

SOCIETAL MULTIPLICITY THEORY AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION:  
AN EMPIRICAL APPLICATION TO THE CASE OF SYRIAN MIGRATION TO  
TURKEY

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SYRIAN MIGRATION TO TURKEY**

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## ABSTRACT

### **SOCIETAL MULTIPLICITY THEORY AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: AN EMPIRICAL APPLICATION TO THE CASE OF SYRIAN MIGRATION TO TURKEY**

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This thesis presents a novel paradigm for comprehending migration in International Relations (IR) by examining Syrian migration to Turkey via the perspective of Societal Multiplicity Theory (SMT). The study utilises a qualitative methodology, drawing on primary sources from official documents and secondary sources such as other research, reports and newspapers, as well as semi-structured interviews with Syrian refugees and Turkish stakeholders. The results emphasize the significance of the five consequences of SMT (difference, interaction, co-existence, combination, and historical change) in elucidating the intricate integration dynamics between Syrians and Turkish society.

The main argument is to emphasise that existing theories of migration often inadequately address the socio-cultural aspects of migration and ignore the international nature of migration, and to argue that Societal Multiplicity Theory would be an appropriate theory to address this problem. SMT provides a detailed study by examining the coexistence and interaction of many social forms that illuminate evolving identities, intercultural exchanges, and socio-political shifts within the context of Syrian migration, while also presenting future projections. This viewpoint offers a comprehension of how historical and cultural elements influence both refugee experiences and the reactions of host societies.

**Keywords:** Societal Multiplicity Theory, Syrian Migration, Consequences of Multiplicity, Social Transformation, Migration Theories

## ÖZ

### SOSYAL ÇOĞULLUK KURAMI VE ULUSLARARASI GÖÇ: SURIYELİLERİN TÜRKİYE'YE GÖÇÜ ÖRNEĞİNE AMPİRİK BİR UYGULAMA

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Bu çalışma, Sosyal Çoğulluk Teorisi (SÇT/SMT) perspektifinden Türkiye'ye Suriyeli göçünü inceleyerek Uluslararası İlişkilerde (UI) göçü anlamak için yeni bir paradigma sunmaktadır. Çalışma, resmi dökümanlardan elde edilen birincil kaynaklar ile diğer araştırmalar, raporlar ve gazete haberleri gibi ikincil kaynaklarından elde edilen verilerin yanı sıra Suriyeli mülteciler ve Türk paydaşlarla yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerden yararlanarak nitel bir metodoloji kullanmaktadır. Sonuçlar, Suriyeli mülteciler ve ev sahibi toplum arasındaki karmaşık entegrasyon dinamiklerinin aydınlatılmasında SMT'nin beş temel sonucunun (farklılık, etkileşim, birlikte var olma, kombinasyon ve tarihsel değişim) önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Ana argüman, mevcut göç teorilerinin genellikle göçün sosyo-kültürel yönlerini yetersiz bir şekilde ele aldığını ve göçün uluslararası doğasını göz ardı ettiğini vurgulamak ve sosyal çoğulluk teorisinin bu sorunu ele almak için uygun bir kuram olacağını savunmaktır. SMT, Suriye göçü bağlamında gelişen kimlikleri, kültürlerarası alışverişleri ve sosyo-politik değişimleri aydınlatan birçok sosyal formun bir arada varoluşunu ve etkileşimini inceleyerek detaylı bir çalışma sunmakta ve aynı zamanda geleceğe yönelik projeksiyonlar ortaya koymaktadır. Bu bakış açısı,

tarihsel ve kültürel unsurların hem mülteci deneyimlerini hem de ev sahibi toplumların tepkilerini nasıl etkilediğine dair bir kavrayış sunmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Sosyal Çoğulluk Kuramı, Suriye Göçü, Çoğulluğun Sonuçları, Toplumsal Dönüşüm, Göç Kuramları



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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AFAD- Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency

AKP- Justice and Development Party

CDU-Christian Democratic Union of Germany

CHP- Republican People's Party

CSU- Christian Social Union in Bavaria

EU- European Union

FSA- Free Syrian Army

IR- International Relations

ISIS- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

NDF- National Defense Forces

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

ORSAM- Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies

SDA- Syrian Armed Forces

SDF-Syrian Democratic Forces

SMT- Societal Multiplicity Theory

SNC- Syrian National Cooperation

SSG-Syrian Salvation Government(Hay'at Tahrir Al-Sham)

TEPAV- Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey

TESEV- Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation

UCD- Uneven and Combined Development

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

YPG-People's Defence Units

YKS- Higher Education Institutions Examination (Yükseköğretim Kurumları Sınavı)

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. The Rationale and the Research Questions**

The Syrian civil war represents one of the most significant humanitarian crises of the 21st century, exerting a profound impact on the international system, governments, societies and individuals. As one of the countries with the largest Syrian refugee population, Turkey is confronted with distinctive challenges and prospects in the integration, cohesion and representation of over 3 million Syrians. The harmonisation process has given rise to debates on the social, economic and political consequences of this migration. However, researches on this migration wave have predominantly focused on the economic and security dimensions of migration, often ignoring the social and cultural dimensions. In particular, there is a gap in understanding how refugees navigate their identities and achieve social integration in complex and challenging environments.

The lack of comprehension on this matter is especially critical considering the far-reaching consequences of mass migration for both the countries of origin and the countries of destination. According to Castles (2010, 6), migration is not a transient occurrence but rather a prolonged process of societal change. Hence, it is crucial to analyze the social and cultural aspects of Syrian migration in Turkey in order to formulate efficient integration strategies and promote social harmony.

This research is motivated by the argument that conventional migration theories and state-centric approaches in International Relations (IR) and International Migration Studies frequently inadequately address the intricate and diverse characteristics of

extensive displacement and migration. These conventional frameworks prioritize economic, political, and security considerations, overlooking the intricate social dynamics and lived experiences of migrants within the interplay of many cultural and social forms. My argument is that Rosenberg's multiplicity theory can offer a multifaceted perspective, highlighting the importance of co-existence, interaction, and historical and societal changes among many societies.

In the context of Syrian migration to Turkey, these constraints are particularly evident, as this crisis encompasses not only humanitarian intervention but also the enduring integration or coexistence of a significant and culturally diverse population within the complex social fabric of the host society. Rosenberg's theory can offer a framework for comprehending the interactions across diverse cultural groups, whether integration transpires or not, and for recognizing both the prospects for cultural interchange and the difficulties in sustaining social cohesiveness (Kaya 2009, 4). The increase in international migration enhances interactions across varied societies, resulting in opportunities for cultural enrichment and problems in maintaining community cohesion.

Societal Multiplicity Theory (SMT) highlights the co-existence and interaction of several social structures inside the global system and challenges the idea of a uniform global culture or a homogenous society. Instead, the concept of multiplicity explores the uninterrupted and interconnected nature of several social identities, groups, and networks that often overlap and transcend national borders. Within the framework of migration theory, this perspective enables a more comprehensive examination of how migrants uphold connections with their countries of origin, navigate unfamiliar social contexts, engage with local communities, and potentially influence societal transformations through their interactions. This approach offers a chance to transcend conventional notions of integration and assimilation, and instead delve into the intricate dynamics of identities, cultures, and social frameworks. This research emphasizes the significance of social connections and changes for both the Syrian and Turkish communities, as well as for cultures experiencing migration as a whole. Moreover, this research seeks to enhance the development of strategies that not only tackle the urgent requirements of refugees, but also foster enduring social unity and stability within the host society.

The objective of this study is to address the following research questions through the use of semi-structured interviews and the analysis of data derived from official reports and news websites:

1)What are the dynamic interactions between Syrians and their Turkish society, and how can the lens of societal multiplicity illuminate the complex social interactions that drive integration and adaptation processes?

2)How do different social, cultural, and political elements impact the trajectory of Syrian migration, and how can societal multiplicity help to a more holistic understanding of migratory processes?

3)How can societal multiplicity draw attention to historical development and internationality taking into account how migrant experiences alter over time and in response to changing social, economic, and political contexts?

## **1.2. Research Aims**

The objective of the thesis is to rigorously analyze and implement the societal multiplicity theory to the Syrian migration case, specifically within the framework of Turkey. The objective of this study is to broaden the scope of current migration theories and include them into a framework that highlights the ideas of co-existence and interaction among various social aspects, variety, coherence, and historical transformation proposed by Rosenberg. The research seeks to address the deficiencies in the current body of literature in order to get a more thorough understanding of how Syrians navigate their identities, sense of belonging, and social relationships within the intricate social framework of Turkey.

1. Examining the simultaneous presence of several identities and affiliations: The primary objective of this study is to investigate the ways in which Syrian refugees in Turkey manage and navigate their many social identities and ties. Traditional migration theories often see integration as a mostly linear process. In contrast, societal multiplicity theory can provide a more nuanced viewpoint, acknowledging that migrants may concurrently interact with several social, cultural, and political domains. However, states are not seen as the only actors; rather, social identities and societies are regarded as the primary actors. This study aims to investigate the ways

in which Syrians navigate their national, ethnic, and religious identities within a culturally varied host community. Additionally, it will explore how they preserve connections with their home country, including the transfer of money, culture, information, and technology. This research seeks to uncover the dynamic and fluid character of these identities and how they are expressed in daily life by using the notion of co-existence.

2. Analyzing the Interactions between Syrians and Turkish Society: An additional crucial objective of this thesis is to examine the dynamics between Syrians and the Turkish society. The study will analyze how these contacts influence the process of integration, impact social cohesiveness, and contribute to the development of hybrid cultural identities, from a viewpoint that considers the existence of many social groups. The research aims to investigate the degree to which Syrian refugees engage in significant contacts with Turkish culture and how these relationships are shaped by criteria such as language proficiency, job status, educational background, and social connections. This study intends to comprehensively examine the reciprocal effects between Syrian refugees and their host communities, specifically concentrating on the idea of interaction. It seeks to shed light on the many difficulties and possibilities that emerge from these relationships.

3. Investigating the Influence of Difference upon the Formation of Migration Experiences: Societal multiplicity theory highlights the need of acknowledging and comprehending distinction between people. This study seeks to investigate the impact of cultural, linguistic, religious, and socio-political disparities on the experiences of Syrians in Turkey. The research aims to investigate the impact of these disparities on the process of integration, the establishment of social connections, and the overall welfare of refugees. The study seeks to enhance comprehension of the obstacles and catalysts to integration by analyzing the impact of differences. Additionally, it strives to evaluate the likelihood of conflict or cooperation across different social groupings. Overall, difference is an inherent consequence of international migration. Indeed, it has the potential for both prosperity and prospects, as well as substantial hazards, such as internal armed conflict, strife, and societal turmoil.

4. Analyzing Combination Processes: This thesis also seeks to investigate the

amalgamation and hybridization processes that have taken place due to the influence of Syrian migration on Turkey. Rosenberg (2016a, 138-139) defines the concept of combination as the amalgamation of diverse social, cultural, and political components to create new forms of social structure. This study aims to examine the convergence of Syrian and Turkish cultural practices, values, and norms, resulting in the emergence of novel hybrid identities and social structures. The study attempts to enhance the understanding of the transformational potential of migration by concentrating on the idea of cohesiveness.

5. Comprehending Historical Change and its Influence on Migration: The thesis seeks to analyze Syrian migration within the wider historical dynamics. The concept of societal multiplicity underlines that migration is not just a modern phenomenon but also has historical roots. However, although the theory may explain both the causes of migration and the post-migration events, my thesis only concentrates on the post-migration process. Hence, it is crucial to elucidate the patterns of Syrian migration and their influence on the responses of both the Turkish government and society. The initial oversight of the shift in attitudes and interactions towards migrants, as well as the present and potential future alterations in societal paths due to migration, is a common occurrence. However, by adopting this perspective, emphasis will be placed on these potential changes. The research seeks to gain insights into the ongoing migratory dynamics and long-term views of Syrian refugees in Turkey by examining the historical elements of migration and how previous events have shaped these dynamics.

### **1.3. Methodology/Data Collection and Data Analysis**

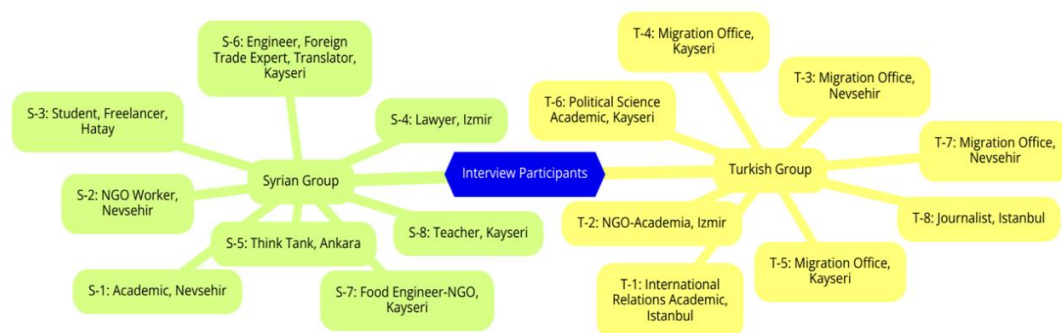
The qualitative data collecting approach was used in this thesis to apply the societal multiplicity theory to Syrian migration. This qualitative methodology is consistent with the interpretative paradigm in social research, which aims to comprehend the subjective experiences and interpretations that people assign to social phenomena (Creswell and Poth 2016, 24). The use of semi-structured interviews provides a harmonious combination of organization and adaptability, facilitating the examination of pre-established themes while staying receptive to unforeseen subjects (Bryman 2016, 468). To do this, I conducted semi-structured



interviews with Syrians and Turks. In addition, interviews with individuals from the upper echelons of society were also conducted. Furthermore, an analysis was conducted on the reports from both international and national authorities about Syrian immigration, focusing on the information and data provided.

The duration of the interviews covered a period of 3-4 months. Appointments were made several weeks in advance for elite interviews and interviews with officials from government agencies. Appointments have also been made for other interviews. These appointments were usually made a few days before the day of the interview. The interviews from the government agencies were time-consuming since obtaining authorization from the center-authorizations was necessary, particularly owing to events like municipal elections and incidents like minor conflicts and disputes between Turks and Syrians. Furthermore, the interviewees were chosen from volunteers, with a portion of the interviews being conducted online and the rest being completed face to face.

The selection of interviews prioritized professional and city variety. The emphasis was placed on major cities and obtaining respondents from diverse professional sectors. Furthermore, Turkish interviewees were favored for their field expertise and experience, whilst Syrian interviewees were selected based on their educational qualifications. As previously stated, the theoretical and intelligible inquiries need a minimum level of academic knowledge for localization; hence, Syrians with at least a bachelor's degree were favored.



**Figure 1.** The interviewees' codes mentioned in the thesis, their societies, cities and professions

The interview questions were created with consideration to the five consequences of

societal multiplicity theory: difference, co-existence, interaction, combination, and historical change. Furthermore, to enhance communication when needed, Arabic translators were used throughout the interviews with some respondents. Additionally, some Syrians were questioned in Turkish, while others were interviewed in English. This was facilitated by the circumstances that a significant amount of time had elapsed since their arrival in Turkey, they were actively engaged in educational or professional pursuits in Turkey, possessed a proficient grasp of the Turkish language, some of them had prior knowledge or interest in Turkish before their arrival, and the specific group targeted for this initiative comprised of highly educated Syrians.

Limitations and difficulties: Several obstacles were faced throughout the data gathering process. The interviews with Syrians presented two predominant challenges: Certain Syrian respondents exhibited hesitancy or increased caution throughout the interview, perhaps due to concerns that their responses may potentially create difficulties for them. Another issue was that the interview questions were designed around the five key consequences of multiplicity. Because of this, the questions were theoretical and hard for most people to grasp. Nevertheless, while I managed to obtain satisfactory responses to the theoretical inquiries during my interviews with experts from academia and other institutions, I occasionally noticed a tendency for the interviewees to provide answers that were influenced by the specific challenges and requirements they encountered. Upon seeing this circumstance, I immediately felt compelled to repeat the question with more specificity and clarity.

Purposive Sampling: The research used purposive sampling to choose individuals who are specifically well-suited to the study's aims. This approach guarantees the incorporation of a varied and representative group of Syrian refugees, considering factors such as age, gender, socio-economic condition, and duration of their stay in Turkey. The selection of participants highlighted both geographical and occupational diversity, namely included Syrians from metropolitan areas and other parts of Turkey. This was particularly important given the questions were theoretical and focused on areas with high levels of interaction between Turks and Syrians.

Empirical Basis: Although Rosenberg's theory is mostly theoretical, its practical implementation via empirical research, such as semi-structured interviews, allows for

the testing and refinement of the theory in real-world situations. This approach provides useful perspectives and diverse frameworks to examine the practical functioning of multiplicity and to either reinforce or question theoretical assumptions.

Semi-structured interviews provide a combination of flexibility and depth. They provide a thorough investigation of participants' experiences, while also enabling the interviewer to concentrate on specific areas of interest. This approach is very efficient in comprehending the intricacy of social interactions, the development of identity, and the actual experiences that are crucial to Rosenberg's concept of societal multiplicity.

Ethical issues were given utmost priority in this study. Prior to the study, all participants were provided with comprehensive information on the research and were explicitly told about their rights, including the option to withdraw from the study at any point. Prior to the commencement of the interviews, the interviewers were promptly granted permission for audio recording, and the interviews were thereafter recorded. Additionally, they were assured that anonymity would be maintained and that no self-identifying remarks would be included if specifically asked. The study also attempted to guarantee that the research process was conducted in a manner that showed respect and consideration for the needs and circumstances of the participants, while keeping to the principles of cultural sensitivity.

Qualitative Data Analysis: In some interviews, approval for audio recording was not granted by certain organizations, resulting in the need to transcribe the replies acquired during the interview. Nevertheless, most of the interviews were captured in audio format and then transcribed upon completion of the interviews. The transcribed data and data sourced from publications and news websites were assessed and evaluated based on the five consequences of the theory.

#### **1.4. Academic Rationale for Research Design**

The sections above include a clear delineation of my research question, case study, theory, and methodology. Allow me to explain my rationale for selecting them and expound upon the objectives I want to accomplish via these selections.

The selection of research questions arose from my acknowledgment of a significant lacuna in the scholarly discourse on migration. Undoubtedly, migration issues have emerged as a paramount issue in the realm of international relations in the last several decades. However, a significant portion of the current body of literature has primarily concentrated on the economic, political, and security aspects of migration, frequently neglecting the social experiences of migrants and their interactions with host societies. Furthermore, the influence of migration as a catalyst for societal change has been minimal, and its global implications have often been disregarded (Castles 2010). This research aims to investigate how Syrian refugees construct their identities and maneuver through the intricate social environment of Turkey. This approach seeks to surpass conventional interpretations that prioritize economic aspects or political engagement and contribute to a more all-encompassing comprehension of integration that include changes and transformations in social dynamics.

Moreover, my research questions are founded on a critical evaluation of state-centric approaches in the field of International Relations (IR) and migration studies. Conventional migration theories tend to give more importance to the concerns and viewpoints of nations, which overlooks the complex aspects of migrants, cultural interchange, identity negotiation, and social engagement (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). For instance, Ulrich Beck's idea of risk society posits that contemporary migration is not just driven by economic or political factors, but also serves as a manifestation of social and cultural dangers (Beck 1992). It is a phenomenon in which societies and individuals are more prominent.

The choice of studying the Syrian migration to Turkey as a case study is very significant because of its large size, intricate nature, and its relevance to ongoing discussions on migration and integration. The continuous crisis in Syria has led to a significant influx of refugees, with more than 3 million Syrians requesting asylum in Turkey alone, making it one of the greatest refugee migration waves since World War II (UNHCR 2020). This offers a unique chance to analyze the intricacies of migration and adaptation processes within a setting marked by cultural, religious, and ethnic heterogeneity. Undoubtedly, the abrupt influx and integration of nearly 5% of the population into a well-established society might result in substantial repercussions.

Furthermore, the Syrian migration instance is an ideal illustration for the implementation of the societal multiplicity theory as it demonstrates the simultaneous presence and interaction of several social structures inside a country's framework. The interplay between the Syrian community's population, consisting of diverse groups including Sunni Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, Christians, and Alevis, and Turkey's heterogeneous social structure offers an opportunity to explore the coexistence, interaction, and potential transformation of various social forms. This case study facilitates an examination of the wider consequences of the idea of societal multiplicity within the field of migration studies. It also offers valuable insights that may be used in other migration settings of significant size (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 257; Wiener 2022, 351).

The application of societal multiplicity theory as the theoretical framework for this study is based on its ability to overcome the shortcomings of conventional migration theories. Conventional theories and integration models, often see migration as a sequential process where migrants progressively embrace the cultural norms of the host community and ultimately develop a unified national identity. Nevertheless, these models are under growing criticism due to their failure to consider the enduring nature of many identities and the intricate, non-linear dynamics that arise when several social groups converge (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007). Multiplicity provides a sophisticated viewpoint that acknowledges the simultaneous presence and interplay of several social structures within the global system. This theory challenges the idea of a uniform society and instead highlights the ongoing and linked nature of social identities, groups, and networks. The research utilizes societal multiplicity theory to examine how Syrians in Turkey actively negotiate their identities, engage in cultural exchanges, and participate in social interactions. The study aims to go beyond the concept of assimilation by concentrating on dynamic processes, so offering a more nuanced view of integration that captures the intricacies of social dynamics within a multicultural framework.

The societal multiplicity theory examines migration from a perspective by focusing on five key consequences: difference, co-existence, interaction, combination, and historical change. This approach enhances our comprehension of the comprehensive integration procedures of Syrian refugees in Turkey. For instance, the notion of

"difference" enables us to analyze the impact of cultural and social disparities among Syrian refugees on the process of integration, whilst the idea of "interaction" aids in comprehending the mutual impacts between refugees and the host community. This theoretical framework enables a thorough examination of the ways in which Syrian refugees establish and retain connections with their home country, navigate through the new social environment of Turkey, and engage with local groups. Furthermore, it explores how these interactions may contribute to both societal harmony and conflict. This method enables the examination of the wider consequences of migration in a globalized society, where numerous identities and social structures interact in more intricate ways (Sune 2024, 669-672; Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 257).

The use of semi-structured interviews as the main methodological instrument arises from the need to capture the intricate and multi-faceted experiences of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Semi-structured interviews provide the opportunity to examine migrants' personal narratives in a flexible manner, while also allowing for a targeted examination of their social contacts, identity struggles, and integration processes. This strategy is especially efficacious in comprehending the subjective encounters of migrants, which are often disregarded in more quantitative methodologies (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 53-54). Qualitative research approaches, such as in-depth interviews and participant observation techniques, enable us to get a deeper understanding of the experiences, perspectives, and attitudes of migrants and members of the host community (Creswell and Poth 2016, 40-41).

One further justification for using this approach is that it allows for a deeper comprehension of the processes of interaction, identity management, and social formation, which are fundamental to the perspective of multiplicity, by examining the participants' personal narratives. By conducting a semi-structured interview, we may get a more profound comprehension of the challenges faced by a Syrian migrant in establishing their identity in their everyday life in Turkey. These interviews may also uncover the difficulties migrants have throughout their process of social integration and the strategies they use to overcome these difficulties. Aside from conducting semi-structured interviews, the examination of government records and media sources plays a crucial role in this study. These sources provide a

more comprehensive framework for understanding how migrants socially integrate, enhancing the interview data and bolstering the credibility of the results. The utilization of many sources for data collection guarantees that the study findings are more extensive and dependable (Denzin and Lincoln 2011, 6-14). In addition, including comparisons to other instances of migration to bolster the arguments and highlighting the distinctions between them would enhance the methodological depth of the research.

Eventually, the combination of research question, case selection, theoretical framework, and methodological approach enables us to get a more complete and thorough understanding of the migration from Syria to Turkey. It is noteworthy that this theory is being used for the first time in the context of international migration literature. This opens up the possibility for future discussions and analyses of additional migration situations using this theoretical framework.

### **1.5. Thesis Structure**

This thesis examines the concept of societal multiplicity in the specific situation of how Syrian migrants interact in Turkey. The thesis has four primary chapters and a conclusion chapter, each of which examines distinct facets that contribute to the overarching objective of the study.

The first chapter of the thesis presents the extent, objective, and fundamental inquiries of the study. The text explores the rationale for analyzing Syrian migration through the lens of this theory, the implications of Syrians' connection with Turkish society for the field of International Relations, and the potential outcomes of the relationship between the two societies. The text focuses on the analysis of these difficulties using the societal multiplicity theory paradigm. Additionally, it elucidates the significance of the thesis addressing this matter and provides guidance on how to address the gaps in the current body of the research. This chapter provides a comprehensive explanation of the study methodology and the procedures used for data collecting.

The second chapter focuses on the theoretical underpinnings of societal multiplicity theory and its significance within the field of International Relations. The primary

objective of this study is to examine the novel views it brings to the field, the specific problems it aims to address, its relationship with other theories of International Relations, its points of similarity and divergence, and the methods it critiques. The chapter explores the reasons why this theory provides a more suitable framework for comprehending intricate social phenomena, such as the migration of Syrians. Theorists who study the theory of societal multiplicity argue that it provides a more profound ontological viewpoint by recognizing the concurrent existence and interaction of various social structures, thereby transcending conventional approaches in International Relations that frequently presuppose a uniform international system.

The third chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of the current body of literature on migration ideas and incorporates them with the theory of societal multiplicity. The chapter explores theories that specifically examine the factors that influence migration, methodologies that elucidate the ongoing nature of migration, and notions such as transnationalism. The chapter also examines the adequacy of these theories in comprehending the integration processes of Syrians and explores how societal multiplicity theory might provide a more full elucidation of these processes. It also explores the consequences of multiplicity for topics such as culture, information and money sent back home (remittances) by migrants, migrants returning to their home countries, and the difficulties caused by a narrow focus on one country in the study of migration.

The fourth chapter of the thesis examines the integration processes of Syrians in Turkey through the lens of multiplicity theory, using a case study approach. This chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of the historical context, current temporary protection status, citizenship challenges, and integration procedures experienced by Syrian migrants in Turkey. Additionally, it examines the impact of Syrian refugees on Turkish society and vice versa explores how these impacts might be assessed within the framework of societal multiplicity. The chapter also explores the wider ramifications of Syrian migration on Turkish society, namely in relation to societal integration and cultural transformation.

The conclusion consolidates the primary discoveries of the investigation and examines their wider ramifications for international migration theory and



international relations. The chapter further provides suggestions for future study, proposing specific areas where societal multiplicity might be further investigated and implemented in different migratory circumstances. Additionally, it offers policy suggestions derived from the study's results, highlighting the need of adopting more comprehensive and situation-specific strategies for managing migration.

## **1.6. International Migration Theories, Syrian Migration and Societal Multiplicity Theory**

Migration<sup>1</sup> has emerged as a progressively important phenomena in the modern social, political, and economic environment (Kurveit-Käosaar et al. 2019; Fagiolo and Mastroiello 2013, 1). This is a continual phenomenon that has enduring effects on host cultures, originating communities, migratory populations, and the global structure. The effects of migration transcend the local environment, impacting not just the host society and the origin community but also the wider international framework (Sertaş and Uluöz 2021, 453). In this context, large and irregular migration may provide both advantages and difficulties for the affected communities. Kaya (2009, 4) contends that migration became a source of income for Western Europe in the 1960s. In recent years, migration has been increasingly characterized as a source of discontent, apprehension, and instability for Western nation-states (Castles 2010, 1566; Islam 2009, 4). Moreover, when immigration is reversed—indicating the repatriation of immigrants—the previously described positive or negative consequences cannot be readily mitigated or remedied (Bélanger and Saracoglu 2019, 2).

Contemporary theories pertaining to migration frequently advocate the concept of migration as a unidirectional occurrence, wherein migrants traverse from one cultural milieu to another. However, as migration becomes more dynamic and varied, this viewpoint is becoming increasingly outmoded. It is evident that a significant number of migrants maintain robust connections to their country of origin subsequent to their

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<sup>1</sup>Although there are obvious differences between the term “migrant”, “asylum-seeker” and “refugee” the terms could be used interchangeably throughout the thesis. Migrants are simply the persons or society who are living outside the country of origin; refugees are the people who fled from the serious human right violations and there is no better option for them other than seeking for more safety country (Ullah et al. 2021, 3). Asylum-seekers are people who have left their country due to legitimate worries of oppression or severe harm and have sought international protection in another country, although their claim for refugee status remains undetermined (UNHCR 2021).

relocation to a foreign land. They may continue to send remittances, visit their home countries on a regular basis, and even maintain dual citizenship (Levitt and Schiller 2004, 1009-1010; Cassarino 2015, 224).

Migration is transforming not only sending, transit and receiving countries, but also social science studies. The expansion of human mobility has generated profound demographic transformations and their diverse social, political and economic impacts, which in turn have led to empirical and theoretical innovations. Studies like the change and transformation brought about by immigrants and the phenomena of migration in societies have long been found in migration theories and migration studies (Zapata-Barrero 2018, 84; Zapata-Barrero and Yalaz 2018, 1). However, its direct impact on the field of International Relations is not examined. In other words, although the phenomenon of migration is observed to cause changes in societies, the impact on international relations or the international system is either not examined at all or is given very little consideration (Mitchell 1989, 684-685; Joly 2000, 27-29). The thesis seeks to further migration studies by highlighting the limits of current theories and providing a more complete and integrated approach. The societal multiplicity approach aims to address the fragmented character of migration theories, encourage multidisciplinary cooperation, and give a more nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics of international migration (Aksu Kargin and Sirkeci 2021, 866).

Throughout human history, international migration has been a substantial and persistent phenomena. Humans have crossed boundaries throughout history, seeking new opportunities, fleeing aggression or persecution, or just seeking a better life (Ullah et al. 2021, 3). International migration has several reasons, which are impacted by a variety of economic, political, social, and environmental variables (Castelli 2018, 1-2).

It is evident that ancient civilizations, such as the Greeks and Romans, actively experienced migration. The phenomenon of Greek colonization, exemplified by the establishment of novel communities throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions, serves as a noteworthy illustration. The impetus behind this development can be attributed to a confluence of factors, including but not limited to the burgeoning

population, the march of economic advancement, and the relentless pursuit of cultivable terrain. The Roman Empire, too, bore witness to noteworthy migratory patterns, both voluntary and compelled in nature. The aforementioned movements pertained to individuals who were taken captive and subsequently displaced and relocated within the confines of the empire (Tartaron 2014, 1810-11).

Various reasons paved the way for international migration throughout the mediaeval period. Economic motivations were critical as merchants and traders travelled large distances in quest of new markets and supplies (Ergül Jorgensen 2021, 7). As Europeans went on military excursions to the Holy Land and created colonies and economic networks in the eastern Mediterranean, the Crusades spurred substantial migratory flows. The occurrence of extensive migratory movements on a grand scale, alongside various contributing factors, can be attributed to the presence of persecution. This is notably demonstrated by the expulsion of Jews from the Kingdom of Spain during the momentous year of 1492, as expounded upon by Roth (1992, 30) in his scholarly work.

Subsequent changes in the Middle Ages, such as the Renaissance, the commercial revolution, colonization, agricultural revolutions, the industrial revolution, the rise of free market societies, modern education and technological advances, led to increases in international migration (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana 2016, 13). During this period, also known as the Age of Discoveries, the development of European colonial empires resulted in significant global migration. European countries, in their pursuit of exploiting the riches of newly discovered areas, compelled a substantial number of Africans to traverse the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas as an essential component of the transatlantic slave trade. Concurrently, European people undertook expeditions to colonies in the Americas, Africa, and Asia with a variety of objectives, including economic opportunities, religious independence, and a natural inclination for adventure and advancement.

The era covering the 18th and 19th centuries was marked by momentous alterations in the worldwide panorama of human migration, predominantly ascribed to the emergence of the Industrial Revolution. Rapid industrialisation in Europe resulted in urbanisation, economic inequality, and rural population displacement, driving many

to seek opportunities elsewhere. During this specific period, a noticeable rise in European migration to various regions, including the Americas, Australia, and other global locales, was observed. Furthermore, the forced migration of millions of enslaved Africans to the Americas persisted, changing the demographic geography of these countries further.

The twentieth century had witnessed an unparalleled surge in global migration, precipitated by a myriad of factors encompassing political volatility, armed hostilities, and socioeconomic disparities. The cataclysmic dissolution of empires and subsequent territorial reconfigurations in the wake of the First World War engendered profound migratory phenomena of considerable magnitude. As a result of border changes and persecution, World War II resulted in the displacement and forced migration of millions of people, mainly in Europe (Džankić 2015, 163; Stalker 2002, 152; Kurvet-Käosaar et al. 2019, 131). Postwar rebuilding and economic prospects drew a considerable number of migrants to countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, adding to their postwar success (Castles et al. 2005, 126).

A continuous goal in the dynamic arena of the social sciences, particularly in the discipline of International Relations (IR), is to improve ideas and produce new concepts. In light of the constantly changing global dynamics, we encounter novel difficulties that necessitate a new outlook. It becomes evident that the theories we once relied on fall short in explaining the complexities of current events and phenomena. Academics and practitioners alike have made efforts to expand current frameworks or create new theoretical perspectives to more effectively understand the intricacies of our world.

The formulation of new theories and the improvement of old ones are essential for the ongoing progression of International Relations theory and its subdisciplines. Emerging theories bring fresh insights and question long-held beliefs, while adjustments enable current frameworks to accommodate evolving circumstances. This continuous process ensures that IR theory stays relevant and can effectively explain the intricate dynamics of a constantly evolving world order.

IR theory is shaped by various factors, including the exploration of novel

phenomena, broader intellectual currents, and critical assessments of established theories. Academics have the ability to encourage the advancement of different methodologies or improvements to current methodologies in order to be more comprehensive and sophisticated by recognizing biases or constraints in established frameworks. In addition, the incorporation of various interdisciplinary viewpoints and research approaches has greatly enhanced the theoretical framework of International Relations, enabling a deeper comprehension of intricate social phenomena. The synthesis of concepts and actual evidence from several fields such as Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, and Economics have bolstered the examination of International Relations.

This multidisciplinary approach has provided fresh insights into significant subjects such as identity politics, international activism, economic globalization, and environmental governance. The main goal of theoretical innovation or knowledge-production in the field of International Relations (IR) is to offer a more comprehensive and accurate representation of global politics and social interactions. Gaining a thorough comprehension of this topic is crucial for influencing policy decisions, comprehending intricate global dynamics, and fostering stability and cooperation in an interconnected global context.

In recent years, an observable phenomenon of international migration has come to the forefront, primarily attributable to the advent and pervasive impact of globalization. This transformative force has engendered significant progress in transportation and communication technologies, thereby enabling individuals to traverse geographical boundaries with greater ease and efficiency. Economic differences between rich and developing nations, political unrest, environmental degradation, and military conflicts continue to push individuals to seek better chances and security abroad (Kritz 2002, 110).

The 2021 data from the UNHCR highlights countries facing significant challenges with displaced populations, objectively identifying the Syrian Arab Republic, Venezuela, Afghanistan, South Sudan, and Myanmar as hosting substantial numbers of refugees. In contrast, Turkey, Colombia, Uganda, Pakistan, and Germany bear the primary responsibility for accommodating the largest refugee populations (UNHCR

2021).

Migration trends have been particularly noticeable in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Because of causes such as increasing urbanisation, income disparity, and political instability, these regions have seen substantial internal and cross-border migration (McCauliffe et al. 2019, 53-58). The Middle East and North Africa have witnessed notable migratory patterns stemming from various crises, notably including those in Syria, Iraq, and Yemen.

Existing migration theories have contributed much to understanding international migration, but they have limits in addressing its intricacies (Massey 2002, 143). One significant flaw is the emphasis on economic issues as the primary drivers of migration, while ignoring other essential features. Wage differentials and work prospects are highlighted as significant motives for migration in economic theories such as neoclassical economics (Kritz 2002, 110), but they fail to effectively address the larger social, political, and cultural aspects that impact migration decisions. In economic-centric theories, factors like political disputes, environmental changes, social networks, and desires for a higher quality of life are sometimes disregarded or underestimated.

Another issue is that migration is oversimplified as a unidirectional process from origin to destination. Migration transition theories, for example, presume a linear movement of migrants from rural to urban regions or from developing to developed countries, whereas modern migration patterns are characterised by complexity, circularity, and various destinations. Many migrants cross borders, undertake international ventures, or settle in transit areas before arriving at their final destination. Existing theories have a hard time explaining these dynamic migratory patterns, reducing their explanatory ability.

Furthermore, conventional migration models frequently overlook migrants' agency. Theories based on structural determinism minimise migrants' different motives, objectives, and decision-making processes. Individual and family issues, social networks, and personal objectives all impact migration as a complicated and personal decision. Ignoring migrant agency limits theories' capacity to explain differences and complexities in migration behaviour.

One of the key issues in the field of migration studies involves the dilemma of the

border security and the right to freely move across borders of the people. The establishment of borders and the presence of unequal power dynamics are also fundamental aspects to consider in this field (Iosifides 2018, 105). Glick Schiller consistently approaches migration studies through the lens of methodological nationalism<sup>2</sup>. In analyzing migration studies, it becomes evident that there is a significant oversight in their focus on nation-building objectives. These studies fail to adequately consider the broader global political economy and the intricate web of power dynamics at play (Schiller 2007, 62). Consequently, they neglect to explore the ways in which certain regions, populations, and communities are marginalized and subjugated (Wimmer 2007).

Numerous migration theories have arisen, particularly in Western countries, and as a result, they frequently reflect the experiences and opinions of migrants from these regions. Migration, on the other hand, is a worldwide phenomena with varying motives, patterns, and repercussions across areas and civilizations (Yalaz and Zapata-Barrero 2018, 21). Current immigration theories' inadequacies become clear when they fail to fully describe the intricacies and diversity in migration experiences throughout the world. These theories may fail to account for the distinct social, economic, political, and historical factors that impact migration dynamics in non-Western nations, resulting in a distorted view of migration processes.

At first, Third World countries focused mainly on the remittances. But more recently, they've turned their attention to the impact that migrant entrepreneurs and skilled professionals have on investment and technology transfer. For instance, both China and India are proactively engaging with their overseas communities to encourage investment and facilitate the sharing of technology. The relationship of migrants with their countries of origin also shows the continuity of ties with the country and society of origin and emphasizes the cultural diversity in the places where they settle (Weiner 1985, 452).

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<sup>2</sup> Methodological nationalism often equates "society" with the nation-state and assumes that social processes remain within national borders. This obscures the transnational, trans-local and cross-border realities of migration. With societal multiplicity theory, using the concept of "the social", we shift our focus to the interactions and transformations that take place within and between different groups, regardless of their national affiliation. This will help us analyze how migration affects families, communities and social networks that span multiple countries.

Migration has far-reaching repercussions for both migrants and the society to which they migrate. However, post-migration integration theories are limited in their ability to properly comprehend and explain these repercussions (Ehrkamp 2005, 1674-1675). These theories frequently emphasise the sociocultural and economic components of integration, but they may ignore the larger consequences of migration on social, political, and security dynamics.

The restricted focus on individual-level outcomes such as language competence, job, and education is one shortcoming of post-migration integration theories. While these characteristics are undeniably significant, they fall short of capturing the larger societal effects of migration. Integration is a multifaceted process that includes social cohesiveness (Isaakyan 2016, 169), intergroup connections, and the remodelling of social and cultural landscapes in addition to individual accomplishments. Post-migration integration theories frequently lack the tools and frameworks needed to fully analyse these broader impacts.

Furthermore, existing integration theories may fail to appropriately account for migration's international features. Migrants frequently keep strong links to their home countries, engaging in a variety of transnational practises such as remittances, political involvement, and cultural interchange. These transnational engagements call into question the notion that integration is a one-way street, emphasising the significance of taking into account migrants' many ties and allegiances. Integration theories must be broadened to include a global view that recognises the complex and changing nature of migrants' social, economic, and political interactions.

The study of migration, despite its significant potential contributions, has been relatively passive within the field of International Relations. In light of the intrinsically interdisciplinary character of migration studies (Bokert 2018, 60), it is pertinent to acknowledge that the incorporation of concepts derived from the realm of International Relations can yield significant elucidation pertaining to migratory patterns. The field of International Relations offers a highly beneficial framework for comprehensively examining the intricate geopolitical and power dynamics that shape migratory patterns. Moreover, it enables us to delve into the complex interplay between cooperation and conflict among states, which significantly influence these patterns. It also offers insights into the role of states, international organizations, and global governance in shaping migration policy, refugee protection, and migration



management, as Weiner (1985) emphasizes.

Migration studies can better comprehend the intricate interconnections between migration and global politics by using viewpoints and methodologies from International Relations. This includes investigating migration's effects on international security, transnational identity politics, and migration's role in generating global inequities. Furthermore, International Relations can help to provide a more sophisticated study of migratory governance, policy frameworks, and relationships among sending, receiving, and transit nations (Weiner 1985).

The discipline of International Relations originated in 1919 following the conclusion of World War I (Rosenberg 2016; Kaplan 1961; Neumann 2014; Halliday 1994). The emergence of the study of International Political Economy was an immediate reaction to the oil embargo and economic crises that ensued during the Arab-Israeli conflicts in the 1970s (Murphy and Nelson 2001; Solomon 2018; Gilbar 2013). Therefore, both theoretical and conceptual innovations and the birth of disciplines in the field of social sciences are generally parallel to historical changes and events. In this framework, especially after the Arab Uprisings, internal conflicts led to waves of migration and new approaches were needed to explain this process in the field of social sciences (Çağlar 2016, 64-65).

The Arab Uprisings that started in 2010 in countries such as Tunisia, Egypt and Syria have led to significant internal conflicts and migration waves (Salameh 2019; Beaugrand and Geisser 2016; Ahner and Brantley 2018). Take the ongoing civil war in Syria<sup>3</sup>, for instance the catastrophic aftermath has compelled millions of citizens to evacuate their residences and seek refuge in neighboring nations and abroad (Ullah 2014). The recent surge in human migration has necessitated the development of fresh theoretical and conceptual frameworks within the realm of social sciences.

Novel approaches—such as transnationalism, the mobility turn in social sciences, and migration studies—seek to elucidate the complex dynamics associated with

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<sup>3</sup>The onset of civil upheaval in Syria started in the Daraa area on March 15, 2011. During this course of events, the Syrian government under President Bashar al-Assad reacted severely to the people's demonstrations, which subsequently escalated across the nation. The mass migration resulting from the Syrian civil war has been described by Antonio Guterres, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as "the worst humanitarian disaster since the end of the Cold War" (Martin 2015, 148).

forced migration (Çağlar 2016, 64–65). They investigate several topics, such as the effects on host communities, the development of transnational identities, and the involvement of international organizations in tackling migration challenges. By embracing these novel approaches, scientists aim to transcend conventional migration theories that may inadequately reflect the complex character of modern forced migration. These ideas provide a more refined comprehension of the impact of large-scale people migrations on social dynamics, identity development, and international relations.

The social sciences emerged in industrial societies where all social relations were seen as politically and culturally framed by the nation-state (Faist 2000; Connell 1997). Rosenberg's innovative research on societal multiplicity could offer a new perspective on the complex dynamics of societies in the context of migration. Instead of perceiving the globe as a simple collection of discrete nation-states, Rosenberg argues for understanding it as an intricate tapestry of interconnected, overlapping communities (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022; Tallis 2019; Wiener 2022; Rosenberg 2019; Powel 2020). This paradigm challenges the enduring prevalence of methodological nationalism<sup>4</sup> in migration studies (Bauböck and Faist 2010; Wimmer and Schiller 2002; Cerrone 2022). The theory of societal multiplicity embodies a significant transformation in our comprehension of international migration, dismissing the customary state-centric approach in favor of a more comprehensive viewpoint. This perspective acknowledges the coexistence of multiple social entities in the global arena, surpassing the conventional emphasis on individual movement across geographical borders. Spearheaded by Justin Rosenberg, this paradigm shift in comprehension delves extensively into the basic fabric of human existence, emphasizing that migration entails intricate interactions between various social formations.

Syria's crisis, commencing in 2011, has resulted in a global humanitarian calamity,

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<sup>4</sup> Methodological nationalism is the inclination within the social sciences to identify societies with nation-states and to presuppose that the nation-state is the inherent and essential structure of society in contemporary times. This methodology often overlooks transnational dynamics and the intricacies stemming from globalization and migration, positioning the nation-state as the focal point of inquiry (Wimmer and Schiller 2002). For more details on the subject, see '3.12. Methodological Nationalism Problem in Migration Studies and Multiplicity' in the thesis.

with more than a half million Syrians killed and more than 13 million Syrians displaced<sup>5</sup> (Connor 2018). The majority sought asylum in neighboring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq (UNHCR 2021; Alrababah et al. 2023, 1114; The New Arab 2022). Turkey, having implemented an "open door policy" since April 2011, witnessed a substantial influx of Syrian refugees, with the current count exceeding 3.1 million<sup>6</sup> as of 2024 (Il Goc 2024; Serttaş and Uluöz 2021, 3; ORSAM 2015, 12; Güngördü and Bayırbağ 2019, 186; Mackreath 2017 and Sağrıç, 9).

The complexity of Syrian migration provide a perfect scenario in which to use the theoretical framework of societal multiplicity to comprehend the different and dynamic experiences of Syrian migrants, as well as the influence of their journey on both origin and destination countries. The Syrian migrants encounter a multiple challenges when it comes to adapting to and assimilating within their respective host societies. These difficulties include linguistic problems, prejudice, and lack of resources.

The persistence of many identities and relationships within persons and society is emphasised by societal multiplicity. In the case of Syrian migration, this viewpoint emphasises how refugees frequently maintain complicated relationships to their home country while adjusting to and integrating with their host cultures The Syrians find themselves faced with the formidable challenge of maneuvering through their

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<sup>5</sup>More than six million Syrians are internally displaced, and another five million displaced Syrians live in neighboring countries in the Middle East and North Africa (Connor 2018). Turkey hosts the largest population of Syrians, with over three million Syrians, while Lebanon shelters more than 1.5 million Syrians, many of whom reside in informal tent settlements and face challenges in meeting basic needs. Jordan hosts more than 673,000 Syrian refugees. Nearly 120,000 of them live in the Za'atari and Azraq refugee camps. Iraq hosts approximately 270,000 Syrian refugees, mostly concentrated in the northern regions, while more than 150,000 Syrian refugees seek safety in Egypt (Panamootil 2024).

<sup>6</sup>Turkey, as the host country, graciously provides accommodation for a significant population of approximately 3.1 million migrants who have sought asylum within its borders due to the Syrian internal conflict (Il Goc 2024). Turkey continues to uphold its stance in this regard. Lebanon now accommodates 986,942 refugees, which accounts for 17.5% of the total. Jordan welcomes 666,113 refugees, making up 11.8% of the total. Iraq has 250,708 refugees, representing 4.4% of the total. Egypt hosts 128,956 refugees, accounting for 2.3% of the total. According to the statistics, the majority of registered Syrians, namely 92.3%, express a preference for living in urban, peri-urban, and rural regions, whereas only a small minority of 7.7% choose to remain in allotted camps. Turkey continues to adhere to this pattern. 73,854 Syrians are located in camps (Mülteciler Derneği 2023). The remaining of Syrians dwell in urban regions scattered around the country (See Güngördü and Bayırbağ 2019, 186; Erdoğan 2021, 5-6; Atar et al 2023, 235).

national, ethnic, and religious identities amidst the unfamiliar cultural landscapes they now inhabit. This process leads to the emergence of hybrid and ever-evolving identities that pose a challenge to established classifications.

In addition, the ontological perspective of societal multiplicity underlines the interdependence of social processes and the necessity to transcend strict categorizations (Rosenberg 2021, 154). In the context of Syrian migration, this approach asks for an analysis of the various integration processes. Integration is more than just assimilation; it includes the interaction of numerous cultural, economic, and political factors (Ahmed 2016, 1). By employing a multiplicity lens, one can undertake a thorough examination of the diverse elements that are instrumental in enabling the achievement of successful integration. These factors encompass but are not limited to access to educational opportunities, healthcare provisions, career prospects, and the establishment of robust social networks.

Syrian refugees' adaptation and integration are multifaceted. There is no "correct" way to comprehend or experience adaptation and integration. There are several viewpoints on adaptation and integration, each valid from a different standpoint. It is critical to be receptive to these varied viewpoints and to avoid imposing our own prejudices on refugee experiences.

Because of the complexities, problems, and far-reaching ramifications for both sending and receiving countries, studying Syrian migration, particularly in terms of migrant adaptation and integration, is vital from both academic and scientific viewpoints. The migration of Syrians offers a unique and unparalleled opportunity to delve into the intricacies surrounding the manner in which migrants navigate their identities, affiliations, and social connections within unfamiliar environments. Syrian migrants' adaptation and integration processes reveal a complex interaction of cultural, economic, and political aspects that may be investigated via multidisciplinary lenses, expanding migration studies and increasing our knowledge of human mobility in times of crisis.

The adaptation and integration processes for Syrians are intrinsically complicated and cannot be simplified into a single, generally applicable paradigm. Various theoretical and cultural viewpoints exist, each providing valid insights into these

processes. It is essential to recognize the multiplicity of different viewpoints without imposing ethnocentric prejudices or preconceived notions about how refugees need to adapt or assimilate. Identifying biases, especially those based on assumptions of linear assimilation or cultural conformity, facilitates a more nuanced and thorough understanding of refugee experiences.

Academic study on Syrian migration allows for a better understanding of the ways that Syrian refugees and host cultures interact. Syrian migrants' adaptation and integration entail diverse processes of cultural interchange, social engagement, and identity construction. Researchers acquire insights into the elements that support or impede effective integration by investigating the intricacies of these experiences, allowing them to identify best practises and areas for improvement in integration policies and programmes.

One of the main arguments of this dissertation is that the concept of societal multiplicity, which Rosenbeg introduced to the discipline of International Relations and presented as a new ontological perspective, will make significant contributions to international migration studies and literature, filling gaps in the literature.

In the realm of migration theories, it is customary for traditional perspectives to embrace a unidirectional framework. The aforementioned perspectives commonly perceive migration as a solitary occurrence, wherein individuals undertake a voyage from one country to another, consequently severing their affiliations with their original society. Migration, according to societal multiplicity theory, is frequently a more complicated and multidirectional process, with migrants keeping strong links to both their home and host cultures.

This has a variety of consequences for international migration study. It implies that we must be more cautious in defining "migrants." In the conventional sense, migrants were commonly characterized as individuals who undertook the act of relocating to a foreign nation with the intention of establishing a permanent residence therein. In accordance with the theoretical framework commonly referred to as the societal multiplicity approach, it is postulated that migrants can be delineated as individuals who uphold significant affiliations with both their country of origin and their country of residence, regardless of their degree of permanent settlement in the

latter. Societal multiplicity theory acknowledges the complex and constantly changing nature of migratory movements while emphasising the persistence of many societal forms, identities, and connections within modern societies. Rosenberg's theory gives a more nuanced view of the repercussions and implications of migration by concentrating on the theory of multiplicity..

The theory of societal multiplicity underscores the imperative of transcending the confines of the nation-state and duly considering the active participation of a myriad of actors and institutions across various strata. It emphasises that migration is driven by global economic, political, and social forces rather than just personal decisions or state oppressions (Wiener2020, 6). The aforementioned perspective facilitates a more exhaustive analysis of the intricate interrelationships and power dynamics that are present among migrants, governmental bodies, international organizations, and various non-state actors. It offers up possibilities for investigating how global governance, human rights frameworks, and transnational activism impact migratory dynamics.

Migration, as per its definition, encompasses the act of traversing national boundaries, thereby facilitating the relocation of individuals or collectives from one nation to another. This movement represents the international component of migration since it extends beyond the borders of a single nation-state and involves contacts between other nations. The international component of migration includes not just the physical act of crossing borders, but also the various social, cultural, economic, and political aspects that define migrants' experiences and relationships (Džankić 2015, 163).

Furthermore, the term of "international" in migration acknowledges nations' interdependence and interconnection in today's interconnected the globe. Migration patterns, in their intricate nature, are frequently subjected to the multifaceted influence of diverse global economic, political, and social factors. The actions in question possess repercussions that transcend the confines of the involved governments, thereby exerting an influence upon the global community in its entirety. Global dynamics such as labour markets, cultural exchanges, and political landscapes can all be influenced by migration (Castles 2010).

Even subsequent to their relocation to a foreign nation, migrants may persist in fostering robust connections with their native society. The individuals in question possess the capacity to persist in the act of transmitting monetary funds to their countries of origin, engage in periodic visits to their respective homelands, and potentially uphold the status of having citizenship in two distinct nations simultaneously. This suggests that the "international"<sup>7</sup> is more than just crossing national borders. It is also an issue of sustaining cross-border social, economic, and cultural relationships. Migrants are frequently members of transnational networks that span national borders. These networks can provide migrants assistance, resources, and opportunities.

The thesis' principal aim is to focus on the need to handle the multidimensional character of migration, with a special emphasis on interconnections between origin and destination nations. The thesis intends to give a complete picture of the complex dynamics and interplay between many social, cultural, and political aspects that determine migration experiences by using the societal multiplicity framework. The recognition of the significance lies in the necessity to take into account both the nations of origin and destination, so as to attain a comprehensive comprehension of the intricate characteristics inherent in the realm of global migration.

The conceptual framework of societal multiplicity is critical for overcoming the shortcomings of existing migration theories and enhancing the area of migration studies. This approach recognizes the complex and diverse nature of migration processes, highlighting the presence of various social, cultural, and political identities and practices among migrant groups. The paradigm provides a more thorough understanding of migrants' various realities and experiences by emphasising the role of societal multiplicity.

The potential of the societal multiplicity framework to transcend the constraints of conventional assimilation and integration theories is a crucial addition. While assimilation and integration theories frequently emphasise migrants adopting the

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<sup>7</sup>Migrants sometimes preserve connections to their country of origin after resettling elsewhere. They may persist in sending remittances, conduct frequent trips, and maintain dual citizenship. This illustrates that "the international" entails more than just crossing state boundaries; it includes maintaining transnational social, economic, and cultural relationships. Migrants often engage in transnational networks that provide assistance, resources, and opportunities across boundaries.

norms and values of the receiving community, the societal multiplicity framework recognises migrants' agency in constructing their identities and preserving links with their home countries. It acknowledges that migrants might have numerous social and cultural ties, providing for a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of identity formation and cultural practises.

The theory of societal multiplicity helps in identifying international dimensions of migration. It recognises migrants' continuous ties and participation in diverse transnational practises such as remittances, political action, and cultural exchange (Vertovec 2004, 970). The paradigm in question presents a compelling challenge to the prevailing notion that migration is a unidirectional phenomenon characterized solely by assimilation or integration. It does so by duly acknowledging and considering the transnational activities undertaken by migrants. It recognises migrants' concurrent affiliations and allegiances, allowing for a more realistic understanding of the intricacies of migrating experiences.

By emphasising the larger social, cultural, and political ramifications of migration, the societal multiplicity approach expands the discipline of migration studies. It acknowledges that migration has a transforming impact not just on the lives of migrants, but also on the sending and receiving countries (O'reilly 2022, 2). The paradigm provides for a complete investigation of the effects of migration on social cohesion, intergroup relations, and the changing of social and cultural landscapes by evaluating interactions and exchanges across different social settings.

The complexity of migration corresponds to the emphasis in scientific philosophy on interpreting things as complex systems with various interdependent factors. By embracing complexity, societal multiplicity invites scholars to look beyond simple cause-and-effect explanations and investigate the interdependence of numerous elements that impact migratory experiences.

The societal multiplicity approach is founded on methodological pluralism and epistemic variety. To gain a comprehensive understanding of the diverse realities of migrants, the adapted multiplicity theory<sup>8</sup> should embrace methodological pluralism while also being open to diverse epistemologies to challenge ethnocentric

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perspectives and encourage more inclusive and global approaches to migration studies.

The theoretical framework of societal multiplicity emphasizes social production and identity formation. This aspect of international migration necessitates an examination of how the movement transforms identities and notions of belonging for both migrants and host societies. Analyzing multiplicity theory in the context of international migration may provide a novel viewpoint on migration discourses and narratives.

The ontological paradigm of societal multiplicity, at its centre, emphasises the coexistence of multiple social, cultural, and political affinities within persons and communities. This viewpoint acknowledges that identities are neither permanent or distinct, but are shaped by intricate interactions between numerous social settings. This ontological approach questions the concept of migrants as belonging primarily to a single nation-state or culture in the context of international migration. Instead, it recognises that migrants may navigate and manage numerous identities, affiliations, and allegiances while concurrently spanning different social environments.

Furthermore, the ontological perspective of societal multiplicity calls into question the concept of tough geographical borders and sovereign nation-states. This viewpoint proposes a reevaluation of how boundaries are formed and perceived in the context of international migration. Rather than seeing migration as a straightforward movement across fixed boundaries, the ontological perspective of societal multiplicity emphasises border permeability and fluidity. This viewpoint acknowledges that migration encompasses interactions and relationships that cross physical boundaries, such as transnational networks, remittances, and virtual communities.

Furthermore, understanding Syrian migration has far-reaching ramifications for both sending and receiving countries. Understanding the experiences of Syrian migrants in the context of sending nations can give insight on the implications of displacement on populations left behind, such as brain drain and loss of skilled labour. Academic study in this field can influence policies and strategies for offering assistance and opportunities to persons who desire to return home or contribute to their home country's development from abroad. In light of these empirical phenomena, the

theory of multiplicity, especially when analysed in relation to its five consequences, can offer us a number of perspectives.

Difference, one of the consequences of multiplicity, highlights the unique identities, cultures, and norms that define societies. In the context of migration, difference is evident in the arrival of new communities with diverse cultural backgrounds, languages, and customs. While this diversity may pose challenges in communication, comprehension, and integration, it also offers prospects for cultural interchange, invention, and societal evolution.

Secondly, interaction as another consequence of multiplicity helps to recognise the multitude of group interactions, both positive and negative, that have occurred in the vast expanse of world history, within the complex fabric of race, ethnicity and religious origin. (Güler 2013). Interaction, a significant consequence of societal multiplicity, highlights the dynamic processes of engagement, exchange and negotiation that take place between societies. Migration, specifically, inspires interaction by facilitating the movement of individuals (Džankić 2015, 163), concepts, and practices across national boundaries. Such exchanges can result in the diffusion of cultural norms, the emergence of new hybrid identities, and the transformation of the societies involved.

The third consequence, known as combination, involves the intricate processes of amalgamation, fusion and integration that take place in the midst of diverse societies. Migration often plays a key role in combination, as the influx of new populations adds new facets to the cultural and social fabric of the host society. This mixing of diverse elements can potentially lead to the emergence of unprecedented hybrid cultures, the emergence of nascent social configurations, and the alteration of pre-existing power dynamics. Consequently, the multiple consequences of combination have profound implications for the intricate interplay between different societies.

