems ranging from the danger of rape to sexual assaults by smugglers, policemen, guards, and other refugees that leave them disadvantaged, to integration challenges and access to services and facilities in the host society.

Comparing to the existing literature reviews, scholars like Temin et al. (2003) and Ferrant et al. (2014) have indicated that the main challenges facing refugee women at the first place are more likely to be related to GBV in which are reflected in being in a subordinate position comparing to their male counterparts; choosing marriage as a survival mean to escape poverty or family abuse; cultural customs; abuse and exploitation; human trafficking and/or other gender-based violence related issues. Then in the second place comes the economic situation of the victims; education; accommodation and health. Surprisingly, these issues are still persistent indeed when Syrian refugee women approaching the humanitarian agencies to seek support, yet not reflected as the main challenges. Most of the interviewees in the study started with the socio-economic encounters including the need to health facilities, education, job opportunities, financial shortage then GBV related issues come after.

This study is the result of in-depth interviews conducted with experts working in different fields and with different entities to offer a broad overview of what it is to be a female refugee and the head of a household. Therefore, our focus areas in this specific

section comprise their health, livelihoods, housing, and financial security, shifting roles, and protection including gender-based violence. Through these interviews, I was able to come out with the main issues and challenges faced by women refugees and girls in Turkey.

According to the experts point of views, the main challenges faced by Syrian women are commonly, the access to better and safe accommodation, language barrier, healthcare services, livelihoods opportunities, and gender-based violence.

▪ **Health challenges**

Syrians living in Turkey with temporary identity permits enjoy to the same level of primary and secondary health care as Turkish citizens, regardless of where they came from. In conformity with the experts' argument, Syrians in refugee camps and refugees outside of refugee camps have free access to primary health care services (such as newborn and child nursing, childhood immunizations, reproductive health services, and counselling) and secondary health care services (such as hospitalization and polyclinic care) provided by public hospitals and polyclinics. However, for those unregistered, they may benefit from emergency treatment and basic primary healthcare only free of charge. This has placed a major financial burden on the national health care system and on the medical parts of the service offering... many of the interviewees mentioned that as the population grows, so did the strain on the health care system. More and more Syrian refugees are seeking health treatment in hospitals rather than primary care, which results in higher expenses and more labour for the health care system. When dealing with significant numbers of refugees, local hospitals experience a tremendous demand on resources, with shortages of healthcare staff, medical equipment, as well as hospital wards for both refugees and citizens, resulting in detrimental consequences on quality services.

“In Turkey the country has done a great job in harmonizing the health care facilities for Syrians under Temporary Protection. The majority of them, regardless of their genders, have access to these facilities in the same way that a Turkish national would have.” (P3, UN Agency, F)

All experts while being interviewed they emphasized that the main challenges faced by Syrian women when it comes to health are related to 1) They are not legally registered in the PDMMs and have no ID cards that guarantee them an access to health

services or, they are registered in a different city (services are only provided in the place of registration), 2) Communication issues due to language barriers, 3) Feeling discriminated and sometimes mistreated by the personnel., 4) Lack of sufficient information related to the services provided.

“Refugees cannot access healthcare facilities except from the provinces where they are registered, and this put them a great risk of losing the chance to be treated or to follow-up their medical condition in different hospitals especially when the family has to relocate due to job opportunities”. (P13, Local NGO, F)

“Syrian women sometimes face discriminatory attitudes and behaviour from the staff. Another issue is a lack of adequate information about the services and how to use them although we do have different sources and communication channels developed to serve this aim and disseminate information, yet people still feel uninformed about their rights and services available to them. [He added] At the end we are short in capacities, we can’t reach everyone, the local media are out of help” (P1, UN agency, M)

The language barrier is a significant obstacle to Syrian refugees receiving treatment; nevertheless, the Turkish government has engaged interpreters at every stage of the healthcare procedure to mitigate the problem. Having said that, communication continues to be an issue in other areas of their life, including schooling, vocational rehabilitation, job search, retention, social relationships, and identification of their surroundings.

“The obstacles, I noticed is mainly related with the language barriers especially with some Syrian women to not generalize, as if they don’t want to engage with community due to their fears and/or they don’t feel confident out of their comfort zones. Other have issues related to their traditional norms, when they came to us asking for interpretation support, most of the women asked to be treated by a woman doctor or they will just cancel their appointments and go back untreated.” (P9, Local NGO, M)

Some experts argued that the movement of Syrian refugees across provinces also presents complications due to the difficulty of controlling and monitoring health, particularly for pregnant women, infants, and refugees with chronic illness or

rehabilitation requirements. When a big number of Syrian refugees settle in a certain location, the health conditions in that area alter and worsen, resulting in health care delivery failures. This population increase may also result in new health and environmental challenges.

“Several factors are involved regarding access to services with respect to healthcare or protection in general. It depends on the location where the services could be provided, number of beneficiaries and how active are the humanitarian/state organizations are involved in providing basic needs. However, in general women and girls are the most negatively affected individuals when it comes to any shortage of services.” (P4, UN Agency, M)

During the discussion, many of the interviewees expressed that Syrian’ migrants pouring into Turkey in large numbers and seemingly without stopping are another concern to be raised. Turkey’s “open-gate” policy saved many Syrian lives; however, the government had not anticipated the enormous flood of Syrian refugees. As a result of the massive surge of migrants, local provinces now face new health care challenges, which need more financial and human resources.

In short, the vast majority of Syrian women according to the experts observations have expressed satisfaction with the accessibility and quality of general health care services. Despite the fact that some of them reported difficulties due to language and cultural barriers, prejudice, and legal status-related issues, there is a need to strengthen already-existing efforts to provide interpretation services, hire additional health staff maybe from the Syrian community, and eliminate social and cultural barriers, such as a shortage of female medical providers. With additional free interpretation services and efficient complaint channels in medical foundations, discernment and access issues will definitely be decreased.

