ANALYSIS ON ATTITUDES OF LOCAL PEOPLE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS
IN ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

ANALYSIS ON ATTITUDES OF LOCAL PEOPLE TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS IN ISTANBUL

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Migration movements, in addition to the changes they brought about in individual lives, also brought about changes in societies. This thesis aims to understand the main issues and themes that local people rely on in shaping their attitudes towards immigrants. In this way, it examines the various ways local people encounter foreigners and the perceptions and attitudes these encounters generate. To this end, in-depth interviews with twenty-five people working and living on the European side of Istanbul were conducted. At the end of the data analysis process, four themes emerged. The four themes that individuals relied upon in forming their attitudes towards immigrants living in the city are empathy, future concerns, fear of the (un)known and reflecting a problem. The underlying sense of desolation as the argument of this thesis has significance beyond the other four themes. This theme makes sense of the damaged relationship between the individual and the state on the axis of belonging-ownership as the individual's sense of desolation. It develops an underlying understanding attitudes towards immigrants based on the position of the relationship between the citizen and the state. The sense of desolation I propose can contribute to reaching these meanings. This thesis reveals the sense of desolation and its potential to contribute to the analysis of social conflicts in Turkey.

ÖZ

İSTANBUL'DA YEREL HALKIN GÖÇMENLERE YÖNELİK TUTUMLARININ ANALİZİ

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Göç hareketleri, bireysel yaşamlarda meydana getirdikleri değişimlerin yanı sıra toplumlarda da değişimleri beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu tez, yerel halkın göçmenlere yönelik tutumlarını şekillendirirken dayandıkları temaları ve altta yatan meseleyi anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla, yerel halkın yabancılarla karşılaşma biçimlerinin çeşitliliği ve bu karşılaşmaların yarattığı algı ve tutumlar incelenmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, İstanbul'un Avrupa yakasında çalışan ve yaşayan yirmi beş kişiyle derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Veri analizi sürecinin sonunda dört tema ortaya çıkmıştır. Bireylerin şehirde yaşayan göçmenlere yönelik tutumlarını oluştururken dayandıkları dört tema empati, gelecek kaygısı, bilin(en)meyen korkusu ve sorunu yansıtmadır. Bu tezin argümanı olan ıssızlık duygusu, diğer dört temanın ötesinde bir öneme sahiptir. Bu tema, aidiyet-mülkiyet ekseninde birey ve devlet arasındaki zedelenmiş ilişkiyi bireyin ıssızlık hissi olarak anlamlandırmaktadır. Bu tez, göçmenlere yönelik tutumların altında yatan ve vatandaş ile devlet arasındaki ilişkinin konumuna dayanan bir anlayış geliştirmektedir. Bu tez kapsamında önerdiğim ıssızlık duygusu bu anlamlara ulaşmaya katkı sağlamaktadır. Bu tez, ıssızlık duygusunu ve bu duygunun

Türkiye'deki toplumsal çatışmaların analizine katkıda bulunma potansiyelini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, Göçmen, Yabancı Düşmanlığı, Tutum, Issızlık Hissiyatı

To my mother and father

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INTRODUCTION

National borders are blurred and rigid at the same time for the masses suffering from wars, poverty, and exploitation. International migration caused by demographic growth, political conflicts, natural disasters, and wars has always been a part of human history. In the book *Stranger at Our Door*, Zygmunt Bauman analyzes the new conditions brought by modernity and migration. Bauman states that immigration, and specifically mass migration, is a phenomenon that has been with us since the beginning of the modern era, together with the "redundant people" produced by "our modern way of life" (2016, p. 3). According to Bauman, these "redundant people" are the result of the social/political transformations brought about by the modern way of life that has become excessive and unemployable due to the economic changes. These people have been rejected as the result of the unrest, conflicts, and disputes caused by power struggles. One of the distinctive features of today's migration movements is their global character. According to Castles and Miller (2008), international migration has never been the primary topic of discussion by politicians. Socioeconomic and political issues related to national security or global conflict and disorder have never been more controversial for immigrants than they are today. Migrations are interconnected through complex processes that affect more countries. The global character of migration movements has led to the encounter of people with different cultures and the strategies they have to develop to live together. The estimated number of international migrants over the past fifty years has been increasing over the past fifty years. In 2020, approximately 281 million people live in a different country than their country of birth. This number is 128 million more than thirty years ago, and more than three times the estimated number in 1970 (84 million). International migrants make up about four percent of the world's population today (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). For some, population movements in the contemporary world create countries that are more cohesive and at the same time economically and socially prosperous. However,

population movements often do not lead to cohesion and welfare for those who migrate from their home countries and those living in the host country.

Askerliğini yapmış, TÜRK vatandaşı alınacaktır. [1]

In 2016, I saw this job advertisement taped to the window of a textile workshop in Istanbul with the word "*Türk*" written in capital letters on a white piece of paper. When I was preparing for this thesis, when I saw this advertisement, I realized that the questions I asked myself were questions that a social scientist should ask. What is happening here? Is this a racist job advertisement? Is it nothing more than an advertisement by a discriminatory and xenophobic person? What about the social process underlying this attitude? These first questions I asked myself while walking by the advertisement turned into some preliminary questions that I mentioned above within the scope of this research.

The main question of this research is which concepts and processes can explain the perceptions and attitudes of local people towards immigrants? While this thesis questions the attitudes of local people towards immigrants, it mainly aims to understand the formation process of these attitudes and the themes that lead to the formation of local people's attitudes. It seeks to grasp the process and explanatory themes that make up people's attitudes towards immigrants. The antecedents of this study are the relationships between these themes, the development of the process, the individual's perception, and different social realities. In this context, it is not based on predefined concept sets, formal explanatory theories or other studies in literature. It is designed to develop conceptual analysis in conjunction with research.

Chapter One outlines the conceptual and historical framework of immigration in Turkey. First, in order to clarify the scope of the research, the basic concepts related to migration are briefly summarized in their legal, historical and political contexts. Then, a summary of the migration movements that Anatolia faced during the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, as well as the international migration movements in the region, is given. This summary also touches upon the historical

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[1] A Turkish citizen who has done his military service will be hired.

and political issues within the scope of the research, including nation-state formation and the construction of Turkish identity in the process of building the Republic of Turkey. This chapter aims to generate a comprehensive background for main questions and answers for the thesis.

In Chapter Two I discuss the insights into the research methodology in detail. In order to conduct reliable research based on scientific knowledge, the methodology must be planned and applied correctly. The methodological approach I have detailed in this section is the qualitative research approach. While using qualitative methods, I benefited from the in-depth interview method. I interviewed twenty-five people living or working on the European side of Istanbul. I analyzed these interviews using the MAXQDA 2022 software. I introduce the research questions and the methodology of the study and elaborate by discussing how I collected and analyzed my data.

In Chapter Three I present the findings and data analysis of the fieldwork. Here, first of all, I share the profiles of the interviewees. Then I discuss the findings and the themes of my data with reference to the conceptual framework of this study. In this section, I discuss what the concepts of foreigner, immigrant, refugee, and asylum seeker mean to the respondents and also the perception of the relationship between these concepts. I examine the different settings in which the interviewees encounter foreigners in their lives and the experiences, perceptions and information they gained from these situations as personal, spatial, economic, and political encounters. The four themes, which play a role in the development of individuals' attitudes towards foreigners in the country, are empathy, future concerns, fear of the (un)known, reflecting a problem. I also detail how these themes play a role in the formation of attitudes. I discuss how they contradict and intersect and what these contradictions and intersections mean for the questions of this thesis. Here I propose the underlying sense of desolation as a result of discussing the themes that shape local people's attitudes towards immigrants.

In the Conclusion part of the study, the answers to the research questions and/or the insights that emerged as a result of this study are summarized and the dominant

themes in the formation of individuals' attitudes towards immigrants are analyzed. The relations of these themes with each other and their importance for this study are also presented. Similar to Derrida's concept of hospitality, the contradictions of the four themes in the emergence of attitudes and underlying sentiments were analyzed. The sense of desolation underlying these attitudes, shaped by local people in different mindsets and contexts, is inferred from the citizen-state relationship. I also discuss the contributions of the concept of sense of desolation to the analysis of attitudes towards immigrants and the analysis of relationship between different social groups.

CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTUAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

This thesis aims to gain insight into the social change caused by international migration in Turkey since the foundation of the Republic. The analysis will build on key concepts of migration to shed light on the dynamics of this transformative process. In this section, explanatory discussions will be made on the meaning(s) of concepts such as immigrant, refugee, asylum seeker and foreigner, which are used as a conceptual framework throughout the study, in the international literature and in the context of Turkey. In addition, this section will summarize the social, historical and economic role of migration in Turkey's historical experience. It will cover the process from the establishment of the Republic and nation-building to the present day, and thus the historical and conceptual framework will be included in the thesis. In addition to the conceptual framework, the purpose of addressing the historical framework in this section is that although the concepts mentioned are based on international law, they have social equivalents beyond international law. The meanings created in the social and historical contexts, which are the focus of this study, are as important as the meanings based on international law. In this section, I will present some of the discussions in migration studies. Basically, the concepts of foreigner, immigrant, refugee, and asylum seeker will be discussed in the context of Turkey's historical, political and sociological processes.

I applied qualitative research, as I will discuss in detail in the methodology section. The study is built on understanding how these concepts in literature take place in social and historical encounters. Also, the meanings they gain in these settlements and the variables behind these definitions. These concepts, which I will examine within the scope of research findings, together with the historical process and the meanings we encounter in Turkish society today will enable the reader to understand

and interpret these concepts on the basis of international law. Since the contextual meanings of concepts such as migration, immigrant, refugee, asylum seeker, and foreigner in Turkey are concepts that emerge within this complex network of relations, it is very important to be familiar with the meanings of these concepts in the past century. The concepts mentioned above are not just legal terms; are tools of perception and interpretation used in particular social contexts.

1.1 Migration and Related Concepts for the Study

As stated in the glossary of migration terms published by the UN International Organization for Migration (IOM), migration refers to the movement of people from their usual place of residence (2019, p. 137). The fact that migration is in the form of settling within national borders or from one country to another does not affect the quality of migration. The concept of migration in this study evokes international migration. In other words, although immigration means leaving or changing one's usual place of residence, it sometimes appears as international immigration. I follow Bauman, who highlights how this "modern lifestyle," in which the all the world's natural and human resources are exploited, affects the forcibly displaced and people in host countries. Similar to but different from Bauman and other studies mentioned in this thesis, this study aims to understand the host country citizens and locals, who are one of the parties to this encounter, and to reveal the framework in which they construct their attitudes towards others.

International migration is also the temporary or permanent movement and resettlement of people from one country to another. Whether international or not, migration is first and foremost a geographical phenomenon (Bartram, Poros, & Monforte, 2017, p. 13). The nature of geographical change takes on a different dimension to the fact whether the people are acting within the borders of their citizenship or abroad. The first premise we have when we talk about the "international" nature of migration here is that the nation-state and its boundaries shape our definitions of migration in the modern world. In addition, it is necessary to deal with social, historical, economic and cultural issues in order to understand the topics and concepts to be covered in this study.

1.1.1 Immigrant

The term immigrant describes a person who has settled permanently in another country. The distinction between the concepts of immigrant and migrant should also be mentioned here. In terms of international law, an immigrant can be defined as a person who settles to live permanently in a country of which he/she is not a citizen (IOM UN Migration, 2019). The concept of migrant is used as an umbrella term to refer to permanent or temporary relocation. In this section, I examine the different meanings of the concept of immigrant in the context of Turkey. Here we come across the word *muhacir,* which is etymologically Arabic and means immigrant. The word *muhacir*, which was used as the name given to the immigrants in Ottoman Turkish, has transformed by gaining new meanings while leaving its place to the Turkish word immigrant in the process from the first years of the Republic to the present. After the proclamation of the Republic, the settlement of Anatolian lands became very important for the formation of the Turkish nation-state in terms of the economic, ethnic, cultural and political distribution of the population (Çağaptay, 2002, p. 71). The Settlement Law No. 2510, which entered into force in 1934 (Official Gazette dated 14 June 1934 and numbered 2733), is important in terms of understanding the perceptions of the Early Republic administrators in the rebuilding process of Anatolia. Article 3 of the Settlement Law explains the persons to be considered as immigrants in the said period as follows:

> *According to the provisions of this Law, Turkish origin or nomadic people and tribes and residents of Turkish culture who want to settle in Turkey individually or collectively from outside are accepted by the order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. These are called muhacir. (Article 3)*

The basic condition for those who wanted to immigrate collectively or individually within the borders of Turkey was being Turkish. For non-Turkish people, being attached to Turkish culture was a prerequisite for being an immigrant. The conditions for permanently settling in Turkey and being accepted as a *muhacir* were certain. Another definition in the same law was about the refugee. In the same article of the aforementioned law, a refugee was defined as "people who take refuge in Turkey not for the purpose of settling, but for the purpose of temporary residence out of

necessity." The reason why I gave the definition of refugee under the sub-title of migrant is that this definition of refugee is used as a descriptive definition of the concept of *muhacir,* unlike its counterpart in today's literature. Finally, Article 4 of the Settlement Law clearly defines the limit of persons who would not be accepted as immigrants to the country and clarified the attitude of the state: "Those who are not affiliated with Turkish culture, anarchists, spies, nomadic Gypsies and those who have been taken abroad are not to be considered as *muhacir* to Turkey."

In summary, the concept of the immigrant in Turkey has been separated from the concept of immigrant politically, ethnically and culturally until today. The word *muhacir*, which is the Arabic equivalent of the concept of immigrant, which is basically an umbrella term, evokes a different meaning in this study. I will discuss the semantic differences between the word *muhacir* and immigrant for the participants and the meanings they bring to the research in Chapter Three. This discussion will focus on the contexts in which this concept and the other concepts I mention in this section are perceived by the participants.

1.1.2   Asylum Seeker

Although it is different from the concept of refugee, the asylum seeker, which is accepted as the first stage of the forced migration process, can be defined as the person who applies to become a refugee. It can be called the first status of the person before becoming a refugee in the country to which s(he) migrated. In this process, the applicant's asylum application must be completed. The applied states make their decisions by evaluating the conditions determined by national and international agreements. For this reason, it is the primary status of every refugee who goes to the country of forced migration. However, not every asylum seeker request is eventually accepted as a refugee (UNHCR, n.d.). If the decision is negative, they are asked to leave the country or deported if there is no valid reason to stay in the country. In this case, since the asylum seeker staying in that country is deprived of his rights and freedoms, new problems and deprivations arise for him or her. For this group, which is called the unregistered population or irregular immigrants, conditions have become more difficult in the country where they applied for asylum and were

rejected. This process goes beyond the difficulties experienced in asylum seeker and refugee status. Although the Turkish equivalents of refugee and asylum seeker are *mülteci* and *sığınmacı*, respectively, these terms can be used interchangeably in everyday context. In the interviews held within the scope of this thesis, some participants used the terms refugee and asylum seeker interchangeably. What is noteworthy here is the intertwining of these concepts for participants despite their legal differences. The other concepts I mention in this section also show transitivity and have similar meanings for the participants. The existence of this complexity and intertwining is also discussed while making sense of the perceptions of the local people in a way that answers the research questions.

1.1.3. Refugee

The definition of refugee was shaped due to the political atmosphere that emerged after the Second World War. Refugee comes directly from the French word *réfugié*. It was used to refer to Protestants fleeing France after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, which granted freedom of belief to Protestants in France in 1685 (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.). Historically, even its first use, similar to its current meaning, describes migration depending on mandatory conditions, unlike its use in the Settlement Law.

As mentioned above, migration emerges as a historical phenomenon. The situation of individuals who migrate from their country of residence to another country for various reasons, motivations, and push or pull factors is constantly changing. The status of immigrants in the countries they migrate to is of vital importance for both immigrants and host states and societies. Although states accept foreigners who immigrated to their countries, they give some statuses in terms of their rights and responsibilities, and they can have mutual rights and freedoms in accordance with the international equivalents of these statuses. According to the Refugee Convention adopted by the United Nations in 1951, a refugee, one of these legal statuses, is "a person who has justified grounds for persecution because of his/her race, religion, citizenship or membership of a particular social group or political opinion" and therefore continues to live outside his/her country (Abadan-Unat, 2002, p. 305).

Refugee status is obtained when a person applies for asylum in another country other than his/her own country due to some compelling reasons and his/her application is accepted at the end of the process. In order to obtain refugee status, a person must apply for asylum in the country in which s(he) wishes to settle. The legal status of the person whose asylum application is approved is revealed. Here, it may be necessary to distinguish more clearly between the concepts of refugee and migration. While there may be many different reasons for migration, voluntary or compulsory, the concept of refugee can be defined as the situation of staying in a country due to forced migration.

Just as the reasons and motivations behind migration and asylum are quite different, the social, economic, and cultural cohesion and integration in the target country may also be quite different. Turkey's immigration policy based on the principle of "being of Turkish descent or Turkish culture," which has been implemented since the first years of the Republic, was also taken into account during the signing of the 1951 Geneva Convention of the United Nations Organization that regulates the rights of refugees after the Second World War. As a matter of fact, Turkey had brought a geographical limitation when signing this agreement in 1961, that is, it would only accept "those who suffered from the events in Europe" as refugees. Thus, the geographical limitation imposed by the Settlement Law was somehow retained (İçduygu, Erder, & Gençkaya, 2014, p. 158). Turkey is acting in line with the annotation it put in 1961 to enforce its refugee status today. For this reason, the part of refugees coming from outside Europe in Turkey is called different legal statuses. The Syrians under Temporary Protection (SuTP) have the largest share in this group. A significant part of the Syrians who had to leave the country collectively and/or individually due to the problems in Syria in 2011 were accepted by Turkey. Turkey enacted a Temporary Protection Regulation in 2014 to manage the legal status of refugees who came in mass numbers from Syria in 2011. According to the first article of this regulation, persons who came to Turkey due to the events that took place in the Syrian Arab Republic as of April 28, 2011, are under temporary protection status (Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, n.d.). According to the data of the Ministry of Interior, Directorate of Migration Management, the number of SuTP as of

February 2, 2023, is 3,500,964 (Ibid.). According to UNHCR data, the total number of Syrian refugees in the world is 5,424,016. 3,500,964 of this number live in Turkey.
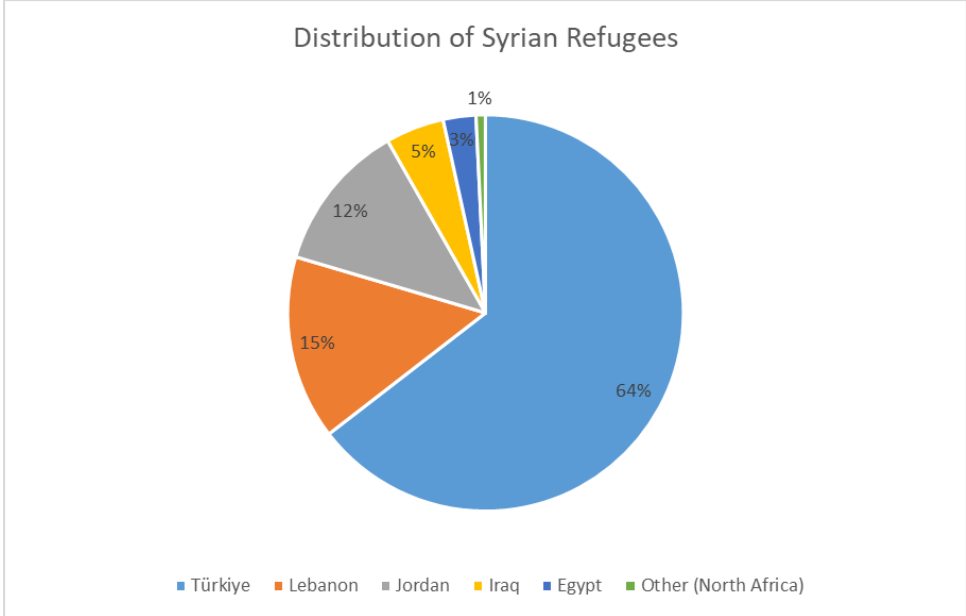
Figure 1 Distribution of Syrian Refugees by Country

The figure above shows the distribution of Syrians with refugee status by country (Refugee Situation, 2023). According to data from the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), more than 103 million people have been forcibly displaced by mid-2022, of which 32.5 million are refugees. Turkey is the country hosting the highest number of refugees in the world. It is home to more than 10% of all refugees. Turkey hosts 3.7 million refugees, according to UNHCR data (UNHCR, n.d.).

1.1.4 Foreigner

While being a foreigner can be seen as a result of immigration, there will also be situations where it is a reason for immigration. The concept of foreigner in the daily language of the participants of my research has an important place. In moments when individuals' preconceptions of different concepts such as refugee, asylum-seeker, and migrant are intertwined and ambiguous, the foreigner can contain an umbrella meaning that defines all these "outsider" elements. Before examining the concept of

foreigner in detail, it is necessary to make a rough interpretation of the concept of foreigner and to make a brief introduction on how it is used throughout the study.

From an ancient concept like "Xenos" to the contemporary alien invader category, the figure of "stranger" often serves as a borderline experience for people trying to define themselves in terms of or against others (Kearney 2012, p. 16). Although there is no clear distinction in Turkish, this concept (*yabancı* in Turkish), which is used in two different meanings in English as stranger and foreigner, has been used interchangeably. However, I intend to use it as foreigner throughout the study.

The concept used by the German sociologist Georg Simmel to make sense of social interaction has been stranger. In his work *The Stranger*, Simmel sees the sociological form of the stranger as a synthesis of "being at a certain distance from every given point in the space" and "not being attached to a certain point." (2009, pp. 149-150) According to Simmel, spatial relations are at the center of social interaction. Simmel also argues that the foreigner, who is at the center of the definition of the foreigner, "the foreigner is not counted here, but he is not like the traveler who comes today and goes tomorrow, it is like a person who comes today and stays tomorrow." (Ibid.) The stranger, formulated as a person in Simmel's sociology, is a person who joins a group from the outside and whose stranger identity is determined by that social group.

In *Postmodern Ethics*, Bauman talks about the overlapping of physical proximity and social proximity in pre-modern societies. So, in pre-modern societies there are either "neighbors" or "aliens." The neighbor is good, and alien is bad. The equation between these two is simple. Near is good, far is bad, and evil must be excluded, suppressed or kept away. Bauman argues modern society has distorted the relationship between physical and social intimacy. What is physically close is no longer always socially close. We do not always find our social relatives by our side. In other words, the alien is entwined with the neighbor. According to Bauman, the most striking aspect of foreigners is that they are neither "neighbors" nor "aliens." Alternatively, to put it another way, they are both "neighbors" and "aliens." So those

who are physically close but socially distant are the most frightening, that is, strangers (Bauman, 2009, p. 151).

Simmel and Bauman, two sociologists who think and produce a lot on foreignness and otherness, have developed a framework for the interpretation of social action with the concept of the foreigner, which they built on a particular spatial relationship and/or the deterioration and re-establishment of this relationship in a different way. Simmel's interpretation of the concept of the foreigner may have a more positive meaning than Bauman's. According to Simmel, the stranger is portrayed as being in a relatively favorable position, outside the community he enters, outside the norm set of that community, and physically maneuverable (Simmel, 2009). Bauman, on the other hand, builds the concept of the foreigner on the changes brought about by modernity, as can be understood from the quotations I have made from both *Strangers at our Door* and *Postmodern Ethics*. According to Bauman, the negative perception of the foreigner in many ways stems not from the foreigner, but from the "modern lifestyle" he talks about. Under the pressure of the modern urge to establish order, strangers lived in a state of suspended extinction. By definition, strangers were an anomaly that needed to be rectified. Their existence was defined a priori as temporal, just as the current/fleeting stage in prehistory of order that has yet to come (Bauman, 2000).