Traditional theories of migration frequently approach migrants and host communities as separate and discrete entities, thereby neglecting to account for the intricate and ever-changing processes of cultural amalgamation and mutual exchange that transpire through their interactions. Conversely, multiplicity theory brings to the forefront the significance of novel social identities (Verkutyen et al. 2019, 393) and organizational structures that surpass conventional boundaries. This acknowledgment of combination and blending is indispensable when it comes to comprehending the

enduring repercussions of migration on societies and the ongoing evolution of social relationships.

The concept of co-existence, a consequence of societal multiplicity, emphasizes the inherent ability of societies to coexist in a state of ongoing interaction, negotiation, and accommodation. It challenges the traditional binary view of societies either assimilating or being assimilated, instead highlighting the possibility of dynamic and harmonious coexistence where diverse identities and cultures can flourish and interact meaningfully within a shared space. Co-existence recognises a more inclusive and interconnected global community where individuals can find their rightful place and contribute to the collective good in a mutually beneficial manner.

The principles of coexistence and combination may seem contradictory. At first glance, coexistence implies the preservation and maintenance of distinct identities and cultural boundaries, while combination suggests the merging and blending of these very differences. They represent two interdependent and mutually reinforcing aspects of dynamic social interaction, rather than being mutually exclusive.

Coexistence provides a basic framework that facilitates the acceptance and embrace of the inherent diversity within a society. By creating a space where people of diverse backgrounds may harmoniously coexist, cohabitation promotes an atmosphere of inclusion and understanding. This framework promotes mutual respect and appreciation for the unique characteristics and perspectives that each individual brings to the common fabric of society.

On the other hand, combination occurs organically within the context of coexistence. As individuals from different backgrounds interact and engage with each other, new cultural hybridisations and social structures naturally emerge. These new amalgamations serve as tangible manifestations of the evolving relationships and interactions between societies. They embody the spirit of collaboration and synthesis, ultimately enriching the collective cultural landscape.

In this symbiotic relationship between coexistence and combination, society benefits from both the preservation of distinct identities and the creation of new, blended cultural expressions. The preservation of distinct identities ensures the continued existence and celebration of unique cultural traditions, while the formation of hybrid cultures and social structures recognises and embraces the fluid nature of societal dynamics.

In summary, the apparently contradictory principles of coexistence and combination are in fact harmonious and complementary. Coexistence underpins social harmony and understanding, while combination allows new cultural expressions and social structures to develop organically. By fostering an inclusive environment that thrives on the diversity of its components, these principles together contribute to the richness and vibrancy of society.

Historical change, as the fifth outcome, underscores the transformative character of societal multiplicity. The continuous progression of societies over time is driven by the persistent phenomena of difference, interaction, combination, and co-existence. Migrations, as agents of these phenomena, assume a significant function in molding historical pathways, impacting cultural shifts, and altering power dynamics.

Incorporating a historical analysis into its framework, multiplicity theory challenges conventional migration theories which often focus solely on immediate triggers and outcomes, overlooking the wider historical context that shapes migration dynamics. The recognition of historical transformation is vital for creating effective migration policies that address the root causes of migration and promote lasting solutions.

This thesis also challenges the orthodox lenses of International Relations as a discipline centered on international conflicts and power (Heisler 1992, 599). Its objective is to emphasize the importance of international migration, which is becoming increasingly essential. If we are to distinguish between high politics and low politics—and the reason for making this distinction is probably to question the very foundation and core of international relations—then international migration must necessarily fall within high politics in the discipline (Mitchell 1989, 693). From the perspective of societal multiplicity theory, conflicts (or wars), trade (and to some extent diplomacy) as well as migration can be classified as high politics in terms of interaction, communication, change and transformation between societies.

The phenomenon of migration fundamentally reshapes the trajectories traversed by the migrated society, host society, and third-party nations. The concept of societal multiplicity posits that international migration plays a pivotal role in the transformative trajectory of societies. Similar to inter-societal conflicts, migration plays a pivotal role in the transformative dynamics of societies. The aforementioned concept pertains to a region characterized by a notable degree of inter-communal

interaction and communication, akin to the phenomenon of inter-communal trade. Instead of adhering to conventional theoretical frameworks that perceive migration as a low-politics phenomenon within the realm of International Relations (IR), the multiplicity approach presents a compelling avenue for the discipline to contend that there exists a substantial degree of interaction and transformation among societies.

Turkey's unique geographical location and historical ties with Syria have made it an important host country for a significant number of refugees seeking asylum and stability. The research aims to look at the interaction processes of Syrians with Turks regarding societal multiplicity theory. By exploring how these individuals adapt to new norms - stemming from differences and internationality - how they access vital resources, and how they engage with local communities, we seek to uncover factors that facilitate effective integration or potential barriers that may hinder their coexistence and interaction. By utilising the theoretical framework of societal multiplicity, we aim to gain deeper insights into the elements that shape the lived experiences of Syrian migrants as they build new lives in Turkey.

A comprehensive evaluation of the challenges individuals encounter while accessing basic services, education, and career prospects is essential to gain an objective understanding of the barriers and facilitators of effective integration. Moreover, investigating the strategies employed by individuals to adapt to Turkish culture offers valuable insights. The ensuing social processes significantly impact societal structure when diverse cultures interact. The study's second objective is to examine the interactions between Syrian migrants and the Turkish society.

Societal multiplicity theory is instrumental in emphasizing the transnational aspect of migration. Migrants frequently uphold strong connections with their homelands, and their encounters are significantly influenced by the interactions between their home and host societies. Recognizing the transnationality of migration enhances our comprehension of intricate dynamics in play, enabling the creation of more effective policies for the migrant population and their families.

Turkey was mostly an emigration country until the late 1980s. In the 1960s, bilateral employment agreements were negotiated between Turkey and various European nations as a result of significant unemployment in Turkey and expanding work

prospects in Western Europe. As a result, large-scale migration from Turkey to Europe occurred (Akdemir 2019, 323-324; Kaya 2023b; Appendix B. interview T-1). However, this scenario began to alter with an increase in the number of both kins and refugees escaping the Balkans and the Middle East. Turkey is presently a special country that may be classified into three groups in terms of migration. Firstly, Turkey has evolved into a country that receives immigration from unstable countries, secondly it is viewed as a transit country by immigrants (Dingil 2021, 31; İçduygu 2005), and lastly it either provides a large amount of immigration or reverses immigration depending on the country's socioeconomic situation. Turkey, in particular, is unique in that it has been both a sending and receiving country during the previous 10 years (Sirkeci 2017, 130; Mencütek et al. 2023). On one hand, it is noteworthy to acknowledge that Turkey experiences a substantial influx of immigrants originating from nations plagued by internal conflicts and rampant violence, such as Syria, Iran, Afghanistan, and Iraq (Ataç et al. 2017, 11; Kınıklıoğlu 2020, 1). Conversely, it is imperative to consider the interplay between Turkey's immigration policy, the progressively authoritarian governance, and the nation's declining socioeconomic conditions, which collectively contribute to a phenomenon commonly referred to as brain drain or, as aptly articulated by Zırh (2022), emotional drain.

The commencement of the influx of Syrian refugees into Turkey can be traced back to the year 2011, coinciding with the establishment of numerous provisional encampments situated in close proximity to the border. This open door policy, which refers to refugees as "guests," is based on the premise that Syrians will only stay in Turkey for a short time (Doğanay and Keneş 2016, 145). During the initial biennium of the crisis, the influx of individuals seeking asylum was effectively handled from a logistical standpoint by means of establishing temporary protection centers, commonly referred to as camps (Adalı et al. 2020, 186). Nevertheless, it is imperative to acknowledge that as the Syrian crisis reached a heightened state of intensity in the year 2013, the consequential influx of refugees from Syria to the neighboring nation of Turkey experienced a notable surge. As the number of newcomers increased, Turkey adopted numerous policies and organisations to cope with them. According to official data Turkey has more than 3 million Syrians under

temporary protection status and 350,000 forced and/or irregular migrants from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and Iran as of 2020 (Il Goc 2024; Aydemir 2023).

Economic difficulties and worries about personal safety are the main reasons Syrian immigrants leave their country. These urgent circumstances drive people to look for better prospects and security elsewhere. Numerous people opt to migrate to Turkey for a variety of reasons, which may be ascribed to Turkey's "open door policy" towards Syrian immigration and its closeness to their home country, creating a sense of familiarity and accessibility (Hıdır 2015, 137-139).

The effectiveness of social or economic capital becomes evident when examining the outcomes of Syrian immigrants in Turkey (Erdoğan et al. 2021). Notably, all Syrian immigrants who arrive in Turkey either decide to stay in the country or aspire to move to a Western European nation (İnce 2018, 137-143). While both groups of immigrants aim to escape the internal problems plaguing Syria, it is the possession of social and economic capital that significantly influences their prospects of settling in Europe successfully.

Turkey is struggling to bear such a large migratory load. At this stage, unhappiness has swept throughout society. The conservative segment of society's initial favourable attitude shifted, and individuals began to blame Syrians for societal problems like as rising housing costs, unemployment, and crime (Akdemir 2019, 329).

There is a significant divide in Turkey's political atmosphere regarding Syrians. Traditional and social media fuel negative public perceptions by portraying refugees as "uneducated, poor foreigners" (Daily Sabah 2022b). The arrival of Syrian refugees in Turkey is depicted as a concern for the safety and well-being of Turkish society in both traditional and online media, as well as by certain critics of the government's approach towards Syria (Doğanay and Keneş 2016, 177-178). While some newspapers evaluate Syrians in the context of the *incar-muhajir* identity (Yıldırım 2021) and see them as guests and victims in the context of the Turkish government's pro-refugee migration strategy, some opposition journalists see them as the main actors of Turkey's socio-economic crisis and security concerns (this is not limited to journalists, but is widespread in society. While there are people close to the administration who are anti-immigrant, there are also others among the opponents

who protect immigrants and consider them as victims (Yavçan et al. 2017, 3-4).

Turkey's political climate exhibits a pronounced division about Syrians. Conventional and social media often exacerbate adverse public impressions by depicting migrants as "uneducated, poor foreigners" (Daily Sabah 2022b). The influx of Syrians is portrayed as a danger to the safety and welfare of Turkish society in both mainstream and digital media, as well as by detractors of the government's policy on Syria (Doğanay and Keneş 2016, 177–178). Some newspapers assess Syrians through the lens of the *ensar-muhajir* identity (Yıldırım, 2021), portraying them as guests and victims in alignment with the government's pro-refugee migration policy, whereas others, including opposition journalists, regard them as significant factors in Turkey's socio-economic crisis and security issues. This division extends beyond journalists to include society at large; specifically, people within both the government and the opposition possess divergent views on immigration, with some advocating for immigrants as victims and others opposing them (Yavçan et al. 2017, 3–4).

This societal division about Syrians highlights the intricacies of state sovereignty in relation to migration. Defining a sovereign state is intrinsically complex; yet, a general worldwide concept posits that states seek exclusive authority over entry into their territory and the conferral of citizenship (Weiner 1985, 442). The arrival of Syrians into Turkey undermines the concept of sovereignty, prompting essential inquiries about the state's capacity to manage its borders and people efficiently.

In explaining these complexities, Rosenberg's concept of societal multiplicity, which categorises the international system as neither strictly hierarchical nor anarchic but uses this framework to explain international interactions, is relevant. The crucial question and problematic is whether the interaction of various societies in a given geography is of interest to IR. By adopting a social rather than a state-centred perspective, this challenge can be largely overcome, facilitating a more nuanced understanding of the complexities surrounding refugee integration and societal responses to migration.



**Table 1.** Summary of Main Arguments, Research Questions, and Major Contributions

Main Argument	Research Question	Sub-Arguments	Research Sub-Questions	Major Contributions
Societal multiplicity theory provides a comprehensive framework to analyze the complex social dynamics of Syrian migration in Turkey.	What are the dynamic interactions between Syrians and Turkish society and how can the lens of societal multiplicity illuminate the complex social interactions that drive integration and adaptation processes?	1. Multiple Identities: Migrants manage and navigate multiple identities (national, ethnic, religious) within a culturally diverse host society.	1. How do Syrian refugees navigate their identities in Turkey, and what does the theory of societal multiplicity argue?	1. Enhanced Understanding: Provides a nuanced understanding of migration beyond traditional theories, emphasizing the essence of co-existence and interaction between different social groups (or societies)
		2. Social Interactions and Integration: The interactions between Syrians and Turkish society shape integration, social cohesion, and the development of hybrid cultural identities.	2. How do the interactions between Syrians and Turkish citizens influence integration and social cohesion?	2. Policy Implications: Suggests a more comprehensive approach to migration policies that go beyond economic and security considerations, incorporating social and cultural factors.

		3. Impact of Differences: Cultural, linguistic, religious, and socio-political differences impact the experiences of Syrian migrants and their integration process.	3. What is the impact of cultural, linguistic, and socio-political differences on the experiences and integration of Syrians in Turkey?	3. New Theoretical Insights: Introduces a new framework for understanding migration and integration dynamics in culturally diverse settings.
		4. Combination and Hybridization Processes: Syrian migration leads to the amalgamation of cultural practices, values, and norms, resulting in new hybrid identities.	4. How do Syrian and Turkish cultural practices converge, and what new social forms emerge from this amalgamation?	4. Conceptual Framework: Develops a conceptual framework that applies societal multiplicity theory to migration studies, emphasises the transformative potential of migration.
		5. Historical Change: Migration is a process of interaction between societies, impacting both the host and migrant communities. This leads to historical and societal changes.	5. How do historical developments affect the experiences of Syrian migrants and their adaptation processes?	5. Historical Perspective: Provides a historical perspective on migration, emphasizing the role of past events in shaping current and future migration trends.

## CHAPTER 2

### **SOCIETAL MULTIPLICITY: A NEW ONTOLOGICAL GROUND FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

#### **2.1. Is the Discipline of International Relations Prison of Political Science?**

The concept of societal multiplicity, as developed by Justin Rosenberg, represents a fundamental shift in how we understand the nature of international relations and social development. This theory posits that the coexistence of multiple societies is not merely a background condition, but a primary driving force in historical and social processes. By reconceptualizing the 'international' as a distinct social realm with its own causal powers, societal multiplicity challenges traditional approaches in International Relations (IR) theory and offers new perspectives on global dynamics (Rosenberg 2016a, 135; Rosenberg 2013, 186)

Multiplicity is also synonymous with a non-Realist view of anarchy, as argued by Prichard (2018). This perspective sees International Relations as a complex system that is not solely determined by power politics and state interests. Instead, it recognizes the importance of non-state actors and non-political factors in shaping global affairs. Rosenberg (2016a) sees IR as an intellectual center where various approaches and perspectives from the social sciences and humanities converge to create a rich and fascinating discussion. By adopting a multiplicity approach, IR scholars can contribute to this discussion by broadening their analytical gaze and developing a nuanced understanding of the complexities of international life.

Several flaws aided the birth of societal multiplicity in IR theory. It operates because the knowledge production process in the subject has been divided from the bottom up, and separate academic organizations have formed around different camps of

ideas<sup>9</sup>. Members in these camps, according to Sylvester, seldom communicate with members of other camps and show little interest or care about what is going on in other areas of the world. For Sylvester, even though the new approaches in the field emerged as a consequence of the fourth great debate<sup>10</sup> it did not stimulate dialogue and interaction in the discipline but instead increased the number of campfires, each having its introspective talk rather than becoming one discussion (Sylvester 2007, 55-56). In other words, the polarization of the knowledge generation process in IR has resulted in the emergence of contrasting yet unable to discourse voices inside the discipline. Therefore, today's IR is more monologic than dialogic; several camp monologues are performed simultaneously (Davenport 2020, 534).

Sylvester's concerns about the discipline's theoretical fragmentation and division are articulated in the paper "the End of International Relations Theory," published in the *European Journal of International Relations* (Sylvester 2007). Sylvester's concerns about discipline were nothing new. Indeed, much earlier, in the 1960s, while behavioralist traditionalist debates erupted in the discipline, like Rosenberg Stanley Hoffmann claimed that International Relations was developed by concepts and techniques taken from other disciplines and that a clear and common approach could

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<sup>9</sup>Historically, IR theory has been characterized by debates among prominent schools of thought, sometimes referred to as "paradigms" or "isms." These include Realism, Liberalism, Marxism, Constructivism, as well as more contemporary theories such as Feminist International Relations and Postcolonial International Relations, among others (See Benett 2013). Besides, the scholars of American Political Science Association (APSA) and International Studies Association (ISA) and English School was among these camps.

<sup>10</sup>The discipline of International Relations has been influenced by a succession of "Great Debates" that have interrogated its fundamental assumptions and approaches. The first three debates are recognized, but there is less agreement on the definition of a "Fourth Great Debate." Nonetheless, several significant conceptual conflicts have arisen, illustrating the dynamic character of the discipline. Kratochwil (2006) refrains from specifying a precise number of debates, opting instead for the term "many." In contrast, Lapid (1989) identifies three debates. Therefore, there remains a significant lack of consensus within the literature regarding a universally accepted typology for categorizing the debaters. The discord escalates over the fourth discussion (Wæver 2009, 215; Wendt 2015; Hamchi 2011, 2). The Fourth Great Debate in International Relations (IR) constitutes a meta-theoretical discourse concerning the essence of knowledge and methodology within the field, in contrast to the preceding three debates that centered on specific theoretical paradigms (idealism vs. realism, traditionalism vs. behavioralism, and neorealism vs. neoliberalism). Originating in the late 1980s, it critiques the scientific underpinnings of International Relations theories and the mechanisms of knowledge production (Lapid 1989). This discourse is frequently characterized as a conflict between positivism, which champions objective, empirical research similar to the natural sciences, and post-positivism (or reflectivism), which underscores the socially constructed essence of international phenomena and endorses qualitative, interpretive methodologies (Smith et al. 1996).

not be agreed upon on its own (Hoffmann, 1959).

Rosenberg highlights a basic epistemological dilemma in International Relations theory: the contentious legacy of classical sociological theories. This theoretical constraint has led modern historical sociologists and international relations researchers to reject the concept of a unified society in favor of more sophisticated analytical frameworks. They advocate for reimagining long-term social development and transformation via linked "webs" and "flows" that surpass conventional societal limits. This viewpoint contextualizes social evolution within extensive intersocietal frameworks, transcending the limitations of society-focused research (Rosenberg 2006; Anievas & Matin 2016, 4).

Another fundamental problem that mainstream international relations theory has, as well as another reason why societal multiplicity in the discipline can occupy an important position, is that the discipline of International Relations is under the control of Political Science. Justin Rosenberg contended during the EH Carr Memorial Lecture at the University of Aberystwyth in October 2015 that the formation of IR inside Political Science has impeded its conceptual development, claiming that "the international" encompasses a far larger reality of the human experience. That is, social existence is not and has never been linear: it has always consisted of a multiplicity of social units advancing in different directions while interacting in real-time (Rosenberg 2017b; Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 252).

Rosenberg contends that International Relations (IR) derives its ontology from Political Science, so positioning it as a sub-discipline that examines politics in the absence of a central authority—international anarchy (Rosenberg 2016a, 128-133). Nonetheless, the theory of multiplicity has substantial consequences that need a separate ontological basis for International Relations itself. In contrast to the conventional emphasis on the lack of central authority, multiplicity highlights the presence and dynamic interactions of multiple social units, each progressing in distinct directions while simultaneously impacting one another in real time. This viewpoint presents an ontology grounded in the diverse and interrelated essence of global societies, furnishing International Relations with a distinct basic framework, independent from the power-centric ontology that underlies Political Science

(Morozov 2021, 2).

Rosenberg criticizes the view of IR as a sub-discipline of political science and argues that IR should have a separate academic identity to avoid this problem. In other words, although International Relations is a social science discipline such as sociology, history, and anthropology, it is not independent like these disciplines. Rosenberg argues that the main reason for this is that IR is perceived as a sub-discipline of political science, and this perception must be destroyed (Sears 2018, 242).

Rosenberg has criticized the field of International Relations for its failure to create and share fundamental concepts with other social sciences. The linguistic, ethnographic, and geographical approaches have had a significant impact on other disciplines, leading to the development of new interdisciplinary viewpoints (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 251). However, despite these advancements, there has not been a tangible emergence of an "international turn" within the field of International Relations. Furthermore, while notable shifts in thinking such as the global turn and the critical turn have occurred, they have mostly been embraced by the field of sociology rather than International Relations (Kurki and Rosenberg 2020, 1).

In recent years, scholars have increasingly concentrated on study issues such as 'international', 'transnational', 'comparative', and 'global', indicating what is referred to in academic discourse as the 'international turn'. Rosenberg analyzed this 'international trend' primarily from the perspective of inter-societal connections. The 'international turn' includes the many geographical dimensions (national, imperial, regional, continental, and global) necessary for comprehending historical narratives. In this sense, the word 'international' mostly delineates the empirical scope of the analysis, rather than engaging with essential ontological or methodological inquiries stemming from the examination of international phenomena. The importance of the 'international turn' extends beyond the simple application of concepts from international relations theory, indicating a more extensive revolution in our understanding of inter-societal interactions and global dynamics. (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 252).

According to Rosenberg, IR has been focused on the topic of multiplicity from its inception, notably difference and hierarchy in racial relations, colonial management, and internal colonial management. The discipline was shaped by political rule in the form of colonial and racial dominance rather than contest amongst dominating, unequally strong individuals in an anarchic realm. Beginning with E. H. Carr, it has been commonly considered that understanding International Relations as an anarchic, fragmented subject might contribute to the social sciences (Blaney and Tickner 2017, 72). In his demand for International Relations to break free from the "prison of political science," Justin Rosenberg believes that while anarchy is a negative concept, the positive idea of multiplicity would be more relevant to embrace (Morozov 2021, 1-2). Rosenberg's diagnosis of IR being confined in the prison of political science is based mostly on what Headley Bull refers to as "the domestic analogy": the study of interactions between states is based on premises acquired from observing politics within states. As a result, it appears that neorealism cannot give a plausible international ontology since it is based on a distinctive variation of the domestic analogy (Rosenberg 2013b, 186). Furthermore, he contends that while realism professes to highlight the 'power-mongering' behavior of international actors, it excludes the private sphere – where domination usually occurs – from the non-political world. In other words, according to Rosenberg, realism cannot account for the political implications of dominance (Rosenberg 1994, 141). As a result of the supposed absence of anarchy, the "international" is defined negatively (Morozov 2021, 2-3; Davenport 2020, 532).

Although Waltz is opposed to the employment of sociological approaches in the IR discipline, he refers to Durkheim's classical sociology as a temporal shift to a "domestic analogy" argument, according to Rosenberg (Rosenberg 2013b, 196-199). Most crucially, the structural strain of realism in an anarchic system is so potent that it justifies seeing states as comparable units; hence, 'a state = a state = a state.' While Waltz's analytical starting point was that the structural condition of anarchy would yield identical units, Rosenberg's definition of multiplicity begins with a fundamentally different assumption about the nature of human social existence in social collectives. This transnational social collective is founded on societal multiplicity (Rosenberg 2016a; Aalberts 2016, 188-192; Hagemann 2020).

Previously, I stated that Rosenberg's concept of multiplicity intends to shift the discipline of international relations from a political science-oriented to a sociological one. Therefore, it is crucial at this stage to question this dualism in International Relations (Davenport 2020, 542). In other words, can the social and the political be sharply separated in discipline, or do these two show an intertwining feature?

Rosenberg seeks to shift the ontological foundation of International Relations from the political realm to the social domain (Rosenberg 2006, 2010, 2013a, 2013b, 2017a, 2017b). Davenport asserts that the social and political spheres fundamentally vary in their purpose. Social connections emerge from individual(s) behavior and its unforeseen outcomes, often occurring without intentional collective organization. societal structures provide environments for individual behavior but operate independently of deliberate societal direction. Conversely, the political realm is defined by intentional collective action and the overt pursuit of communal objectives. Individuals in the social domain pursue personal objectives within interconnected networks, leading to emergent collective results. The political sphere involves intentional actions to shape collective results via strategic decision-making processes and institutional structures. The differentiation between unconscious social formation and conscious political activity is essential for comprehending the dynamics of international relations at both social and political strata (Davenport 2020, 540). Davenport's reduction of social ties to just unconscious interaction could be evaluated as problematic. Viewing all social formations as unconscious, unplanned actions and events contradicts the core tenets of multiplicity theory.

## **2.2. What is Societal Multiplicity**

The concept of multiplicity highlights the social; thus, it is essential first to define "society." There are several definitions of society. However, in broad words, society is a collection of individuals defined socially and geographically. In non-residential societies, group membership, repeated via various materials, symbolic rituals, and artifacts, maintains a social formation such as society together in non-settled societies. Therefore society is a prerequisite for sedentarisation (Waring 2020, 12-13). Multiplicity is built on three assertions: first, that there exist social forms; second, that these social forms are multiple (various); and third, that they interact



with one another (Rosenberg 2016b; Powel 2020).

At any given time, a multiplicity of social entities, from local communities to nation-states and empires, coexist and interact. Embedded within diverse ecosystems, they are interconnected through complex networks of relationships, resource flows and historical legacies. These interactions, shaped by power imbalances and historical contingencies, contribute to the unevenness of development, shifting growth trajectories and ongoing transformations observed across societies. Understanding contemporary inter-societal change therefore requires analysing not only present-day interactions, but also the enduring legacies of past interactions, especially those established between different societies throughout history (Dunford et al. 2021. 7).

The International remained utterly beyond the scope of social thought and was later seen as an integral part when it was discovered. According to Justin Rosenberg (2006, 312), classical social theorists perceived societies as unique entities rather than dynamic multiplicities. Rosenberg's impetus for conceptualizing the international as multiplicity originates mainly from a perceived deficit in classical social theory (Davenport 2020, 539). The societal multiplicity initiative seeks new foundations in social theory, particularly in international relations (IR). The project makes a prehistoric claim: societal multiplicity, or numerous societies coexisting, has existed for as long as people have lived on our planet. The protagonist of this intellectual journey, Justin Rosenberg, firmly proposes that using "societal multiplicity" as a starting point for an acceptable IR theory will allow for more confident IR. Rosenberg contends that despite the discipline's continued emphasis on interstate or governance relations – which emphasizes the importance of multiple states' interaction – the transhistorical fact of the existence of multiple societies has not been sufficiently emphasized since they were recently organized as nation-states (Koddenbrock 2020, 517).

Justin Rosenberg proposed a question to the field of International Relations that has yet to be satisfactorily addressed: What exactly is "International"? It is remarkable and relevant that such a topic has been posed in a field that's been around for millennia (Davenport 2020, 532). Rosenberg aimed to give a new ground to IR with the concept of multiplicity. As a result, he sought to replace the idea of anarchy in

traditional IR with the concept of multiplicity (Davenport 2020, 533). With this understanding, Justin Rosenberg seeks an intellectual initiation against the neo-realist, mainstream IR predominance in Anglophone IR (Rosenberg 2013, 2016). Scholars that have studied this concept, such as Kai Koddenbrock, agree that the project of multiplicity is nothing more than "the quest for new foundations in social science." Multiplicity, according to Koddenbrock, is an attempt to incorporate the real-time plurality of social life into a new language that goes beyond the negative, ineffective Realist lexicon of anarchy (Koddenbrock 2020; Kurki and Rosenberg 2020, 4).

Rosenberg (2016) contends that human life is intrinsically "multiple and multifaceted" rather than linear and singular. International Relations (IR) studies highlights how the concurrent presence of several communities, cultures, and geographical areas—defining 'the international'—influences human social evolution. The concept of multiplicity beyond the simple recognition of variety; it investigates the interactions among various social forms and their resultant patterns of growth and inequity. This theoretical framework examines the coexistence, interaction, and mutual effect of various societies on their developmental trajectories, resulting in intricate patterns of social evolution and change (Rosenberg 2013a, 2010, 2006; Cooper 2021, 229; Anievas and Nişancıoğlu 2015).

The "Multiplicity Project" essentially aims to bring a deep ontological approach to International Relations, as in other disciplines, and to put them in the position of exporting theory and methodology to other social sciences of the discipline rather than importing<sup>11</sup> theory and methodology from other social sciences. Its goal is to question the discipline's dominant theoretical perspectives and to utilize more social-centered analyses as a reference rather than state-centered analyses (Wiener 2020, 2).

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<sup>11</sup> Indeed, IR whether liberal, Marxist, feminist, constructionist, or post-structuralist, has advanced by incorporating concepts from external IR disciplines to challenge neorealism's depoliticization of geopolitics. Even neoclassical realism has attempted to modify neorealism by reintroducing non-international, unit-level factors, rather than starting from an alternative definition of the "international" (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 255).

geographical areas—defining 'the international'—influences human social evolution. The concept of multiplicity beyond the simple recognition of variety; it investigates the interactions among various social forms and their resultant patterns of growth and inequity. This theoretical framework examines the coexistence, interaction, and mutual effect of various societies on their developmental trajectories, resulting in intricate patterns of social evolution and change (Rosenberg 2013a, 2010, 2006; Cooper 2021, 229; Anievas and Nişancıoğlu 2015).

Rosenberg draws attention to the discipline's potential regarding whether and how this is attainable. He argues that International Relations goes far beyond competition and conflict (Rosenberg 2016a). "The human world is not unitary but multiple" at the highest organizational level (Rosenberg 2016b, 135; Lees 2020). Likewise, Mann remarks that "people do not form unitary societies, but rather a multiplicity of interacting social networks" (Mann 1993, 16). This fundamental reality gives rise to the formal space of the 'International,' as well as the security dynamics studied by realism (Waltz 1979; Mearsheimer 2001), the cooperative development stressed by liberalism (Keohane and Nye 1984), and the imperialism, colonialism, and discrimination shown by critical approaches (Cox 1981; Linklater 1990).

Furthermore, literature, art, music, medicine, religion, philosophy, and even language may be found in many civilizations where people are aware of avenues outside their own growth and where ideas, skills, and resources are continuously pushed out of these paths of progress. In other words, traces of inter-communal interaction may be seen in humanity's technological and intellectual advancements. Essentially, if there had been a single typical society or a system of societies that were independent of one another and had no chance of interaction, there would have been less or no progress on matters such as development, technical, and intellectual improvements. As a result, the multiplicity of societies involves the interplay of all facets of social existence, not just politics, economics, and technology. A single social environment is coupled with others to produce distinct and individual consequences. To put it another way, practically everything has an IR (Rosenberg 2018, 250; Kurki 2019, 563; Rosenberg 2013a, 587; Ezcurdia 2020, 9; Powel 2020).

There are several approaches to social theory, but the majority are founded on

concepts created by the Classical Social Theory School, which is dominated by three thinkers: Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim. Marx studied contemporary world politics. However, their views of what societies are and how they form do not include the coexistence and interaction of multiple societies. This is more than a remark on Classical Social Theory. Because of this original gap, many writers today unwittingly accept contemporary social science's "methodological nationalism"—that is, societies as fully self-sufficient beings. (Anievas and Matin 2016, 19).

With the concept of multiplicity, the IR discipline aims to transition from political theory to social theory. This necessitates rethinking the idea of anarchy, which is at the core of IR. However, other scholars argue that it is not essential to entirely abandon classic IR theories and views when contemplating the idea of international. According to Davenport (2020), the new international concept must be built on dialectical coexistence rather than simply rejecting the negative (anarchy) and choosing the positive (multiplicity). Only in this manner can International Relations be released from the prison of political science. (Kurki and Rosenberg 2020, 6).

The shift from negative to positive is also known as the absence to presence transition. In addition to viewing multiplicity as an ontological approach outside of political science ontology and an adversary of mainstream IR concepts such as anarchy, it should be considered a positive indicator of international coexistence - the presence of various interacting societies (Rosenberg 2016a, 136).

The theory of multiplicity, based on materialist ontology, has both empirical and normative aspects. Rosenberg and Tallis (2022) contend that multiplicity offers an integrative framework that may include many theoretical viewpoints within International Relations (IR). Rosenberg's framework highlights the significance of inter-societal linkages in influencing global governance systems. This approach improves our comprehension of the interactions among various cultures in the establishment and preservation of international institutions, hence enriching International Relations literature on regimes, communities of practice, integration, and global society. Wiener (2020, 6) posits that the importance of multiplicity is in its ability to examine how many social forms jointly influence international behaviors and institutional frameworks.

The concept of multiplicity emphasizes that the dynamics and results of inter-societal relations are derived from exterior factors rather than stemming from an internal international cohesion. In essence, instead of supposing an inherent, cohesive international framework, multiplicity emphasizes how societal interactions, influenced by many external influences, determine their evolution. These interactions may provide both beneficial and detrimental effects for the affected cultures (Davenport 2020, 538).

The concept of multiplicity has been used in several domains of International Relations (IR) studies. A number of researchers have used this theoretical framework to analyze current global issues: Lees (2020) researched conflict dynamics, Hagemann (2020) studied UN action in South Sudan, Koddenbrock (2020) investigated international monetary systems, and Corry evaluated the effects of climate change. In 2019, Benjamin Tallis expanded the concept to architectural study, whilst Rosenberg used it to investigate the evolution of ideas across many cultures and the emergence of uneven growth patterns via inter-societal connections. In the theoretical discourse on multiplicity, Kurki and Rosenberg (2020, 2) advocate for an expansion of its conceptual framework. This theoretical extension has prompted academic discussion, with Powel (2020) proposing enhancements to the framework's applicability, while Davenport (2020) challenges its core assumptions about inter-societal relations.

### **2.3. Multiplicity as Deep Ontology of IR and the Concept of International**

Justin Rosenberg's theoretical contribution to International Relations (IR) is a substantial effort to integrate international theory, social theory, and Marxist ideology via his concept of 'societal multiplicity.' This approach has produced significant theoretical and empirical advancements in both International Relations (IR) and International Political Economy (IPE) literature (Tansel 2021, 148). Rosenberg's concept of multiplicity fundamentally asserts the academic independence of International Relations while recognizing its linkages to associated disciplines such as sociology, history, and geography.

Rosenberg's argument posits that 'internationality'—defined as the concurrent presence and interaction of several societies—constitutes the unique logical

framework and ontological basis of International Relations. Rosenberg argues that International Relations should establish its own ontological foundation based on societal multiplicity, rather than adopting theoretical frameworks from related fields. This perspective raises multiplicity from a simple attribute of international relations to the essential ontological foundation that differentiates IR as a distinct field of inquiry (Rosenberg 2017a, 91; de Oliveira 2022a, 656).

Rosenberg contends that this ontological base, however lately expressed, has always been intrinsic to the field. Similar to how time serves as the foundation for historical analysis and social order establishes the ontological basis of sociology, inter-societal relations—arising from the simultaneous existence of time and space—represent the unique ontological domain of International Relations (Hagemann 2020, 504; Choucri 1974, 66; Powel 2020, 554).

The concept of multiplicity extends beyond inter-societal interactions. It includes a "multifaceted sociocultural realm" (Rosenberg 2017a, 90) and corresponds with the present continental philosophy's interpretation of being as an ontological domain of difference. Hagemann (2020, 501) pushes for a relational/non-essential approach to multiplicity, drawing on Alain Badiou's statement that ontology must start with the assumption of "not one" and expanding upon Theodor Adorno's idea of non-identity. This theoretical refinement posits that multiplicity ought to be interpreted through an Adornian perspective of negativity, remaining receptive to diverse relational configurations beyond the mechanical inter-societal interactions highlighted in Rosenberg's initial formulation (Kurki and Justin Rosenberg 2020, 6).

The inquiry pertains to whether the discipline of International Relations, founded in the early twentieth century, has attained its present condition devoid of a distinct ontological framework. Skocpol (1979, 34) provides a relevant perspective on this matter. He contends that international relations are often limited to certain protocols rather than comprehended within the wider, ongoing context of relational frameworks. This criticism underscores a fundamental deficiency in the discipline's approach. In actuality, every event analyzed within international relations entails the continuous processes of creation, re-creation, and non-creation of itself and other entities within the social sphere. The processual aspect of international relations

highlights the dynamic and relational characteristics of societies, which are never static or definitive entities. Rather, they are continually formed and reformed via enduring encounters and connections (Powel 2020, 554).

The term "international" is fundamental to Rosenberg and should be explored. For him, international is a social reality resulting from the coexistence of multiple societies. Similarly, Tallis believes that our obligation as International Relations experts is to comprehend, analyze, and explain what is international (Rosenberg 2006, 308). Tallis believes that societal multiplicity gives us the perspective and resources to do so by utilizing our discipline's numerous strengths and embracing the distinctive ontological underpinning – and hence added value –of International Relations while also empowering them by creating an overarching common ground for the organization (Tallis 2019, 172).

It is suggested that the quantitative and qualitative features of the proposed new ontological paradigm for international relations have a significant role in international relations theory and practice. Both drivers—more than one kind (diversity) and more than one (plurality) —work-alike across social boundaries and within societies, thus developing interrelated and mutually reinforcing dynamics (Wiener 2020, 1).

Kurki contends that the concept of "multiplicity" needs to act as a catalyst for interdisciplinary discourse. Nevertheless, the concept of "multiplicity" as a common ground in International Relations poses a potential challenge (Kurki 2019, 571). The struggle emerges from the varied interpretations and applications of "multiplicity" across different fields, resulting in contradictory understandings and approaches.

The interdependent character of scientific investigation requires a framework for comprehending related relationships. In the 21st century, International Relations must traverse an intricate network of relationships among human societies, technology, and ecosystems. This necessitates the creation of essential instruments for promoting interdisciplinary discourse. The notion of "multiplicity," highlighting relationality and interconnectivity, provides a significant foundation for fostering such conversation (Waring 2020).

The concept of "Multiplicity" provides a significant foundation for ontological and epistemological discourse in IR. Although the field contends with fragmentation, "Multiplicity" is a significant ontological entity that need to be comprehended spatially. It represents a more contemporary and established kind of universalism within International Relations. It seeks to interact with and contribute to the continuing discourse over the ontological basis of IR. Examining "Multiplicity" from an ontological perspective uncovers its capacity to serve as both a shared foundation and a catalyst for dispute. It may be seen as both ontological, pertaining to a basic component of reality, and multifaceted, including a variety of views and interpretations. This dualism stems from the intrinsic complexity of "multiplicity," which includes a broad spectrum of social, cultural, and political elements. The concept's ambiguous character permits many interpretations, leading to both shared understandings and points of contention (Kurki 2019; Blaney and Tickner 2017; Sylvester 2007).

The ontologicalization of the international as a multiplicity is to bring this externality within by changing absence into being and negative into positive. The first and most crucial step toward liberating the concept of the International is to free it from its exclusive confinement to the realm of politics. According to Rosenberg, the true significance of the international Multiplicity lies in the general social sphere, and in order to bring this to light, it must be separated from the political features of International Relations - the 'absence of an inclusive government' – and it must focus on the coexistence of multiple interacting societies (Davenport 2020, 538).

Anarchy in International Relations can be regarded from a political ontological perspective. Anarchy is described in this context as the lack of a superior order in society (or in the system) and the continuation of the social order with claims of establishing power in competition (Prichard 2018, 247; Newman 2012). The discipline's defining claim that anarchy leads to security rivalry and conflict between nations is untenable. Indeed, the aforementioned creates a vicious spiral regarding discipline and the reasons for conflicts. On the other hand, Multiplicity attempts to reconsider the role of conflict and insecurity in global politics because the human globe encompasses numerous coexisting societies (Rosenberg 2016, 128). In other words, Multiplicity contends that the structural reason for state distrust is not anarchy



but rather the existence of fundamental conflicts of interest amongst groups. Exploitation between groups causes conflicts of interest by producing structural pressures for social stratification and the institutionalization of inter-societal violence. As interconnected processes, economic disparity, institutionalization of violence, and the crystallization of distinct states stand out (Lees 2020, 404).

Certain scholars differ from Rosenberg's profound ontological viewpoint. For instance, Drieschová (2019) disputes Rosenberg's claim that a field ought to be characterized by its "essence," or, as Reshetnikov (2019) describes it, a "substantial" or "underlying" ontology. Drieschová posits that disciplines should be comprehended via elements such as the community of scientists that constitute them, the institutional frameworks that underpin them (e.g., departments, journals, professional societies), labor regulations, and collective scientific activities. Nevertheless, according to Tallis, the Multiplicity, the concept of International Relations currently provides just such a framework to help IR researchers embrace the challenge of zooming in and out between the local and the inter-communal, the more specific and the more general. Multiplicity, besides IR, is a framework for taking responsibility for understanding, explaining, and interpreting the international (Tallis 2019, 169).

#### **2.4. Uneven and Combined Development and Societal Multiplicity**

UCD is a meta-theory that provides an abstract picture of social change, in which all developmental processes reflect the interactions of individual societies' internal dynamics with other developmentally diverse societies (Dunford et al. 2021, 22). UCD, which derives from Trotsky, enables us to understand societies' ongoing, divergent, and convergent interactions as they alter, shape, and structure one another in intricate dialectical processes (Kurki 2019, 562). The idea of uneven and combined development (UCD) proposed by Leon Trotsky seeks to outline a non-Eurocentric philosophy of inter-societal relations through a non-linear context of human progress (Zeglen 2020, 1). As a result, UCD may be one of IR's most relevant and sophisticated multiplicity theories (Kurki 2019). However, it is far from the only; there are other alternative ways and prospective approaches to explain multiplicity, such as climate change (Corry 2020), global food system and cultural appropriation (Alex 2022) and internetiond (Hagemann 2020).

According to Rosenberg (2009, 109), "uneven development produces political multiplicity; and, through this political multiplicity, that same unevenness super-adds a class of anarchical causes to the nature of social development." The system of states and the "anarchic" interaction between states, according to this theory, is the outcome of the uneven development of factors of production (Rolf 2021, 35).

UCD analyses social events by examining the international configurations of 'unorganized' evolving societies coexisting at any particular time and analyzing in real-time processes arising from their interactions (or 'combinations'). "It is all a matter of concrete correlations," Trotsky famously observed (Trotsky 1930; Rosenberg 2021, 147).

"Humans and nature are in one metabolism, but each socio-natural entity is also in a metabolic exchange with other entities through the international" (Corry 2020, 429). This twofold dialectic generates transnational social structures that have a structuring influence on natural systems – and so have an impact on particular societies and their frameworks (Corry 2020, 429).

Trotsky's theoretical framework establishes that historical development is based on a general principle of inequality, arising from the essential circumstances of geographical variety (Evans 2016, 1063). This viewpoint acknowledges that all material circumstances experience constant change and evolution, ultimately resulting in varied developmental trajectories. The distinctiveness of each site and the inability to flawlessly replicate developmental phases arise from this intrinsic variability. Expanding upon this basis, Uneven and Combined Development (UCD) theory offers a multifaceted social science and political economics framework for examining these distinctive and unique events (Dunford et al. 2014).

Davidson (2016) contends that pre-capitalist societies, although able to borrow from and influence one another, lacked the requisite diversity for essential combination: "Until the emergence of capitalism, societies may borrow from one another, influence each other, but they were not sufficiently diverse for the elements to 'combine' in any sense." This viewpoint neglects the transhistorical essence of inequality and inter-societal progression. Historical evidence indicates that prior to capitalism, many social groupings influenced one another to modify their political

and economic frameworks, resulting in patterns of inequality and opportunity. Ezcurdia (2020, 4) exemplifies this via pre-modern Iranian culture, where the connection between nomadic and sedentary populations was essential to state creation. The emergence of capitalism, marked by industrialization and urbanization, exacerbated rather than instigated these patterns of UCD (Davidson 2016).

UCD enables us to recognize how all societies are built in their economic, social, and political specificities through interactions. It is considered in this context as the optimum perspective for observing the outcomes of multiplicity. In truth, uneven and combined growth is universal and transhistorical, both in terms of pure "co-existence" in the face of "different" and in terms of "interaction," "combination," and "historical change" (Kurki 2019, 562-63).

The UCD provides an in-depth examination of the interconnected and mutually influential processes behind the "rise of the West" and the "fall of the East," emphasizing the significance of international dynamics in social-theoretical discourse. This viewpoint may provide a resolution to the existing analytical impasse between explanations that concentrate only on internal societal elements and those that highlight external effects. A basic component of human history—its "most general law"—is the difference across societies regarding size, culture, political structure, and socioeconomic systems. This empirical observation of societal multiplicity, including both quantitative (many societies) and qualitative (different societies) aspects, underpins UCD's explanatory potential (Anievas and Nisancioglu 2017, 40; Rosenberg 2006, 2016b).

Hobson asserts that from the ninth to the eighteenth century, Europe lagged behind other regions in early development. Although UCD was less apparent than it became under capitalism, it nevertheless existed previous to this era. The unification process among European states was inconsistent, with these nations deriving far more benefits from collective prosperity compared to areas like China, the Middle East, or India. Trotsky termed this difference as the "privileges of historical backwardness," indicating that certain places were impeded in their developmental paths. For example, England attained industrialization by "borrowing and replicating" ideas that China had created over a millennium before during its own industrial and agricultural

revolutions. The integration of UCD into the discourse of the European Miracle often fetishizes Europe and "naturalizes" Western capitalist supremacy, often depicting the East as inert and negating its action (Hobson 2011; Yalvaç 2013, 19).

Rosenberg views Uneven and Combined Development (UCD) as a solution to the "international question" (Rosenberg 2016b). He contends that UCD may integrate many cultural, technical, and legal systems across various societies and groups, extending beyond merely economic or political frameworks (Ezcurdia 2020, 9). Moreover, Rosenberg sees UCD as a perspective relevant not alone to the contemporary epoch of capitalist growth but to the whole of human history. Since the dawn of civilization, different societies with markedly diverse social and technical frameworks have engaged, enabling the exchange of technology and ideas. These contacts transpired not alone among villages but also between whole civilizations. Rosenberg posits that inequality is a transhistorical phenomenon arising from the interplay of technology and knowledge dissemination. He asserts that UCD is a universal principle of human history, since external necessity and the privilege of historical backwardness have consistently influenced society evolution throughout history (Rosenberg 2013a; Ezcurdia 2020, 2–3).

The international system is as follows, according to the uneven and combined development model: The world is uneven in that it has many different types of societies. These societies coexist with one another and interact with one another. As a result, the existence of these societies is combined. The interaction of societies is necessary for historical development (Rosenberg 2013a; Ezcurdia 2020, 2).

Uneven development is frequently used in political, economic, and social contexts, such as industry, banking, commerce, wealth, consumption, labor relations, political configurations, etc. It is defined as a historically created, uneven geographical distribution. Some authors use the terms 'development' and 'underdevelopment' to distinguish parties such as industrial zones and raw material suppliers; affluent and impoverished nations; and countries with and without sophisticated forms of wage labor and/or liberal democratic institutions. The theoretical framework of uneven development includes several interrelated aspects of global political economy: first, the dialectical relationship between urban and rural areas serves as a vital mechanism

for the reproduction of global capitalism; second, the center-periphery dynamic influences core patterns of international economic relations; and third, the systematic exploitation in interactions between developed and developing societies perpetuates existing structural inequalities. Combined development combines economic, social, and political forms found in 'developed' regions with those found in 'underdeveloped' regions, a combination of new and old forms, with 'old forms' historically considered to represent economic and social structures.

To put it another way, combined development occurs when capital, always looking to maximize profits, combines advanced technology, industrial organization, and division of labor with low-wage, controlled, and sweating labor. In truth, it synthesizes nineteenth-century labor conditions and political structures with twenty-first-century technology. (O' Connor 1989, 1-3).

"Uneven and combined development," according to Rosenberg, may also be classified as an international theory because all of the causal processes he discusses derive mainly from the co-existence of more than one society. However, because this multiplicity is understood as a manifestation of the fundamental inequality of historical growth and change, it will remain a sociological theory (Rosenberg 2013b, 225).

The Great Depression is one of the most remarkable instances that can be offered as an example of UCD. The Great Depression was caused by the fact that global industrialization began unevenly, that is, in different areas at different times, and simultaneously, the many materials generated continued to interact and impact each other (Rosenberg 2013b, 212).

#### **2.4.1. Historical backwardness**

Historical unevenness provided backward societies with a perplexing prospect, which Trotsky referred to as the privilege of historical backwardness (Rosenberg 2016b; 2020). The historical privilege of backwardness refers to an inequitable impact in which certain cultures immediately import the successes of other societies without having to generate these advances themselves. As a result of this backwardness, certain cultures can bypass all of the preceding steps that other

societies had to go through to attain particular advances (Ezcurdia 2020, 1-2). For example, multiplicity and interaction were crucial in the rise of the West. Despite its historical backwardness, Europe could absorb and implement breakthroughs and inventions that took centuries in a short period due to its progress from the Far and the Middle East civilizations and thus attained development (Ezcurdia 2020, 6; Rosenberg 2013). Rosenberg provides an illustration of the advantage of historical backwardness for Eastern societies as well. According to him, Chinese industrialization is currently occurring faster and more compressed than other late developers before it (Rosenberg et al. 2019; Rosenberg 2013b).

Indeed, this historical lag might be viewed as a paradoxical opportunity. To elaborate, there is no law that every backward civilization would take use of its backwardness' opportunities. It does, however, imply that practically all sophisticated societies now have historically lagged behind and benefitted from technologically and organizationally advanced societies, hence accelerating their development. As a result, the development of most developed society today is impacted by the other societies (A'Zami and Xin Liu 2022, 297; Rosenberg 2016a, 141).

Backwardness is a chronological category that comes later to a process that has already begun. It does not imply any form of stupidity or primitive behavior. Backward societies coexisted with societies that had previously moved further down that road, and this coexistence and difference allowed the prospect of accelerated growth among late-comers. (Rosenberg 2016b; 2013b).

If we concentrate on the UCD, we can see that the European Empires (notably the British Empire) presently enjoy the benefits of historical backwardness. These empires could integrate their political systems by adopting many of the technologies from the east and applying them rapidly (Ezcurdia 2020, 7).

Chinese scientific advancements established the foundation for Western progress. China's technical preeminence is shown by its production of 125,000 tons of cast iron in 1078, surpassing the total output of the rest of the world—a production level that Britain would not reach until the 1790s. Chinese technical advancements were many and impactful: movable type printing (1000), blast furnaces (1050), mechanical water clocks (1090), paddle ships (1130), magnetic compass (1150), and water-

powered textile machines (1200). Chinese naval engineering demonstrated exceptional competence, designing ocean boats with capacities ranging from 200 to 600 tons and housing crews of up to 1,000 people. Until about 1800, China's technical and economic growth levels surpassed those of Europe, which would not achieve similar advancements until the late 18th or early 19th century. Nonetheless, this dynamic process of invention ultimately stopped, hindering what may have resulted in Chinese rather than Western global supremacy. The West finally leveraged these technical advancements, taking advantage of what Trotsky referred to as the "historical backwardness" of the East (Davies 2003, 43).

Many issues can benefit from concepts like "UCD" and "the whip of external necessity." UCD is already well-established in the Multiplicity literature (Rosenberg 2021; Leigh 2021; Cooper 2021; Rolf 2021; Evans 2016), with several research in this area. The country of immigration is often far better developed as a result of a society's movement to another country. If immigrants may profit from the growth of the society to which they move as a consequence of contact, they can become more developed as a result of that interaction, and they owe this to the host society. The whip of external necessity, as another concept to be considered here, is that the migrating society has to work more, live more disciplined and save more in order to survive, which may lead that society to develop more than the host society in the future. Today, we see that immigrants are much more successful in many countries of the world. The main reason for this is a whip given by the fact that they were backward in their time in the society in which they settled.

#### **2.4.2. Whip of external necessity**

The concept of the "whip of external necessity" is a theoretical framework that elucidates how external challenges and hardships can shape societal development (Trotsky 1930). Coined by Leon Trotsky, this concept posits that societies facing external pressures, such as economic constraints, technological gaps, or social and political disruptions, are compelled to adapt and innovate in order to survive, thereby accelerating their development. The 'whip of external necessity' stated that the impetus to industrialize would descend on backward societies regardless of their character or stage of development. According to Rosenberg, every culture and

society has been subject to the whip of external necessity and the privilege of historical backwardness at some point in history. The medieval Christian Kingdoms of Europe and the continent's first worldwide empires were no exception (Ezcurdia 2020, 5; Rosenberg 2013b, 196-197).

In UCD theory, the "whip of external necessity" describes how societal structures react to stresses from their international environment. In an interconnected system, societies with inferior economic or technical growth experience pressure from more advanced ones. These forces emerge via sophisticated technology, military capabilities, economic systems, and political institutions, necessitating that less developed societies change their social structures (Zeglen 2020, 2).

The "whip of external necessity" suggests that societies facing adverse conditions are driven to find solutions and overcome obstacles, leading to rapid advancements in various spheres of society (Johnson 2012). For instance, immigrants or marginalized communities facing discrimination and limited resources may be motivated to work harder, save more, and acquire new skills to overcome their challenging circumstances. These external pressures act as a "whip," forcing them to respond and adapt, and ultimately catalyzing their development.

Historically, the "whip of external necessity" has been evident in numerous examples. For instance, during times of war, societies have had to mobilize their resources, technology, and manpower to survive and compete, often leading to accelerated technological advancements and societal transformations (Tilly 1992). Similarly, in the face of economic crises or resource scarcity, societies have been compelled to find innovative ways to sustain their livelihoods and improve their economic conditions (Brown 2015).

Furthermore, the "whip of external necessity" can also be observed in the context of globalization, where nations or regions facing economic disparities and technological gaps are driven to catch up with more advanced societies. This can involve the adoption and adaptation of foreign technologies, organizational systems, and societal norms to overcome their lagging status and strive for development (Kim 2010).

The concept of the "whip of external necessity" also intersects with other related



concepts, such as the notion of "creative destruction" proposed by economist Joseph Schumpeter. According to Schumpeter, economic progress is driven by the continuous process of old industries being replaced by new ones, leading to economic transformation and growth (Schumpeter 1994, 81-87). The "whip of external necessity" can be seen as a similar force that compels societies to adapt and innovate, leading to creative destruction and societal progress.

Moreover, the "whip of external necessity" has implications for policy-making and development strategies. Governments and policymakers can leverage external pressures and challenges as opportunities for promoting innovation, entrepreneurship, and societal advancement. By recognizing and harnessing the "whip of external necessity," policymakers can design strategies that encourage adaptive responses, foster creativity, and facilitate positive changes in societies facing external constraints (Jones 2017).

In conclusion, the concept of the "whip of external necessity" sheds light on how external pressures and challenges can shape societal development (Trotsky 1930). It highlights how societies facing adverse conditions are compelled to adapt and innovate, leading to accelerated advancements and societal transformations (Johnson 2012). The concept's explanatory capacity transcends historical study to include modern development trends, especially in elucidating how societies react to technical, economic, and military demands from more sophisticated countries. This theoretical viewpoint has considerable consequences for development strategies and policy formulation, particularly with technology adaptation, institutional change, and economic modernization. Additional investigation into the processes of externally-driven development might improve our comprehension of how societies manage and react to international demands while preserving their autonomy in the development process.

#### **2.4.3. Unevenness: Transhistorical feature of the International system?**

Rosenberg's study of international unevenness and multiplicity is based on geographical diversity and its consequent ecological variances. He contends that disparities arise from the "ecological, climatic, and topographic" variations across geographical regions (Rosenberg 2010). The migration of humans from Africa to

several continents required adaptation to differing climatic circumstances, resulting in distinct developmental paths across cultures. The coexisting civilizations, located in diverse geographical areas, are influenced by their local physical settings as well as their relational positions within the larger network of human communities (Rosenberg 2010; 2016). The combined impact of physical geography and inter-societal ties generates unique patterns of development and interaction.

According to Marxist theory, the world economy is unequal as long as the benefits of economic progress are not dispersed equitably across the globe. Furthermore, capital's global and expansionary ambition to encourage market transactions everywhere makes this disparity a universal system (Rolf 2021, 4).

The transition from hunter-gatherer societies to agricultural communities in prehistory and the *Longue durée* represented a substantial change in inter-societal interactions. Multiplicity theory asserts that societal conflict arises not from a lack of global governance, as rationalist international relations theories propose, but from the intrinsic dynamics of coexisting societies with differing developmental stages. This theoretical framework suggests that the primary cause of conflict originates from the interactions among different societies marked by uneven internal and external development. The multiplicity approach reconceptualizes the roots of inter-societal conflict, highlighting the structural tensions that emerge from the presence and interaction of multiple social forms (Kurki and Rosenberg 2020, 3).

According to Rosenberg, social growth/development has been uneven throughout history. Inter-communal comparison is predicated on partitioning human social unity by multiplicity at this fundamental level (Rosenberg 2016b, 18). In other words, the principle of multiplicity explains the inter-communal comparability of the human race throughout history. The International is not an "idle multiplicity"; instead, it is intrinsically linked to inter-communal comparison (Rosenberg 2016a; McCarthy 2021, 304).

Powel thinks that unevenness is a characteristic of a society of states, with some lagging behind others on the linear measure of capitalist progress (Powel 2018, 249). Furthermore, according to Anievas, A. and Matin, inequality is a universal ontological condition of social life that entails multiplicity and differentiation.

Conditions and development processes within and between interacting societies perpetuate inequality ipso facto. As this interactive process generates new iterations and dynamics continuously, some "combinations" of its components are unavoidably produced, thereby ontologically blurring the analytical difference between "inner" and "external" and, by extension, between "conventional" and "contemporary" (Anievas and Matin 2016).

Internationally, the geopolitical consequences of industrialization inequalities were and continue to be enormous. In the nineteenth century, the acceleration in the developmental gap between European and non-European societies resulted in an unprecedented subordination of almost the entire world to the rapidly industrializing nations of Europe (Rosenberg 2013b, 196-208). This economic-based global inequality is too complex to ever be confined to the economy alone. Rapid industrialization of Europe has been seen as one of the main reasons for the social, political and economic problems experienced by undeveloped civilizations.

## **2.5. Criticisms and Challenges to the Societal Multiplicity**

A major criticism of Rosenberg's approach is on his reification of society as an analytical entity. Although his understanding of multiplicity arises from historical necessity instead than theoretical preference, for Sears, his framework paradoxically strengthens the same reification it aims to overcome. Rosenberg's ontological framework, by seeing societies as distinct parts within a larger system, may replicate the methodological issues inherent in conventional International Relations theories that view states as confined entities (Sears 2018, 243).

Another critique about multiplicity is that in attempting to escape the prison of political science, it risks being imprisoned in the prisons of other social sciences such as history and sociology. Sears (2018, 242) contends that Rosenberg's dependence on Trotsky's theory of "uneven and combined development" may diminish International Relations to a mere subset of historical materialism, so converting it into an adjunct of sociology, economics, or historical analysis. This criticism poses essential inquiries about disciplinary boundaries and theoretical autonomy in International Relations studies.