▪ **Accommodation challenges**

According to experts, accommodation tend to be another major issue refugees face, the high prices of rents and the risk of getting suddenly kicked out without further notice, which makes their integration and stability always at risk. Experts stated that the Syrian women refugees’ income is insufficient to afford their basic needs, therefore, most of them end up sharing a place with other families which bounds their privacy and puts

them into daily tension, stress, and disaccord that increases the jeopardy of gender-based violence. For a safe and smooth integration, and access to services Syrian women need a safe environment and affordable accommodation for self-reliance. Some of the experts mentioned that there are programs indeed funded by UN agencies and the government of Turkey to support refugees in dire conditions and those with vulnerabilities, yet the lack of sufficient sources of information promoting such programs may deprive them to enjoy these services. Therefore, providing frequent informative sessions is needed in every province to edify the refugees about their rights and the services available for them.

“At the beginning of the crisis the Turkish Red Crescent and AFAD used to provide different kinds of support including first emergency relief and temporary accommodation to some families, however and as of 2018, PMM at the time named as DGMM took control over the coordination of actions related to accommodation and to camps’ management, whereas AFAD and TRC focused their efforts on emergency”. (P12, Local NGO, F)

“I believe that women are facing many obstacles to access rights and services in Turkey, when it comes to health and housing. Targeted inexpensive accommodations or providing kind of rent assistance could be explored as an alternate way to assist women in becoming contented in their everyday lives and avoiding violent relations.” (P8, Local NGO, F)

Experts recommended that in order to empower Syrian women and to take use of all the possibilities available in Turkey, they need secure and affordable housing. As a result, providing affordable housing for people in need should be a priority. Syrian women might be assisted by expanding social and financial aid and other cash-for-rent allocations. Simultaneously, their renters’ rights should be strengthened by the enforcement of rental legislation and the dissemination of information about tenants’ rights and obligations. Additionally, Syrians and the host community should be encouraged through informative campaigns to live together in order to eliminate rent disparity and foster social cohesion.

- **Integration within the host community**

Experts argue that one of the main hurdles encountering refugee women under TPR in Turkey is the hardship to establish a connection with the host communities. The biggest reason for laying behind this issue is the language barrier. And for certain besides this factor, there are others such as cultural barriers, insecurity, and social biases.

Syrian women in Turkey confront additional gender-related issues as they assimilate into Turkish society, on top of the economic challenges connected with a lack of labour market access. They are marginalized because of their gender. When it comes to integration into Turkish culture, women's wearing of the headscarf is one example of a contentious issue. There are two ways they may accomplish this: they either wear it in the Syrian manner and risk being shunned by a segment of the local people, or they can wear it in Turkish style and blend in more seamlessly with the culture of their new home.

Even if they are eager to assimilate, there are still barriers in their path. In the minds of many, Syrian refugee women have come to Turkey to take Turkish women's husbands. Prejudices like these are founded on Syria's idea of a nuclear family, which allows for polygamy. Refugee women's economic and social well-being is harmed by these processes. Refugee women in Turkey face increased discrimination in the labour market as a consequence of the Turkish government's "legal gender-based violence," which is manifested in the law's insufficiency in ensuring equal employment opportunities for men and women.

As reported by the experts that most of the Syrian women do reside in conservative environment inside their own local society, and this is sometimes due to their traditions and norms. And of course, not having full freedom hinders these women from interacting with local community and thus learn Turkish.

Since most Syrian refugee women don't speak Turkish, they become dependent on one member of their families who is able to speak the language. Not speaking the local language leaves the person vulnerable to many risks such as not being able to express oneself, missing many opportunities for self-development, and integrating within the host community which can bring benefits to both sides. It is not surprising that Syrian women find themselves confined to limited social circles.

"Refugee women and girls' biggest challenge is language barrier and financial dependency which makes them unable to easily express themselves in their families and the society. These factors (work and knowledge of the language) play a huge role in women's integration process." (P2, UN Agency, M)

According to experts Syrian and Turkish women share more similarities than differences, since they tend to face similar challenges. Creating shared forums for people to discuss gender problems, such as gender-based violence, may support in developing a common consciousness and techniques for confronting shared concerns.

Due to restricted access to information regarding Syrians' legal status and actual conditions, some members of the host society engage in prejudiced rhetoric that undermines social cohesiveness. To counteract this negative rhetoric, social media, and news as well as cultural and sporting events, should be used to showcase good examples of harmony where women are included.

▪ **Language Barrier**

Amongst the most important hurdles that Syrian women refugees encounter in Turkey is the linguistic barrier as explained by the experts. Knowing the language is the key to access all services and rights. Due to their cultural norms, Syrian women commonly tend to reside in restricted areas within their own communities. This bounds them from learning the Turkish language and then from interacting with the host community. As stated, beforehand, less than 30% of the refugee Syrian women population can speak and understand Turkish. During the interview, some experts mentioned that many of the Syrian female refugees are afraid to go out and engage with people, they are afraid to reveal their identity to the public and being mistreated by Turkish citizens especially with the growing tensions nowadays, yet they are obliged to go shop and work to meet their families' needs.

“Finding educational and training programmes including Turkish language courses for Syrian refugees is critically important, and I/NGOs are already helping with that. This kind of training are important because it surely reinforce their social integration and help them explore new ways for job opportunities” (P12, Local NGO, F).