Finally, the deconstructive thinker Jacques Derrida begins the definition of the stranger in his article "Hospitality", "the stranger is, first of all, he is born elsewhere. The stranger is defined from birth rather than death" (2000, p. 14). Derrida deconstructs philosophy's search for the possibility of universal hospitality. Here, he starts with what hospitality is and then proceeds to what it is not. Derrida's analysis of hospitality is basically based on the impossibility of unconditional hospitality and the idea that conditional hospitality is a practice that would destroy itself as hospitality. According to Derrida, hospitality is by definition shown to foreigners. Therefore, the concept that determines hospitality here is not knowing, but "unknowing." Unknowing is an integral part of our relationship with foreigner, and therefore of hospitality. Since the concept of foreigner can be associated with the concept of guest in many ways, it can be considered as contrary to the concept of

host from the same point of view. With the presence of the stranger, the title of host becomes meaningful. When the stranger meets the host, s(he) first answers the question "who are you" from the host. By answering this question, the foreigner generates that she/he has enters the host's domain and recognizes the host's ownership. Again, by answering this question, he introduced himself and came out of the stranger, where the scope of absolute hospitality also becomes complicated. This relationship between host and guest at the threshold also reproduces the hierarchical violence between the two. Derrida sees conditional hospitality as the guest's universal right to be free from hostile treatment. This hospitality, which Derrida analyzed through Kant's understanding, basically includes two sides, the guest and the host. According to Derrida, the existence of these two sides, the definition of each other and thus the drawing of their borders constitute an "aporia" in itself. This is where hospitality becomes an impossibility that includes hostility. Because squeezing the foreigner into the definition of guest contains a hierarchical violence and therefore hostility towards the guest. Secondly, Derrida analyzes Levinas's understanding of unconditional hospitality. Here Levinas presents having no expectation or knowledge of the stranger as a precondition for unconditional universal hospitality. The host must renounce the conditions of the host that constitute the hierarchical violence created by his or her position and this is how the conditions for unconditional hospitality are created (Derrida, Konuksev(-er-/-mez-)lik, 2012). The following long excerpt is quite revealing in terms of drawing attention to both Derrida's deconstruction and the importance of this analysis for my research.

> *Hospitality, if there is such a thing, is not only an experience in the most enigmatic sense of the word, which appeals to an act and an intention beyond the thing, object, or present being, but is also an intentional experience which proceeds beyond knowledge toward the other as absolute stranger, as unknown, where I know that I know nothing of him (we will return sooner or later to the difficult and necessary distinction between these two nevertheless indissociable concepts, the other and the stranger, an indispensable distinction if we are to delimit any specificity to hospitality). <Hospitality is owed to the other as stranger. But if one determines the other as stranger, one is already introducing the circles of conditionality that are family, nation, state, and citizenship. Perhaps there is another who is still more foreign than the one whose foreignness cannot be restricted to foreignness in relation to language, family, or citizenship. (Derrida, 2000, p. 8)*

As Derrida mentions in the quote, defining the guest by limiting them in terms of concepts such as nation, state and citizenship also makes them foreign. In this research, while discussing the themes that local people (hosts) rely on while developing their attitudes towards migrants (guests), we encounter the vague, ambiguous and reductionist position that Derrida's analysis reveals. Crucial to this research is the emphasis on the foreigner. Derrida has built an understanding of the foreigner that makes the stranger impossible as a guest but also makes it a condition for the existence of the host and absolute hospitality (Ibid, pp. 4-6). At this point, I interpret the complexity of the attitude of the local people who set a boundary, draw a threshold and establish a relationship with the migrant at this threshold through Derrida's concept of "hospitality" in the following sections of the thesis. Again, I define the sentiment brought about by all this complexity as the feeling of desolation as the main argument of the research.

1.2 Historical Contextualization of the Study

There is a widespread tendency to view refugees as a relatively new problem affecting many countries. The fact that refugees became an international issue, especially during the Cold War, is effective in this regard. It can be said that these refugee movements started at the beginning of the twentieth century when the Balkan wars displaced several hundred thousand people (Skran, 1992). For the Ottoman Empire, these mass migrations have been continuous since the nineteenth century. An important demographic change and migration movement started with the return of the Turkish and/or Muslim people who remained within the borders of the non-Muslim/non-Turkish states that declared their independence in the Balkans. Also, the Second World War alone displaced more than 30 million people. The political, social and economic formations, redrawing of borders and changing conditions at the beginning of the twentieth century undoubtedly reflected migrations and demographic changes. One of the countries most strikingly affected by these changes was the Ottoman Empire and thus the Republic of Turkey. Of course, this does not mean that mass population movements around the world started after the First World War. Even during the peaceful interwar period, at least seven million people became

refugees, including Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Russians, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Spaniards, and Jews (Ibid.).

In discussing the mass population movement, I now draw a brief historical framework as the background for my thesis. As Kongar emphasizes, it is important to understand the demographic view of Turkey: "some concrete effects of the process of social change in Turkey can be easily observed in the population. In addition, it is not possible to understand the structure and change of a society without examining the population of that society" (1998, p. 521). For this reason, the handling of migration movements in the context of the state's migration policy has an undeniable importance in terms of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in the nation-state building process. According to Karpat, the social structure of the Ottoman state has undergone major social, ethnic, religious, and linguistic changes in the last seventy-five years. This process involved the movement of millions of people from the European lands of the Ottoman Empire to those in Asia (Karpat, 2003, p. 102). The first idea of exchange after the emergence of nation-states in the Balkans belongs to Saffet Pasha, the Ottoman representative who negotiated with the Russians during the 93 War (The 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian War). After the 93 War, a migration movement started from the Balkans to Eastern Thrace and Anatolia (Şimşir, 1986, p. 202). Due to the Empire's territorial losses in the Balkans, approximately 1,445,000 people of Turkish and Muslim origin migrated to Anatolia (Kirişçi, 1996, p. 385). In addition, approximately two million people from the Caucasus came to the Ottoman Empire between 1859 and 1879 (Karpat, 2003, p. 112).

After the War of Independence, mass migration to Turkey started with the population exchange process outlined at the Lausanne Conference. This population exchange took place between Turkey and Greece and was one of the most important mass population movements of the interwar period. The population exchange process involved the forced migration of Greeks from Anatolia to Greece and of Turks and Muslims from Western Thrace to Turkey. About two million people were displaced between 1923 and 1925. Nearly half a million immigrants lived in Turkey, which had a population of twelve million at that time (Arı, 2000). Although these

population exchanges aimed to homogenize religions and ethnicity within the borders of Turkey and Greece, Bernard Lewis briefly described the situation of refugees as follows: "The Greeks of Karaman were Christian Greeks by religion, but most of them did not speak Greek. Likewise, the Turks sent from Greece knew very little Turkish and spoke Greek. They also wrote Greek in old Turkish script" (Lewis, 1993, p. 352). The Republic of Turkey took over a social structure with migrations from the Balkans, the Caucasus, and other lost lands to Anatolia. Since the 1930s onwards, the Republic's policy towards these migrations was similar to the late Ottoman policy. The Republic worked for the economic, social and demographic reconstruction of Anatolia according to the criteria of "being of Turkish descent or connected to Turkish culture" (Çağaptay, 2002, p. 72). According to Çağaptay's analysis of the 1930s, the difference in the High Kemalist period compared to the previous period is the decrease in the influence of religion in the definition of the Turkish nation. According to the Settlement Law of 1934, groups that came to Turkey to settle in were categorized as those who could obtain citizenship. The groups that are accepted as Turkish and given citizenship are as follows: 1) ethnic Turks; 2) ethnically Turkic groups such as Tatars and Karapapaks; 3) ethnically not Turkish but stateless Balkan Muslims such as Bosnians and Pomaks. The last group was Caucasian nomadic Muslims with strong nationalist ties. These are Georgians, Lezgis, Chechens, Circassians, and Abkhazians. The Ankara government has decided that these groups will be resettled under control and surveillance, and citizenship procedures will be carried out. The fifth and final group were immigrants who would not be granted citizenship. These were Armenians, Christians, Jews, Albanians, Kurds and other Muslim groups. According to Çağaptay, this classification has affected Turkey's domestic and foreign policy from the first years of the Republic to the present. High Kemalism produced three concentric zones of Turkishness: an outer territorial one, a middle religious one, and an inner ethnic one. In this scheme, only when a group was located in the innermost ethnic zone did it enjoy close proximity to the Turkish state (Ibid, p. 77).

Immigration and Turkification policies of the early Republican period continued in the post-Atatürk period. It can be said that the Republic of Turkey shaped its migration and refugee policy in parallel with Çağaptay's definition of Turkishness as

a concentric zone. According to official figures, more than two million people from Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and other Balkan countries have immigrated to Turkey since 1923 (Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, n.d.). During the twentieth century, Turkic/non-Turkish Muslim groups from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria were considered *muhacir* and their citizenship and integration was emphasized. This intersection between the years 1988 and 1991, on the one hand, showed the acceptance of Bulgarian Muslims in accordance with the laws of the Republic of Turkey, and on the other hand, the reflection of the concerns and securitization policies towards refugees from Iraq. Fearing that the camps planned to be built on the Turkey-Iraq border for the shelter of asylum seekers would resemble the "Gaza Strip," the government decided to close the borders and prevent the asylum seekers from crossing into Turkey (Kirişçi & Karaca, 2015, p. 305). In their work, Danış and Parla interpret Turkey's citizenship and immigration policies within the framework of an "acceptability hierarchy." They examine the changing meanings of being of "Turkish origin" and the transformation of the state's use of this hierarchy, which Çağaptay used to describe the early Republic and beyond. This was a historical turning point in which the lineage hierarchy was strikingly observed. There are two critical points in the great migration waves of 1989 and 1991. The emphasis was on "security" when they came from Iraq and "kinship" when they came from Bulgaria. While the minority in Bulgaria was invited to the "motherland" with Turgut Özal's[2] order 'all come' upon the increasing pressures against them in 1989, Iraqi refugees, the majority of whom were Kurds, stayed at the border for a long time. The authors go beyond the duality of religion and ethnicity, questioning the intricate relationship between religion and ethnicity within a hierarchy of acceptability. In order to understand the hierarchy between groups, both Muslim and Turkic, and thus kinship groups, they emphasize the influence of the geography from which the immigrants came (Danış & Parla, 2009). When we look at the historical process, although Çağaptay's analysis is consistent, the "Hierarchy of Acceptability" also needs to be understood. The "hierarchy" that has changed since the 1990s with the rise of political Islam and the ensuing *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (Justice and Development Party) (AKP) regime can help us understand how the state perceived the Syrian

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[2] Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey (December 1983-November 1989)
President of the Republic of Turkey (November 1989- April 1993)

migration in 2011, the last and largest mass migration to Turkey. Since the start of the civil war in Syria in April 2011, there has been a massive population movement to Turkey, including from other neighboring countries. 3,570,234 SuTP are registered in Turkey today (as of December 1, 2022) (Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, n.d.). AKP government exhibited an open-door policy at the beginning of the civil war in Syria. In addition, in this period, the Turkish state adopted the discourse of Islamic *ensar* (host) and *muhacir* (immigrant) discourse. This policy, which emerged for the first time during the Turgut Özal period after the collapse of the USSR and was called Neo-Ottomanism by some scholars, was based on an imperial foreign policy vision such as the "brotherhood" of Turkey with the Turkic Republics that gained independence. By using the legacy left by the Ottoman Empire in the lands it dominated in the past, it has found a place for itself in an understanding that manifests itself as a foreign policy design target (Yaşlı, 2015, p. 150). Mustafa Türkeş, in his article *Decomposing Neo-Ottoman Hegemony,* states that the overconfident Turkish government since the 2010s has made Turkey an ordinary actor in the region although Ahmet Davutoğlu[3] stated that Turkey's policy has "the solid geopolitical foundation, strong historical background and institutionalized framework of Turkish-American relations" (Türkeş, 2016, p. 21). Türkeş claimed that Davutoğlu tried to accelerate the implementation of his neo-Ottoman foreign policy first in the Balkans and then in the Middle East, and that he believed this would transform Turkey from a medium-sized actor into a sub-regional imperial power. However, he faced problems in both domestic and foreign policy. Again, Türkeş writes that this neo-Ottoman understanding, which could not find support in the Balkans, and later tried to establish its hegemony over Syria in order to become a regional actor, and this further accelerated the problems in Syria and caused an influx of refugees to Turkey (Ibid.). Tanıl Bora calls the broad political framework that began with Davutoğlu's appointment as foreign minister in 2009, including but not limited to relations with Syria and migration policies, the *Pax Ottomana* (The Ottoman Peace), which aims for the Turkish government to become a regional power in the Middle East - the ancient lands of the Ottoman Empire (2017, p. 482). At the end of all this process, according to official figures, more than five million foreigners

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[3] Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey (May 2009-August 2014)
Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey (August 2014- May 2016)

live in Turkey today. In short, Turkey's political transformation since the 1920s, its perspective on foreigners and immigrants, its social and demographic transformation lay the groundwork for understanding the current discussions on migration policy and immigrants in Turkey.

In this chapter, I have drawn the conceptual and historical framework of the important issues that I focus on while asking my research questions. One of the research questions I mentioned is about how people perceive the concepts of immigrant, asylum seeker, refugee and foreigner. The differences and similarities in the perception of concepts as well as the common aspects between the groups to which the interviewees attribute concepts are significant within the scope of the research. For this reason, I have summarized both the framework of these concepts and their meanings in the context of Turkey and the changes and transformations of these meanings. Here, I have explained the place of the concepts of foreigner, refugee, asylum seeker and immigrant in the context of Turkey. In doing so, I have contextualized the participants' perceptions and attitudes in social, historical and political spheres of in Turkish society.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL INSIGHTS OF THE STUDY

The focus of this chapter is to identify the problems, questions, topic, and target data of this research and also guide the methodology to be followed. It will also provide the themes that make up the attitudes of the local people towards foreigners and the relations between these themes. This qualitative research aims to comprehensively interpret the thematic background of the attitudes of the local people working/living in the European side of Istanbul. Basically, I discuss the fundamentals of my research design here. I also provide a brief summary of the studies in literature and how this research differs from them.

Understanding how citizens come into contact with a large group of foreigners and develop social relations is also helpful for understanding public perceptions and attitudes towards them. In addition to these interactions, how groups from different socio-economic backgrounds interact with foreigners and how these variables affect their attitudes towards immigrants is another important issue. In other words, it is very important to make sense of attitudes and perceptions. In this context, some of the questions and issues that I aim to understand and/or answer can be listed as follows:

- Which concepts and processes can explain the perceptions and attitudes of local and working individuals towards immigrants?
- How is the local people's attitude towards immigrants shaped?
- How do individuals perceive/understand terms such as foreigner/refugee/asylum seeker/immigrant? What differences/similarities do they perceive between these terms? What do the groups to which they attribute these terms have in common?

- Which processes and concepts reflect their attitudes towards foreigners according to the differences in perception of these terms?

- What are the different themes and perceptions that make up these attitudes?

- What formative themes emerged from personal, spatial, economic, and political encounters with foreigners in their lives?

- What is the relationship between these formative themes?

- What are the interacting and conflicting themes? In what ways do these themes interact and/or conflict?

- What do these interactions and contradictions mean for social scientists to understand local people's attitudes towards immigrants?

2.1   The Discovery of Emerging Patterns in Data

Qualitative research is often based on the assumption that social life is essentially qualitative (Neuman, 2014). Qualitative data are therefore neither imprecise nor incomplete. The main issue in qualitative research is to understand fluid and active social action and life in its naturalness without transforming it into quantitative variables and numbers. The opinions and perspectives of the participants are the facts used here. In qualitative research, it is essential to examine motives, themes, patterns, and perspectives. Rather than trying to translate the fluid, active social life into variables or numbers, the researchers borrow the ideas and perspectives of the people they study, keeping them in a fluid natural environment. Qualitative researchers examine motives, themes, distinctions, and perspectives rather than variables. The research design is the strategy that determines the approach of the research and guides the consistency of the stages. The analysis is based on descriptive and qualitative data obtained from the interviews. It guides inductive research from question to conclusion. (Neuman, 2014).

As I mentioned, this study is not only to question the attitudes of local people, but also to question the shaping of local people's attitudes and the main themes that guide their attitudes. It seeks to understand the process and explanatory themes that make up people's attitudes towards immigrants. The relations between these themes, the development of the process, the individual's perception, and different social

realities are the predecessors of this study. It is designed to develop conceptual propositions regarding the attitudes of local people towards immigrants in the city. Regarding the nature and properties of reality, this qualitative research process is not based on a single understanding of reality; it reveals different realities in itself and conveys different experiences. Therefore, in terms of methodological foundations, it develops propositions with an inductive approach.

2.2   The Process

The figure below shows the steps of qualitative research according to Neuman. Neuman mentions the beginning of research is the conscious acceptance of the social self by qualitative researchers. Simplified in the figure below, these research steps are intertwined at some points. It does not always consist of linear movements, and sometimes there are reversals between these steps. Neuman states that the researcher should carry out two stages together, especially in the data collection and data analysis stages.
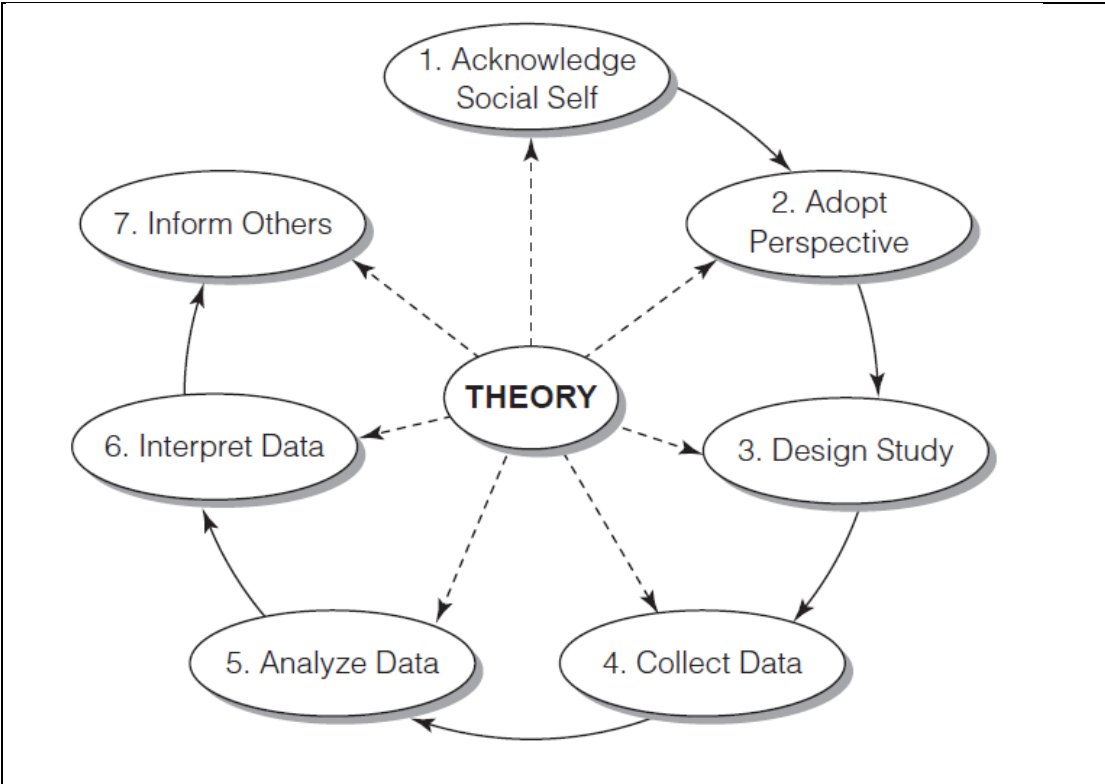
Figure 2: Steps in the Qualitative Research Process (Neuman, 2014, p. 21)

In the interpretation of data, qualitative research is concerned with grounding and making sense of new concepts. This research draws on contributions from grounded theory in research design, data collection, data analysis and interpretation. It questions the attitudes of local people towards immigrants, the themes beyond their discourses, and the historical and social context of the concepts. Figure 3 below is a process diagram visualized by Kathy Charmaz (2006) at *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis.*
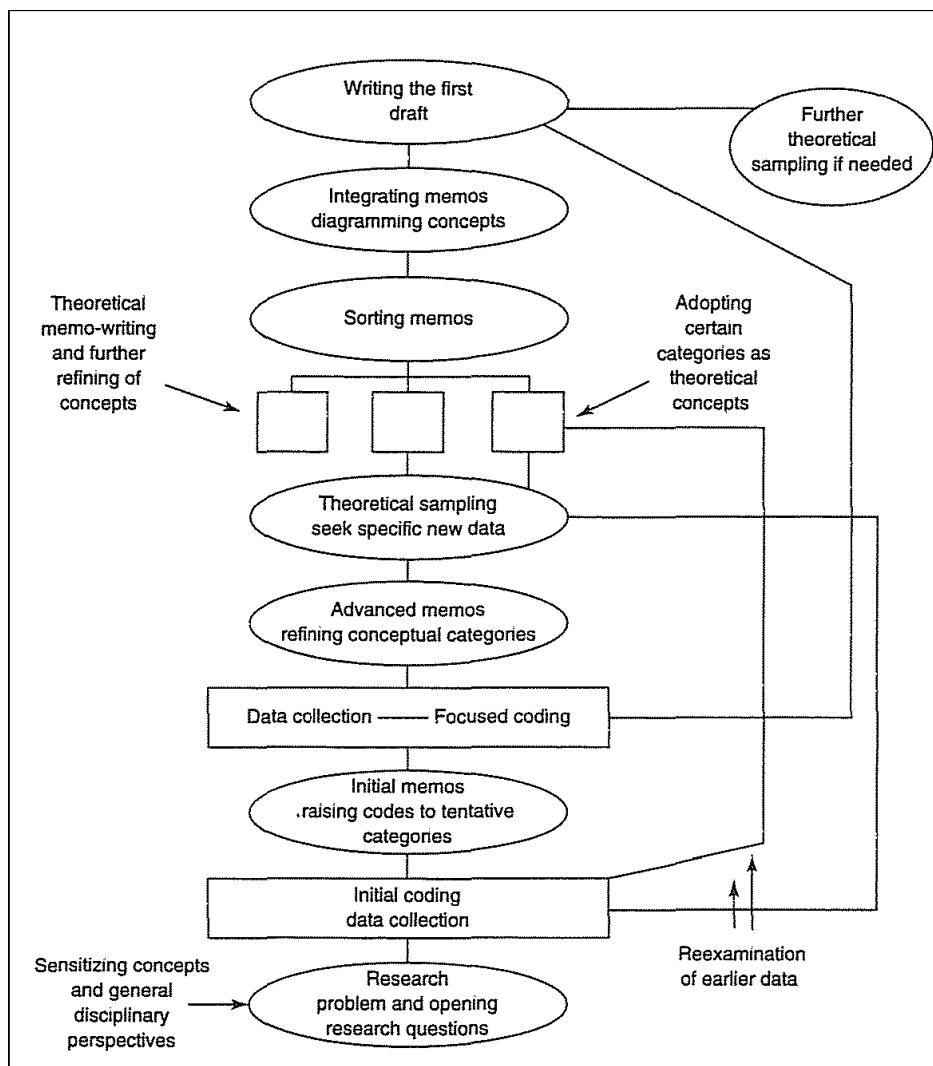
Figure 3: Grounded Theory Process (Charmaz, 2006, p. 11)

Charmaz visualizes the process from the research problem to the emergence of the first draft text. It would be useful to summarize the information in this table.

- Data collection and data analysis continue simultaneously.

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- Data are analyzed not with hypotheses, but with codes developed at various stages.
- The sample is updated at necessary stages to make it suitable for theoretical purposes.
- Writing notes is a method that is done at every stage and strengthens the analysis.
- The first draft is not written at the end of the analysis; it is developed at each stage.
- The researcher can often perform data collection, data analysis and writing at the same time. At any point in the process, data collection can be enriched with new retrospective categories and concepts and add to the analysis.

2.2.1 Opening Questions and Literature

In Charmaz's model, research focuses on providing original concepts. We can start from these vantage points, according to Charmaz, but we need to remain as open as possible to everything we see and feel in the early stages of research (Charmaz, 2006). Sensitizing concepts and disciplinary perspectives provide a starting point, not an ending point. In other words, it is to make room for the new instead of using predefined concepts and hypotheses in a social reality that the researcher and participant, even data and analysis jointly construct. It is important to mention some of the existing studies in literature, to discuss the differences in my work.

The first work worth mentioning is *Loss and Xenophobia in the City: Contextualizing Anti-Syrian Sentiments in İzmir, Turkey* by Cenk Saraçoğlu and Daniele Belanger (2019). The authors analyze the anti-Syrian sentiments that emerged as a result of their ethnographic field research in four different regions of Izmir through the interactions between refugees and Izmir residents. According to Saraçoğlu and Belanger, attitudes and behaviors developed only against Syrians should not be explained as people's anti-immigrant attitudes. The authors analyze three main perceptions of loss. These perceptions can be listed as the loss of economic gains, the loss of urban space and the loss of national integrity. Here, the authors highlight the main themes of the encounters that constitute the Syrian

opposition in the urban space. The authors aim to go beyond the descriptive analysis in the literature by aiming to open the political, ideological and economic relations articulated in the construction of anti-Syrian xenophobia in social relations in Izmir.