Davenport, on the other hand, addresses the idea of multiplicity concerning sociology's effect on international relations. For him, multiplicity merely reflects anarchy in the sociological mirror. It is the recognition that the International has produced a dialectical totality via the interplay of unity and difference, integration and disintegration. According to Davenport, Rosenberg only displays the dialectic by its social implications; to this degree, it emphasizes that it is dialectical without any philosophical substance that makes it dialectic (Davenport 2020, 543).

Davenport contends that shifting the theoretical framework from anarchy to multiplicity, or from politics to sociology, does not improve our comprehension of classical international relations issues such as war, peace, conflict, and collaboration (Davenport 2020, 540; Callinicos and Rosenberg 2008). Also, Koddenbrock has criticism on multiplicity theory. His criticism is significant for highlighting two interrelated flaws in Rosenberg's approach. The theory insufficiently addresses hierarchical linkages among societies. Secondly, this theoretical erroneous may arise from Rosenberg's interaction with Trotsky's (1930) rejection of modernization theory and gradual social progress. Koddenbrock (2020, 519) argues that Rosenberg's focus on multiplicity may hide the importance of hierarchy and modernity in influencing international relations.

These two interconnected shifts, first from negativity-absence to positivity-being and second from politics to sociology, support the ambitious claim to re-establish International Relations based on multiplicity rather than anarchy. However, there is an evident issue here. In reality, the link between the political and the social has not been proved adequately (Davenport 2020, 539).

Rosenberg's ontological approach has piqued the interest of postcolonial thinkers. In this perspective, Blaney and Tickner see Justin Rosenberg's re-founding of International Relations (IR) as a pluralistic gesture that accepts multiplicity, co-existence, and difference as the cornerstone of our human world. Rosenberg, according to them, takes the plurality and desire for a global discipline that Amitav Acharya and Bary Buzan aim to actualize in the discipline to a new level. Rosenberg's disciplinary diagnosis, on the other hand, begins elsewhere, arguing that IR has continually failed to develop "great concepts" that span boundaries and

influence other disciplines (Blaney and Tickner 2017, 71).

While multiplicity is an essential aspect of the social, merely presuming its existence does not adequately define the primary unit of analysis in IR. Rosenberg must constrain the concept of "social" multiplicity to formulate a persuasive argument. Moreover, Morozov (2021, 2) asserts in his analysis of substantialism in sociology and international relations that presuming the existence of distinct civilizations as an obvious reality is not a conceptually viable option. Rosenberg has utilized relational sociology and ontological individualism to tackle these difficulties.

Relational sociology aims to comprehend and tackle societal concerns through social relations instead of individual actions, asserting that social phenomena are inherently interconnected from the beginning (Donati 2017,15). This approach necessitates grappling with complexity to build theories and procedures appropriate for a more nuanced reality. In contrast, ontological individualism posits that individual facts entirely dictate social facts. Originally regarded as a proposition concerning the identification of groups through persons or traits, ontological individualism has recently been acknowledged as a universal restriction. It is frequently regarded as the only rational reaction to the concept that social attributes exist autonomously in their own domain. Historically, social organizations were viewed as primary agents over individuals; however, ontological individualism contests this viewpoint (Epstein 2009, 187–188).

In his paper titled "Strange multiplicity' as a moral-political value: Potential and costs of normativity in world politics," Christof Royer criticizes Rosenberg's use of multiplicity in an ontological context, arguing that the concept should be applied in a normative sense. He regards societal multiplicity as an asset to be preserved and safeguarded since it is "a fundamental fact about the human world." In other words, such a move enables us to consider multiplicity normatively rather than just ontologically (Royer 2022, 2).

Another essential aspect of the concept is that, despite its desire to go from the political to the social, it has made no steps in this area. Although the political and social for multiplicity are firmly divided, there has been no study or effort on how these two circumstances might be sharply separated, and this topic has been

neglected (Davenport 2020, 540). On the other hand, Lees argues that Political Science is not a prison to escape from and that the discipline of International Relations should focus on fundamental political issues such as who gets what, when, and how (Lees 2020, 406).

Furthermore, it is essential to consider whether societal multiplicity (including "difference," "interaction," "combination," and "dialectical change") is truly unique to "international relations." According to Sears, Rosenberg's concept of the International remains awkwardly "Westphalian" because it must cognize unitary societies to imagine their differences (Sears 2018, 243).

Some scholars argue that characterizing multiplicity as a distinctive attribute of the international system is erroneous, as multiplicity is prevalent in numerous fields, including the social and natural sciences (Tallis 2019, 171). This critique is applicable only when considering multiplicity in a generic sense, rather than explicitly as societal multiplicity. The theory of societal multiplicity refers to the intricate framework of coexisting, separate societies that interact with one another and evolve through their interactions and selections among multiple possibilities.

International Relations, as a field of study, aims to comprehend a world comprised of varied social structures with unique attributes that consistently engage to generate distinctive results. Rosenberg et al. (2022, 293-298) contend that the examination of war origins, treaty negotiations, the dissemination of new norms, or the formation of the international system reveals underlying processes that embody a non-singular logic influenced through multiple societal interactions.

Postcolonialists like Blaney and Tickner are concerned with how multiplicity is reintroduced. Multiple perspectives, locations, and ontologies were systematically disregarded in colonial IR. So for them, the shift to multiplicity, in the way that Rosenberg suggested, would be insufficient to combat deep-seated prejudices based on geographic, cultural, racial, and gender-based prejudices in IR. To address this issue, Kurki, the idea of multiplicity already incorporates the cultural, racial, and gender biases mentioned by Blaney and Tickner. However, because this notion is not based only on critical theory, it cannot be expected to seek answers to these issues. For Kurki, plurals are fundamentally gendered; "inter-societal multiplicity" (a la

realism or UCD, for example) is linked to, produced by, and functions via gendered processes. (Blaney and Tickner 2017; Kurki 2019, 562-566).

## **2.6. Multiple Multiplicities**

Multiplicity is the phenomenon of 'many worlds' or perspectives, not only of numerous states, societies, or actors (Kurki 2019, 567). Although Justin Rosenberg introduced the concept of multiplicity to the field of International Relations, numerous theorists in the discipline contributed to the theory's development via criticisms and research for the theory's maturation. In this framework, research on multiplicity is included in major international relations congresses and congresses on the notion of multiplicity (contributions of many theorists to the idea of multiplicity demonstrate the creation of quite divergent interpretations of the concept.

Multiplicity highlights that we live in a context of coexistence and exposure to others for Kurki; it indicates that we are made in our interactions with others, that we do not hold back from being exposed to relationships, and that we cannot do without exposure. As a result, it is both a valuable and provocative concept. It develops awareness of how we are developed in interactions with others and how we are built to be exposed to and confronted with diversity. Kurki, unlike Rosenberg, avoids treating the topic from a materialist standpoint. Instead, it concentrates on the concept's constructivist and societal dimensions (Kurki 2019, 573).

Kurki defines multiplicity as the coexistence of several agents -states- with survival objectives. State actions, decisions, and interests are formed by the forces caused by their interactions and coexistence. The multiplicity is an unavoidable structural aspect of the international, and the multiplicity defines the internationality. The international influences the multiplicity and vice versa. Societal multiplicity generates anxiety and thus 'similar' pressures on all players, which we can track on actors across time. Moreover, Kurki contends that societies display transnational traits owing to their near congruence with state borders (Kurki 2019, 564).

Rosenberg's claim that current International Relations (IR) theories can be viewed as theories of multiplicity requires recognition of the wider range of multiplicity within the field and the fundamental arguments associated with these viewpoints. This

expansive perspective transcends Rosenberg's concept of "societal multiplicity" and prompts an examination of the various interactions between space and multiplicity. The significance of the multiplicity theory transcends its application in IR, notably emphasizing vulnerabilities that emerge from interactions and exposure to others. The 'multiplicity of societies' signifies one aspect of this fragility, while other forms of multiplicity are equally important. These alternative forms inform our comprehension of the "international" and may complicate our vision of global politics (Kurki 2019, 560).

Kurki's understanding of multiplicity is focused on the broader sociological issue of co-becoming or co-determination with others (Kurki 2019) cited in Morozov 2021, 8). According to Kurki, the multiplicity, for example, does not have a "single meaning" but instead addresses more basic problems about co-determination or co-becoming, such as the dynamics and opportunities produced by exposure to others in relationships (Kurki 2019; Kurki and Rosenberg 2020). Kurki (2019, 569) analyses the notion from a constructivist standpoint in this regard. However, unlike constructivism, it emphasizes the relevance of the material world ontologically and the world of ideas.

Kurki conceptualizes multiplicity through the sociological framework of 'co-determination' or coexistence, whereas International Relations has conventionally focused on the dichotomy between internal and external spheres. Difference up to the point of externality is required for developing an entity capable of entering into a connection, regardless of whether similar units (e.g., other states) exist or whether it is sui generis (e.g., Romans). The meaning system that underpins the social order is unique to every hegemonic community: an outsider is someone whose traditions and views deviate from what we generally regard as usual. In this context, the concept of multiplicity can generate in-depth analyses of IR themes such as ethnicity, externalization, identity, and the world of ideas (Morozov 2021, 8; Kurki 2020).

Many academics, both inside and beyond the subject of International Relations, have expressed interest in the idea of multiplicity, which is a novel approach. For example, Nicholas Lees has investigated the relationship between multiplicity, inequality, and conflict. Using rational choice analysis, he contends that "anarchy"



does not always imply power politics and the practical result of conflict. "Multiplicity" is studied inside societies (between social groupings) as well as between societies in Lees' approach. It also allows for an analysis that reveals the hidden role of group inequality in providing sources for international conflict. It focuses on the cause of inequality both in different inter-communal conflicts within the state and in conflicts between states. For him, not the absence of world government, but the coexisting multitude of unequal societies (both inside and outside) is the main source of war in human relations (Lees 2020, 405-410).

In the previous sections, it was stated that the concept of multiplicity is not only a deep ontological approach of the IR discipline but can also offer new approaches for other social science fields. Going beyond this, Olaf Corry (cited in Tallis et al. 2018, 243–245) argues that the multiplicity is not limited to the social and that IR is just as good a tool for an ontology as statistical physics for example. Therefore, it is misleading to present multiplicity as a unique feature of the international, but this should not diminish its value as a fruitful research program and community-building concept.

Corry's understanding of the IR discipline is not confined to conflict and war. He investigates the potential contribution of "societal multiplicity" to ecological thinking and climate policies, a new but not insignificant challenge for International Relations. He contends that the externalization of nature in international relations theory is mirrored in profound theoretical neglect of the international in recent climate change writings. For him, climate change is not an issue that develops outside of the international arena but rather one that arises as a result of international dynamics and impacts the units, structure, and processes of the international system (Corry 2020, 421). The discipline of International Relations has long neglected nature. This resulted in criticism of Anthropocent, or the discipline's human-centered approach. The idea of multiplicity is not an Anthropocene perspective, and our living in symbiotic interactions with others, both non-human and human, is our vulnerability and exposure to others (Burke et al. 2016; Kurki 2019). Corry's works (2018; 2020) attempt to analyze the nature-society dichotomy without distinguishing between human and non-human. From a historical materialist standpoint, Corry also outlines the five consequences of multiplicity, co-existence, difference, interaction,

combination, and historical transformation. (Kurki and Justin Rosenberg 2020, 3).

Hagemann explores multiplicity from the perspective of security studies, specifically focusing on the dynamics of intervention. In her analysis of South Sudan, she utilizes the concept of multiplicity to comprehend the intersecting frameworks of foreign involvement intrinsic to sovereignty and intervention practices. Her analysis demonstrates how many, intersecting, and dynamic complexes of rationalities and practices influence South Sudan's reactions to foreign interventions and sovereignty issues (Hagemann 2020).

Koddenbrock analyzes multiplicity within the context of international monetary systems, with particular emphasis on hierarchical development patterns. His analysis delineates the progression of monetary forms in West Africa, from pre-colonial shell currencies to the colonial introduction of the Franc and British Pound, culminating in the modern CFA Franc. Koddenbrock (2020) illustrates that monetary linkages expose social structures that surpass individual societal confines. Furthermore, these communities experience ongoing transformation, undermining any static understanding of multiplicity and its consequences.

Brieg Powel places the concept of multiplicity in the broader context of historical sociology, as well as in the context of International Relations, Sociology, and Global History. This shows that non-IR disciplines are growing more cognizant of international elements in their subject matter but have yet to develop a theory of the international itself. As a result, International Relations has an opportunity to take the lead in understanding the relevance of interactive multiplicity for the social sciences and humanities. However, Powel delineates two major challenges. At first, International Relations must refrain from confining itself to state-system analysis. The second, and more intricate, aspect is the convergence of many disciplines within historical sociology focusing on multi-scale or multi-societal methodologies. This convergence implies that International Relations' (IR) quest for multiplicity as a unique disciplinary emphasis may paradoxically result in its integration into a wider multidisciplinary or post-disciplinary context, potentially weakening Rosenberg's assertion of multiplicity as IR's distinctive ontological sphere (Powel 2020; Kurki and Rosenberg 2020, 6; Rosenberg 2016a).

## **2.7. Consequences of Multiplicity**

Rosenberg delineates "five consequences of multiplicity": coexistence, difference, interaction, combination, and historical change (or dialectics). Rosenberg illustrates the manifestation of repercussions through real historical situations by employing Leon Trotsky's interpretation of the 'uneven and combined growth' of late Tsarist Russia as a paradigm. During the EISA EWIS workshop, he contended that although these five consequences are very insightful for comprehending unequal and combined growth, they also have wider implications within International Relations. Rosenberg asserts that acknowledging multiplicity as a core element of human social existence may offer IR a distinctive theoretical basis and a unique contribution to the social sciences and humanities (Kurki and Rosenberg 2020, 398).

Powel (2020, 552–553) asserts that Russian politics and society evolved unevenly compared to Western capitalist governments, and the revolution has an internationally rooted causal dimension. This argument is important as it suggests that many levels of human interaction are interconnected, contesting the idea that the international is fundamentally separate from the local—a perspective often linked to Kenneth Waltz's structural realism (Waltz 1979, 2001). This viewpoint illustrates that Rosenberg's perception of the international is broader than those in other fields that may have limited their comprehension of the international to tales akin to Waltz's ideas. Powell discusses the concept of uneven and combined development (UCD), asserting that domestic occurrences like revolutions influence the global arena.

Rosenberg contends that the IR discipline should be approached alongside the societal multiplicity and consequences that people have experienced in the human world. He also feels that IR 101 should begin and end with a focus on the consequences of multiplicity. According to him, the consequences of multiplicity are significant in four ways: a) the existence of a separate lateral coexistence and interaction area between societies living and interacting together, b. its extension beyond the fields of politics and economics traditionally studied by an anarchy-focused IR, c. Its methodological implications for other disciplines; and d. Its importance in world history (Rosenberg 2018, 250). Thus, the concept of

"International" as the consequence of "societal multiplicity" stretches well beyond the usual scope of the study of International Relations. As a result, "multiplicity" not only offers the ontological foundation for International Relations as a field; it also radically broadens the understanding of what International Relations might give to other disciplines (Rosenberg 2020).

The 'consequences of the multiplicity' go far beyond Political Science: they provide not only possible common ground for International Relations but also a framework for this 'international turn' that can help alleviate the severe difficulties of methodological nationalism' and the inclination to perceive societal growth as adhering to a singular, linear trajectory of progress. (Kurki and Rosenberg 2020, 2).

So far, multiplicity and its consequences have succeeded in fostering interaction among academics with broad theories and studies such as historical sociology, post-structuralism, environmentalism, and realism. This is crucial for ensuring productivity in the discipline, innovative perspectives, and interaction between academics and studies in the discipline (Tallis 2019, 168).

According to Wiener, the consequences of multiplicity include both "risk" and "opportunity," particularly in the global setting in which international relations are used. External interactions may occur, for example, when a society's security is threatened. Interaction, combination, and difference from the five outcomes are particularly imperative in this contribution, which focuses on the possible influence of applying the multiplicity lens to the "creation and development of society" through inter-and intra-societal interactions (Wiener 2020, 15).

Tallis is one of the researchers who adapted multiplicity results to a different topic. Tallis relates each of Rosenberg's five "consequences of multiplicity" to successive conjunctures in the history of contemporary Czech architecture, from the late-nineteenth-century "national resurgence" to the post-communist Czech Republic of today. This experiment demonstrates how the international manifests itself in the materiality of "national" architectural design and practice, while architecture, in turn, engages in international politics. It demonstrates "how to employ the international as an analytical and interpretative lens on par with the political and social." (Kurki and Rosenberg 2020, 4).

Similarly, Alex Colas' work on "food regimes" reveals how the exercise of international power has led to the hybridization of "foodways" and "national" cuisines across the globe. In examining the Spanish conquest of the Americas, British rule in South Asia, and the US occupation of Japan, Colas demonstrates how food plays a pivotal role in these structures of domination, while simultaneously unleashing dynamics of interaction, combination, and dialectical change (Colás 2018).

Literature may demonstrate the consequences of multiplicity, particularly within the context of international historical sociology, which frequently prioritizes the literary form. The importation of European novels to Brazil has enhanced Brazilian culture and revolutionized the novel genre, resulting in the development of novel literary forms. To investigate the global significance of art, particularly literature and the novel as artistic forms, it is crucial to analyze art's distinctive function as a medium of human expression and its relationship to cultural and social advancement (Davenport 2020, 541). This emphasis on art is essential as it underscores how artistic exchanges mirror and enhance the broader dynamics of multiplicity, illustrating how interactions between cultures can foster creative forms of expression and comprehension.

### **2.7.1. Difference**

The international, for multiplicity, is neither an epiphenomenon or conditioned by anything else; instead, it is primary. The diversity of societies creates a fundamental condition of difference that shapes the world. The difference is a necessary condition of multiplicity. Societies differ in many respects, including size, power, history, culture, etc.(Rosenberg 2018; 2020). Namely, While International Relations (IR) believes nations to be comparable entities, Rosenberg contends that the distinction between societies defines the international. That is why we must approach the discipline's beginning point this way. As a result of the difference, the overarching form of history was dialectically changing, and Trotsky referred to this vast picture as the sociological structure of humankind (Rosenberg et al. 2019; Rosenberg 2020). The multiplicity of societies is the fundamental condition of human life in the international arena. As such, it should be the ontological foundation of the study of

International Relations, which is the study of these inter-society relations (Hagemann 2020, 499; Choucri 1974, 66).

While the difference is an unbreakable norm of social existence, it is also the source of inequalities, opportunities, and identities. In reality, when we examine the issue of difference from a sociological standpoint, we find that several current cultures demonstrate varying levels of development (disorder). These cultures were sociologically distinct and causally interacted to form additional axes and layers of developmental patterns (sociological combinations), resulting in dramatic disparities in their developmental trajectories (Anievas and Nisancioglu 2017, 64-65).

According to the constructivist perspective, difference is a socially produced concept rather than an objectively given concept. Boundaries are formed between ourselves (inside) and them (outside) (Linsenmaier 2015). According to James Anderson (1986), the UCD is a critical tool for explaining the diversity of governments in the modern world (Rosenberg 2021, 150). In other words, all societies are different from each other and this difference gives birth to the international. Ultimately, UCD bases its cultural analysis not only on colonial encounter but also on the broader dynamics of uneven development. "Thus, it serves to place the representational grammar of cultural difference—race, nation, civilization, etc.—into a deeper understanding of the social processes and historical transformations that gave rise to them. While both constructivist and materialist approaches describe difference in different ways, the consequences of difference are similar. Accordingly, while difference inevitably gives rise to the "international," the international is necessarily uneven (Rosenberg 2019; 2020; Rosenberg and Kurki 2021).

### **2.7.2. Interaction**

The human world existing beyond individual societies presents both opportunities and dangers. Interactions among societies may pose intrinsic dangers, as external dynamics may jeopardize their interests and even their existence. Multiplicity requires interaction, since societies must navigate their external environment through diplomatic and military strategies. The 19th-century growth of European powers, driven by the Industrial Revolution, typifies this phenomenon. Numerous Asian and African societies, hitherto largely oblivious to these European societies were

subjugated and assimilated into burgeoning empires. Nonetheless, multiplicity has significant advantages, including increased trade prospects (Rosenberg 2018; Rosenberg and Kurki 2021).

Every culture evolves through interaction as a continual combination of local traditions and other external influences. This is true not only for politics and economics but also for social structures, technology, language, culture, food, and fashion. Every social activity grows within the framework of several interacting (and hence intertwined) societies (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 8).

Uneven and Combined Development is only conceivable when disparately evolved cultures contact one another and can acquire and export knowledge and inventions (Reshetnikov 2019, 162-164). The coexistence of societies involves their interaction: the social world's inter-societal nature gives rise to various types of combined development (Leigh 2021, 189; Rosenberg 2016b). Similarly, Halliday contends that interactions between societies inevitably lead to the "international" (Halliday 2002).

Realists assert that anarchy forces all states to be functionally similar (Waltz 1979), whereas Rosenberg contends that multiplicity consistently produces distinct social forms through interaction and combination. Exchanges between social forms provide new opportunities and risks through mechanisms built into the phenomena of interaction itself (Rosenberg 2016a; Corry 2020).

The work of the Gulbenkian Commission, Open Social Sciences, is one of the most significant instances of societal interaction. According to the Commission, the current world order arose due to Europe's interactions with, and in many cases, the conquest of, the peoples of the rest of the globe (Wallerstein 1996).

### **2.7.3. Co-existence**

Co-existence creates a new dimension of social reality beyond individual society's internal systems. Thus, the human world is not just more prominent, but it also comprises additional types of social phenomena such as societal ties, societal behavior, societal, ethical norms, and societal causation (Rosenberg 2016a, 137; Rosenberg 2019; 2020; Rosenberg and Kurki 2021). Namely, internal growth alone could never explain the existence of society. International pressures and

opportunities have developed hybrids and braided theories into humanity's social framework (Rosenberg 2021, 147-149).

Rosenberg contends that all national socio-technical imaginaries emerge from their co-existence with others, a context that gives rise to causal mechanisms (such as the scourge of external necessity and the privilege of historical backwardness) that play a crucial role in their everlasting transformation (Rosenberg 2021, 156-57).

Miller describes the relationship between Chinese communities in the late first millennium BC and the Korean Peninsula by using notion of coexistence. According to him, "coexistence" enabled Koreans to combine a more hierarchical political structure akin to Chinese culture with a more traditional economic system centred on chiefs. In other words, as a result of coexistence, they were impacted by China's hierarchical state structure (Miller 2016).

Even classical realists recognize an enduring human inclination to form groups, suggesting the existence of many social entities. E. H. Carr, in *Twenty Years' Crisis*, advocates for a reversion to the fundamental ideas of International Relations as a field of study (Carr 1964, 95). Nevertheless, owing to their state-centric viewpoint, realists generally characterize the structure of the international system as anarchic (Halperin 1998, 331), rather than highlighting societal multiplicity.

Coexistence is also used in fields other than social sciences. Reshetnikov (2019, 162-163) attempts to adapt it to synergy in this context by drawing from Rosenberg (2016; 2019). Synergy, like IR, is concerned with situations in which several systems coexist without the ultimate capacity to regulate and balance them. Synergy, according to scientific history and philosophy, indicates that the cosmos is neither entirely deterministic nor that God is always interfering. This viewpoint is sometimes referred to as post-Newtonian and post-Leibniz (Prigogine 1989).

#### **2.7.4. Combination**

Trotsky's phrase "combination" refers to situations too complicated to be explained in local-international binary terms. On the other hand, the English School recognizes that the internal-external dynamic is not restricted to the state level but occurs between distinct "worlds" within the international world's area of influence. These



universes are not the same or equal.

According to Rosenberg, the Janus-faced aspect of interaction potential permits us to construct a more detailed overview of the international (i.e., 'combination'): 'The international dimension is not merely a question of external relations: multiplicity reaches into the core components of societies themselves through interaction (Rosenberg 2016b, 139). He adds that no society produces a completely uni-linear and self-contained history. All societies, to varying degrees, contain continuing combinations of local development patterns with various external influences and forces (Rosenberg 2018; 2020).

The combination shows how interactions create and develop social structures and relationships, particularly in human geographies. As a result of such exchanges, distinct mixtures of 'domestic' and 'foreign,' 'traditional' and 'modern' social structures emerge. The "irregular" and "unified" nature of social development finds physical embodiment in it (Anievas and Matin, 7-8). The repercussions and pressures of coexisting with other societies must be combined with existing local structures, and all societies are continuing combinations of local development patterns with various exterior influences and pressures." Rosenberg uses English spoken in Britain as an example, describing it as a blend of Roman, Saxon, Viking, and Norman languages. However, according to Corry, ecological spaces occupied by societies must also be combined. Domestic environments are not always spotless. They are the outcome of a determined individual shift combined with the International's actions. (Rosenberg 2016; Corry 2020, 428-429).

According to Anievas and Nisancioglu, a combination refers to how a society's internal connections are shaped by its contacts with other developmentally diverse cultures. Such interactions, in turn, result in the mixing and merging of "foreign" and "native," " " and "ahead," and "backward" into a social formation while ontologically obscuring the analytical boundaries between these categories. The combination, along with the inequality, has a tremendous effect. Multiple societies coexist not only side by side but interactively, determining their collective social and geopolitical evolution inexorably (and to varying degrees) (Anievas and Nisancioglu 2017, 41).

In interaction, systems develop countless combinations that can either obscure or

establish macroscopic patterns of order. Surprisingly, successive macro-level patterns are frequently produced due to a drastic decrease in the degrees of freedom for each constituent at the micro-level. Only a few pathways may be chosen to obtain particular things (Reshetnikov 2019, 162-163-164).

It is not easy to forecast which way each element will go at various intersections. However, it is plausible to suppose that at a macro level, numerous individual components moving in a relatively restricted number of directions may generate a regular pattern. For example, as a consequence of the traumas in which a society is living, each member's alternatives are limited, which can lead to extreme deprivation. To illustrate the idea, it is impossible to foresee which alternative each individual will select (e.g., escaping, fighting, looting, or a combination of these). However, macroscopic patterns can be seen at the national and/or worldwide levels, whether due to mass migration, a revolutionary upheaval, or another type of social mobilization. This approach is similar to complexity theory and the law of many worlds, but it varies in that it claims to be more social theory (Reshetnikov 2019, 162-164).

In the course of interaction, systems develop infinite combinations that can drive parts of these systems into chaos or establish macroscopic patterns of order. That is, order on the macroscopic level is bigger than the size of units interacting with each other. Surprisingly, regular macro-level patterns are frequently produced as a result of a drastic reduction in each element's degrees of freedom at the micro-level. When this happens, individual things can pick relatively few pathways to pursue. It is hard to forecast which way each element will move in various directions. In this regard, it is related to the complexity theory (Bousquet and Curtis 2011, 46; Kavalski 2007, 437-438) which contends that minor changes can have large consequences. In simpler terms and within the context of its usage in social sciences, each actor continually interacts with other societies owing to societal multiplicity. These interactions influence the possibility of various action combinations, ultimately affecting the actor's choice of a certain course of action (Reshetnikov 2019, 162-164).

### **2.7.5. Historical Change (Dialectics)**

Multiplicity allows us to reflect the social change by considering applications in several domains with varying dynamic impacts and quantitative and qualitative features. The multiplicity-ontology makes a significant addition to the study of social formation and development as framed by *ir* (practice) and *IR* (theory) in that "the quantitative multiplicity of societies is also qualitative." Difference and interaction necessarily result in turmoil amongst multiplicities, but they also present the possibility of 'change.' However, it becomes apparent that change created by the interaction of various multiplicities can never be linear; the narrative of change we are dealing with is inherently 'dialectical' since very different societies are formed and powered by the interaction (Rosenberg 2016b, 139).

According to Rosenberg, if human societies are multiple, interacting, and diverse, then global development cannot be unilinear or multi-linear; it must be a genuinely dialectical process (Rosenberg 2020; 2021; Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 8). All societies have interacted with other societies, regardless of time or place. All existing communities have interacted in some manner, from small villages to global empires, from the Mesopotamian period to globalization. These interactions have resulted in varying degrees of change amongst societies, with changes occurring in economic and political structure, technology, and culture (Ezcurdia 2020, 12).

Since migrants are carriers of knowledge and ideas, migration can lead to technology transfer between the country of origin and the country of destination. As Schumpeter argued, migrants tend to take on the role of dismantling the old, creating the new, and innovating. This is because, unlike natives, migrants do not have social and economic ties in their host countries. The qualities that migrants possess, which are different from those of natives, can, through migration, lead to innovation and technological progress in the country of origin (McCraw 2012). This process of historical change through interaction highlights that social change is a transhistorical characteristic of societies, manifesting across many epochs and civilizations. The continuous change and development of societies through interactions illustrate the essentially dynamic character of human social systems (Choucri 1974).

Unique patterns of social order evolve in distinct areas due to the interaction between

unequal, unbalanced, and open social systems, without or despite the efforts of a higher authority. Multiplicity inspired research does not have to be founded on faulty assumptions about human nature, the purpose for being, and so forth. Because the global system of multiplicity occasionally modifies the rules of its own game, such an analysis can explain orders while avoiding structural realists' determinism, demonstrating that these rules are not transhistorical. Interaction, combination, and dialectical change will emerge sooner or later, bringing the international system to a halt (Reshetnikov 2019, 162-165).

Sociological traits are an excellent illustration of dialectical transformation. For example, the movement of ancient Greek knowledge from the Arab world to Europe at the beginning of the Renaissance or the initial translation of Greek philosophy into Arabic 300 years prior. Furthermore, the rise of the West appears to be founded on dialectical causation formed by the interactions of multiple societies (Rosenberg 2020; 2021).

## **2.8. Multiplicity and International Relations Theories**

The field of International relations (IR) encompasses the study of interactions, dynamics, and structures among states and non-state actors in the global arena. IR theories provide frameworks for understanding and analyzing these complexities. One emerging theoretical perspective in IR is the theory of multiplicity, which challenges the notion of a singular, unified perspective and recognizes the existence of diverse and often conflicting perspectives, interests, and actors in international relations (Kurki 2020).

Multiplicity in IR theories acknowledges the complex and dynamic nature of global politics, where multiple actors with different beliefs, values, and interests interact in various ways. It highlights the need to recognize and consider diverse viewpoints, power dynamics, and historical, social, economic, and gender-related factors in understanding international relations (Kurki 2020). This perspective challenges traditional IR theories that may prioritize a single lens or approach, and instead encourages a more nuanced and inclusive understanding of global politics.

The concept of multiplicity has been thoroughly analyzed in scholarly discussions,

particularly during the 2020 EWIS conference titled "Together We Are Strangers" (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022). These talks have enhanced comprehension of the international features of multiplicity by analyzing the engagement of various theoretical frameworks with the concept. Diverse International Relations theories offer unique insights on multiplicity: Realism analyzes power dynamics within a multi-state system, Constructivism investigates how various actors shape and interpret social reality, Feminist approaches emphasize diverse gendered experiences in international relations, and Historical Sociological approaches examine the interactions and developments of multiple societies over time.

The theory can contribute to preventing polarizations in IR by promoting inclusivity, dialogue, and engagement among different actors and perspectives (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022). It recognizes that international relations are shaped by multifaceted factors that interact in complex and dynamic ways, and that there are multiple truths and perspectives in global politics. Embracing multiplicity in IR theories can lead to more comprehensive and nuanced analyses of international relations, and can facilitate a more cooperative and inclusive approach to addressing global challenges.

In conclusion, the theory of multiplicity challenges the idea of a singular, unified perspective in IR and emphasizes the recognition of diverse and often conflicting actors and perspectives in global politics. It encourages the consideration of diverse viewpoints, power dynamics, and historical, social, economic, and gender-related factors in understanding international relations. Embracing multiplicity in IR theories can contribute to preventing polarizations and promoting inclusivity in the study and practice of international relations.

### **2.8.1. Post-Colonialism and Societal Multiplicity**

Frantz Fanon, a well-known postcolonial thinker, contends that colonial and metropolitan "societies" influenced to one another. According to global historian Conrad, likely, development is "inherently relational," and "a historical unit - a civilization, a nation, a family - can only be understood via its connections with others" (Powel 2020, 552; Conrad 2016).

For some time, postcolonial writers have underlined the need to deal with

differences, selves, and others in the face of diversity and varied perceptions of the world. 'Every identity depends on otherness, and every vision is multiple,' write Inayatullah and Blaney (2004). No worldview is self-sufficient; rather, it indicates and is dependent on the other. This implies an interest in the variety of definitions. Even yet, the notion of universal multiplicity will almost certainly be viewed with suspicion (Blaney and Tickner 2017).

The urge for undeveloped societies to copy and substitute developed ones is exacerbated by societal multiplicity and the following condition of inequity and chaos among societies. Under the whip of external implications, geopolitically less developed societies are obliged to introduce "foreign" ideas, relationships, and institutions into their socioeconomic contexts. As a result of this external scaling, numerous hybrids, or "local-foreign" combinations, are formed through emulation, coupling, and substitution processes. If practical, integrated social formations not only alter the essential circumstances of internationality such as international concepts, interactions, and institutions but also give birth to new kinds of inter-societal unevenness (Duzgun 2021, 6).

### **2.8.2. Constructivism and Societal Multiplicity**

Societal diversity gives more information on societal value negotiations, contributing to existing practice and agency-based theories of international governance. In a globalized world, societal and political ordering emerges from a socially constructed developing set of rules (bottom-up) rather than from a predefined 'liberal community' (top-down) (Wiener 2020, 1).

The dynamic relationships between material structure, international social structures, and national politics generate numerous identities in world politics. Constructivists claim that the state has many dynamic identities, unlike neorealists and neoliberal institutionalists, who use a rationalist epistemology that presupposes a single and relatively static self-interest identity. A state might be a democratic, capitalist, developed country, and so on. A state can also be an ally or partner of another state and a rival or adversary of another (Nugroho 2008, 95).

The purpose of constructivist researchers in international relations was to divert

realists' and liberals' attention away from rational agents with exogenously determined goals. They deal with various interpretations, both state/society based' (realist, UCD) and 'individual/actor based' (liberal). Every society and person is 'exposed to' and creates others (Kurki 2019). Individuals and states/societies, according to constructivists, are constituted through shared and co-constitutive intersubjective norms, interactions, and connections (Kurki 2020). What type of multiplicity theory would we have if we reinterpreted constructivism as a theoretical intervention in issues of multiplicity? According to Kurki, some of the fundamental principles of constructivism reinterpreted as the theory of multiplicity might be summarized as follows: All social life is made up of the interactions of a variety of social groups, norms, and actors, and hence social life (rather than multiplicities made up of 'interacting' autonomous' units) is characterized by 'relational' societal multiplicities. In other words, it is developed as a natural product of relationship and coexistence rather than as a norm and political sovereignty (Kurki 2019, 565; Kurki 2020).

Friedrich Kratochwil believes that a cultural theory cannot equal a political theory (Kratochwill in Kratiochwill and Lapid 1996, 206). Constructivists, including Adler, advocated for a broader understanding of international relations "based on a social science understanding – the social one." As a result, "constructivism's importance and added value for the study of IR is predominantly due to its emphasis on the ontological reality of intersubjective knowledge." Constructivism was confronted at the time with the "ontological and epistemological dilemma of the 'hermeneutic cycle,' " as well as its somewhat narrow perspective of real politics. This necessitated the development of more methodologically robust empirical studies. Justin Rosenberg has urged International Relations (IR) theory to embrace the concept of "societal multiplicity" as a "deep ontology" more than two decades later. Although multiplicity does not overcome all constructivists' problems, it is a significant opportunity to offer. It may be utilised as a deep ontology in the context of a shift to societal multiplicity to address the absence of social contract theory in international relations. Multiplicity can be employed to reinforce the gap between the usage of core norms for global governance objectives on the one hand, and the contentious implementation and use of these standards by impacted stakeholders on the other

(Wiener 2020, 2-4; Rosenberg 2019; Adler 1997).

### **2.8.3. Realism and Societal Multiplicity**

For Hagemann, multiplicity does not contradict a realist understanding of IR. When presented in the manner of Morgenthau, he nearly argues that Rosenberg restores what Waltz left out of the classical realists' fuller depiction of the international; the social. Most importantly, for Rosenberg, multiplicity implies that no two states will ever be precisely the same. The international's understanding is precisely this: the world is made up of differences; the international's structure is made up of differences. This differs substantially from Waltz's claim that anarchy produces resemblance or sameness. Multiplicity theory can be simultaneously aligned with realism, but diverges in significant ways. Waltz attracts considerable attention in Rosenberg's seminal essays not because to their opposition, but because neorealism establishes a unique international order at an expensive cost. The international is negatively characterized as anarchy, imposing an ontology of static state-centrism—"like units"—which may be seen as an oversimplification (Waeber 2024, 512). Rosenberg argues that anarchy may arise via multiplicity, resulting from disparities across states rather than from the states themselves (Hagemann 2020, 501). Additionally, multiplicity is present in Waltz's theory, since structures in realism "are produced out of the coexistence of states" (Waltz 1979, 91), indicating a political multiplicity of societies (Rosenberg 2013b, 191).

In *War and Change in World Politics* (1981, 179-180), Gilpin, despite his realist perspective, recognized Trotsky's role as an early theorist of economic growth. Gilpin notably acknowledged that the law of coupled development transcends contemporary capitalism, applying to past societies as well. This acknowledgment illustrates the presence of multiplicity theory elements in realism thought prior to Rosenberg's formal formulation of the concept.

For Kurki, as for Hagemann, establishing IR as a discipline focusing on multiplicity must be linked with realism: we may better comprehend what it means to convert IR into the language of multiplicity by reinterpreting realism as a theory of multiplicity. Rosenberg says that realism concentrates on anarchy as a governing or political basis, rather than reflecting the world through diversity. Rosenberg contends that



realism, rather than capturing the international via multiplicity, concentrates on anarchy as a governing or political premise. Yet, as Sterling-Folker and Stephen Walt acknowledged during the 2017 ISA debate on Rosenberg's article, realism inevitably involves a certain sense of multiplicity. This is because, at its core, realism has always held that what makes international politics so fundamentally complex is several nations coexisting in anarchy. It is exactly the multiplicity of state actors, rather than "similar" state actors, that leads the International to exert such destructive and uncontrollable pressure on the units and the system. (Kurki 2019, 563-564). Similarly, according to Davenport, if a new international concept is to be developed, it should be a synthesis of multiplicity and realism, not by the exclusion of realism, since Realism contains many features and concepts that have hitherto traced the international. (Davenport 2020).

#### **2.8.4. Liberalism and Multiplicity**

Liberalism comes up as a critical step when assessed in terms of multiplicity. The multiplicity of actors is highly crucial to liberals. The continual multiplicity of group interests and players and their complicated interrelationship offer a driving challenge for liberalism. Liberals, on the other hand, would interpret multiplicity as follows: Multitude results from the coexistence of more than one disconnected civilization, as well as the coexistence of several different actors with competing interests. The crowd is not merely 'international' but also 'global' or 'transnational' (Kurki 2020, 565).

Kurki contends that a connection may be made between liberal thought and multiplicity. For her, the interest in the effect of others and their conduct on the "self" (state, person) in the setting of a continual "pluralism" of actors is at the core of liberalism. Although it is not referred to as a multiplicity, the necessity to interact with other actors in the form of government or international politics produces dependency and vulnerability issues that lead to coordination and management challenges. As a result, we might view multiplicity as a fundamental underlying assumption in liberalism, at least because the coexistence and interaction of numerous actors, entities, and groups determine what is political, economic, social, international, and even global (Kurki 2019, 564).

### **2.8.5. Complexity Theory and Multiplicity**

Complexity theory contradicts the 'traditional' notion in International Relations that there is only one reality, instead proposing 'multiple realities.' However, as time passes, it becomes increasingly difficult for many social units to persist (Kavalski 2007; Corry 2020, 423).

Complexity Theory handles the problem of explaining the junction of several complex social inequalities by studying various alternative methodologies and then redefining the idea of social systems. Although it is similar to the concept of multiplicity in some ways, it varies in that the concept of multiplicity is a more precise and more apparent theoretical approach. Walby (2007) investigates and applies the implications of complexity theory to the analysis of many intersecting socioeconomic disparities for the first time. Theoretical statements can be tested in space and time. In complexity theory, which encompasses subjects such as social inequality and development, the extent to which uneven and coupled development is a trait of capitalism industrialization in developing nations or a more extensive feature of human evolution is debated (Davidson 2006; Rosenberg 2013a; 2010; 2006; Cooper 2021 230).

The tenets of complexity theory challenge the notion of a singular reality in the field of International Relations (IR) by positing the existence of multiple realities within intricate social systems. It offers alternative methodologies that emphasise interactions, feedback loops and non-linear dynamics. Scholars using complexity theory gain insights into the dynamics of social inequality and development processes in the international context. This theoretical perspective promotes a comprehensive examination of international complexities and aims to improve understanding of the complex interplay between actors, variables and systems. Complexity theory contributes significantly to this analysis, while the multiplicity enriches our understanding of global interactions by emphasising the existence of diverse and interacting societies.

**Table 2.** Societal Multiplicity and IR Theories Comparison Table

Aspect	Societal Multiplicity	Realism	Liberalism	Constructivism	Complexity	Post-Colonialism	Marxism
<b>Core Idea</b>	Diverse societal interactions (and expose to others) shape international relations (and the system)	An anarchic international system dominated by state power and security concerns.	International cooperation and institutions are mutually beneficial and serve to enhance the collective good.	Social norms, identities, and ideas shape state interests and actions.	International systems are non-linear, dynamic, and adaptive.	Critiques colonial legacies, focusing on the power structures that perpetuate inequality.	Class struggle and economic exploitation drive international relations.
<b>View on Anarchy</b>	Rejects the centrality of anarchy, focusing on multiplicity as the organizing principle.	Anarchy is the central feature of international relations.	Anarchy can be mitigated through cooperation and institutions.	Anarchy is a socially constructed reality based on shared ideas.	Views the system as self-organizing without strict hierarchy.	Anarchy is the result of power imbalances rooted in colonial histories.	Anarchy results from global capitalist structures and inequalities.
<b>Role of States</b>	States are only one type of actor within a multiplicity of interacting societies.	States are the primary actors, competing for power and survival.	States and non-state actors cooperate within international institutions.	States are socially constructed entities shaped by collective identities.	States are one of many actors in a complex adaptive system.	States are products of colonial history, often perpetuating imperial structures.	States are tools of the ruling class to maintain global capitalist hegemony.

<b>Non-State Actors</b>	Recognizes non-state actors and societal influences on global relations.	Focuses on state actors and their competition for power.	Highlights international organizations and economic actors.	Considers non-state actors in terms of identity and normative structures.	Non-state actors are part of the self-organizing, dynamic system.	Emphasizes the role of marginalized groups and global south actors.	Non-state actors are part of the global capitalist structure and class struggle.
<b>Power Relations</b>	Interactions between societies create complex, non-linear power relations.	Power is central, defined in terms of military and economic capabilities.	Power is balanced through diplomacy, trade, and international organizations.	Power is shaped by social constructs and shared meanings.	Power is diffuse and emerges through interactions within the system.	Power is uneven, rooted in colonial legacies, and perpetuated by global hierarchies.	Power is tied to economic exploitation and class relations in global capitalism.
<b>View on International System</b>	The system is shaped by the multiplicity of societies, not just states and anarchy.	A competitive, anarchic system where states pursue survival.	A system that can be organized through cooperation and governance.	The system is shaped by shared ideas, norms and identities.	The system is adaptive, non-linear, and composed of many interacting actors.	The international system is a legacy of colonialism, reinforcing inequalities.	The system reflects capitalist exploitation across borders.
<b>Change and Evolution</b>	Dialectical, uneven and combined development	Changes in power dynamics or state behavior drive system shifts.	Progress through increased cooperation and interdependence.	Driven by changing norms and identities	Non-linear, emergent	Driven by resistance to and transformation of colonial legacies	Dialectical, driven by class struggle and economic contradictions

<b>Focus on Conflict and Cooperation</b>	Conflict and cooperation arise from societal interactions rather than just state interests.	Conflict is inevitable due to competition in an anarchic world.	Cooperation is possible through institutions and democratic governance.	Conflict and cooperation are shaped by social identities and changing norms.	Conflict and cooperation are dynamic, emerging from system-level interdependencies.	Conflict stems from imperialist legacies and economic exploitation.	Conflict arises from class struggle and economic exploitation.
<b>Ontology</b>	Focuses on the interactions of multiple societies as the deep ontology of IR. Recognizing both material and ideational factors	Rooted in political science, focusing on the power struggle in an anarchic system. Materialist ontology	Political and economic liberalism serve as the organizing principles.	Emphasizing social norms and identity. Inter-subjectivity	Derived from the natural sciences, focusing on dynamic complexity.	Draws from historical materialism, focusing on colonial legacies and inequalities.	Based on historical materialism, emphasizing economic structures and class dynamics.

## 2.9. International Migration and Societal Multiplicity

In the framework of migration studies, there is no research in the multiplicity literature, which is still in its infancy and is still evolving. However, Rutazibwa considers the potential contributions of both multiplicity and UCD theories to migration studies in this developing literature. In an ideal world, according to him, as a study agenda, the intimately interconnected political, economic, and historical basis of this phenomena of unfathomable misery and persecution would contribute to academic and public comprehension. In his example, he believes that multiplicity will improve legal, state-centered, or humanitarian responses to "generosity" and victimhood, not as an afterthought, but as a starting point for conceptualising solutions and alternatives (Rutazibwa 2022, 308).

Ultimately, this study seeks to enhance the existing body of knowledge by analyzing

the concepts of multiplicity and migration. It aims to provide a fresh viewpoint on the relationship between IR and migration by investigating the Syrian migration from the perspective of multiplicity, which offers a profound ontological understanding of IR. The thesis' main effort is to explain the migration issue in various ways. However, this is not just any old effort. The main goals here are to bridge the concept of multiplicity and migration, approach the issue of migration from a newer ontological perspective, and examine the parallel processing between the consequences of migration and the problems that the IR discipline attempts to address.

The phenomenon of migration causes not only social but also conceptual issues. For example, the Syrian and Turkish societies, two distinct societies, cultures, and states, can be analyzed. In this regard, what type of interaction exists between the Syrian society, which has a population of over three million people, which has moved to Turkey and the Turkish society? Do we need to utilize the field of Political Science to explain this relationship since they are societies in the same geography, or the discipline of International Relations because two separate societies are considered?

The difficulty, as with Syrian migration, is whether we can utilise the idea of multiplicity to understand the interaction between the immigrant population and the host society. As a matter of fact, the interaction of different cultures in the same geography is international, or are Political Science or sociological concerns relevant? The setup satisfies the criteria of both multiplicity and internationality, as diverse societies engage within common geographies rather than isolated ones (Lees 2020; Davenport 2020).

While social theorists such as Anthony Giddens and Ulrich Beck have examined the concept of internalism in their critiques of methodological nationalism, they have not quite overcome it (Wimmer and Glick 2002). In the last ten years, the Marxist historical sociology field in IR has sought to address this issue by promoting theoretical inquiry into the essential role of the "international" in the development and transformation of particular social systems. In this context, "international" denotes "the characteristic of social reality that arises explicitly from the presence of multiple societies" (Rosenberg 2016, 135–141; Matin 2020, 439–440; Wimmer and

Glick 2002).

Even though there is no direct study on the concept of multiplicity and migration studies in the literature, related studies can be found. Evans, for example, proposes that human migration is recognized as a critical cohesive development mechanism that has yet to receive adequate attention. He insists that migration is a crucial mechanism for attracting backward or peripheral social formations to the global market through primary commodity production (Evans 2016, 1062). Evans concedes that migration significantly impacts capitalist transformation and is an uneven and combined development (UCD) mechanism related to the formation and transformation of social class relations as well as production, reproduction, and accumulation strategies in states. If we think of immigration as the UCD in the first place, we must position it as a product of uneven development, which is where much of the Marxist science on immigration sits. The formations have resulted in an international division of labor and unequally distributed pools of spare labor that move across and within national borders by the chaotic rhythms of industrialization and accumulation. As a result, migration occurs (Castles and Kosack 1970; Evans 2016, 1064).

Economies, social structures, psychologies, civilizations, literature, and even fashion and food systems become subjects of international theory since they all exist as numerous "national" patterns that coexist, just like all other facets of human existence (Rosenberg 2020, 14). Therefore, multiplicity provides a new common platform for international thought" (Wiener 2020, 11-12).

Inequality refers to various existing social property relations, both in the colonial and political domains, which are the primary origins of migration. The interaction of these two distinct societal actors produces dramatically divergent development trajectories (Evans 2016, 1072). Lees argues that while internal societal multiplicity can spark ethnic uprisings for integration or separation, exterior political multiplicity drives conflicts for political empowerment and economic equalization (Lees 2020, 406).

According to "Longue duree" analysis, events like the invention of the computer, the discovery of gunpowder, and the French Revolution that occurred in the distant past

continue to shape structures, institutions, and forces. From this perspective, it is apparent that today's events will significantly impact human advancements and structures in the following decades. In essence, the near future and the present are strongly intertwined (Cooper 2021 232).

Examination of modern ethnic civil conflicts reveals that multiplicity arises inside governments through politically linked categorical barriers between groups. According to Lees (2020, 414) asserts that these boundaries arise from exclusionary state practices, disproportionate resource distribution, and the desire to establish new states under nationalist frameworks that want to govern in alignment with their specific group interests. In turn, the existence of a multiplicity of regional governments shapes the dynamics of ethnic civil war. The fact of multiplicity also affects struggles over-allocating a society's resources since those with movable resources gain an edge through the threat of leaving. World politics occurs under the shadow of power and in the setting of multiplicity (Lees 2020, 414).

## **2.10. Conclusion**

The study of international migration has undergone significant developments in recent years, with scholars increasingly recognizing the limitations of traditional theories and seeking innovative frameworks to better understand the complexities of this phenomenon. One such framework that holds great potential for contributing to international migration theories is societal multiplicity, which emphasizes the interconnectedness of social elements, cultural dynamics, and normative considerations in shaping international migration patterns. By adopting a social ontology rooted in societal multiplicity, International Relations can overcome the shortcomings of state-centric approaches and enrich its understanding of international migration as a multifaceted and multidimensional phenomenon.

One of the key contributions of societal multiplicity to the study of international migration is its recognition of the multidimensionality of global politics. Traditional international migration theories have often focused on state-centric approaches that prioritize political and economic factors, while overlooking the social dynamics, cultural norms, and normative considerations that influence migration patterns. However, as Rosenberg argues, the social and the political are intricately intertwined



in the social sphere, including realm of international migration, and a narrow focus on state-centric approaches fails to capture the complexities of this phenomenon (Kurki and Rosenberg 2020, 400; Rosenberg 2016a, 138–140). Societal multiplicity offers a more comprehensive and holistic approach that acknowledges the interplay between the social and the political in shaping international migration.

The interplay between the social and the political in the context of international migration is evident in various ways. For instance, social dynamics such as cultural norms, social networks, and identity formations play a significant role in shaping migration patterns. Migrants often move based on social connections, cultural ties, and shared identities, and these social dynamics influence their decision-making processes. Furthermore, cultural norms and practices in both sending and receiving societies impact the integration experiences of migrants, as well as the policies and practices of states towards migrants. Normative considerations, such as human rights, ethics, and morality, also come into play in international migration, as migrants' rights and dignity are at stake, and ethical considerations shape migration policies and practices. By recognizing the interconnectedness of social, cultural, and normative dynamics with the political aspects of international migration, societal multiplicity provides a more nuanced and comprehensive framework for understanding this complex phenomenon.

Another significant contribution of societal multiplicity to the study of international migration is its potential to bridge the gap between the social sciences and the field of International Relations. International migration is a multifaceted phenomenon that involves the interaction of various social, economic, political, and cultural factors, and requires a multidisciplinary approach for a comprehensive understanding (Brettell and Hollifield 2022). Traditional international relations theories have often been dominated by political science perspectives, which may overlook the complexities of social dynamics, cultural norms, and normative considerations that influence international migration patterns. Societal multiplicity offers an opportunity to incorporate insights from sociology, anthropology, economics, and other relevant fields into the study of international relations, fostering a more interdisciplinary approach that transcends traditional disciplinary boundaries.

The integration of sociological ideas into the field of International Relations can contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of international migration. For instance, sociology offers theoretical frameworks that highlight the social interactions, cultural dynamics, and normative considerations that shape migration patterns. Concepts such as social capital, social networks, cultural capital, and habitus can provide valuable insights into how social dynamics influence migration decision-making, integration experiences, and policies towards migrants. Additionally, sociological perspectives on identity, ethnicity, race, and gender can enrich the understanding of how cultural norms and practices impact migration patterns and experiences. By drawing on sociological insights, International Relations can enhance its theoretical frameworks and empirical analyses of international migration.

Furthermore, the adoption of a multidisciplinary approach that incorporates insights from other relevant fields can also contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of international migration. For example, anthropology offers rich insights into cultural dynamics, social practices, and identity formations that shape migration patterns. Ethnographic research can provide in-depth understanding of migrants' experiences, their interactions with receiving societies, and the cultural norms and practices that influence their integration processes. Economics can shed light on the economic factors that drive migration, such as labor market dynamics, remittances, and development disparities between sending and receiving countries. Political science can contribute by examining the role of states, international organizations, and global governance in shaping migration policies and practices. By integrating perspectives from diverse disciplines, societal multiplicity can facilitate a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of international migration within the field of International Relations.

Moreover, societal multiplicity has the potential to enrich the theoretical frameworks of international migration. Traditional theories, such as neoclassical economics, transnationalism, and assimilation theories, have often been criticized for their limitations in capturing the complex and dynamic nature of international migration. Societal multiplicity offers a fresh perspective that transcends reductionist and deterministic approaches by acknowledging the interconnectedness of social,

cultural, normative, and political dynamics in shaping migration patterns. This can lead to the development of more nuanced and sophisticated theories that capture the complexities and diversities of international migration.

Furthermore, societal multiplicity can contribute to the empirical analysis of international migration by providing a more comprehensive and nuanced lens through which to examine migration patterns and processes. By considering the interplay between social, cultural, normative, and political dynamics, empirical research can capture the complexities of migration decision-making, integration experiences, and policy responses. For instance, empirical studies that draw on societal multiplicity can explore how social networks and cultural ties influence migration patterns, how normative considerations shape migration policies and practices, and how political dynamics at various levels impact migrants' experiences. This can lead to a more nuanced and holistic understanding of international migration that goes beyond simplistic explanations and recognizes the multifaceted nature of this phenomenon.

In conclusion, societal multiplicity holds great potential for contributing to international migration theories within the field of International Relations. By recognizing the interconnectedness of social, cultural, normative, and political dynamics in shaping migration patterns, societal multiplicity offers a more comprehensive and holistic approach to understanding this complex phenomenon. It bridges the gap between the social sciences and International Relations, fostering an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates insights from sociology, anthropology, economics, and other relevant fields. Societal multiplicity can enrich the theoretical frameworks, empirical analyses, and policy implications of international migration research, leading to a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of this multifaceted phenomenon. As the study of international migration continues to evolve, embracing societal multiplicity can contribute to a more comprehensive and robust understanding of the complexities and diversities of international migration in the 21st century.

The application of societal multiplicity as a theoretical lens can also shed light on the limitations of traditional approaches to migration studies, which often focus on legal,

state-centered, or humanitarian responses to migration as isolated events. By recognizing the interconnectedness of political, economic, and historical factors that contribute to migration, multiplicity can offer a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon and open up new avenues for conceptualizing solutions and alternatives.

The evolving concept of societal multiplicity has the ability to overcome significant issues in modern International Relations theory. By offering a more thorough ontological basis, it may assist in surpassing the constraints of state-centric perspectives and methodological nationalism within the profession. Further investigation might examine the ways in which multiplicity becomes evident in the current and next periods, especially in light of technological and environmental transformations (Peltonen 2021). Moreover, additional effort is required to enhance the conceptual differentiation between social, societal, and political multiplicities, as well as to provide tools for experimentally investigating these intricate relationships.

While there may be limited direct studies on the concept of multiplicity in migration studies, related studies have explored the role of migration as a mechanism of uneven and combined development (UCD) and its impact on capitalist transformation, social class relations, and production strategies. Multiplicity provides a framework to understand the complex and multifaceted nature of migration as a product of uneven development and international division of labor.

## CHAPTER 3

### INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION THEORIES AND SOCIETAL MULTIPLICITY

Migration study and theory frequently originate from the works of Ravenstein (1885), who established the "laws of migration"—principles delineating trends such as the prevalence of short-distance migrations, the incremental nature of migration, and the substantial influence of economic reasons. Migration is a historical phenomena evident in various societies and ethnic groups over time. Migration has been a constant throughout human history (Castelli 2018, 2; Giddens and Sutton 2014, 113), yet recent statistics from the United Nations, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and other monitoring entities reveal a substantial increase in migration in recent years (O'Reilly 2022, 2).

Efforts at theory-building have not been cumulative: the relatively short history of theorising about migration takes the form of a string of separate, generally unconnected theories, models or frameworks, rather than a cumulative sequence of contributions that build upon previous blocks. For Arango, the phenomenon of migration is too diverse and multifaceted to be explained by a single theory. Rather, theory-building efforts should be evaluated based on their potential to guide research and provide plausible hypotheses to be tested against empirical evidence, as well as their contribution to a more comprehensive understanding of specific aspects, dimensions, and processes of migration (Arango 2000, 283).

Large-scale migrations occurred in Europe following the conclusion of World Wars I and II. After World War I, millions of people were uprooted as a result of the fall of the Ottoman, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian empires, which resulted in the first

mass migration. In a brief period of time, 1.5 million Belarusians, 700,000 Armenians, 500,000 Bulgarians, 1,000,000 Greeks, and hundreds of thousands of Germans, Hungarians, and Romanians immigrated, according to Agamben (1995, 114). The demographic and geographical makeup of Central and Eastern Europe was significantly altered by this huge migration.

The migration turmoil lasted after World War II, especially in areas where border alterations were most noticeable. Over 15 million people were forcefully moved, with large population migration movements taking place between Germany, Poland, and the former Czechoslovakia. People who were forced to migrate against their will were among the displaced, which complicated the post-war international order even more. A remarkable 30% of West Germany's population by the early 1950s was made up of refugees, demonstrating the significant influence that migration has on the demographic make-up of whole countries (Stalker 2002, 152).

It is obvious that the geopolitical turmoil of the 20th century had a tremendous impact on how people migrated throughout the world, leaving a significant and enduring effect. The next paragraphs go into further depth on the many factors that have influenced migration patterns in the modern era, shedding light on the intricate interaction of political, economic, and social pressures that continue to drive human mobility.