One of the experts who is a social worker with a local NGO observed that **“Women and girls who used to live in camps, do not go out and they don't give an effort to learn the language since all of their neighbours and friends are Syrians, and this maybe another issue to be taken into consideration” (P6, Local NGO, F).**

When it comes to Health and Education where communication is key, female Syrian refugees find the language barrier more frustrating and crippling. They can't make themselves understood at hospitals, also, they can't interact with teachers to follow up on their children's performance which poorly affects them and their children. Places, such as the police station or immigration office, could be additional areas of concern where they should follow legal procedures and applications. Usually, when women refugees do not speak Turkish, there is often a family member who is able to speak well enough to manage day-to-day needs. This, however, makes women more reliant on their husbands or other male family members. Owing to language limitations, Syrian women have less opportunity to take part in the society.

“Language barrier in Turkey is the number one hindering factor that faces refugees.” (P7, Local NGO, F)

▪ **Livelihoods challenges**

Many social and economic barriers play an immense role in blocking women refugees from having access to the labour market as argued by the experts; inadequate language skills, education background, social and gender standards in which includes household responsibilities and daily chores, as well as to the lack of finding a regular support such as childcare assistance. Other skills and work targets places for women that worsen the barriers that prevent women from accessing the labour market for refugees. As reported by AFAD in one of its statistical reports concerning the rate of Syrian women's labourer in Turkey, appears that 87% of them are unemployed, in which 56% are housewives, and the remaining 30% lack expertise. According to AFAD only 7% of these Syrian women (aged between 30 and 44) could make it to the job market¹¹. In general, reports show that 23.7% which is a substantial number of Syrian refugees those under TP regime are poor, regardless of the received social assistance¹².

“Job markets are mostly interested in male workers. It's because of heavy labour such as working in constructions and agriculture fields which mostly can be the only

¹¹ AFAD.Report: Suriye, Dünyanın En Cömert Ve En Çok Sığınmacıya Ev Sahipliği Yapan Ülkesi: Türkiye. 2016.

¹² World Bank/WFP. Pre-Assessment Baseline Results. 2017. Online source: <https://docs.wfp.org/api/documents/WFP-0000039740/>

available jobs for refugees. Therefore, this situation puts women one step behind men.” (P2, UN Agency, M)

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“Refugees are prohibited from working without a work permit in Turkey. Most employers avoid going through the process of applying to a work permit for a refugee employee because the employer has to abide by additional rules, pay additional taxes and medical insurance, etc. As such, a large majority of refugees work illegally and the majority of work available in this sector is hard labour jobs like in construction sites, movers (house/furniture), factories etc. Therefore more than half the refugees who work are males, while females have fewer options to seek employment under the conditions stated above.” (P1, UN agency, M)

As stated, beforehand, the limited language skills and low education level in addition to other technical skills are considered the main blockades for employment. Furthermore, the opaque bureaucratic and non-computerized procedures for the obtention of a work permit have shown to be another factor in delaying the execution of the process. In comparison with their homeland, Syrian women give the impression to be more dynamic in Turkey, Though, a large number of these women tend to be engaged in some unstable and seasonal jobs. The lack of Childcare support and the medieval nature (male-dominated) of many families prevent these women from actively contributing materially, and although they are still young, the majority of them work in seasonal jobs, leaving limited opportunities for career development. Therefore, it is quite necessary to employ some long-term professional training or empowering programs those Syrian women can benefit from instead of promoting preventive policies if we want to overcome these structural fences in accessing job opportunities.

“Women in general do not have equal chances in the job market. Women in Turkey have 30% of the job market in this country and this is not only limited to work. Because of the cultural norms mostly raised from the Islamic dogmas and opinions, women in Turkey are more limited than men in their actions. Yet Turkey has the most freedom and a greater share of the job market in the region and among Muslim countries.” (P3, UN Agency, F)

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“If you allow me to do the comparison between Syrian women and Ukrainian women, I must say that both of them are fleeing war yet both of them come from a

totally different backgrounds, when I look to Ukrainians they are educated and they speak at least three languages, they are able to work even in the construction sites, please don't get me wrong but Syrian women are satisfied to stay at home and wait for aid and their husbands to provide for them, maybe it is related to the patriarchal system they are used to and their life standards" (P13, Local NGO, F).

In a needs assessment that was sponsored by the Icelandic government and carried out by UN Women and Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Immigrants [ASAM] that targeted a gathering of information on the challenges, difficulties, and risks that were faced by refugee women in Turkey, the following was found [This research obtained the information by conducting interviews with 1291 Syrian women from different cities around Turkey]: In order to have access to the services provided for them, the language barrier stood as a hindering object in front of them.

Unfortunately, 15% of women have the chance to work and support their families.

- 73% of them have no clue of how to seek assistance in matters related to harassment or violence.

- 74% don't have the information on how to find support for their children.

68% have no idea about the existence of the service called free legal counselling (UN WOMEN, ASAM, 2018).

In short, the inaccessibility of information, bureaucratic processes' obscurity related to work permit applications are all factors contributing to Syrians' limited integration into the labour force. Syrian refugees being granted a statutory right of entry to formal labour in Turkey is a first step toward their economic integration, but there are still numerous roadblocks to overcome.

▪ **Education**

The ratio of Syrian females who do attend vocational training courses and/ or learn the Turkish language is very low. Experts stated that most Syrian women learn the language by forcing interactions with the Turkish community instead of attending dedicated courses, due to home chores and gender roles' stereotypes. Some of them cannot enrol in these vocational courses since they are the head of their households, and no one can take care of their children or old parents and sometimes the husbands forbid them from going out and learning new life skills to remain always dependant on them.