Second study is titled as *Limits to Temporary Protection: Non-Camp Syrian Refugees in İzmir, Turkey* by Yıldız and Uzgören (2016). This article examines the situation of non-camp Syrian refugees living in İzmir with a two-tailed focus. First, it focuses on socioeconomic expectations and challenges related to the survival and integration of refugees, and second, it concerns social acceptance by the host community. The authors carried out qualitative field research in the districts of İzmir where refugees are concentrated. The authors analyze Turkey's temporary protection policy and borders in the context of current conditions and its future. According to them, the Turkish state has no chance to maintain its open-door temporary protection policy (Yıldız & Uzgören, 2016). This article proposes policy approaches that involve a long-term integration aspect to Turkey based on the needs and perceptions of both Syrian refugees and Turkish people. The research is based on the narratives of both immigrants and local people, rather than an analysis of underlying issues of these attitudes and perceptions.

Another study worth mentioning is *Refugees, Xenophobia, and Domestic Conflict: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Turkey* (2018) by Anna Getmansky, Tolga Sınmazdemir, and Thomas Zeitzoff. This research questions which factors lead to negative or positive attitudes towards refugees. It was designed as quantitative research focusing on the different attitudes and ideas developed by Turkish citizens according to the ethnic and religious origins of refugees from different ethnic origins. Although this research examines citizens under different categories, its main focus is on the relationship between refugees' ethnic and religious affiliations and attitudes.

Another study is Fuat Man's (2016) article titled *"Günah Keçileri" ya da "Olağan Şüpheliler" olarak Suriyeliler* ('Scapegoats' or 'the Usual Suspects' as Syrians). Here, the author emphasizes that the trends accusing Syrians in everyday discourse are accusations that are not based on concrete facts. According to the author, the data to prove that the Syrians, who are seen as the usual suspects in the context of events

such as unemployment and crime in daily life, are limited, revealing the unfoundedness of these accusations. Thus, the author argues that Syrians can be taken as an example of the tendency to blame others or the practice of scapegoating.

One of the most important and comprehensive studies in the field is *Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration*, conducted by Murat Erdoğan (2015). In this research, Erdoğan aims to develop an understanding of both Syrian and Turkish society and to make predictions for the development of public policies. Within the framework of the study, the current situation, qualifications, satisfaction levels, problems and approaches regarding the permanence of Syrians in Turkey, as well as Turkish society's thoughts, expectations and problems about Syrian refugees were analyzed. One of the predictions of the research is that Syrians in Turkey tend to become permanent rather than temporary as time goes on. Regarding Syrians in Turkey, the study predicts that the level of acceptance in Turkish society is extremely high. However, the potential for "hospitality" to turn into hatred and hostility should be taken seriously and social acceptance can only be achieved through comprehensive migration management (Erdoğan, 2015). One of the most important questions of this study was how the asylum process was managed and what should be done. The issue of Syrians in Turkey should be addressed as a problem that could potentially affect Turkey's next decades, even if the Syrian regime collapses today. One of the most important findings of this research is that Turkey's social acceptance level is at an extraordinarily high level despite all the problems experienced, but it is fragile. In order for the process to be sustainable, it must be managed well; temporary and permanent strategies must be created immediately and presented with the knowledge and support of the society (Erdoğan, 2015).

All of the studies I mentioned above, in one way or another, set out with questions similar to those of this research. However, these studies do not go beyond a descriptive analysis of discourses, with the exception of the work of Saraçoğlu and Belanger. The general tendency of the studies in the literature is to provide a descriptive presentation of the discourse or research-oriented content they encounter in field work. As mentioned above, beyond the discourse analysis of their interviews, Saraçoğlu and Belanger's study used the term loss and xenophobia to describe the

political, social and economic framework behind xenophobic attitudes among local people in Izmir. Similarly, this thesis aims to understand the main themes that make up the attitudes towards immigrants and the underlying political, economic and social perceptions underlying them understand the main themes that constitute their attitudes and the underlying political, economic and social perceptions.

The studies presented here often focus on anti-Syrian xenophobia. These studies were carried out in cities where this contrast can be observed intensely. Comprehensive studies such as Erdoğan's work focus on revealing the current discourse, both in scope and methodology. This thesis is based on a field study conducted in a region such as Istanbul, which has a very large population and where different social groups live together. The fieldwork aims to provide a thematic framework beyond discourse through interviews with local people from many different social groups living/working on the European side of Istanbul. Since it is an ethnographic field study, it is hoped that it will bring a broader perspective to anti-immigrant attitudes and thus contribute to the academic knowledge in the field.

2.2.2 Sampling Strategy and Participant Profiles

Entering the field in interpretive research work means entering the worlds of research participants (Charmaz, 2006). Based on my research questions, the participants whose world I wanted to enter were local people living in Istanbul and working in a full-time job. Istanbul, Turkey's most populous city in 2022, had a population of approximately 16 million (TurkStat, 2022). According to the official figures of the Directorate of Migration Management, there are 1.3 million foreigners registered in different statuses (Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, n.d.). However, this number also includes people who are officially registered in Istanbul and have a residence permit. On the other hand, Ekrem İmamoğlu, Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, stated that the number of foreigners living in Istanbul in 2022 is between 2 to 2.5 million, including those registered in other cities and those who are not *(İstanbul'da kaç "Yabancı" yaşıyor?*, 2022). Of course, it is not possible to know both the local population and the foreign population living in Istanbul, apart from official data. As a matter of fact, the data obtained from two official sources, the Ministry of Interior

and the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, reveal that approximately 10% of the people living in Istanbul are foreigners/immigrants. There is also another reason for choosing it as a field for my research related to Istanbul's historical and social dynamics. As a city known throughout history for its cosmopolitan character, I found Istanbul the perfect place for a study on this subject. The world of encounters created by local people from many different cities of Turkey and foreigners from many different economic, social and cultural environments of the world defines Istanbul. Also, just like the day I saw the advertisement, I thought my interviews with local people working/living in Istanbul would give me more insight into the different aspects of encounters and reality construction. I determined the universe of my research as the European side of Istanbul, where there are many people who have experience working with immigrants. Basically, in order to contribute to the objectives of the research, I tried to reach the participants who had contact with foreigners in the city on many different encounter backgrounds. Rather than reaching a representative sample, my goal here was to conclude with the narratives of the participants with quite different socioeconomic profiles and different preconceptions from my fieldwork in the light of purposive sampling strategy. In this study, which I conducted with a non-representative sample, choosing a homogeneous sample would not carry the research beyond discourse analysis. This is because the goal of this research is not only to see the attitudes of the participants, but also to analyze the strategies of developing these attitudes and the underlying political and economic relationship. With purposive sampling, I aimed to create a heterogeneous group both in terms of socio-economic profile (which I will elaborate on below) and in terms of their encounters with immigrants. This heterogeneity has contributed significantly to the achievement of my research goals in terms of being able to see and relate patterns in attitude development strategies.

During the sampling phase, I focused on a few key criteria. The starting point was to interview people living or working on the European side in line with my sampling rationale. In this context, I completed the first stage of my fieldwork, which I carried out in two stages, by conducting ten in-depth interviews in August 2022. I completed my second phase of field work in October 2022. Whatever the typology used, whether structured, semi-structured or unstructured interviews, the difference

depends on factors such as how in-depth the interview was conducted or how standardized the interviewers were (Punch, 2011). Semi-structured in-depth interview method was preferred since it was aimed to establish an in-depth communication and reach the themes consisting of the discourses of the interviewees. Throughout this fieldwork, I used semi-structured in-depth interviews with people living and working on the European side of Istanbul. The first sampling is a point of departure, not theoretical elaboration and refinement. As I will detail later, I found it appropriate to continue the interviews I started with Bağcılar on the European side, in line with the first sampling, as it was convenient both practically and theoretically. In the first sampling phase, I started fieldwork in a textile workshop in Bağcılar. In August 2022, I conducted ten interviews with people from districts where the population density is high, and the textile and manufacturing industries are intertwined with the residential areas of the workplaces. In this context, I reached the interviewees in this process that goes hand in hand with the coding process. I started my interviews in a textile workshop in Bağcılar and then continued with the with people working and/or living in different districts of the European side of Istanbul. I conducted ten interviews with people living or working in districts such as Bağcılar, Güngören, Esenler, Gaziosmanpaşa, Arnavutköy, Sultangazi, Başakşehir. I reached out to people from different educational backgrounds and occupational groups for these interviews within the framework of this initial sampling strategy. Although the interviews were generally held at the workplaces of the participants, I also interviewed the participants who agreed to be interviewed at their homes. With the informed consent of the participants, I audio-recorded and decoded the interviews.

In-depth interview is the process of analyzing the perceptions of the interviewees and the questionnaire was prepared as semi-structured and open-ended questions to make sense of their attitudes. The questions were designed to be non-directive and not forcing the participants to give narrow answers. After the respondents were asked about their thoughts and perceptions about terms such as foreigner, refugee, immigrant, and asylum seeker, questions were asked to understand their encounters with different groups of foreigners and to understand these interactions. In accordance with the inductive approach, the interview was designed to reveal the

social reality based on mutual interaction and the data that is the result of the interaction between the researcher and the participant. The interview questions, information form and related documents I prepared for this study were approved by the METU Human Research Ethics Committee on August 4, 2022. The signed document of this approval is provided in Appendix A below. A sample of the interview questions is provided in Appendix B below.

The data analysis I began during these ten first interviews revealed that I needed to develop my sampling in two strategic directions. My first inference in line with purposeful sampling was that I should head towards the European side due to the high concentration of local and foreign residents. At this point, in addition to my conclusions, the "Istanbul Migration Evaluation Meeting" organized by the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of Migration supported this purpose. High-level executives such as the Minister of Interior, the Governor of Istanbul, the Head of Migration Management, the Provincial Gendarmerie Commander, and the Provincial Police Chief attended this meeting held at the Provincial Directorate of Migration on October 7, 2022. As a result of the meeting, which was previously composed of Fatih and Esenyurt, the "Districts Closed to Foreign Residence" list was increased to ten with the addition of eight new districts from the European side of Istanbul. These eight districts were Küçükçekmece, Başakşehir, Bağcılar, Avcılar, Bahçelievler, Sultangazi, Esenler, and Zeytinburnu. The number of foreigners residing in the relevant districts constituted 20% of the district's population and therefore they were closed to new residences (*İstanbul'da 8 İlçede Yeni Yabancı Kaydı Yapılmayacak*, 2022). In the light of this information, I decided to focus on these districts and their surroundings, and therefore the European side. For this reason, the interactions and stories of people living/working in districts and surrounding districts where foreign residences are concentrated will be more useful for my thesis. The second inference was that the encounters can be not only with residents, but also with passers-by, tourists, businessperson, and customers. In line with the aim of heterogeneity of the sampling, I extended the fieldwork to these districts, where I anticipated more daily and temporary encounters between locals and foreigners. In this context, I decided that I should focus on people living/working in regions such as Şişli, Beyoğlu and Beşiktaş on the European side. Thus, I conducted the rest of my interviews in

October 2022 with people living/working in districts such as Beyoğlu, Şişli, Beşiktaş, Fatih, Eyüp, Kağıthane, and Bahçelievler.

Figure 4: Map of the Districts Where the Participants Live/Work

below is the table in which I included some of the variables of the twenty-five participants I interviewed within the scope of the research. In this table, I wanted to introduce the participants with seven different variables, respectively. These are gender, age, workplace (district), residency (district), education, occupational status, and occupational groups/sectors. As another variable, I added the information whether the participants were born in Istanbul or not. Finally, by giving nicknames to each of the participants, I aimed to insert them into the narrative individually, not as numbers, while at the same time preserving their anonymity. Additionally, when discussing the findings and throughout the remainder of the chapter, I refer to direct quotations with the interviewee's nickname and age. The table below is presented in the text, not as an appendix, as it helps the reader to interpret the citations beyond the researcher's analysis.

Within the framework of my sampling purpose, I interviewed a total of twenty-five people, whom I decided to include in the sample, through a short informal interview

of around fifty people. In this short informal interview, I aimed to estimate the contribution that the prospective participant could make to the sample by obtaining preliminary information about where they live/work and other socioeconomic variables and their encounters with immigrants. Then I conducted these interviews with people who had experience working with immigrants for maximum diversity. I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews lasting between 40 and 70 minutes with each of these interviewees, whose profile I introduce in next section.

I will conclude this section by briefly mentioning the variables in Table 1. First of all, all of the participants preferred to define themselves as male or female. There were no participants who introduced themselves as different genders. Interviews were conducted with eleven female and fourteen male participants. Among the participants, the youngest was twenty-four and the oldest was fifty-eight. The majority were between 24 and 35 years old. Only eleven of the twenty-five participants were born in Istanbul. Other participants declared that they were born in different cities of Turkey and later migrated in Istanbul for various reasons.

Participants were distributed according to the districts where they live or work in sixteen of the twenty-five districts on the European side by. Seven of these sixteen districts are also among the above-mentioned "closed to foreign settlements" districts. This information is essential for stories where encounters and interactions differ in variety and depth. Likewise, I interviewed people from different educational backgrounds so that the diversity and depth of encounters and interactions would contribute to the research. While eleven of the twenty-five interviewees received education above high school, thirteen of them stated that they had high school or below education. One interviewee stated that she had no formal education.

Table 1: Participant Profiles

No	Gender	Nickname	Age	Born in İstanbul	Workplace	Residency	Education	Occupational Status	Business Group/Sector
1	m	İsmail	50	No	Bağcılar	Başakşehir	Primary School	Employer	Textile
2	f	Hülya	51	No	Bağcılar	Bağcılar	High School	Worker	Textile
3	f	Mehtap	24	Yes	Bağcılar	Bağcılar	Secondary School	Worker	Textile
4	f	Fatma	48	No	Bağcılar	Bağcılar	None	Worker	Textile
5	m	Turgut	27	No	Güngören	Gaziosmanpaşa	Undergraduate	Employer	Machinery Equipment and hardware
6	m	Emir	29	Yes	Esenler	Esenler	Undergraduate	Worker	Civil Society Organization
7	f	Esin	33	No	Gaziosmanpaşa	Arnavutköy	High School	Worker	Leather Manufacture
8	m	Hüseyin	29	Yes	Gaziosmanpaşa	Gaziosmanpaşa	Undergraduate	Civil Servant	Teacher
9	m	Ahmet	58	No	Arnavutköy	Sultangazi	Primary School	Retired + Worker	Driver
10	m	Ali	30	Yes	Çerkezköy[4]	Sultangazi	Undergraduate	Worker	Raw material sale
11	m	Onur	28	Yes	Güngören	Kağıthane	Undergraduate	Employer	Textile sub-industry products
12	m	Aslan	28	Yes	Bahçelievler	Eyüp	Undergraduate	Worker	Legal Consultancy
13	f	Emine	46	No	Büyükçekmece	Küçükçekmece	Associate Degree	Worker	Health Services
14	f	Burcu	46	Yes	Beyoğlu	Beyoğlu	Associate Degree	Worker	Accountancy
15	m	Turan	35	Yes	Beyoğlu	Gaziosmanpaşa	High School	Worker	Information Technologies
16	m	Hasan	41	Yes	Bağcılar	Küçükçekmece	High School	Worker	Marketing
17	f	Sinem	44	Yes	Beyoğlu	Fatih	High School	Worker	Accountancy
18	f	Aslı	42	No	Sultangazi	Küçükçekmece	High School	Worker	Equipment sales
19	m	Osman	31	Yes	Beyoğlu	Bağcılar	High School	Worker	Driver
20	m	Bahadır	29	No	Beyoğlu	Eyüp	Associate Degree	Worker	Marketing
21	f	Gaye	43	No	Şişli	Küçükçekmece	Undergraduate	Worker	Health Services
22	f	Asuman	51	No	Beyoğlu	Eyüp	Primary School	Worker	Catering services
23	m	Murtaza	45	No	Beyoğlu	Küçükçekmece	Primary School	Employer	Workshop owner
24	m	Hayati	27	No	Beyoğlu	Şişli	Secondary School	Worker	Sales Management
25	f	Başak	32	No	Beşiktaş	Şişli	Graduate Degree	Worker	Lawyer

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[4] The participant stated that the headquarters of the company he works for is in the Çerkezköy district of Tekirdağ, but his working area is on the European side of Istanbul.

Interviewees also differed between occupational sectors, such as their educational background. Although I focused on worker interviewees, I also interviewed four employers. One of the interviewees stated that he continues to work despite his retirement and introduced himself as both a retired and a worker. One interviewee stated that he was a civil servant. Finally, I focused on different business groups/sectors. I interviewed people working in a wide variety of different jobs and different positions. As a result, I completed the fieldwork by selecting interviewees who would reveal the depth and diversity of interactions and encounters in line with theoretical sampling regarding their age, occupational status, business group/sector, and the districts they live/work.

2.2.3   Phase of Analysis

Analyzing data when doing qualitative research is a bit like swimming; you have to dive into the water (data analysis), but sometimes you have to breathe (data collection) to continue. As I mentioned above, quoting Charmaz, data collection and data analysis are simultaneous and continuous (2006). What is mentioned here as data collection and data analysis is actually the expression of an intertwined process from the first day the researcher entered the field to the moment this sentence was written.

Here I proceed by dividing the qualitative data I obtain into smaller and smaller parts through coding. In one hand, coding can be seen as data analysis itself, and on the other hand, it can be seen as a specific and concrete process that initiates the analysis. The first level of coding essentially summarizes the datasets, and each stage develops a level that narrows it down and leads to a conclusion. Coding of qualitative data is thus in a sense similar to the procedural steps in quantitative analysis (Punch, 2011, p. 194). I performed the coding phase by reading the twenty-five interviews that I deciphered at the beginning, assigning *in-vivo* codes to the relevant events. These *in vivo* codes are actually direct quotes from the participants. It can also be explained when using vivo codes; in line with the meaning used by the participant, I took care to use it in a way that would contribute to the next coding stages. During this initial coding process, I created a total of 870 different *in vivo*

codes from the twenty-five interviews I deciphered. Although these codes sometimes mean the same thing, I coded them as they expressed because I paid attention to the different expressions of the participants in the first coding stage. I started the focused coding stage, with the codes I developed at this stage and the notes I took about my personal experiences and perceptions during the fieldwork.

In focused coding phase, I re-read the 870 *in vivo* codes I created. The aim here was to combine these codes that the participants gave me in the first stage in certain analytical groups, to obtain a broad framework that would contribute to my analysis and to carry it to the theoretical stage. These codes are guiding, selective and conceptual codes rather than word-for-word, line-by-line and event coding applied at the initial phase. Here, the codes developed in the first coding begin to turn into meaningful and relatively inclusive categories. In the focused coding process, the researcher's more analytical approach to data helps uncover meanings that were not fully understood or hidden during the initial coding process. In this way, some missed points can be compensated by reviewing previous data. In this sense, as a result of re-reading with 870 different codes, I created twenty-three different subcategories for these codes. I tried to interpret and make sense of the codes that I put under the same top category from a categorical point of view. At the end of this process, I created twenty-three categories that replaced 870 *in vivo* codes and moved on to the theoretical coding stage, which is the last stage of coding. During the data analysis, *in vivo* codes I obtained with the initial coding and then the focused coding, and the categories I created afterwards, found themselves under four main themes at this stage. With the help of my sampling strategy, I was able to uncover patterns within this heterogeneous group of participants with very different perceptions, experiences and encounters. The analysis of these attitude development strategies led me to four main themes. These emerge as themes that shape the attitudes of local people towards immigrants living in the city. These themes, which I coded based on the discourse of local people, are empathy, future concerns, fear of the (un)known and reflecting a problem. During the interviews, where I tried to understand the process of constructing the perceptions and attitudes of the participants towards immigrants. I developed four main themes as a result of my work from both interview transcripts and personal notes. These themes seem to be the topics that the

interviewees create while conveying their attitudes and perceptions. At this stage, I tried to make sense of what these concepts mean to the participants, the place and importance of the discoveries and conflicts between the concepts in the construction of social reality, and the way the participants conveyed their realities to me. Again, I analyzed how these concepts, which I developed by making sense of the meanings I ascribed to the concepts and different encounters I constructed during the interviews, were reflected with different frequencies in different people. The analysis on which I base my research is the integration of categories and themes from the data that has gone through the above stages to form an abstract and comprehensive understanding.

This coding process led me to the four main themes that I mentioned in the process of creating the perception and attitudes of the local people's encounter with immigrants. These themes have manifested themselves in discourses that are sometimes intertwined and sometimes contain opposite emotions and perceptions. Individuals' preconceptions towards concepts and their different encounters with immigrants reveal a theme fraught with dilemmas similar to Derrida's conclusion on the paradoxical impossibility of hospitality. The environment of all these ambivalent feelings and perceptions eventually led me to the idea that there was what I call an underlying sense of desolation. The word desolation, which is also used for the abandonment of the urban space, can best reflect the sense of abandonment that the individual falls into, both the sense of loneliness and unhappiness that results from the erosion of the state-citizen relationship shaped by reciprocal rights and possessions, and the spiritual loneliness and unhappiness that this situation brings to people.

CHAPTER 3

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

It is essential that research provides a framework within which its findings and conclusions can be made sense and understood in a way that provides a broader understanding. To this end, in the following chapters I have summarized the conceptual and historical framework required for the study, followed by the methodological framework.

In this chapter I summarize the methodological framework of the research, which focuses on the methods of finding, uncovering, interpreting and presenting these findings. In this way, I find it helpful to start with the setting of the encounters. I make comparisons and discuss how interviewees experience encounters in different areas of their lives. In doing so, I refer to these encounters with immigrants using concepts from the common expressions of the interviewees, as I have used since the beginning of the research. I also deduce the perceptions of the changing identity of these foreigners from the discourses of the participants. Next, I move on to the participants' perceptions of the different terms I asked during the interviews. I understand how terms such as foreigner, refugee, asylum-seeker and immigrant enter the lives of the participants and how these terms have transformed over time, and the differences and similarities between the perceptions of these terms. While doing this, I focus on the individual's process and its relationship with the historical and social transformation in Turkey. After revealing the environments and perceptions of the participants, I discuss what the main themes are that shape the attitudes of the participants. While discussing all these, I also see the impact of the contradictions in the perception and knowledge of the individual in forming that individual's attitude towards the immigrants in the city. I aim to reveal the themes that are effective in shaping their attitudes towards immigrants and I discuss these themes by drawing

inferences from their different encounters and perceptions in their lives. The indecision that sometimes arises between these themes, the contradictions between the participants' own feelings and thoughts, can also be seen as paving stones leading to the sense of desolation, which is the main argument of the research.

3.1   Encounters

I begin by discussing the interviewees' accounts of their encounters with foreigners in their lives. While developing the participants' attitudes towards immigrants, I first discuss the encounters. We can classify these encounters in two ways. Here, the questions of where and how the encounters take place reveal the main implications. However, I present all these encounters without detaching them from their political and economic context and considering their entanglement. I specifically used the word "encounter" here. There are several reasons why encounters are used in this way instead of interactions. First, these encounters do not always involve an interaction or specific communication with immigrants. Sometimes, seeing a foreigner from afar, stumbled upon a news item on TV or in the newspaper or a neighbor's story can also be an encounter. Because of their quantity, quality and diversity, these encounters can influence the formation of attitudes beyond personal interactions and experiences. These encounters, which take place in different spaces, in different ways, with or without personal interaction, basically correspond to a political context. When we talk about different forms of encounters here, all these encounters need to be considered in conjunction with the participant's relationship with the state. Just as Derrida mentions, the host who positions the guest within frameworks such as nation, state and citizenship. Also, the host experiences and transfers the encounters s(he) has experienced from these frameworks. My position as a researcher here is to be aware of the political and economic contexts behind these encounters and to try to understand the place of encounters in individuals' strategies of developing attitudes towards migrants. To this end, by presenting participants' narratives of different forms of encounters, I establish a correlation between encounters, preconceptions, and patterns of attitude formation.

As in every encounter, it is necessary to ask the question "which group of foreigners" when understanding them. Because it is necessary to follow the group that the participants indicate in their personal "dictionaries", not through foreigner, refugee, asylum seeker, immigrant, or any other term they use. One of the situations that emerged as the interviews progressed first manifested itself in the encounters. This is the intertwining of concepts belonging to different groups, which the participants point out with differences from their own perspectives. Here is the first excerpt from an interview: "I had friends in university, whom I met every day at school. But when I left school and went back to my neighborhood, I met different groups of foreigners" (Aslan, 28). In the quote above, the respondent describes personal encounters distinguished between foreigners. When I asked him how he made this distinction, he said that his friends were students who came to study like him, but that the foreign people on the street were refugees. While making this distinction, the interviewee described the stranger on the street by separating them from people he did not know. In his discourse there was a distinction between stranger and "more" stranger. That is, a distinction between stranger and foreigner. However, it was seen that he used a different discourse for his friends at school. In other words, he did not distinguish between "friends" and "foreign friends." He stated that the people he spends the most time with at school are his foreign friends and he also had a foreign flat mate for a while. For him, the boundaries between people can disappear in interaction. However, invisible borders that do not exist for every stranger without interaction can sometimes appear in this way in attitudes towards different groups.