The number of people migrating increased, particularly following World War II. The vast majority of the 40 million displaced persons who fled Europe in 1945 were relocated in Australia, Canada, and other nations, where they made substantial contributions to postwar economic prosperity. The most dramatic migrations were from Albania to Italy in 1991 and again in 1997, as well as from the former Yugoslavia during the conflicts in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo. Between 1991 and 1995, the majority of the 1.3 million asylum seekers who landed in Germany, France, and Italy were members of ethnic minorities (such as Roma) from Romania, Bulgaria, and other Eastern European countries (Castles et al. 2005, 226).

Migration movements were relatively stable in the mid-1990s, owing mostly to economic stagnation. However, migrant patterns surged dramatically towards the

turn of the millennium (Castles et al. 2005, 116). Due to the 2008 global economic crisis, migration flows have decreased as a result of restrictions (Green and Winters 2010, 1065; Castles et al. 2005, 6). Receiving countries' immigration policy objectives have evolved from cheap unskilled and skilled labour to stagnating labour market disturbances, tougher immigration regulations, and, in certain cases, greater security concerns tied to terrorism (Bryceson 2019, 3043-3044).

Recently, many Africans and Middle Eastern people choose to migrate more developed countries or regions such as North America, Europe. This migration was driven by a combination of factors, including the pursuit of economic opportunities and the avoidance of violent military conflicts in their countries of origin. This is the largest migration flow since the Second World War, and the social problems associated with the current migration crisis and the stories of individual refugees have been widely portrayed in the media, documentaries, and fiction (Kurvet-Käosaar et al. 2019, 128). In contrast, international migration from Asia and Latin America continues to be relatively low. Nevertheless, the volume of this migration remains comparatively limited when juxtaposed with the magnitude of intercontinental migration originating from Asia and Latin America. This occurrence can be attributed to advancements in infrastructure, globalization, and economic development in select African nations, which have bolstered their connections with the global community. The Maghreb region, comprising Algeria, Libya, and Tunisia, has always been also a crucial destination and transit point for migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. In recent years, a discernible trend has emerged where labor shortages in the Gulf region and Israel are being addressed by migrant workers hailing from non-Arab areas in Asia and countries located in sub-Saharan Africa. This migration is evolving into a semi-permanent phenomenon, leading to the establishment of diverse societies as Asian and sub-Saharan migrant communities settle in these regions (Castles et al. 2005, 173).

Between 1965 and 1990, the number of immigrants in Western Europe increased from 12 million to 23 million, in North America from 13 million to 24 million, in Australia from 2.5 million to 4.5 million, and in Japan from 0.6 million to 1.2 million (UN 1998). In addition, there has been a large influx of illegal immigrants. At the same time, the ethnic and national composition of migrants has changed. For

example, in the United States, still the world's largest net migrant country, the majority of immigrants (about 90 per cent) in the first two decades of the twentieth century came from Europe. In the 1960s, however, in terms of migration to the United States, Mexico (25%) was closely followed by the other two groups with relatively high and almost equal shares (around 20%): Europeans from the west and north of the continent and those from Latin America (excluding Mexico). (162)

Migration is frequently perceived in a negative light by receiving countries, but there are cases where it can actually bring about benefits for them. The primary areas of focus usually center on economic and demographic factors (i.e. the traditional settler societies such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States). These countries have a rich historical background of enduring significant migration, which has played a crucial role in shaping their populations and driving their economies forward. The rapid development of their sparsely populated territories has been greatly influenced by population growth. Germany is also part of this. Germany underwent substantial population declines during both World Wars I and II. Nevertheless, the nation experienced a significant phase of accelerated progress following the embrace of immigrants from Turkey, as well as certain Middle Eastern and Balkan nations Throughout history, immigrants have played a crucial role in shaping societies by bringing their dedication, knowledge, entrepreneurial spirit, financial acumen, and groundbreaking concepts (Fagiolo and Mastroiello 2013,1). The contributions have been instrumental in the swift development and integration of these societies as part of the OECD group of countries (Duncan 2020, 7).

While the discipline of International Relations, which is still fairly young, initially focused on the causes of conflict following World War I, different viewpoints that emerged in the subject made the problem of war prevention a priority. The field of International Relations, has been shockingly slow to address the issue of international migration. Immigrants and refugees have been closely associated with terrorist actions, notably since the 2001 terrorist attacks (Hollifield 2016, 281). International migration studies have been growing in prominence in related fields of the study of International Relations, such as terrorism and international security, particularly since the September 11 attacks.



Migration directly impacts three main actors: the receiving society, the sending society, and the migrants, while also imposing indirect effects on the wider international framework. For each of these actors, migration triggers unavoidable transformative processes (Jennissen 2004, 6). These shifts might pose specific issues, particularly in instances of forced migration, where refugee influxes may exert additional demands on host societies (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana 2016, 15).

### **3.1. International Relations and International Migration Studies**

In recent years, international migration has been one of the most prominent concerns in the subject of international security. Immigration and national security have developed a strong relationship, particularly in the West. Immigration and immigrants have long been perceived as being inextricably tied to national security problems (Wendt 1994, 212). However, the link between migration and security is not new; the linkage has just not been fully examined by international relations<sup>12</sup> and security studies scholars. Similar migratory waves, for example, were experienced in the nineteenth century, and there were non-state players that leveraged immigrant populations for specific ends and resorted to political violence during this time period (Adamson 2006, 165- 191).

Earlier incidents, such as the Algerian Armed Islamic Group's 1995 bombing of the Paris subway system, the Kurdistan Workers Party's attacks on various Western European countries in the 1990s, and the 2001 New York terrorist attacks, had raised concerns about the relationship between immigration and security (Adamson 2007, 166).

An other example demonstrating the link between international migration and security issues in Asia is the rise of tensions stemming from undesirable migration. India's military intervention in Pakistan in 1971 was primarily driven by the substantial influx of refugees from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) into India. India's engagement in Sri Lanka in the late 20th century was partially motivated by apprehensions of the possible mass influx of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka into India. It is comprehensible that regional states—such as Pakistan concerning

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<sup>12</sup>International Relations (IR) and international relations (ir) are two distinct concepts. While IR refers to a discipline that has developed within the social sciences; ir refers to the relationship between states.

Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, and India regarding Bangladesh and Sri Lanka—have implemented measures to avert or alleviate undesirable population migrations (Weiner 1985, 450).

The influence of international migration on global affairs extends beyond matters of international security. International politics also play a vital role on international migration issues. For instance, the complex connection between the United States and Cuba that dates back to 1959. A comprehensive analysis of the factors leading to the migration of more than a million Cubans to the United States necessitates a sophisticated approach that surpasses the traditional view that politics can impact migration by restricting the liberties of individuals in authoritarian regimes. The direct and indirect interactions between the Cuban and US governments have clearly been significant in determining the timing, scale, and demographic characteristics of Cuban emigration (Bach 1987, 110).

Migrants also could have impact on the internal and foreign policy of the country which they migrated. In the post-Cold War period, transnational diaspora societies have been an essential source of national influence in abroad (Weiner 1985, 442). Yossi Shain, for example, has put forth a different perspective than Samuel Huntington, suggesting that rather than undermining US national interests, immigrants and diasporas can promote them by acting as unofficial ambassadors, propagating American values in their home countries. At the specific policy level, states may consider engaging first- and second-generation migrants to assist with the implementation of specific foreign policy projects. For instance, Iraqi exiles could be utilized in post-conflict reconstruction and nation-building in Iraq, highly skilled Afghan migrants could be mobilized for nation-building in Afghanistan, and Palestinian Americans could be considered as negotiators in various rounds of Middle East peace talks (Shain cited in Adamson 2006, 191).

The study of international migration comes relatively late to political science and International Relations studies (Mitchell 1989, 681). Although the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 were the major event that brought migration to the forefront of International Relations, other terrorist attacks that occurred both before and after also prompted the issue of migration to be discussed in international relations and security

literature.

Immigrants have an impact on International Relations (Mitchell 1989, 693) . Cross-border population movement affects not just many facets of internal politics, but also international relations (Adamson and Tsourapas 2019, 125; Aras and Mencütek 2015, 195). Immigrant crises also promote bilateral engagement, since diplomatic representatives from different nations meet more frequently and engage in diplomatic ties. Diplomatic meetings are held within the framework of international organisations such as the UN, NATO, or bilaterally or tripartitely. In this sense, the Syrian crisis is an ideal demonstration. As the 2011 situation evolved into a worldwide migration crisis, substantial diplomatic discussions were held within the EU, UN, NATO, and amongst nations such as Turkey, Jordan, Germany, Bulgaria, Greece, and the United States (Adamson and Tsourapas 2019).

For Aras and Mencütek (2015) the relationship between migrant flows and international relations displays itself chiefly in four aspects. First, in instances such as foreign military/political interventions or internal or external responses to the intervention, foreign policies have frequently (and often unwittingly) worked to stimulate international migration, such as huge influxes. Foreign policy can be utilised to help or hinder existing refugee flows. Second, both sending and receiving countries can utilise huge migratory flows as foreign policy tools, particularly to destabilise or humiliate their opponents. Receiving governments may admit refugees from hostile neighbouring regimes in order to preserve a reservoir of resistance, which frequently manifests itself in cross-border guerrilla actions. Third, the existence of immigrants, refugees, and diasporas has an impact on foreign policy and international affairs. At the same time, the sending nation can employ the immigrant population in the country as a civic guard and diplomat. Finally, it has an impact on foreign policy in terms of security and border control (Teitelbaum 1984, 433-441; Aras and Mencütek 2015, 195-196).

The states have a monopoly on border control (Gerth and Mills, 1958). Since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, the state has seen border control as a *sine qua non* of its sovereignty (Bauder 2018, 334). States select who can enter the country and what their status will be in the framework of immigration rules. State sovereignty also

decides who can be awarded citizenship (Weiner 1985, 442; Paoletti 2011, 272).

However, historical precedents for exceptions to stringent border controls have been observed. In the late nineteenth century, international migration remained largely unfettered due to the lack of broad passport systems and modest visa requirements by twentieth-century standards (Torpey 2000, 9–12). Thousands Belgians, Italians, and Spaniards traversed on foot to France during this period (Strikwerda 1999, 384). Furthermore, specific transnational ethnic groups, such as the Pashtun tribes along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border, have historically been permitted to traverse borders without restriction due to mutual ethnic and family connections acknowledged by both countries. Furthermore, within the Schengen Area of the European Union, member nations allow their citizens to traverse borders freely, illustrating contemporary examples of open borders.

International immigrants become significant political actors, impacting both their country of residence's political process and ties between their country of residence and their place of origin (Weiner 1985, 450). In this context, international migrants can have a variety of effects on state authority. Migration can, for example, have economic, diplomatic, and military ramifications (Adamson 2006, 185).

Immigrants can greatly enhance a state's military strength by providing valuable technological and intelligence knowledge, including foreign language skills and analysis. The involvement of immigrant scientists in the creation of the US nuclear program in the 1930s serves as a prime example of this. The scientific expertise of renowned figures, such as Albert Einstein and Edward Teller, was crucial in the development of the first atomic weapon. This passage highlights the potential for states to leverage the expertise and abilities of immigrants for military objectives. As noted by Adamson (2006, 188), this can be achieved through a variety of means, including direct enlistment. The United States has been a prominent practitioner of this approach, with an estimated 40,000 non-citizens, or 4 percent of all soldiers, enlisting in the military in 2004. It is worth noting that joining the army can also facilitate the naturalization process for non-citizens (Adamson 2006, 188-189).

The rules that states establish for exit and entrance have an impact on international migration. Thus, these rules are influenced by state relations since they consider the

acts of others while deciding what policies to pursue regarding international population flows (Weiner 1985, 442).

Weiner claims that the literature on international relations says relatively little about demographic movements, especially when the refugee issue is characterised as a byproduct of war, and that theories of international migration give astonishingly little attention to state actions. How governments shape population movements, when such movements lead to conflict and when they contribute to cooperation, and what governments do in their domestic policies to accommodate or influence population flows are all subjects that receive little attention (Weiner 1985, 441).

### **3.2. Why People Migrate?**

The literature contains various definitions of migrants. As to the United Nations, a migrant is someone who has lived in a different nation for a minimum of 12 months. Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that there might be substantial variations in the definitions of migrants. For instance, states may define migrants differently, with some defining them based on their place of birth and others based on the number of borders they have crossed (Adamson 2007, 170). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has broadened the definition of a migrant to include four separate circumstances. According to the IOM's World Migration Report 2018, a migrant is an individual who relocates from their place of origin to establish a new life in their own or another country, irrespective of their legal status, voluntariness, reasons, or length of stay.

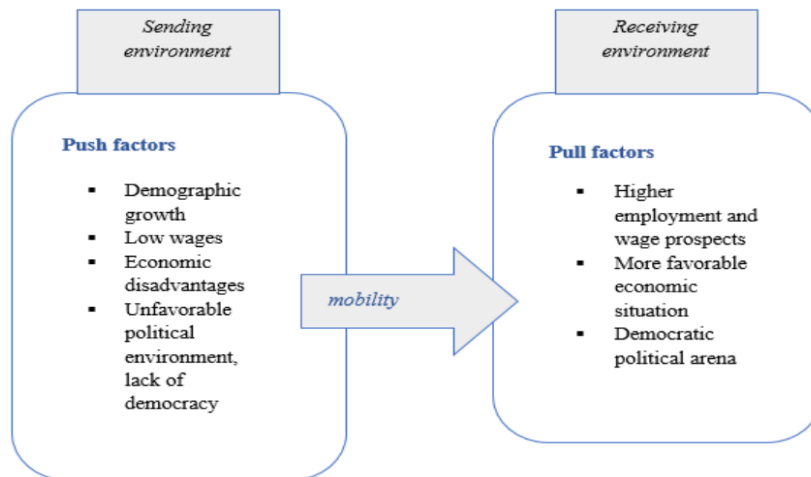
Lee (1966, 49), a migration expert with a lengthy career, broadly defines migration as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. According to the given definition, migration is not restricted by distance or voluntariness, and does not differentiate between external and internal movements. Therefore, relocating from one apartment building to another is considered a form of migration, just as moving from Bombay, India to Cedar Rapids, Iowa. However, it is important to note that the reasons and outcomes of these movements can be significantly diverse. Furthermore, it should be noted that Lee's definition does not cover all types of spatial mobility, and that the temporal aspect is of utmost importance.

The evolution of migration studies has uncovered greater complexity in the conceptualization and analysis of migration. A critical differentiation exists between international and internal migration, defined by three primary factors: the existence of national boundaries, the act of crossing these borders, and the regulatory frameworks established by both the origin and destination countries (Iontsev and Ivakhniouk 2002, 35). This distinction has become essential as migration theories have evolved beyond basic push-pull models to include more sophisticated interpretations of population movements.

Individual migration activity can occur as well as group migration activity. Social transitions and changes have a vital part in the social migratory waves that occur (Castles et al. 2005, 81). The fragmentation of mediaeval societies, for example, and the accompanying changes such as the renaissance, the trade revolution, colonisation, agricultural revolutions, the industrial revolution, the emergence of free market societies, modern education, and technological progress, are all important factors that contributed to the growth of international migration (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana 2016, 13).

The decision to move is hardly an easy one for immigrants. Depending on the time, the immigrant's gender, social, economic, and cultural background, the conditions of the destination country, and age, this decision may become more difficult.

The literature has several discussions regarding the causes of international migration and the motivations for international migration. Furthermore, numerous perspectives on the reasons of international migration may be found in the literature. The causes of migration are numerous and have traditionally been classified by Lee (1966) into two categories: push and pull factors. First, as push factors, violent conflicts, malnutrition and health standards, freedom of expression, a lack of job, or prohibitions are all causes that drive people out from their home countries. Pull factors, on the other hand, are characteristics that attract people to a certain place, such as greater employment or educational possibilities, or better life conditions (Fuchs 2021, 689).



**Figure 2.** Push and Pull Factors Driving Mobility (Alvarez and Müller-Eie 2018)

Economic migrants leave their home country in search of work or other economic opportunities. To avoid the misery of war or political oppression, refugees and asylum seekers escape the country. In practice, resolving the political and economic variables that drive migrant patterns is sometimes complex or time-consuming (Adamson 2006, 176). However, in both circumstances, the objective is to move from worse to better conditions (Castles et al. 2005, 1). In other words, it is analogous to moving from a more backward region to a more advanced region, or from a less developed country to a more developed country (Lee 1966, 54; Weiner 1985, 441).

The fundamental concern of economic migrants is not that the country to which they would migrate provides better socioeconomic and security circumstances than the country from which they migrated. They wish to relocate to the best country option for them. For example, while immigrants seeking to settle in Europe first arrive in countries such as Italy and Malta, (Losi and Strang 2008) these are not their final destinations, but rather transit countries (Strang and Ager 2010, 595).

Sirkeci posits that international migration is propelled by three primary deficits: developmental (economic), democratic (especially impacting minority groups), and demographic (arising from population growth dynamics). These inadequacies manifest through diverse international communication and information networks,

historically encompassing personal connections, letters, and mass media, and presently extending to digital communications (Sirkeci 2017, 129).

Jennissen (2004) presents a classification of migration that includes four categories: labor migration, return migration, chain migration, and asylum migration. This paradigm has been criticized for its inadequate consideration of forced migration. Jennissen categorizes forced migration as a subset of asylum migration; however, experts contend that forced migration includes a wider range of circumstances outside asylum-seeking, such as displacement resulting from development initiatives, environmental catastrophes, and armed conflict.

Poor countries have too many young people to employ for their poor economies, thus they "need" to export the excess employees. In contrast, when the number of young people entering the labour force declines and they are unable to fill an increasing number of positions, receiving countries "need" to import labour. As a result, some studies maintain that worker migrations, at first glance, appear to be a win-win approach for both the sending and receiving countries. However, generalising these ideas is neither conceivable nor correct. Furthermore, although source countries want remittances, investments, and technology transfers from immigrants as drivers of economic growth, destination countries are worried about immigrants' role in satisfying labour and skill demand (Asch 1994; Joly 2000, 35-36; Castles et al. 2005, 240).

Castelli categorizes the causes of migration in three main categories. These are: macro-factors, meso-factors and micro-factors. 'Macro-factors' can be political, demographic, socio-economic and environmental. These macro-factors are the main drivers of international or internal forced migration and are largely beyond the control of individuals. Among 'meso-factors', communication technology, land grabbing and diasporic connections play an important role. Social media, in particular, showcases life and prosperity in other countries, which increases individuals' interest in migration. However, micro factors such as education, religion, marital status, and personal attitudes towards migration play also essential role in shaping an individual's choice to migrate. Individuals from the most impoverished populations lack the resources to flee from situations of war and



destitution, thereby becoming ensnared within their own countries or neighboring countries (Castelli 2018, 1-6).

We can expect lower rates of immigration where there is high homogeneity among individuals in terms of race or ethnicity<sup>13</sup>, education, money, or tradition than where there is great variety. In societies characterized by obvious inequities and disparities, individuals are more inclined to migrate to other countries—often with limited knowledge of them—in pursuit of improved chances or to evade adverse circumstances. Consequently, it is reasonable to conclude that migration is motivated not solely by differences but by discrimination and inequities arising from these differences (Lee 1966, 52).

Forced migration and voluntary migration are two classifications found in the literature (Zatter 2015, 1; Betts 2015, 312). Voluntary migration presents a clear distinction from forced migration. Forced migrants are people who are undergoing a process of relocation from one country to another in search of asylum, refugee status or internal displacement. Conversely, voluntary migrants are individuals who relocate for a multitude of reasons, particularly to meet labor demands (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana 2016, 17).

The term "forced migration" is employed to describe a range of forced movements of people, as well as the international movement of individuals under conditions of gross injustice and human rights violations (Gibney 2013, 129). The term also alludes to governmental or sovereign aggression. Such violence has become the "creative force" of "ethnic cleansing" in modern times. National identity concepts and ambitions have remained accessible to nearly any attempt to discriminate between 'us' and 'them' (Lüdtke 2009 ,19).

Migration can occur as a consequence of individuals or groups being forced to move,

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<sup>13</sup>In the field of migration studies, the discussion surrounding the concepts of race and ethnicity is an essential topic to dispute. These concepts are deeply rooted in specific political, cultural, and linguistic traditions, giving rise to significant debates. Upon entering the field, one cannot help but observe the longstanding tradition of examining race and race relations in the Anglo-Saxon world. This is despite the existence of a broad consensus that race is a social construct with no real underlying genetic or biological basis. Conversely, continental European scholars tend to avoid using the term "race" in international settings with Anglo-Saxon colleagues unless they are communicating in English (See Jacobs 2018, 137).

or it can occur as a result of war, violence, natural catastrophes, or other negative forced factors. In the literature, this is referred to as “forced migration.” The majority of large migrations in history have happened as a result of forced migration or expulsion. This has been happening from the beginning of history. For example, the absence of a Jewish diaspora following the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 586 before Christ; the immigration of Africans to the United States as a result of the slave trade; the population exchange<sup>14</sup> between Greece and Turkey after World War I; the displacement of Native Arabs from Jerusalem by the Jews in 1948; and migration waves that occurred after Balkan conflicts after the Cold War are just a few examples of waves of forced migration (Adamson 2006, 171; Acar 2021, 189).

Forced migration has historically occurred due to a multitude of factors, including discrimination, racism, unemployment, or the displacement of specific communities for labor purposes. Alexander Betts (2011, 134-135) emphasizes that migration is a fundamental pillar of the discipline of International Relations, akin to the significance of wars. The phenomenon of migration predates the formal emergence of academic disciplines and the recording of relevant resources, mirroring the enduring nature of wars throughout history.

Migration's historicity is evident when examining the early civilizations and state structures in Anatolia, as documented in written sources. Notably, within the Hittite civilization, instances of migration and forced displacement are discernible. Captives acquired through warfare, known as NAM.RA, were relocated and utilized to fulfill various agricultural, livestock, and military needs of the state (Goetze 1957 cited in Hoffner 2002).

### **3.3. Temporality, Spatiality, Politics and International Migration**

The concepts of time and space are crucial in migration studies (Griffiths et al. 2013; King 2018,35). Migration-related concerns frequently emerge from the

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<sup>14</sup> In just four years, more than a million Orthodox people living in Anatolia and Western Thrace were forced to migrate to Greece, while about 600,000 Muslims living there were resettled in Turkey. Since the main criterion was religion, non-Muslims who did not speak a language other than Turkish or Turkish Orthodox, such as the Karamanites, were also forced to migrate. This demographic arrangement also coincided with the nationalist political climate of the time. By expelling the "non-national" population, both states nationalized the population needed for the new state, thus laying the foundation for a state based on ethno-religious identity (Alpman and Daniş 2023).

transferability of issues across different geographical places and time periods, together with their propensity for deferral and postponement. The intrinsic intricacy makes these questions challenging to settle conclusively. Policy dilemmas may arise from intricate processes that develop over prolonged durations and across several spatial dimensions. These challenges may arise from localized issues with extensive global consequences. Alternatively, they may arise as purely local issues stemming from the cumulative impacts of previous policies and practices enacted by diverse authorities and players at multiple hierarchical levels. Furthermore, these challenges may stem from the movement of populations across various geographical areas, hence complicating the migration landscape (Güngördü and Bayırbağ 2019, 188).

Migration is widely viewed as a spatial process. However, the experiences of immigrants are generally tied to the mix of space and time. They wait for the proper time to relocate to other countries (Tefera 2021, 116; Griffiths et al. 2013, 1; Bastian 2011, 152-153).

According to Bastian, space and time have traditionally been viewed in the West as impacting our perception of how we are with others in two ways: we are with others as long as we inhabit the same place, but we are also separated from ourselves and others by the passage of time (Bastian 2011, 98).

A controversy is raging among academics about the best way to research migration, whether in synchronic terms or from a diachronic, historical viewpoint. Migration, according to Wallerstein (1974), Portes and Walton (1981), Petras (1981), and Morawska (1990), is basically a historical phenomenon that cannot be separated from time. They argue that creating a thorough theoretical understanding of migration requires comprehending the chronological sequence of various social and economic developments (Massey 1990, 3).

The interaction of space and time in the migration studies, as well as the many ways to studying migration, enhances the academic discussion, offering a dynamic area that benefits from comprehensive approaches to deepen our knowledge of this complex global phenomena. Two different conceptual vantage points—the temporal context and the individual level—can be used to study migration. Migration, on a time scale, includes entries that result in long-term habitation, family reunion, or the

acquisition of citizenship after entry into a host country. These migration patterns suggest a commitment over the long term and aintegration into the local society. Comparatively, shorter-term arrivals frequently result in repatriation, with labour migration being a common cause of these situations. This contrast emphasises the variety of goals and paths that migrants may have, underscoring the significance of carefully examining migration trends. Scholars and policymakers can more clearly understand the intricacies and ramifications of human mobility in the modern world by distinguishing between various forms of migration (Tefera 2021, 116).

Governments and societies have a wide range of perspectives on migration. The migration policies of the state and the approaches of the general public can sometimes be different. Laws on migration are influenced by political ideology, cultural values, and economic circumstances. Immigrants' lives are significantly impacted by the perspectives that cultures and nations have of them. The degree of receptivity and integration of immigrants will depend on how these parameters converge or diverge. While social opinions are impacted by cultural, economic, and historical considerations, political power can have an impact on state policy. Restrictive measures have been used in the past, as seen by examples like the Soviet Union's limitations and the temporary ban on Chinese immigration. In order to create inclusive immigration policies that promote social cohesion and the effective integration of varied populations within nations, careful examination of the intricate interactions between state policies and public sentiment is essential (Weiner 1985, 448).

Governments may regard immigrants as an useful workforce, either as unskilled workers or as under-skilled individuals willing to undertake occupations that native people refuse. They, on the other hand, strive to discourage immigrants if they fear they will cause social and political issues, and they frequently restrict immigration on the basis of defending "national identity" or ensuring social stability (Stalker 2002, 163).

### **3.4. Migration and Socio-Economic Change**

According to Castles, dramatic changes in prevailing economic, political, and strategic ties are directly connected to social transformations. The industrial

revolution and the growth of market liberalism as a dominating ideology in the nineteenth century created the conditions for widespread social transformation. Economic globalisation and new patterns of political and military power are producing a new global social change (Castles 2010).

The choice to migrate is a complex one impacted by a number of conscious and unconscious influences. Immigrants may be conscious of their decisions, but they may also be impacted by variables they are unaware of, such as their family's migration history or the political environment in their native country (Morawska 2001). As a result of these immigration choices, societies change and transform (O'Reilly 2022, 7; Van Hear 2010, 1535; Portes 2010).

Migration, by definition, causes enormous societal changes, affecting both sending and receiving societies (Duncan 2020, 13; O'reilly 2022, 2). A series of social changes occurs as people relocate from one country to another. Such changes are not only visible in the host countries, but also in the countries from which migrants originate. According to Portes, the extent of social changes in developing and sending civilizations may be less deep than in receiving societies. Nonetheless, migration's dynamic character invariably leaves a permanent impression on the social fabric of all engaged civilizations, resulting in a complex interplay of cultural, economic, and demographic transformations (cited in Van Hear 2010, 1532).

Moreover, international migration could have economic impacts and consequences for both destination countries and sending countries. For instance, international migrants joining certain sectors can contribute to economic growth in receiving countries by reducing natural labor shortages (Gieseck et al., 1995). Additionally, the aforementioned social change and changes in lifestyles can have an impact on economic developments in receiving countries, as they may involve changes in savings and consumption habits or investment patterns (Jennissen 2004, 6).

International migration is distinct in that it alters the cohesiveness of a country's population and hence effects domestic politics. To put it another way, international migration is a complex movement from one society to another. As a result, individuals not only have financial, economic, or environmental impacts, but they also have effects on other people, making this influence holistic and

transformational. The intensity and pace of the country's transition will be increased in particular by the magnitude of migration (Weiner 1985, 453).

The migration research has seen a rising emphasis on analysing the interaction of economic, political, and social issues. Scholars have recently recognised the rising importance of studying the relationship between migration, environment, and development (Akcapar 2006, 817). Migration and settlement are long-term processes that last throughout an immigrant's life and have a substantial impact on future generations. As migrants establish fresh soil, their arrival can cause significant changes in the demographic, economic, and social systems of both the host and origin cultures. Furthermore, the ensuing cultural variety frequently calls into question long-held concepts of national identity (Castles et al. 2005).

According to Akcapar's study, persons who face obstacles connected to language, religion, and ideology in their native nation typically suffer a transition of identity following immigration to other countries. This process is aided by exposure to multiple social situations and a search for significance in their new host countries. As an example, several Iranian Shiites converted to Christianity after fleeing Iran and finding safety in Turkey. According to Akcapar, the fundamental psychological component driving this conversion is the immigrants' quest for support, particularly in a religious and institutional setting, which the current Iranian immigrant network in Turkey may not completely give. This phenomenon emphasises migration's substantial influence on religious and cultural changes, emphasising the importance of social and psychological variables in shaping migrants' identities in their new environments (Akcapar 2006, 846-847).

Language is one of the most significant implications of inter-societal interactions. Two distinct languages spoken by individuals societies come into encounter with each other as a result of migration, and so interact. Language borrowing can result in a variety of linguistic effects, including language slippage, language endangerment, and, in extreme cases, the death, decay, or extinction of the language, as well as the birth of a new language, similar to pidgins and creoles (Medjedoub 2015, 23-24). The settlement of immigrant groups and the establishment of ethnic minorities may significantly transform the social, cultural, economic, and political fabric of

countries, especially in the long run, for immigrant-receiving societies (Castles et al. 2005, 1; Al-Masri et al. 2022). Some receiving societies may feel uneasy about the entrance of immigrants and refugees in their society, fearing that their culture and customs will be endangered. This can lead to negative perceptions of immigrants among some members of these societies (Stephan and Stephan 2013, 29-30).

Large-scale international migration waves stimulate economic growth. Significant amounts of immigrants are required in the United Kingdom, Germany<sup>15</sup>, Italy, and the United States. In addition, Japan and Russia require immigration to ensure economic prosperity (Strikwerda 1999, 369). The key explanation for this is that, according to the OECD 2014 migration policy discussions, immigrants may offer new skills and human capital to the host society while also filling key shortages in both fast-growing and declining sectors of the economy (Dumont and Liebig 2014, 3-4).

Migration, according to Sunata and Yildiz (2018, 132), can be viewed as a danger, an opportunity, or a challenge. While migratory outflows from origin nations are often characterised by the loss of young and talented persons (brain drain), this condition impedes these countries' growth. High inflows to destination nations are sometimes viewed as a threat to the destination country's security and social system, particularly if the immigrants originate from less developed and unequal countries (Fuchs 2021, 689).

### **3.5. International Migration Theories**

There are different migration theories, much like there is a critical&problem-solving; reflectivist&rationalist theories division in the subject of International Relations. For instance, for Castles et al. (2005) migration theories may be divided into two major paradigms, based on a more general contrast in the social sciences between 'functionalist<sup>16</sup>' and 'historical-structural<sup>17</sup>' theories. Despite their numerous

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<sup>15</sup>The United Nations (UN) estimated that Germany will require an average net immigration of 3.4 million people per year from 1995 to 2050. Given the public controversy surrounding refugee immigration since 2015, this might be tough for German society to deal with (See Fuchs et al. 2021, 690).

<sup>16</sup>As a social theory, functional theory views society as a system. It arose in the nineteenth century under the leadership of Comte as a result of an attempt to compare social sciences with scientific sciences. Functional theorists are epistemologically positivists in this setting. That is, empirical

differences, functionalist and historical-structural theories both hold that migration is largely caused by geographical inequities (De Haas 2021, 9)

Migration is shaped by a variety of factors, including disparities in wages, imbalances in the job market, variations in labor supply and demand across regions, economic customs, historical patterns, the existence of migration assistance organizations, economic globalization, and personal situations.

According to Castles et al., there are several theoretical impediments in migration research. Castles et al. contend that developing a grand theory of migration is not feasible nor required (Castles et al. 2005, 52) This significant progress, however, can be made "in the middle" by (re)integrating migration research into a broader understanding of society and embedding it within broader theories of social change that draw on the repertoire of social science disciplines. A more complete viewpoint will be necessary for this, while current migration theories in the literature will help (Van Hear 2010, 1533).

Massey et al. (1998, 17) and Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana (2016,14) assert that there is presently no singular, universally acknowledged theory among social scientists to elucidate the onset and persistence of international migration globally. A disjointed array of beliefs has emerged, primarily in isolation from each other, frequently beyond disciplinary confines. Van Hear (2010, 1535) infers from this fragmentation that there is probably less interest within the social science community for a cohesive account of migration. He perceives this "fragmented collection of theories" as a catalyst for the diverse methodologies that characterize Migration Studies. Massey et al. (1993, 432) assert that international migration is characterized by inconsistent and discontinuous beliefs, indicating that the diverse theories frequently possess contradictory assumptions and lack coherence, hence failing to

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observations are thought to provide objective access to knowledge about social reality (see. e.n. Haas 2014, 5).

<sup>17</sup> This viewpoint examines the impact that economic, cultural, social, and political frameworks exert on individuals. These perspectives posit that these frameworks often perpetuate disparities rather than fostering balance. They contend that economic and political authority is not evenly distributed globally. Furthermore, they argue that cultural frameworks and social customs, like religion and heritage, play a role in upholding these structural inequities. Migration is seen as a factor in creating a pool of low-cost labor that advantages the privileged in the areas where migrants reside. Consequently, this results in a brain drain from the regions they originate from, exacerbating pre-existing social and geographical gaps (Castles et al. 2005, 27-28).



provide a comprehensive explanation of the phenomenon.

Castles (2016, 15) critiques the fragmentation and disintegration of contemporary migration theories, asserting that analyses of particular migrant episodes must consistently integrate research on the social context in which they transpire. He argues for the development of an inclusive conceptual framework that is comprehensive, holistic, capable of contextualizing specific migration experiences, suitable for analyzing relationships across various socio-spatial levels, able to integrate both structure and agency, historically informed, and dynamic, allowing for testing and modification through further empirical research (Castles 2010).

However, significant obstacles hinder the development of a comprehensive migration theory, obstacles that are inherently connected to the intricate structure of migration itself. De Haas (2014, 6) identifies challenges such as 'receiving country bias' and the simultaneous disregard for origin country characteristics, resulting in distorted views on the motivations, consequences, and experiences of migration. Furthermore, the dominance of state and official viewpoints leads to the unexamined application of political classifications to classify migrants and migration. Disciplinary disparities induce challenges or hesitance to collaborate across domains, while methodological variations—particularly between quantitative (positivist) and qualitative (interpretative) approaches—exacerbate the formulation of a cohesive theory. Divisions in social theory paradigms, specifically among functionalist, historical-structural, and symbolic interactionist methods, together with the distinction between 'forced' and 'voluntary' migration studies and between international and domestic migration, exacerbate fragmentation. Ultimately, a disparity emerges between theoretical frameworks and actual study concerning the origins, consequences, and experiences of migration.

Although certain political science or international relations theories are not called migration theories, they can make judgments about migration. One of the most prominent of these theories, political realism, is often tied to war and conflict. However, it is used in many different thematic areas of the subject. According to this theory, the reasons of migration include wars and conflicts, and as a result of global players' rationalist attitudes and policies, instability is generated in specific nations

and areas (Babahanoğlu and Bilici 2018). This insecurity also leads to large migrations.

Bakewell contends that critical realism approaches are useful for examining both "forced" and "voluntary" migration, as they mitigate specific shortcomings associated with structuration theory. Critical realism provides an approach that recognizes the existence of both social institutions and individual agency, and how their interaction influences migration processes. This methodology seeks to elucidate the intricate interplay between structural pressures—such as economic conditions, governmental policies, and social inequalities—and the behaviors of individual migrants. This approach offers profound insights into the connections between the commencement and persistence of migration patterns. Structuration theory, although acknowledging the duality of structure and agency, has faced criticism for its abstract nature and insufficient practical methodological direction in empirical research (Bakewell 2010, 1689–1690; Van Hear 2010, 1535).

Understanding migration as a structuration process enriches the theoretical framework of migration studies by offering a more sophisticated examination of social systems and human activity. This approach enhances and expands upon prior research, including that of Massey et al., by rectifying deficiencies in their analysis of the interaction between individual behaviors and societal frameworks. Morawska (2001, 73) elucidates the theoretical significance of symbolic forms in influencing the patterns, objectives, and strategies of international migration. It consolidates the mutual impacts of migrants' deliberate activities and the societal circumstances of their home and host countries into a unified theoretical framework, providing a more thorough comprehension of migration dynamics.

Regarding the economic perspective of migration, Piore (1979, 3-4) has been a prominent proponent of the theory, emphasizing the constant need for migrant labor inherent in the economic structures of industrialized nations. He contends that pull factors in receiving nations, rather than push factors such as low wages or significant unemployment in exporting countries, drive international migration.

Much of the literature on international migration in North America, according to Massey et al. (1994, 1998), is non-empirical. The majority of the time, the studies

consist of discourses that do not extend beyond polemical or theoretical arguments. Empirical investigations are often descriptive and have little utility in testing hypotheses. According to Massey et al., the European literature has even less empirical data that is theoretically meaningful. However, like with any other theoretical method, there are challenges in bringing theory to practise, i.e. empirical research (Jennissen 2004, 5).

According to Hein de Haas, migration studies are still an under-theorized topic of study. This is due in part to its proximity to politics. This is regrettable since, as a key aspect of current social change, a more fundamental knowledge of migration processes gives crucial perspective for a more comprehensive understanding of social change. In this regard, it is vital to concentrate on migration while also focusing on social transformation (de Haas 2014, 4).

There are various ways in which migration theories can be classified and grouped. Migration theories are commonly classified into various categories depending on the specific field of social science they belong to, such as sociology, economics, or anthropology. Hagen-Zanker (2008) and Massey et al. (1993) have further divided these theories into two main sections: 'determinations of migration' and 'perpetuation of migration', when examining the various theories. The theories concerning the first type revolve around the factors that drive migration, whereas the second type focuses on the persistence or widespread nature of migration (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana 2016, 18)

### **3.5.1. Theories for Determinants of Migration**

Migration can be triggered by a range of factors, including natural disasters and man-made disasters like wars, conflicts, and unstable political climates. In certain regions, the signing of bilateral and multilateral agreements has allowed for the unrestricted movement of labor between countries, thanks to globalization (Rosen 2007, 1-2).

Different assumptions about what causes migration comprise Neoclassical, Historical-structural, and Neo-Marxist theories. Insights from these theories, on the other hand, can be valuable for understanding unique manifestations of migration that occur in certain situations or at different levels of analysis (De Haas 2021, 27-

29).

According to historical-structural perspectives, immigrants are passive agents or victims of capitalism who have no option but to move in order to survive. However, some contend that the large number of immigrants who have better their life economically and socially as a consequence of migration contradicts these viewpoints (de Haas 2014, 11). The push-pull concept is effectively described by Janet Abu's analogy, which compares humans to iron filings, hopelessly driven by external forces beyond their control and without creative power while they modify the settings through which they travel. This reductionist viewpoint ignores the complex interaction of social, economic, and cultural elements influencing migration decisions. Human migration is a complicated phenomenon that is influenced not just by money incentives but also by family, cultural, and emotional relationships that shape people's decisions and paths (cited in Bach and Schraml 1982, 323). Such simplified models, critics contend, fail to represent the complicated reality of human movements, necessitating a more complete and holistic approach to the study of human mobility. Scholars can better grasp the different causes and results of migration by respecting migrants' agency and societal intricacies, contributing to a more complete knowledge of this worldwide phenomena.

The push-pull and neoclassical gravity models, which originated in natural sciences, propose that migration happens when the perceived advantages of relocating outweigh the downsides, with external stimuli acting as 'push' and 'pull' factors. These models take a mechanical approach, considering humans as inert creatures devoid of action, cognition, and social relationships. However, this reductionist viewpoint raises basic concerns regarding the transferability of causality notions from the natural sciences to the intricacies of the social sciences (de Haas 2014, 17).

### **3.5.1.1. Neo-Classical Economic Theory**

One of the earliest theories on migration is the neo-classical economic theory. According to the theory, as the disparities in wages and welfare levels across countries expand, waves of immigration from low-wage countries to higher-wage ones are predicted (Massey et al. 1993, 432; Cassarino 2004, 2; Jennissen 2004, 33). Much quantitative research supports this notion as well. However, while both

quantitative research and neoclassical economic theory claim that income disparities have a positive influence on migration on average, neither is interested in understanding the origins, patterns, and inequalities (de Haas 2014, 9).

Neo-classical theory is frequently juxtaposed with historical-structural approaches that elucidate migration in terms of the macro-organization of socio-economic relations (Faist 1997; Kritz 2002, 110). However, migration is viewed as a consequence of labour supply and demand in neoclassical economic theory. Wage disparities between countries drive labour migration. As a result, individuals are rational agents who seek to maximise their income. Individuals, i.e. immigrants, are therefore expected to migrate where they can earn the maximum salaries (Hejduková and Kureková, 2020, 49-50; Massey et al. 1993, 435).

Neoclassical economists occasionally promote 'open borders' and 'free movement,' thinking that this will increase efficiency and, in the long run, lead to a worldwide equalisation of pay tariffs and opportunities (Castles et al. 2005, 52).

Also critiques have been directed towards the Neoclassical economic theory of migration. It should be highlighted that the impact of international wage disparities on migration trends is not substantial, and they are not the primary determinant to be taken into account. The study carried out by Massey and colleagues in 1998 found that a significant proportion of migrants do not move to a new location primarily to increase their financial income. Therefore, there may be numerous reasons for migration motivation in this context. Moreover, there may be changes in the reasons over time. Some reasons may persist, while others may lose their importance or emerge (Massey 2002, 144-145).

### **3.5.1.2. World System Theory**

According to world system theory, which is included in international relations theories, migration decisions are made at higher levels rather than at the individual level, as in neoclassical economics. In other words, most decisions are made for structural reasons (Massey et al. 1993, 432).

World systems theory defends that migration is a natural result of the inevitable distortions and displacements that occur during the capitalism growth process.

Capitalism spread outward from its base in Western Europe, North America, Oceania, and Japan, including progressively huge sections of the world and growing shares of the human population. As rent and wealth flow to the periphery nations, immigration will begin to flow there as well (Massey et al. 1993, 445; Massey 1989).

Although the focus is not on concerns such as international migration and population mobility, world system theory advocates both the focus on macrosocial processes and the premise that highly developed countries require foreign workers to work at low pay in specific industries (Arango 2000, 290).

Migration researchers, like Castells (1975), have presented a perspective that aligns with the world system theory in the sociological work of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974). This perspective suggests that migration is a strategic process aimed at exploiting labor in both sending and receiving states within a hierarchical world system. According to Wallerstein (1974), the world is viewed as a unified capitalist system, where less powerful nations on the outskirts play a crucial role in providing inexpensive labor to support the affluent and dominant states at the core of the system. Put simply, the existence of capitalism is contingent upon the availability of inexpensive labor and labor markets. Consequently, it is essential to have peripheral societies that can offer the necessary goods and services to center countries at remarkably low prices (O'Reilly 2015, 28).

In terms of international migration theory, world systems theory argues that international migration follows the political and economic organization of an expanding global market and puts forward six different hypotheses: 1) International migration is a natural consequence of capitalist market formation in the developing world; the penetration of the global economy into peripheral regions is the catalyst for international movement. 2) International labor flows follow international flows of goods and capital, but in the opposite direction. Capitalist investment fuels exchanges in peripheral countries that create an uprooted, mobile population, while at the same time establishing strong material and cultural ties with the center countries, leading to transnational movements. 3) International migration is particularly likely between former colonial powers and their former colonies because cultural, linguistic, administrative, investment, transportation and communication

links were established early on and allowed to develop free from external competition during the colonial period, leading to the formation of specific transnational markets and cultural systems. 4) Since international migration results from the globalization of the market economy, the way for governments to influence migration rates is to regulate the overseas investment activities of companies and control international flows of capital and goods. 5) When political and military interventions by capitalist governments to protect their investments abroad and to support foreign governments sympathetic to the expansion of the global market fail, they resort to international migration for a specific purpose, namely the generation of refugee movements to specific hub countries. 6) International migration is ultimately not significantly influenced by wage rates or employment differentials between countries. This can be explained more by the dynamics of market creation and the structure of the global economy (Massey et al. 1993, 447-448).

The theory of world systems best represents inequality, as it is both the theory of international relations and its consequences for migration. World systems theory is based on Marxist political economics, highlighting global disparities and migration as a key component that contributes to the system's continuation (O'Reilly 2022, 4).

Researchers investigating international migration, drawing on Wallerstein's theory, relate the roots of international migration with the structure of the world market, which has expanded and evolved since the 1970s (Massey et al. 1993, 444).

### **3.5.1.3. Migration System Theory**

Mabogunje's (1970) migration systems theory is the first documented attempt to theorise contextual feedback mechanisms. A migration system is a collection of places linked by streams and counter-flows of people, products, services, and information that tend to enable increased exchanges between places, including migration. Families and communities are intertwined on this bounded space plane (Haas 2010b, 1593).

International migration is a multifaceted phenomenon that encompasses a complex set of changes in language, culture, and economic systems. It frequently entails the

transfer of human capital developed by migrants in their home countries. In this context, the assessment of international migrants can be based on various criteria, including education and work experience (Massey et al. 1993, 456).

The systems approach posits that the exchange of capital and people between specific countries occurs within a specific economic, social, political, and demographic context. However, this approach presents a challenge in discerning causality, as almost no direct cause-and-effect relationships can be identified (Jennissen 2004, 31).

"Networks migrate, not individuals," Tilly (1992, 79) says. Migration systems theory views migration as a two-way movement of people, products, and ideas between particular locations, emphasising that migration alters the circumstances of sending and receiving locations as well as the links between them, hence altering the migration flow itself (Mabogunje 1970, 3).

One of migration system theory's primary features is its ability to represent the complex interactions of multiple components impacting migration dynamics. The theory recognises that migration is impacted by social, cultural, and political factors in addition to economic concerns (Castles 2010). Migration system theory provides a more complete framework for comprehending the intricacies of international migration processes by recognising the multidimensionality of migration.

While migration network theory emphasize the importance of social capital, and transnational and diaspora theories highlight the significance of identity formation, migration systems theory delves into the inherent connection between migration and various types of interactions, especially the movement of goods, ideas, and finances. This exchange alters the initial conditions under which migration occurs in both origin and destination societies. Migration systems theory, therefore, enables a deeper understanding of how migration is involved in broader processes of social transformation and development (Castles et al. 2005, 42). This viewpoint contradicts the naive idea that migration is only a one-way movement from one location to another. Instead, it acknowledges migration's transformational effect on the countries involved, resulting in changes to the social fabric, economic systems, and cultural landscapes (De Haas 2010b, 1590-1592).



#### **3.5.1.4 . Cumulative Causation Theory**

According to Massey (1999), cumulative causation theory emphasises a dynamic viewpoint on migration and views migration as a self-replicating social process in which previous migratory actions modify the social setting. This means that once migration begins, it might lead to more migration even if the original conditions causing the migration are no longer present.

The theory of cumulative causation of migration explains why, once initiated, a migratory flow grows over time (Fussell and Massey 2004, 151). Causality is cumulative because each act of migration alters the social environment in which subsequent migration decisions are made, often in a way that increases the likelihood of more movement (Hedström and Ylikoski 2010,51-53).So far, social scientists have explored six socioeconomic aspects that may be changed cumulatively by migration: income distribution, land distribution, agricultural organisation, culture, regional distribution of human capital, and the social meaning of labour (Massey et al. 1993, 451).

The cumulative causation theory of migration has the restriction of being able to explain the effects of migration (i.e., the volume and socio-demographic variety of migratory flows) exclusively in terms of the immigrants' communities of origin. It is unclear if the theory's projected migratory results may be expected to occur in the immigrants' destination as well (Bachmeier and Bean 2009, 2).

The cumulative component of remigration refers to the dynamic in which causes for future remigration are linked to reasons for original migration. These factors might include a lack of assimilation into the society of origin, the conviction that only further migration will result in the achievement of goals, or the influence of family members. Migrants are reflexive actors that actively change their lives at each stage of the migration process (Massey et al. 1993, 461-462). This suggests that the motivations for remigration do not remain constant throughout time. The initial motivations for migrating may be exacerbated by additional considerations, such as a lack of integration into one's home society or the realisation that further movement is required to attain one's goals (Tufiş and Sandu 2023, 835).

Ultimately, the Cumulative Causation Theory provides useful insights into the

dynamics of migration and development. This theory improves our knowledge of how migration influences economic changes, social transformations, and development outcomes by recognising the cumulative character of migration and its far-reaching consequences on numerous socioeconomic variables. However, further study is required to broaden the theoretical framework and account for the reciprocal link between migration and development in both sending and receiving regions.

### **3.5.2. Theories for Perpetuation of Migration**

#### **3.5.2.1. Social Network Theory**

One of the most widely accepted innovations in migration theory since the 1980s has been the adoption of network theories that focus on the collective activities of migrants and communities in organizing migration and reunification processes. Informal networks play a significant role in the migration process for individuals and groups (Portes and Bach 1985). As outlined by Wilpert, network theory and migrant networks function in the following manner. "Pioneer migrants initially establish a network that connects sending and receiving societies, and this connection facilitates the migration of additional individuals from the sending society. New waves of migrants leverage this established network, and subsequent migrants benefit from the experiences of the initial migrants. Over time, migration becomes self-perpetuating" (cited in Yalçın 2004, 50).

Network theory offers an additional significant perspective on the factors that influence migration. Massey et al. define migrant networks as interpersonal connections that link migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in both the origin and destination locations. These connections are formed via relationships of family, friendship, and common community origin. These networks have the potential to decrease the expenses and uncertainties associated with migration, hence increasing the likelihood of further migration once the first moves have occurred. The idea suggests that each new migrant enhances the network and decreases the risks of migration for all individuals associated to them, ultimately making it almost risk-free and free of cost to distribute household labor via emigration (Massey et al. 1993, 448-449).

The process of establishing and maintaining social connections among migrants, as

well as with family and acquaintances in their home country, is explained by social (migration) network theory. This ultimately leads to the formation of social networks. These networks are intermediate-level social frameworks that often facilitate further migration. Various factors like war, colonialism, conquest, occupation, military service and recruitment, alongside shared culture, language, and geographical proximity, play a crucial role in kickstarting migration phenomena. Recent scholarly works have seen the term 'network migration' progressively supplant chain migration. Migrant networks are formed through personal relationships that connect migrants, past migrants, and non-migrants in both the original and destination areas. These connections are based on kinship, friendship, and shared community background (Castles et al. 2005, 39-40).

The development of network connections boosts the likelihood of international migration by lowering costs and risks related to moving, while also increasing the expected benefits of migrating. Also the networks increase the probability of employment at destination and reduce the probability of deportation (Jennissen 2004, 54). Social capital, obtained from connections to those who have migrated before, allows individuals to utilize this capital for gaining access to valuable financial resources, such as lucrative foreign salaries that aid in saving money overseas and sending remittances back home (Palloni et al. 2001, 1264).

**Table 3.** Overview of Theoretical Frameworks in International Migration Studies – Aligned with Societal Multiplicity Theory<sup>18</sup>

Theory	Key Proponents	Core Principles	Alignment with the Consequences of Societal Multiplicity	Criticisms
<b>Neo-Classical Theory</b>	Harris & Todaro (1970), Borjas (1989)	Migration decisions are driven by geographic differences in labor supply and demand. Individuals move to maximize their income by seeking employment in regions where their labor is more valued.	Interaction: Focuses on economic interactions between sending and receiving countries, emphasizing labor market dynamics and income disparities as drivers of migration.	Criticized for focusing solely on economic factors and neglecting political, social, and environmental influences on migration. It fails to account for forced migration due to conflict or persecution, such as

<sup>18</sup>The table is derived from the thesis by comparing the premises and substantive arguments of multiplicity theory and international migration theories.

				the Syrian refugee crisis, which involves complex, multi-faceted reasons beyond economic incentives.
<b>World Systems Theory</b>	Wallerstein (1974), Sassen (1988), Castles & Miller (2009)	Suggests that migration is a result of global capitalism and the economic integration of peripheral countries into the world economy. Capitalist expansion creates labor demand in core countries and pushes labor from less developed regions.	Historical Change: Emphasizes the historical evolution of global economic structures that create migration flows. Difference: Focuses on structural inequalities and power differentials between core and periphery countries that drive migration.	Criticized for being overly deterministic and underestimating individual agency. It often overlooks immediate causes of forced migration, such as conflict and violence, and focuses primarily on economic structures, which may not fully explain all migration patterns, especially in the context of refugee crises like Syria.
<b>Migration Network Theory</b>	Massey et al. (1993), Portes (1995), Granovetter (1973)	Migration decisions are influenced by social networks that provide information, resources, and support. These networks reduce the costs and risks associated with migration, facilitating further migration flows.	Interaction: The concept emphasises the role of social networks in sustaining migration flows through ongoing interactions. Combination: The combination of resources and information within migrant networks may provide support for new migrants.	Criticized for not sufficiently addressing broader structural factors that impact migration, such as economic and political contexts. Overemphasis on the role of networks may downplay individual agency and the impact of legal barriers and state policies.
<b>Transnationalism Theory</b>	Glick Schiller et al. (1992), Levitt (2001), Portes et al. (1999)	Argues that migrants maintain strong social, economic, and political ties across national borders, creating a transnational social field. Migration is not a linear process; migrants engage in a continuous flow of goods, ideas, and people across borders.	Coexistence: Migrants maintain dual identities and connections, coexisting in multiple social fields across borders. Combination: Highlights the blending and adaptation of cultural practices and identities between different societies.	Criticized for assuming that transnational ties always positively impact both origin and host countries. It often overlooks the complexities of dual allegiances and the legal and political challenges of maintaining transnational lives, particularly under restrictive immigration policies.
<b>Cumulative Causation Theory</b>	Massey (1990), de Haas (2010)	Suggests that each act of migration alters the social context, making additional migration more likely. Migration	Historical Change: Highlights how migration can create lasting social and economic changes, leading to continued migration	Criticized for potentially overemphasizing the perpetuation of migration without adequately considering the

		becomes self-sustaining due to changes in social, economic, and cultural conditions in both sending and receiving countries.	flows. Difference: Examines how migration alters the social fabric and increases disparities between migrant and non-migrant communities over time.	potential for return migration or changes in migration flows due to changing policies or economic conditions. It may not account for intricate dynamics that can reverse migration trends.
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### 3.5.2.2. Integration and Assimilation Theories

Integration and assimilation represent distinct concepts elucidating the adaptation of immigrants to new communities. Integration, a dynamic process, allows immigrants to preserve their original language and culture, fostering harmony within the host community (Berry 2005, 705-706). Conversely, assimilation is a unidirectional process involving the adoption of the host society's cultural norms and values, often leading to the abandonment of the immigrants' native language and culture (Cormos 2022, 11-17; Yüksekler and Çeler 2024, 3).

In the realm of immigration domestic policy, the central question revolves around achieving integration (Dingil 2021, 29). Integration, derived from the term "integer," meaning whole or entire, involves living in harmony with the new community while retaining one's cultural identity (Daly 2006, 187). Although integration is sometimes confused with assimilation, the two are distinct concepts (Strang and Ager 2010, 591). Robinson (1998, 118) defines integration as a multidimensional process involving the formation of relationships between individuals with various identities (Strang and Ager 2010, 602).

Research on integration tends to view the host society as culturally homogeneous, limited and closed (Spencer 2022, 225). According to the 2001 Interdepartmental Working Group on the Integration of Refugees in Ireland, integration means the ability to participate in all the main components of society to the extent needed and desired without having to give up one's own cultural identity (Strang and Ager 2010, 590). Integration can also be defined as a complex and multidimensional process in which new identities are negotiated (Lewis cited in Strang and Ager 2010, 602). While migrants may be emotionally involved in their own ethnic communities, their

relationship with the communities they migrate to is more self-interested (Verkuyten et al. 2019, 398). Gratitude towards the host community is observed among the conscious migrant population and fosters a sense of obligation to contribute to the public sphere (Smyth and Kum 2010, 512). Contribution to society is vital for immigrants to reclaim their sense of identity and self-esteem (Smyth and Kum 2010, 512). Cultural activities by refugee community groups often indicate purposeful outreach to the local population (Lewis, cited in Strang and Ager 2010, 600-601). In terms of integration, the evaluation focuses on how the immigrant community adopts the culture, language, and lifestyle of the settled society, positioning the immigrant group in a perceived passive role (Dingil 2021, 29).

Assimilation, characterized as the process through which immigrants embrace the cultural norms and values of the host society—frequently entailing the renunciation of their original language and culture—is a crucial concept in migration studies (Gordon 1964, 61). Although assimilation is often perceived negatively due to apprehensions of cultural erosion, it can also enhance immigrants' sense of belonging within their new society and promote reciprocal development (Cormoş 2022, 11–17). In the 1960s and 1970s, some European countries adopted strategies to integrate immigrant workers, promoting their assimilation into the host society to enhance social cohesion and economic prosperity (Eryurt 2021, 115).

The concept of assimilation was initially introduced in the United States, suggesting that newcomers would progressively merge into the prevailing culture and embrace its characteristics. Later studies of assimilation, however, showed that the American "melting pot" was not open to all immigrant groups and that ethnicity and social class mattered (Heisler 2000).

Contrary to the notion that assimilation occurs through external pressure, some argue that it happens when immigrants perceive the strength of the host society's culture (Swaidan 2018, 40; Phinney et al. 2001, 494). Integrative policies are proposed as more effective in producing assimilationist outcomes compared to assimilationist policies (Wagener 2009, 15). Wagner's argument suggests that cooperation and encouragement, akin to soft power in International Relations, may yield desired results where compulsion fails (Nye 1990).

Concerns arise in societies witnessing large immigration, motivating efforts to integrate or assimilate the migrant group to preserve their own culture and social structure (Craig and Richeson 2018, 155). Sociologists and anthropologists use terms like "assimilation" and "acculturation" to describe the processes and effects of ethnic or social relationships (Gordon 1964, 61). Acculturation refers to the effects of inter-ethnic interaction resulting in changes in the cultural patterns of both groups due to sustained firsthand contact between individuals from different cultures (Ahmed 2016, 1).

The concept of harmonization pertains to the voluntary comprehension between migrants and society. Cohesion, as a manifestation of integration, entails the acquisition by migrants of the cultural, linguistic, and ethical foundations of a novel societal milieu, while concurrently upholding their own distinct cultural identity and values, thereby avoiding any dilution or erosion thereof. Through this particular process, individuals cultivate a profound sense of belonging, thereby mitigating the occurrence of polarization and effectively addressing any identity-related apprehensions that may arise within the context of migrants residing within said society (Eryurt 2021, 116).