“A solid education may open doors for Syrian women in the employment market, and some of them are aware of this. However, they also have difficulties in acquiring information about educational requirements in Turkey, such as how to get a diploma, what examinations to take, and so on. There are several ways they attempt to get a diploma equivalence, such as studying Turkish or English.” (P4, UN Agency, M)

“Sometimes men do not allow women participation in such training, or they cannot simply join such programs due to their home chores and children responsibilities.” (P8, Local NGO, F)

According to experts, numerous Syrian women refugees requested to have access to vocational training programs to be able to acquire different skills yet aligned with their gender roles, which in somehow limits their chances to line up with the needs of local job markets. Care-taking responsibilities and child marriage which is often considered as a coping mechanism to endure and survive the dire socioeconomic conditions, are the main reason of dropouts and low enrolment among Syrian females. Therefore, this issue should be addressed by raising awareness explaining the negative impacts on girls, women, and the society in general. According to specialists, there have been several incidents of young women proclaiming their desire to continue their studies, yet they could not find informative sources on the enrolment procedures in Turkey, such as examination system, diploma equivalency, and document needed for those who lost their belongings during the war. Etc...

“Financial problems of the parents, instability in the country of asylum, and also the language change prior to and after migration. A large number of refugee children lose interest in education and hence career planning because of the difficulty of continuing their education from where they left off; that could be because of the language difference or the inability to take an equivalence exam and the placement system in schools—being enrolled at a lower or higher level than they should be.” (P1, UN Agency, M)

“Regarding education the majority raised concerns of language barrier and financial sources as one of the most challenging factors to enrol or continue their studies.” (P10, Local NGO, M)

“All teenagers would like to continue their education until university level and maybe beyond that, however the challenges they face, make them stop studying in order to provide for the family and sustain life.” (P5, UN Agency, F)

“They need guidance to the formalities in order to be able to enrol in the first place to education institutions.” (P2, UN Agency, M)

All in all, according to experts, Syrian women are underrepresented in vocational training programs, and the fact that the majority of Syrian women who learn Turkish acquire it through communal contacts rather than language classes suggests that Syrian women are constrained by domestic responsibilities and traditional gender roles. In addition to more accessible and broad language stipends, the provision of childcare services should be considered to assist more women in continuing their education or pursuing a vocational training course of interest.

▪ **Gender-based violence related issues**

Sexual, Physical, and Emotional Violence: Women and girls face sexual violence, including rape, sexual abuse, in war and post-conflict contexts, during transit, and upon reaching their final destinations in other countries. Women in crisis concepts may face sexual violence from a stranger or an intimate companion. Experts say that married women and young girls are abused physically, sexually, and mentally by their husbands, brothers, or other close or distant relatives. According to the interview respondents, involuntary custody and mobility limitations among forcibly displaced women can also represent a kind of mental abuse, resulting in significant emotional and psychological suffering.

“Refugee women, children, and other oppressed groups are confronted with the double disadvantage of forced displacement and negotiating complex migration processes in their country of origins, all while dealing with language and cultural hurdles and increasing opportunities to confront sexual and gender-based violence.” (P3, UN Agency, F)

Harmful Traditional Practices: Early and forced marriage including the adoption of refugee women as “co-wives” by Turkish nationals, are widespread types of GBV that endanger forcibly displaced people in Turkey. While polygyny with material constraints is lawful and culturally accepted in Syria, it is prohibited by Turkish civil law. Even though polygyny is illegal in Turkey, it nonetheless persists on a cultural level in some areas, notably in the guise of unregistered or religious marriages. According to some experts’ responses, due to the mass influx of Syrian refugees to provinces sideways the Syrian border a huge increase in the number of child marriages and polygyny in Turkey was noticed, arguing that child marriage and becoming a co-wife is considered by the refugee communities as a coping mechanism and one of the effective forms of social protection, preventing the threat of sexual assault and eradicating the need for women to resort to prostitution for survival. Some have also raised concerns about economically vulnerable Syrian families receiving amounts of money as a bridal payment from older Turkish males particularly for minor Syrian brides. Foreign co-spouses of Turkish nationals are particularly vulnerable to trafficking since they can be obtained through brokers and married off, finally ending up as underpaid domestic assistance in Turkish houses.

“Child marriage and becoming a co-wife were seen as efficient ways of social protection, avoiding the fear of facing sexual assault or working as prostitutes to afford their living.” (P9, Local NGO, M)

Due to severe financial difficulties, limited access to resources and social helplessness, and many other reasons such as scarcity of job opportunities, refugee women find themselves forced to go with the option of entering the sector of sex labour in order to help themselves and those dependent on them.

Although formal sex work in Turkey is allowed, the government tends to prohibit sex work that is held in an informal way and tends to punish sex workers. It is not allowed for foreigners to be engaged in sex work in Turkey easily. The authorities have put many rules and laws related to sex work when the employees are not Turkish nationals. Examples of which are as follows:

Regular medical check-ups are conducted, they would be placed under administrative detention and if they are not victims of criminal acts or victims of human trafficking, the option of repatriation is always on the table. Therefore, it is important for

the authorities to adopt new laws and improve the legislation in order to protect women refugees involved in the sex work sector.

“Women, girls and marginalized groups, with limited access to resources and few post-violence protection and support mechanisms may enter the sex work industry as a survival strategy” (P2, UN Agency, M)

In short, the manner in which Gender-based violence impacts the refugee population in Turkey is varied, as well to the policies designed to prevent such acts. In accordance with experts’ arguments, concerns about the future of women’s rights in Turkey and the decreasing possibility of refugees returning home provides an immense opportunity to highlight GBV related issues within the refugee population to develop evidence, expand programs, and attract more field research. Indeed, experts working on the ground to reduce risks and protect victims of GBV within the refugee community have a wealth of knowledge that may be called on in this regard.

5.2. POLICIES

It has long been controversial how legally recognised Syrian refugees are in Turkey. Turkey opted to refer to the initial wave of Syrian refugees as “guests” when they first arrived in 2011. The general consensus at the time was that the situation would only last for a short period of time and that there would be a steady decline in the number of newcomers. This presumption was swiftly refuted as more and more individuals were compelled to flee Syria and the Syrian conflict showed no indications of abating. The government’s solution to the need for a thorough legal framework for refuge in Turkey was the LFIP. The legal framework for granting Syrians TP status was previously established, and it was codified in a regulation in October 2014.