> *The foreigners I meet the most are Russians. But I don't mean they're foreign to us. We are talking about the same things. These are people who have almost adapted to our culture because they have lived in Turkey for many years. However, there is something like this; it's easier for us to be friends with them because their culture is more easy-going than ours. (Emine, 46)*

Emine talks about the hospital she works at as follows: "The hospital where I work accepts patients from many different places including Europe, Africa and Asia, but right now the majority is Arab patients. Nowadays we often come across arrogant people who aim to get what they want with money (referring to Arab patients)." As the group defined as foreigner changes, the tone of the discourse may also change.

The change of tone, indeed a change of attitude, is the essence of all analysis. There are similar situations in spatial encounters. Although perceptions of where and which groups were encountered and attitudes towards these groups differ, the shocking effects of spatial encounters with foreigners were reflected in the narratives of the participants. Encounters take place at many different points of public space. Encounter narratives are common in the workplace, on the street, in the park, in the hospital, on public transportation, and elsewhere. In the narratives of the interviewees, spatial encounters mostly involve sharing the space, using the space and consuming the space at the same time, rather than interacting with foreigners. Moreover, the most talked about subject in these spatial encounters is the change in the hierarchy of consumption. Some interviewees expressed their dissatisfaction with the frequency and abundance of these encounters and found the solution to be moving away from that area. Opinions of two people about Istiklal Street were as follows:

> *I can't go to the places I used to go, whether it's crowded or not, because for some reason I'm not comfortable. Especially on the Istiklal side, if I have a job, I go halfway to the Atlas cinema. The rest is nothing to me. So, there are only local shopkeepers. (Burcu, 46)*

> *When I'm very bored, I go to Istiklal Street. My office is five minutes from Istiklal Street. When I'm bored, I go for coffee. I used to enjoy it. I don't want to go out now, which I don't. I haven't been out for maybe two years. Because when I go out, there is noise, people are disturbed by noise. You know it's not fun anymore, it's tiring. (Murtaza, 45)*

In the first quote, the interviewee stated that she did not feel peaceful "as before." The interviewee in the second excerpt stated that she was not enjoying herself "as she used to." Both interviewees reduced their consumption of Istiklal Street for the reasons they stated about the street. The conclusion we can draw from this is not that there are too many foreigners on Istiklal Street and therefore the local people can no longer consume the street. The common emphasis in both quotes is "it's not what it used to be." Both interviewees stated that they no longer use this street because it is "not the way it used to be "Especially in the section on economic and political

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encounters, this "not the same as before" expression is repeatedly emphasized in the narratives of the interviewees.

The narratives of many interviewees emphasized this change in various ways. This was not just a loss of physical space, but an emphasis on change (or loss) in the ownership hierarchy. Here, ownership sometimes refers to a physical space, sometimes to a non-physical power. Another trend in the direction of "it is not what it used to be" is the discourse that the quality of public services is not what it used to be. A significant part of the interviewees emphasized the encounters they had in places where public services, especially public health services, were provided. The emphasis here is concentrated in two different directions. The first emphasis is on the multiplicity of encounters in public service areas such as public hospitals: "When you go to the state hospital, you look at the names (doctor's names). Almost all of them are in Arabic. You have fifty people ahead of you. So, you feel the density of foreigners, especially in the hospital" (Turan, 35). Another issue is the problems encountered while using public services. Interviewees do not hesitate to attribute these problems to a particular social group.

> *My daughter got sick, and I took her to the public hospital. There were fifteen or twenty patients, and they were all Syrians. I walked into a room, and they all entered the room at the same time as me. It bothered me a lot when they entered the room; they ignored the doctor who said, "come in line or I can't do my job." (Aslı, 42)*

> *Someone from our so-called refugee communities, whether Syrian or Afghan, it doesn't matter, may yell at the doctor and say that you should examine me first. I think it is weird. Because for thirty years, I never thought that I could yell at a doctor like that, that I had such a right. (Ali, 30)*

The two quotes above show how a particular case is attributed to a social group. Especially in the second excerpt, the respondent refers to a group he calls refugees, an ethnic group, "Syrian or Afghan, it doesn't matter." Here, the importance of pursuing what they indicate, not concepts, becomes evident once again. Of course, not all encounters of the interviewees have such a negative tone. Alternatively, there are undoubtedly different interpretations of what happens in spatial encounters.

Hülya (51) emphasizes the common aspect of these encounters: "I also go to the state hospital. They get sick like me and go to the hospital. No matter which country I go to, when I get sick, I go to the hospital. Emir (29) working at an NGO that carries out rights-based work for refugees summarizes the situation with his professional approach:

> *Of course, having a large population in one place can create certain problems with the use of resources there. However, what matters is how these resources are distributed. Otherwise, I could barely get an appointment at the hospital earlier. I can't make an appointment now. (Emir, 29)*

As I mentioned above, the interviewees' personal interactions with foreigners are quite limited. They mentioned that they had few moments of personal communication in their buildings, on the street, at work, in the park or in other public spaces. Interviewees develop different attitudes towards encounters and problems they experience, as in many other aspects. Even for the same person, these attitudes can manifest in different ways in different contexts. In personal-spatial encounters, the scarcity of examples of empathic approaches to problems can be misleading. This approach can also be the case in political-economic encounters. However, empathy is not an unimportant part of the attitude formation process, and I will elaborate on this in the theorizing phase of the research. In the interviews, some encounters are seen at the everyday and structural levels. For example, respondents often mentioned foreign colleagues they work with at the same workplace. It was also stated that there were foreigners who work in the restaurant they go to or that they met in different ways. In addition to these, evaluations were made according to the positions of foreigners in different spheres of working environment. In particular, comments on the presence of foreigners in the labor market and its effects were the most frequent subject where encounters intersect. All of the participants in this study reported that they had experience working with foreigners. Some participants had experience working with foreigners as employers and some as managers. Some participants also stated that they exchanged goods or services with foreigners and established personal relationships with them. All but one participant did not report any adverse experiences. The only participant, who had a negative working experience, stated that an employee he hired as an Arabic translator deliberately referred customers to

other companies and therefore fired him. In general, the participants stated that the foreigners with whom they had the experience of working together were hardworking, attentive and well-adjusted people. İsmail (49), who owns a textile workshop in Bağcılar, stated that he employs many immigrants from Syria and Pakistan in his workshop and that he did not have any problems. He added that there were some Syrian merchants from whom he buys fabric and cotton, and that he has a special preference to work with them.

> *In particular, they have a more accurate foresight. There are prejudices. They work more carefully and work better to avoid prejudice. It becomes a matter of preference for you. They try to be more faithful to their promise. I mean, there's a bias there. They're more careful so they don't have to endure again. (İsmail, 49)*

Onur (28), who was in charge of a textile workshop in Güngören, stated that immigrants from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan, who work in the textile workshop, were exposed to discrimination and mobbing in the workplace, and that local workers exclude them. Many of the participants, who stated that they did not personally experience any problems, have negative style when talking about the place of immigrants in the labor market. While a negative view of the presence of foreigners in the labor market is common among interviewees, the most critical focus of this change is that immigrants undermine and devalue the place of domestic workers in the labor market. Ahmet (58), who worked as a driver in the warehouse of a factory in Arnavutköy, was one of the participants who stated that he never had any problems with his foreign colleagues. Ahmet has the following view on the place of foreigners in the labor market:

> *I think that after the foreigners came, the job opportunities of Turkish workers decreased. Employers hire them cheaper. What's happening? This time, employers can manipulate Turkish workers as they wish. So,they can hire cheaper. When they hire Syrians or foreigners, they make them work cheaper. Turks have to work for less money. (Ahmet, 58)*

Quotes below are from the interviewees who commented on how local workers were affected by the immigrant workforce. As in other similar cases, all three interviewees described how difficult the conditions of foreign workers are. Interviewees interpret

uninsured, unregistered and exploited workers as a factor that prevents local people from existing in the labor market. "They can work without insurance. They can also work for much lower wages. So, what happens? It affects the Turks. I think it will. Yes, it will happen. I mean, we don't work without insurance and something" (Asuman, 51). In this excerpt, the interviewee stated as a "preference" that immigrants can work without insurance. The perception of the interviewee is that working without insurance is a method chosen by immigrants to find a job.

> *Since the places where immigrants work, are generally unregistered, I mean, they are the bottom layer of the industry, they do not benefit society. It only benefits employers. Because they can employ these people without insurance. (Turgut, 27)*

In the quotation above, the interviewee stated that the employer was the party that benefited from employing unregistered workers. However, he emphasized that immigrants work in unskilled jobs and do not contribute to the country's economy. Similar to the meaning here, one of the issues frequently mentioned among the interviewees is that foreigners are exempt from tax in their workplaces and businesses and are not subject to any taxation. In this context, the interviewees think that foreign entrepreneurs and business owners are ahead of the locals in the market with their privileged positions. Some interviewees stated that the "contribution" of unregistered labor to the employer is enormous; therefore, the educated youth of the country cannot find the opportunity. While doing this, the fact that the responsibility of unregistered labor is not on the employer but on the worker forced to work informally is a clear example of reflecting a problem that will be an important part of the theorizing part.

> *I know a merchant who has around 350 employees with him. Two hundred and fifty of these people are Afghan, Pakistani and Syrian. Many do not have insurance. If you employ two hundred people without insurance, the insurance premium is around nine hundred thousand liras. Consequently, they are preferred. Since these are preferred, we can't give this opportunity to our own youth, whom we need to employ, to train and educate. (Murtaza, 45)*

Here, the respondent calculates the "cost" of employing insured workers and says that "therefore" those who want to get out of this situation will employ immigrant

workers for this reason. As a result, the young workforce trained by the country cannot find the necessary opportunity. After establishing this cause-and-effect relationship, it is not unusual for the interviewee to bill immigrant workers. In many interviews, the participants sought answers by reflecting the problems of immigrants in this way. Another interviewee stated that immigrants are employed in jobs because these jobs are not done by the local people: "For example, a metal coating job. It's done in such a small dark place and with chemical dyes, drugs. Mostly Afghans and Syrians work here. The standard one should normally be made by machine" (Aslı, 42). The stories in the narratives of the participants, similar to the ones in these quotes, draw complex aspects about the place of foreigners in the labor market. According to these accounts, immigrant workers were incapable of claiming their right to work in decent conditions and but at the same time they were strong enough to replace local workers in the labor market. Although the interviewees may think differently on other issues, they generally agree with each other on how the government manages immigration to Turkey. The first common point of the interviewees here was that they agreed on there was a policy problem in the country. Although they have different discourses towards different cultural, social and ethnic groups, the interviewees generally agreed that the AKP government's immigration policies reflect negatively on domestic and foreign politics. Although the interviewees had distinctions regarding different groups, one of the critical issues regarding their concerns about today and tomorrow was the issue of border security. The interviewees agreed that there was insufficient control by the government on the entry of immigrants into the country, which may cause security problems today and in the future. Ali (30) summarizes the common opinion of the participants as follows: "We opened the gate of the garden, so to speak. The fast runners entered." It would not be right to limit the criticism of the government's immigration policy only to the ideological opposition to the ruling party. The participants, who stated that they previously and currently supported the AKP government, also expressed that the AKP's immigration policies were wrong, and they were concerned about this issue. The attitude towards immigrants among the interviewees, beyond being pro or anti-government, sharply hinders political tendencies. The interviewees thought that Syrian refugees and other immigrants were used as a threat in relations with the EU in foreign policy. The interviewees, who find the immigration policies of EU

countries more appropriate than Turkey's immigration policies, thought that Turkey should follow a similar path at this point, but that the government gains political leverage by collecting immigrants by allowing them to enter the country. Below I am citing three excerpts from three different interviews to discuss it openly. The first is as follows: "The president used it as a threat to the EU. He said I am releasing them from Edirne (talking about refugees). He took the free bus from the bus station. He used them to threaten Europe" (Aslan, 28). In the second, Turgut (27) explained his approach as follows: "The truth is that the EU pays Turkey a lot of money; making them watchdogs to keep these refugees here. While violently repelling those who will come to its borders, it makes Turkey the gendarmerie."

> *I think Europe has done that very well. While accepting refugees, it was their priority not to disturb the peace of the people in their country. We created a buffer zone for Europe. We didn't do any humanitarian activity here. Here we created a buffer for Europe and got some money for it. (Ali, 30)*

The three quotes above reflect the views of the people interviewed in general regarding the government's policies. Criticism of the government was the main issue rather than the reaction against the immigrants. In the comments of the interviewees on immigration policies, it was stated that their perspectives towards refugees from Syria are empathetic. However, the government's immigration policy poses far more problems for them. Here, the participant, who made empathic comments towards Syrian refugees, still criticizes the immigration policies of the government: "Refugees, people fleeing the war, okay, of course they can come. However, there should be a limit for those from other countries. Some people come unregistered, without passports. I think the state should do more about this" (Hülya, 51). The discourse of a security threat to the country was common among the interviewees. At this point, although they targeted different ethnic or cultural groups, the general criticism of the interviewees was towards the policies of the government.

Individuals encounter foreigners in different ways. These encounters can vary spatially, as well as in terms of personal interaction that determines the depth of the encounter. The heterogeneity of the sample of the research serves to bring together the participants who experience encounters on different grounds and in different

ways, and thus to generate ideas about the context of all these different encounters. A pattern that emerges in all the different encounter experiences narrated by the respondents is that the narrative of these encounters can be interpreted within a political and economic context as a constructive element. Again, in terms of their contexts, these encounters show a pattern of participants' relations with the state. In one way or another, all encounters are political, and based on the relationship of the individual and the state. All encounters viewed from the axis of citizen and non-citizen involve this relationship with the state and thus the political-economic context. This narrative shows the interconnectedness and the narrative of the state-citizen relationship, which is an important issue that also arises when making sense of the interviewees' perceptions. In this respect, the perceptions on which individuals base their strategies in developing their attitudes sprout from this narrative of intertwined and state-related encounters.

3.2   Perceptions of Participants

After the first warm-up questions in the interviews, I started by asking the interviewees their opinions on some terms. I aimed to discover the meanings of terms such as foreigner, refugee, asylum-seeker and, immigrant. What these terms mean to them, and to learn their differences and similarities for participants. By understanding the introduction of these terms into their lives and their general and specific meanings for them, I created the discourse that would guide the rest of the interview. However, seeing the similarities and differences between the concepts perceived by the participants also contributes to making inferences about their attitudes. The participants, who experienced the encounters in different ways in different areas of their lives, reflect the knowledge, experience and perceptions they have gained from these encounters. Participants attributed different meanings to terms such as foreigner, immigrant, refugee, asylum seeker, and immigrant both historically and socially. Also, these terms were not always used separately from each other. Participants sometimes used some of the terms I have discussed here interchangeably and stated that they had similar connotations for them.

3.2.1 Who is your Foreigner?

Among the four concepts, I discuss the foreigner first. Although the word foreigner is used as *yabancı* in Turkish, words such as foreigner, stranger, outsider, and alien in English are words with some differences. As a concept, it is used in non-human meanings as well as in the sense of unfamiliar or something unknown and unusual. The way the participants used it led me to use the English term "foreigner." The perception of foreigner is very important for this research. How the concept is perceived or not perceived by the participants also shows that the questions put forward in this study work correctly. The findings of this study are that the concept of foreigner is humanized in the minds of the participants in most cases. It is important to see the areas covered and excluded by the concept and the formation and transformation process of these areas. The place of the concept of foreigner in the life stories of the interviewees has changed significantly over time. Interviewees often describe the origins of the concept's introduction into their lives from childhood. Here are two quotes on this issue: "The foreigner entered my life with football. Foreigners have always been good players. Foreigner was good for me" (Turgut, 27). "Foreigner meant cool for us, watching foreign movies, listening to foreign music and so on" (Gaye, 44). The two quotes above are based on positive references to introducing the word foreigner into people's lives. Both quotes emphasize that the foreigner was perceived as good and beautiful, and having and knowing a foreigner was perceived as admirable. Another point that draws attention to both expressions is the limits of the concept. Respondents drew linguistic and geographical boundaries. Geographical and linguistic boundaries of the foreigner were indicated in the definitions of foreign music, foreign films and foreign football players; "not from this land" or "speaks a different language." Another critical common point of the two quotations above is that they both tell the positive references they give to the foreigner in the past tense. Explaining in a "nostalgic" atmosphere by imposing positive references, both interviewees clarified the framework they drew in this positive narrative, presenting the meaning of the word foreigner for themselves in a similar style. Although the geographical and linguistic boundaries were similar when describing the foreigner here, the interviewees now preferred to define the foreigner by putting themselves, not the foreigner, in the

center of the definition. An important part of the interviewees, whether the starting point of the foreigner in their stories is positive or negative, clearly portrays the foreigner as if s(he) was citizen of this country. Another interviewee distinguished between a foreigner and a stranger, and this is somehow explaining why I use the words foreigner and immigrant interchangeably. It is possible to make it clearer by using the Turkish quote here: *Tanımadığımız insan da yabancıdır ama yabancı deyince o kişi Türkse akla o gelmez* (A person we do not know is also a foreigner, but if the person we call a foreigner is Turkish, it does not come to mind that s(he) is a foreigner) (Hüseyin, 29). The person interviewed here expressed the concept as both stranger and foreigner in the same sentence. Of course, the foreigner did not enter the lives of all interviewees in a positive way, as in the quotations above. Some of the interviewees explained the effect of their personal history on their perception of the word foreigner in a very different way. Here are two different quotes on the subject: "Since we grew up in a small village, we would be afraid if someone said foreigner. For us, the foreigner was indeed the enemy" (Bahadır, 29). "Sunni people in my neighborhood were called foreigners. In other words, they call those who aren't from our culture, who are not from us, as foreigners" (Murtaza, 45). The foreigner defined by these two people, one who grew up in different towns of Anatolia as a child of a Sunni family, and the other who came to Istanbul as the child of an Alevi family, can be seen as different meanings. However, both mean "outsider" in different ways. They explain the introduction of the concept into their lives with cultural teachings. Looking from within the community to which they belong, they refer to those who are not in the group as "stranger" in the sense of "outsider." Both quotes draw a cultural rather than a purely geographical or linguistic framework. As for their understanding today, both interviewees show that they draw a framework on citizenship like the others. Definitions of foreigners are shaped within the framework of citizenship, as in the interviewees.

Stating that his family is of Bosnian origin, Ali (30) said that the word foreigner was used for his family in the neighborhood where he grew up in Istanbul: "First, the foreigner was my own family. Culturally, we were foreign to the region we were in." However, Ali added that he was never as "a foreigner" as a tourist to the country of which he is a "citizen" and expressed that he believed in the borders of foreignness

drawn by language and citizenship. The transformation of the word "foreigner" over time was similarly expressed by other interviewees. Again, Ali distinguished for himself "old foreigner" and "new foreigner" as follows: "In the past, the meaning of a foreigner was tourist. Now for us, the equivalent of a foreigner is shopkeepers, grocers, and even next-door neighbors" (Ali, 30). The interviewee stated that he had the perception of outsiders who are not "insiders" even though they are "physically" close to him. However, over time, he experienced transformations that broke this perception. Here, the interviewee describes the rupture in his own perception of the direct proportionality of physical and social closeness. In a way, Ali drew a picture of the reflection in his life of the discussion I made in the second chapter quoting Bauman and Simmel.

Of course, each participant has different experiences and perceptions about this concept. Regardless of the theoretical position of the concept, the interviewees conveyed different meanings in the cultural, social and economic environment in which they grew up. Also, there has been a conceptual change and transformation in the lives of each of them. Although they described different starting points, the general perception tendencies of the interviewees settled into a certain framework at the end of the day. The boundaries of this framework became the framework of the conceptual set to be used in the interviews and this thesis study. In this context, for the interviewees, "foreigner" is defined as those who are not citizens of this country and do not speak the language of this country. I mentioned earlier that when the interviewees used the word foreigner in their answers to the questions, they used different concepts such as foreigner living in the country, immigrant, and refugee in the same sense. In this context, the words foreigner and immigrant are sometimes used interchangeably. This does not mean that these words mean the same thing; it means that the words foreigner and immigrant are used in the same way to reflect the views of the interviewees. Therefore, understanding the general trend and seeing the transformation of foreign perception are key both in terms of understanding the discourse and entering the path of analysis.

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3.2.2   Refugee or Asylum Seeker?

The concepts of asylum seeker and refugee are much specific than the concept of foreigner. It has more concrete and more specific legal boundaries. I asked the interviewees about these two concepts separately. However, there was something that caught my attention in the interviews that, although they are legally separated, these distinctions are not very sharp in the discourse of the interviewees. The distinction between the concepts of asylum seeker and refugee was rather blurry for the interviewees. There could be many reasons for this. First of all, since these two concepts are legally defined, the interviewees cannot be expected to have a good grasp of these legal definitions unless they are professionals. Another reason is that these encounters of the interviewees took place in similar times and contexts. The period in which the concepts of refugee and asylum seeker became a part of the lives of the interviewees coincides with the same period. This is another aspect of the interviewee that does not need to differentiate between these concepts. Based on the statements of the interviewees regarding their attitudes, I decided to discuss the findings related to these two concepts under a single sub-title.

An important part of the interviewees positioned that the concept of refugee-asylum-seeker has entered their lives recently. Esin (33) drew the threshold here: "I mean, when we were younger, I never knew anything like this. I mean, this is something new; with the arrival of Syrians." The respondent here stated that the arrival of Syrian refugees in Turkey in 2011 is the threshold of introducing these concepts into her life. Another interviewee Asuman (51) also marked the entrance of the concepts into her life: "Frankly, after the Syrians, I started to hear more about refugees. Not much before then. So, it's actually a ten-twelve-year concept." The interviewees clearly reveal the temporal distinction they do not make between the definitions of asylum seeker and refugee. Whatever their definition, it is important to see the social groups that come to minds of interviewees when they hear the terms refugee or asylum seeker. Ali (30) tells his story as follows: "I mean, it is one of the words that I should have heard in my childhood but never heard. Because my family came as refugees. It was another war, another political chaos." While describing asylum seekers and refugees, the interviewees sometimes used the terms interchangeably,

sometimes classify one as a group that migrates under more "forced" conditions than the other and establish a close relationship between these two concepts. I explain in detail the perceptions regarding the concepts of refugee and asylum seeker by quoting three different participants below:

> *When refugees are mentioned, I think of people from abroad, from war zones, who came to our country to escape from there and to continue their lives in this country. Establishing a family life, a business life... Asylum seekers and refugees are essentially the same thing for me because they both come to your country to live and work in some way. When I say asylum seeker, I mean the same thing as a refugee and an asylum seeker. (Aslı, 42)*

Here are two other quotes on the differences between refugee and asylum seeker: "When I think of an asylum seeker, I think of someone who came to the country with political concerns. It sounds like a 'soft' version of a refugee to me" (Hüseyin, 29). "The asylum seeker was forced. But the refugee seems to have come willingly" (Turgut, 27). In the first quote, interviewee Aslı stated that she thinks refugee and asylum seeker is the same thing. Both referred to people who have had to leave their country for various compelling reasons. In the second excerpt, the interviewee stated that despite being under critical conditions, asylum seekers have a "softer" perception of necessity compared to refugees. In other words, according to him, what was defined as refugees took place under "more challenging" conditions. In the last quote we see a definition that is the exact opposite of the previous one. According to the person in the third quote, a refugee also migrates for voluntary reasons, while asylum is based on "more compelling" reasons. Above, I quoted three different interviewees who explained the definitions of asylum seeker and refugee in different ways in relation to each other. The general tendency of non-professional interviewees to define legal status tends towards one of these three different tendencies. Although the concepts of asylum seeker and refugee are defined in different ways, these perceptions have two basic common features.

First, even if they are united around these three different views, the interviewees generally agree that these two concepts contain necessary conditions. Although they sometimes list the necessary conditions in a "hierarchy," each emphasized that those

who are forced, in one way or another, into certain political or economic difficulties, were asylum seekers and refugees. There were moments when they empathized with refugees and asylum seekers while making their definitions. In general, the language used by the interviewees was positive and empathetic in many respects when talking about abstract concepts rather than groups of refugees or asylum seekers. The discourse of empathy towards the conditions of refugees and asylum seekers was quite strong. However, when it comes to encounters, it was obvious that there is a negative shift in the discourses of the same interviewees. While empathetic attitudes were strong when discussing abstract concepts, encounters become more complex.