Distinct approaches to acculturation, integration, assimilation, separation, harmonization and marginalization—reflect diverse responses of groups to preserving cultural heritage while fostering relationships with the receiving society (Phinney et al. 2001). Integration signifies positive alignment with cultural heritage and favorable relations with the receiving society, while assimilation involves adopting the cultural norms of the host society (Ahmed 2016, 1). Separation occurs when a group rejects the culture of the host society, asserting allegiance solely to its own cultural heritage. These classifications elucidate the various ways in which groups navigate the intricate dynamics of cultural integration (Ahmed 2016, 1).

Assimilation often leads to the loss of one's own culture, and it has been a significant subfield in the study of migration, presupposing one-way social change where immigrants are eventually assimilated by the host society (Park and Burgess 1921; Gordon 1964). Empirical data reveals changes in language use and cultural practices, such as the disappearance of Arabic in migrant homes in France (Medjedoub 2015,

34-35).

The migration experiences of Palestinians and Turks are significant examples of the complexity of integration and assimilation processes. The migration of Palestinian refugees to Jordan, Lebanon, and other Middle Eastern countries has brought forth a long-term struggle for integration. Sayigh (1994) thoroughly examines the legal, economic, and social challenges faced by Palestinian refugees in host communities. For example, Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have encountered significant restrictions in accessing the labor market and acquiring property (Suleiman 2006, 15). This situation has significantly hindered the integration process and led to the marginalization of Palestinian communities (Hanafi 2014, 590-591).

Turkish migrants who migrated to Germany had challenges in establishing a new sense of identity and throughout the process of assimilation. The labor migration that started in the 1960s resulted in the establishment of a lasting Turkish community in Germany. Nevertheless, throughout this process, Turkish immigrants have faced the need to maintain their cultural identity and intergrate into German culture (Soysal 1994, 154). In their study, Kaya and Kentel (2005, 39-45) asserted that Turkish immigrants encounter challenges such as linguistic obstacles, cultural disparities, and prejudice in their integration into German culture. Second generation Turks also encountered prejudice, particularly within the school system and the job sector, hindering their social and economic integration (Çelik 2015, 1650-1651). Şen (2013) highlighted that Turkish immigrants have made noteworthy contributions to both the German economy and society over the years.

These two examples demonstrate that integration procedures evolve uniquely for each migrant group. The Palestinian experience illustrates the challenges of integrating into a new society when one has been a long-term refugee. Conversely, the Turkish experience in Germany illustrates how establishing strong social and economic connections over time may facilitate successful integration. Both instances highlight the significance of the policies and attitudes of host communities in the process of integration (De Haaset al. 2019, 82). Rather, the critical role belongs to the societies themselves.



Amid the diminishing efficacy of assimilationist theories<sup>19</sup>, the rejection of assimilation policies began in the 1960s. For example, some countries such as Australia, United States, and Canada, have rejected assimilationist policies and adopted pluralist policies (Kymlicka 1995, 14-15). These policies enable immigrants and minorities to preserve elements of their cultural heritage without facing accusations of being unpatriotic. Moreover, after this period, multiculturalism and integration emerged as dominant ideologies and methodologies that acknowledged the enduring characteristics of social diversity across various social spheres (Erdoğan 2021, 40; Morawska 2018, 127).

The implementation of assimilationist or integrationist strategies and processes unavoidably presents certain problems and possible threats for both migrants and the host populations. For instance, France has been accommodating migrants from its previous colony Algeria for a significant duration. These immigrants have encountered some substantial hurdles throughout the integrating process. French culture has embraced a universalist and secular identity, but Algerian immigrants have endeavored to preserve their ethnic and religious identities. This has led to conflicts of identity throughout the process of integration and a substantial divergence between the immigrants and the host community (Silverstein 2004, 74-75). Algerian migrants in France often face discriminatory policies and social marginalization. Migrants have faced systemic prejudice in spheres such as education, work, and housing, resulting in negative effects on their socio-economic conditions (Body-Gendrot 2007, 296-297). Moreover, this prejudice has eroded their feeling of inclusion in French society and hindered their capacity to completely

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<sup>19</sup>According to E. Park's theoretical framework, commonly referred to as the "Race Relations Cycle," the process of fostering social cohesion among diverse groups can be delineated into four discernible stages. These stages encompass the initial phase of "contact and relationship building," followed by the subsequent stage of "competition for limited resources." Subsequently, the third stage involves the active involvement of the state in integrating newcomers into the public sphere. Finally, the fourth stage entails the eventual outcome of "adaptation or assimilation." However, it is imperative to acknowledge that the melting pot paradigm, notwithstanding its commendable aspirations of promoting integration and guaranteeing social cohesion, has unfortunately proven to be ineffective in achieving the intended outcomes. Rather than engaging in a process of partial identity relinquishment as a means to navigate the challenges inherent in migration, a considerable proportion of migrants opt to retain their identities, thereby exacerbating patterns of segregation and intensifying the likelihood of conflict. This inclination towards identity preservation subsequently contributes to increased segregation within societies and amplifies the likelihood of encountering conflicts. Henceforth, instead of fostering assimilation, the aforementioned expectations have indeed convoluted the matter at hand (See Erdoğan 2021, 40; Lyman 1968).

assimilate into it. Within this particular framework, the situation of Algerian migrants in France serves as an example that demonstrates how integration is a reciprocal process, where the involvement and significance of both sides is crucial.

#### **3.5.2.2.1. Melting Pot Theory**

The Melting Pot theory, initially proposed by French immigrant J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur in 1782, envisioned American society as a distinctive combination of various societies. Crevecoeur portrayed the United States through the idea of *e pluribus unum* ("out of many, one"), imagining Americans as "western pilgrims" who would amalgamate many cultural and industrial traditions from the Old World into a novel American identity (Berray 2019, 142).

The Melting Pot theory emerged during a period characterized by significant migration movements and the formation of new nations. J. Hector St. envisioned a society where individuals from diverse backgrounds blend together to form a new human species (St, 1782). According to St., this blending process would result in the creation of a new, unified identity that transcends the differences of the original cultures.

The Melting Pot theory broadens the meaning of citizenship to include different ethnicities and the values that go with them. This approach calls into question the conventional view of citizenship, which is founded on the notion of a single, homogenous national identity. The Melting Pot theory, on the other hand, emphasises the interconnectivity of nation-states and the value of variety within a national identity. (Berray 2019, 143). Although the melting pot theory appears to be relevant solely for states with a federal structure, this theoretical framework may now be employed in nation states as a result of globalisation.

Scholars contend that the Melting Pot theory ignores the necessity of protecting cultural history and identities, which might lead to minority groups' marginalisation and assimilation (Berray 2019, 143). Critics argue that the pressure to adhere to a single national identity might lead to the extinction of distinct cultural traditions and practises. Furthermore, detractors criticise the Melting Pot theory's promotion of a single, united national identity. They say that national identity is varied and

complicated, impacted by elements such as ethnicity, language, religion, and regional distinctions. The concept that people from different origins may blend into a single homogenous identity ignores the intricacies and fluidity of identity development in multicultural settings (Berray 2019, 143).

Finally, the Melting Pot theory has had a profound impact on arguments about international migration and the creation of national identity. Despite arguments and criticisms about cultural variety and the concept of a cohesive national identity, the Melting Pot theory continues to inform debates about multiculturalism and cultural diversity management in the context of globalisation (Maddern 2013, 2). As communities become increasingly varied, inclusive practises that appreciate and respect the diversity of other cultures while maintaining a sense of shared values and social cohesiveness are crucial. Along with alternate models such as the Salad Bowl, the Melting Pot idea gives a framework for negotiating the complexity of heterogeneous cultures and developing inclusive national identities.

#### **3.5.2.2.2. Salad Bowl Theory**

The Salad Bowl theory offers a more nuanced approach to understanding cultural diversity than the Melting Pot theory. Rather than erasing the unique identities of individuals through assimilation, the Salad Bowl theory preserves their distinct cultural identities. This recognition of cultural differences is a significant advantage of the Salad Bowl perspective for the migrants. The Salad Bowl theory acknowledges the contributions of ethnic groups to society, which is a crucial aspect of multiculturalism. By acknowledging the individual contributions of ethnic groups, the Salad Bowl theory avoids the overarching ascendancy of the dominant culture, which can marginalize unrecognized minority groups. In contrast to the Melting Pot theory, which posits that the identity and influence of the dominant ethnic group prevail regardless of the transformation resulting from assimilation and cultural morphology, the Salad Bowl theory preserves the individuality and independence of ethnic groups and allows them to coexist with dominant cultures (Berray 2009, 143).

Salad bowl theory is,as mentioned above, linked to multiculturalism. Multiculturalism meant that immigrants (and occasionally non-immigrant minority groups) may participate equally in all aspects of society without being forced to

sacrifice their own culture, religion, and language, however conformance with some basic principles was generally needed (Castles et al. 2005, 270).

The salad bowl theory has been identified with American pluralism since the 1960s, according to Thornoton (2012). Rather than assimilate, different ethnic groups would now coexist in their own distinct identities, much like the components of a salad, with just the law and basic standards governing them. This viewpoint represents multiculturalism's worldview, which extends well beyond the need for acceptance of ethnic diversity rather than belittlement. In other words, rather than assimilation or integration, the salad bowl theory advocates acceptance of difference, tolerance for difference, and coexistence of differences (2012, 1-2). Thus, the Salad Bowl maintains ethnic communities' distinctiveness and independence while allowing them to coexist alongside dominant societies (Berray 2019, 143).

### **3.6. Transnationalism**

Over the last decade, the concept of 'transnationalism' has entered into the vocabulary of migration researchers (Carling 2001, 15) who attempt to capture the distinctive and specific characteristics of the new immigrant societies that have developed in the advanced industrial nations at the heart of the capitalist world system (Urry 2012; Kvisto 2010). Bourne (1916) introduced transnationalism theory in the context of migration. However, Keohane and Nye (1971) introduced the idea to the curriculum of International Relations. In the framework of transnational studies and migration studies, transnationalism represents a watershed moment for all social sciences (Faist and Bilecen 2019, 499-500).

Portes defines transnationalism as the processes through which migrants build and maintain multilayered social relations that link societies of origin and settlement. This term is employed to emphasise that many migrants today are constructing social spaces that cross geographical, cultural and political boundaries (Portes 1997, 4). Portes' definition of transnationality stresses characteristics of spatial mobility that are confined to immigrants who cross borders between two or more nation-states on a regular basis and are frequently economically, politically, and culturally connected to more than one society (Portes 1997, 15; Ehrkamp and Leitner 2006, 1593). Similarly, in his article published in 2012, Boccagni argues that the theory of

transnationalism is important in immigrant studies. According to him, theoretical progress in the context of transnationalism and migration should take three forms: a stronger connection with globalisation studies, more detail about the reference points of transnational ties, and consideration of the importance of deeper immigrants' identities and sense of belonging to their connection to their homeland (Boccagni 2012, 117).

There is a popular mantra that is used in American migration literature: “the migration transformed the America” (Portes 2010, 1547). Bourne (1916, 11-12), for example, argues that with immigration from the nation-state structure, America has turned into a totally different position, a transnational society structure. He adds;

America is coming to be, not a nationality but a transnationality, a weaving back and forth, with the other lands, of many threads of all sizes and colors. Any movement which attempts to thwart this weaving, or to dye the fabric any one color, or disentangle the threads of the strands, is false to this cosmopolitan vision.

The transnational perspective challenged the static view of migration as a one-way movement from one place to another and provided a normative framework for looking beyond the migration society and state to mobilities, connections and belonging in transnational social spaces (Glick-Schiller et al. 1995). According to the scholarly work of Glick-Schiller et al. (1992), the concept of transnationalism can be elucidated as the intricate process by which migrants actively forge and sustain connections between their communities of origin and their present places of residence, thereby encompassing dimensions beyond mere physical mobility. Henceforth, when engaging in discourse pertaining to novel mobilities, it is imperative to acknowledge that the topics under consideration are not bound by physical constraints, nor do they exist as isolated or disconnected entities. Instead, individuals can be conceptualized as "actors" who engage in active participation in the establishment, development, and maintenance of emotional, social, economic, and political networks within and across various localities (Güngördü and Bayırbağ 2019, 196-197).

Transnationalism is a plea for researchers to stop ignoring things outside of the state, to stop being 'methodologically nationalistic' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002).

Transnationality is characterized as the multiple ties and interactions that bind immigrants across national borders (Vertovec 2009). Transnationality refers that not only to the strong relationships that immigrants maintain with their families or households in their countries of origin, but also to the affinity that immigrants have towards one another because of their common ethnicity and in-group solidarity (Cassarino 2004, 9).

Migration and transnationalism are also used in reference to globalisation. According to Giddens (1990, 17-19), who takes a subject-centered approach within this framework, the acts of social actors in a location (individuals, communities, businesses, etc.) can have substantial purposeful or unintended implications on the conduct of "others at a distance." Boccagni (2012, 122) expects that this will have an influence on the lives of migrants, both those left behind and the communities to which they migrate.

While location has crucial consequences for the cohesion of persons in the host country, refugees are not always limited to fixed time-spaces, according to transnationalism theory. According to the theory, refugees do not abandon their homeland even if they migrate (Van Hear 2014, 108). This demonstrates that in transnationality, time and space are deterritorialized, whereas mobility trajectories are regionalized in temporal geography. Time-geography, in general, aids in understanding the movements of persons in time (continuous sequences of events) and place (location) as they coordinate and sequence their actions for production and consumption (Tefera 2021, 117; Boccagni 2012).

### **3.7. Multiculturalism Theory**

Theory of multiculturalism has developed into an essential framework for comprehending the complexity of cultural variety in modern societies. It seeks to address the issues of ethnic pluralism by promoting the acknowledgment and integration of diverse cultural identities. Multicultural processes are unavoidable, particularly due to migratory flows. Kymlicka (2001) posits that multiculturalism encompasses initiatives aimed at acknowledging and celebrating ethnic diversity, including the recognition of minority rights and the establishment of integration policies for migrant societies.

This theoretical framework is frequently presented as an alternative for assimilationist approaches, highlighting the significance of maintaining diverse cultural identities while also integrating into the broader social structure (Kymlicka 2018, 82). It contends that societies ought to respect and embrace the diverse cultural identities of their constituents, fostering equality and social justice. This theoretical framework questions conventional ideas of a uniform national identity, promoting a pluralistic society where diverse cultures coexist and flourish.

Multiculturalism, as a theoretical framework, has significantly evolved throughout time and contains diverse viewpoints on identity, power, and social justice. Multiculturalism fundamentally acknowledges the diversity of cultures, identities, and experiences within society, promoting the recognition and inclusion of marginalized groups. The notion of multiculturalism is intricately linked to the tenets of social justice, as it aims to rectify systemic injustices and power disparities that sustain oppression. Furthermore, as articulated by Joppke (2004), the decline of diversity in certain Western democracies signifies a wider transition towards more assimilationist policies. Joppke contends that multiculturalism has been scrutinized owing to the perceived inadequacy in immigrant integration and the emergence of anti-immigrant attitudes, resulting in a reinvigorated focus on national identity and cultural uniformity (Joppke 2004). This transition highlights the persistent conflict between the principles of multiculturalism and the pragmatic difficulties of overseeing cultural variety in modern communities.

The theoretical underpinnings of multiculturalism are intricately connected to postcolonial critiques of the nation-state and cultural hegemony. The 'multiple/plural turn' in applied linguistics aims to contest singular interpretations of culture and language by highlighting hybridity and fluidity. This method has been criticized for its complicity with neoliberal ideas that overlook fundamental power dynamics and inequities, while fostering a superficial celebration of diversity (Kubota 2014, 120). These critiques emphasize the necessity of situating multiculturalism within a comprehensive social justice framework and acknowledge that recognizing cultural diversity is inadequate without confronting the underlying inequities that frequently accompany them.

Multiculturalism has faced considerable criticism over time, especially from those

who contend that it may result in social disintegration and intensify group divisions. In his critical analysis 'Culture and Equality', Brian Barry contends that multiculturalism serves as 'a formula for generating conflict' by highlighting divisions among individuals rather than fostering unity, so posing a potential danger to liberal democratic principles (Barry 2000, 110). Barry's argument underscores a fundamental conflict in multiculturalism: he contends that policies aimed at fostering cultural awareness may unintentionally encourage segregation instead of integration, so complicating the maintenance of a coherent democratic polity (Yack 2002, 107).

A significant critique is on the supposed 'essentialism' of multiculturalism, which purportedly reconfigures cultural borders and overlooks the flexibility and hybridity of human identities (Phillips 2007). Critics contend that by prioritizing group affiliation and cultural preservation, multiculturalism may engender 'cultural straitjackets' that constrain individual autonomy and self-expression (Phillips 2007). Scholars like Appiah (2005) and Benhabib (2002) express similar concerns, contending that an emphasis on social culture may result in the suppression of internal dissent and the enforcement of uniformity among minority groups. Nonetheless, proponents of multiculturalism contend that these critiques misconstrue the theory's objective to empower minorities and confront the historical inclination of the majority culture to essentialize national identity (Parekh 2000; Kymlicka 2001).

### **3.8. What does Societal Multiplicity offer to International Migration Theory?**

Interdisciplinary research should be conducted in the field of migration.<sup>20</sup>Sociology, political science, anthropology, history, economics, commerce, geography, demography, psychology, cultural studies, law as well as International Relations are all relevant disciplines. (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana 2016, 14; Brettell and Hollifield 2022; O'Reilly 2022, 2; Arango 2000, 283; European Forum European

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<sup>20</sup>Interestingly, fields like political science and international relations have been slower to delve into the study of international migration compared to other disciplines. Typically, contemporary migration studies tend to focus on disciplines that specifically examine the prominent aspects of extensive population movements. The small group settings in which many migration decisions are made are of great interest to anthropologists, as they provide valuable insights. Similarly, economists are often drawn to the frequent presence of material motivations in these decisions. Understanding the structural social changes associated with migration falls within the purview of sociology, while demography is adept at quantifying and predicting some of its future consequences. See. Mitchell 1989, 681.



University Institute 1998). As a result, inter-disciplinary viewpoints on migration are significant. For instance, Anthropologists are drawn to small group settings for many immigration choices, whereas economists are drawn to the frequent presence of material reasons. Sociology is well-positioned to examine fundamental social changes associated with migration, whereas demography is well-equipped to quantify this and assess some of its long-term consequences (Mitchell 1989, 681).

As above noted, migration studies are influenced by a wide range of fields. Sociology has been the most notable of these fields. According to Stephen Castles (2007), migration studies and ideas have deviated from mainstream sociology and the insights provided by larger social theory (Portes 2010, 1553).

Migration, according to Aristide Zolberg, is a significant phenomena that causes societal changes: The globe may be seen of as a worldwide sphere of social interaction shaped by demographic, cultural, economic, and political activities that take place inside and across countries. Each of these processes diligently contributes to and is conditioned by the others. These acts comprise an identifiable configuration of global conditions that drive population migrations towards an era of migration in any historical epoch. In other words, an incident that occurred during the historical process might be the cause of the migrant wave years later (cited in Mitchell 1989, 703).

Given the intricate nature of migration, it is important to acknowledge that theories of international migration are not without their limitations (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana 2016, 27). According to Massey et al. (1993), the field of international migration has been characterized by inconsistent and fragmented theories, resulting in a lack of a unified and comprehensive framework.

While international migration explicitly enters the field of International Relations, some academic research on migration interdisciplinarity overlook the potential contributions of the International Relations discipline to migration literature. The contributions of disciplines<sup>21</sup> such as Sociology, Political Science, Anthropology,

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<sup>21</sup>Sociologists, who typically concentrate on the receiving end, examine issues of integration. In contrast, anthropologists have historically focused on both ends of the migration process, beginning in the country of origin and investigating the factors that drive individuals to leave particular

History, Economics, Demography, Geography, and Law are covered in "Migration theory: Talking across disciplines," edited by Brettell, C. B., and Hollifield, J. F., and published in 2022. The discipline of International Relations was left out. Similarly, while many social science fields such as Anthropology Area Studies, Demography, Economics, Entrepreneurship, Ethnic Studies, General Management, and Strategy and International Business are included in N. Sinkovics and A.R. Reuber' (2021) work on immigrant entrepreneurs, the discipline of International Relations is not included.

International Relations was classified under the discipline of political science in the academic research in question and was assessed as such (Hollifield, J. F. and Wong 2022, 269). However, while dealing with the topic of international migration, which is one of the thesis' primary claims, the ontological viewpoint of international relations must be represented differently from that of political science on international migration issue. This is said to be achievable given the idea of societal multiplicity.

For Ince (2019), while economics investigates the economic causes, impacts, and consequences of migration, political science examines the political dimensions of migration and its implications for foreign policy. Sociology endeavors to comprehensively tackle the subject of migration through an in-depth analysis of not just the social interactions involved but also the pivotal role of social networks in the process of migration, while simultaneously acknowledging the multi-faceted economic, social, and cultural aspects that influence migration. Ince (2019) investigated the intersection of migration and international politics, especially how migration and its implications impact the relationship between states in his studies. He did not, however, take into account the interdisciplinary connections between migration and other subjects, such as international migration studies and International Relations (Ince 2019, 2581).

According to Beck, modern social theory is still grappling with the challenge of

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communities. They then proceed to examine the experiences of migrants in their destination, including the maintenance of links with their place of origin. Geographers who have recently become active in migration studies focus on issues of space in the broadest sense of the term. This encompasses the study of settlement patterns and residential segregation, as well as the cultural geography of migrant communities (Brettel 2003, 1).

'methodological nationalism' (Beck 2007). This issue poses a significant concern within the field of migration studies, as highlighted by Wimmer and Glick Schiller in 2003. This is because the control of belonging to a national community has always been central to nation-state sovereignty. Migration research in contemporary times often remains connected to particular historical instances of migration and the handling of diversity. Here, considering alternative perspectives and prioritizing community-centered approaches can contribute to addressing the problem (Vasta and Vuddamalay 2006).

Existing theories in International Relations and Migration Studies provide a limited amount of assistance in resolving social and international issues. There is a need to establish conceptual and theoretical ties between the local and international levels of study, as well as between migration and migration-related issues (Heisler 1992, 596). Societal multiplicity theory makes crucial recommendations to address this requirement.

The validity of migration ideas varies according on context and time. A theory's application to a particular kind of migration (e.g., internal or international) or stage of the migration process (e.g., causes or effects) may differ. Some theories may emphasize migrants' integration into their new societies, while others may focus on the difficulties that migrants confront.

The concept of "international" is also essential to migration theory. The concept, for Powel (2024, 2) like the concepts of "society" and "state," serves as a symbolic representation of a socially constructed "level" of social reality. Its purpose is to "reduce the complexity of functioning scales and the dynamics of transition between them." The term "international" widely refers to inter-state relations. However, in migration theory, the term "international" may also refer to relationships between individuals and groups from various nations and societies (Geiger and Koch 2018, 38). This larger definition of "international" is crucial because it allows us to evaluate the involvement of non-state players in the migration process, such as families, communities, and companies.

One of the most vital manners in which cultures connect is through migration. People bring their cultures with them when they migrate. This can result in modifications to

the destination society's language, food, music, and religion (Esteves and Caldeira 2001). The magnitude of these changes will be determined by a variety of factors, including the size of the migrant population, the length of time they have lived in the destination culture, and the destination community's cultural legacy.

It is necessary for one society to connect with another in order for cultural change and/or transformation to result via media. In this perspective, migration stands out as the most relevant example. However, while the change and transformation in question spreads over time and is difficult to monitor, it is crucial to consider how much a society will evolve. Every community, without a doubt, leaves a record of interaction. This is explained by Rosenberg's concept of multiplicity (2010; 2013; 2016). However, the aforementioned transformation may occur more or less depending on aspects such as the societies' historicity and cultural heritage.

The concept of societal multiplicity is useful for describing the changes to the destination society because it emphasises the need of recognising the various ways that societies interact with one another. The melting pot and salad bowl theories are both oversimplified portrayals of how cultures interact, and they fail to reflect the complexities of cultural diversity. The melting pot concept indicates that many societies will eventually merge to produce a new, unified society. This, however, is not always the case. Different societies will often coexist side by side, each with its own distinct culture. This form of cohabitation is better represented by the salad bowl theory.

Societal multiplicity goes beyond the melting pot and salad bowl theories by emphasising the significance of analysing how societies interact and expose to each other in diverse ways. Societies, for instance, can interact through trade, migration, cultural exchange, and political collaboration. The way societies interact will have a large influence on the changes that occur in the destination society.

Societal Multiplicity Theory provides useful insights into comprehending international migration in an expanded context. This theory challenges traditional approaches to migration Bijak (2006) by emphasising the complex and interwoven structure of globalised communities, politics, and economy. We can acquire a better understanding of the underlying dynamics and determinants of migration flows by

investigating the influence of societal multiplicity on international migration.

The concept of Societal Multiplicity allows a more sophisticated view of migrants' agency. It acknowledges that migrants are not passive agents, but rather actively navigate and negotiate complicated sociocultural circumstances. Migrants pursue their objectives and desires by using their social networks, cultural capital, and legal tactics (Pincock et al. 2020). By emphasising migrants' agency, the theory opposes narratives that portray migrants as simple victims or burdens on society.

Theories and approaches to early migration were generally linear and focused on labor migration, with other forms of migration being largely overlooked (O'reilly 2022, 6). Besides, migration theories have concentrated on the causes and effects of migration. They have, however, not always been effective in describing the changes that occur in the destination society. This is due to the fact that migration ideas are frequently based on the melting pot or salad bowl theories, which are overly simplified descriptions of how cultures interact.

The concept of societal multiplicity also offers a comprehensive explanation for many features of migration that transnationalism has had difficulty completely encompassing. It places migration within a wider comprehension of inter-societal dynamics. Transnationalist views are limited in their viewpoint, but this alternative theory may provide a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding. For example, it offers a more solid foundation for examining how migration contributes to enduring processes of social transformation and cultural interchange across countries (Portes 2010, 1543; Vertovec 2004, 971). The statement suggests that the framework presented offers a thorough approach to analyzing how the many legal, political, economic, and cultural systems in which migrants operate influence their experiences and decision-making methods (Amelina and Faist 2012, 1708). The theory also provides novel insights on the correlation between migration and globalization. Transnationalism primarily examines how globalization enables the establishment of links beyond national borders (Vertovec 2009, 2). On the other hand, societal multiplicity theory provides a framework to understand migration as both a consequence and a catalyst for interconnections across societies in a globalized world (Rosenberg 2016, 140). This viewpoint may provide insight into the

intricate interconnections between migration, worldwide disparity, and societal transformation (Faist 2016, 323).

Societal multiplicity theory posits that the coexistence and interaction of multiple societies fundamentally shapes social reality, including patterns of human mobility (Rosenberg 2013, 186) and provides a broader framework for understanding the changes occurring in the host society.

Furthermore, societal multiplicity theory has the potential to enhance the lens of transnationalism in several key respects:

1. Rather than concentrating primarily on cross-border ties, it offers a stronger ontological foundation for comprehending migration as an intrinsically inter-societal event (Rosenberg 2016, 137).

2. It promotes the examination of how relationships across many societies—rather than merely those of the sending and receiving nations—influence the course of migration and its effects (Go and Lawson 2017, 8).

3. It enables a more nuanced understanding of how migrants navigate intricate intersocietal relationships and locations (Bakewell 2010, 1694).

4. It offers a framework for investigating the ways in which migration influences more general processes of intersocietal formation and change across time (Castles 2010, 1567).

5. Rather than using the nation-state as the main unit of study, it begins from an ontology of numerous interacting societies, avoiding the methodological nationalism decried by scholars like Beck (2007) and Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2003).

### **3.9. Social, Financial and Cultural Capital and Remittances**

#### **3.9.1. Social Capital and Social Remittances**

As stated by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992 119), social capital denotes the assortment of assets, encompassing both material and immaterial, that individuals or groups obtain by engaging in a network of connections that are both established by institutions and mutually recognized.

Various researchers have further expanded and implemented the notion of social capital in migration studies. According to Massey et al. (1993, 449), migration networks, which are a form of social capital, reduce the costs and risks associated with migration, thereby facilitating the movement of people across borders. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993, 1323) contend that social capital within migrant groups may function as a reservoir of advantages, including social control, familial assistance, and non-familial connections. These networks often have a vital function in aiding migration procedures by offering information about employment prospects, housing, and other essential resources in the destination country. Additionally, they play a significant role in assisting migrants in integrating into their new communities (Portes 1998, 12).

Furthermore, the notion of social capital in the context of migration goes beyond immediate obvious benefits. According to Putnam (2000, 19), social capital may enhance the overall social cohesiveness of a community by fostering trust and reciprocity among different groups. Kaya and Kıraç (2016, 53) found that social connections between Syrian refugees and local Turkish populations in Turkey had, in some instances, led to greater mutual understanding and solidarity, despite early tensions and challenges.

Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that social capital may sometimes result in biased consequences (Portes and Landolt 1996, 20). Portes (1998, 15) cautions that robust connections inside a group may sometimes result in the marginalization of those outside the group and the limitation of personal liberties. Within the context of Syrian refugees in Turkey, the phenomenon described by Erdoğan (2017, 42) as "parallel societies" is observable. This refers to some Syrian groups that are relatively separated from the broader Turkish community owing to the presence of robust internal social networks.

Social capital is strongly associated with the notion of social remittances, which Levitt (1998, 927; Levitt 2015) describes as the transfer of ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital from communities in the receiving nation to communities in the sending one. Social remittances may have a substantial influence on both the cultures giving and receiving them, molding social norms, cultural

practices, and even political opinions. The significance of social capital and social remittances is especially apparent in the context of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Erdoğan (2017, 28) emphasizes the use of social networks by Syrian refugees in Turkey to establish enterprises, get employment, and negotiate the intricate Turkish bureaucratic system. These networks provide both practical assistance and facilitate the exchange of ideas and cultural practices between Syrian and Turkish populations.

Social remittances include political ideas and actions as well. According to Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2011, 3), migrants have the potential to bring about political change by transmitting fresh concepts on democracy, human rights, and civic engagement to their countries of origin. Regarding Syrian refugees in Turkey, we see the presence of Syrian civil society groups that promote democratic changes in Syria. These organizations are based in Turkey and operate with the aim of advocating for change (Kaya 2020; Kaya and Kıracı (2016; PODEM 2016).

An essential factor to examine is the influence of social media and digital technology on the development of social capital and the facilitation of social remittances among migrant populations. Dekker and Engbersen (2014, 403) contend that social media platforms have fundamentally altered the characteristics of migrant networks, allowing for the preservation of close relationships across long distances and promoting the rapid dissemination of information and ideas. Kaya (2020a, 150) contends that internet platforms have become crucial tools for Syrian refugees in Turkey, enabling them to sustain transnational ties and acquire knowledge about life in Turkey.

In brief, the ideas of social capital and social remittances provide useful perspectives for comprehending the intricate processes of migration and integration, specifically in relation to Syrian refugees in Turkey. These notions highlight the significance of social networks, cultural interactions, and institutional structures in influencing the experiences of both migrants and host communities (Levitt 1998, 936)

### **3.9.2. Financial Capital and Financial Remittances**

Financial remittances and economic investments, as a sort of transnational economic activity, are crucial in guaranteeing coexistence and interaction between immigrants



and members of the host community. Remittances do not take place exclusively between receiving and sending countries. It might also be between the third country and the receiving country. In other words, remittances are expected to be sent from the country of emigration to the country of immigration. However, if the economic of immigration and at the same time, if the immigrant has relatives in a country with a better economic situation, remittances can be made from a third country to the country of immigration and/or immigration. This has an economic impact on international finance and the economy. In an interview with a 22-year-old Syrian immigrant residing in Istanbul, for example, the immigrant stated:

"My uncle resides in Dubai and pays me \$300 every month. I cannot survive here without this money since Istanbul is very costly and I am now unemployed." Another 40-year-old Syrian living in Gaziantep said: "I moved to Turkey with my family two years ago. I started a cafe-restaurant in Gaziantep a year after I arrived. I didn't have enough money to start a business here. To start my firm, I borrowed money from a friend in Germany. When I need money, my Syrian friend in Germany provides it to me occasionally" (Simsek 2019, 275-276).

There are, of course, examples of the opposite case. In other words, Syrians residing in Turkey transfer money to friends and family back home. For example, in an interview with a 33-year-old Syrian lady residing in Ankara, the woman said:

My mother and father are in Syria. They [mother and father] refused to accompany us to Turkey. They [mother and father] refused to leave their country. My hubby is in the catering industry. Their pay is hardly enough to cover their expenses. Working late and earning tips and additional cash allows us to send money to my family (Simsek 2019, 275).

### **3.9.3. Cultural Capital and Cultural Remittances**

Migrants can transfer what they have gained in their country of settlement to their country of origin. These can be cultural remittances, social remittances and economic remittances. Syrians also make these remittances to their home countries- which facilitates the current interaction, historical transformation and combinations between societies. When a Syrian was asked what money, system, experience, etc. you

currently transfer and what you would like to transfer from here if you return to Syria one day, his answer is:

I send money to my family in Syria. This of course affects their lives. They need this money to survive there....For example, we should transfer OSYM (Student Selection and Placement Center) experience there. We should transfer it to Syria. OSYM experience here is very significant. OSYM is very impartial and reliable foundation. Also, I like the contracting services and buildings in Turkey. If I go back one day, I would like to bring them to Syria. When I was in Syria, I could afford it. Therefore, I can move there. Also, Turkey's materials and roads are very good. We want to go back when the war is completely over. But the children and those born here will probably not want to go. This is their life now. Those who work in the fields here may return, but probably the educated and rich Syrians will stay here. As for me, as I mentioned before, I would like to go back. And when I go back, I would like to transfer my experiences here. I like the institutions and the system here. I like the travel routes, shopping and ticket applications. The shop system and the e-commerce system work very well. I want to transfer all these experiences when I go back (Appendix B. interview S-1).

Another Syrian responded as follows:

...we would have done it differently in Syria, it might make more sense to do it this way, etc. For example, in our country we are paid daily or weekly. Here, salary payments are monthly. I think this is a ridiculous system. It would be better if it was like our system. Also the issue of working hours... We are not used to such long working hours in Syria. Such an intense working tempo affects people's psychology in a negative way, it spoils their psychology. That's why I keep saying that I wonder if this can be changed (Appendix B.Interview S-6).

### **3.10. Unevenness and International Migration**

Migration is not a consistent process; rather, it is impacted by a number of conditions, including the economic, political, and social situations of both sending and receiving countries. As a result, the impact of migration varies greatly depending on the context. The concept of unevenness is critical to comprehending the

complexities of migration. Unevenness refers to the reality that resources and opportunities are not allocated fairly within and between communities (Haas 2010b, 1591). This means that certain persons and groups have more access to resources and opportunities than others. In the context of migration, unevenness might result in diverse experiences for various migrants. Some migrants, for example, may be able to find high-paying employment and live in nice neighbourhoods, whilst others may be compelled to take low-paying positions and live in bad neighbourhoods.

Migration has always been a cause of insecurity and injustice (Horwood et al. 2022, 18-22). However, the capitalist system has exacerbated these issues by giving a particular number of individuals substantially greater opportunity and comfort. This means that not all individuals and immigrants are equally affected by migration's uncertainties and inequities. When individuals migrated in the past, they encountered desperation, dissatisfaction, unfairness, and uncertainty. However, in the contemporary period, certain groups of individuals are solely exposed to these uncertainties and disparities. This is because the capitalist economy has established a system of economic inequality that hurts migrants disproportionately (Syed 2016; Morales 2016).

Migration is frequently caused by the uneven geographical distribution of labour and money. It occasionally has a direct impact, but it also has an indirect effect. Inequality of capital and labour, for example, has an indirect impact on countries' political stability processes (Arango 2000, 285). As a result, communities may experience unstable processes such as civil war, internal unrest, and so forth.

It was stated that both geography and capital create unevenness. But social relations and development also contribute to the creation of inequality. Here, the inequality of social development means that social artifacts (mental and material) are transferred across social settings as a chronic component of social, political and cultural change, unlocking new developmental possibilities and thus serving as a basis for changing the logic of development beyond reproduction (Yalvaç and Akçalı 2023, 6).

One of the primary goals of immigrants is to "live together equally in diversity" within the societies they move to (Fincher et al. 2019, 52). However, achieving this goal is a complex and empirical question that requires further examination. The

realization of social cohesion and equal treatment for diverse communities is influenced by numerous factors such as cultural differences, social dynamics, and policies implemented by the receiving societies (Fincher et al. 2019, 52). In order to foster successful integration, it is crucial to promote inclusive policies that recognize and value the cultural contributions and diverse identities of migrants (Kymlicka 2015, 231).

Migration is a multifaceted phenomena that poses both potential advantages and difficulties to national security and social equity. The dynamics of migrant flows and border security concerns have raised inquiries regarding the effects of migration on the security of host societies. Migration can provide security challenges for the host countries, including public health issues and hazards linked to transnational crime. Conversely, limiting individuals' ability to move can intensify inequality and prejudice, depriving migrants of the same rights and opportunities as native-born residents. The impact of migration on national security and inequality is contingent upon various factors, including the magnitude of movement, the attributes of migrants, and the policies enacted by host countries. A comprehensive investigation of these issues is essential for understanding the varied effects of migration on national security and social justice (Castles 2010).

Immigrants and minority groups that do not effectively integrate or adapt into the majority society may face discrimination. This discrimination has the potential to harm their economic, political, and social well-being. Minority or immigrant populations, for example, may be denied jobs, housing, or education. They might potentially face attack or harassment (Martínez and Haritatos 2005, 1039-1040). It is crucial to acknowledge that discrimination and rejection by members of the host country can pose significant obstacles for migrants in attaining a new national identity. In certain cases, discrimination and rejection can either strengthen migrants' ethnic identities or hinder their assimilation into the society and culture of their new residence. As observed in various European societies, individuals of the Muslim faith who experienced higher levels of discrimination or encountered more anti-Islamic attitudes in their adopted country displayed a greater sense of belonging to their religious community and a decreased identification with the nation they resided in (Verkuyten et al. 2019, 401).

Societal Multiplicity theory pays attention to the structural variables that drive migratory movements by highlighting the impact of power relations. It acknowledges that migration is frequently motivated by individuals and groups seeking opportunities and better livelihoods, and that it is impacted by the unequal distribution of resources and opportunities across the world. In migration research and policymaking, the idea emphasises the need of tackling global disparities.

In conclusion, international migration is marked by unevenness, both in terms of economic opportunities and social integration. The capitalist system and unequal distribution of labor and capital contribute to disparities among immigrants, perpetuating existing inequalities within societies. While achieving social cohesion and equal treatment for diverse communities is a complex endeavor, it requires addressing cultural differences, implementing inclusive policies, and ensuring respect for human rights. By doing so, societies can work towards fostering greater equality and integration among individuals of diverse backgrounds.

### **3.11. Return Migration and Its Consequences**

Return migrants are people who have resided as international migrants in a foreign country and intend to return to their home country, where they expect to remain for a minimum of one year (Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana 2016, 16-17). It is a complicated issue with several implications for both the migrants and the sending and receiving societies (Wahba 2021, 1-2). Return migration can be either voluntary or involuntary. Return migration, as a sort of forced migration, often takes the form of deportation, which includes involuntary return that the migrant refuses, or facilitated return, which involves involuntary return that the migrant accepts (Erdal 2020, 105).

Anthropologists, sociologists, and social geographers' empirical results and theoretical ideas have tremendously contributed in developing the structural approach to return migration literature (Cassarino 2004, 4).

Immigrants who return willingly may be 'willing' to return not just because they have a genuine wish to home, but also due to a lack of social opportunities and housing, or to the possibility of detention, assault, and other abuses. In such strain and pressure

conditions, immigrants may finally opt to return, even if it contradicts their own inner preferences or wishes (de Haas 2014, 32-33). In other words, if immigrants who leave persecution or unemployment and settle in another country face comparable issues; if they are exposed to discrimination, violence, and socioeconomic disparities, they might migrate back or be deported.

In the history of repatriation, we constantly find incidents of deportation. Since the 1990s, there has been an upsurge in the number of these samples. For example, the United Kingdom deported almost 400,000 migrants between 1997 and 2007, while Germany deported over 130,000 people (by air only) between 2000 and 2005 (Kreienbrink 2007, 20-22). Increased government spending on human resources and infrastructure for the arrest, imprisonment, and deportation of persons subject to deportation orders, as well as new legislation that simplify lawful deportation, particularly for non-citizens convicted of crimes, often drive these increases (Gibney 2013, 120).

Immigrants maintain links to the communities to which they have moved. As a result of interacting with both the immigrant society and the society from which they emigrated, immigrants, however indirectly, adopt a blind role between the two societies. However, if the immigrant's stay abroad is only a year or two, s/he will have gained much too little expertise in pushing modernisation in his native community to be of any service. Returnees' impact on their home community may be constrained if they have been disconnected from it for a long period or if they have spent significantly more time with the community to which they moved (Cassarino 2004, 6).

According to social network theory, returnees are immigrants who have significant relationships to their prior foreign communities. However, return migrants could face reintegration challenges at both the social and professional levels. As previously stated, their regular contact with their households in their countries of origin and the back-and-forth movements, which indicate transnational mobility (Portes 1999), facilitate a more effective preparation and organization of their return (Cassarino 2004, 8-11).

As a result of immigrants engaging with different communities and blending their

old and new identities, "dual identities" arise instead of competing identities on the part of immigrants. These multiple identities allow people to negotiate their role in both societies. However, an annotation to this statement is necessary. If they have escaped the country/regime/society to which they will return, that is, if they do not have a good recollection of the origin, such bargaining may be impossible (Cassarino 2004, 8).

Immigrants, as time and space studies indicate, are responsive and adaptable agents capable of overcoming structural barriers, accumulating important resources overseas, and accelerating growth. Returning immigrants contribute to the development of the country to which they return by leveraging the human and financial resources they have collected in the countries to which they have moved as immigrants (Hagan and Wassink 2020, 31)

Return migration, like regular migration, needs planning. It is a time-consuming, willing, and resource-intensive procedure that the immigrant must complete successfully (Cassarino 2004, 17). Returnees suffer social and professional reintegration difficulties. As a result, whether return migration or normal migration, adaption challenges are experienced at the conclusion of each migration activity (Cassarino 2004, 8).

Even if they have gathered relatively limited resources prior to their return, migrants frequently discover that the economic problems and limits they encounter in the host country make the option to return economically viable. This cost-benefit analysis is impacted by a variety of factors, including job prospects, social support networks, and availability of necessary services. As a result, mobilisation of resources in host countries is often limited, forcing returnees to rely mostly on resources available in their home country for the process of reintegration. This highlights the connection between economic reasons and the realities of reestablishing oneself upon return, a phenomenon with substantial consequences for the efficacy of reintegration initiatives (Cassarino 2004, 20).

### **3.12. Migrants and Citizenship**

The study of migrants' relationships with host societies and their quest for citizenship captures the essence of societal multiplicity. Migrants bring with them a variety of

cultural, social, and economic backgrounds, which can lead to a more nuanced view of how multiplicity occurs within the host culture. We may acquire a more full understanding of how difference is negotiated and absorbed by analysing the citizenship debate, explaining the dynamics of co-existence and interaction within the context of Rosenbeg's theory.

Furthermore, analysing the legal, social, and institutional components of migrants' journeys to citizenship gives a basis for investigating how these different aspects converge and interact, resulting in unexpected combinations that modify societal norms and structures. For example, the legal qualifications for citizenship may change based on the host society, as may social conceptions of what it means to be a citizen. These variables can interact in intricate ways, resulting in novel and unexpected effects.

The investigation of migrants' involvement with the citizenship concept, embedded within Rosenbeg's dialectical approach (Rosenberg 2006), reveals an array of tensions, agreements, and changes. This dialectical process not only reflects societal multiplicity but also captures the core of the migratory phenomena. The complex link between citizenship and identity emerges as a prominent topic, as demonstrated by migrants contending with multiple identities as citizens of their home country and the host country. This dialectic emphasises migrants' ongoing links to their nation of origin as well as the changing feeling of belonging they create as members of the host community. This analysis emphasises Rosenbeg's theory's critical significance in unravelling the significant consequences of societal multiplicity on the larger migration debate.

Citizenship functions as a safeguarding mechanism, granting individuals a range of entitlements, safeguards, and advantages in relation to the government. Therefore, citizenship provides individuals with a range of privileges, including safeguard from deportation, the opportunity to engage in electoral processes, and qualification for social welfare assistance. These differences in rights between citizens and non-citizens result in significant disparities (Barbulescu et al. 2023, 1).

Citizenship is a multifaceted term with legal, political, and social components. Citizenship is the official membership status granted by a nation-state on individuals,



entailing certain rights, obligations, and safeguards. Citizenship implies political involvement and engagement in democratic decision-making and governance processes. Socially, citizenship entails a sense of belonging, identification, and communal cohesion (Lister 1997, 13-14).

The concepts of citizenship and integration highlight the many stages of settlement of immigrants. Citizenship implies various things to different people. Furthermore, the idea has different meanings for nation states, refugees and immigrants, and residents. Citizenship involves a vital agreement during the process of integration. This agreement is not solely determined by the cultural beliefs of the naturalized individual or group in comparison to their home country. The result is primarily determined by the degree to which people or society are willing to conform to the rules, practices, and values of the host society (Berray 2019, 143).

Citizenship is a topic that is widely discussed by academics in the literature and politicians in politics. Furthermore, there is a continuing dispute about the function of citizenship in the integration of immigrants and its impact on their devotion to the host state and society. Citizenship supporters argue that it can speed up the integration process and strengthen immigrants' loyalty to the country. However, an opposing perspective argues that for certain individuals, the acquisition of citizenship may not be a necessary or relevant factor in fostering integration (Ager and Strang 2008, 167-170; oppke 2007, 39-40).

Migrants frequently encounter major barriers to obtaining citizenship rights, which can lead to different types of marginalisation and exclusion (Sabates-Wheeler and Feldman 2011, 3-4). Legal frameworks and administrative procedures, such as lengthy and difficult naturalisation processes, language and knowledge requirements, economic conditions, and discrimination based on ethnicity, colour, or social status, can all present impediments for migrants seeking citizenship. Certain groups, such as refugees, illegal migrants, and low-skilled employees, are disproportionately affected by these problems, restricting their access to full citizenship rights (Bloom and Feldman 2011, 36- 38).

Migrants compete with natives for scarce goods belonging to a country's residents in immigrant countries. Being a state citizen is like being a member of a club. States, as

clubs, decide who is theirs and who is alien. As a result, belonging to a state or club is extremely valued (Straubhaar and Zimmermann 1993, 230).

### **3.13. Conclusion**

In conclusion, migration has existed throughout human history and has seen a major increase in recent years. Large-scale migrations in the aftermath of World Wars I and II had far-reaching implications for receiving cultures, sending nations, and migrants themselves, resulting in social transformations in a variety of fields. Following the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the study of international migration gained traction in disciplines such as International Relations and security studies (Zapata-Barrero 2018, 79), as it became clear that immigration is more than just a local issue, but also has far-reaching implications for diplomacy, international relations, and foreign policy. Immigration laws and border control<sup>22</sup> are inextricably linked to the notion of state sovereignty, and international migrants have the ability to influence politics, military capabilities, and diplomatic relations between their host and home countries. Despite this, academic research on migration in international relations remains limited, particularly in terms of understanding state actions and the influence of migration on conflict and cooperation (Castles 2010; Betts 2011).

Current theories of international migration frequently contain numerous flaws. For instance, they frequently rely on obsolete assumptions about the nature of migration. Many migration theories, for example, imply that migrants are largely driven by economic motives. However, research has shown that a range of additional motivations, such as family reunification, political, security and educational possibilities, inspire migration (Morawska 2001, 73-74). Second, conventional migration theories frequently fail to account for the complexities of the migration process. Migration is a complex phenomenon impacted by a number of factors, including the qualities of the individual migrant, the policies of the sending and receiving countries, and the global political and economic climate. Most migration theories were created in the West and frequently reflect the experiences of migrants

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<sup>22</sup>Prior to 1914, the movement of migrants across borders was largely unrestricted. During the 1920s, there were strict international agreements in place that tightly regulated borders and societies in relation to the migration between Mussolini's Italy and France (See Strikwerda 1999, 387).

from these countries. However, migration is a globally phenomenon, and it is critical to build ideas that are more inclusive of migrants' experiences from around the world.

The concept of societal multiplicity has many advantages over existing theories of international migration. First, it recognises migration as a complicated phenomena driven by a range of causes. This more complex knowledge of migration enables a more accurate and thorough examination of the migration process. Second, societal multiplicity theory is not Eurocentric, and it incorporates the perspectives of migrants from all around the world. This is because it is founded on the concept that all cultures are diverse and that migrants may offer new ideas and views to any community. Third, societal multiplicity theory is more relevant to the globalised environment of the twenty-first century than existing migration theories.

Societal multiplicity provides a more nuanced view of the nature of migration by recognising that migrants are not a homogenous entity, but rather come from many origins and have diverse motives for migrating. This is in contrast to neoclassical economic theory, which believes migrants are rational players acting in their own economic self-interest. The concept of multiplicity is more applicable to the globalised world of the twenty-first century by recognising that migration is a global phenomenon influenced by a variety of factors, including individual migrant characteristics, policies of sending and receiving countries, and the global political and economic context. In contrast, push-pull theory holds that migration is triggered by push circumstances in the sending nation, such as conflict or poverty, and pull ones in the receiving country, such as a strong economy or a labour shortage.

Societal multiplicity theory can compensate for the shortcomings of neoclassical economics theory by recognising that migrants are not merely rational agents acting in their own economic self-interest. Migrants, on the other hand, are complicated individuals impacted by a number of circumstances, including their personal experiences, cultural background, and the political climate in their native country. Societal multiplicity theory can compensate for the shortcomings of world systems theory by recognising that migrants are more than just victims of the global political economy. Migrants, on the other hand, are active actors who may alter the global

political economy through their migratory decisions and labor-force engagement. By recognising that migration is not a linear process, societal multiplicity theory can overcome the shortcomings of push-pull theory. Migration, on the other hand, is a complicated process including the relationships of migrants, sending countries, and receiving countries.

Integration and assimilation theories entail a risk of fostering an inaccurate depiction of migrants' absorption, frequently overlooking the various paths migrants take in the host community (Alba and Nee 1997, 835). These theories may not completely capture the complexities of coexistence and identity negotiation. Through its dynamic features, societal multiplicity theory emphasises how migrants navigate different identities and participate in interactions that go beyond conventional binary of assimilation and separation (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 257).

The epistemological cornerstone of societal multiplicity theory is its ability to incorporate different sources of knowledge, thus surpassing the constraints of solitary theoretical frameworks. It gives a chance to reconfigure research methodologies that match with the complexity of the migrant experience, transcending traditional limits and expanding scholarly discourse by embracing difference, interaction, and combination.

It is clear that a complete and widely embraced migration theory is still lacking. Migration studies are fragmented, and academic boundaries impede the development of a coherent paradigm in the area. Furthermore, bridging the theoretical-empirical study gap and tackling biases in migration studies are critical steps towards improving our knowledge of migratory dynamics. Future research should aim to include migration studies into wider theories of social change, taking a holistic approach that takes into account both structural drivers and human action. Interdisciplinary collaboration and methodological innovations can help bridge academic gaps and expand migration research, resulting in greater insights into the intricacies of migration and its profound consequences on individuals, societies, and global dynamics.

Without a doubt, the topic of unevenness in international migration cannot be overlooked. The capitalist system, along with unequal labour and capital distribution,

creates inequities among immigrants, resulting in social and economic issues (Evans 2016, 1065). To achieve social cohesiveness and equal treatment for various cultures, cultural differences must be addressed, inclusive policies implemented, and human rights must be upheld. The contradiction between national security concerns and freedom of movement, on the other hand, endures, emphasising the necessity for a state-controlled and regulated approach to migration that aims to minimise inequality and discrimination.

Migration studies are multidisciplinary, employing concepts from Sociology, Political Science, Anthropology, History, Economics, Demography, Geography, Psychology, Cultural Studies, Law, and International Relations. Each discipline provides distinct viewpoints and approaches for understanding the complicated issue of migration (O'reilly 2022, 2). Nonetheless, despite its substantial contributions to understanding the ontological dimensions of international migration, the area of international relations remains neglected in migration literature. Justin Rosenberg's notion of societal multiplicity offers useful insights into understanding international migration in a larger perspective, challenging conventional methods and emphasising the numerous relationships between global communities, politics, and the economy.

Citizenship is important in the settling of immigrants since it encompasses legal, political, and social characteristics. However, migrants frequently face obstacles and hurdles in obtaining citizenship rights, which leads to marginalisation and exclusion. Long naturalisation processes, language and knowledge requirements, economic conditions, and discrimination all make it difficult for migrants to obtain full citizenship rights. Citizenship is extremely valuable, bestowing rights, duties, and a sense of belonging on individuals; yet, the qualifications for citizenship frequently reflect the practises, beliefs, and interests of the dominant ethnic group or are impacted by class dynamics. Recognising and resolving these issues is crucial for establishing inclusive societies and protecting immigrants' rights and assimilation.

To recapitulate, there is presently a lack of a comprehensive and widely accepted migration theory, and further efforts are needed to overcome disciplinary barriers and theoretical limitations in migration studies. Integrating migration research into wider theories of social change, fostering interdisciplinary cooperation, and addressing

biases are all important steps towards better understanding migratory dynamics. Addressing inequalities and unevenness in international migration is also crucial for establishing equitable and inclusive societies. We may improve our understanding of international migration and its varied ramifications by embracing holistic approaches such as the theory of societal multiplicity.

## CHAPTER 4

### CASE STUDY: SYRIANS IN TURKEY AND THE THEORY OF SOCIETAL MULTIPLICITY

This chapter aims to examine the relationships between Turkish society and Syrian migrants within the context of societal multiplicity perspective. Utilizing this method will enable a comprehension of the intricate and diverse characteristics of this societal occurrence. The theory of Societal Multiplicity, which underscores the coexistence and engagement of various societies within a singular geographical and social domain, offers a thorough perspective for interpreting these dynamics.

Turkey's immigration policy exhibits "sui generis" features, characterized by a paradox between the favorable attitudes of policymakers<sup>23</sup> towards immigrants and the more skeptical views held by society, which is a critical stakeholder (Erdoğan 2014). This dichotomy is crucial for understanding the broader social context in which Syrian refugees find themselves. Academic studies have generally focused on two areas: macro-political analyses of government policies and relations with the European Union, and qualitative investigations capturing firsthand accounts of Syrian asylum-seekers (Canefe 2016; Daniş 2016; İçduygu 2015; Sert and Daniş 2020; Daniş and Nazlı 2019; Eder and Özkul 2016; Kavak 2016). However, there has

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<sup>23</sup>According to the survey findings, it has been observed that a significant proportion, specifically 60%, of the Turkish populace holds an unfavorable perception regarding the presence of the Syrian community. It is noteworthy to mention that the Turkish government categorizes this perception as exclusionary and lacking in acceptance. The initial support exhibited by the AKP towards its Sunni Muslim brethren is gradually diminishing within the context of a more expansive Neo-Ottoman narrative. Rather than alluding to a clearly delineated Turkish nation, the governing party exhibits a predilection for a society predicated on the concept of ummah. The ruling party, in its discernment, has embraced a moralistic stance when it comes to delineating individuals who have been compelled to migrate, thereby engendering a state of precariousness in the administration of refugees (See Aydemir 2023, 671).

been limited focus on the general attitudes of Turkish society towards Syrians (Acar 2021).

A nationwide study conducted in the latter half of 2015 examined the attitudes of Turkish residents towards Syrian refugees (TMFSP 2016). The study found that 42% of Turkish society expressed support for their government's refugee policy, while 47% approved of the presence of Syrians in Turkey. However, a significant 44% held the belief that the presence of refugees had a negative impact on local residents. Notably, the attitudes towards Syrians<sup>24</sup> residing in Turkey have steadily escalated due to the country's deteriorating economic situation (Sunata and Yıldız 2018, 131; Uslu and Kargin 2022, 404).

A following poll done by Kadir Has University revealed that a significant proportion of Turkish residents harbor discontent towards the presence of Syrians inside the nation. The study asked respondents about their degree of comfort about the presence of Syrians. A significant proportion of respondents expressed dissatisfaction, indicating a steady increase in this sentiment over time (Erdoğan 2014). The percentage of survey participants reporting unease rose from 54.5% in 2017 to 61% in 2018, but then decreased to 54.5% in 2019 (Liszkowska 2020, 76-77). According to a study conducted by the Metropole research organization in 2022, a significant proportion of Turkish respondents (81.7%) support the repatriation of Syrians. In addition, 84% of Justice and Development Party (AKP) supporters also favored the return of Syrians to their country. Those in opposition to the continued presence of Syrians in Turkey were particularly prevalent among opposition supporters. In fact, 89% of CHP voters, 97% of IYI Party voters (a nationalist opposition party) and 87% of HDP (a pro-Kurdish party) voters expressed this sentiment (Karabat 2022).

It is important to take into account the viewpoints present within the Syrian community. According to a research performed by Apak (2015, 132) in the Mardin province, a significant proportion of Syrians, namely 52.4%, showed a strong desire to return to Syria, provided that the situation in their home country improve. In

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<sup>24</sup>In this paper, the terms Syrian migrants, Syrian refugees, Syrian migrants, Syrians, Syrians under temporary protection, and Syrian society are used interchangeably. However, mostly the term "Syrians" has been preferred in terms of usage.



contrast, 36.3% of the participants stated a preference for remaining in Turkey, whilst 11.3% expressed a desire to relocate to a more advanced nation. These results highlight the variety of perspectives among the Syrian population. A significant number wish to return to their home country if conditions permit, while others see Turkey or another developed nation as their preferred place for long-term residency. The complexity of this sentiment is further compounded by concerns pertaining to security and crime. In other words, being singled out and blamed for isolated incidents or incidents that are not related to them provides an incentive for Syrians to return to their country (Appendix B. interview T-2; Appendix B. interview T-6). Although the Turkish population has higher crime rates, the crime rate among Syrians is also a matter of great debate. Apak's (2015) research indicates a pervasive lack of trust among Syrians that the conflict will end and their nation will be rebuilt. This lack of confidence has a significant impact on Syrians' preferences for repatriation and relocation.

When we take a closer look at the polls, surveys and researches, it becomes clear that individuals hold a diverse range of attitudes and desires regarding the present and future situation of Syrians residing in Turkey. It's not just a simple matter, but rather a complex and nuanced issue. Many Turkish people are generally supportive of the return of Syrians, and this sentiment is influenced by various socio-political factors. Many Syrians express a strong desire to return to their homeland if the situation improves significantly. However, there is a considerable portion of this group who are also contemplating the option of either remaining in Turkey or relocating to a more developed country. Understanding this matter is really important for making policy decisions and addressing the complicated issues of migration and integration in Turkey.