According to TP regime, Syrians are given permission to legally stay in Turkey and are shielded from forced returns “nonrefoulement”. The status grants them to benefit from free access to social assistance, translation services, health care, education, and other facilities, including livelihoods. Syrians need to get a Temporary Protection Identification Document provided by PDMMs in their locations, which certifies that the individual in question is a beneficiary of TP, in order to be able to benefit and access these rights.

Experts during the interviews argued that there are still Syrians residing in Turkey who are not registered, despite the fact that most registration obstacles have been removed over time. Some others were hesitant to register because they believed it may reduce their chances of resettlement to Europe or ultimately returning to Syria.

“The Turkish government’s services and benefits are consequently unavailable to those unregistered refugees. Similar to the ones who are registered in the province where they initially arrive and then choose to relocate elsewhere cannot profit from the services provided in the new location.” (P13, UN Agency, F)

Contrastingly, several provinces have banned registration, with exceptions for some medical cases and new-born babies, as this is putting a pressure on their public services owing to the high concentration of refugees in metropolitan centres. The issue posed by the growing concentration of refugees in numerous cities requires immediate action at all levels.

Turkish authorities’ major priority up to this point has been to temporarily relieve the population’s pressing demands, as is customary in the early response to a huge inflow of refugees. The time has long since come for Turkey’s authorities to go beyond temporary approaches and consider long-lasting approaches to addressing pressing issues. But in reality, coming up with and putting into action lasting solutions is difficult. Because there is no long-term assurance under TP, Syrians are left in a state of continual precarity that is destructive for their well-being.

The experts praised Turkey’s made efforts and improvements in dealing with the crisis and trying to handle the situation more wisely. Some of them talked about the passage from temporary education centres to Turkish public schools that sends a clear message that Turkey recognises and is prepared to comprise the long-term approaches and settlement of Syrians. Furthermore, there have been efforts to give certain Syrians a route to Turkish citizenship. The majority, however, did so in an effort to acknowledge the contribution of highly talented, highly educated people, including athletes and artists.

In the other hand, some of the expert seems reluctant and unconfident when talking about the integration of the Syrians with the host community, stating that even the government and other institutions refrains from addressing this topic. Assuming that Syrians would ultimately depart Turkey, policies continue to be founded on this premise.

Instead, the official stance is one of “harmonisation” to promote long-term (still transient) cohesion between the host community and Syrians. The creation of a harmonisation policy has long been planned. For Syrians living in Turkey, as well as the wider Turkish community they are a part of, yet the lack of clear, long-term prospects is challenging.

The Turkish people, who have thus far been extraordinarily hospitable and robust, are becoming increasingly irritated as the population grows. The political polarization surrounding the issue of Syrian refugees in Turkey, the lack of a comprehensible vision of the future likelihood for Syrians, and the absence of awareness campaigns to deny many common misconceptions and help the Turkish community accept living with refugees, in the long run, are the three main causes of increased animosity.

“Adopting and putting into practice initiatives in favour of refugee inclusion and strengthening social cohesion is in fact made extremely difficult by the rising tension against Syrian refugees.” (P7, Local NGO, F)

Nearly half of the refugees and asylum seekers in Turkey are women, which is similar to the global refugee population. Data provided by the Presidency of Migration Management (PMM) in Turkey show that 46.2 percent of Syrian refugees are women. Therefore, making adequate policies that substantially benefit women is vital.

“To make sure that no one is left behind, stakeholders must listen and take into account the perspectives of women and girls and address their issues and needs during the design, implementation, monitoring, and assessment of the international and national frameworks” said one of the experts (P12, Local NGO, F).

However, all interviewees stated that there is a huge gap when it comes to women and their inclusion in the national policy framework, claiming that the gendered perspective, which is absent in the system, has to be included at all levels of governance in Turkey’s international protection framework. Adding that there is a lack in some legal and infrastructural measures assuring the safety and wellbeing of women refugees. Therefore, the policies in place remain insufficient and limited when it comes to women. The majority of experts argued that even Turkish women are facing a bunch of challenges and struggling to reach out for their rights, so definitely it will be much harder for refugees and especially Syrian women due to many aspects including their cultural background, level of literacy, and traditional norms.

When asked this particular question “Do you think there is any advantages to be a woman and/or a Syrian woman refugee?”, most of the experts laughed scornfully and firmly responded with a big “NO” and jumped to the next question.

“When it comes to law and official decrees, men and women are equal, yet, in the real life and social life, women have fewer chances than men, at work, in the community, etc.” (P11, Local NGO, F)

When talking about solution that experts sought efficient to fill those gaps, The majority suggested that a good plan should include preventative measures guarantying that women refugees and especially those survivors of GBV, have access to specific services such as health facilities (not limited to emergency cases), psychological and social support, security, and legal services that are suitable, accessible, and of high quality. Adding that a rights-based approach is highly needed. A clear integration of such a rights-based approach into the National Action Plan would enable women to proactively exercise their rights within their homes and communities as well. In this sense, the empowerment of educational institutions and possibilities for their involvement in safety-related decision-making should be ensured as part of protective systems for young women and girls who have fled persecution, as well as to the need of expanding social cohesion programmes involving both local and refugee women.

According to experts, women who are seeking asylum or refugee status are heavily represented. The first step for their social empowerment will be their full engagement in school and the labour force. This will help them in taking part in harmonization process and thus peacebuilding. Existing refugee assistance programmes might be adapted in this context to promote the involvement of women refugees. Furthermore, programs like the one funded by UNICEF “Conditional Cash Transfer for Education”, which promotes school enrolment among refugee students in Turkey, might be adjusted to give priority to women refugees and girls. These initiatives would be very helpful in encouraging the development and emancipation of refugee women and thus would positively benefit the community.