Another issue regarding the perceptions of asylum seekers and immigrants towards these quotations and the interviewee in general was that respondents generally did not give much thought to whether they are different or similar, no matter how they described it. While the participants were talking about refugees and asylum seekers conceptually, it was almost impossible to catch their conceptually abstract thoughts. Because they really started thinking about "who" the refugee or asylum seeker was, not "what" these terms meant. The interviewees, who had a well-established idea of "who" the refugees or asylum seekers were, also used the definitions they put on the group in their mind for the concepts of refugee and asylum seeker. Without thinking too much, he may conclude his definition by inferring that "refugees and asylum seekers are all the same." Of course, people do not need to know about these concepts. However, as the interviews progress, as the social group that the interviewees associate with that concept changes, the tone of their discourse and their attitudes towards this particular social group also change. In other words, not the perceptions of the concepts, but the perceptions of different groups constituted the definition of the concepts. The concepts of refugee and asylum seeker were intertwined as a way of referring to foreigners who had migrated from certain countries, rather than as a meaningful distinction for the participants. It was therefore critical to keep track of what group, culture and origin the interviewees were actually talking about using these concepts rather than relying on the concepts themselves. The reason for this is that concepts can mean different things from person to person and mean different things for respondents in different contexts during that interview.

3.2.3   Who is your Immigrant?

While discussing the concept of immigrant with interviewees, I realized that I was faced with many other uses and discourses, just as when talking about previous concepts. Here again, I followed which group or culture the person in front of me was pointing to, listened to them and took my notes that way. It would be easy to follow a concept and think that the interviewees mean the same meaning every time they use it. However, when you see the interview transcript, you may think that this time there are interviewees who have given contradictory opinions one after the other. While talking about the concept of immigrant here, I noted not only what the interviewees said, but also what they meant. It should not be wrong to assume that the concept of immigrant has been present in the lives of the interviewees since their childhood. As one of the participants stated, "immigrant is a more positive term for us than refugees and asylum seekers. Because it has been in our lives since childhood" (Onur, 28). The subject that an interviewee told in these two short sentences can actually be used to summarize the place of the word immigrant in the lives of the interviewees. According to Emine (46), who was born and raised in a town in the Black Sea region that receives a large number of immigrants, it is expressed with similar meanings:

> *When we say immigrants, we think of immigrants from Bulgaria, Greece, or Yugoslavia. Especially those who migrated from Bulgaria added a lot to Turkish culture because they lived more open-mindedly than us. After all, they live more freely. Our people learned a lot from them. Immigration was a fascinating thing for us back then. So, there was a special interest in immigrants in my hometown. (Emine, 46)*

Emine reflected very positively the impact of immigrants who came to Turkey from the Balkans in the 1980s on her own life. She also did not neglect to correct the immigrants whom she described as *muhacir*s by giving positive references:

> *They were immigrants. However, they were from Balkans, I mean, muhacirs. After those from Yugoslavia, there are also those from the Balkan culture. In addition, since they are of Bulgarian and Greek origin, they have always been called muhacir in the same way. There were muhacir villages. (Emine, 46)*

Almost all of the people I interviewed agreed that migration took place under non-compulsory conditions and in many different ways. However, the interviewees who said this also questioned the conceptual difference as they knew that those who migrated from the Balkans also migrated under compulsory conditions.

> *After all, most people migrated here while Turks lived in the Balkans. They may also have adjectives such as refugees or asylum seekers, but they are called immigrants, for example. But when you look at it, it's actually like an asylum seeker. As a result, people who migrated from their own countries because they had to. (Turgut, 27)*

The interviewees stated that those who migrated from the Balkans were actually already Turks, they followed the settled culture, or they were "Turkified" for a long time. They agreed that *muhacir*s were different from other groups of immigrants: *muhacir*s are different. They are people who came from abroad and settled here. People who adapt to the culture here and become citizens" (Ahmet, 58).

> *I was working in a textile workshop in the 90s. I had muhacir friends with whom I worked at that time. They were immigrants. They are actually Turks, but they are what we call immigrants because they migrated from abroad. I mean the muhacirs, those who were Turks and came to Turkey later. (Murtaza, 45)*

The quotes above are just two examples of ideas that emphasize the obvious difference between being a *muhacir* and being an immigrant. When talking about the *muhacir*, there is a noticeable change in style in all quotations, and the positive style of the interviewees. The interviewees unequivocally state that the *muhacir*s are actually Turks and that even if they are not Turks, they adapt to or contribute to the country. It would be useful to refer to Soner Çağaptay's article titled *Reconfiguring the Turkish Nation in 1930s.* Especially when discussing the opinions of the interviewees about immigrants and *muhacir*, it is crucial to re-reference the Turkishness Matrix, which Çağaptay used in his article on the understanding of nation and immigration policies in the early Republican period, in order to understand the concept of Turkishness.

	SETTLED	NOMADIC
of Turkish culture and origin	✓	✓
of Turkish culture but not of Turkish origin	✓	✗
not of Turkish culture or origin	✗	✗

Figure 5: Matrix of Turkishness (Çağaptay, 2002, p. 73)

As a reflection of the understanding that Çağaptay examined in his article, it is seen that the importance of being of Turkish origin or being from Turkish culture, even if not from Turkish origin, can still have an important place in the formation of Turkish perception. This is perhaps valuable as it gives us an idea of how successful early Republic nation-building was.

As a result, in this part of the interviews, it is seen that the differences between conceptual distinctions and perceptual distinctions emerge. Although there are different concepts such as foreigner, immigrant, asylum seeker, refugee, immigrant in the literature, the participants do not distinguish foreigners in the city in this way. The issue here is the use of foreigner/immigrant. Participants, of course, distinguish between foreigners and immigrants. In general, the participants define all non-citizens living in Istanbul as immigrant. However, it should be noted that the terms immigrant and foreigner were often used interchangeably in interviews. Participants sometimes referred to urban and non-citizens as foreigners and sometimes immigrants, but they did not develop a clear distinction between these terms. The second issue is the perception of the concepts of refugees and asylum seekers. Although the participants stated that there were differences in their perceptions between these two terms, they did not clearly develop it. While the basic stance here is in the context of forced migration, as might be expected, no distinction was made

regarding the legal context of the terms refugee and asylum seeker. When we come to the perception of immigrant, we come across the concept of *muhacir*. The term *muhacir* meant "one of us" and "someone from here", unlike other terms. It was clear that when the participants used the word immigrant with the same meaning as *muhacir*, they do not attribute an external meaning.

The main thing is not how all these terms are distinguished in the literature, but how they were distinguished in the eyes of the participants. Beyond the concepts discussed here, there was a perception with clearer boundaries and sharper exclusions. Participants perceive non-citizens living in the city as politically inaccurate, such as Western/non-Western, European/non-European, and Arab/non-Arab. Here again, they focus on what such terms mean to them, rather than what they actually mean. The discourse of the participants emerged in these concepts with their cultural, social, economic and historical background with the effect of the encounters. This was reflected in the use of immigrants/foreigners throughout the study. However, in this research, I aimed to overcome this contradiction by using the two terms interchangeably. In a situation similar to the refugee/asylum seeker distinction, differing perceptions are based on the migrant's ethnic identity and country of origin. Different groups were referred to as refugees and asylum-seekers. However, these two groups are divided into Syrian, Afghan, Pakistani, Uzbek, and Kazakh ethnically or geographically. Again, the themes emerged for all these reasons may contain contradictions or overlaps, just like the differences in the perceptions of the participants towards different groups. Therefore, I argue that there are four main themes that enable us to make sense of the attitudes of local people living in Istanbul towards immigrants living in the city.

The ambiguity of all these encounters, which take place on different grounds and involve different intensities of personal interaction, also manifests itself in the uncertainty of the concepts discussed. Although the participants made various distinctive comments when asked individually, their use of the terms foreigner, refugee, asylum seeker, asylum seeker and immigrant were nested in their discourse. This intertwining is important for the questions of this study. Here complexity corresponds to a reduction and binary and black and white distinctions in the

narratives of the participants, such as citizens-non-citizens, us-them, insiders-outsiders.

3.3   Discussing Themes in Shaping Attitudes towards Immigrants

All studies and data presented in the previous sections of this thesis require an inductive analysis. In this part of the thesis, I complete the analysis that the data brought me. As I mentioned in the research question section, I am answering which concepts and processes are effective in the formation of individuals' attitudes towards immigrants. In this section, I consider which main themes emerge as the dominant factors in the formation of these attitudes. At the end of my coding process, which I completed using the MAXQDA 2022 qualitative data analysis program, I propose four themes that form individual attitudes towards immigrants. This narrative of encounters and perceptions I discussed also manifests itself in similar ways in the strategic themes on which individuals base their attitudes towards immigrants. All four themes I discuss in this section contradict each other in one way or another. The pattern brought about by this complexity is also ambiguous in itself. These themes are empathy, future concerns, fear of the (un)known, and reflecting on a problem. After discussing the findings on these themes, I also examine the connections between them and what they mean. In discussing these themes, I fill in the framework to make sense of all the findings I have shared so far. I conclude the analysis by putting together and making sense of the findings, like picking up puzzle pieces. In order to go beyond these four themes, I also consider their intersections, overlaps, and contradictions. As a result of the discussion in this section, beyond these themes that do not run parallel and sometimes show vague contradictions, I have identified the main emotion that shapes attitudes towards immigrants: sense of desolation.

3.3.1   Empathy

While forming the attitudes of the participants towards immigrants, I first deal with the theme of empathy. Most of the participants developed thoughts by empathizing with immigrants, albeit in different ways from time to time. They thought about why a foreigner migrated to this country, what they might have experienced, and the

causes and consequences of migration. The theme of empathy occurs eighty-three times in twenty-one interviews. Although the frequency of all themes was close to each other, the most common theme in data analysis was empathy. However, it is also crucial to determine where and in which context the themes emerged in the interview. One of the participants, Başak (32) expressed her feelings on this issue as follows: "At some point, these people have to go to another country against their will and we are at the border. We must open the door. You know, not opening the borders also seems very malicious and terrible to me." Another interviewee Onur (28) gave an example of the change in the living conditions of a Syrian refugee and expressed what the situation means to him as follows: "The first thing that comes to my mind is sadness. It's a pity that these people leave their place of residence for one reason or another and continue their lives here in another country. I had heard that the person who was a lawyer in Syria was working here as an ironer in a textile workshop, and I felt unfortunate. These people don't come here for their pleasure."

In general, participants emphasized the difficulties of being a refugee while discussing why Syrian refugees came to the country. They were aware of the conditions that brought them to Turkey against their will. Again, their approach to the difficulty of living conditions in Turkey and their adaptation to changing economic, cultural and social conditions are relatively mild. Although Emir (29) thinks that refugees are criticized especially because they live in large numbers, but this criticism was also unfair: "After all, people who come from war and difficult conditions and try to survive here can stay crowded while renting a house. Because their aim is not to maintain the living conditions there, but to start from scratch and hold on to life here again." Bahadır (29) emphasized the necessity of the migration conditions of refugees: "They took refuge in our homeland from poverty in their own country to live. Although these people were in good condition there, they escaped persecution and took refuge in my country."

The interview of Mehtap (24), who works in a textile workshop, was the one in which the theme of empathy was coded the most. During the interview, Mehtap often stated that she is on good terms with the Syrians, that she understands them and that it is essential to escape from the war. However, this does not mean that empathy is

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the most important theme in Mehtap's attitude formation. As I mentioned, interviewees speak by pointing to a particular group when looking at their meaning. Mehtap also does not show empathy towards Syrians or some groups from other countries. The following two quotes reflect Mehtap's story as one of many examples of how selective interviewees are in reflecting their positive or negative attitudes:

> *For example, Syrians from the war. The reason is obvious. It can happen to any of us. I do what they do. Finally, there is death. They took refuge here because they had no choice but to die. However, the situation of Afghans is somewhat different. (Mehtap, 24)*

However, the same interviewee, in a different direction from the first, also made the following second quote: "There is good and bad. Not all people are the same. But I know most of the Uzbeks. Let's say women, I know their women. When they come here, they only take married men." As we can see in the two quotes above, Mehtap did not develop the same empathy for Afghans and Uzbeks as Syrians. On the contrary, she stated that she knew they were different from the Syrians and developed her attitude accordingly. The general tendency of all interviewees is to be distinctive in this way, not only in terms of empathy, but also in many subjects that I will mention.

Another critical issue regarding empathy is the context in which the theme emerges in the interview. As I mentioned above, empathy is the most common theme I came across in interviews. However, does being the most frequent mean, it is the most meaningful? I mentioned earlier that quantitative data is not a priority for this research. The important thing is to look and understand where the data is pointing. I have to repeat this for the theme of empathy. As I mentioned earlier, I asked questions about various concepts of migration and what they mean and discussed these findings. The moments that the interviewees empathized with, which I coded with the theme of empathy, were the moments when the interviewees answered conceptual and abstract questions. Their reflections on the difficulties of asylum, the living conditions of refugees, and the conditions that brought them here intensified in these parts of the interviews. An important issue that should not be forgotten here is the role of the researcher in this formation. The order of the questions asked, and

therefore the progress of the interview, of course influences the way and the order in which the themes arise. However, the real issue here may be to focus on the issue in which the themes appear, not the order in which they appear. Questions about the perception of terms in general also focus on the emergence of the theme of empathy. This does not tell us that the interviewees lack empathy. However, it is critical to demonstrate once again the importance of looking at the truth behind the numerical data obtained in this research.

As a result, the theme of empathy, which I encountered eighty-three times in twenty-one interviews, is an essential factor in shaping individuals' attitudes towards immigrants. The general tendency of the interviewees is on the difficulties of escaping from war, migrating due to forced conditions and rebuilding their lives, and the need to show understanding to refugees. While empathy has different layers for different groups in the perception of the interviewees, this variability of the theme is not more than the others. While addressing the other three themes, I also discuss how the perceptions of different groups will change and the orientation of the concepts according to these perceptions.

3.3.2 Future Concerns

The second pillar of the analysis with four themes in the formation of the local people's attitudes towards immigrants living in Istanbul is the future concerns. In eighteen of the twenty-five interviews, the theme of future concerns was coded thirty-eight times in total. In this context, the least repeated theme in attitude formation is future concerns. One of the issues frequently mentioned by the participants is their pessimism about the integration of refugees into the country: "I think there is definitely a Turkish hostility in them, maybe they are hiding it now because they have to. These may be hostilities from the past, not from the present, but from the past. I don't know" (Asuman, 51). The interviewee was pessimistic about the integration of refugees into the country. Although she could not explain the reason, Asuman (51) ironically states that she feels the refugees (Syrians) have a hostile feeling towards her society and that it might come from the past. Another situation that was subject to the future concerns of the participants is the threat of

cultural change they feel. The issue of "not like it used to be," which I have touched on piecemeal within other themes so far, is also a factor of concern for the future. In terms of their future concerns, the participants are concerned that foreigners in the country will dominate culturally and politically.

> *We see veiled children outside. In other words, there is a six-year-old child with a headscarf or a child with an abaya. That's why I can't explain it to kids. Are they foreigner? Yes, a foreigner. A few years later that child will go to school with them. So I'm telling this kid what's right and wrong here. A conflict will arise between these children, who will know that what they know is true?. (Emine, 46)*

Here, the participant expresses her concern that people living in the country as foreigners of their own culture or religion will experience cultural conflicts with the native children of this country in the future. Although not all of them are built on Islam and the Islamic way of life, there is sometimes a case where participants voice their concerns about future cultural conflicts.

> *I'm concerned about the future structure of our society. As a people, we urge current immigrants to take collective or individual moves, such as imposing their own culture or asserting their identities in different ways. I worry about the future of our own youth and my own child. (Ali, 30)*

The interviewee stated that immigrants have a purpose of imposing their own culture and this worries him. Some interviewees raised this concern in different ways. However, none of the interviewees stated the reason for these concerns, and some stated that the Arab culture is dominant, and they think that it will make them active wherever they are.

> *There are over 6-7 million immigrants in Turkey today. They are destroying Turkey's culture and democratic structure. When you go to Zeytinburnu, there is an Afghan neighborhood. When you go to Fatih, there is the Syrian neighborhood. They post job advertisements saying "we do not employ foreigners." In other words, they say we do not employ Turks. Because the neighborhood is a Syrian neighborhood. (Murtaza, 45)*

In this excerpt, Murtaza states that he sees immigrants as a threat to Turkey's democratic structure and culture. Again, the same interviewee claimed that the immigrants from Afghanistan are predominantly young men and that this is continued as a tool of the government's deliberate policies to change the cultural and democratic structure of the country. Along with the other four themes of the analysis, the theme of future concerns is one of the main themes emphasized by the participants. Individuals have directed their cultural, political and economic concerns to the future of foreigners in the country. The topics that I frequently deal with in the themes of reflecting a problem and fearing the (un)known also manifest themselves in future concerns. Central to this fear for the participants is the "capture" of their own culture by Arab culture, as they commonly refer to it. The second is to think about possible future problems due to strangers. They attribute solutions to these problems, such as sending back foreigners or putting them under tight control.

3.3.3 Fear of the (Un)known

The third formative theme to emerge from data analysis is fear of the (un)known. This theme has a two-sided meaning. The first is the fear of the known, and the second is the fear of the unknown. First, the fear here is an anxiety independent of whether it is exclusionary or not. This anxiety does not only manifest itself as anxiety or fear in the face of a new phenomenon. It is a concern for what is not the same and its place in the social hierarchy. This fear is the fear of the complexity of the social hierarchy in people's perceptions. The second issue is that the fear I emphasize here is not only the fear of the unknown, but also the fear of the known. This theme has an important place in the attitudes of the interviewees towards the immigrants from the Middle East, especially those of Arab origin, as they fear and worry about their presence.

The theme of fear of the (un)known was coded seventy-nine times in twenty-two interviews. Although it is close to other themes, this theme was encountered in the most different number of interviews. Among the coded sections, the definitions of foreigner mostly refer to immigrants. As one interviewee clearly stated: "We don't discuss foreigners. We are discussing immigrants. The people who offend or are

culturally fearful are foreigners, not tourists, my neighborhood grocer or next-door neighbor" (Ali, 30). From the perceptions of the interviewees, it is seen that the quotations related to this theme are about immigrants and mainly refugees coming to the country.

When the coded sections were analyzed, participants generally responded to a particular ethnic, religious or cultural group. The word "Syria" is mentioned at least once in twenty-six of the seventy-nine episodes, the most frequently mentioned group. Opinions towards Syrians, the largest group of foreigners in Turkey, have both positive and negative connotations. The following excerpt shows a comparison made by an interviewee who found Syrian refugees culturally closer to her with other ethnic groups: "Syrians are a little bit like us. Afghans are a little different. I'm a little more afraid of them; they look different to me" (Hülya, 51). Other interviewees expressed similar views. The word "Syrian" coded under this theme includes negative attitudes and such views towards Syrians. Here, Syrians are becoming a group seen as "the lesser evil."

> *For these events, I say excluding Syrians. Syrians are different because they came with their families. Despite this, we hear about harassment of children and harassment of women because people from other countries come alone. They roam the streets in groups. (Ahmet, 58)*

In this quote above, it can be seen that Syrians migrated as a family and therefore may be an exception. Another aspect of this quote is the power of "rumors" about immigrants. Again, the interviewees describe the cases that they have not personally experienced or even heard from around them, under the name of "rumor."

> *Frankly, I didn't have a problem, but of course we hear from those who do. Whether in the press, on television or on social media. You also hear about theft, rape, and molestation. I don't know harassment. We heard that. (Hasan, 41)*

As the interviewee stated, there are almost no people who have personal problems with immigrants. Here, it is seen that the fear of the unknown is primarily built through the media and hearsay. The rumors are predominantly based on the news

spread through various mass audience and social media tools that effectively build attitudes towards the perception that immigrants threaten personal security in public places. The interviewees usually give examples from the news they receive from social media and television. "Every evening we watch news like a Syrian man trying to take a photo of a young girl and try to rape her. News like someone harassed a girl in an elevator" (Turan, 35). The same person stated that he did not personally witness such a situation and that he would give the "appropriate reaction" if she saw it. The interviewee does not mention a specific television news, but a story that is a combination of images in his/her own social reality. When I asked the interviewees to detail the news they were talking about and to comment further, different answers were given. While some of the participants stated that they did not mention a specific news by saying "I am giving an example", some of them said "I am speaking in general". In other words, they produced "news" from the media and reflected it. The source of this constructed reality and fear of the (un)known is not only the media that creates a climate of fear, either intentionally or unconsciously, but also from a friend or neighbor.

Concerning the theme of fear of the known and the unknown, fear of the unknown has its roots in security concerns. These are safety concerns related to the use of public spaces, problems created by structural elements and public service deficiencies. Fear of the known, on the other hand, is a fear based on a certain time and place. It includes the worry of "what never used to be" or "not what it used to be." What is known here emerges from individuals' political and cultural tendencies, worldviews, education and all kinds of capital. The "known" is the image of the stranger on which the interviewees come to their judgments. Fear of the known is "Arab culture" as defined by the participants. The word Arab is used at least once in fourteen of the seventy-nine sections coded under the theme of fear of the (un)known, and it is mostly used with a negative reference. In addition, it was observed that the participants generally used the word groups "Arab culture" or "Middle East" while expressing a negative attitude. However, they used different ethnic, religious and geographical references such as Afghan, Syrian, African, Russian, Ukrainian, Muslim, Pakistani, and Arab when discussing various issues related to foreigners in the country. While making generalizations, they again used

expressions such as "Middle East", "Middle East culture" and mostly "Arab culture."
These concepts have also been used to explain the differences between Turkish
culture and other cultures. They used these concepts when describing foreigners
who did not fit their lifestyles and worldviews. Again, they frequently used these
concepts together with some other concepts that they attributed negative meanings
such as ignorance and misogyny.

> *We are faced with a group that is constantly shopping. We see them*
> *everywhere. Likewise, wherever I go, when you go to eat, it ranges*
> *from the most luxurious to the cheapest, but it is mostly in luxury*
> *places than in more luxurious places. You eat with the Arabs. You*
> *drink coffee with the Arabs. Istanbul is currently a prisoner of Arab*
> *culture. (Emine, 46)*

> *A tourist comes from outside (from Europe). She/he goes there (means*
> *Istiklal street). She/he cannot escape harassment. Then they say Turks*
> *are Arabs. I tell you; you know, we are called Arabs on Google. These*
> *people are the reason why the Republic of Turkey is called Arab.*
> *(Osman, 31)*

These two quotes express the perception that being Arab corresponds to the negative
connotations of being from Arab culture. In both quotations, terms expressing this
negativity are used. This situation is not only related to the style of the interviewees
on certain subjects, but also to the connotation they refer to as Arab culture in
general. Especially the phrase in the first quotation has a special importance. The
culture of Istanbul was defined as "not what it used to be", as I have summarized
before. This fear of "losing the city" is intertwined with the fear of the known in this
first excerpt. In the second quote, there is a sense of cultural loss beyond spatial loss.
The interviewee thinks that the culture he calls "Arab culture" and sees "inferior"
from his own culture, has taken over his own culture and, or rather the image of his
culture. The interviewees, who see Arab culture as a threat to their own culture, state
that they see this in the disappearance of their culture's "western" image. The Turkish
culture, which they engaged in here as "west" and "superior", was defeated and
captured by the "east", "Arab" and "inferior." Another interviewee openly expresses
his relationship with the West. In the excerpt below, he acknowledges that he
perceives Turkey as a western country and that the problems he has witnessed stem
from Arab culture:

I recently stayed for a week in Moscow. There is a cultural difference between the peoples of the Middle East and the Arab geography, such as moving from one end of the world to the other. But when I come to Turkey, Arabs yell at a child and speak loudly, someone is yelling at someone or something. There is a lack of culture. These are not problems originating from Turkey. Old Turkey was different from this. (Murtaza, 45)

Individuals develop a fear for immigrants in the country in different ways that they construct as both known and unknown. This fear they develop is not just a fear, it is the fear and anxiety of losing what they have intangible and tangible, of being "captured" by these known and unknown "foreigners." Participants reflect their fear of the struggle between the "superior" they call their own culture and the "inferior" they define as Arab culture. The interviewees always keep this fear or anxiety in mind while forming their attitudes. Although this fear alone is not effective in the formation of attitudes towards immigrants in the country, it undoubtedly has a great importance in the four themes I analyze.

3.3.4   Reflecting a Problem

Charlie Campbell (2020) describes an incident on the island of St. Kilda, off the west coast of Scotland, as follows: a great storm hit the fisherman and their boats as they sailed, causing many to drown. A few days later, among the bodies washed ashore, the islanders noticed another sight that was still alive. It was the Great Auk, an endangered bird that no one was aware of. It was a bird that the islanders were not very familiar with because it was not a bird that roamed the coasts a lot. Two of the islanders caught it and took it to their chapel. Taken to court, the bird was accused of being a witch and sentenced to death by stoning (Campbell, 2020, pp. 7-9). This story conveys the pre-modern way of thinking about scapegoating. However, it is also an example of how unfamiliar it is to humanity to avoid responsibility, project problems, and scapegoat innocent people through false causality. In this research, the fourth of the four pillars of individuals' attitude development is the reflecting a problem.