Furthermore, a 2015 survey conducted by the German Marshall Fund during the refugee crisis found that 84% of Turkish citizens expressed concern about Syrian refugees, with 73% of respondents calling for the return of Syrians to their homeland and 68% supporting the implementation of stricter policies toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. Surprisingly, these sentiments have persisted over time, as confirmed by a 2020 Istanbul survey (German Marshall Fund 2015; Istanbul 2020) and also a study released in 2022 by the Social Democracy Foundation (SODEV) based in Istanbul

reveals that 66% of the populace in Turkey articulate a preference for the return of Syrians to their country (SCF 2022). Indeed, it is undeniable that a palpable inclination exists within Turkish society with regards to the repatriation of Syrians to their nation of origin. However, the prospects for finding such a settlement appear to be quite dismal. The attitudes exhibited by the Turkish community towards Syrians serve as a noteworthy indication that as the perception of Syrians' status as permanent residents becomes more pronounced, a concomitant increase in concerns, pessimism, and objections is observed. In light of the inquiry regarding the potential repatriation of Syrians residing in Turkey upon the cessation of hostilities in their home country, it is noteworthy to highlight that an estimated 80% of the Turkish society espouses the belief that a substantial proportion, if not the entirety, of the Syrian population will opt to establish a permanent residence<sup>25</sup> within the borders of Turkey (Erdoğan 2021, 12-13).

In a study conducted by Sönmez and Ayık in 2020, it was found that a mere five percent of Syrian families expressed a definite intention to return to Syria within six months. In contrast, 56% stated that they have no intention of returning, while 41% remain undecided. Nevertheless, a research done in Gaziantep in 2015 revealed that 66% of Syrian individuals seeking refuge expressed their willingness to go back (Sönmez 2015, 12). This suggests that Syrians have begun to adapt to Turkey and achieve financial independence. After examining the statistics, it could be assumed that Syrians are getting more reluctant to go back to Syria as time goes on. This indicates that they intend to remain in Turkey for an extended period or are unlikely to return. This situation necessitates a comprehensive planning process by the Republic of Turkey to foster a culture of coexistence with Syrian asylum-seekers, taking into account the distinctive characteristics of the population (Sönmez and Ayık 2020, 72).

The Syrian regime's problem with the return of Syrians remains. "It seems that the regime only allows the return of those who are not against it," Al Dassouky said, adding that the regime wants to create a demographic that supports it and does not pose a threat to its future existence. This is a factor that complicates the return of

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<sup>25</sup>As of June 2021, up to 94,803 Syrians hold valid residence permits in Turkey, according to the recent data (See Erdoğan et al. 2021, 9).

Syrians (Özcan and Karacaoğlu 2022).

The sequence of studies illustrates a consistent trend in Turkish public opinion towards Syrian refugees, unveiling a multifaceted interplay of attitudes shaped by economic conditions, political affiliations, and the extended duration of refugees' stay in the country (Erdoğan 2021).

Acceptance of either the host society or the immigrant society as a homogenous structure is deemed crucial for the competency and intelligibility of the task in academic research on migration. In other words, the claim that Syrian society has challenges in education, health, and other areas in Turkey represents the views of the majority of the people. Syrian immigrants who have never faced such difficulties may be encountered. However, while the statement that Turkish society feels uncomfortable about the presence of Syrians relates to the majority of the population, there may be exceptions in this context. Nevertheless, in order to properly expose the issue under examination, it will be required to exclude unique or unusual situations (Dingil 2021, 29).

Analyzing these interactions within the framework of societal multiplicity is crucial as it allows for a nuanced understanding of how different societies coexist and influence each other. Societal multiplicity theory emphasizes five key outcomes: Difference, Interaction, Co-existence, Combination, and Historical Change. Each of these outcomes provides a specific lens through which the experiences of Syrian migrants and their integration into Turkish society can be examined.

**Difference** highlights how Syrian migrants bring unique identities and cultural practices, enriching Turkey's societal diversity or how they can be a source of violence and conflict in Turkey. **Interaction** examines the dynamic exchanges between Syrian migrants and the host society, leading to cultural diffusion and the formation of hybrid identities. **Co-existence** focuses on the harmonious living of different societies within a shared space, emphasizing mutual tolerance and interaction. **Combination** explores the fusion of different cultural and social elements, resulting in new social configurations. Lastly, **Historical Change** looks into the long-term transformations driven by these interactions, which reshape societal trajectories and influence social and cultural evolution over time.

By applying societal multiplicity theory, we can better understand the complex processes of adaptation and integration that Syrian migrants experience. This approach also helps to analyze the broader impact of Syrian migration on Turkish society, including economic, social, and cultural dimensions. For instance, the increasing discomfort and desire for repatriation among Turkish citizens, coupled with the diverse aspirations within the Syrian community, underscore the need for nuanced immigration policies that address the complexities of integration and coexistence.

In conclusion, the integration of Syrians in Turkey within the framework of societal multiplicity reveals a complex interplay of attitudes and preferences (Schiller et al. 2004, 50) influenced by economic conditions, political affiliations, and security concerns. Understanding these dynamics is essential for crafting policies that promote coexistence and integration while addressing the diverse needs and aspirations of all stakeholders involved. The multifaceted nature of these interactions highlights the importance of comprehensive and inclusive approaches to immigration policy and social integration (Erdoğan 2021; Dingil 2021, 30).

#### **4.1. Historical Background of Turkish Migration Policy and Syrians in Turkey**

Looking back to the years after WWII, Turkey has a long tradition of welcoming and transiting refugees. Throughout this time, millions of people were forcibly relocated throughout Europe. This period was characterized by the significant displacement of millions of individuals throughout Europe. This historical context led to the establishment of a framework categorizing countries into origin, receiving, and transit nations—a system enduring since its inception (Van Fossen 2022). Turkey is an extremely large-scale producer and host of refugees (Sirkeci 2017, 130). Turkey also functions not only as a final destination for refugees originating from adjacent regions, but also as a pathway country for individuals seeking asylum. Although a significant number of individuals seeking asylum in Turkey come from Iraq and Iran, the Turkish government does not officially categorize them as refugees. Instead, Turkey grants temporary residency permits to these asylum petitioners (Latif 2002, 8). The impact of Turkey's refugee policy extends beyond the immediate regional context, emphasizing Turkey's vital role in managing migration from Syria to

neighboring European regions, as underscored by Sarı and Alkar (2018).

One of Turkey's earliest examples of refugee policies is its open-door policy for Iranians escaping the Islamic Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War (Latif 2002, 8; Parlak and Şahin 2015, 73-74). Unofficial estimates suggest that approximately 1.5 million Iranians migrated between 1980 and 1991. However, this initiative faced some challenges, leading to tensions between the Iranian regime and Turkish authorities, as well as social and economic difficulties encountered by Iranian refugees in Turkey (Kirişçi 2000, 11).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, roughly half a million Kurds fled northern Iraq due to Saddam Hussein's repressive regime and the Gulf War, resulting in a significant increase in migration to Turkey. As per their established policy, Turkish authorities accommodated the refugees near the border and repatriated them promptly, setting up flight zones and safe harbors in northern Iraq (Ihlamur-Öner 2013, 191-197; Latif 2002, 8-9).

Simultaneously, Turkey experienced an influx of more than 300,000 Bulgarian Turks who had fled from Jivkov's oppressive regime in 1989 (İçduygu and Sirkeci 1999, 265). Unlike the Iraqi Kurds, the Turkish government and society welcomed the Bulgarian Turks as co-ethnic and co-religious groups. Kirişçi (2004, 8) notes that most of these individuals obtained Turkish citizenship and integrated into Turkish society and its economy.

Turkey experienced less immigration and fewer asylum seekers from countries like Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Somalia during the time period between 1992 and 1999. About 25,000 Bosnian Muslims (Mannaert 2003; Latif 2002, 7), 8,300 refugees from Kosovo<sup>26</sup> (Cutts 2000, 239) and a smaller number of Afghans and Somalis fleeing their respective civil wars sought asylum in Turkey during this time. Refugees primarily resided in either camps or urban areas where they faced various

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<sup>26</sup>Migration from Yugoslavia to Turkey occurred primarily between the years 1946 and 1970, with a total of 182,505 individuals leaving the country. The number of people migrating to Turkey declined once the situation in Yugoslavia began to improve across the board, including economically and politically. After Tito, the Yugoslavian civil war erupted in 1992, resulting in a subsequent surge of refugees, of which approximately 20,000 Bosniaks sought asylum in Turkey. Eight thousand and three hundred migrants from Kosovo arrived in Turkey in 1999, following the commencement of the Kosovo crisis. This was the most recent migration of refugees from the Balkans (See Cutts 2000, 239).

impediments related to legal status, protection, and assimilation (Kirişçi 2004, 9-10).

**Table 4.** Major Refugee Flows to Turkey

Year	Refugee Flows	Number of Refugees
1923-1950	Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania	850 thousand
1950-1970	Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Romania	372 thousand
1971-1986	Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan	127 thousand
1988	Iran, Iraq	51 thousand
1989	Bulgaria	300 thousand
1991	Iraq	460 thousand
1992-1995	Bosnia-Herzegovina	25 thousand
2011-2024	Syria	3 million <sup>27</sup>

**Source: Serttaş and Uluöz 2021, 4.**

The historical context of refugee flows to Turkey, as depicted in Table 4, showcases the evolving patterns over the years. From the aftermath of World War I to the present Syrian crisis, Turkey has consistently been a recipient of displaced populations, experiencing varying magnitudes of refugee flows (Serttaş and Uluöz 2021, 4).

As Syrian refugees in Turkey are a relatively recent phenomenon, some issues remain underdeveloped. For instance, transnational connections or the multicultural integration of Syrians have been largely overlooked. This does not indicate the absence of these phenomena; rather, it indicates that there are other more urgent concerns to address, including security, social and economic integration, education accessibility, housing, and healthcare. Moreover, the integration of Syrians has been the subject of more recent articles published after 2015. Akdemir (2019, 333) posits that there is a need for micro-perspectives and more fieldwork with asylum seekers to help us understand their situation more clearly.

During the latter part of April in the year 2011, an estimated number of approximately 250 individuals originating from Syria undertook the act of crossing

<sup>27</sup> The number of Syrian migrants in Turkey is not stable. While the number was around 3.7 million in 2021, it decreased about 3 million in 2024 (Il Goc 2024).

into the Hatay region of Turkey (Erdoğan 2021, 56). A convocation was convened by the erstwhile Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, wherein he articulated Turkey's inclination to accommodate Syrians who harbored discontentment within the confines of their homeland. In June 2011, a considerable influx of Syrian individuals, numbering over 7,000, sought refuge (Akgündüz et al. 2015, 3) in Turkey subsequent to a forceful offensive launched by the prevailing regime on the region of Jisr al-Shughour. Turkey, in its subsequent actions, proceeded to establish a total of six refugee camps, thereby providing shelter and sustenance to approximately 7,000 individuals who sought refuge within its borders by the early days of September in the year 2011. About eight thousand Syrians have formally registered by the end of 2011 (Özden 2013, 1).

The overall amount reached 9,500 on January 15, 2012, and was almost at 10,500 by the end of February 2012. By the middle of April in the year 2012, the aforementioned numerical value had experienced a significant increase, surpassing its initial quantity and reaching a total of 24,000. By the month of July in the year 2012, the count of Syrians who had successfully completed the registration process had attained a numerical value of 35,000 (Özden 2013, 1). The number of Syrians granted temporary protection in Turkey had a significant surge, escalating from 1.5 million in 2014 to 2.5 million in the subsequent year of 2015, and subsequently reaching 2.8 million in 2016. The figure shown a positive trend, rising to 3.7 million in 2020 and further decreased to to three million in 2024. By the culmination of the calendar year 2019, the aggregate figure has experienced an upward trajectory, reaching a numerical value of 3,576,370 (Erdoğan 2021, 56; Baban et al. 2017, 41). Although the majority, or 98 percent, of registered Syrians in Turkey possess Temporary Protection (TP) status, a small minority, or 2 percent, have indicated that they have a residency permit (IOM 2022).

In February 2020, the conflict in the Syrian region experienced a significant escalation, which can be primarily attributed to the different and often contradictory interests displayed by the multiple state actors<sup>28</sup> involved in the country. This

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<sup>28</sup>The complex situation in Syria can essentially be seen in three sides: First: Pro-Government (Assad Supporters). These are; the Syrian militias: Syrian Armed Forces (SDA); National Defense Forces (NDF); Shabiha, an unofficial militia mainly composed of members of the Alawite minority in the

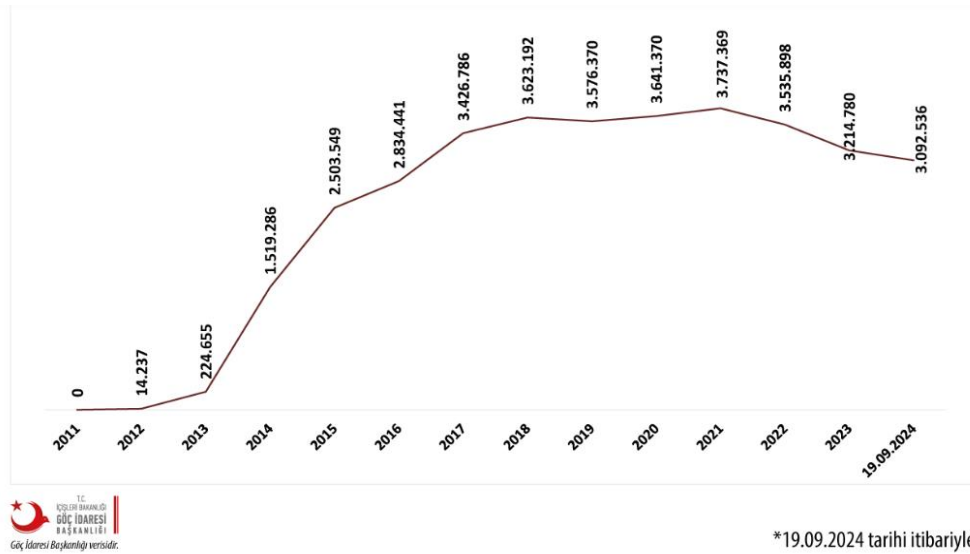
resulted in casualties for both the Turkish and Syrian armies in Idlib. For Turkey, this meant a possible new wave of migration. Therefore, Turkey decided not to stop refugees trying to cross to Europe (BBC 2020).

Moreover, it has been established that around 750,000 newborns from the Syrian area were residing in Turkey from 2011 to 2021. It is also important to recognize that a significant proportion of the approximately 200,000 individuals of Syrian origin have the opportunity to acquire Turkish citizenship (Erdoğan 2021, 5; Kaya 2023). The number of Syrians returning to Syria from Turkey has increased as a result of the military activities carried out in Syria by Turkish side. In fact, according to some government officials, it is thanks to Turkey's operations in Syria that the number of Syrians in Turkey has remained at this level. In the absence of operations, the numerical value in question would have experienced a significant increase. Additionally, Turkey remains engaged in offering humanitarian assistance within the borders of Syria. Indeed, the design of 103,000 briquette houses in Syria has been completed. Of these, 74,000 have been constructed and 66,300 have been settled with their families. Consequently, the number of safe returnees from Turkey is approaching 530,000 (Altaş and Karadağ 2022).

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country (Assad belongs to the Alawite group); Iran: Iran, a Shiite country, considers Assad, also a Shiite, as its closest Arab friend; Egypt; Hezbollah, a Shiite Islamist political, military and social organization based in Lebanon; Russia has launched military airstrikes against the protesters and is a UN permanent member and supporter of the Syrian regime. Among other military concerns, Syria hosts Russia's only naval base in the Mediterranean and an airfield; Iran has recruited Shia militias from Yemen, Afghanistan and Iraq. Second: The group known as Syrian Rebels is also referred to as Anti-Government. These are; The Syrian National Cooperation (SNC) is an alliance of opposition groups based in Turkey that aims to establish a democratic and civilian government in Syria. Many Gulf states have recognized this coalition as the legitimate government of Syria; SDF (Syrian Democratic Forces): The SDF is a coalition led by the Kurdish People's Defence Units (YPG), composed mainly of Kurds but also including Arab, Turkmen and Assyrian-Assyrian militias. It has spent most of its time fighting ISIS and Jabhat al-Nusra (a jihadist group aiming to establish an Islamic Emirate under Sharia law); The Free Syrian Army (FSA), supported by Saudi Arabia, was founded in 2011 by a group of SDA officers who defected; The Syrian Salvation Government (SSG) and its military wing, Hayat Tahrir al-Sham. The SNC does not recognize the Syrian Salvation Government (Hay'at Tahrir Al-Sham HTS/SSG); Turkey: Turkey supports the Syrian rebels but opposes the YPG. It also opposes US assistance to the YPG; Sunni Arab governments such as Saudi Arabia support the rebels; The United States provides arms, training and military support to the rebels. When Daesh was defeated, the US withdrew from Syria, because that was America's goal. Lastly: other fractions of third way. There are ISIS and the Al Nusra Front: This group has at times engaged in conflict with the pro-government forces and at others times with those who oppose the government. In the majority of instances, the group has taken part in conflict with both sides (Anand 2023; Appendix B. interview T-8).





**Figure 3.** The number of Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey (II Goc 2024)

Turkey is a pivotal actor in the current refugee crisis, witnessing an unprecedented increase in immigration during the Syrian crisis, representing the most substantial influx since World War II (Haydari 2021, 340). The quantity of immigrants hailing from Syria and currently residing within the borders of the Republic of Turkey has exhibited a consistent and gradual augmentation throughout the span of the previous nine annual cycles, culminating in a noteworthy figure of 3 million during the calendar year of 2024, as reported by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the same aforementioned year. This notable influx has positioned Turkey as the nation with the highest number of refugees under its care, surpassing all other countries worldwide, as highlighted by Ferris and Donato (2019, 6).

A study examining the reasons why Syrians moved to Turkey revealed that the overwhelming majority, 85%, relocated to Turkey due to the ongoing civil strife in Syria. A smaller percentage, 6%, sought job opportunities, while 4% aimed to experience greater freedom, another 4% had intentions of reaching Europe, and only 1% were motivated by educational pursuits. The findings of the study underscore that the primary driving force for Syrians in Turkey is the ongoing civil war in Syria, with other factors playing a minor role (Dikbiyik 2021, 10).

Turkey's commitment to accommodating refugees is intricate. Providing shelter to Syrians is just one aspect of the country's endeavor to tackle the increasing

economic, social, demographic, and security difficulties it confronts. This intricate reality brings attention to the complex nature of current refugee dynamics and the formidable task that Turkey confronts in managing these issues (Kızıl 2016, 2). In response, the Turkish Council of Ministers introduced Temporary Protection Regulation<sup>29</sup> (2014 Regulation) No. 29153 in October 2014. This regulation delineates key aspects of Turkey's temporary protection policy for Syrians, building upon the 2013 Law on Foreigners and International Protection. The 2014 Regulation establishes a framework encompassing essential rights and privileges for Syrians, along with the basis for temporary protection and non-refoulement measures within a legal framework (Bélanger and Saracoglu 2019, 3; Ineli-Ciger 2015, 28; Çavlin 2021, 2).

In light of an abrupt surge in refugee numbers, Turkey has undertaken the commendable task of ensuring the provision of fundamental requirements, namely sustenance and accommodation. However, challenges have emerged in effectively addressing the demands of an extensive populace resulting from an unplanned and unanticipated migratory phenomenon. Currently, it is imperative to foster collaborative endeavors among the central government, local administrations, and civil society organizations. Undoubtedly, families exhibiting low food consumption scores have been dependent upon sustenance assistance provided by municipalities, foundations, or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Atar et al. 2023, 233) ever since their arrival to Turkey

In an interview, a married man in his fifties, father of ten, living in a Temporary Accommodation Center in Şanlıurfa, conveyed his satisfaction with the consistent delivery of meal boxes to his family. He asserted: "The Social Assistance Foundation offers diverse types of aid, including food parcels, meat, and clothing." Furthermore, my younger children receive attendance support, facilitating their participation in the

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<sup>29</sup>Temporary protection represents an emergency policy designed to address sudden and mass population movements towards borders. This policy is regarded as an interim solution until a solution to population movements is found (Özdemir 2017, 123). In accordance with Article 7-(1) of the pertinent regulation, temporary protection is extended to foreign nationals who have been compelled to flee their country of origin, who are unable to return to their country of departure, who arrive at or cross our borders individually during a mass influx or during this mass influx period in order to seek emergency and temporary protection, and for whom the determination of their international protection status cannot be made individually (Temporary Protection Regulation 2014).

educational activities provided by the institution. We depend on this support to sufficiently nourish and care for our children" (Interview, Şanlıurfa, 23 July 2018, SR11; referenced in Mencütek et al. 2023, 73).

To meet the requirements of Syrians, Turkey implemented initiatives that supplied food, shelter, healthcare, education, and other fundamental necessities. However, a significant number of refugees chose to settle in major urban centers, posing long-term policy challenges for the government (Gökçe and Hatipoğlu 2021, 6).

The term "temporary protection" has been employed in various contexts and countries for many years, but there remains significant disagreement regarding its scope and meaning, particularly in situations that do not involve mass influxes (Turk et al. 2015, 154). Syrians, in choosing their destinations within Turkey, carefully consider employment opportunities and development levels. Over time, an increasing number of Syrians have moved to relatively developed regions, presenting new challenges for Turkey. With the initial phase concluded, displaced Syrians are now seeking new social services to address long-term needs and economic opportunities to sustain their lives with dignity. Furthermore, it is imperative to acknowledge that the Turkish government encounters the difficult task of not only ensuring that Syrian migrants have suitable living conditions but also navigating the intricate economic, social, and political repercussions that arise from their assimilation into Turkish society and the neighbouring area (Kızıl 2016, 7).

Turkey presently hosts the most refugees globally, yet it does not provide refugee status to any of its asylum seekers (UNHCR 2017, 3; Kaya 2023). This deviation is due to Turkey's status as a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention (Kirisci 2000, 11) and its 1967 Additional Protocol<sup>30</sup> on the Status of Refugees, which maintains a voluntary reservation (Simsek 2019, 271; Özgören and Arslan 2021, 124).

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<sup>30</sup> When Turkey first ratified the Convention, it imposed both temporal and geographical limitations. This reservation affects the granting of "refugee" status, primarily for those seeking asylum from occurrences within Europe (Özden 2013, 5). It is worth emphasizing that, while Turkey uses this reservation, not all signatory nations do (Kaymaz and Kadkoy 2016, 2; Il Goc). However, it should be noted that following the implementation of the 1967 Protocol, Turkey has effectively abolished the temporal limitation while maintaining the geographical limitation. As a result, those escaping from outside Europe are classified as "conditional refugees" and receive temporary protection until they are relocated to a third country (Parlak and Şahin 2015, 70). Cooperation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is required to assess asylum seekers from areas beyond the borders of Europe (see Özden 2013, 5).

The 2014 Regulation significantly increased the levels of protection offered to Syrians in Turkey by defining the rights and entitlements of temporary protection recipients. However, according to Ineli-Ciger, this law was insufficient to provide Syrians with a clear right to labor, education, and social support. Those eligible for temporary protection, as per the 2014 Regulation, shall be registered upon arrival in Turkey following an identification and discriminating process between fighters and civilians (Articles 14, 18, and 19 of the 2014 Regulation). Another notable benefit of this regulation is that temporary protection beneficiaries have the right to obtain information and guidance on the temporary protection regime in their native language (Article 19(5) of the 2014 Regulation), as well as free access to emergency medical care (Article 27 of the 2014 Regulation) (Ineli-Ciger 2015, 32).

Syrian migration to Turkey has had both national and international impacts, with repercussions ranging from employment challenges and rising housing rents in major cities to public health and epidemic risks due to demographic changes as Syrian refugees settle in Anatolian cities and villages (Dinçer et al. 2013, 27-29). At the international level, the Syrian refugee issue has influenced Turkish politics, impacting interactions with neighbors in the Middle East, Russia, and the European Union (Imrie-Kuzu and Ozerdem 2023; Kaya 2023; Keyman 2016; Gökçe and Hatipoglu 2021, 3). Moreover, some Syrians hold the belief that the United States and Russia have been involved in the Syrian civil war. However, they recognize that repression and socioeconomic issues are the primary underlying reasons of the conflict. These countries have fueled the war by providing money and arms to the regime forces or their opponents, which has led to the deaths of many civilians or forced them to flee their country (Kargin 2016, 126-127; Allison 2013, 797-798; Mirza et al. 2021, 46-50).

The advent of Syrian refugees has undeniably exerted a profound influence on the political and social milieu of Turkey, thereby engendering heightened tensions between the indigenous Turkish populace and the Syrian refugee cohort, primarily attributable to the palpable burden imposed upon public resources. Anti-Syrian sentiment in Turkey is multifaceted, grounded in discursive positions, beliefs, and concerns stemming from a reaction against the AKP's Islamist-nationalist policies (Bélanger and Saracoglu 2019, 12). Academic research indicates a significant shift in

Turkish society's views on Syrians, moving from perceiving them solely as victims to increasingly seeing them as a social influence that undermines stability, particularly when perceived as having government backing (Nielsen 2016, 102).

This shift in public sentiment is more pronounced during economic recessions (English News 2023), such as those following the unsuccessful coup attempt in Turkey, revealing an increasing rift in Turkish society. Hostility towards Syrians exposes concerns ranging from perceived impacts on people's livelihoods to general distrust of Syrians (Erdoğan et al. 2021, 15; Öniş and Kutlay 2021; Aydın and Çetin 2017; Tetik 2018).

Although there are adverse consequences, such as elevated rental prices and employment reductions for individuals with limited skills, research has revealed favourable spill-over effects. These include a decrease in consumer prices and an increase in formal employment opportunities for local residents (Balkan and Tümen 2016; Tanrıku 2020; Ceritoğlu et al. 2017). To leverage these positive externalities while acknowledging potential public opposition, the Turkish government has promoted the economic assimilation of refugees, resulting in favorable impacts on labor supply due to the migration influx (Gökçe and Hatipoğlu 2021, 4).

In response to the large number of Syrian migrants entering Turkey, Turkey promptly established an emergency tent camp in the southern province of Hatay, completing it within an only 24 hours. Furthermore, within a span of less than four years, Turkey has assumed both financial and administrative obligations for a grand total of 25 camps. The principal objective of these camps is to enhance the quality of shelter and services for Syrians, with a particular emphasis on improving sanitation, security, maintenance, energy infrastructure, educational institutions, and other basic amenities and facilities (McClelland 2014).

The coordination of refugee camps in Turkey is controlled by the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) and the Turkish Red Crescent Society. Under AFAD's coordination, national and international organizations provide comprehensive humanitarian assistance to Syrians in the camps, covering refugee shelter, education, food, health services, psychosocial services, livelihoods, and vocational training. UNHCR plays a role in providing tents and other supplies,

assisting with registration, supervising voluntary returns, and fulfilling a monitoring role (Baban et al. 2017, 44; World Bank 2015, 5).

#### **4.2. Societal Multiplicity, Temporary Protection Status, Citizenship of Syrians and Citizenship Dilemma of Syrians**

Hammar (1990) posits that the concept of citizenship is closely associated with the inclusion or exclusion of individuals from societies regarding civil, political, and economic rights. Historically, nations have established citizenship rights based on criteria such as lineage (*jus sanguinis*), birthplace (*jus soli*), or a combination of both (Howard 2017, 285–286). Individuals born as citizens—irrespective of the means of acquisition—are believed to be assimilated, possessing inherent connections through familial, communal, social networks, and various socialization mechanisms. The term "native-born" refers to those who are inherently regarded as insiders, ostensibly delineating the parameters of national affiliation. In practice, however, this is not always true; even native-born individuals may experience exclusion or marginalization due to factors such as ethnicity, race, or religion, suggesting that national belonging is more intricate than simply being born within a country's borders (Barbulescu et al. 2023, 5).

The multiplicity theory is well shown by the varied reactions towards Syrian refugees in various countries that welcome them. Germany is now contemplating the termination of deportation safeguards for Syrians, as reported by Deutsche Welle (2023). In contrast, Turkey adopts a contrasting position. This sharp juxtaposition demonstrates how a same group of migrants may encounter very different conditions based on the host culture, highlighting the intricate interaction of social, political, and cultural elements that influence migration experiences.

In the context of the Turkish citizenship system, there is no professionally defined process for persons of Syrian origin under temporary protection to obtain Turkish citizenship. Currently, a significant portion of the Syrian population in Turkey retains Syrian citizenship, while only 1 percent have acquired Turkish citizenship and only 4 percent hold both Syrian and Turkish citizenship (Çavlin and Keskin 2021, 14-19). Based on the latest government statistics, as of March 31, 2022, a cumulative sum of 200,950 individuals from Syria had been granted Turkish citizenship. However, an

overwhelming 93% of babies born in Turkey to Syrian parents lack legal citizenship, making them stateless individuals (Mülteciler Derneği 2023).

Syrians in Turkey express dissatisfaction with being labeled as "guests," a designation declared by the Turkish government, leaving them in a state of limbo, described as "neither refugees nor visitors" (Nielsen 2016, 100; Özden 2013, 5; Güney 2022, 519). Legal complexities further compound their situation, with a Syrian lawyer highlighting the insecurity faced, stating, "According to Turkish legislation, I am not even a refugee in Turkey; I am a visitor," emphasizing the lack of refugee rights (Baban et al. 2017, 45).

Contrastingly, Turkish society demonstrates a certain level of discomfort with the idea of extending citizenship rights to Syrians, as revealed in the work of Bozdağ (2020). Legal status differentiation research, as per Ellermann (2020), categorizes individuals into undocumented inhabitants, temporary residents, permanent residents, and citizen residents. Syrians currently occupy the second stage of this hierarchy, though some argue they are moving closer to permanent resident status (Akdemir 2019, 331).

The acquisition of citizenship emerges as a crucial aspect for local integration of refugees. Syrians express a strong desire for Turkish citizenship, perceiving it as linked to enhanced security, improved access to fundamental rights, and increased social acceptance within the host community (Akçapar and Şimsek 2018, 179). However, a lack of citizenship status leads to sentiments of unease and vulnerability, as articulated by a Syrian residing in Izmir (Mencütek et al. 2023).

President Erdoğan has exhibited a preference for granting citizenship<sup>31</sup> upon individuals of Syrian lineage, thereby accentuating the prospective advantages linked to their assimilation into Turkish society (Cumhuriyet 2016; Sözcü 2018). The timing and conditions for the conclusion of the temporary protection regime for Syrians in Turkey remain critical. UNHCR<sup>32</sup> principles suggest that such protection may end when an objective assessment indicates a reasonable and safe voluntary

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<sup>31</sup>In recent times, a modest cohort of Syrians has obtained Turkish citizenship by means of matrimonial unions or educational pursuits (See Çavlin and Keskin 2021, 16).

<sup>32</sup> In 1950, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was founded, and it was granted supervisory duties over the execution of the Convention (see Durieux 2015, 223).

return (Ineli-Ciger 2015, 33). Article 17 on Temporary Protection Status also underscores the importance of gradually improving treatment standards, potentially leading to a more exceptional status or citizenship (UNHCR 2014, 3).

Immigrants generally prefer dual citizenship for its advantages in mobility, retirement, and career opportunities. Syrian refugees in Turkey express a similar desire for dual citizenship, emphasizing the importance of maintaining rights and opportunities in both countries (Akcapar and Simsek 2018, 184).

In the broader context of societal multiplicity, these dynamics highlight the intricate interplay between legal frameworks, public sentiments, and the aspirations of the Syrian population in Turkey. The discrepancy between the legal status afforded to Syrians and their societal perceptions, as emphasized by President Erdoğan's stance, adds a layer of complexity to the ongoing discourse on citizenship.

While researchers such as Akdemir (2019) suggest a possible shift in the legal categorization of Syrians towards permanent residence status, the importance of citizenship as a pathway to fuller integration remains paramount. Moreover, Syrians under temporary protection also express that they consider Turkey as their homeland, as they see it as a peaceful and safe country and feel accepted by Turkey (Demirbaş et al. 2018, 263). However, as illuminated by Bozdağ (2020), the sentiments expressed by Turkish citizens reveal a social discomfort with granting citizenship to Syrians. This sentiment, rooted in sociopolitical complexities, contributes to the multifaceted nature of the discourse surrounding Syrians in Turkey.

The legal framework pertaining to Syrians in Turkey has inherent difficulties that affect their ability to get vital services and achieve social integration. Currently, it is not possible for Syrian infants to get Turkish citizenship immediately after birth. The absence of proper paperwork may result in the rejection of essential services, such as healthcare and education, for newborns and young individuals, possibly prolonging patterns of exclusion and financial difficulties. In order to get a deeper comprehension of these vulnerabilities, it is advantageous to use analytical frameworks that assess the ramifications of various legal positions. Ellermann proposes a valuable categorization system that differentiates between different categories, such as refugees, asylum seekers, and undocumented migrants. This



system emphasizes the specific rights and limitations that are linked to each category (Ellermann 2020, 2466-2468). This paradigm elucidates how the hierarchical arrangement of legal systems may provide diverse levels of security and stability for people. The interviews conducted with Syrians (specifically, Appendix B. interviews S-1 to 8) often discussed these difficulties and how they affect everyday living.

The unpredictable path of the temporary protection regime and the potential shift towards a more extraordinary status or citizenship, as described in the UNHCR guidelines (Ineli-Ciger 2015; UNHCR 2014), demonstrates the changing character of the situation. The presence of ambiguity, along with the complex integration of legal structures, social attitudes, and the ambitions of Syrians in Turkey, requires a detailed and all-encompassing strategy to tackle the current difficulties.

Within this particular framework, the pursuit of citizenship becomes a prominent topic in the discussion surrounding Syrians in Turkey, since it connects several aspects such as legal, social, and individual viewpoints. In order to shape the future of the Syrian refugee population in Turkey, it is crucial to adopt a holistic strategy that takes into account both legal issues and social factors.

#### **4.3. Integration or Assimilation?**

The distinction between assimilation and integration is one of the essential theme in migration studies (Alba and Nee1997). Integration, as defined by Berry (2005), is a dynamic process in which individuals adjust to a new society while preserving their cultural uniqueness. In contrast, assimilation, as defined by Berray (2019, 145), is a unidirectional social transition in which migrants gradually integrate into the host community, a concept central to Gordon's (1964) traditional assimilation theory. The utilization of these theoretical frameworks concerning Syrian refugees in Turkey has sparked significant academic discourse. Researchers like Kaya (2020a) and Erdoğan (2018) contend that the Syrian situation illustrates integration processes, whilst others, such Şimşek (2018), propose aspects of coerced assimilation. In contrast, academics like as Baban et al. (2017) argue that traditional integration-assimilation models fail to sufficiently represent the distinct temporal and spatial dynamics of Syrian displacement in Turkey, hence requiring the development of new theoretical frameworks.

The scholarly investigation pertaining to the domain of intercultural adjustment and its determinants posits that the existence of cultural similarity between the host culture and the individual's home culture assumes a momentous role in expediting a triumphant adjustment process. Henceforth, it is anticipated that the presence of cultural similarity shall yield a favorable influence upon the processes of integration and social acceptance. The Syrian populace, specifically those who have established their abode in the city of Şanlıurfa, exhibit a noteworthy degree of cultural affinities, encompassing religious, linguistic, and sectarian connections (Liu et al. 2015, 213; Erdoğan and Aker 2023, 2).

In the year 2016, the Turkish government underwent a notable policy transformation wherein they placed emphasis on the integration and cohesion of Syrian individuals, transitioning them from being mere temporary guests to becoming permanent members of Turkish society (Kaymaz and Kadkoy 2016). Based on the discourse found within the migration literature, it is posited that the presence of cultural and religious affinities may serve as a means to alleviate societal opposition towards accommodating substantial cohorts of Syrian refugees, notwithstanding the conceivable fiscal ramifications (Alrababa'h et al. 2021 67).

Şimsek illuminates the perspective that Syrians view integration as a survival strategy, utilizing transnational activities to adapt to a new society, particularly when confronted with legal challenges and limited access to rights in the host country (Simsek 2019, 268-269). Language acquisition emerges as a pivotal aspect of integration, with the official language playing a crucial role in migrants' successful assimilation into societal spheres.

**Table 5.** Comparison of Syrian Migrants' Integration Processes in Different Host Societies<sup>1</sup>

Host Country	Integration Policies	Social Integration	Economic Integration	Cultural Integration	Challenges Faced	Outcomes
<b>Turkey</b>	Temporary protection status; access to health services and education; limited work permits for specific sectors	Social integration is limited; Syrians are often segregated into ethnic enclaves, and there are significant barriers to social cohesion due to language and cultural differences	High levels of informal employment; limited access to formal labor market due to language barriers and legal restrictions. Many Syrians work in low-wage jobs in the informal sector	Cultural integration is complex, with many Syrians maintaining their cultural practices. There is some cultural exchange, but language remains a significant barrier	Language barriers, lack of legal work permits, discrimination and xenophobia; economic difficulties and limited access to social services	Mixed outcomes: While some Syrians have integrated economically and socially, many face ongoing challenges due to limited legal rights, economic instability, and social exclusion
<b>Germany</b>	Comprehensive integration programs including language courses, vocational training, and access to the labor market	Strong emphasis on social integration through community programs and local initiatives. Social cohesion is relatively better due to structured integration efforts	High levels of economic integration facilitated by government programs; Syrians have access to the formal labor market, although many start in low-skilled jobs	Significant efforts to promote cultural integration, including public awareness campaigns and intercultural dialogue. However, some cultural differences remain challenging to bridge	Language acquisition, recognition of qualifications, cultural adaptation, and initial economic integration barriers	Generally positive outcomes: Many Syrians have successfully integrated into the labor market and social fabric, benefiting from robust state support and inclusive policies
<b>Lebanon</b>	No formal integration policy; Syrians are treated as temporary guests; limited access to public services and formal employment	Social integration is very limited; Syrians face significant social stigma and exclusion. Many live in informal settlements with poor living conditions	Economic integration is challenging due to strict regulations on work permits and a large informal economy. Many Syrians work in agriculture or construction under precarious conditions	Cultural integration is minimal, with Syrians often maintaining distinct cultural practices due to lack of interaction and social exclusion	Legal restrictions, lack of access to education and healthcare, social stigma, economic exploitation, and harsh living conditions	Predominantly negative outcomes: Syrians face severe socio-economic marginalization, with limited opportunities for meaningful integration or upward mobility

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<b>Jordan</b>	Temporary protection with restricted rights; limited access to education and health services; restricted work permits	Social integration is moderate; there is some level of interaction with host communities, but social cohesion is hampered by economic competition and cultural differences	Economic integration is limited; most Syrians work in the informal sector with restricted rights and protections. Formal employment opportunities are scarce	Moderate cultural integration, with some Syrians adopting aspects of Jordanian culture. However, economic pressures and legal restrictions often hinder deeper integration	Economic challenges, restricted access to social services, competition with local workers, and limited legal rights	Mixed outcomes: While some progress in social integration, economic and legal barriers continue to hinder full integration and economic stability
<b>Canada</b>	Comprehensive integration policies, including resettlement programs, language training, and employment support	Social integration is strong, supported by community sponsorship programs and multicultural policies. Syrians are generally welcomed and supported by local communities	Economic integration is relatively successful due to government support and access to job training programs. However, many Syrians initially work in low-skilled jobs	High levels of cultural integration, facilitated by Canada's multicultural approach and public policies promoting diversity and inclusion. Syrians are encouraged to participate in cultural and community events	Initial settlement challenges, including language barriers and employment matching, but strong community and government support mitigate these issues	Positive outcomes: High levels of social and economic integration, with strong support systems in place to aid in settlement and adaptation

However, the acquisition and utilization of the official language present distinct challenges, as noted by Çavlin and Keskin (2021). While Turkish language proficiency might not significantly impact maternal figures' ability to register births, it assumes heightened importance for paternal figures. Offspring below the age of five, cohabiting with a Turkish-speaking paternal figure, exhibit a significantly greater likelihood of being officially registered at birth (Çavlin and Keskin 2021, 22).

Determining whether Syrians in Turkey are undergoing integration or assimilation proves intricate. On one hand, empirical evidence suggests assimilation, as Syrians establish families, secure employment, and acquire proficiency in Turkish. The Turkish government's proactive measures, including language training support, align with endeavors to promote integration. Nevertheless, persistent challenges such as prejudice, language barriers, and constrained access to healthcare and education underscore the intricate nature of this ongoing process.

In a nutshell the intricate and multifaceted nature of the experiences endured by Syrian refugees residing in Turkey is unveiled through the nuanced interplay that exists between the processes of assimilation and integration. Governmental policies, cultural considerations, and individualized strategies collectively contribute to a complex tapestry, wherein the fluidity of these processes dynamically shapes the trajectory of Syrians within the societal fabric of Turkey.

#### **4.4. Transformative Institutions**

The transformative impact of migration is profound. The settlement of migrant groups and the formation of ethnic minorities can have far-reaching social, cultural, economic, and political effects on both the receiving and the sending society, particularly over time. Migration goes beyond the personal decision to leave one's homeland and seek a more promising future (de Haas et al. 2019, 1-7).

Transformative institutions, which have been demonstrated to have a significant impact on individuals and communities, play a pivotal role in the process of rebuilding the lives of Syrian refugees and accelerating their integration into host cultures. These institutions have exhibited an exceptional capacity to exert a profound and transformative influence on the lives of individuals and communities alike (Levitt and Schiller 2004; Kalt 2022; Celermajer et al. 2019). Institutions such as schools, workplaces, neighborhoods, and political spaces furnish migrants with the requisite resources to access new opportunities, acquire knowledge, and develop the fundamental competencies essential for rebuilding their lives and adapting to the customs and behaviors of the host society.

The intricate interplay between assimilation and adaptation for Syrian migrants residing in Turkey is inextricably linked to the educational, vocational, and social institutions they come across. Education, in its essence, arises as a preeminent transformative establishment, serving as a facilitator for the acquisition of innovative knowledge, skills, and opportunities for migrants to reconstruct their lives and integrate into the host society. Furthermore, it is of utmost importance to recognize that the incorporation of employment opportunities and the creation of pathways within the realm of civil society play a crucial role in facilitating the process of assimilation for individuals who hold immigrant status (Wessendorf and Phillimore

2018; Medarić et al. 2022; Joppke and Morawska 2014; Macleod 2021; Faraci 2015).

By using Rosenberg's theory of societal multiplicity, which highlights the simultaneous presence of multiple organizations and communities within a society, we may see that the numerous and intricate features of transformative institutions are likely to have a significant impact on migrants' ability to adaptation and/or integration (Wiener 2022; Levitt and Schiller 2004; Kurki 2019; Rosenberg and Tallis 2022; Omanović and Langley 2023). The substantial migrant population in Turkey, including over 3 million Syrians, has the ability to impact adaptation processes via contacts with various organizations. These institutions have the ability to expedite social, economic, and cultural change. They may influence the possibilities and problems that migrants encounter as they adapt to a new country (Ager and Strang 2008, 176-180).

The function of institutions in society is often to serve as intermediaries that enable individuals to access resources and benefit from opportunities. Contacts between Syrian refugees in Turkey and organizations such as mukhtar offices, municipality services which serve as local administrative authorities, have the potential to influence their ability to obtain information, residence permits, health services, and enrollment in schools. It is important to emphasize that these organizations are not especially tailored to meet the requirements of migrants (Kale and Erdoğan 2019, 233). This implies that the ability of current institutions to meet the requirements of newly arriving individuals might affect the process of integration. The process of migrant integration may be influenced by government policies and actions, particularly when they intervene in established institutions. The Emergency Social Safety Net (ESSN) is a humanitarian aid program created by the Turkish government and backed by the European Union (EU). Its main objective is to offer monetary support to refugee families facing economic difficulties and facilitate access to educational opportunities for their children. This program seeks to facilitate the inclusion of Syrian children in the Turkish school system and perhaps impact the results of their overall integration in the long run (AIDA 2020, 174-175).

The recognition of the profound and extensive impact exerted by international migration upon the respective societies is of paramount significance. The case of

Turkey presents a captivating scenario in which migration has brought about significant changes, resulting in a shift from its previous role as primarily an immigration destination to now being a highly desirable location for migrants from diverse backgrounds. The transformation that has been previously mentioned has indeed brought about substantial changes to the cultural dynamics and socioeconomic landscape of the nation which will be explored below in detail.

In a similar vein, it is noteworthy to acknowledge that South Korea is currently experiencing notable transformations due to the phenomenon of migration and the subsequent economic and cultural ramifications that ensue. In consideration of the government's efforts to maintain temporary migration, it is crucial to recognize that the ever-changing economic and cultural factors have resulted in unforeseen and potentially difficult-to-control consequences (Song and Freedman 2022; Bae et al. 2021).

The example of Mexico demonstrates the intricate and multifaceted characteristic of migration. This approach challenges the conventional perception of Mexico as a country that primarily exports its workforce to the United States. In order to acquire a complete comprehension of the notable impacts that migration exerts on both the countries of source and reception, it is imperative to carry out a thorough scrutiny of its diverse facets. The research conducted by King (2011), Veronis (2010), Trujillo-Pagán (2013), and Sánchez-Montijano and Ortega (2022) investigates the complex dynamics of marital migration and its cultural ramifications.

In light of the continuous and ever-changing character of international migration, transformative establishments have a pivotal function in enabling the incorporation and engagement of migrants in recipient countries. These institutions are shaped by several factors, including sociological, economical, and cultural dynamics, which together influence their effectiveness. Additional study and meticulous examination of policy matters are necessary for the sustainable and all-encompassing integration and interaction of migrants.

The attainment of extended-term habitation or assimilation among individuals of Syrian origin is often actualized through diverse pathways, including but not limited to educational pursuits, occupational engagements, urban and communal existence,

and involvement in civil society initiatives (Padda 2016, 3). Therefore, it is anticipated that these institutions will possess a dual capability to bring about significant transformation and promote comprehensive integration (Gemi and Triandafyllidou 2021; Castles et al. 2015).

#### **4.4.1. Schools**

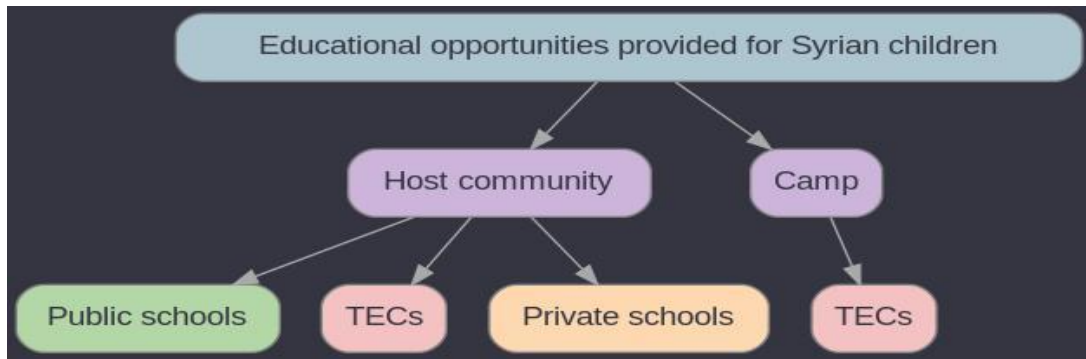
Turkey has constructed its legal framework pertaining to individuals from Syria who are under temporary protection. This framework is meticulously grounded in both national and international legislation, thereby acknowledging and upholding their fundamental entitlement to avail themselves of educational opportunities Turkey, having officially ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child in the year 1995, has thereby undertaken the solemn duty of ensuring the provision of education to foreign migrant children who presently find themselves residing within the geographical boundaries of the nation. The second article of the aforementioned Convention places significant emphasis on the provision of education in a manner that is devoid of any form of discrimination, as highlighted by UNICEF in 1989 (Eryurt 2021, 107).

One of the paramount challenges that Turkey confronts as a host country for Syrians pertains to the provision of education for children who have sought refuge. Despite a gradual increase in the percentage of Syrians enrolled in school, an entire one-third of Syrians of school-age<sup>33</sup> have not pursued further education. This indicates that an estimated 450,000 Syrian children, who are of school age, are not enrolled in educational institutions (Eryurt 2021, 105-106). It is evident from the data provided that approximately only 40 percent of Syrian children possess the opportunity to partake in formal education.

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<sup>33</sup> Approximatately 1.2 million of Syrians are of school age and around half million Syrians are 5 years old or under 5 which means sooner or later the number will be added to the school age number (Tokyay 2021).





**Figure 4.** Available educational institutions for Syrian children throughout the crisis (2011–2022) Source: UNICEF 2022, 15.

The Ministry of National Education (MoNE) has undertaken a series of initiatives with the objective of facilitating the enrollment and retention of Syrian children within the educational system of Turkey. The MoNE has urged all provincial directors to register Syrian children in Turkish schools for preschool and first-year primary education, however this would take time. MoNE has initiated the provision of Turkish preparatory courses at public education centers, commonly known as Halk Egitim Merkezi, with the aim of facilitating the smooth integration of Syrian children into the Turkish school system (World Bank Group 2016, 7).

Additionally, in order to counteract immediate capacity constraints, Temporary Education Centers<sup>34</sup>(TECs) were instrumental in providing educational alternatives to Syrian children during the first stages. These schools guaranteed the uninterrupted education of students, even after they were moved, by providing Arabic lessons that followed a modified Syrian curriculum. TECs played a pivotal role in addressing the immediate educational needs of Syrian children by providing a curriculum and language that they were familiar with. In addition, TECs facilitated the integration and interaction of these Syrian children into the Turkish educational system at a period characterized by significant turmoil and uncertainty. However, TECs had additional challenges including financial limitations, discrepancies in educational benchmarks, and difficulties in integrating pupils into the Turkish educational system. TECs eventually closed down when Syrian students were transitioned to the

<sup>34</sup>The establishment of TECs was authorized by the Circular on Education and Instruction Services for Foreigners, which was released on 23 September 2014 (UNICEF 2022, 2).

public school system (International Crisis Group 2018). Consequently, there has been a purposeful shift in policy to include Syrian pupils into the Turkish public school system. The closure of TECs initiated a significant transformation with the goal of establishing a more uniform and inclusive educational setting. This included the coexistence of Turkish and Syrian students in the same educational setting. The incorporation of Syrian students into public schools is seen as a crucial step in fostering social harmony and fostering reciprocal comprehension between the Turkish and Syrian communities. The change highlights the vital function of educational institutions as transformative entities that foster cohesion and involvement among diverse social groupings (UNICEF 2022, 29-33).

Nevertheless, it is imperative to acknowledge that these endeavors are not devoid of obstacles and constraints. Educational institutions, namely schools, have been widely recognized as highly effective establishments for facilitating social transformation. Their profound influence extends not only to the trajectory of a society but also to the experiences and circumstances of individuals who identify as immigrants, persisting in their immigrant status. To such an extent that the acquisition of knowledge, the dissemination of knowledge, and the socialization of younger cohorts have assumed heightened significance and advantageous implications. Nevertheless, it is important to note that while education for children who are refugees is indeed provided without charge, it is worth acknowledging that a substantial portion of these educational institutions heavily depend on contributions from students hailing from more privileged backgrounds (Aras and Yasun 2016, 5). The matter of the language barrier poses a significant concern in relation to the educational pursuits of Syrian children (Levent and Çayak 2017, 31). Moreover, it is imperative to note that the quality and consistency of education within the temporary education centers exhibited a considerable degree of variability. Additionally, the process of integrating Syrian children into Turkish schools may encounter significant social and cultural impediments. The obstacles encompass challenges in cultural adaptation, issues with peer acceptance, discrimination, and inequities in the curriculum (World Bank Group, 2016; Gibárti, 2021). Henceforth, it becomes patently clear that Turkey is confronted with a convoluted and intricate predicament in its endeavor to furnish educational opportunities for children hailing from Syria who have sought refuge

within its borders.

#### **4.4.2. Job Market**

The integration process exhibits a dynamic nature, thereby rendering it implausible to anticipate migrants' seamless assimilation into the host society without the provision of adequate support. To effectively promote the integration of individuals, it is crucial to provide them with a wide range of social, cultural, economic, and political opportunities. The establishment of gainful employment serves as the fundamental cornerstone of the integration process, playing a pivotal role in facilitating the assimilation of migrants into the intricate social system (Eryurt 2021, 116).

One of the institutions in which Syrian and Turkish societies interact and compete is the job market. According to Serttaş and Uluöz (2021, 6), if the skill mix of Syrian refugees differs from that of Turkish employees, they will be unable to compete for the same types of employment in the same job market. If Syrian immigrants and Turkish locals are complimentary, Syrian refugees may drive Turkish employees to specialise in tasks more suited to their job talents, boosting the marginal productivity of Turkish workers.

The Syrian migrants in Turkey, comprising approximately 5 percent of the Turkey's inhabitants, has undeniably exerted a substantial influence on both the regional economy and the labor market. The contentious matter at hand pertains to the ramifications of the influx of refugees on the labor market of the host community. In the context of Turkey, the empirical evidence presented by Ceritoğlu et al. (2017) suggests a perplexing situation wherein the data reveals a decline in the prevalence of informal employment among males within the host community, juxtaposed with a concomitant rise in formal employment, all attributable to the influx of refugees.

Migrant workers predominantly engage in informal employment arrangements, wherein they provide their services as a source of inexpensive labor. The majority of individuals engage in labor within exceedingly precarious and unsafe environments. In light of the prevailing disarray within the agricultural sector in Turkey and the inherent challenges associated with discerning the roles of laborers and employers, it

has regrettably transpired that a distinct legislative framework pertaining to agricultural labor has remained elusive for a considerable duration. One additional predicament that plagues rural regions is the absence of social security provisions for laborers engaged in agricultural production (Kaymaz and Kadkoy 2016, 4).

Although there are severe rules and regulations controlling the entry of Syrian laborers into the labor market in Turkey, the Turkish government has opted for a lenient approach towards the informal, low-paying employment of Syrian refugees (Baban et al. 2017, 51).

The employment condition for Syrians in Turkey has been significantly affected by governmental entities and non-governmental organizations, functioning under the UN Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP Turkey). International agencies, such as UNHCR, UNDP, ILO, FAO, and IOM, cooperate to improve the employability of Syrian refugees and broaden their chances within the business sector. National initiatives, led by the Directorate General of International Labour and the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR), emphasize vocational training, entrepreneurship programs, and tax incentives for sustained employment generation. Domestic NGOs, such as SGDD-ASAM, and international organizations, including United Works and Spark, provide formal employment placement services for refugees.

At present, the informal employment of Syrians primarily takes place in the agriculture and construction industries, frequently characterized by unstable daily-wage agreements (Appendix B. interview S-5). Labor shortages in multiple sectors, especially agriculture, have arisen from the aging Turkish workforce and rural-to-urban migration trends. As a result, Syrian refugees often participate in seasonal agricultural labor due to restricted economic options. Several notable Turkish export-oriented firms, like Tariş, Pınar, and Ülker, are executing corporate social responsibility efforts by offering training and stable employment prospects for Syrian refugees (Kirişçi & Uysal, 2019). This pattern indicates a progressive decline in informal work habits.

When capital flows are unfettered, economic theory predicts that wage rates will adapt in the long term. The economy fully adjusts when the demand curve swings to

the right at the same rate of return on capital and wage rate. As a consequence, current businesses expand and new businesses arise. The amount by which the demand curve shifts at this moment is critical and is determined by country-specific factors. In other words, both Turkey's economic process and global economic developments will affect the economic prosperity of the Syrian and Turkish groups in the country, as well as the economic balance between the two (Serttaş and Uluöz 2021, 7; Erdoğan et al. 2021, 6).

The economic effects of Syrian society on Turkey may have a wide range of ramifications. Some research may discover that Syrian society has a favourable impact on the Turkish economy, while others may discover a negative impact<sup>35</sup> (Liszkowska 2020, 63; Ceritoglu et al. 2017, 2) or a neutral impact. These findings may vary according to variables such as the period of the investigation, research methodology, the objectivity of the researcher and the location. For example, the ORSAM 2015 study performs field investigations in the provinces of Adana, Osmaniye, Hatay, Kilis, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Mersin, and Kahramanmaraş and concludes that Syrian refugees contribute significantly to the local and Turkish economies. Due to rising demand, they reported a rise in rental prices and living costs (for essential food supplies) Besides, Syrians also have commercial activities in Turkey. These investment activities of Syrians, particularly in the manufacturing sector, enhance economic conditions in the communities where refugees reside (ORSAM 2015, 18).

Serttas and Uluoz also looked into the impact of immigrants on the Turkish economy. Although there have been complaints that Syrians are being illegally employed as cheap labour in some industrial, agricultural, and small business jobs and that locals are taking their place, Serttas and Uluoz believes that Syrians fill the gap by working as unskilled workers in jobs that Turkish workers do not want to be involved in (Serttas and Uluoz 2021, 11).

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<sup>35</sup>Maystadt and Verwimp (2014) put forth a theoretical framework that endeavors to scrutinize the ramifications of refugee flows on local economies by means of diverse channels. The scholars have astutely identified seven distinct channels that may potentially be influenced by the prevailing circumstances. These channels encompass a wide array of crucial aspects, namely prices, employment, wages, business operations, infrastructure, health and sanitation services, and lastly, crime and unrest.

On the other hand, migrants have also had social as well as economic impacts on the labor market. An academic working on Syrian migration explains this as follows:

...we are now faced with large masses of university graduates. Nobody wants to do the work that migrants do. There is also such a reality. Nobody wants to be a porter, nobody wants to be a barber, nobody wants to be a factory worker. On the one hand, we have such a migration process. But there is also a perception as if the Syrians and migrants are the cause of this and the reason why they cannot find a job. Now the coin is hypocritical. Because of their status, like I am a university graduate, I am not going to be a forklift driver, I am not going to be a porter, a barber... Just as in Germany, Germans do not do this work and Turks do it, that migrant population will do it. But it is not the migrants who have changed life, I think something else has changed life. At the point where life changed, immigrants filled the gaps. However, when we look at the perception part, of course, it is not something that can be expected that the man in the coffee shop understands the structural situation and makes a class reading; but immigrants have filled that gap (Appendix B. interview T-6).