5.3. THE SHIFTING ROLE OF I/NGOs IN THE POLICIES IMPLEMENTATION

Local and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been crucial players in the humanitarian response, offering relief to Syrians outside and inside the camps in close cooperation with the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD). They have played a significant role not just in helping the refugees in the borders but also in long-term initiatives across Turkey. Likewise, they have led the way in the response. Many have focused on issues related to gender-based violence, education, and the rights of children and women who have fled their countries seeking refuge and protection.

For instance, in education, Syrians were granted access to attend school while NGOs have produced some anti-bias related training for teachers and students, fostering social cohesion has become a part of NGOs' agendas. They have started undertaking programs that complement governmental objectives. Additionally, NGOs have begun offering vocational training to Syrians including women, which has aided their integration into the labour market and complemented the pertinent laws. The EU's Facility for Refugees in Turkey, for which NGOs are among the implementing partners, is one example of international financing that has been directed through NGOs to support their complementary role in the refugee crisis.

A challenging operational environment has nevertheless been met by non-governmental organisations dealing with refugees. INGOs and local NGOs that assist Syrians have also been affected by the political hostility toward refugees. In this section, experts were asked questions with respect to the implementation of the policies related to refugees and asylum seekers including women, and what are the challenges they are encountering when it comes to practice.

I must say that the responses were indeed listed under two main categories: negative in ways and positive in other ways. Experts have different inputs and various opinions when it comes to the enforcement of these policies and especially their role and prospects.

The majority agreed that the role of local and international organisations was more prominent in the early years of the crisis. Therefore, up until 2016/2017, NGOs were able to actively carry out numerous activities, including educational programmes for Syrian

children, vocational training, thanks to the government's more lenient and open laws. Major NGOs set up psychological and educational assistance programs for refugees during that period in different locations. However, everything has changed for numerous NGOs after 2017.

“We found ourselves under obligation to shift our roles, from being completely engaged in providing educational services, to vocational training and/or social cohesion related sessions to promote integrity”. (P6, Local NGO, F)

For instance, one of the experts said that prior to the 2017–2018 academic year, when the government introduced more stringent regulations on NGO activities, NGOs were able to sign protocols with provincial directorates of national education and obtain permission from local municipalities to work with refugee children. Whereas, at some point PMM had to personally authorise all clearances and processes. The provincial protocols of several NGOs were revoked as a result of this shift, and their extensive operations were suspended.

In addition, as a further means of “impeding” [as referred by an expert working for a local NGO] NGOs operations, the government has turned to interfering with internal organisational processes and work. Examples include making frequent visits, requesting permission before starting initiatives, etc. Generally speaking, NGOs attempt to minimise paperwork, which also results in the suspension of some programs. According to some experts, the public officers frequently go to their offices to learn more about their daily tasks and who is visiting their premises.

The migration office shall receive any project proposals, and the NGO must then wait for a response. **“It is clear from these everyday demands and pressures that the state is attempting to restrict the NGO's operating area asking for licences, registrations for initiatives the organisation may wish to participate in”** as reported by one of the experts. In fact, the multiple processes that some NGOs must adhere to in order to stay out of problems challenge and restrict their operational space, or the completion of everyday duties.

“It is indeed challenging to start a new project, as you have to pass many institutional steps and approvals, and this is frustrating because either the efforts go wasted and/or the approval process take long until you give up” (P9, Local NGO, M)

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“Our laws are good, but the execution is always a challenge. Human rights, children’s rights, and women’s rights are not being implemented as they should. We constantly refer to CEDAW and work to foster unity across offices and organisations”. (P13, UN Agency, F)

Overall, NGOs shall exercise extreme caution when dealing with bureaucracy and refrain from requesting pointless approvals. Since this lead to limit their innovation and initiatives, the fact that ultimately has a detrimental impact on the recipients. NGOs also became aware of the local authorities’ reluctance to liaise following the attempted coup. Some experts also criticised the local authorities’ unwillingness to work with the non-governmental sector in addition to their demanding and controlling policies and attitudes. This tendency manifests in a series of challenges that NGOs face whenever they ask local authorities for assistance or support.

“Helplessness breeds frustration” (P7, Local NGO, F)

Due to a number of considerations that favour particular I/NGOs, these limits and restrictions do not have the same impact on some. In reality, NGOs that rely on foreign funding and INGOs may experience less issues while executing projects since the international donors directly interact with the government. As partners or collaborators with the government, service-providers NGOs are less likely to experience constraints. Nevertheless, it’s vital to remind that the Turkish Government is unpredictable and subject to change, thus the efficacy of the aforementioned benefits cannot be guaranteed.

Additionally, the development of connections between authorities, beneficiaries, and civil society into trustworthy relationships, the creation and maintenance of peaceful coexistence, and the construction of connective social capital may all be hampered by hostile views of people or institutions of authority against Syrian refugees. In light of this, Experts believe that there is always room for the government to put up a concise and comprehensive public policy vis-à-vis the future of Syrian refugees in Turkey. NGOs working to strengthen social cohesion in Turkey have extra challenges because there is now no clear direction at the highest levels of politics, allowing diverse and competing approaches to emerge at lower levels of authority. In fact, and as mentioned beforehand that adopting and putting into practise initiatives that would enhance and improve refugee

inclusion and increase social cohesion are significantly hampered by the growing hostility toward Syrian refugees nowadays.