Reflecting a problem was coded eighty-one times in twenty-one of the interviews conducted as part of the fieldwork. In the sections coded under this theme, the

participants expressed their views on various problems in the country and the causes for these problems. The causes of the problems discussed in this section are reflected in various ways as foreigners in the country. Participants expressed their economic, cultural and different problems. Respondents tend to state that these problems are often caused by foreigners living in the country in various ways. The interviewees frequently mentioned the difficulty of being examined in public hospitals and the low quality of service. Fourteen of the twenty-one different interviewees mentioned the problems related to hospitals and health services at least once in the sections coded under this theme. The first problem that the interviewees expressed about hospitals was quantitative problems. The first and most important problem of public hospitals is the crowd in their accounts. This crowd in hospitals is the main point of personal encounter with strangers for many interviewees. In these encounters, the possibility of receiving the same service for a longer time and interacting with each other arises. Individuals attribute various problems experienced here to the closest group to them and reflect on the problems.

> *While waiting in line at the hospitals, there are Arabic texts on the sign that even we don't understand. They rush past us and enter. As a Turkish citizen and someone who has paid taxes to this country, they receive the service we should receive. Frankly, we, as citizens, don't receive as good a service as they do. This is the reason why we can't get this service properly. (Hasan, 41)*

In the quotation above, the interviewee holds refugees responsible for the lack of service as a result of the cause-and-effect relationship he has established. As the conversation about the problem progresses, the interviewees also express their opinions about different possible causes of the problems. The interviewee, whom I quoted above, also stated that the state's health policies are developed in favor of private hospitals and that the service in public hospitals is deliberately kept low and compels citizens to go to private hospitals. However, the interviewee also stated that he insisted on seeing immigrants as the most important cause of this problem. This is only the attitude of some interviewees. The primary tendency under this theme was to reflect the problems in the procurement of public services to the closest and most accessible group to blame, namely refugees.

As a citizen of this country, I can't take anything comfortably. I'm definitely paying the price. But when I look around there are facilities for them (refugees) provided in schools and hospitals. Since there is a refugee priority in our country, they have priorities in the hospital. (Sinem, 44)

In the above quotation, the interviewee, while talking about refugees who receive better public service than her, reproaches another problem, that she cannot easily receive public service in her own country. Another theme that the participants created while discussing the problems they voiced regarding public services and the reasons that create these problems is the sense of desolation. I will discuss the sense of desolation in the following section.

Reflecting a problem manifests itself in economic problems apart from public services. A frequently mentioned and important problem that touched the lives of many people was the rent of housing in Istanbul. Talking about the rising rents and the supply of rental houses in Istanbul, the interviewees generally express their views on the reasons why immigrants live in the city. In this context, the group in which the problem is reflected is not only refugees. Participants stated that all foreigners living in the city increased the demand for housing in different parts of the city with their different purchasing power. Thus, rents rose at an unexpected rate. One interviewee describes his departure from the house he rented as follows:

Here they buy a house for four hundred thousand dollars and acquire citizenship here. So, I had to leave my house because a foreign national bought my flat and I paid more rent and moved to another place. (Onur, 28)

In the continuation of this quotation, the interviewee added that the possibility for granting residence permits and citizenship to foreigners in general creates very different problems for the local people. The interviewee stated that foreigners living in large numbers in a single household may pay rent costs that would exceed the purchasing power of Turkish citizens living in nuclear families. This is a fundamental problem, especially for young couples working for minimum wage in the city. Another important problem for the interviewees regarding the economic dimension of reflecting a problem as a theme is the immigrants in the labor market.

Here, the participants think that foreigners are victimizing the local people by working unregistered and below the minimum wage. As reported, the owner of the business, Murtaza (45), was talking about the benefits of employing unregistered workers for the employer. The reason for employing unregistered workers, which can be perceived as a structural problem in the labor market, is reflected in the migrant workers who are victims of this problem:

> *I know a merchant. There are about 350 people working for him. Two hundred and fifty of these people are Afghan, Pakistani and Syrian. Many don't have insurance. If you employ two hundred people without insurance, the insurance premium is around nine hundred thousand liras. Consequently, they are preferred. Since these are preferred, we can't provide this opportunity to our young people, who we need to employ, train and educate. (Murtaza, 45)*

Although some of the other interviewees have many similar views on this issue, this quote is quite remarkable as an employer describing the problem, the profit that employing undocumented immigrants will bring to the employer, but ultimately holding the immigrants responsible. The tendency to reflect a problem has taken different forms in the modern world. Foreigners and immigrants, who challenged the ideal of eliminating uncertainty of modernity, were at the forefront of the groups that were put in the category of the most "scapegoat" in the modern world (Bauman, 2003).

These four different themes, which individuals rely on while developing their attitudes towards immigrants, have similar aspects as well as contradictory aspects. This is an element I have discussed in similar ways in individuals' encounters with strangers and their perceptions of different concepts. This issue continues within the themes and actually brings about the disappearance of the perceptions I mentioned. Immigrant, foreigner, asylum seeker and refugee; concepts become all-in-one and transitive. The state of this situation within the four themes also shows itself as an ambiguity. The impossibility of hospitality that Derrida mentions reveals itself when forming the attitudes of individuals towards immigrants. These themes, which include both hospitality and hostility to guests, reduce the disappearing concepts to the point of citizen-noncitizen and turn their direction to the relationship between the

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individual and the state. As a result of this conceptual extinction, I present the feeling of desolation as a constructive element. I define this as the issue of the state-citizen relationship that underlies the participant's attitude development strategies within their political and economic context.

3.4   The Underlying Issue: Sense of Desolation

In this chapter, after presenting the conditions in which the concepts I discussed in this section and the encounters of the participants with foreigners, I discussed the four themes that make up the attitudes of individuals towards immigrants living in the city. These themes are empathy, future concerns, fear of the (un)known, and reflecting a problem, respectively. The four themes I have covered intersect in different ways. Although each of these themes may differ in some respects, it is particularly important to understand the intersections to understand the importance of each theme in terms of attitude development. Throughout the discussion, I have repeatedly stressed the importance and meaning of these intersections. It is necessary to elaborate here what I mean by intersection. As I discussed in Chapter Two, I coded my interviews using a three-stage coding system, and the themes that emerged in the third stage of this coding system are the four main themes that shape the attitudes of the participants towards immigrants. In the answers given by the participants in the interviews, I determined these themes by coding incident by incident or paragraph by paragraph. In this coding study I did with the MAXQDA program, I found codes that point to more than one theme, sometimes in a single paragraph in the answer to the same question, and sometimes in a single event where the participants told a certain event. Therefore, the intersection of different codes is a critical point that helps to understand the thematic axis and contradictions in the views of the participants on the subject. In the table below, as an example, I have given the intersection of codes pointing to more than one theme in a single paragraph in a participant's response to a question.

Table 2: Example of an Intersection of Themes

Question	Coded Section	Themes
What comes to	We only have language differences. It means nothing to me	

mind when you think of a refugee? Who is a refugee for you? Who is called a refugee? How and when did this concept first enter your life?	other than being human. I mean, some refugees are fleeing war from a certain country. For example, there are Syrians who came from the war. Their reason is clear. It could happen to one of us. I would do what they did, I would escape. Death is the end, yes. There's nothing they can do. They took refuge here because they had no choice but to die. But some refugees have bad intentions. Let's say Uzbeks, I don't like their women. I know most of the Uzbeks. I knew their women. They only cheat on married men when they come here. They are a little different from the Syrians.	Empathy Fear of the (Un)known

The sense of desolation, which I present as the constructive element of these themes, is a feeling created by the results of the relationship established between the local people and the state, rather than the relationship between the local people and the immigrants. Desolation means "extreme sadness caused by loss or loneliness" (The Brittanica Dictionary, n.d.). The etymological origin of the word is the Latin verb *desolare*, meaning left alone, abandoned, and forsaken (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.). What is discussed here is analogous to the material and sensuous meaning of the word. It means disabling the citizen, who is the leading actor in the citizen-state relationship. The main emphasis of this theme is the feeling of abandonment and forsaken of citizens by the state. The sense of desolation can also be defined as desolation of citizens by the state. Participants stated that in the last decade, citizens had to leave the country in numerous ways, and the loss of rights and freedoms of those who remained in the country transformed in parallel with the refugee and immigration policies of the government.

The theme of desolation was coded sixty times in twenty interviews. Although these codes seem to be quantitatively lower than the themes of empathy, fear of the (un)known and reflecting a problem, they are quite comprehensive and conclusive in terms of the way and scope of use in interviews. First of all, looking at the parts of the interviews where the theme was coded in general can give an idea about how the theme was emphasized by the participants in the first place. While describing the findings on the theme of empathy, I stated that this theme was coded many times. However, these codes were generally used to explain the information and thoughts of the interviewees about the concepts related to migration.

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One of the participants especially stated that she thinks that the government's preferences are not in favor of the youth and future of her own country: "The state needs to help its youth much more. It's like when we help others while we have a child at home; the child at home naturally gets upset, isn't it?" (Esin, 33). The participant stated that the refugees who came to the country did not experience some of the problems they experienced in their own country and that they thought the state supported them economically and socially instead of their own youth.

> *I see it as coming to a country and seizing it. Now they are at the forefront and the services offered to them are in public offices. When buying a house here, for example, a house worth twenty thousand liras becomes thirty thousand or forty thousand due to foreign demand, since they can meet these prices. Even in the store, no one accepts you as a customer. It happened in the migrations, so no one from Europe comes here in those migrations. Only from the Middle East. The country became a center of attraction for them, but only for them. We lost. (Gaye, 43)*

In this long quote, the participant sees the new owners of this country as foreigners in different ways. She argues that with the presence of foreigners, the supply and demand of public services and the economy in the country have changed, and this change has occurred to the detriment of the local people. Again, according to her, the reason for this negative change is the foreigners coming to the country from the Middle East. The participant thinks that foreigners from the Middle East are disrupting the social order of the country.

Another interviewee expresses his views on aid and services provided to refugees as follows: "I came across it while teaching Turkish to Syrians. For example, none of them (Syrian refugees) wanted to acquire citizenship at that time. They said that they wouldn't become citizens so that social benefits would not be cut. If the government gives me money, food and health care, and no taxes, yeah, I wouldn't either" (Hüseyin, 29). As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, participants generally think that the aid received by refugees and immigrants originates from the Turkish state. They have often said that beyond financial aid from the EU and similar foreign sources, the government "favors" refugees in allocating local resources: "I can't start a business in my own country. Now they start businesses. I noticed, for example, that

they don't pay taxes. If I start a business now, the first thing the government charges is taxes. They (refugees) are facilitated in these matters" (Hayati, 27). Another interviewee Fatma (48) states that the problems in the distribution of resources are not caused by the presence of foreigners, but by the distribution of the state, but adds that she thinks the situation would be better if there were fewer foreigners:

> *The Syrians fled the war and were forced to flee. Afghans, for example, don't have to. Uzbeks are coming. They have a homeland. The government says our door is open to everyone. But not enough. Istanbul isn't enough. People here work for a kilo of meat. Hospitals aren't enough, parks aren't enough. We are sick. I'm sick at this age. My foot hurts, my arm hurts. We can't go out in the sun. We no longer step on the ground. We can no longer go to the sea. We can't do the things we used to do. We used to go to the sea at least four or five times a year. Believe me; I haven't seen any sea this year. (Fatma, 48)*

Fatma (48) says that for the first time in her life she had to go to work a year ago. In the long excerpt I quoted above, the interviewer states that they actually think in an exemplary way of what the sense of desolation means in forming an attitude towards foreigners in the environment they live in. As Fatma stated, the situation is not basically the presence of immigrants in the city or their arrival, of course. I stated that other interviewees also expressed this from time to time, but then they turned to immigrants, who are the closest and most accessible source. In this excerpt, Fatma states that although the presence of foreigners is not a problem, their current position is a result of the situation in the country. Although immigrants are not the source of the problem, they are now part of the problem. The interviewees talk about many different problems and while describing these problems; they focus on the impact of immigrants living in the city on these problems. They expressed in various ways that they see immigrants sometimes as the main source of the problem and sometimes as an obstacle in solving problems. I have covered many different examples of these topics in detail in other themes. The underlying issue I encountered throughout the interviews is the sense of desolation. The following can also be deduced from the analysis conducted throughout this thesis: The theme of sense of desolation somewhat refutes the other four themes described earlier because I have associated the other four themes that I have mentioned so far with the sense of desolation in different ways. This is not to say that it renders the other four themes meaningless.

Of course, each theme has its own meaning and it has a place in attitude formation. My purpose in stating this is to suggest the sense of desolation that underlies the other four themes. I am not talking about a sense that interacts with all themes at the same rate and is at the center and focal point of attitude development. However, I emphasize that the sense of desolation is the theme that emerges at the end of the analysis of the attitude formation process. In the figure below, we see the intersection points of the four themes that emerged as a result of the data analysis and discussed in this section with each other in the texts. In this way, the coding numbers in the interviews I conducted for the four themes that I covered in this section are indicated next to them. The number of intersections of the codes for these themes is indicated on the lines between them.
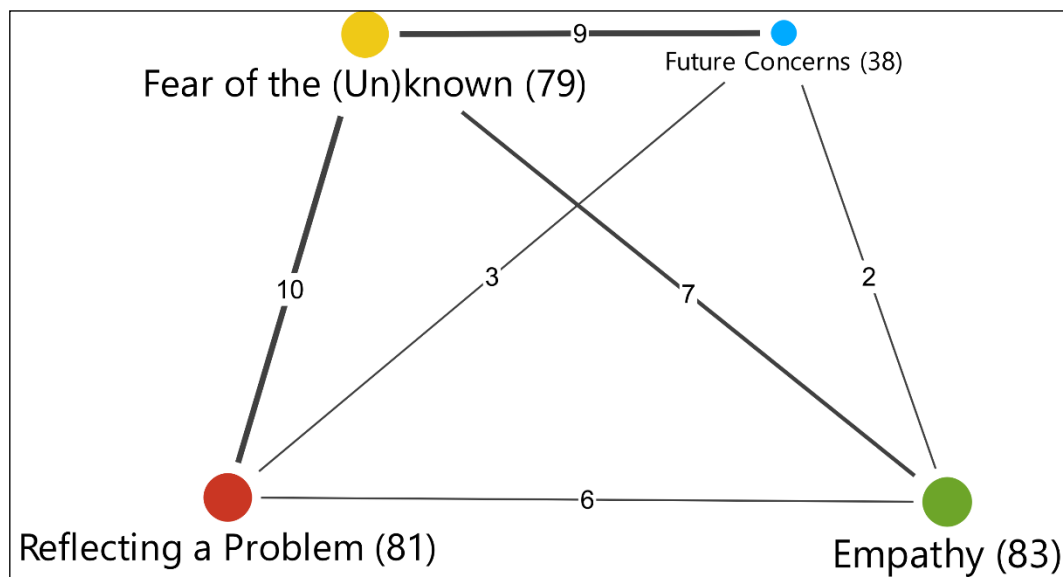

Figure 6: Intersections of Codes of the Themes

In the interviews, it is seen that the theme of empathy was coded eighty-three times. Fifteen of these codes intersect with the codes of the other three themes. This makes the intersection of empathy theme with other themes relatively weak. The theme of empathy intersects twice with future concerns, six times with reflecting a problem, and seven times with fear of the unknown. The most crucial point to note here is that the theme that most overlaps with a theme that can be attributed to positive attitudes such as empathy is the fear of the (un)known. As I mentioned before, while the participants used the theme of empathy more in the conceptual dimension, the

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intensity of the current issues decreased. Also, six of the fifteen intersections were on a theme reflecting a problem. In other words, fifteen of the nineteen intersections were about themes that could be the basis of negative attitudes. As I mentioned, in this study, the themes that the participants conveyed on conceptual issues and the themes included in their attitudes were both cross-cutting and opposing themes.

Secondly, the future concerns theme, which was the least coded theme in the interviews with the thirty-eight coded sections, intersected with the other themes fourteen times in total. Like empathy, the most frequent crossover here was fear of the (un)known. This theme, which intersected with the fear of the (un)known nine times, gave some idea about the direction of the interviewee's future concerns. While describing their concerns for the future, the interviewees develop discourses that intersect with the cultural prejudices of immigrants and therefore the fear of the unknown (the unknown), which I discussed earlier.

The third theme I mentioned is fear of the (un)known, which is coded seventy-nine times in all interviews. This theme has crossed with codes covering other themes thirty times in total. While empathy and future concerns coincided with the fear of the (un)known the most, this theme coincided with the reflecting a problem theme at most ten times.

The fourth theme, reflecting a problem, was coded a total of eighty-one times in all interviews. Twenty-seven of these eighty-one codes intersected with the other three themes. Here I added a new code to the analysis that is not included in the figure above. In the re-readings made in the light of all these themes, the sense of desolation was coded sixty times on its own, apart from the other four themes. Although these coding do not have an independent meaning on their own, they were carried out in order to see the direct relationship between the sense of desolation and other themes. Regardless of all other themes, the sense of desolation manifested itself as an underlying issue and the parts that were directly reflected in the participants' discourses were coded. Therefore, the path to the sense of desolation is visualized below to emphasize that the analysis has reached this point. After examining all the intersections of the four themes I suggested, from the figure I gave below, we can

draw a roadmap to the one where each theme crosses the most. This roadmap is a tool to explain something other than the intersections themselves. It is important to explain how I arrived at the sense of desolation as an underlying issue. This roadmap, which I have visualized in the figure below, passes from one theme to the next and finally reaches the sense of desolation, at the point where each theme intersects the most.
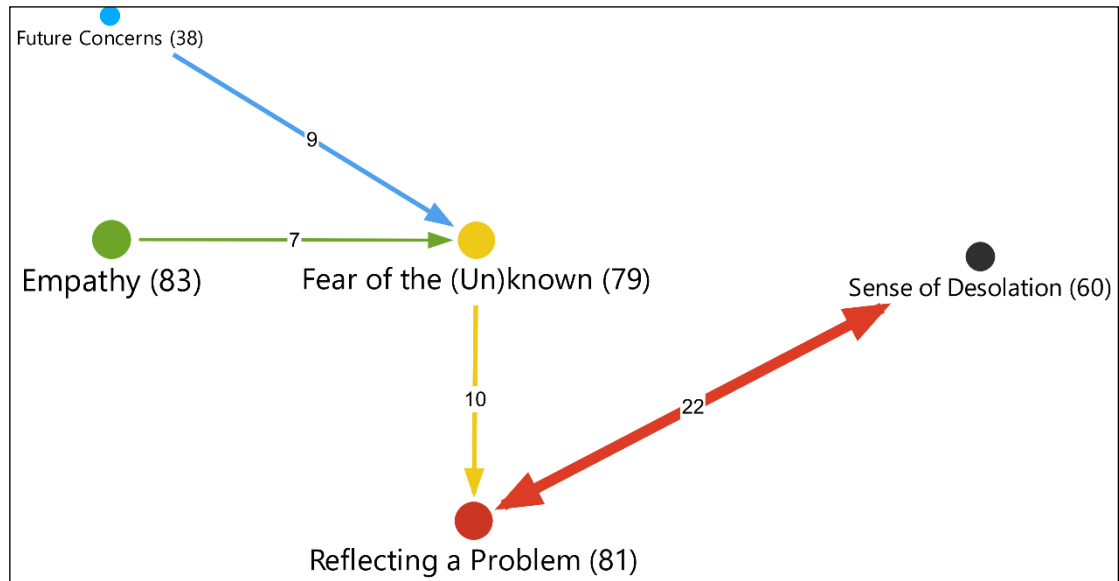

Figure 7: Road Map to the Sense of Desolation

Empathy and future concerns, respectively, are linked to the theme of fear of the (un)known; this theme is connected with the theme of reflecting a problem, and this theme is most intersecting with the theme of desolation. I explained the intersection of codes in Table 2 above. As I mentioned in that table, interviewers give coded answers with more than one theme while talking about an incident. Every code I refer to here is an intersection with other themes within the same paragraph or incident. I have numerically explained the intersection of the four themes in the previous figure. I give the progression of each theme to the other theme where it most intersects in Figure 7 to understand the path of the sense of desolation argument. The theme of fear of the (un)known heavily intersects with themes of both empathy and concern for the future. The first of these themes usually has positive connotations, while the second has negative connotations. This situation reveals once again the contradiction in the attitudes of the participants towards immigrants. Here,

remembering Derrida, we see how the hospitality and hostility attitudes of the local people were intertwined and give birth to the concept of hospitality. The main addition I added here was how many times the sense of desolation was encoded in interviews and how many times it intersected with the theme that reflects a problem.

The sense of desolation, which I consider as an underlying theme, also finds its place discursively in the sections where the interviewees reflect their problems on the immigrants in the city. Loss arises as an emotion surrounded by spatial and cultural feelings of entrapment and distress. In order to elaborate this feeling, it is the path that the themes follow through the themes they most intersect, without ignoring the other intersections between them. The paths to the most intersecting themes continue to grow numerically and proportionally, and they end in the path from reflecting a problem to sense of desolation. Because of this visualization, these concepts I propose can be considered to be teleologically oriented towards desolation. Rather, the purpose here is to show how themes led me in my analysis. This is exactly the narrative that this work seeks to establish with the claims and themes it presents. The theme of desolation is not at the center of the other four themes, nor does it have a unifying force that binds each of them together. Although the theme of desolation is related to each of the other themes in different meanings and levels, it is at the core of the process that creates these themes and therefore the attitudes of individuals towards immigrants.

In the context of this research, inspired by the discourses of the interviewees, foreigner is used as an immigrant in the same sense as foreigner in terms of geography and citizenship, as an outsider. I mentioned earlier that individuals associate and form their own and foreign identities through citizenship. While individuals construct the foreigner as non-citizen, they also construct themselves through citizenship. They draw attention to the fact that they have certain rights and freedoms with this citizenship construction that I mentioned, and that they also have the state to which they belong socially, economically and culturally.

Rogers Brubaker, in his work *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*, analyzes the French revolution from four different perspectives and mentions its

feature as a national revolution. This national revolution, unlike the empires before it, clearly draws the borders of the state and the nation in an inclusive and exclusionary way. Brubaker argues that this nation-state is therefore inherently nationalist, and that this nationalism develops attitudes towards foreigners both inside and outside its borders. According to the nation-state logic, citizen and the foreigner will be interconnected, mutually exclusive and encompassing categories (2009). Andreas Wimmer contributes to Brubaker's nationalism as intrinsic to the nation-state: "The legitimate owners of the state are opposed to those excluded from the nation 'we', to immigrants and other groups disturbing the amalgamation of citizenry, the sovereign and nation into one single people" (2002, p. 200). Here Wimmer emphasizes the conflict, the contestation of ownership over collective goods, divided into us and them, i.e. citizens and non-citizens. According to Wimmer, the modern nation-state created not only an "imagined community" but also a real community with common interests (Ibid.). The sense of desolation describes a situation that corresponds to the rupture of the relationship of possession and belonging with the state to which the individual is bound by citizenship ties. This definition can sometimes reflect a feeling or a concern that is not reflected in the personal lives of the interviewees, sometimes as a result of their experiences, and sometimes in their thoughts about the future. This ambiguity, this indecision at the intersection of the four themes I mentioned, actually shows the conflict between us and them within the nation-state that Wimmer discusses in his work. The participant, who is the "owner of the state", also feels the loss of his/her right to the collective property and various forms of loss. This asset may be economic, cultural, historical or other forms.

If we describe the contradictions within the four themes from the discourses of the participants, the fear that the immigrants, who are seen as "incompetent" to defend their own country, will "take over" this country, manifests itself as the fear of the future of the "ignorant." Fear that immigrants will "take over" the culture of this country or that immigrants who come to this country will "buy" the country.