Ceritoğlu et al. (2017) are other researchers looking at the effects of Syrians on the Turkish labour market and economy. They compare the before and after impacts of Syrian migration on the Turkish labour market using the difference in differences technique<sup>36</sup> using a micro-level dataset from the TurkStat Labor Force Surveys between 2010 and 2013. As a result, they believe that formal employment has grown

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<sup>36</sup>The utilization of a quasi-experimental design, commonly known as difference-in-differences (DID), necessitates the meticulous assessment of outcomes related to two distinct sets of variables. Under a meticulously planned experimental setup, a particular group of persons, known as a cohort, undergoes a precisely defined intervention, whereas another group intentionally does not receive any form of therapy. The analysis is performed by comparing the observed results prior to and following the implementation of the specified treatment intervention. The therapy's causative effect is evaluated by carefully studying the difference in outcomes seen between the two distinct groups. The Difference-in-Differences (DID) approach is widely esteemed in the domain of causal inference for its shown efficacy. The observed occurrences can primarily be ascribed to its remarkable capacity to adjust to many situations that may potentially impact the desired outcome. The utilization of the Difference-in-Differences (DID) methodology offers a pragmatic means to integrate relevant factors, such as the overall economic state, population attributes, and labor market dynamics, into a study. The significance of this matter becomes more apparent when analyzing the potential consequences of a recently implemented legislative measure on the intricate dynamics of employment trends (Delgado and Florax 2015; Greene and Liu 2021).

somewhat.<sup>37</sup> This has had a huge influence on Turkish employees' employment, particularly informal labourers<sup>38</sup>. They (2017, 22) discovered that as a result of the refugee surge, indigenous people in application regions had a 2.2 percent lower chance of having an informal employment. Furthermore, the decline in unregistered employment resulted in 1.1 percentage points quitting the workforce, 0.7 percentage points remaining jobless, and 0.4 percentage points gaining formal employment. Men's chances of working informally have dropped by 1.9 percentage points. Men who lose their informal occupations remain in the labour force. The reduction in the likelihood of holding an informal employment is even greater for women, at 2.6 percentage points. Unlike men, they found no rise in the likelihood of women being unemployed or working in a formal capacity. Similarly, Esen and Binatli (2017, 10-11) observed that the influx of Syrian migrants increased unemployment while decreasing unregistered and registered employment. Cengiz and Tekgüç (2017) argue that migrants can bring capital and purchasing power to local economies and offset negative labor supply effects by changing labor demand. Consequently, this might offset any negative effects on the availability of workers by affecting the need for workers. The evidence indicates that Syrian migrants do not significantly harm the local workforce. However, the research conducted by Kirişçi and Uysal in 2019 presents a contrasting perspective, indicating that informal employment of Syrians results in lower wages within the informal sector<sup>39</sup> in Southeast Anatolia. The presence of illegal migrant workers in the informal sector has led to a decrease in wages, which is especially seen in Istanbul, a major destination for Syrian refugees. Furthermore, young Syrians living in Istanbul

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<sup>37</sup>The rise of formal employment can have a bifurcated impact on informal laborers. On one hand, it is noteworthy that the provision of opportunities for informal laborers to transition into formal employment can be observed. This phenomenon can be attributed to the inclination of businesses to hire formal workers, primarily due to the legal protections and benefits that accompany such employment arrangements. On the other hand, it can also lead to the displacement of informal laborers, as businesses may choose to hire formal workers over informal workers in order to reduce costs (Del Carpio and Wagner 2015; Zotova 2022).

<sup>38</sup>Syrian migrants did not have work permit papers until 2016. As a result, Syrians could not work legally or unofficially until this day. During this period, however, the government has not properly implemented work permit controls (See Serttaş and Uluöz 2021, 26; Badalić 2023, 968-969).

<sup>39</sup>Turkish citizens also suffer by structural problems with the labor market in Turkey. One in three Turkish workers, according to TurkStat, labor informally. In other words, high labor costs, relatively high minimum wages, low skill levels, and slack enforcement lead to a dual labor market in Turkey where informal employees, regardless of nationality, work under precarious conditions (Kirişçi and Uysal 2019).

have a pay disparity of about 27% when compared to their Turkish counterparts, underscoring the economic vulnerability of this particular demographic. It is crucial to acknowledge that this issue transcends national boundaries. The Turkish labor market has structural deficiencies, including elevated labor expenses and inadequate enforcement, resulting in the formation of a dual labor market. Both local and international informal laborers often encounter precarious working circumstances in this sector.

Turkey implemented a dramatic shift in its attitude to Syrians working in the country with the enforcement of the Work Permit Regulation in January 2016. The "Regulation on Work Permits for Foreigners under Temporary Protection" allowed Syrian refugees the legal ability to work in Turkey for the first time. Previously, Syrian migrants mostly engaged in the informal economy, encountering unstable working circumstances and lacking legal safeguards. Employers were required by the Regulation to submit work permit applications on behalf of their Syrian workers, whilst self-employed Syrians were obligated to apply independently. The purpose of this action was to establish the legal status of Syrian workers, provide them access to social security benefits, and encourage economic independence. Nevertheless, even with this change in policy, a substantial segment of the Syrian workforce, approximately ranging from 500,000 to 1,000,000 individuals, continued to operate within the informal sector (Badalič 2023, 968-69; Kadkoy 2017, 2). Concurrently, several Syrians have formed enterprises and corporations as enterprising individuals. In 2021, Rahman pointed out that Syrian refugees had formed over 9,000 firms in Turkey, with a combined capital of \$560 million (Rahman 2021).

Syrians have a negative impact on the Turkish economy in the form of taking Turkish employment, boosting rents, increasing inflation, and so forth. However, the possible contribution of Syrians to the country's economy is also a matter of debate in the literature. One of the most essential reasons in this paradigm is that when Syrians migrate to Turkey, they bring both social and economic capital with them. Syrian refugees are not a socially or economically homogeneous group (Padda 2016, 4). In terms of economic well-being, education, and talent, they are multi-faceted. Therefore, when Syrian businessmen moved to Turkey, they not only transferred their wealth, but also their network of connections. The impact of this



shift is most seen in Turkey's consistent shipments to Syria. Turkey's exports to its southern neighbour reached at \$1.8 billion in 2010. As the violence escalated, it decreased to \$1.6 billion in 2011 and \$500 million in 2012. However, Turkey's exports to Syria returned to pre-2011 levels in 2014, and the growing number of Syrian firms may have played a substantial part in this (Kaymaz and Kadkoy 2016, 6).

Syrians are particularly uncomfortable with being seen as the cause of the poor economic situation, and Syrian field experts have developed a number of arguments to address this:

Yes, they have caused rents to increase in some areas. We are now seeing a housing crisis in Turkey with the pandemic and the earthquake, and it is not because of the arrival of Syrians in 2011. They may have contributed to the housing crisis. But it was not started by them and they are certainly not the only ones responsible for this problem. We also have the CEOs of LCW and some big textile factories and the owners of agribusiness companies in Istanbul and Bursa talking. We heard that without Syrians our shops would be empty because there is also an element of tracking how Syrians are entering the relevant market, it may be statistically significant, they are driving down wages. The education system in Turkey allows Syrians to do that in the labor market. Because when you have a million or almost a million university graduates every year, after studying for four or five years, I don't think university graduates will want to work in the field (outside their own major). (Appendix B. interview S-5).

#### **4.4.3. Cities and Neighbourhoods**

The heterogeneous identity of cities within the multidimensional and complex structure of urban life is influenced by socio-spatial and socio-cultural segregation practices. The diverse visual characteristics exhibited by cities give rise to urban landscapes that are intricately intertwined with networks of relationships that, on occasion, encompass socio-economic affinities, as well as ethnic and religious convergences, and cultural and sectarian identities. The formation of homogeneous networks of relationships ultimately leads to the emergence of living clusters commonly referred to as "ghettos" within urban regions (Kavas et al. 2019, 1).

The relationship between the Kurdish and Arabic-speaking communities in Turkey, as well as with Syrians residing in the neighboring country, is characterized by amicable ties and familial connections. It is essential to point out that Istanbul, Izmir, and Bursa are the cities with the highest number of individuals seeking asylum. However, it is in the smaller Southeast Anatolian region where a demographically linked population of Arab and Kurdish origins resides, resulting in a substantial concentration of Syrians<sup>40</sup> in that particular area (Sirkeci 2017, 134).

The coexistence of Turkish and Syrian communities brings about certain expenses and unfavorable outcomes. When residing in the same urban centers, neighborhoods, and residences, tensions between these two groups are heightened. For instance, in Gaziantep, there was a period of increased tension for three days following the murder of a landlord by his Syrian tenants. In response, the police evacuated Syrians from unoccupied buildings and workplaces in the affected neighborhoods. In areas such as Ünalı, Barış, Yavuzlar, Yavuz Selim, and Saçaklı, where protests and tensions persisted, the police and AFAD teams collaborated to evacuate Syrians, especially those living in substandard conditions and individuals identified as being at risk by representatives of the neighborhood and citizens (Hürriyet 2014a).

The demographic variety of Turkey has significantly increased due to recent migratory trends, especially in urban areas. The demographic shift is exemplified by a case study in Sultangazi, Istanbul. The district accommodates over 40,000 registered and an estimated 10,000 unregistered Syrian refugees, primarily Sunni Arabs from rural areas of Aleppo. Furthermore, around 8,000 migrants from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Azerbaijan have settled in Sultangazi. The district's demographic composition was initially influenced in the 1990s when Kurdish individuals, displaced from southeastern provinces including Şırnak, Hakkari, and Diyarbakır owing to the PKK insurgency, were resettled in Sultangazi. Since 2004, the region has increasingly drawn refugees and migrant laborers from eastern Turkish provinces, including Van, Ağrı, and Kars (Göksel & Mandıracı, 2018).

Another incident occurred in the district of Hatay's Iskenderun, where tensions

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<sup>40</sup>Even urban areas such as Şanlıurfa, there exist intangible boundaries that separate Syrians from the local Turkish, Kurdish, and Arab populations. This can be an instructive example in terms of revealing socialization (France 24 2023).

escalated in the Cumhuriyet and Barbaros neighborhoods following allegations that a 14-year-old Syrian teenager named B.S. had sexually assaulted an 8-year-old child named A.C. The relatives of the child gathered in front of shops owned by Syrians along Mithatpaşa Street, which passes through both neighborhoods. Consequently, the District Security Directorate implemented significant security measures, leading Syrian shop owners to close their establishments and relocate. The Hatay Governor's Office stated that A.C.'s mother reported to the police that B.S. had sexually assaulted her son. Although B.S. was apprehended, a medical examination of A.C. did not reveal any signs of abuse. Nevertheless, B.S. was arrested. Tensions arose, causing Syrians to refrain from opening their businesses and removing Arabic signage from their shops (Doğanay and Keneş 2016, 164).

Cities and neighborhoods are not only physical spaces that reflect and reveal the transformative effect of societal multiplicity, but also physical spaces where conflicts and differences emerge. In other words, neighborhoods and cities are important because they are the physical spaces where societal multiplicity and its consequences occur, where inter-communal interaction, coexistence and differences are seen, and as a result, they act as transformative mechanisms. Moreover, migrants can be influenced by these physical spaces and may take these structures and architecture back to their home countries. This is another dimension of interaction and transformation (Tallis 2020, 472).

#### **4.4.4. Political Sphere**

Syrian migration is a topic that is frequently discussed in both domestic and global policy debates. In domestic politics, for example, urban misconceptions regarding Syrians such as access to economic advantages and free housing have arisen. Furthermore, before each election, conspiracy theories circulate that all Syrian migrants would be awarded Turkish citizenship in exchange for voting for the AK Party (Akdemir 2019, 329).

The presence of Syrians in Turkey has engendered a state of political contestation and polarization within the country, as elucidated by the scholarly work of Badran and Smets (2021). The concerns articulated by the Turkish society encompass a wide array of salient matters, encompassing, yet not restricted to, security, unemployment,

public services, and cultural assimilation. Given the prevailing circumstances, the Turkish government has launched a variety of policies and initiatives with the explicit objective of addressing the problem (Memişoğlu and Ilgıt 2017; Özdüzen et al. 2020; Erdoğan 2018 20-21; Makovsky; Uras 2022).

The discernible influence of Syrian migration on Turkey's political terrain is manifest in the ongoing deliberations and policy dialogues pertaining to the fundamental aspects of refugee entitlements, assimilation methodologies, and avenues towards attaining citizenship. As the ongoing political discourse unfolds, a multitude of perspectives are emerging with regards to the accessibility of education, healthcare, employment opportunities, as well as the enduring residency and citizenship status of Syrian refugees within the borders of Turkey. The intricate nature of this complexity has undeniably engendered divergent perspectives among the electorate of Turkey, thereby instigating discussions pertaining to the assimilation of cultures, the construction of a collective national identity, and the fostering of societal unity (Zihnioğlu and Dalkıran 2021; Nimer and Rottmann 2020; Cagaptay and Yalkın 2018).

Far-right parties often exploit concerns over cultural and social transformation, depicting immigration as a threat to national identity and social unity. This viewpoint aligns with societal multiplicity theory, which highlights the presence and interaction of many social identities and networks. This interaction may result in both beneficial cultural exchanges and detrimental social conflicts (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002, 301). According to the hypothesis, the increase in far-right parties might be a reaction to the perceived decline of a unified national identity. These parties generally promote policies that stress national independence and cultural uniformity above multiculturalism and variety (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 257; Mudde 2019, 20).

The assimilation of a substantial contingent of refugees within the borders of Turkey has engendered noteworthy socioeconomic ramifications, encompassing alterations in cultural dynamics and healthcare imperatives. Certain individuals within the populace have ascribed the prevailing economic predicament in Turkey to the existence of refugees, thereby prompting political demands for the repatriation of

Syrian migrants. Moreover, the repatriation of Syrian individuals to their country of origin has emerged as a subject of political discourse and has been strategically employed within the realm of political campaigns (Aydemir 2023; Kabacaoğlu and Memişoğlu 2021; Hickson and Wilder 2023).

Furthermore, it is imperative to acknowledge that the Syrian migration crisis has engendered a profound influence on Turkey's foreign policy and its intricate web of international relations. Turkey's active participation in the Syrian conflict and its astute management of the refugee crisis have emerged as the focal point of worldwide diplomatic endeavors and strategic partnerships. The arrival of Syrian refugees has engendered noteworthy ramifications on Turkey's diplomatic ties with the European Union, neighboring nations, and global powers. Furthermore, it has exerted a significant impact on the discourse and formulation of strategies pertaining to global migration (Memişoğlu and Ilgıt 2017; Çevik and Sevin 2017).

The Syrian refugee crisis has significantly influenced Turkey's foreign policy and regional connections, as these characteristics are closely intertwined with its political and economic structure. The Turkish authorities have adopted a multifaceted strategy, effectively leveraging the ongoing crisis to position Turkey as a prominent actor in the realm of humanitarian efforts. The approach at hand is influenced by the intricate interplay between domestic and foreign interests. The discourse surrounding migration and asylum policies in Turkey has been subject to the influence of religious and cultural references, thereby eliciting resonance within certain segments of the host societies. Nevertheless, the aforementioned development has concurrently elicited apprehensions pertaining to the phenomenon of sectarianism. The preservation of a delicate equilibrium, wherein the fulfillment of the requirements of Syrian refugees is balanced with the safeguarding of Turkey's national interests, holds essential importance (Kaya 2021; Tümen 2023, 6; Şafak-Ayvazoglu and Kunuroglu 2021; Altınors 2020, 206-207; Ongur and Zengin 2019).

The refugee problem became a critical campaign theme in Turkey's 2023 presidential election. Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, the leader of the Republican People's Party (CHP), unveiled an extensive twelve-month repatriation initiative aimed at refugees and unauthorized migrants, particularly Syrians. This proposal included voluntary

repatriation initiatives, political discussions with the Assad regime, and economic incentives for repatriating refugees. Kılıçdaroğlu's plan constituted a strategic divergence from President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's policies, intended to garner support from Ümit Özdağ's far-right Zafer Party (ZP). The political rhetoric about refugee policies experienced a notable shift, as demonstrated by Erdoğan's transition from his earlier open-door policy to a more restricted attitude during the pre-election period (Turkish Minute, 2023).

Didem Daniş reveals that almost all opposition political parties in Turkey advocate that Syrian refugees should return to Syria. "Anti-refugee sentiment is one of the few issues that unites a highly polarized and fragmented Turkish society," says Daniş. Daniş argues that opposition parties are trying to capitalize on widespread public discontent with refugees to gain electoral support. This mutual reinforcement between public discontent and political discourse on refugees has contributed to an atmosphere in which hate speech has become increasingly common. Daniş also emphasizes that Turkey faces deep social problems in areas such as education, health, economy and employment. Daniş argues that the opposition's failure to propose substantive and rational solutions to these structural problems during the election process led them to use anti-immigrant sentiment as a political strategy. However, the election results show that this approach did not succeed in getting elected (Daniş 2023).

On the other hand, those who argue that Syrians are -still- guests in Turkey and should not be sent back are generally the government wing and non-governmental organizations. Furthermore, there were instances where backing Syrians was perceived as endorsing the government and associated with government loyalty. In an interview addressing this issue, the respondent provided the following explanation:

... Or there is a situation like this in Izmir, Izmir is a very CHP-dominated province and a situation like Syrians=AKP supporters has emerged. They will get citizenship. They will vote... They will corrupt Turkey (Appendix B. interview T-2).

The phenomenon of politicizing refugee concerns is not peculiar to Turkey, but can also be seen in countries that are facing similar challenges. An example of this is the

various political parties' stances on Syrian refugees in Germany, which demonstrate how the topic of migration is closely connected to domestic politics. While the CDU/CSU coalition supports the possibility of implementing more stringent regulations, parties like the Greens and the Left vehemently reject the act of deporting individuals to Syria (Deutsche Welle 2023). This political spectrum illustrates the broader social discussions and conflicts related to migration and demonstrates how migrant populations may become a central focus of political disagreement.

The juxtaposition between Turkey and Germany's political landscapes in relation to Syrian refugees highlights the intricate nature of the problem within the context of multiplicity. Both nations see the intertwining of refugee policy with domestic political agendas, public opinion, and wider discussions about national identity and social cohesion. This analogy illustrates that the difficulties Turkey has in handling its Syrian refugee population and the subsequent political discussion are a component of a wider global phenomena, whereby nations grapple with reconciling their humanitarian responsibilities with internal considerations.

Furthermore, this comparative viewpoint emphasizes the need of taking into account the cross-border aspect of refugee matters. Although the approach of each country is influenced by its own historical, cultural, and political circumstances, there are recurring patterns that arise in many national contexts. These concerns include integration, the influence on local labor markets, and the possibility of political manipulation of refugee-related matters.

#### **4.5. The Implications of Syrian Migration on Turkish Society**

Turkey, a country offering a diverse historical weaving of migratory patterns, has assumed a multitude of roles as both a contributor and a recipient of migratory flows. The historical phenomenon of migrations encompassed the movement of various groups, including Turks, Kurds, and individuals hailing from diverse ethnic backgrounds, who embarked on journeys in search of improved economic prospects, cultural enrichment, and political stability in different regions. This observation has been duly acknowledged by Sirkeci (2003). Nevertheless, the current focal point of discussion revolves around the ramifications of the influx of Syrian refugees on the

domestic markets and resources, thereby shedding light on the intricate and diverse array of obstacles confronted by Turkey.

Syrians are also ethnically divided into various ethnic groups, most fundamentally Turkmen, Arab and Kurdish. As Turkmen, they are expected to enjoy positive discrimination in Turkey compared to other Syrian migrant groups, but according to one interview, this is not the case:

There are those who actually use this. In some cases, Arabs can say they are Turkmen. I experienced this myself. When I was in Syria, it was actually the opposite. Turkmen were not very popular there either, Arabs were more like first class citizens. Here the situation is reversed. Turkmen are more loved and protected here. But this was a bit difficult for them. Arabs are also proportionally more likely to acquire Turkish citizenship. But this is more related to education.... Turks approach us as if you are Turkmen, you are one of us. Sometimes we even encounter situations like this; they say you are not Syrian, you are Turkmen. But I don't accept this either. Yes, I am Turkmen, but I am Syrian after all (Appendix B. interview S-2).

The scholarly investigation undertaken by Akgündüz et al. (2015, 18) delves into the ramifications engendered by the influx of Syrian refugees upon diverse facets of Turkish society. These encompass, but are not limited to, the impact on food and housing expenditures, rates of employment, and patterns of internal migration. The findings elucidate a discernible adverse effect on the housing and food prices, while concurrently indicating a comparatively negligible repercussion on the employment rates, particularly with regards to occupations that require specialised expertise. The economic aspect, while significant, represents merely one facet amidst the intricate array of challenges presented by the influx of Syrian refugees.

Furthermore, it is crucial to acknowledge the intricate web of economic factors that are currently at play within Turkey. In conjunction with these multifaceted elements, Turkish society is presently grappling with a myriad of challenges that pertain to the realm of public perception, particularly in relation to the influx of Syrian migrants. In light of the endeavours undertaken by the government to cultivate a shared identity based on historical linkages, it is disconcerting to note that contemporary surveys,



exemplified by the seminal study conducted by Kınıklıoğlu (2020), reveal a conspicuous dearth of cultural affinity exhibited by the Turkish populace towards their Syrian counterparts. A considerable segment of the populace, amounting to 82%, indicates a lack of cultural affiliation, while 72% articulate apprehensions regarding the adverse ramifications on Turkey's social and cultural tapestry.

The analysis of the present population pyramid pertaining to Syrian refugees reveals a notable increase in fertility rates, which can be attributed to the imperative need to counterbalance the substantial outflow of individuals resulting from the ongoing armed conflict in Syria. The aforementioned surge will undoubtedly exert a profound influence on the near, intermediate, and distant population forecasts of Turkish society, thereby engendering a restructuring of the population pyramid (Sönmez and Ayık 2020, 69). Moreover, it is worth noting that the incidence of widowhood among women who are refugees from Syria surpasses the threshold of 4%, which is significantly higher when juxtaposed with the less than 1% rate observed during the period devoid of conflict within the Syrian region. It has been observed that approximately 15% of minors who have sought refuge, and are below the age of 18, are not residing with their biological progenitors. The aforementioned figures serve to underscore the profound ramifications of armed conflict and displacement, as the percentage in question exhibited a pre-conflict value of less than 5%. (Koç and Saraç 2021, 43).

Upon careful analysis of the Turkey Social-Political Trends Survey, which meticulously compares data from the years 2016 and 2018, a discernible pattern emerges, shedding light on the shifting sentiments within Turkish society. Notably, this comprehensive study reveals a noteworthy trend of mounting discontent among the populace towards Syrian migrants. The scholarly investigation highlights a notable change in perspective, as evidenced by a noteworthy 12% of participants who have modified their previously impartial position. Furthermore, it is worth noting that approximately 10% of this subgroup have conveyed their dissatisfaction with the subject matter at hand (Aydın et al. 2018, 66). The aforementioned observation highlights a discernible decrease in the degree of contentment pertaining to individuals from foreign origins and migrants as time has progressed.

When examining surveys aimed at gauging the contemporary perception of Turkish

society, it becomes evident that a majority of respondents hold the belief that migrants are frequently implicated in acts of theft and purse snatching. Additionally, it is commonly perceived that migrants are often involved in instances of harassment and molestation. In light of prevailing shifts and advancements, it is evident that Turkish society harbors the perception that migrants exhibit a heightened propensity for engaging in criminal activities (Sarı and Alkar 2018, 31).

The presence of Syrians within the borders of Turkey stands out as one of the foremost concerns that holds utmost significance for the Turkish society. The aforementioned study, conducted in the year 2019, revealed that a significant proportion of respondents, precisely 60%, held the perception that Syrians constituted Turkey's foremost, second-most, or third-most pressing concern. The aforementioned percentage experienced a decline to 52.3% in the year 2020, yet exhibited a subsequent resurgence to 60.4% in the year 2021. In the realm of paramount concerns, it has been discerned that the Syrian populace has been deemed the third most consequential predicament in the year 2019, the eighth most pressing quandary in the year 2020, and once again the third most salient issue in the year 2021. This determination has been arrived at through the process of averaging the responses provided by the participants (Erdoğan 2021, 9).

In the news analyzed, asylum-seekers are either homogenized with expressions such as "refugees fleeing war" or implicitly actorized as a threat to the country in terms of security and economy. In this context, regardless of whether asylum-seekers are presented as criminals or victims, it can be observed that asylum-seekers are mostly processed within the framework of the opposition between us and the other. It is even observed that the mere fact that the person is of Syrian nationality is enough for him/her to be reported. In all three newspapers, however, the discourse of opening the border gates to asylum seekers is also closely linked to the discourse of the European Union's failure to provide sufficient funding. In this way, vulnerable groups are problematized and discredited through discursive practices (Livberber 2021, 1019).

While Turkey originally shown a generally favorable disposition towards Syrian refugees, especially in the southeastern provinces, a more detailed analysis indicates

a more complex and developing reality. The early welcome may be ascribed to the common religious beliefs and ethnic connections. Haydari's research (2021) on Twitter reveals a notable change in the Turkish population's perception of Syrian refugees as time progresses (Akdemir 2019, 329).

Originally characterized by a welcoming and optimistic demeanor, the collective story of society has undergone a transformation as time has passed. Residents of Turkey living in close proximity to Syrian refugees have expressed apprehensions over extended waiting periods at healthcare facilities, overpopulated educational institutions, escalating rental costs, and overburdened public services. These problems not only indicate financial challenges, but also concerns about changes in population and cultural identity. The International Crisis Group in the report argued that the previous prevalence of compassion and unity is being replaced by growing anger and hatred (International Crisis Group 2018).

The presence of Syrians in Turkey has raised different kinds of concerns that go beyond economic concerns. The rapid influx of refugees resulting from the Syrian Civil War has raised concerns, particularly about its impact on Turkish culture. This demographic transition and change is often seen as a potential threat, intensifying pre-existing concerns about cultural transformations and a sense of national identity (Yitmen and Verkuyten 2018, 239). These concerns are sometimes reinforced by emphasizing the demographic disparities between Turkey and its surrounding nations (Erdoğan 2021, 63) While Turkey's fertility rate is comparable to that of its Middle Eastern counterparts and European counterparts, it is sometimes exaggerated to bolster concerns over "migration pressure" (Sirkeci 2017, 139). Nevertheless, these discussions simplify the intricate nuances of forced migration, potentially erroneously attributing blame to refugees rather than delving into the underlying structural causes of their displacement.

#### **4.6. Consequences of Societal Multiplicity and Syrian Migration**

When conducting research in a field such as migration, which exhibits a substantial degree of inter-communal interactions, it becomes evident that a society-centric approach (societal) holds greater relevance compared to a state-centric approach. The Multiplicity approach is in accordance with the aforementioned perspective.

However, it is important to note that Rosenberg's multiplicity approach is not the first argument to propose the analysis of these relationships from this particular perspective. It is crucial to acknowledge the existence of various community-centered viewpoints and research studies that have preceded this approach. Nielsen (2001, 29), for example, contends that interactions between residents, newcomers, and dominant and minority groups create a variety of difficulties and possibilities for communities to handle.

Eder and Özkul contend that the concept of "co-existence" necessitates a political and social milieu that fosters mutual comprehension, tolerance, and interpersonal engagement. An investigation of Turkey's emerging democratic framework is necessary to comprehend the experiences of migrants and refugees in the country, according to their argument. The current state and forces influencing Turkey are determined by a blend of internal and foreign variables, as is the case in every nation. The escalation of the Kurdish conflicts, marked by violence mostly in the southeastern area, also signifies the presence of a significant internal issue. The conflict in question is further complicated by its regional and international aspects, as well as its connection to the ongoing Syrian war. These factors contribute to the intricate nature of social processes and structures involved. Turkey is now dealing with the more extensive problem of regional instability in the Middle East, which has an impact on its evaluations of security and choices in foreign policy. Simultaneously, Turkey's political system has seen significant changes, including the increase in executive authority and limitations on freedom of speech and the media. The current change in the distribution of authority has occurred along with an increase in patriotic feelings (Yitmen and Verkuyten 2018, 240; Aydemir 2023, 659-660). The advancements, shown by Eder and Özkul, have stimulated scholarly investigation into the mechanisms of democracy and their possible influence on the course of social and political diversity in Turkey (Eder and Ozkul 2016, 7).

Interaction, dialogue, communication, relationship and exposure between societies can take many different forms. Taken together with the central argument of my thesis that "migration" is one of the three most powerful phenomena reflecting internationality (war or conflict, trade and migration), it begs the question of the ways in which these relations take place. Focusing on Syrian migration, one

interviewee stated that the interaction and its derivatives cannot be reduced to language alone:

...it is possible to communicate and interact without language. How can this be done? By going directly to the soul... This can be through art, food, music, etc. It may not be necessary to know a language for this. It requires feeling. The best way is through art. In other words, as long as we cannot integrate and interact, prejudices against Syrians will increase. So we need to be able to dialogue in different ways. I want to give a good example. I worked in an integration project. First we taught a language and then we taught a profession, a competence. That profession was cooking. What did they do? Both Turkish and Syrian women came together. When that project ended, women from both communities started crying. Both communities loved each other so much there (Appendix B. interview S-7).

With the prolonged presence of Syrian refugees on Turkish territories, the focus has switched from short-term protection and humanitarian help to Syrian refugees' to longer-term presence and social and economic integration in Turkey (Padda 2016, 3). It is commonly acknowledged that engagement of Syrian youth in school and active participation of Syrian refugees in economic life are required for social integration (Padda 2016, 5).

Syrians have a similar opinion on this issue:

Syrians are slowly taking the culture of Turks. After 20 years they will probably start to adopt many cultures of Turks. For example, a Syrian acquaintance of mine who is studying at Istanbul University Faculty of Medicine feels like a Turk. In fact, the more educated are more easily influenced by Turkish culture, while the less educated are more difficult to be influenced. Because interaction is either non-existent or very limited. Everyone speaks Arabic among themselves in the streets. There is a Syrian village in Derinkuyu. There is a closed society here and they do not interact with Turks. However, people from Syrian cities have opened businesses here, engaged in economic activities, and are studying at universities. In this process, they have been and continue to be influenced by Turks (Appendix B. interview S-1).

The term "transnational" is an adjective, not a noun. It refers to the encounter and interaction of two different societies. It differs from the traditional view of the transnational as lying somewhere between the national and the global (Levitt

and Glick-Schiller 2004). Instead of assuming that social entities or identities are bounded or delimited, they are understood as transnationally constituted, embedded, and influenced social spaces that interact with each other (Levitt 2015, 224). In the context of Syrian migration, transnational economic activities include businesses established by Syrian refugees in Turkey. This is because these groups strengthen economic ties between Syria and Turkey while promoting cultural and social inclusion (Şimşek 2019, 276).

Ryan and Mulholland (2015, 142) use the concept of “embedding<sup>41</sup>” in a similar way. They explain this notion as a technique of understanding how social actors link and interact with a wide range of social, economic, and political organisations via multiple social relations/social networks." The authors emphasise that they utilise the continuous mode on purpose to represent the contextual, dynamic, and diverse processes that occur when immigrants traverse, negotiate, and renegotiate different settings across time. However, while all of these notions are significant in conveying the impact of migration on international relations, I believe that a more concise theoretical approach, such as "societal multiplicity," is required.

The concept of the “whip of external necessity” is a concept closely linked to the theory of societal multiplicity. It can be viewed as a manifestation of inequality. While structural theories of migration argue that inequality is the root cause of all migration, there are additional layers to consider. For instance, during an interview with a Syrian named Eymenh in Turkey, it was revealed that he attended school in Turkey for a mere two months after fleeing Syria. Owing to his family's financial struggles, he had to work despite being a child. Alongside his siblings, he toiled in a bakery in Samsun. His aspiration was to pursue a career as a professional boxer for the Turkish national boxing team. Their economic hardships forced them into labor, leading him to express his determination to his mother, stating, "One day I will become a boxer and purchase our own home. We will attain wealth" (Karakas 2021).

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<sup>41</sup>The concept of embeddedness has been linked to social capital in migration studies. Ryan and Mulholland define "embeddedness" as "a way of explaining the process by which social actors are connected to and interact with multiple social, economic, and political structures through various social relations/social networks"(2015, 136-142). The notion of embeddedness, which posits that social connections play a key role in fostering a feeling of inclusion and enabling individuals to tap into resources that aid in their social and economic integration, is fundamental in discussions regarding migration (Wessendorf and Phillimore 2018, 125-126).

Another example is of an interviewee who lived a relatively prosperous life in their home country, but after the war, they entered a period where prosperity disappeared:

I couldn't believe our situation. I am a very ambitious person myself. When we first came, we had nothing. We had a villa there. In summer we harvested the season, in winter we lived there. My father used to buy cars, motorcycles, fields, etc. with the money that was left over. Just during the war period my father made new investments, I bought a new house, a car, a motorcycle, a field. We had about 30 decares of land in Idlib in the city. The annual income there used to be around 200.000 dollars in today's money. But now we can only get 2000 dollars. Because we are doing this so that someone does not come and seize it. For example, my uncle is there. We say to my uncle, go and live in it, take your income, no one will confiscate it. Where is 2000 dollars and where is 200000 dollars. We couldn't bring anything from there. Cars, land, motorcycles, etc. all stayed there. Before we left, we were attacked by Assad and the FSA. They took our car to blow up the bridge. They confiscated all the electronic devices in the house. Then the FSA came and took all our other assets - gold, money, vehicles, etc. They took them all. A clash broke out on the bazaar side (Appendix B. interview S-3)

Examining the many social dimensions of Syrian migration to Turkey underscores the need of using society-based approaches to understand and address the complex process of integration. Rosenberg's concept of multiplicity, emphasizing the concurrent existence and interaction of several social entities, provides a robust framework for analyzing the interactions between different communities that arise from migration. The incorporation of this perspective is essential for understanding the complex interactions between host communities and refugees, as shown by the many experiences and challenges highlighted in this chapter.

The testimonies given by Syrian refugees and Turkish inhabitants illustrate the profound influence of social diversity on everyday interactions, economic pursuits, and cultural exchange. The Syrians' commercial endeavors, participation in educational endeavors, and contribution to social integration projects exemplify the dynamic interaction among varied groups. These activities not only modify the economic links and dynamics between Syria and Turkey, but also promote cultural and social exchanges, highlighting the cross-border nature of these interactions.

**Table 6.** Comparison of Integration Theories with Societal Multiplicity Theory

<b>Theory</b>	<b>Key Proponents</b>	<b>Core Principles</b>	<b>Application to Syrian Migrants</b>	<b>Similarities with Societal Multiplicity Theory</b>	<b>Differences from Societal Multiplicity Theory</b>	<b>Why Societal Multiplicity Theory is More Effective</b>
<b>Assimilation Theory</b>	Gordon (1964), Alba and Nee (1997)	Migrants fully integrate into the host society, starting with cultural assimilation, followed by structural assimilation.	Syrian migrants are expected to adopt the norms and values of the host country, leaving behind their cultural characteristics and social networks.	Both theories focus on interactions between communities and examine integration processes.	Assimilation Theory views integration as a one-way process; Societal Multiplicity Theory considers it a multi-directional and reciprocal process.	Societal Multiplicity Theory addresses dynamic processes that mutually affect both migrants and host societies.
<b>Melting Pot Theory</b>	Zangwill (1908), Warner & Srole (1945)	Different cultures blend together to form a new, homogeneous culture in the host society.	Syrian migrants are expected to blend into the host society's culture, creating a new, unified cultural identity.	Both theories address the blending of cultures within a society.	Melting Pot Theory promotes cultural homogenization; Societal Multiplicity Theory emphasizes the coexistence of multiple distinct cultural identities.	Societal Multiplicity Theory allows for the coexistence of diverse cultures, recognizing the complexity and multiplicity of societal interactions.
<b>Salad Bowl Theory</b>	Glazer & Moynihan (1963)	Migrants maintain their unique cultural identities while being part of the broader society, akin to ingredients in a salad.	Syrian migrants retain their cultural identity while participating in the social and economic life of the host society.	Both theories advocate for the preservation of cultural identities within a diverse society.	Salad Bowl Theory views society as a mosaic of distinct cultures; Societal Multiplicity Theory considers the dynamic and historical interactions among these cultures.	Offers a dynamic framework that accounts for the ongoing interaction and influence between multiple cultures and societies.
<b>Multiculturalism Theory</b>	Kymlicka (1995), Taylor (1994)	Migrants and their cultural differences are accepted and promoted within the host society's legal and institutional frameworks.	Syrian migrants are encouraged to express and preserve their cultural identities within a multicultural society.	Both theories support the idea of maintaining cultural diversity within a host society.	Multiculturalism Theory often focuses on legal and policy frameworks; Societal Multiplicity Theory includes a broader range of social and historical contexts.	Enhances understanding of cultural integration by including the effects of historical and social interactions between societies.
<b>Transnationalism Theory</b>	Glick Schiller et al. (1992), Portes et al. (1999)	Migrants maintain active social, economic, and political ties across national borders, creating a transnational social field.	Syrian migrants maintain cultural and economic ties in both Turkey and Syria, forming a dual identity.	Both theories examine the role of cross-border ties and interactions in shaping migrant experiences.	Transnationalism emphasizes cross-border identities; Societal Multiplicity Theory considers these within the broader context of inter-societal relations and historical dynamics.	Provides a more comprehensive understanding by examining how cross-border interactions influence broader social and historical dynamics.



#### **4.6.1. Consequences of Societal Multiplicity**

The concept of internationalism, often linked to interactions among sovereign states, needs a more detailed analysis within the framework of current global dynamics. There is a crucial question that has to be addressed: Does internationalism just exist within the realm of state-level interactions, or does it also arise from the direct engagement and interaction between two or more societies? This study questions the traditional perspective that focuses on the importance of nation-states in international affairs. Upon further examination, it becomes clear that internationalism is largely based on society relations that go beyond political borders. In this environment, the concept of boundaries arises as an abstract framework that defines areas of significant cultural and social interaction. These border regions are not just lines that mark boundaries, but rather they are special areas where diverse society norms, beliefs, and practices come together, resulting in unique social phenomena. This viewpoint emphasizes the significance of seeing internationalism as a dynamic process of intercommunal interaction, rather than only through the prism of inflexible state institutions. This approach acknowledges the dynamic nature of cultural and social interactions that take place regardless of, and often in defiance of, official national borders. Therefore, internationalism may be better seen as a result of the intricate and diverse relationships among civilizations, rather than just as a consequence of relations between states (Appendix B. interview T-1).

The concept of multiplicity suggests that all phenomena exhibit a "transnationality". This is evidenced by the presence of temporal, spatial and sociological elements in any phenomenon. Moreover, the international implications of multiplicity are evident. If we consider societal multiplicity in place of an international ontology, we need to focus on the interaction, relationship and exposure of societies to each other. As an illustration of the exposure of societies to each other in respect to Syrian migration, consider the following example from an interview with a Syrian migrant:

... the prejudice against Syrians and the arrival of other migrant groups in Turkey has increased the prejudice against us. Also, any migrant, whether Syrian or not, has started to be directly called Syrian. At least this is the case in Turkish society. This has affected us negatively in this direction. For example, there are a lot of Iranians in this neighborhood, but everyone says that it is completely filled with Syrians. We

also have stronger communication and interaction with Iraqi immigrants. This is probably because of the language and also because Iraqis had previously migrated to Syria after the Iraq War in 2003 (Appendix B. interview S-6).

Differences occur over historical time. Different configurations coexist in different ways in different periods. Such contrasts play an important role in the identities of states and cultures. However, the simultaneous configuration of difference remains important because it leads directly and inevitably to a third consequence of multiplicity: interaction in real time. The reason for this is simple. Under conditions of multiplicity, every society faces the fact that the human world extends beyond itself. The situation highlights both a possible risk (stemming from external occurrences that may present a challenge) and a chance (owing to the presence of other societies with diverse physical and cultural resources that can be accessed through various forms of exchange).

According to Strikwerda (1999, 374-375), the way in which the external environment is managed via activities like war (Tilly 1992, 140-141), trade (Findlay and O'Rourke 2007), and migration (Hollifield 2004, 888-891) has a role in shaping the conventional conception of the international realm in the field of International Relations. This includes ideas like geopolitics (Morgenthau 1948) and interdependence (Keohane and Nye 1987). This implies that the importance of international relations goes much beyond the boundaries of the field itself. It is through these interactions that societies progress, as they harmoniously combine both local traditions and external influences (Appadurai 1996). This phenomenon has far-reaching effects that transcend politics and economics, impacting on social structures, technology, language, culture, cuisine, architecture and fashion. Rosenberg and Tallis argue that the broader background in which various cultures interact and intertwine influences every social behavior (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 256).

In response to the interview question about internationalism not being reduced to state-centric approaches and relations, some interviewees responded as follows:

It is interaction and relations between two or more than two societies for sure... What we call a border is a very abstract phenomenon. In other words, borders create a

situation where the interaction between one side of the border and the other side of the border determines a very different region. It is necessary to look at it as a region. Therefore, I consider it more as an interaction between two or more than two societies (Appendix B. interview T-1).

High politics or the state-centered approach seems to be a thing of the past. It is still very much the nation state or some other form of state, it doesn't really matter. Being attached to all these things, still acting on the classical understanding of sovereignty. I think these are not things that explain our current conditions, I mean, you can defend the existence of only states as much as you want. For problems and for solutions. You can try to solve it with the borders that states have achieved themselves. It can try to resolve the issue through the platforms here. We can argue that all this is very transitory, that the confrontation of states alone does not offer us a solution. Whether there are negotiations with the EU as much as desired, states can say whether we are passing or not, they can pass as much as they want. Refugees or people who really want to migrate. Migrants somehow find a way, if they are going to migrate, they cross the borders that those states claim to be sovereign. They don't just cross on their own (Appendix B. interview T-2).

The encounter of two societies is internationalized insofar as it has the effect of influencing or shaping the policies of any two or more than two states. For example, workers from Armenia working for the Armenian community in Istanbul. Their internationalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey only makes sense when there is a problem between Turkey and Armenia, and Turkey internationalizes the issue by putting it on its agenda as a result of the illegal work of this group in Turkey. Similarly, I do not think that leather traders from Eastern Bloc countries in Laleli or Russian brides who get married and start living in Antalya create an interaction in terms of international relations. However, they can be internationalized by states or other actors of the international community - not necessarily states, but the EU, NGOs, supranational organizations (Appendix B. interview T-6).

My understanding of internationalism is to break borders. In fact, my coming to a different country, receiving a scholarship from a supranational organization such as the EU and providing my education is directly related to internationalism (Appendix B. interview S-7).

Context of immigration presents a distinct challenge, requiring a nuanced perspective

to manage the complex interaction of external forces. To illustrate the issue, in an interview with a 45-year-old male Syrian residing in Ankara, the Syrian stated the following:

In a year, I opened two Syrian patisseries. In Syria, I was doing the same thing. While the majority of my clients were Syrian at first, Turks began to purchase Syrian sweets as they learned about our cuisine culture. Sweets helped to build a connection between Turks and Syrians (Simsek 2019, 276).

The aforementioned illustration elucidates a constructive engagement within the framework of multiplicity. However, it is imperative to acknowledge that the results obtained from the theory of multiplicity do not inherently align with the classifications of positivity, negativity, or neutrality.

The study, conducted by Orhan and Gündoğar on behalf of ORSAM and TESEV, delved into the analysis of the outcomes arising from the interaction between Syrian and Turkish societies. Indeed, the presence of disparities in language, culture, and lifestyle within the two societies inevitably poses a considerable challenge to the attainment of social cohesion. The phenomenon of polygamy is currently experiencing a notable surge in prevalence within the local populace, consequently leading to a corresponding rise in divorce rates. The phenomenon of child labour has experienced a notable proliferation in recent times. One may posit that there exists a foundation upon which the phenomenon of ethnic and sectarian polarisation can be triggered. The incidence of unplanned settlements is on the rise. There has been an observable alteration in the demographic composition, specifically pertaining to the fertility rate and population growth rate (ORSAM 2015, 7-16).

#### **4.6.1.1. Co-existence**

The human world is more significant and comprises many different types of societal relationships. The migration of one society into political geography created by another necessitates co-existence. Namely, co-existence is one of the required prerequisites for migration.

Rosenberg contends that qualitative difference among societies is a natural consequence of multiplicity resulting from social development and geography, which

imply differing distributions of resources (material and immaterial) as well as differing constellations of interaction and combination with other societies (Rosenberg 2016a).

Syrian society's direct and indirect impacts on Turkey's economic, social, and cultural developments are visible. In other words, living beside Syrian society has ramifications in various domains, including Turkish education, justice, economic structure, and architecture. As a result, signs of co-existence may be discovered in the elements of Turkish society's material and spiritual (or material and ideal) worlds.

A significant number of Syrian migrants have demonstrated the continued importance of kinship relations in their lives following their arrival in Turkey. This is particularly evident in Kilis, where the local economy is largely based on smuggling, and where kinship ties have remained stronger over time due to the continued economic ties across the border (Özden 2013, 3).

The first wave of Syrians arrived in Turkey more than a decade ago. Most Turkish citizens are concerned about the extended stay of Syrians and other immigrants. As a result, one of the discomforts here is the discomfort of co-existence (Info Migrants 2022). I will return to the major causes for this in the "difference" section, which is one of the consequences of multiplicity. Murat Erdogan writes in his book *Syrians in Turkey* that "it is essential to pay attention to studies directed at the Turkish society in order to establish the culture of living together." To do this, defined social risks must be minimized (Erdoğan 2015).

While different societies can coexist and be exposed to one another in normal circumstances, the consequences of migration are considerably more apparent and visible. Since Turkey is presently experiencing a severe economic and financial crisis, people are increasingly and predictably seeking a scapegoat (Wiener 2022, 351) to blame for the country's misfortune. In this situation, too, immigrants are used as scapegoats and defined as perverts (Bakhshalizada 2022; Karabat 2022).

Moreover, the presence of other migrant groups in a given geographical area can directly or indirectly affect each other. For example:

Nevşehir can be a good example in this regard. Because Iranians and Afghans have been coming here for about ten years under the guidance of the UN. In terms of Iran, it has not been affected much. Because the education quality of Iranians is relatively higher and in general they do not share the same social environment much. But Afghans have been affected a little more. Because Afghans are generally targeted and cited as an example in certain crimes. But after the arrival of Syrians, Syrians started to be associated with certain crimes. Syrians were not positively affected by the high quality of education of Iranians, but Syrians were negatively affected by the involvement of Afghans in crime (Appendix B. interview T-3).

Syrians are the first group that comes to mind when we think of refugees. Afghans are the first group that comes to mind when it comes to drugs. In fact, refugees get along better among themselves and interact more easily. Cultural exchange can also easily take place between each other (Appendix B. interview S-2).

As Syrians, we are used to living together with different societies i.e. Palestinians, Iraqis, etc. But unfortunately there is a perception and feeling that there is competition and disagreements between these immigrant groups. But on the contrary, we try to support each other (Appendix B. interview S-8).

The presence of a substantial and youthful Syrian minority in Turkey presents both benefits and challenges for cohabitation. More precisely, those who are under the age of 18 constitute a significant 46.3% of the whole Syrian population in Turkey, amounting to a total of 1,660,581 people. Given the presence of almost one million Syrians in the nation, namely between the ages of 5 and 17, schools have a vital responsibility to actively include both groups and foster mutual coexistence. Schools have a vital role in facilitating the integration of young Syrians into Turkish culture, enabling them to gain fluency in the language, and fostering interaction with their Turkish counterparts (DGMM 2020). Timely and effective integration may lead to long-lasting improvements in social unity and decrease the likelihood of social division.

The influx of a substantial cohort of young persons exerts significant pressure on educational resources, potentially leading to overcrowding, a shortage of educators, and a decline in the educational standards for both Syrian and Turkish students. If this pressure is not well controlled, it has the potential to worsen social tensions and

cultivate feelings of animosity.

Schools are the main meeting points between the Turkish and Syrian communities. While primary and secondary school enrolment rates among Syrians in Turkey are increasing, enrolment rates in preschool and high school remain below 50 percent. Among Syrian children of primary school age (417,546), 75.13 percent (313,695) attend school. At the secondary level, 80 percent of 335,952 children, or 268,752 students, attend school. Only 107,812 out of a total of 252,772 children attend high school. The secondary school enrollment rate is 42.65 percent (Bianet 2022). Therefore, a vast number of Syrian students in Turkey, totaling over 400,000, currently lack registration in educational establishments, thereby denying them the chance to avail themselves of educational prospects. This is because most Syrian refugee children live outside of camps and therefore do not have access to education (Ullah 2018; Atar et al. 2023, 236). This data is useful for predicting processes such as social structure and identifying future inequalities and opportunities.

Another area where Syrians and Turks interact is in working life. In this context, the coexistence of two communities has both opportunities and risks. For example, in terms of opportunities, the information I have gathered from the field and from reports reveals how some employers and business owners have gained an advantageous position from these coexistence processes. In interviews with Provincial Migration Specialists:

... there have been some opportunities in the field of work. They are open to labor exploitation due to labor and labor law. They have created an opportunity for some capital owners and business owners in terms of labor force. Syrians started to work especially in agriculture and animal husbandry (Appendix B. interview T-3).

The inflow of Syrians into Turkey is a multifaceted social endeavor in co-existence, including opportunities and challenges. Although co-existence, is sometimes portrayed as a mutually beneficial arrangement, the reality is more complex, particularly when assessing whether living together naturally intensifies tensions arising from differences.

The insights gained from several generations provide important comprehension of its complex essence. Elderly Syrians, who are familiar with established social norms

and confronted with language barriers, often have difficulties in adapting (Baban et al. 2017, 53; Erdoğan 2018, 22-24). In contrast, younger generations (Portes and Rumbaut 2001), who get exposure to Turkish language and culture via their education, are more prone to readily adaptation. The coexistence of several generations underscores the fact that living together is not a homogeneous experience, but rather is shaped by individual and contextual factors.

The influx of Syrian migrants in Turkey has the potential to improve certain industries, but it may also worsen pre-existing issues (Borjas 2018, 1713). Without a thorough plan and fair allocation of resources (Bélanger and Saracoglu 2019, 416-417), the pursuit of work and wealth can quickly lead to feelings of dissatisfaction and conflict (International Crisis Group 2018). The presence of a language barrier might worsen existing tensions by hindering efficient communication and promoting misconceptions. Co-existence has both advantageous and disadvantageous outcomes. The increasing disintegration of Syrian communities, as seen in Kayseri, is suggestive of prospective forthcoming difficulties. Geographical isolation may limit chances for interaction and comprehension, resulting in the development of socially isolated systems (Appendix B. interview T-5). The existence of varied social groupings may result in either favorable or unfavorable outcomes for society, contingent upon the manner in which it is regulated and the contextual factors involved (Can 2017, 179-182). Hence, it is crucial to go beyond a rudimentary comprehension of co-existence as either intrinsically beneficial or detrimental. Instead, it should be seen as a dynamic process that requires proactive management and a dedication to resolving the related concerns. In order to enhance social cohesion and capitalize on the advantages of a varied and cohesive community, it is imperative to provide funds towards language acquisition programs, guarantee fair allocation of resources, and cultivate inclusive urban growth. In the absence of adopting these processes, the coexistence between parties may result in an unstable environment, so hindering the advancement and growth of individuals involved.

#### **4.6.1.2. Difference**

Diversity is a core element of internationalism, which, according to Rosenberg and Tallis (2022), encompasses the concept of "difference" in regard to the varied and



non-uniform traits of civilizations. Diversity, seen in many spheres such as demographics, languages, religious practices, cultural values, social norms, and historical events, has consistently existed throughout human history (Waring 2020, 10). Diversity has a crucial role in shaping individual experiences and has a significant impact on bigger historical processes, including cultural interchange and political transitions (Rosenberg 2018; 2020).

On the other hand, the presence of different societies could lead to significant disputes. In recent years, far-right political parties in Europe have seen a substantial increase in influence, particularly in countries where integration efforts are seen as unsuccessful in the face of economic crises and high unemployment rates (Halikiopoulou and Vlandas 2019, 429-430). These political parties often see migrants as potential dangers to the integrity of national identity and social unity (Yerly 2021, 3). The emergence of such political parties may be seen as an inevitable outcome of the increasing social diversity in different countries, as they attempt to reconcile the need for integration with the need to maintain their national identity (Halikiopoulou and Vlandas 2020, 428-429).

When examining the migration of Syrians to Turkey, it is crucial to note both the cultural similarities and familial connections between the two societies (Enab Baladi 2016), as well as the inherent and sociological distinctions that exist. The influx of Syrian refugees in Turkey introduces a new aspect of social variety, augmenting the preexisting tapestry of cultures and ethnicities. It is crucial to acknowledge and comprehend these distinctions, along with shared similarities, in order to foster a peaceful and inclusive society within a wider framework of international cooperation.

The subtle distinctions between these variations are seen in the everyday experiences of Syrian migrants. One respondent pointed out that: “There is not that much difference in terms of religion. But there are some differences in customs. For example, when asking for a girl, the bride throws salt into the groom's coffee. For example, we don't have this”(Appendix B. interview S-8). These perceptions emphasize the nuanced but important cultural differences that influence the process of integration.

As societies themselves are divided into many different ethnic and religious communities and identities, it is quite normal for the structures we recognize as society to differentiate. The fact that there is not a uniform Turkish society or a uniform Syrian society is one of the difficulties in studying the theory of societal multiplicity, but there are still some characteristics and conditions that come with being a society, which may differ from structures such as identity, nationality, etc. In relation to this issue, Syrian society, like Turkish society, is essentially differentiated within itself, but in the end, a classification such as Syrian society and Turkish society is made:

We call Syrians as Syrians, but Syrian society is a country that contains many communities within itself. In other words, just like there is a difference between the people from the Black Sea and the people from the Aegean, there is a very serious difference between the people from Raqqa and the Syrians from Aleppo. People coming to Turkey from the south of Syria, from the desert region, are more difficult for the people in Turkey to relate to, whereas those coming from the regions already under the control of the Turkish Armed Forces or the YPG (the region from Idlib to the Raqqa border) will be no different from the people living in Urfa or Mardin. After determining this, there is no great difficulty, no great difference in starting to live with these people. So it is not like 5 million Cambodians coming (Appendix B. interview T-8).

In some provinces, yes there are differences, but in Eastern provinces there are similarities. For example, in some Syrian families women are not allowed to work. However, for Syrians who migrated to Turkey, especially to the West of Turkey, women are forced to work. Because the cost of living is high in the West, women have to work (Appendix B. interview S-4).

However, within Turkey, concerns arise among some segments of Turkish society regarding the potential alteration of the country's cultural and ethnic fabric with the prolonged stay of Syrian refugees (Said 2022). The fear of losing this essential difference is perceived as a threat to Turkish society. Immigrants and refugees, divided by nationality, religion, sect, ethnicity, and more, tend to form communities with distinct characteristics, often coupled with socioeconomic and class differences (Arner 2022, 8).

Cultural, traditional, and lifestyle differences between Syrians and the host Turkish population can lead to varying reactions and concerns. The impact that refugees have on the host society is not exclusively contingent upon the intrinsic attributes of the refugees themselves, but rather contingent upon the attitudes espoused by the host society. These attitudes are molded by a variety of factors, including ideological responses, cultural practices, economic considerations, personal experiences, and the influence of media sources (Padir 2019, 5).

The collective proportion of responses denoting "we exhibit no resemblance whatsoever we lack any semblance of similarity" within the Turkish populace stands at approximately 80%. It is worth noting that in regions proximate to the Syrian border and in areas with a partial Arabic-speaking population, there exists a noteworthy prevalence of the response "we are not culturally similar." This prevalence either aligns with or surpasses the average observed in Turkey as a whole. The response to the identical inquiry among the Syrians residing in Turkey has undergone a notable transformation. Previous studies conducted in preceding years have yielded findings that indicate a notable perception of cultural similarities between Syrians and Turkish society. In the year 2017, the aggregate rate of responses categorized as "similar" and "very similar" amounted to 56.8%. Subsequently, in the year 2019, this rate experienced a marginal increment, reaching 57.1%. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that a noteworthy decrease was observed in the year 2020, whereby a mere 41.4% of the participants expressed a sense of cultural resemblances between Syrians and Turks. The aforementioned descending trajectory persisted throughout the year 2021, culminating in a further reduction of the rate to 24.7%. In the year 2021, a conspicuous decline in the proportion of individuals hailing from Syria who conveyed a perception of similarity was observed, with the percentage experiencing a notable reduction to 24.7%. This decline of 5.2 points is in contrast to the percentage of Syrians who asserted a lack of similarity, which stood at 29.9%. It is worth highlighting that this decline represents the first occurrence of such a phenomenon. This particular incident serves as an illustration of how the concept of "similarity" can undergo rapid transformation once cohabitation begins (Erdoğan 2021, 11). Indeed, Syrian experts living in Turkey share a similar view:

There are many similarities between the two societies and perhaps even more differences. But I think it is important to consider whether the majority of Turkish society supports the idea that the majority of Syrians in Turkey are of Arab origin and that there is a historical memory in Turkish history of Arabs stabbing Turkey in the back. I think the majority of Turkish society, including those who have somehow adopted the concepts of "Muhajir" and "Ansar" or the acceptance of the AK Party in the past, still think that there are not enough similarities between Turkish and Syrian cultures other than religion that bind the two societies together. There is a more radical group in society. They completely reject the idea of having Syrians in the country. They say that culturally, economically, politically, they are not treated in a way that justifies their objection to Syrians because they fled without fighting for their country. So this is also a regional situation. If you are in the southeast of Turkey (Şanlıurfa, Kilis, Gaziantep), I think that before 2011 tribal or family ties could facilitate the application of cultural similarities or cultural differences across borders (it would be a melting pot). But when you are in more North Western or Eastern or Central Anatolia, you are less welcome because you are Syrian. Because religious elements can be important in Turkish society's culture of welcoming Syrians (Appendix B. interview S-5).

These differences manifest in societal attitudes, occasionally leading to discrimination, xenophobia, and racism. Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán, for instance, expressed concerns about Syrian migrants threatening the continent's Christian culture and identity (Hartmann 2022). In the Turkish context, there is a growing sense of hostility toward Syrians within the society, creating a disconnect between societal sentiments and the government's policies, such as President Erdogan's stance on granting citizenship to immigrants (Anadolu Agency 2022; Rottmann and Kaya 2021, 475).

The dissimilarities between Turkish and Syrian societies are palpable across various regions within Turkey. Research on urban culture in Hatay, for instance, highlights the contrasting characteristics of urban and rural lifestyles, education levels, and social behaviors between Turks and Syrians (Özden 2013, 10). Instances of perceived deficiencies in social decorum, education, and unwelcome behavior towards women contribute to the emergence of discriminatory practices and even hate speech against Syrians in public spaces.

The ORSAM report also provides important data on the differences between the two societies. It can be observed that differences in language, culture, and lifestyle between the two communities make social cohesion difficult. Polygamy is becoming widespread among the local population, and divorce rates are increasing accordingly. Child labor is becoming widespread. There is a possibility of ethnic and sectarian polarization. Unplanned construction is on the rise. In some border provinces, there is concern about a change in demographic structure. A change in the demographic structure (fertility rate, population growth rate) has been observed. The challenging living conditions and lack of access to education experienced by Syrians create an environment conducive to the emergence of social problems, including an increase in crime rates over time (ORSAM 2015, 7-8).