In addition to being lauded for its fortitude in the face of such a crisis and influx, many voices have been recognizing the efforts of the Turkish government for its open-door policy, the quality of its services, notably those related to education and employment, and the proactive measures made to help Syrians in need. However, some other voices have been far more critical and concentrated on the flaws in Turkey's migration policies towards refugees particularly Syrians, underlining emphasizing the denial of their full refugee status recognition, the inclusion of women in the agenda, the reported breaches of human rights, the frequent discrimination/racism faced in public, and the risks of using the issue for partisan and political benefit.

“Aiming to integrate such an influx of asylum seekers is indeed challenging for a country that hasn't dealt with such a crisis before. However, there is always room for cooperation to guarantee that everyone is heard, protected, and not left behind”.
(P1, UN Agency, M)

All in all, both governmental agencies and I/NGOs, have opportunity for collaboration. Resources are scarce, and the demand for coordinated assistance for refugees is continual. Both on a horizontal and vertical level there is a huge problem of cooperation between I/NGOs and local NGOs and between governmental institutions and I/NGOs. This lack of coordination leads to duplication of aid initiatives and inefficient resource utilisation. Better assistance for refugees shall be offered if this disorganised system is to be changed and the gaps filled.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1. DISCUSSION

Women refugees suffer severe barriers to having proper access to services, particularly the labour market, as all of my respondents emphasised when asked about the experiences of Syrian refugee women residing in Turkey, the difficulties and challenges faced. The actual effects of the political environment on the Syrian refugee women residing in Turkey will be revealed and discussed in this chapter.

For Syrian refugee women in Turkey, in conformity with the findings, there are a number of obstacles to employment, including a lack of proper education and competences, bureaucratic measures, family, and childcare issues, in addition to the patriarchal nature of their living and traditional norms. As argued by Macdonald (2001), that when attempting to adjust to a new environment, severe complications might arise. According to experts, Syrian women frequently labour in the secretive textile factories when outside of their community, where they are subjected to abuse, assault, and prejudice. The majority of them work at unregistered seasonal employment. Women's access to public sets is restricted by the conventional gender roles that are imposed to them. Only a tiny percentage of refugee women are able to find employment, and when they do, it's typically in fields that are thought of as “female sectors”.

The direct and unrestricted access to healthcare services in Turkey is another problem faced by women under temporary protection. Beneficiaries of temporary protection are only permitted to obtain medical treatments in the province in which they have registered. As a result, when they leave the city in search of employment possibilities, refugee women are compelled to seek treatment from "underground" medical institutions due to the absence of regular access to health care services. The interventions done by non-experts in these non-sterile settings imperil the lives of refugee

women. Women who have fled from vulnerable groups like sex workers confront even severe obstacles in getting access to medical care. They are unable to have resources about sexual health, medical services, HIV check-ups facilities including therapy services.

The difficulties Syrian females have attending school were brought up by all experts. Syrian girls are highly likely to abandon their studies than males, irrespective to the fact that there are possibilities for them to continue their education in Turkey and succeed. Low levels of education among Syrian females are attributed to a number of factors, including registration issues, money issues, caregiving obligations, traditional norms, and early marriages and that was similar to Ferrant et al. (2014) argument, saying that the outcomes of migration for females are indeed affected by the gender and social norms within their country of origin.

The prevalence of early marriages, being second wives, and prostitution amongst refugee women in Turkey, according to all experts, increases the likelihood of violence and abuse. Turkey has seen a rise in polygamy and underage brides as a result of the large-scale movement of Syrian refugees to the countryside. Becoming co-wives and early marriages are viewed as a measure of social protection to combat hazards posed by prostitution and sexual abuse. In comparison to Turkish women, Syrian refugees experience much greater rates of early and/or forced marriages, sexual assault, unintended pregnancies, polygamy, and maternal death. Due to the fact that Turkish Civil Law does not acknowledge the second wife's status, she may find it difficult to access her legal rights in cases of abuse and violence. In contrast, some families coerce their girls into marriages with elder Turkish men to benefit from the money given as dowry. Young girls aren't the only ones who believe that the only option for them to protect themselves and their relatives is to become co-wives; middle-aged refugee women who are divorced or widowed also believe in this. Given that many women often lack basic necessities, violence is their least pressing issue to complain about.

By referring to the existing implications of the political settings, it is exceedingly difficult to obtain security and protection services. Due to their fear of being deported, Syrian women typically refrain from reporting incidents to law enforcements. This worry is well-founded, as a refugee who commits a small misdemeanour might face deportation. Because they may be afraid that their husbands may be deported, women feel paralysed when domestic abuse occurs and refrain from reporting it. The uncertain legal status of

Syrians continues to restrict women's rights. The rising politicisation of the system has also severely limited access to justice. Prosecutors choose not to look into incidents that specifically target refugees, such as gender-based violence, xenophobia, and maltreatment of Syrian children at school.

The emergency policies debated in the preceding chapter, have significantly impacted non-governmental organisations including those supporting women's rights. Consequently, many of them were left behind without assistance. The emergency state measures have in fact proven destructive to women's rights, particularly for the most vulnerable, i.e., women refugees. Due to a number of factors, including their gender, country of origin, and age, Syrian refugee women have to deal with many challenges in Turkey, which the government's emergency measures haven't precisely helped to mitigate and encouraged the continuation of prejudice and gender-based violence. We all agree that the way the authorities have dealt with these challenges are indeed deficient. For instance, the absence of gender-sensitive programs aiming to reduce gender discrimination and prejudice and the amendments of legislation that, rather than safeguarding the rights of women and vulnerable groups, subject them to even further violence. According to experts, early marriages, sexual harassment, human trafficking, workplace discrimination, and Xenophobia have actually increased as a result of the lack of legal action.