The heterogeneous sample I constructed in the field contributed to the pattern and contextual analysis of the state-citizen relationship. It served to reveal the themes on

which participants from different socioeconomic backgrounds, who had the experience of meeting different immigrant groups on different grounds, developed their attitudes towards immigrants. The intertwining of encounters underlying perceptions of immigrants is evident in the perceptions and themes I have discussed, as well as in the underlying issue of desolation. Empathy, fear of the (un)known, future concerns and reflecting a problem - all these contradictory or overlapping themes - manifesting themselves in attitudes towards immigrants, who are the closest and easiest targets, should undoubtedly be seen as manifestations of this underlying sense of desolation. Unlike Derrida's explanation of the hierarchical relationship between the host and the guest, a mutual belonging-ownership relationship is established in the relationship of the individual with the state. The sense of desolation brought by the ambivalence of this relationship is the constructive element of the themes that are based on while developing attitudes towards immigrants.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to understand the themes that emerged while the local people living in Istanbul were forming their attitudes towards the immigrants in the city. In addition, the differences and similarities in the perception of concepts such as foreigner, immigrant, refugee and asylum seeker and the role of various encounters with immigrants in the development of these themes are examined. It is the result of a qualitative study aimed at understanding the themes on which the attitude formation process is based, the contradictions and intersections between these themes, and the role of these themes in the formation of individuals' attitudes towards immigrants. For this purpose, in the fieldwork I started in Bağcılar, I conducted a total of twenty-five semi-structured in-depth interviews with people living/working in sixteen of the twenty-five districts on the European side of Istanbul. At the end of the data analysis process, four themes emerged. The four themes that individuals rely on while forming their attitudes towards immigrants living in the city are empathy, future concerns, fear of the (un)known and reflecting a problem. I call these the strategic themes that individuals rely on in forming their attitudes towards immigrants. The main problem I encountered while analyzing these four themes, both within themselves and in relation to each other, is ambivalence. The themes discussed offered insights that sometimes supported each other and sometimes contained contradictory ideas. This situation is intertwined with individuals' encounters with foreigners and their prejudices towards foreigners. Participants developed these strategies from their own threshold by developing an understanding on the civic-non-citizen axis. It would be helpful to refer here again to Derrida's concept of hospitality. Derrida constructs the relationship between the foreigner and the local as the owner of the house and the person standing at the door. We should not forget the question who are you, which the host asks the stranger who

comes to the door (Derrida, Hostipitality, 2000). Similarly, in this research, immigrants are at the door in the reification of a house whose boundaries are drawn by the local people. While foreigners from other lands are looking for a home, those in the city look at them as hosts. According to Derrida, when the unknown guest becomes known, hospitality and hostility are intertwined. This is similar to Bauman's allegory that the alien is far away, the alien being close is her/his worst nightmare (Bauman, Postmodern Ethics, 2009). The distant alien and the near neighbor are intertwined, and this state of unknowing is reflected in the relationship between the four themes in this research.

In the midst of all this vagueness and ambiguity for locals, I define the basic feeling that manifests itself in the formation of attitudes towards immigrants as desolation. The sense of desolation is significant beyond the other four themes. Desolation is a topic that underlies the complexity of the contradictions and similarities between the four themes I have presented. I call this sentiment the constructive element of their own narratives, which individuals construct through their relations with the state and shape their attitudes towards immigrants. It reflects the rupture of the relationship that have established and thought to have established within the state-citizenship relationship. Here, the idea that the state has abandoned them politically, socially, and economically emerges in individuals who accept themselves as citizens of the state and therefore build their ownership and belonging with the state. The hosts in Derrida's narrative experience a rupture with the house they think belongs to them. The individual, who codes his/her social hierarchical position above the immigrants, constructs this loss of place as desolation. It expresses the feeling that arises when the relationship between "host" and "guest" in the relationship between local people and immigrants intersects with the third factor, the relationship between local people and the state. This desolation goes beyond a dereliction where the state does not fulfill its duty regarding rights and freedoms. The issue here is the perception that the people "preferred" and "accepted" by the state are not its own citizens but others as immigrants. Based on these reasons, I propose a sense of desolation as the underlying problem and four themes that individuals rely on when forming their attitudes towards immigrants who share the same city with them. This thesis presents the sense of desolation that is connected to each of the themes at different levels and

that underlies all connections. Individuals' development of attitudes follows different paths and methods for different groups, but none is linear or teleological.

It is not a conceptual framework that sees racism as the product of purely individual relations, disconnected from its historical, social and economic contexts. Instead, my aim is to reflect consistently on the proposals I have made, referring to the conditions in which racism is formally embodied, avoiding non-racist rhetoric and concepts that could be used as components of institutional racism as an essential part of the meaning-making function of racism (Mollaer, 2016). The people interviewed in the context of this research have a classification similar to the early Republican Turkishness matrix given by Çağaptay. According to Miles, this meaning-attribution process is also the basis for creating a hierarchy of groups and establishing criteria for the inclusion or exclusion of groups of people in the allocation of resources and services (Miles, 2000). Particularly when discussing migration-related concepts, interviewees generally categorize locality and immigration into categories categorizations such as being a citizen, being a non-citizen, but being of Turkish descent. The sense of desolation is also a result of the tendency to perceive themselves and others internally or externally, especially in the last ten years, through the relationship between the state and citizens, with the mass population movements. As a result of the erosion of the categorization in the minds of individuals, the situation has turned to a sense of desolation as a reflection of the destruction of the state-citizen nexus. Therefore, this issue of sense of desolation is vital as a basis for making sense of the final state of the hierarchy of groups and as a function to include or exclude groups of people from the resource and service allocation process for local people. In any case, breaking this relationship of possession and belonging should undoubtedly be seen as the main factor in shaping the attitudes of the interviewees towards the immigrants with whom they live together in the city.

At the end of its journey in line with its objective, this study is not limited to analyzing the themes that make up the attitudes of individuals towards immigrants. Considering that the aim of this research is to go beyond a descriptive analysis, it has contributed by making inferences about the situation underlying attitudes. The sense

of desolation is one of the main contributions of this research to the analysis of attitudes towards immigrants. This thesis goes beyond reducing such issues to an intergroup conflict between local people and immigrants. It argues that it is not enough to prioritize intergroup relations in order to analyze the attitude of local people towards immigrants. It develops an opinion on the relationship of citizens to be included in the analysis with the state. It emphasizes the importance of the impact of the transformations of the citizen-state relationship in historical, social, economic, and political contexts on individuals' attitudes towards immigrants. In addition, the sense of desolation is a concept that should be taken into account in the analysis of relations between different social groups, as well as contributing to the analysis of attitudes towards immigrants. While analyzing the relations between different social groups and the transformation of these relations, the relations between these groups as well as their relations with the state should be taken into account. Policy makers suggest that the perspective to be developed by civil society and different social groups on intergroup relations should be developed without departing from the reality of this relational phenomenon. This thesis, as desired, reveals its potential to contribute to the analysis of the social conflicts that have developed within the framework of the historical, economic, social and political transformations Turkey is going through and the sense of desolation.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

04 AĞUSTOS 2022

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Ceylan TOKLUOĞLU

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Mustafa AKSU'nun "Çalışan Bireylerin Yabancılara Yönelik Tutumlarının Analizi" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay **0427-ODTUİAEK-2022** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
Başkan

Doç. Dr. T.Semih AKÇOMAK
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Murat Perit ÇAKIR
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Süreyya ÖZCAN KABASAKAL
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi A. Emre TURGUT
Üye

Nüfus artışı, siyasi çatışmalar, doğal afetler ve savaşların neden olduğu uluslararası göç, her zaman insanlık tarihinin bir parçası olmuştur. Göç hareketlerinin küresel karakteri, farklı kültürlere sahip insanların karşılaşmasına ve birlikte yaşamak için geliştirmek zorunda oldukları stratejilere yol açmıştır. Son elli yılda tahmin edilen uluslararası göçmen sayısı son elli yılda artmaktadır. 2020 yılı itibariyle yaklaşık 281 milyon insan doğduğu ülkeden farklı bir ülkede yaşamaktadır. Bu sayı otuz yıl öncesine göre 128 milyon daha fazla ve 1970'teki tahmin edilen sayının (84 milyon) üç katından fazla. Uluslararası göçmenler bugün dünya nüfusunun yaklaşık yüzde dördünü oluşturmaktadır (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021).

Askerliğini yapmış, TÜRK vatandaşı alınacaktır.

2016 yılında İstanbul'da bir tekstil atölyesinin camına beyaz bir kâğıda büyük harflerle "Türk" yazan bu iş ilanını gördüm. Bu teze çalışırken bu ilanı görünce kendime sorduğum soruların bir sosyal bilimcinin sorması gereken sorular olduğunu fark ettim. Bu sadece ırkçı bir iş ilanı mı? Peki ya bu tutumun altında yatan toplumsal süreç? Reklamın önünden geçerken kendime sorduğum bu ilk sorular, bu araştırma kapsamında yukarıda bahsettiğim bazı ön sorulara dönüştü. Bu araştırmanın temel sorusu, yerel halkın göçmenlere yönelik algı ve tutumlarını hangi kavram ve süreçlerin açıklayabileceğidir. Bu tez yerel halkın göçmenlere yönelik tutumlarını sorgularken, temel olarak bu tutumların oluşum sürecini ve yerel halkın tutumlarının oluşmasına neden olan temaları anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. İnsanların göçmenlere karşı tutumlarını oluşturan süreci ve açıklayıcı temaları kavramaya çalışır. Bu çalışmanın öncülleri, bu temalar arasındaki ilişkiler, sürecin gelişimi, bireyin algısı ve farklı toplumsal gerçekliklerdir. Bu bağlamda önceden tanımlanmış kavram setlerine, biçimsel açıklayıcı teorilere veya literatürdeki diğer çalışmalara dayanmamaktadır. Araştırma ile birlikte kavramsal analiz geliştirmek için tasarlanmıştır.

Araştırma bulguları kapsamında incelediğim, göçmen, sığınmacı, mülteci ve yabancı gibi kavramlar, tarihsel süreçte ve bugün Türkiye toplumunda karşılaştığımız anlamlarla birlikte okuyucunun bu kavramları uluslararası hukuk temelinde anlamasına ve yorumlamasına olanak sağlayacaktır. Türkiye'de göç, göçmen, mülteci, sığınmacı, yabancı gibi kavramların bağlamsal anlamları bu karmaşık ilişkiler ağı içinde ortaya çıkan kavramlar olduğundan, bu kavramların geçtiğimiz yüzyıldaki anlamlarına aşina olmak çok önemlidir. Bu bahsedilen kavramlar sadece hukuki terimler değildir; belirli sosyal bağlamlarda kullanılan algılama ve yorumlama araçlarıdır. Türkiye'de göçmen kavramı, bugüne kadar siyasi, etnik ve kültürel olarak göçmen kavramından ayrılmıştır. Temelde bir şemsiye terim olan göçmen kavramının Arapça karşılığı olan muhacir sözcüğü bu çalışmada farklı bir anlam çağrıştırmaktadır. Muhacir ve göçmen kelimesinin katılımcılar açısından anlamsal farklılıkları da araştırmanın bir vurgusudur. Öte yandan sığınmacı kavramı, zorunlu göç sürecinin ilk aşaması, kişinin mülteci olmak için başvuruda bulunması olarak tanımlanabilir. Kişinin göç ettiği ülkede mülteci olmadan önceki ilk durumu denilebilir. Bu süreçte başvuru sahibinin iltica başvurusunun tamamlanması gerekmektedir. Mülteci ve sığınmacı kelimeleri farklı hukuki bağlamlara karşılık gelmekle birlikte, bu terimler günlük bağlamda birbirinin yerine kullanılabilmektedir. Yine bahsettiğim diğer kavramlar da geçişlilik göstermekte ve katılımcılar için benzer anlamlar taşımaktadır. Yerel halkın algıları araştırma sorularına cevap verecek şekilde anlamlandırılırken bu karmaşıklığın ve iç içe geçmişliğin varlığı da tartışılmaktadır. Mülteci tanımı, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında oluşan siyasi atmosferle şekillenmiştir. Mülteci doğrudan Fransızca *réfugié* kelimesinden gelir. 1685'te Fransa'daki Protestanlara inanç özgürlüğü tanıyan Nantes Fermanı'nın yürürlükten kaldırılmasından sonra Fransa'dan kaçan Protestanlara atıfta bulunmak için kullanılmıştır. (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.) Mülteci statüsü, kişinin kendi ülkesi dışında başka bir ülkeye iltica talebinde bulunması durumunda elde edilir. Mülteci statüsü alabilmek için kişinin yerleşmek istediği ülkeye sığınma başvurusunda bulunması gerekir. Göç ve ilticanın arkasındaki nedenler ve motivasyonlar oldukça farklı olduğu gibi, hedef ülkedeki sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel uyum ve entegrasyon da oldukça farklı olabilir. Türkiye'nin Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarından itibaren uyguladığı "Türk soyundan veya Türk kültüründen olma" ilkesine dayalı göç politikası, Birleşmiş Milletler

Teşkilatı'nın 1951 Cenevre Sözleşmesi'nin imzalanması sırasında da dikkate alınmıştır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra mültecilerin hakları. Nitekim Türkiye 1961'de bu anlaşmayı imzalarken coğrafi bir sınırlama getirmişti, yani sadece "Avrupa'daki olaylardan zarar görenleri" mülteci olarak kabul edecekti. Bu nedenle Avrupa dışından gelen mültecilerin Türkiye'deki kısmına farklı hukuki statüler denilmektedir. Bu grup içinde en büyük paya geçici koruma altındaki Suriyeliler sahiptir. 2011 yılında Suriye'de yaşanan sorunlar nedeniyle toplu ve/veya bireysel olarak ülkesini terk etmek zorunda kalan Suriyelilerin önemli bir kısmı Türkiye tarafından kabul edilmiştir. Türkiye, 2011 yılında Suriye'den kitleler halinde gelen mültecilerin hukuki statülerini yönetmek için 2014 yılında Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği çıkarmıştır. Bu yönetmeliğin ilk maddesine göre, Suriye Arap topraklarında meydana gelen olaylar nedeniyle Türkiye'ye gelen kişiler, 28 Nisan 2011 tarihi itibariyle Cumhuriyet geçici koruma statüsündedir (Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı, n.d.). İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı verilerine göre 2 Şubat 2023 tarihi itibariyle GKN sayısı 3.500.964'tür (age.). UNHCR verilerine göre dünyadaki toplam Suriyeli mülteci sayısı 5.424.016'dır. Bu sayının 3.500.964'ü Türkiye'de yaşıyor.

Araştırmama katılanların günlük dilinde yabancı kavramı önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Bireylerin mülteci, sığınmacı, göçmen gibi farklı kavramlara ilişkin ön yargılarının iç içe geçtiği ve muğlaklaştığı anlarda yabancı, tüm bu "dışarıdaki" unsurları tanımlayan bir şemsiye anlam barındırabilmektedir. Yabancı kavramını detaylı olarak incelemeden önce yabancı kavramının kabaca bir yorumunu yapmak ve çalışma boyunca nasıl kullanıldığına dair kısa bir giriş yapmak gerekmektedir. "Xenos" gibi eski bir kavramdan çağdaş yabancı -istilacı- kategorisine kadar, yabancı figürü genellikle kendilerini başkaları açısından veya onlara karşı tanımlamaya çalışan insanlar için sınırda bir deneyim olarak hizmet eder (Kearney 2012, p. 16). Simmel, *Yabancı* adlı eserinde yabancının sosyolojik biçimini, "uzayda her verili noktadan belirli bir mesafede olma" ile "belirli bir noktaya bağlı olmamanın" bir sentezi olarak görür. (2009, pp. 149-150) Simmel'e göre mekansal ilişkiler sosyal etkileşimin merkezinde yer alır. Simmel, yabancı tanımının merkezinde yer alan yabancının da burada yabancı sayılmadığını ancak bugün gelip yarın giden seyyah gibi olmadığını, bugün gelip gelip yarın kalan insan olduğunu savunur. (age.)

Simmel'in sosyolojisinde yabancı, bir gruba dışarıdan katılan ve yabancı kimliği o toplumsal grup tarafından belirlenen kişidir. Bu konuyla ilgili, bir diğer önemli düşünür olan Zygmunt Bauman ise, modern öncesi toplumlarda fiziksel yakınlık ve sosyal yakınlığın örtüşmesinden bahseder. Dolayısıyla, modern öncesi toplumlarda ya "komşular" ya da "yabancılar" vardır. Komşu iyidir ve yabancı kötüdür. Bu ikisi arasındaki denklem basittir. Yakın iyidir, uzak kötüdür ve kötülük dışlanmalı, bastırılmalı veya uzak tutulmalıdır. Bauman, modern toplumun fiziksel ve sosyal yakınlık arasındaki ilişkiyi çarpıttığını savunmaktadır. Fiziksel olarak yakın olan şey artık her zaman sosyal olarak yakın değildir. Başka bir deyişle, yabancı ile komşu iç içedir. Bauman'a göre bu grubun en çarpıcı yanı, ne "komşu" ne de "yabancı" olmalarıdır. Başka bir deyişle, hem "komşu" hem de "yabancı" olmuşlardır. Yani fiziksel olarak yakın ama sosyal olarak uzak olanlar en korkutucu, yani yabancılardır (Bauman, 2009, p. 151). Son olarak yapısökümcü düşünür Jacques Derrida, "Misafirperverlik" adlı makalesinde yabancının tanımına başlar: "Yabancı, her şeyden önce, başka bir yerde doğmuştur. Yabancı, ölümden çok doğumdan itibaren tanımlanır" (2000, p. 14). Derrida, felsefenin evrensel konukseverlik olasılığı arayışını yapısöküme uğratır. Burada misafirperverliğin ne olduğu ile başlar ve ardından ne olmadığına geçer. Derrida'nın misafirperverlik analizi temel olarak koşulsuz misafirperverliğin imkansızlığına ve koşullu misafirperverliğin misafirperverlik olarak kendini yok edecek bir pratik olduğu fikrine dayanmaktadır. Derrida'ya göre misafirperverlik tanımı gereği yabancılara gösterilir. Dolayısıyla burada misafirperverliği belirleyen kavram bilmek değil, bilmemektir. Bilmemek, yabancıyla ilişkimizin ve dolayısıyla misafirperverliğin ayrılmaz bir parçasıdır. Yabancı kavramı birçok yönden misafir kavramıyla ilişkilendirilebildiği için aynı açıdan ev sahibi kavramına zıt olarak değerlendirilebilir. Yabancının varlığıyla ev sahibi unvanı anlam kazanır. Yabancı ev sahibi ile karşılaştığında ilk olarak ev sahibinden gelen "sen kimsin" sorusuna cevap verir. Yabancı, bu soruyu yanıtlayarak, ev sahibinin etki alanına girdiğini ve ev sahibinin sahipliğini tanıdığını oluşturur. Yine bu soruyu yanıtlayarak kendini tanıtmış ve mutlak misafirperverliğin kapsamının da karmaşıklaştığı yabancının içinden çıkmıştır. Derrida, koşullu misafirperverliği, konuğun düşmanca muameleden muaf olmaya yönelik evrensel hakkı olarak görür. Derrida'nın Kant'ın anlayışı üzerinden çözümlediği bu misafirperverlik, temelde misafir ve ev sahibi olmak üzere iki tarafı içerir. Derrida'ya

göre bu iki tarafın varlığı, birbirini tanımlaması ve dolayısıyla sınırlarının çizilmesi başlı başına bir açmaz oluşturmaktadır. Misafirperverliğin, düşmanlığı da içeren bir imkânsızlık haline geldiği yer burasıdır. İkinci olarak Derrida, Levinas'ın koşulsuz misafirperverlik anlayışını analiz etmektedir. Koşulsuz evrensel misafirperverliğin ön koşulu olarak yabancı hakkında hiçbir beklenti veya bilgi sahibi olmamak bulunmaktadır. Ev sahibi, konumunun yarattığı hiyerarşik şiddeti oluşturan ev sahibinin koşullarından vazgeçmek zorundadır ve koşulsuz misafirperverliğin koşulları bu şekilde yaratılır (Derrida, Konuksev(-er-/-mez-)lik, 2012). Aşağıdaki uzun alıntı, hem Derrida'nın yapısökümüne hem de bu analizin araştırmam için önemine dikkat çekmesi açısından oldukça aydınlatıcıdır.

> *Misafirperverlik, eğer böyle bir şey varsa, o şeyin, nesnenin ya da mevcut varlığın ötesinde bir eyleme ve niyete hitap eden, kelimenin en muammalı anlamıyla bir deneyim olmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda onun ötesine geçen kasıtlı bir deneyimdir. Ötekine karşı mutlak yabancı, bilinmeyen olarak bilgi, onun hakkında hiçbir şey bilmediğimi bildiğim yerde (er ya da geç bu iki yine de ayrılmaz kavram, öteki ve yabancı arasındaki zor ve gerekli ayrıma geri döneceğiz; herhangi bir özgüllüğü misafirperverlikle sınırlayacağız). <Misafirperverlik yabancı olarak ötekine borçludur. Ama eğer biri diğerini yabancı olarak belirlerse, zaten aile, ulus, devlet ve yurttaşlık gibi koşulluluk çemberlerini devreye sokar. Belki de yabancılığı dil, aile ya da vatandaşlıkla ilgili yabancılıkla sınırlandırılamayacak olandan daha yabancı olan başka biri vardır. (Derrida, 2000, p. 8)*

Derrida'nın alıntıda belirttiği gibi misafiri millet, devlet, yurttaşlık gibi kavramlarla sınırlayarak tanımlamak da onu yabancılaştırmaktadır. Bu araştırmada yerel halkın (ev sahibi) göçmenlere (misafirlere) karşı tutumlarını geliştirirken bel bağladıkları temaları tartışırken muğlak, muğlak ve indirgemeci temalarla karşılaşıyoruz. Bu araştırmada da katılımcıların bu tanımlamaya benzer şekilde koşulluluk çemberleri kullanarak yabancıyı tanımlaması ve dolayısı ile sınırlandırması ile karşılaşmaktayız. Bu bağlamda anlamaya ve/veya cevaplamaya çalıştığım sorulardan ve konulardan bazıları şu şekilde sıralanabilir:

- Yerel ve çalışan bireylerin göçmenlere yönelik algı ve tutumlarını hangi kavram ve süreçler açıklayabilir?
- Yerel halkın göçmenlere karşı tutumu nasıl şekilleniyor?

- Bireyler yabancı/mülteci/sığınmacı/göçmen gibi kavramları nasıl algılıyor/anlıyor? Bu terimler arasında ne gibi farklılıklar/benzerlikler algılıyorlar? Bu terimleri atfettikleri grupların ortak noktası nedir?

- Bu terimlerin algılanmalarındaki farklılıklara göre yabancılara karşı tutumlarını hangi süreç ve kavramlar yansıtmaktadır?

- Bu tutumları oluşturan farklı temalar ve algılar nelerdir?

- Yabancılarla hayatlarında kişisel, mekansal, ekonomik ve politik karşılaşmalardan hangi biçimlendirici temalar ortaya çıktı?

- Bu biçimlendirici temalar arasındaki ilişki nedir?

- Etkileşen ve çatışan temalar nelerdir? Bu temalar hangi şekillerde etkileşime giriyor ve/veya çatışıyor?

- Bu etkileşimler ve çelişkiler, sosyal bilimcilerin yerel halkın göçmenlere karşı tutumlarını anlamaları için ne anlama geliyor?

Bu sorulara benzer sorular içeren pek çok araştırma bulunmaktadır. Literatürdeki çalışmaların genel eğilimi, alan çalışmasında karşılaştıkları söylem veya araştırma odaklı içeriğin betimsel bir sunumunu sağlamaktır. Saraçoğlu ve Belanger'in çalışması, görüşmelerinin söylem analizinin ötesinde, İzmir'deki yerel halk arasındaki yabancı düşmanı tutumların ardındaki siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik çerçeveyi tanımlamak için kayıp ve yabancı düşmanlığı terimlerini kullandı. Benzer şekilde, bu tez, göçmenlere yönelik tutumları oluşturan ana temaları ve bunların altında yatan siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal algıları anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bunun dışındaki çalışmalar genellikle Suriyeli karşıtı yabancı düşmanlığına odaklanmaktadır. Erdoğan'ın çalışması gibi nicel çalışmalar hem kapsam hem de yöntem olarak mevcut söylemi ortaya çıkarmaya odaklanmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, literatürdeki çalışmalardan farklı olarak, göçmenlere yönelik tutumları tanımlamanın ötesine geçerek, bu tutumların altında yatan hususları anlamayı hedeflemektedir. Araştırmamın evrenini İstanbul Avrupa yakası olarak belirledim. Temel olarak, araştırmanın amaçlarına katkı sağlamak amacıyla, kentte yabancılarla teması olan katılımcılara birçok farklı karşılaşma geçmişinden ulaşmaya çalıştım. Temsili olmayan bir örneklemle yürüttüğüm bu çalışmada, amaçlı örnekleme ile hem sosyo-ekonomik profil hem de göçmenlerle karşılaşmaları açısından heterojen bir

grup oluşturmayı amaçladım. Bu heterojenlik, tutum geliştirme stratejilerindeki kalıpları görebilmek ve ilişkilendirebilmek açısından araştırma hedeflerimin gerçekleştirilmesine önemli ölçüde katkıda bulunmuştur. Örnekleme aşamasında, birkaç temel kritere odaklandım. Benim örnekleme mantığım doğrultusunda Avrupa yakasında yaşayan ya da çalışan kişilerle görüşme yapmak çıkış noktası oldu. Bu kapsamda iki aşamalı olarak yürüttüğüm saha çalışmamın ilk aşamasını Ağustos 2022'de on derinlemesine görüşme yaparak tamamladım. İkinci aşama saha çalışmamı ise Ekim 2022'de tamamladım. Bu saha çalışması boyunca, İstanbul'un Avrupa yakasında yaşayan ve çalışan insanlarla yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler kullandım. İlk örnekleme, teorik detaylandırma ve iyileştirme değil, bir hareket noktasıdır. Daha sonra detaylandıracağım üzere, Bağcılar'la başladığım söyleşilere hem pratik hem de teorik olarak uygun olduğu için ilk örnekleme doğrultusunda Avrupa yakasında devam etmeyi uygun buldum. İlk örnekleme aşamasında Bağcılar'da bir tekstil atölyesinde saha çalışmasına başladım. Ağustos 2022'de, nüfus yoğunluğunun fazla olduğu, tekstil ve imalat sanayilerinin iş yerlerinin yerleşim yerleriyle iç içe olduğu ilçelerden insanlarla on görüşme gerçekleştirdim.