Even if the majority of humanitarian actors in Turkey recognise the value of gender mainstreaming in their broad conversations, this recognition does not appear in their discussions of certain initiatives, such as livelihood and social empowerment and this may be related to a great number of aspects and limitations including the public opinion and/or the politicisation of the situation. This study supports Olivius' (2016) prior conclusion that, despite the discursive emphasis on gender mainstreaming in humanitarian settings, it is often difficult to detect a good reflection of these on programming discourses and practises. To put it another way, Turkey's humanitarian relief is more heavily focused on providing basic needs and protection schemes for refugees, enlightening them about their rights, and assisting them in creating new social networks.

All in all, with more than 3.6 million Syrian refugees living on its soil for the past 11 years, Turkey has confronted an unparalleled migratory crisis for which no nation has

ever been adequately prepared. But over time, Turkey implemented a variety of policies, facilitated communication among several parties, and offered a nuanced answer to a challenging issue. Some people may see Turkey's overall policy toward Syrian refugees to be confusing, complicated, and perhaps conflicting. But, given the current circumstances, Turkey merits praise for its fortitude in handling the matter with composure, openness, and transparency.

6.2. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conflicts, war, and even natural disasters push individuals to flee their homelands, seeking safety elsewhere which can be interpreted in different forms, and its impact may differ from a person to another. The impact of forced migration is very huge and intensifies existing inequalities: separation of families, upsurging socioeconomic vulnerabilities and increasing the number of female head of households, the fact that leads to amplify negative coping mechanisms (alike: early child marriage) and/ or exploitation. Usually, during conflicts, women may find themselves under the obligation of taking additional roles and responsibilities.

Through this study, I tried to demonstrate and address the challenges faced by Syrian women residing in Turkey, caused by forced migration, by touching upon the necessity of “gendering the human security” while migrating and/or while in transit places. At first, I addressed in general the challenges refugees face in Turkey and particularly Syrian women from the experts’ perspectives, since they are more familiar with the context. Then I found that the responses are somehow insufficient to clear my vision and disruptions to serve the objectives of my thesis. I then have to ask some general questions about the policies made in place to respond to the refugees’ crisis and if these policies at any stage included women in their provisions while been discussed with other stakeholders. Furthermore, I had to tackle the role of I/NGOS in the response and what kind of challenges they may encounter when it comes to policies and their implementation in practice.

Through the findings, I observed that women are gravely impacted because of their gender roles, legal status, and/or needs. In fact, forced migration has negatively affected these women, by creating explicit threats, self-doubt, and insecurities through

their long and rough journeys until reaching the desired destination. Hence, it is very important to raise awareness about gender-related issues to be able to secure women refugees and protect those at risk of violence and ensure their wellbeing when it comes to livelihoods, education, and health. These programs will not only assure their protection but will acknowledge other people that these women should not be treated as victims or been marginalized, but they should be seen the same as anyone else who is facing a bad experience and has insecurities due to this experience, so, with the offered support, he/she shall overcome these issues, and move on with his/her life.

Finally, the public perception of refugees and the rising societal hostility toward them make it difficult to develop policies that may reinforce the social cohesion and inclusion of Syrian refugees within the community. It slightly explains why the government's strategies are somehow deficient when it comes to planning a long-term vision for the Syrians future in Turkey and that its policies appear to be more of a "pragmatic muddling through".

General recommendations

In line with the findings and based on the experts' references, previous studies, and my own observations, the following recommendations indeed appear to be efficient if taken into consideration by the different actors in the response.

Syrian refugees' socio-economic assimilation in Turkey should be a major focus of Turkish authorities' attempts to react to their long-term stay in the country. As a result, international actors will need to rethink their long-term planning and financing strategies. Many financing options for social cohesion-related activities are still based on a short-term perspective despite the fact that this is becoming more widely accepted at the policy level. Public policy in Turkey increasingly acknowledges Syrians as "permanent-temporary" members of Turkish society. In this sense, it is vital for the efficacy of these programs to provide a place for Syrian and Turkish actors to interact and shape the design and execution.

The host governments alongside other stakeholders and UN agencies, ought to address the challenges faced by women within the society. They should listen attentively to these women and prioritize the engagement of women experts from the host community

in organizing events and training to raise awareness about gender-based violence, in addition to providing some integration sessions upon arrival.

All humanitarian bodies, Government, NGOs, and the UN should define the types of threats Syrian refugee women and girls encounter throughout displacement, to find adequate solutions in the present and prevent others from facing the same fate in the future.

Another important factor was noticed that due to the inadequate number of female experts in international security or security forces, women refugees find it so challenging to talk freely about their experiences, and what they've witnessed and endured. Talking of which, also the host governments should come out with a strategic plan to monitor their security forces' personnel who sometimes may unintentionally or on purpose misuse their authority and contribute to some violative acts that harm these refugees. According to Ward (2002), providing opportunities to empower women economically, politically, and/or socially, will increase their capability to act significantly against violence and prevent it beforehand.

Finally, the authorities should adjust their migration policies in terms of facilitating access to services, such as healthcare, education, and job markets as well as to providing vocational and empowering trainings, for sure they do have some initiatives but still deficient in terms of capacities and providers. Furthermore, working on "gendering a human security", which would lead to reduce the risks and prevent any potential threats. The role of NGOs and international organizations like UN agencies, in developing a gendered-based perspective is vital in understanding women-specific needs, to be able to settle a long-term policy to sustain a safer atmosphere for women migrants/refugees during and after their journeys.

I believe that through the abovementioned recommendations and by strengthening the resilience of refugee women and protecting their rights we may finally be able to reduce some of their vulnerabilities, and clearly tackle the risks they face. Women play an essential role in promoting reconciliation and harmony in their families, then their communities even in the most difficult and painful situations, working together to empower these women as a host community, authorities, or humanitarian workers is vital since protecting their rights, dignity, and wellbeing is the key to build strong and more peaceful societies.

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