Katılımcılar, Avrupa yakasındaki yirmi beş ilçenin on altısında yaşadıkları veya çalıştıkları ilçelere göre dağıtıldı. Bu on altı ilçeden yedisi de yukarıda belirtilen "yabancı ikametine kapalı" ilçeler arasındadır. Bu bilgi, karşılaşmaların ve etkileşimlerin çeşitlilik ve derinlik açısından farklılık gösterdiği hikayeler için gereklidir. Aynı şekilde, karşılaşmaların ve etkileşimlerin çeşitliliği ve derinliğinin araştırmaya katkı sağlaması için farklı eğitim geçmişlerinden insanlarla röportajlar yaptım. Görüşülen yirmi beş kişiden 11'i lise üstü eğitim alırken, 13'ü lise ve altı eğitim gördüğünü belirtmiştir. Görüşülen bir kişi örgün bir eğitimi olmadığını belirtti. Görüşülen kişiler, eğitim durumları gibi mesleki sektörler arasında da farklılık göstermektedir. Çok çeşitli farklı işlerde ve farklı pozisyonlarda çalışan insanlarla röportaj yaptım. Katılımcılara, yaş, meslek durumu, iş grubu/sektörü, yaşadığı/çalıştığı ilçelere göre etkileşimlerin ve karşılaşmaların derinliğini ve çeşitliliğini ortaya koyacak şekilde ulaşarak saha çalışmasını tamamladım.

Yaptığım 25 görüşmenin transkripsiyonu ve bu görüşmelerin MAXQDA 2022 programı ile kodlanması süreci, beni yerel halkın göçmenlerle karşılaşmasına ilişkin algı ve tutum oluşturma sürecinde dört ana temaya götürdü. Bireylerin kavramlara ilişkin ön yargıları ve göçmenlerle farklı karşılaşmaları, Derrida'nın konukseverliğin paradoksal imkansızlığı konusundaki vargısına benzer ikilemlerle dolu bir tema ortaya koyuyor. Tüm bu ikircikli duygu ve algıların ortamı, sonunda beni, altta yatan bir yalnızlık duygusu dediğim şeyin olduğu fikrine götürdü. Kentsel mekânın terk edilmesi için de kullanılan ıssızlık sözcüğü, bireyin içine düştüğü terk edilmişlik duygusunu hem yalnızlık duygusunu hem de devlet-vatandaş ilişkisinin karşılıklı ilişkilerle şekillenen erozyonundan kaynaklanan mutsuzluğu en iyi şekilde yansıtabilir. Sahip olunan haklar ve bu durumun insanlara getirdiği manevi yalnızlık ve mutsuzluktur.

Bireyler göçmenlerle farklı şekillerde karşılaşmaktadırlar. Bu karşılaşmalar mekansal olarak değişebileceği gibi, karşılaşmanın derinliğini belirleyen kişisel etkileşim açısından da farklılık gösterebilir. Araştırmanın örnekleminin heterojenliği, karşılaşmaları farklı zeminlerde ve farklı şekillerde deneyimleyen katılımcıları bir araya getirmeye ve böylece tüm bu farklı karşılaşmaların bağlamı hakkında fikir üretmeye hizmet etmektedir. Katılımcılar tarafından anlatılan tüm farklı karşılaşma deneyimlerinde ortaya çıkan bir model, bu karşılaşmaların anlatısının yapıcı bir unsur olarak politik ve ekonomik bir bağlam içinde yorumlanabilmesidir. Yine bağlamları itibarıyla bu karşılaşmalar, katılımcıların devletle ilişkilerinin bir örüntüsünü göstermektedir. Öyle ya da böyle, tüm karşılaşmalar politiktir ve birey ile devlet arasındaki ilişkiye dayalıdır. Vatandaş ve vatandaş olmayan ekseninden bakıldığında tüm karşılaşmalar, devletle olan bu ilişkiyi ve dolayısıyla politik-ekonomik bağlamı içerir. Bu anlatı, görüşülen kişilerin algılarını anlamlandırırken de ortaya çıkan önemli bir konu olan devlet-vatandaş ilişkisinin birbirine bağlılığını ve anlatısını göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda, bireylerin tutumlarını geliştirirken stratejilerini dayandırdıkları algılar, bu iç içe ve durumsal karşılaşma anlatısından filizlenmektedir. Literatürde yabancı, göçmen, sığınmacı, mülteci, göçmen gibi farklı kavramlar olmasına rağmen katılımcılar şehirdeki yabancıları bu şekilde ayırmamaktadır. Buradaki konu yabancı/göçmen kullanımıdır. Genel olarak katılımcılar İstanbul'da yaşayan vatandaş olmayan herkesi göçmen olarak

tanımlamaktadır. Ancak, göçmen ve yabancı terimlerinin sıklıkla mülakatlarda birbirinin yerine kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Katılımcılar vatandaş olmayanları bazen yabancı, bazen de göçmen olarak adlandırmışlar, ancak bu terimler arasında net bir ayrım geliştirmemişlerdir. İkinci konu ise mülteci ve sığınmacı kavramlarının algılanışıdır. Katılımcılar bu iki terim arasında algılarında farklılıklar olduğunu belirtmelerine rağmen bunu net bir şekilde geliştirmemişlerdir. Buradaki temel duruş, tahmin edilebileceği gibi zorunlu göç bağlamında olmakla birlikte, mülteci ve sığınmacı kavramlarının hukuki bağlamına ilişkin bir ayrım yapılmamıştır. Göçmen algısına geldiğimizde karşımıza muhacir kavramı çıkmaktadır. Muhacir diğer terimlerden farklı olarak "bizden biri" ve "buradan biri" anlamına geliyordu. Katılımcıların göçmen kelimesini muhacir ile aynı anlamda kullandıklarında dışsal bir anlam yüklemedikleri görülmüştür. Esas olan tüm bu terimlerin literatürde nasıl ayırt edildiği değil, katılımcıların gözünde nasıl ayırt edildiğidir. Burada ele alınan kavramların ötesinde, sınırları daha net, dışlamaları daha keskin olan bir algı vardır. Katılımcıların söylemi, karşılaşmaların da etkisiyle kültürel, sosyal, ekonomik ve tarihsel arka planıyla bu kavramlarda ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu, çalışma boyunca göçmenlerin/yabancıların kullanımına yansımıştır. Farklı zeminlerde gerçekleşen ve kişisel etkileşimin farklı yoğunluklarını içeren tüm bu karşılaşmaların muğlaklığı, ele alınan kavramların belirsizliğinde de kendini gösterir. Katılımcılar bireysel olarak sorulduğunda farklı farklı yorumlar yapsalar da yabancı, mülteci, sığınmacı, sığınmacı ve göçmen terimlerini kullanımları söylemlerinde iç içe geçmiştir. Bu iç içe geçme, bu çalışmanın soruları için önemlidir. Burada karmaşıklık, vatandaşların-vatandaş olmayanlar, biz-onlar, içeridekiler-dışardakiler gibi katılımcıların anlatılarında bir indirgemeye ve ikili ve siyah-beyaz ayrımlarına karşılık gelir. Bu tezin önceki bölümlerinde sunulan tüm çalışmalar ve veriler tümevarımsal bir analiz gerektirir. MAXQDA nitel veri analiz programını kullanarak tamamladığım kodlama sürecimin sonunda, göçmenlere yönelik bireysel tutumları oluşturan dört tema sunmaktayım. Tartıştığım bu karşılaşma ve algı anlatısı, bireylerin göçmenlere karşı tutumlarını dayandırdıkları stratejik temalarda da benzer şekillerde kendini gösteriyor. Bu dört tema da şu ya da bu şekilde birbiriyle çelişiyor. Bu karmaşıklığın getirdiği model de kendi içinde belirsizdir. Bu temalar empati, gelecek endişeleri, bilin(en)meyen korkusu ve sorunların yansıtılmasıdır. Bu dört temanın ötesine geçmek için kesişimlerini, örtüşmelerini ve çelişkilerini de ele almak önem arz

etmektedir. Bu bölümdeki tartışma sonucunda, paralellik göstermeyen ve bazen belirsiz çelişkiler gösteren bu temaların ötesinde, yabancılara karşı tutumları şekillendiren ana duyguyu belirledim: ıssızlık hissiyatı.

Yirmi bir görüşmede seksen üç kez kodlanan empati teması, bireylerin göçmenlere karşı tutumlarını şekillendirmede önemli bir faktördür. Görüşülen kişilerin genel eğilimi, savaştan kaçmanın, zorunlu koşullar nedeniyle göç etmenin ve hayatlarını yeniden inşa etmenin zorlukları ve gösterme ihtiyacı üzerinedir. Diğer dört temayı ele alırken farklı grupların algılarının nasıl değişeceğini ve bu algılara göre kavramların yönelimini de ele alıyorum. Gelecek kaygıları teması ise katılımcılar tarafından vurgulanan temalardan bir diğerdir. Katılımcıların sıklıkla dile getirdiği konulardan biri de mültecilerin ülkeye entegrasyonu konusundaki karamsarlıklarıdır: Bireyler kültürel, politik ve ekonomik kaygılarını ülkedeki yabancıların geleceğine yöneltmişlerdir. Katılımcılar için bu korkunun merkezinde, kendi kültürlerinin Arap kültürü tarafından "ele geçirilmesi" kaygısı yatmaktadır. Yerel halkın İstanbul'da yaşayan göçmenlere yönelik tutumlarının oluşmasında dört tema içeren analizin ikinci ayağını bu gelecek kaygıları teması oluşturmaktadır. Ortaya çıkan üçüncü biçimlendirici tema ise bilin(en)meyen korkusudur. Bu temanın iki yönlü bir anlamı vardır. Birincisi bilinenden duyulan korku, ikincisi bilinmeyenden duyulan korku olarak tanımlanabilir. Bu kaygı, yeni bir olgu karşısında yalnızca kaygı ya da korku olarak kendini göstermez. Aynı olmayana ve onun toplumsal hiyerarşideki yerine yönelik bir kaygıdır. Bu korku, insanların algılarındaki sosyal hiyerarşinin karmaşıklığından duyulan korkudur. İkinci konu ise burada vurguladığım korku sadece bilinmeyenden duyulan korku değil, aynı zamanda bilinenden duyulan korkudur. Bu tema, görüşmecilerin Ortadoğu'dan gelen göçmenlere, özellikle Arap kökenlilere, onların varlığından korktukları ve endişe duydukları için tutumlarında önemli bir yere sahiptir.

Hem bilinen hem de bilinmeyen olarak inşa ettikleri farklı şekillerde ülkedeki göçmenlere karşı bir korku geliştirirler. Geliştirdikleri bu korku sadece bir korku değil, sahip oldukları soyut ve somut şeyleri kaybetme, bu bilinen ve tanınmayan "yabancılar" tarafından "ele geçirilme" korkusu ve endişesidir. Katılımcılar, kendi kültürleri olarak adlandırdıkları "üstün" ile Arap kültürü olarak tanımladıkları

"aşağı" arasındaki mücadeleden duydukları korkuyu yansıtmaktadırlar. Analizin sonucunda ortaya çıkan dördüncü tema ise sorunların yansıtılmasıdır. Katılımcılar ekonomik, kültürel ve farklı sorunları dile getirmektedirler. Bu sorunların genellikle çeşitli şekillerde ülkede yaşayan yabancılardan kaynaklandığını belirtme eğilimindedir. Bireyler kamusal alanda yahut kamu hizmetlerinde yaşadıkları sorunları, kendilerine en yakın gruba yani şehirde yaşayan yabancıların varlığına bağlamaktadırlar. Bireylerin göçmenlere yönelik tutumlarını dayandırdıkları bu dört farklı tema, benzer yönlerin yanı sıra çelişkili yönlere de sahiptir. Bu, bireylerin yabancılarla karşılaşmalarında ve farklı kavramları algılamalarında benzer şekillerde ele aldığım bir unsurdur. Bu konu temalar dahilinde devam etmekte ve aslında bahsettiğim algıların yok oluşunu beraberinde getirmektedir. Göçmen, yabancı, sığınmacı ve mülteci; kavramlar hepsi bir arada ve geçişli hale gelir. Bu durumun dört tema içerisindeki durumu da bir muğlaklık olarak kendini göstermektedir. Derrida'nın bahsettiği misafirperverliğin imkansızlığı, bireylerin göçmenlere karşı tutumlarını oluştururken kendini gösterir. Hem misafirperverliği hem de misafir düşmanlığını içinde barındıran bu temalar, kaybolan kavramları vatandaş-olmayan vatandaş noktasına indirgemekte ve yönünü birey-devlet ilişkisine çevirmektedir. Bu kavramsal yok oluşun bir sonucu olarak, ıssızlık hissi yapıcı bir unsur olarak görülmektedir. Bunu, siyasi ve ekonomik bağlamları içinde, katılımcının tutum geliştirme stratejilerinin altında yatan devlet-vatandaş ilişkisi meselesi olarak tanımlıyorum.

Bu temaların yapıcı unsuru olarak sunduğum ıssızlık hissi, yerel halk ile göçmenler arasındaki ilişkiden çok, yerel halk ile devlet arasında kurulan ilişkinin sonuçlarının yarattığı bir duygudur. Kelimenin etimolojik kökeni, yalnız bırakılmış, terk edilmiş ve terkedilmiş anlamına gelen Latince (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, n.d.) *desolare* fiilidir. Bu temanın ana vurgusu, vatandaşların devlet tarafından terk edilmişlik ve ıssız bırakılmışlık duygusudur. Issızlık hissiyatı duygusu, vatandaşların devlet tarafından perişan edilmesi olarak da tanımlanabilir. Katılımcılar, son on yılda vatandaşların çeşitli şekillerde ülkeyi terk etmek zorunda kaldığını, ülkede kalanların hak ve özgürlüklerinin kaybının, hükümetin mülteci ve göç politikalarına paralel olarak dönüştüğünü belirtmişlerdir.

Bu araştırma bağlamında, görüşülen kişilerin söylemlerinden esinlenerek, göçmen ve yabancı kelimeleri vatandaş olmayan, "dışarıdan" olarak kullanılmaktadır. Bireylerin vatandaşlık yoluyla kendi ve yabancı kimliklerini ilişkilendirip oluşturmaktadırlar. Yabancıyı vatandaş olmayan olarak inşa ederken, vatandaşlık üzerinden de kendilerini inşa etmektedirler. Bahsettiğim bu yurttaşlık inşası ile belli hak ve özgürlüklere sahip olduklarına, sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel olarak ait oldukları devlete de sahip olduklarına dikkat çekiyorlar. Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* adlı çalışmasında Fransız devrimini dört farklı perspektiften inceliyor. Bu ulusal devrim, kendisinden önceki imparatorlukların aksine, devletin ve ulusun kapsayıcı ve dışlayıcı sınırlarını açıkça çizmektedir. Bu, ulus-devletin bu nedenle doğası gereği milliyetçi olduğunu ve bu milliyetçiliğin hem sınırları içinde hem de dışında yabancılara karşı tutumlar geliştirdiğini göstermektedir. Ulus-devlet mantığına göre yurttaş ve yabancı birbirine bağlı, birbirini dışlayan ve kuşatan kategorilerdir. (2009). Andreas Wimmer ise, Brubaker'ın milliyetçiliğine ulus-devlete içkin olarak katkıda bulunur: "Devletin meşru sahipleri, biz ulusundan dışlananlara, göçmenlere ve vatandaşlık, egemenlik ve ulusun bir arada kaynaşmasını bozan diğer gruplara karşıdır." (2002, p. 200). Burada Wimmer, biz ve onlar, yani vatandaşlar ve vatandaş olmayanlar olarak bölünmüş kolektif mallar üzerindeki mülkiyet mücadelesini, çatışmayı vurgular Issızlık hissi, bireyin yurttaşlık bağlarıyla bağlı olduğu devlet ile sahiplik ve aidiyet ilişkisinin yıpranmasına tekabül eden bir durumu anlatır. Bu tanım bazen görüşmecilerin kişisel yaşamlarına, bazen yaşadıklarının bir sonucu olarak, bazen de gelecekle ilgili düşüncelerine yansıyan bir duyguyu veya kaygıyı yansıtmaktadır. Göçmenlere ilişkin algıların altında yatan karşılaşmaların iç içe geçmesi, ele aldığım algılar ve temalarda olduğu kadar altta yatan ıssızlık hissiyatında da belirgindir. En yakın ve en kolay hedef olan göçmenlere yönelik tutumlarda kendini gösteren empati, bilin(en)meyen korkusu, gelecek kaygısı ve bir sorunların yansıtılması, -tüm bu çelişkili ve/veya örtüşen temalar- kuşkusuz bu temel ıssızlık hissinin tezahürüdür. Ev sahibi ile misafir arasındaki hiyerarşik ilişkiyi Derrida'nın açıklamasından farklı olarak bireyin devletle ilişkisinde karşılıklı bir aidiyet-sahiplik ilişkisi kurulur. Bu ilişkinin muğlaklığının getirdiği ıssızlık duygusu, göçmenlere yönelik tutum geliştirirken temel alınan temaların yapıcı unsurudur. Burada Derrida'nın misafirperverlik kavramına tekrar atıfta bulunmak faydalı olacaktır. Derrida, yabancı

ile yerli arasındaki ilişkiyi evin sahibi ve kapıda duran kişi olarak kurgulamaktadır. Ev sahibinin kapıya gelen yabancıya sorduğu (Derrida, Hostipitality, 2000) sen kimsin sorusunu da unutmamak gerekir. Benzer şekilde bu araştırmada da sınırları yerel halk tarafından çizilen bir evin eşiğinde göçmenler bulunmaktadırlar. Derrida'ya göre, bilinmeyen misafir tanındığında, misafirperverlik ve düşmanlık iç içe geçer. Burada kendilerini devletin vatandaşı olarak kabul eden ve dolayısıyla mülkiyet ve aidiyetini devletle birlikte inşa eden bireylerde devletin siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik olarak kendilerini terk ettiği düşüncesi ortaya çıkmaktadır. Derrida'nın anlatısındaki ev sahipleri, kendilerine ait olduğunu düşündükleri evle bir kopuş yaşarlar. Kendi toplumsal hiyerarşik konumunu göçmenlerin üzerinde kodlayan birey, bu yer kaybını bir kimsesizlik olarak kurgulamaktadır. Yerel halk ve göçmenler arasındaki ilişkide "ev sahibi" ve "misafir" ilişkisinin üçüncü faktör olan yerel halk ve devlet ilişkisi ile kesiştiği zaman ortaya çıkan hususu ıssızlık hissi ifade eder. Bu ıssızlık, devletin hak ve özgürlükler konusunda üzerine düşen görevi yerine getirmediği bir terk edilmişliğin ötesindedir. Buradaki mesele, devletin "tercih ettiği" ve "kabul ettiği" kişilerin kendi vatandaşları değil, göçmenler olduğu algısıdır. Issızlık duygusu, kitlesel nüfus hareketleri ile özellikle son on yılda devlet-vatandaş ilişkisi üzerinden kendini ve başkalarını içsel veya dışsal algılama eğiliminin de bir sonucudur. Kategorizasyonun bireylerin zihnindeki aşınması sonucunda durum tam tersine dönmüştür. Her halükarda bu sahiplik ve aidiyet ilişkisinin kırılması, görüşmecilerin kentte bir arada yaşadıkları göçmenlere karşı tutumlarının şekillenmesinde kuşkusuz temel etken olarak görülmelidir.

Bu çalışma amaçlandığı gibi, bireylerin göçmenlere karşı tutumlarını oluşturan temaları incelemenin ötesine geçmiştir. Issızlık hissi, bu araştırmanın göçmenlere yönelik tutumların analizine temel katkılarından biridir. Bu tez, bu tür durumları, yerel halk ve göçmenler arasındaki gruplar arası bir çatışmaya indirgemenin ötesine geçmektedir. Yerel halkın göçmenlere karşı tutumunu analiz etmek için gruplar arası ilişkileri incelemenin yeterli olmadığını savunmaktadır. Vatandaş-devlet ilişkisinin tarihsel, sosyal, ekonomik ve politik bağlamlarda geçirdiği dönüşümlerin bireylerin göçmenlere karşı tutumları üzerindeki etkisinin önemini vurgulamaktadır. Issızlık hissi, göçmenlere yönelik tutumların analizine katkı sağladığı gibi, farklı toplumsal gruplar arasındaki ilişkilerin analizinde de dikkate alınması gereken bir kavramdır.

Farklı sosyal gruplar arasındaki ilişkiler ve bu ilişkilerin dönüşümü incelenirken, bu grupların kendi aralarındaki ilişkileri kadar devletle olan ilişkileri de dikkate alınmalıdır. Politika yapıcılar, sivil toplum ve farklı toplumsal kesimlerin gruplar arası ilişkilere geliştirecekleri bakış açısının, bu ilişkisel olgunun gerçekliğinden uzaklaşmadan geliştirilmesini önermektedir. Bu tez, Türkiye'nin içinden geçmekte olduğu tarihsel, ekonomik, toplumsal ve siyasal dönüşümlerle gelişen toplumsal çatışmaların analizine katkı koymaktadır.

C. A SAMPLE OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1.   Initial Questions

Could you introduce yourself a little bit? (ie: Place of birth, education level, occupation, age, family information etc.)

2.   Understanding of Concepts

What do you think of when we say foreigner? Who is a foreigner for you? How and when did this concept first enter your life?

What do you think of when we say refugee? Who is a refugee for you? Who do you call a refugee? How and when did this concept first enter your life?

What comes to your mind when we say asylum seeker? Who is an asylum seeker for you? Who do you call an asylum seeker? How and when did this concept first enter your life?

What comes to your mind when we say immigrant? Who is an immigrant for you? Who do you call immigrant? How and when did this concept first enter your life?

Do the concepts we just mentioned have differences for you? If so, what are they? If not, why not?

3.   Encounters

Are there foreigners around you?

Where did you encounter/are you encountering these groups? (ie: workplace, street/neighborhood, shopping, public transportation, vacation, mosque, friendship, marriage, hospital, foundation/association)

How often do these encounters occur? What do you think about these matches? Have you ever had any problems with these encounters? What do you think about the use of public spaces (such as hospitals, health institutions, schools, streets, picnic areas) by immigrants? Have you ever thought that this use affects you negatively? Can you detail a little bit?

3.1   Socio-cultural encounters

Do you think there are similarities between us and foreigners? Can you detail a little bit? Why do we look alike? (Ex: religious, national, cultural)

What do you think are the differences between us and foreigners? Can you detail a little bit? Why do you think we are different? (Ex: religious, national, cultural)

What do the people around you (neighbors, friends, relatives) think? Are there any complaints? Or is the general opinion positive?

3.2   Economic encounters

In what ways do you encounter foreigners in the economic field? Can you open a little bit? (For example: working in the same workplace, shopping, trading.)
Do these encounters affect you?
What do you think is a positive or negative effect?

Do you think foreigners have an impact on the country's economy? If yes;

What effect do you think it has?

3.3   Political encounters

Politically speaking, what do you think about having foreigners in the country?

Do you think there is a political "foreigner problem" in the country?
If yes; Why? What do you think are the causes of this problem? What can you suggest as a solution?

Do you talk about it with people around you? What impression do you get from them? positive/negative? What is the most mentioned issue on this topic?

Do you think foreigners will integrate with the society over time? Will this issue turn into a more serious problem in the future?

4.   Closing Question

Is there anything you wanted to add?

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