Similarly, some differences between two societies were also revealed in the interviews:

Turkey is a society with a republican experience, so it is a society that has experienced Westernization processes compared to Syrian society. But Syrian society is a society where the law is defined according to religion as a way of life and culture. Therefore, there is a historically different democratization process between the two societies. Their perception of law is very different. Problem solving for example... Problem solving is perceived differently in our society as a public official rather than a wise person. For example, when there is a problem, we turn to public officials such as the police, whereas when there is a dispute among Syrians, the issue of wise people is more important. There are also sectarian divisions among them. These sectarian distinctions also exist among Turks, but the distinction among Syrians is much sharper... Marriages, living together, living in the same neighborhooda and intermarrying... These are sharper in that society, it is a more controversial society within themselves. In other words, it is a society that debates within itself more than the Turks (Appendix B. interview T-1).

Cultural differences are also occasionally covered in the print media. In news interviews, people expressed that Syrians live differently from them and have cultural adaptation problems. For example, speaking loudly may also be due to cultural differences. Considering the perceptions of cultural diversity, it is of great importance to investigate cultural adaptation (Karataş 2015, 142-143).

The most fundamental differences between the two communities are basically over certain issues. Especially in terms of marriage, etc., the two societies differ in some points:

The rate of polygamy is very high among Syrians. This is one of the most fundamental differences. There is also a high rate of child marriage. This situation also makes adaptation difficult. In addition, according to the Turkish legal system, marriage under the age of 18 is a criminal offense, but the fact that this is commonplace for many Syrians makes integration difficult. Turkish society has come face to face again with issues that our society has overcome in 100 years (Appendix B. interview T-4).

Syrians have many children. Here are 7-8 children. In Turkey 20-30 years ago, this was normal. But not today. There is also talk that Syrians do not pay attention to hygiene and cleanliness. Thirdly, there are complaints that Syrians talk loudly and that they don't obey when it is necessary to be quiet after 9 pm. Of course, I am saying this as a result of the interviews I conducted in the field. The places where these complaints are concentrated are the places where the economic level is low. For example, when we look at neighborhoods like Başakşehir, where Syrians with relatively good socio-economic status live, these problems decrease...Syrians are more religious than Turks. Because even though Syria has been ruled by the socialist Baathist regime. The Socialist movements in the Arab world have not brought about a secularization like in Turkey. Therefore, from primary school or kindergarten onwards, Syrians are subjected to an education that can only be obtained in Turkey through private education. For example, in our schools, some of the religion classes are compulsory, but even this can cause controversy. In the Syrian curriculum, on the other hand, a child memorizes surahs and prayers from kindergarten onwards and, if necessary, becomes a hafiz. As I said, the most striking difference is the level of religiosity. Also, as far as I see religion is much more organic in Syrian society. Syria is actually an exceptional case in some respects. The Assad regime is composed of Alawites. There is an Alawite-Sunni divide, but at the end of the day, Assad's tribe is also Sunni. There is a serious difference between being an Islamist in Syria and being an Islamist in Turkey. Because if Syria is not Alawite, communists and liberals are also Muslims. As I said, their connection with religion is more organic. Now when they come to Turkey with this baggage, that is, we are migrating from one Muslim country to another. The shock they experience here is deeper. It is

very strange for Syrians that at least certain segments of Turkish society have no interest in religion at all. This is a challenge for them. For the Turks, on the other hand, a community has arrived whose religiosity is not open to question and they don't make an issue of it(Appendix B. interview T-8).

When two different communities come together as a result of migration, differences sometimes polarize and sometimes diminish. Some of the lives of Syrians that are contrary to Turkish society and even more so to Turkish civil law, i.e. differences, can lead to the rooting of problems. Sometimes integration and harmonization policies need to be carried out effectively, while other times it may be necessary to let the process run its course. The differences between the two communities regarding religion have been presented above. To give a more detailed example:

Syrian hodjas (religious scholars) are more conservative on certain issues than our religious scholars, and Diyanet is very disturbed by this, for example the issue of “taaddüdü-zevcat”. In other words, the issue of polygamy, is this halal for Syrian hodjas? Yes, it is halal. That's it. The hodjas in our country say it is halal but.... Can girls be married before they are of legal age? At least for the mainstream in our country (i.e. the Diyanet and certain communities that at least accept the Diyanet as an authority), they say that yes, girls can be married when they start menstruating, but it is better if they don't marry, or it is better if they come of age. For Syrians, there is no such debate. Because the Baathist regime, although it is not a religious/Islamist regime, they did not aim to transform society in this sense, and even though they had some secular statements in their programs when they first arrived, they did not put this into practice. In other words, on this example, the Baath Party did not address a situation like you can't marry your underage girls, whereas Turkey eventually fought certain struggles on these issues. Another point is that the Sunnism of Syrians is stricter than the Sunnism in Turkey (Appendix B. interview T-8).

#### **4.6.1.3. Interaction**

Interaction between societies is an unavoidable element of human society, particularly heightened in the context of migration. The co-existence of multiple societies within a geographical region creates new dynamics in their relationships, causing both opportunities and challenges.

The influx of more than 3 million Syrian refugees in Turkey (İl Göç 2024), with immigration from Afghanistan and Pakistan (Bakhshalizada 2022; Güney 2022), has markedly enhanced cultural interactions. Turkey's open-door policy has established it as a haven for individuals seeking entry into Europe, with several individuals unable to migrate to EU nations now residing in Turkey (Karabat 2022). This intimate co-existence has rendered engagement between Turkish and Syrian society a need rather than an option.

According to Stephan (2012, 34-35), interaction between residents and immigrants has always been a concern for many societies across the globe, but it is now more prevalent and complicated than ever. When Syrian interviewees were asked what needs to be done to address this negativity, they responded as follows:

Projects and activities between Turks and Syrians benefit both communities. I come from Hatay. When I was there, there were activities between the two communities such as handicraft activities, travel activities, food activities, etc. The harmonization projects really contributed very well in this regard (Appendix B. interview S-8).

Because the Syrian society migrated and began to coexist with other societies, interaction has become a requirement rather than a choice or a coincidence. On the other hand, such interactions bring along handicapped situations such as internal conflict and opportunities such as trade or providing cheap labor by nature (Kaymaz and Kadkoy 2016; Appendix B. interview T-5).

According to the research of PODEM (2016), existing barriers hinder the two cultures from interacting. According to these studies, the presence of refugee camps is the most prominent. As a result, it is critical to bridge the gap and boost interactions between the two communities. Non-governmental organizations (both Turkish and Syrian) are vital in fulfilling these efforts. However, while these arguments are partially valid, they are misleading in some respects. Contrary to popular belief, Turkish and Syrian societies are not entirely isolated from each other. They frequently interact within the same geographic area, and the amount of Syrians living in camps is minimal (Erdoğan et al. 2021).

Moreover, some scholars argue that it is positive for societies to interact with each



other without external factors:

I think that when the relationship between societies is left alone and not manipulated, it will find its own way, whatever its sociology requires. This means that if the interests of inter-state relations are in line with this, it can potentially create new interactions, new riches, but ultimately the interests of the states and public opinion, especially in societies where civil society develops in dependence on the state, this interaction will easily happen, but I think it is very difficult to be independent of the state and the interests of the state (Appendix B. interview T-6).

Upon initial observation, it may be anticipated that heightened levels of interaction between the Turkish people and Syrians would lead to a more unfavorable perception by Turks. Nevertheless, certain scholarly research suggests the contrary to be true. However, when the Syrian population in the city exceeds 10% of the total population, more frequent contact increases the negative opinion. This increase is more limited in provinces such as Adana and Mersin, where the Syrian population is 11% of the urban population. In regions where the ratio of Syrian individuals surpasses 20% (specifically 21%, 22.5%, and 27% in Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, and Hatay, correspondingly), there seems to be an observable rise in unfavorable attitudes. Ultimately, the response to the inquiry of whether the theory of intergroup contact can elucidate attitudes towards Syrians in Turkey leans towards a qualified affirmation. As long as the ratio of the Syrian population to the total population remains at a certain level, more frequent contact moderates negative attitudes. This situation applies to the majority of the sample group. However, in cities where the relative size exceeds 10%, contact with Syrians increases negative attitudes. Here, the relative size of the Syrian population was a key factor in changing the direction and magnitude of the effect (Acar 2021, 216-217).

The interaction between two societies can in some cases bring them closer, while in others it can lead to conflict, and antagonism. It is also essential for the migrant community to integrate with the society living in the country of migration and to develop good relations. In this context, some things need to be done to improve interaction between the two communities. For example, according to the

interviewees:

... Because in Turkey, citizens can be exposed to situations where they cannot access certain rights despite being a citizen. For example, being disabled, being an LGBT individual or having a different ethnic identity also prevents access to certain rights in Turkey. The perception that Syrians are always given money and aid and should always be given their rights negatively affects the interaction between the two communities. That's why I think we need to address disadvantage in those processes a little more. Another issue is education. There is a serious Syrian youth population. Most of them are children and young people, they have never even seen Syria in their lives, we should see them positively. As a matter of fact, it was good that the classes were merged. It is good for interaction that they are not in separate education but in mixed classes, but there should still be more emphasis on language. At that point you can see me as an assimilationist. But I can certainly understand that a community preserves its own language, but I cannot understand that it does not want to learn the language of the community it has immigrated to. At this point, I think we are not raising children well. I think at least 2-3 generations need to pass for this interaction to reach a certain point. Germany was like us. So it was not multicultural. In that sense, there is a difference between those who come to England, Canada and Turkey. The structure of the society you come from is also very important. I mean, what kind of society is Turkey? But what kind of society is Canada? That is also a very determining factor (Appendix B. interview T-1).

When we analyzed the societal multiplicity theory, we expressed it not only as the interaction or exposure of two societies to each other, but at least as the interaction or exposure of two societies to each other. Therefore, the interaction of other immigrant groups in the country with each other and with the Turkish community affects other communities as well. In this context, for example:

Iranians, for example, implied that they were not taken care of after the Syrians arrived. Of course, there is a partial truth in this. As a matter of fact, after the arrival of the Syrians, immigration offices and institutions started to

take care of the Syrians in large numbers (Appendix B. interview T-4).

Turkish society has a warmer relationship with Uzbeks from Afghanistan. Because Uzbeks are culturally very similar to us. Their children speak Turkish like our children. That's why Uzbeks are generally in contact with Turks. Iranians, on the other hand, are more introverted. So they are closed (Appendix B. interview T-7).

Moreover, numerous highly educated Syrians choose to migrate to Europe after encountering difficulties in finding suitable jobs in Turkey. About 30% of Syrians aspiring to migrate to Europe possess a university degree, a percentage that exceeds Germany's national average (Kaymaz and Kadkoy 2016, 5). Turkey's socioeconomic structure fails to offer skilled employment opportunities for its inhabitants and Syrian refugees alike. The brain drain may have significant implications, influencing cultural dynamics and economic conditions in Turkey and Syria (Sunata and Yıldız 2018, 133).

#### **4.6.1.4. Combination**

No society has a truly unilinear or self-sufficient historical trajectory. Societies are dynamic combinations of local developmental tendencies and exogenous forces. The English language illustrates this tendency by integrating British features alongside substantial contributions from Viking, Saxon, and Norman languages (Rosenberg 2016, 138-139; Corry 2020, 428-429).

The concept of "difference" serves as a necessary condition for the process of combination. In essence, the aforementioned phenomenon manifests as a novel circumstance that emerges as a consequence of the intricate interplay between various entities. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the process of interaction gives rise to specific amalgamations of both local and international elements (Tallis 2020, 461).

The justification for the granting of citizenship to Syrians residing in Turkey can be predicated upon the prospective economic benefits that they could potentially bestow upon the nation. President Erdoğan has emphasized this point in his speeches, stating that Turkey can "benefit from the qualities" of the Syrian population. If Syrians in

Turkey are given citizenship, he proposes to combine the skills, talents and qualities of both populations to create a more robust and dynamic society (TCCB 2016).

Individuals from Aleppo have constructed educational institutions, commercial establishments, and dining facilities in Turkey. The consequence of this is streets where Arabic letters are juxtaposed with Turkish shop signs, and a Syrian doner shop and a Turkish kebab shop coexist in the same space. Some neighborhoods are 90% Arab. Now that the Alawite regime of Assad has regained control of the majority Sunni Aleppo and is in charge of rebuilding the old city, the exiles' primary concern is that the city will never be the same again. In 2017, more than 100,000 buildings were destroyed in Syria, with Aleppo accounting for a third of that number. This is why at least one restaurateur has chosen to construct a "blurred replica" of Aleppo in Gaziantep. Consequently, in terms of architectural legacy, the trajectory of the city of Gaziantep can be anticipated to become increasingly a synthesis of two societies and cultures (D'Ignoti and Jarroud 2022).

Changes and interactions at the individual level pave the way for those at the social level. In this context, some Syrians have experienced changes in their lives after coming to Turkey:

When I came here, my thinking was completely different. I stayed the way I was educated. But when I came here, I always worked with Turks. My view of religion has changed a lot. I may have been influenced by some things. I worked with Alevis. I used to not drink alcohol, I was against it, but now I can drink alcohol. At this point. I have an older sister. In the past (if we were in Syria) I would never accept my sister having a boyfriend. Now, after I passed the age of 20, I started to think that she can love and be loved. I cannot interfere in her life at these points. But if I stayed in Syria, I would probably continue to be against it. When I have a girlfriend, for example, I can introduce her to my father here, but if I were in Syria, I would not be able to do that. However, there were people who judged me for doing this (Appendix B. interview (Appendix B. interview S-3).

As a result of co-existence and interaction of two or more than two cultures and societies, a new culture arises. This also applies to combinations resulting from

socioeconomic diversity. To offer an example in this context, in an interview with a 51-year-old male Syrian residing in Hatay, the Syrian said: I have operated this restaurant for two years. We primarily sell Syrian cuisine. Although our primary food supplier is Turkish, we also import certain Syrian items to prepare traditional cuisine. In Syria, I had a restaurant. My ambition is to establish a franchise in Syria (Simsek 2019, 276).

Although we are still in the early stages of the process, it is possible to see some signs of cultural combination. In addition to the food example mentioned above:

When we look at the cultural understanding of a man who listens to Radio 3 and a man who says, "Let me have a glass of wine", they are both part of this culture. I don't know, the man who keeps a glass of Zamzam by his bedside so that if I die, they can put it in my mouth is also a part of this culture. Now I don't know which of them I will perceive as the culture of the breadth of this. I don't know how it will interact with the Syrians, because we are in our own efforts to build and rebuild, I don't know how it will affect them. But we don't have much difference with them in terms of food and drink. Their introduction to the fast food culture will probably be influenced by us. They don't have a fast food culture. In my opinion, they will be articulated with the global world through us. That is the way it is. Rather than localization or Arabization, I think people who leave Anatolia for the big cities first become conservative with the concern of protecting what exists. Conservatism is a very urban phenomenon. It starts with the emergence of the concern to preserve, and then they start to communicate in the system in some way. It will be the same here, first they will try to keep their own culture alive, because they will be very introverted, maybe they will be radicalized, but the next generations will inevitably articulate with the global world through Turkey. Most of them have probably seen McDonald's and Burger King here. So I think they will be more influenced by us than we will be influenced by them, and we have more capacity to transform them, more capacity to globalize them, more capacity to open them up to the outside world. . When we look at it, there is also something like this. For example, an example like this came to my mind. Now barbers are migrating from Turkey to Europe. In

this period, a large number of barbers are migrating to Europe, and for example, something has started in England, such as a type of barber, where the hair is massaged, washed, etc. Such a culture can be carried. I don't know if Syrians have such a culture where they can carry something with a lodge, and if they do, I haven't seen it yet. I don't know if there is a culture that Syrians can bring me an innovation that is different from ours, and if there is, it is now coming not through Syrians but through Arab tourists and shops that try to attract Arab tourists. Hookah shops and so on and so forth (Appendix B. interview T-6).

Historically, it is expected that there will be exchanges between the two communities in music, art and painting as well as food. Indeed, the music of Syria and Turkey is fundamentally similar, with the main differences being the pitch and original melodies. Syrian musicians have integrated into the Turkish music scene, especially in small venues and online platforms. This interaction encourages mutual exchange, enriching both traditions. Similarly, Syrian calligraphers, who often work for lower wages, have significantly influenced Turkey's traditional arts market. They interact with Turkish calligraphers, enabling the emergence of potential hybrid styles. Overall, Syrians have made significant contributions to Turkish culture in the areas of music, calligraphy and cuisine, increasing cultural exchange and diversity:

I am a bit interested in music. There are only differences in the pitches they use. Syria has unique melodies, and this difference is to fit them. After the Syrians came here, Syrian musicians somehow joined the music activities in Turkey. Of course, this is the music community in Turkey, which is big. Music production companies are not within the reach of Syrians. It is already difficult even for Turks. However, their small groups are the ones who go to weddings and associations. Those who make music for Youtube, Spotify, and when they meet Turks, this is something interesting. Because when a Turkish musician and a Syrian musician come together, there is a real interaction like "Son give this string, I'll hit that string", "why did you tune it like this". I personally know a Nashid (i.e. a singer who sings hymns. The most popular maqams in our country are hicaz, hüzzamı rast etc., and these

maqams are the same in Syria. But in addition to these, nihavend, yegâh, etc. Now, when Syrian singers and Turkish singers met in an environment, there was no politics or religion involved. Nothing is new. Because it is music after all. There are also many compositions out there. Therefore, there is a very serious interaction there and I think this will increase. In terms of art, especially Syrian calligraphers have somehow entered the market in Turkey. In Turkey, these traditional arts, especially calligraphy, are somewhat closed communities. And they still are. Therefore, Syrians appear here again as cheap labor. For example, if a plate written by a calligrapher in Turkey costs 20,000 TL, a Syrian can write the same plate for only 2-3 thousand TL. Most of the calligraphy seen in these souvenirs are hand drawn calligraphy written by Syrians. If you ask me if that's good. It is not bad. I have also seen calligraphers from Syria come to great Turkish calligraphers and receive their icazet. They have their own unique fonts, taliki, they write a little differently to us. I have seen them taught here, so there is interaction here. Gradually something hybrid can emerge. There will be no problem in this, no calligrapher will ask the other why did you draw an elif in this way, it will not cause a crisis. Therefore, I think the three areas where Syrians can be productive together culturally are food, music and art (Appendix B. interview T-8).

Moreover, some of them are aware of the importance of cultural elements such as music and food in intercultural interaction and combatation:

There is a famous saying in our language: "If bodies are not alike, souls are alike and find each other". If we analyze this expression; such activities that appeal to the soul such as art, music and food play an important role. By finding commonalities in these activities, two different societies can create a significant fusion effect (Appendix B. interview S-6).

#### **4.6.1.5. Historical Change (Dialectics)**

According to Rosenberg (2017b, 224), dialectical processes shape societies due to contact with other societies. The shift in question is neither too rapid to notice nor too sluggish to last for a long time. The lifestyles, economic lives, clothing, cultural structures, and even belief systems of Syrians in Turkey are changing, and this transition will continue in future generations (Erkan 2016, 72-74).

Rosenberg (Rosenberg 2017b, 225) provides a well-known example of dialectics:

In 1620, Francis Bacon argued that three major technologies had separated the contemporary world from the past: gunpowder, the printing press, and the magnetic compass (Bacon 1960, 118). He claimed that these technologies saved Europe from the gloom of the Middle Ages more than any power or religion. Unbeknownst to Bacon, all three originated in China and were spread to Europe via indirect commerce and communication channels. Although these technologies were later applied in different ways in Europe, they were influenced by China and underwent a historical shift.

The phenomena and events experienced by societies in the historical process (war, conflict, discrimination, famine, massacre, etc.) cause some differentiation in their daily lives (work, entertainment, food and clothing) as well as in many areas as a result of interaction with the society in the destination country with the migration (Cengiz et al. 2018, 233).

According to Ravenstein (1889, 288), migration means life and progress; a settled population means stagnation. Every population movement, migration and interaction results in change. If the interaction takes place in space, the magnitude of change is proportionally shaped. This change is often to the detriment of the sedentary. For example, Rebecca Williamson and her colleagues focused their research on transformation in Turkey and other countries. For this purpose, specific neighborhoods were identified. While in Turkey, they visited Kumkapı in Istanbul and interviewed local residents. As a result, in interviews with Turks in Kumkapi, assessments of local change in the streetscape were overwhelmingly negative, with the theme of disorder predominating. In this context, a 55-year-old Turkish woman said: "There is a lack of cleanliness, disruption of the sound system and recognizable



rhythms of the street, or overpopulation in apartment buildings. Kurds came in the last 10-15 years. Foreigners also came. The beautiful old Istanbul is no more. The streets are dirty, the housing is unorganized. There is a constant odor emanating from the units. I can't even smell my neighbor when he opens his door. I have lost my ability to perceive. I have to lock my door and move as quickly as possible" (Williamson et al. 2021, 3048).

The transformative effect of migration was previously discussed in the chapter on migration theories. Moreover, the emphasized aspect was the transmission of knowledge, expertise, and resources from migrants to the communities they settle in. In this context, the influence of Arab culture was already present in some parts of Turkey. However, especially in certain regions, this influence has become more pronounced following migration. "The food and architecture are strikingly similar, and in a way, thousands of Aleppo residents exiled by the war are attempting to be creative in order to make this place resemble their former home," said Adeel, 39, whose restaurant hosts live Syrian music performances on weekends. "I attempted to replicate the ambience one would find in a typical restaurant in Aleppo," Adeel states. Similarly, Jamali, 31, attempted to address the issue through Room41, a private club that organizes electro music club events. He was engaged in this endeavor in Aleppo when the war commenced, until the electricity supply was disrupted. Upon commencing his project in Gaziantep in 2016, his objective was to facilitate the integration of the two communities and to create a venue that would serve as a reminder of the pre-war Syrian landscape for displaced individuals (D'Ignoti and Jarroud 2022).

Multiplicity can help to understand that societies experience historical changes as they adapt to internal and external factors. Projections indicate a departure from the current state, particularly due to changing migration patterns and demographic dynamics. This contradicts the assumption of declining fertility and the idea of a 'safe zone' that could encourage voluntary returns, and challenges the expectation of a return to previous demographic equilibrium. According to societal multiplicity lens, the changing structure of the host society is shaped by a complex interplay of demographic and migration-related factors. Additionally, the declining rate of population growth over the projection period reflects historical change, indicating a

shift in the dynamics that have traditionally fueled population growth. A transition from a strong growth rate of 3.8 per cent in 2020 to a relatively modest growth rate of 1.6 per cent in the 2050s is expected. This exemplifies the complex and multifaceted dynamics that have existed in the field of demographic transformations throughout history. Annual birth and death rates also contribute to the narrative of historical change. Despite the assumption of declining fertility, the persistence of the annual number of births and the increase in deaths emphasize the persistent impact of demographic changes over time (Adalı et al. 2020, 194; Eryurt 2023). In summary, applying Rosenberg's societal multiplicity theory, projections of the Syrian population in Turkey reveal a narrative of historical change. The expected changes in population size, growth rates, and demographic indicators highlight the dynamic and evolving nature of the social fabric, challenge assumptions, and reflect the enduring impact of historical change.

The phenomenon of historical change does not occur uniformly throughout all groups of the migratory population. One respondent said that initially, there was a migratory surge driven by security concerns. Following 2018, the migratory surge did not prioritize security concerns. The movement may be characterized as mostly driven by economic factors (Appendix B. interview T-4). The changing patterns of migration throughout time demonstrate the dynamic and growing nature of societal multiplicity, as each wave of migration presents unique problems and chances for integration.

Immigrants can be impacted by the places they settled, or they can influence the places they visit based on their population. For instance, according to Vietnamese-Australian, male, religious leader, walking on the streets, marketplaces, street festivals, the usage of pyrotechnics in celebrations, dragon dances, and decorations in churches and temples have all altered in the Asian city of Ansan. The signage posted throughout the area are in many languages. This is not like the early days. This type of stuff helps newcomers feel at ease. Everyone now has access to public spaces (Williamson et al. 2021, 3051).

Based on the migratory system theory, a prominent concept in the realm of international migration, it is posited that the act of migration engenders multifaceted

alterations of an economic, cultural, and social nature within the societies that serve as both the origin and destination for migrants (Wickramasinghe 2016, 24). As a result, migration brings historical change, which is one of the consequences of multiplicity.

Cultural transformation exhibits variability across different societies and unfolds gradually over a period of time. The duration of Syrians' stay in Turkey is insufficient to fully assess their impact on cultural change. However, given that Syrians' tendency towards "permanence" increases with each passing day they spend in Turkey, it is evident that Syrians will bring about economic, social, and cultural change in the provinces where they reside in Turkey, particularly in terms of demographic density. It is essential to take into consideration the Turkish society' reaction to this development. This is crucial for ensuring socio-cultural harmony and peace between the local population and asylum seekers (Harunoğulları and Agcadağ Çelik 2019, 598).

As elucidated by Celik, it is imperative to acknowledge that the mentalities and behaviors of individuals, alongside their sociocultural existences, undergo significant transformations and divergences throughout the course of the migration expedition. Between the immigrant's prior living world and the current culture in the new spot where they migrated, a process of interaction, harmony, and conflict emerges. Migration is a social movement that encompasses the cultural contacts of the displaced parts as well as a spatial population movement. The migrating individual or society is more than simply a physical movement; it is also interaction and transition between the psycho-social and cultural realms. When a high number of immigrants arrive, both the immigrants and the social environment are impacted and changed. The interaction generated by migration from individual and social life is highlighted in this context (Celik 2012, 298).

The thesis does not discuss the potential for Syrian migrants to return or be repatriated and what these possibilities might be. These are not the matters under investigation (İçduygu and Nimer 2020). Instead, it examines the consequences of both Syrians returning or being repatriated and how this would impact Turkish society- among other possibilities. An example to highlight this concept would be, for

instance, extracting a plant species from its natural habitat in a forest. The environment will remain disturbed even after its withdrawal. Such changes will also result in longer-term modifications, changing the makeup of soil and introducing new inter-species relationships. Similarly, if the Syrians decide to evacuate and return to their homes in Syria, that will be a change for Turkish society, while the impressions they got during this time will bear affect on their generations.

It works in much the same way as chemical reactions... the combination of two elements -- like sodium and chlorine -- when merged together creates a new substance- sodium chloride... or you know them more commonly as table salt (Fleming 2022). It exhibits properties distinct from those of the separate elements. Even when detached, they remind of their meeting points that is indicative of the lasting influence of Turkish society on Syrian migrants.

The specific properties of sodium and chloride reveal themselves as a sense of plurality, otherness, and inequality. For example, sodium and chlorine coexist because neither can exist alone without the other; they come together as separate entities to form the molecule known as sodium chloride. Three of the many aspects which will be examined among body works and their processes are: transformation, combination, and exposure- these are important factors to consider when evaluating the chemical reaction and effects. That reaction alone can precipitate vast changes and modifications, demonstrating the magic of chemical transformation.

These comparisons reveal persisting effects on sociability, irrespective of the future physical environments the individuals are likely to encounter. The theory of societal multiplicity argues against hierarchical and anarchic ways of understanding societies by focusing on the contiguity and exchangeability among them. This perspective illuminates the complex relationship between differentiation within states and structure in international society, wherein it concludes that resulting diversity leads to either anarchy or hierarchy.

This entire process of migration will soon reveal to us how societies integrate and establish a relationship with one another when we look at the Syrian case. It is only natural that these changes would translate into changes in cultural, demographic, and socio-economic paradigms. Moreover, the entering of Syrians changes perceptions of

other migrants group As shown in the demonization of Syrian refugees, inspired by the violence of some Afghan migrants.

The cultural and historical change is particularly visible in some social fields. For example, in the interview, the following response was given about how the two communities have changed or could change each other both now and in the future:

I believe so, on the issue of the role of women. In Syria, especially the population that comes to us is mostly from rural areas, which we call rural, and I think that those women have developed more positively in Turkey. The fact that girls go to school, that they follow their children's education as parents, that women work at the point where they are forced to do so is a positive comment, without going into issues such as human trafficking and forced marriage, I say that the increase in the number of child brides, especially in this population, and the fact that the second and third wives are from Syrians is the negative side of the issue. How does it shape each other? I mean, I don't think Turkish society has been shaped and influenced much by Syrian society, but I think Syrians have taken some positive things from Turkey, from living together with Turks. For example, women entering business life. I can say it in this way. Also the education factor is important. Especially the issue of girls going to school is another example (Appendix B. interview T-1).

After settling in Turkey, Syrians, who had a more oppressive and Islamist societal structure, started to display a more liberal and relaxed attitude in terms of clothing and dress. Especially the new generation of Syrians are more relaxed in this regard in order to adapt to the society more easily. For example, according to the observations of a Syrian interviewee:

There has been a significant change in the way Syrians dress, especially those who have settled in big cities. Especially the younger ones want to change their clothes and look more modern, but at the same time they are afraid of their families. I think they will gradually enter the Turkish culture. There is a serious change especially in the clothes of children (Appendix B. interview S-1).

Cultural elements not only create diversity but can also foster interaction, dialogue, and cooperation between societies. In this context, Syrian Hakki stated in an interview that he aims to "be a bridge between these two cultures [Turkish and Arab]". His primary source of creative influence stems from the well-known Turkish composer and musician Göksel Baktagir, who is the foremost expert in playing the qanun, an instrument with roots in the Egyptian harp that has been integral to Arabic music since the 10th century. Hakki describes Baktagir as "one of the most accomplished composers in history" and recalls using his music as a ringtone as a child in Syria. Following Baktagir's announcement of his intention to collaborate with musicians from the Middle East, Hakki contacted him, resulting in the performance of over 15 concerts (Williams 2023).

Historical change can be approached in many ways: economically, technologically, culturally, etc. Ebru Baybara Demir, winner of the 2023 World Gastronomy Prize, explains why cultural change and humanitarian aid are on her menu in southeastern Turkey. On the balcony, a group of women- their conversations alternating between Turkish, Arabic, and Kurdish - are boiling a pot of quince jam. "When people ask what I do, I say I'm a chef," Demir says, "but my job is much more than cooking." She pushes forward a tray of kiliçe, a cardamom cookie that Assyrian Christians traditionally make for Easter. For her, "food is not just for taste. Food is a tool for change," says Demir (Levkowitz 2024).

The behavior or characteristics of a society change over time. Therefore, historical change is inevitable. In his academic research, Erol Erkan claims that the religious structure of Syrians who have migrated to Turkey has changed as a result of their involvement in Turkish society. Accordingly, the following changes have been observed among Syrians who have come to Turkey. 1) Decrease in religious practices: When Syrians arrive to Turkey, they have fewer opportunities to continue the religious practices they had before. This leads to a decrease in religious practices among Syrians. 2) Religious beliefs become more secularized: As Syrians try to adapt to their living conditions in Turkey, they interact with Turkish society (Wilson and Fischer 2013). This interaction leads to a greater secularization of Syrians' religious beliefs. 3) The emergence of greater diversity among religious groups: This is due to the fact that Syrians come to Turkey from different religious groups. After

the arrival of Syrians in Turkey, there is more interaction among these religious groups. This interaction leads to the emergence of greater diversity among the religious groups of Syrians (Erkan 2016).

This historical change is not unidirectional. At times, one direction may predominate, but no single society is affected by this process. Ultimately, a minimum of "n" number of societies are affected by the interaction of "n" number of societies. This framework is a response to the interview questions, for example:

...Yes, migration changes and transforms something in society, it transforms it culturally. For example, Basmane was a place where the socio-economically lower income group lived in the last 35-40 years, but this place has started to be taken over by immigrants as a space and it appears as an area that has started to be shaped in this way, Syrians settle here (in Izmir). They open shops here, their children attend schools, they somehow communicate and interact with the local people here, for example, if they sell cheap bread, someone else goes and buys it, although it may seem like the issue is very different, that is, everyone shops at their own grocery store, but this is not entirely the case, so cuisines start to resemble each other, societies start to learn from each other, they start to mingle. Some commonalities and solidarities emerge (Appendix B. interview T-2).

Examining further waves of migration is essential for a more comprehensive understanding of historical transition and to uncover its importance. The migration of Turkish guest workers to Germany under this framework has resulted in enduring alterations to the socioeconomic structure of the country. Specifically, the Kreuzberg area in Berlin has been a prominent location where these transformations have been quite noticeable. The Turkish immigrants who established themselves in Kreuzberg during the late 1960s established their own distinct cultural and social enclaves in the area, leading to the district being often referred to as "Little Istanbul". Nevertheless, this process not only altered the character of the neighborhood, but also reconfigured the overall societal trajectory of German society. The influx of migrants has prompted the implementation of multiculturalism laws in Germany and the adjustment of local communities to accommodate this newfound cultural variety. In

the context of integration efforts, the German government implemented many measures, including Turkish language classes, cultural events, and educational programs. These initiatives have had a lasting impact on the cultural trajectory of German society (Ehrkamp 2006, 1688-1689). Hybrid identities, particularly prevalent among younger generations, have arisen, allowing for the coexistence of German and Turkish cultures. This phenomenon has played a significant role in enhancing the dynamism and flexibility of social structures in Germany.

Another illustration is the migration of Palestinians. The settling of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon brought about major changes in the societal structure of the nation and reconfigured Lebanon's historical trajectory. Palestinian refugees have not only altered the demographic composition of Lebanon, but also had an impact on Lebanon's political and social dynamics. The Shatila Refugee Camp near Beirut, as exemplified, emerged as a representation of Palestinian resistance and identity, thus resulting in heightened social strife and political strains in Lebanon (Sayigh 1994). Palestinian refugees in Lebanon have developed an intricate system of connections with Lebanese culture while maintaining their own cultural traditions. This practice has exacerbated socioeconomic division in Lebanon while simultaneously protecting the identity of Palestinian refugees. Nevertheless, this has resulted in a dichotomy in Lebanon's social trajectory, establishing a lasting separation between the indigenous people and the refugees. This was seen as a threat to the stability of the social and political structure of Lebanon.

From 1880s to 1920s, almost 2 million Italians moved to Argentina, resulting in notable demographic, cultural, and economic transformations in both Italy and Argentina (Baily 1999). As an example, the city of Buenos Aires saw a significant transformation due to the influx of Italian immigrants who built their own residential areas, namely La Boca and San Telmo (Schneider 1992, 123), and brought with them their own gastronomic customs, including pizza and pasta. Italian immigrants had a significant influence on the development of Argentine politics and culture (Azzi 1996, 447-449; Schneider 1992, 251-254). The Italian-Argentine community played a significant role in the development of the Argentine labor movement, as several Italian immigrants assumed leadership positions within the country's trade unions (Favero 1994, 121-122; Germani 1966, 165-166). Furthermore, Italian-Argentine



authors and artists such as Lino Enea Spilimbergo and Antonio Berni (Wechsler 2023, 267-269) have greatly enhanced and influenced Argentine literature and culture. (Baily 1999, 95-98; Sanhueza 2003,17; Minonne 2016).

The aforementioned cases illustrate how diverse waves of migration have resulted in substantial historical changes in different countries, shaping their cultural, economic, and social environments. However, while there are several instances of this phenomenon, the presence of a substantial social migration ensures that the historical changes and exchanges between cultures are unavoidable.

**Table 7.** Consequences of Societal Multiplicity in the Context of Syrian Migration to Turkey

Consequence	Definition	Application in Syrian Migration Context	Findings from Interviews
<b>Interaction</b>	Refers to the various forms of social, cultural, and economic exchanges between different groups within a shared space.	Syrian migration to Turkey has led to significant interactions between Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens. These interactions occur in economic markets, social spaces, and cultural settings, influencing mutual perceptions, social norms, and community dynamics.	Interviews reveal both positive and negative interactions. Positive interactions include economic collaborations and community support, while negative interactions involve discrimination and social exclusion (Appendix B.2 interviews T-2, S-4). Some Syrians felt welcomed in certain communities, while others faced hostility (Appendix B.2 interview S-3).
<b>Difference</b>	Highlights the distinct cultural, social, and economic characteristics of different groups and how these differences are maintained or negotiated.	The presence of Syrian migrants in Turkey has accentuated cultural and social differences. These differences are often visible in language use, cultural practices, and social behaviors, enriching the social fabric but also creating friction within local communities.	Interviewees noted challenges and benefits of maintaining cultural differences. While some Syrians strive to preserve their cultural identity, others adapt certain Turkish cultural elements to fit in (Appendix B.2 interview S-5). Turkish hosts perceive these differences as either enriching or threatening to their way of life (Appendix B.2 interview T-3).
<b>Co-existence</b>	Refers to the ability of different groups to live together in a shared space while maintaining distinct identities.	Co-existence between Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens in urban and rural areas illustrates the challenges and opportunities of living together with distinct cultural identities. It often depends on local community dynamics, economic conditions, and social policies.	Many Syrians and Turks expressed a willingness to co-exist but highlighted the need for better mutual understanding and support systems (Appendix B.2 interviews S-1, T-1). Co-existence is seen in shared markets and neighborhoods but is also strained by competition for resources and perceived threats (Appendix B.2 interview T-4).
<b>Combination</b>	Describes the blending of different cultural,	The Syrian migration experience in Turkey is marked by a combination of	Interviews indicate that many Syrians have adopted a

	social, and economic practices into new, hybrid forms within a shared space.	different cultural and economic practices. This blending is evident in areas such as cuisine, business practices, and social customs, creating new hybrid forms that are unique to the refugee experience.	combination of Turkish and Syrian practices in their daily lives, from food and dress to business operations (Appendix B.2 interviews S-2, S-6). This combination facilitates integration but can also lead to identity confusion or conflict (Appendix B.2 interview S-3).
<b>Historical Change</b>	Refers to the long-term transformations in social, cultural, and economic relations as a result of sustained interactions and exchanges between groups.	The influx of Syrian refugees into Turkey represents a significant historical change, affecting not just immediate socio-economic conditions but also long-term cultural and social relations. Changes include shifts in demographic patterns, labor markets, and cultural landscapes within Turkish society.	Interviewees reflected on how the presence of Syrian refugees has altered local demographics and labor dynamics (Appendix B.2 interview T-5). Some Turkish citizens acknowledged the benefits of cultural diversity, while others feared permanent changes to their traditional ways of life (Appendix B.2 interview T-6).

#### **4.7. What Potential Does UCD, the Whip of External Necessity and Historical Backwardness Offer for Syrian Migration?**

UCD, a theory first proposed by Leon Trotsky and further developed by scholars like Justin Rosenberg and Alexander Anievas, suggests that social formations within the capitalist world system develop unevenly but in conjunction with each other (Anievas and Nişancıoğlu 2015, 45; Rosenberg 2013a, 583). This theoretical framework provides a clear understanding of Syria's status as a comparatively less developed nation that is connected to global economic and geopolitical networks. The civil war that began in 2011 may be partially attributed to the unequal developmental pressures in Syria, which were worsened by the difficulties arising from the country's efforts to introduce economic liberalization and political reform under an authoritarian system with a historical background (Hinnebusch 2012, 98).

The concept of the "whip of external necessity," which is closely linked to UCD, describes the strong urge felt by less developed countries to adopt specific practices, institutions, and technologies from more advanced societies. This occurs in order to effectively compete and ensure their survival in the international system (Rosenberg 2013a, 585). In the Syrian context, this was evident via efforts to introduce economic liberalization and modernization, which led to social conflicts and worsened pre-existing disparities (Abboud 2016, 62). During times of war, a strong external force compelled a large number of refugees to flee their homes in

search of safety and better prospects in neighboring nations and Europe. This migration pattern highlighted the significant differences in development within the area and internationally (Yazgan et al. 2015, 184).

The concept of "historical backwardness," as proposed by Trotsky, posits that societies that have lagged behind in development might possibly bypass some phases by adopting cutting-edge technology and practices (Trotsky 1930, 5). Syrian migrants have the opportunity to use digital technology and transnational networks to make migration and integration in host countries easier. This is something that earlier generations of migrants did not have access to (Leurs and Smets 2018, 7). This element of the theoretical framework enables a more sophisticated comprehension of the actions and flexible strategies used by Syrian refugees in dealing with the difficulties of being displaced and resettled.

By applying these theoretical perspectives to the immigration of Syrians, we may understand how larger structural factors and developmental pressures have influenced the patterns of migration within an intricate global system. The extensive magnitude of Syrian displacement, as seen by the registration of over 5.5 million refugees in surrounding countries as of 2021 (UNHCR 2021), is a result of the compelling need for individuals to relocate to better developed regions. This phenomenon may be seen as a physical expression of imbalanced progress, in which people and groups attempt to bridge developmental disparities by moving to other locations (Haas 2010a, 240).

However, the admission and integration of Syrian migrants in host countries such as Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan highlights the persistent presence of uneven development within the global system. While these countries have provided shelter to Syrians, they have faced challenges in fully integrating them, resulting in uncertain legal status, limited economic opportunities and social exclusion (Memişoğlu and Ilgit 2017, 316; Yahya et al. 2018, 12).

This underscores the persistent development gaps between Syria, neighbouring countries and Western Europe, which significantly affect migration patterns and integration outcomes..

The application of UCD, the “whip of external necessity” and “historical backwardness” in relation to Syrian migration lead to examination of how these processes intersect with and possibly reshape established theories of migration. The incorporation of insights from historical materialist concepts can enhance traditional push-pull models and neoclassical economic approaches to migration. This integration provides a more comprehensive understanding of the structural conditions and historical processes that influence contemporary migration flows (Castles et al 2014, 28).

**Table 8.** Societal Multiplicity Concepts and Syrian Migration to Turkey

<b>Concept</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Application in Syrian Migration Context</b>	<b>Findings from Interviews</b>	<b>Implications for Understanding Integration</b>
<b>Whip of External Necessity</b>	The concept describes how external pressures, such as economic conditions or geopolitical forces, compel societies to adapt or change. This adaptation often reflects a reaction to external constraints or necessities rather than internal choices.	Syrian migration to Turkey is partly a response to the 'whip of external necessity,' where conflict and instability in Syria pushed refugees to seek asylum. The adaptation to Turkish society reflects an ongoing response to both local and international pressures, including economic opportunities and political stability.	Interviewees describe how Syrian refugees had to adjust their cultural practices and economic activities due to the need to survive in a new socio-economic environment. Many Syrians noted that their migration was driven by necessity rather than choice, often due to economic hardship or conflict in their homeland (Appendix B. interviews S-3, S-7). The 'whip' also manifests in the ways refugees engage in economic activities, such as opening businesses that cater to both	Suggests that integration policies should consider the external pressures facing migrant communities, providing support that aligns with both their immediate needs and the broader socio-political context. This concept underlines the importance of adaptive policies that can accommodate the dynamic nature of forced migration.

			Syrians and Turks, thereby responding to market demands (Appendix B. interviews S-6).	
<b>Uneven and Combined Development</b>	This concept explains how different societies develop at uneven rates due to historical, cultural, and economic factors. The combined development aspect acknowledges that these societies do not evolve in isolation but are interconnected and influence each other's development.	In the Syrian context, migration to Turkey highlights the uneven development between the two countries. Syrian refugees bring different levels of skills, education, and cultural practices, which interact with Turkey's socio-economic landscape, creating both opportunities and challenges for integration and social cohesion.	Syrian migrants often find themselves in an unequal socio-economic position compared to Turkish citizens. Interviews highlight the disparity in access to resources and employment opportunities, where Syrians are often limited to low-wage, informal sectors (Appendix B. interview T-3). However, some Syrian migrants have utilized their unique skills and knowledge to create niche markets or businesses, thereby contributing to local economies and demonstrating a form of 'combined development' (Appendix B. interview S-1).	Indicates the need for integration policies that recognize and address the disparities in development between host and migrant communities. Programs should promote economic and social equity, allowing for more balanced development that benefits both groups.
<b>Historical Backwardness</b>	Refers to the condition where certain societies or regions are perceived to be 'lagging' in terms of development or modernization. This concept is critical in understanding the	Syrian migration illustrates how 'historical backwardness' is perceived and experienced differently within Turkish society. The concept can manifest in the stereotypes or	Several interviewees mentioned that Turkish perceptions of Syrians often reflect notions of 'backwardness,' where cultural and socio-economic differences are	Suggests a need for educational and cultural initiatives that challenge stereotypes and promote a more nuanced understanding of the historical and socio-cultural contexts of

	historical dynamics that lead to inequality and the socio-economic positioning of different societies.	stigmatization that Syrian refugees face, impacting their integration and interaction with local Turkish communities.	viewed negatively (Appendix B. interviews T-4, S-2). This has led to social segregation and limited social mobility for Syrian refugees. Some Syrians feel that their cultural heritage is undervalued or misunderstood, which complicates their efforts to integrate into Turkish society (Appendix B. interview S-5). This perception affects how resources are allocated and the types of integration initiatives that are supported.	migrant communities. This approach can foster more inclusive integration strategies that value diversity rather than stigmatizing differences.
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**4.8. Does Difference Always Create Xenophobia and Racism**

The term xenophobia derives from the Greek words "xeno" (for "stranger") and "phobia" (for "fear"). Therefore, xenophobia denotes "fear of foreigners" (Van der Veer 2013, 1430-31). The local population is disturbed by mass migratory movements, which can lead to biases, unfavourable attitudes, and xenophobic sentiments toward immigrants (Yakushko 2009, 38). According to Deniz (2014, 200-201), portraying migrants as a danger to social order will encourage xenophobia. This is correct, yet Syrians have no discernible impact on crime rates (Kayaoglu 2022, 13; Uslu and Kargin 2022, 406).

Academic study on this topic has also provided relevant information. For instance, a study conducted by Uslu and Kargin revealed that over the past five years, the reporting of offenses committed by Syrian refugees and other migrants has surged by approximately 14.2 times, and over the past decade, it has risen by 35.1 times. Evidence from the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Turkey about criminal

offenses perpetrated by foreign people and handled by the legal system shows that the frequency of breaches carried out by non-citizens has been progressively increasing. The figures increased from 13,625 in 2011 to 36,998 in 2016, and then reached 76,249 in 2021. Consequently, the incidence of crimes in 2021 escalated by around 2.7 times over five years and 5.6 times over ten years. Given the anticipated substantial growth in the population of refugees and migrants in Turkey between 2011 and 2021 (UNHCR 2021) 5.6 fold increase in the number of offenses committed by this demographic group is deemed within expected parameters (Uslu and Kargin 2022, 416).

Hashtags such as #suriyelilerevinedonsun (Syrians should go home), #suriyelilersinirdisedilsin (Syrians should be deported), and #suriyeliistemiyoruz (We don't want Syrians) became widespread in Turkey in July 2017 and were trending for roughly a week on Twitter (Ataç et al. 2017, 15). In an interview, a Syrian expressed the problem he experienced in Turkey as follows “Racism, racism, racism. The Turks blame us for everything!” (Taniş 2022).

The Turkish society and local communities often employ xenophobic narratives when discussing Syrian refugees, wherein they assert that these individuals will encroach upon employment opportunities, escalate criminal activities, and deplete available resources. The concerns expressed by Turkish respondents, hailing from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, revolve around the matter of bestowing citizenship upon Syrians. It is noteworthy that certain individuals among them have put forth the proposition that such a privilege should only be extended to Syrian refugees upon satisfying a set of rigorous criteria, thereby ensuring the maintenance of elevated standards (Erdoğan 2014, 27-36; Baban et al. 2017, 40-41; Erdoğan 2019).

Differences do not necessarily produce xenophobia. However, for this some conditions are necessary. According to the Contact Hypothesis, interaction between different racial and ethnic groups helps lessen intergroup prejudice and encourages more favourable attitudes. This interaction, however, should not be any interaction. As a result, the interaction's quality is critical. Contact theory posits that increasing contact between members of various groups might lead to mutual

understanding. As a result, biases towards certain outgroups may rise or fall. As a result, individuals of various groups can get closer and create more rewarding connections, counteracting the perception of threat (Barlow et al. 2012, 1640-41).

Differences do not necessarily lead to xenophobia, and on occasion, similarities can provoke xenophobia. The proposition here is not that similarities lead to xenophobia. Even people with similar cultural, social and ethnic backgrounds may clash, hate each other and xenophobia may arise from such relationships. To give a specific example, even countries such as Lebanon and Egypt, which are among the Arab countries hosting the largest number of Syrians after Turkey, have started not to want Syrians and the local society has started to show various forms of xenophobia. In this context, Lebanon's interim Interior Minister Bassam Mawlawi warned at an international meeting that Syrian refugees "have become a threat to Lebanon's demography and identity" (English Aawsat 2023).

When citizens perceive a cultural danger and witness or interact with migrants, they may become more xenophobic. The density of refugees might also have an impact on the xenophobic feelings. Seeing immigrants in the streets, parks, bus stations, hospitals, schools, or other public areas, according to Padir (2019, 78), might remind residents of their cultural differences with refugees and make them aware of them, negatively altering their opinions toward refugees. Furthermore, while perceived cultural danger has a direct influence on xenophobia, the quality of contact with migrants might mitigate this impact by encouraging mutual understanding (Padir 2019, 80; Barlow et al. 2012, 1639-40).

Education has a significant impact on xenophobia. The more educated the population with which residents or migrants interact, the lower the xenophobic attitudes towards migrants (Padir 2019, 75). However, there are also situations where education and xenophobia intersect:

Being a teacher here is dangerous and risky. I am scared. Sometimes Turkish students can be rude to Syrian teachers, but the teacher cannot do anything against this situation. Regarding my workplace, my salary has never been paid regularly (Appendix B. interview S-1).



The periodic publication titled "Syria Barometer" by Murat Erdoğan offers a comprehensive analysis of empirical, theoretical, and statistical data pertaining to Syrians. This valuable resource sheds light on the societal disparities between Syrian and Turkish communities. As an illustration, it is noteworthy to observe that the collective social distance score exhibited by Turkish citizens towards Syrian migrants underwent a discernible shift from -0.36 in the Syria Barometer of 2017 to -0.51 in the subsequent Syria Barometer of 2019 (72). In essence, it can be posited that the level of tolerance exhibited by Turkish society towards the Syrian community has experienced a notable decline, thereby resulting in an augmented gap between these two entities. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that Şanlıurfa, a city of considerable importance in Turkey, showcases a noteworthy degree of cultural affinity between the Syrian population and the indigenous residents of the region. In a rather unforeseen development, the Şanlıurfa Barometer of 2018 has brought to light an intriguing observation. It appears that even within the geographical boundaries of Şanlıurfa, the local populace exhibits a discernible inclination towards maintaining a certain level of social detachment from Syrians. This phenomenon is substantiated by the noteworthy negative aggregate score of -0.59 (Erdoğan and Aker 2023, 2).

The July 2024 incident in Kayseri, Turkey, involving allegations of child abuse against a Syrian immigrant, triggered a surge of violence, illustrating the precarious state of inter-community relations amid extensive migration. The incident, extensively covered by global media (Euronews 2024), resulted in a significant rise in social and political turmoil, including an escalation of racially motivated assaults on individuals of Syrian heritage in the area. Reports from human rights organizations, like the Human Rights Association (IHD 2024), emphasize that claims related to sensitive matters such as child protection can swiftly intensify social tensions, resulting in violent acts. This incident corresponds with overarching trends in Europe, where far-right parties and anti-immigration sentiments have gained momentum, frequently exploiting public concerns regarding cultural transformation and perceived threats to social unity (Cantat et al. 2023). The Kayseri incident highlights the difficulties of managing social integration and promoting peaceful coexistence in increasingly diverse societies, especially in a context of heightened

political polarization and the strategic manipulation of sensitive social issues.

In order to avoid further escalation and maintain control over the narrative, the Turkish government implemented a media blackout (Kaya 2024). This response demonstrates the government's recognition of the delicate nature of societal unity and the possibility for these instances to exacerbate pre-existing xenophobic attitudes. The episodes in Kayseri have shown that when various cultural origins, economic constraints, and social integration processes converge, they may result in substantial societal turmoil.

#### **4.9. Conclusion**

The arrival of Syrian migrants in Turkey has led to a complex relationship between the migrant and local populations, known as societal multiplicity. This underscores the need to understand the changing and evolving attitudes towards Syrians in Turkish society. Turkey's supportive government stance and unique migration policies, shaped by various societal attitudes, play a critical role in these interactions. The historical context of Turkey's extensive experience in hosting refugees from neighboring countries provides a backdrop for understanding the current dynamics of Syrian migration. Since 2011, more than three million Syrian individuals have escaped to Turkey due to the Syrian civil war, showing a significant migration movement in the 21st century. The "open door policy" and temporary protection measures implemented by Turkey have been crucial in providing emergency assistance to these displaced persons.

The integration of Syrians into Turkish society can occur through two primary processes: integration and assimilation. Various institutions, including schools, the labor market, neighborhoods, and the political sphere, significantly impact the lives and relationships of Syrians in Turkey. The labor market, in particular, has become a key area where Turkish and Syrian communities interact and struggle. Comprehending the economic implications of the migration from Syria is crucial for the formulation of successful policies, given that the Syrian migrant community, accounting for around 5 percent of Turkey's total population, has had a notable influence on the local economy and workforce. Migrant workers are predominantly involved in informal employment arrangements, providing cheap labor under

precarious conditions. With the help of state institutions and civil society organizations (NGOs) in Turkey, Syrians can improve their skills and increase job opportunities, especially in the commercial sector.

The presence of Syrian migrants has given rise to a multifaceted interplay of attitudes and experiences between the migrant and host populations, which mirrors the phenomenon of societal multiplicity. This plurality is essential for successful integration and effective policymaking. Turkey's unique "sui generis" migration policy, characterized by supportive government attitudes and varied societal perspectives, further complicates the landscape. The extensive expertise of Turkey in providing shelter to refugees underscores its humanitarian commitment, evident in its response to Syrian migration, which has reshaped demographic and cultural dynamics within the country.

The integration of Syrian migrants is facilitated through transformative institutions that provide necessary resources and opportunities for adaptation. It is indubitable that educational institutions bear a pivotal role in the process of integration, offering language and vocational training to equip Syrians with the skills needed for successful integration. Over time, the social narrative surrounding the integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey has evolved, with initial hospitality giving way to concerns over economic strain, demographic shifts, and cultural identity issues. These changing dynamics underscore the need for nuanced approaches in policy-making and societal integration strategies.

This chapter has been the chapter where the question of how societal multiplicity theory can be applied to Syrian migration as a theory of international migration has been applied. In doing so, semi-structured interviews were conducted with Syrians and interview questions related to societal multiplicity theory were asked to both the Turkish side and the Syrian side. In addition, since the beginning of the thesis, the words "Syrian migration" and "Syrians in Turkey" have been chosen as keywords and internet news sites have been subscribed through these keywords. In this framework, news articles were analyzed within the framework of societal multiplicity theory. In addition, reports and theses on the subject were also analyzed, and interviews and arguments related to societal multiplicity theory were also

examined in these reports and theses. Finally, since some of the results (dialectics) of the societal multiplicity theory will manifest themselves in the longer term, other migration cases were also examined and analyzed in comparison with Syrian migration.

Researching migration, especially in contexts of intense inter-societal interaction, benefits from a society-based rather than a state-centered approach. This perspective aligns with the societal multiplicity approach, which emphasizes interactions and relationships between settlers, newcomers, and various community groups. Previous research highlights that interactions between different groups create various challenges and opportunities that communities must manage. "Co-existence" requires a political and social context fostering mutual understanding, tolerance, and human interactions, necessitating an examination of Turkey's democratic framework.

The prolonged presence of Syrians' stay has redirected attention from immediate safeguarding and humanitarian aid towards enduring social and economic assimilation. This change emphasizes the significance of comprehending the manner in which Syrian young people, specifically, are managing schooling and economic involvement, as these aspects might have a substantial impact on their social integration. For example, several Syrians, especially those who are well-educated and often engage with Turks, have started to embrace Turkish culture. In contrast, Syrians with lower levels of education or living in more isolated villages have little interaction and are less impacted by Turkish culture and society.

Turkey's migration strategy poses a unique quandary. Although the government maintains a favorable stance towards immigration, the common populace tends to be more cautious. Academic studies have focused primarily on the preferences and policies of political power and the situation of Syrian refugees from a macro-political perspective, especially concerning relations with the European Union. Qualitative studies focusing on the personal experiences of Syrian refugees within specific communities have also been conducted. However, more research is needed on general attitudes towards Syrians in Turkish society.

A growing body of evidence from surveys indicates a rising level of discontent among Turkish citizens regarding the presence of Syrians. This suggests the

necessity of implementing comprehensive policies that address the long-term needs of Syrians. In the integration process, transformative institutions are crucial since they provide refugees with the essential resources to access new opportunities, gain information, and develop the skills they need. Education serves as a key transformative institution, facilitating the acquisition of new knowledge and skills needed to rebuild lives and integrate into society.

Rosenberg's multiplicity theory emphasizes that societies undergo historical changes as they adapt to internal and external factors. Changing migration patterns and demographic dynamics in Turkey challenge assumptions of a return to previous demographic equilibria. The societal multiplicity lens reveals that the host society's changing structure is shaped by the transformative impact of migration.

The labor market is a critical area of interaction between Syrians and Turks. The influx of Syrian workers, often occupying informal and low-paid positions, has exerted both positive and negative influences on Turkey's labor market. Some argue that Syrian workers displace Turkish workers in certain sectors, while others contend that Syrians fill labor market gaps, leading to increased formal employment opportunities for Turkish citizens. NGOs and international organizations play vital roles in enhancing the employability of Syrians and expanding job opportunities, underscoring the importance of coordinated efforts for economic integration.

The concept of coexistence is central to societal multiplicity, highlighting the challenges and opportunities arising when different cultural and social groups share the same space. The coexistence of Syrians and Turks has led to culturally diverse neighborhoods where different traditions and practices blend. Although initial assistance for Syrian refugees has been superseded by concerns about social cohesion and economic hardship, this coexistence has also facilitated the development of a more robust cultural fabric. This is shown by the Syrians' commitment to the local economy via the construction of companies, educational institutions, and cultural activities.

The differences between Syrians and Turks in terms of language, religion, and cultural practices have both complicated and enriched the integration process. Cultural similarities have facilitated some aspects of integration, while significant

differences have created challenges. The presence of language barriers continues to be a significant concern, impacting individuals' ability to get education, healthcare, and work prospects. Efforts to promote language acquisition among Syrians are crucial in overcoming these barriers and fostering a sense of belonging within Turkish society.

Another important consequence of societal multiplicity is the combination process, where local and international elements merge to create new social and cultural configurations. This is apparent in the way Syrian refugees have acclimated to their new surroundings while yet preserving aspects of their cultural heritage. The establishment of Syrian businesses, schools, and cultural centers in Turkey reflects this process of cohesion and the dynamic interplay between adaptation and cultural heritage preservation.

Historical change is an inevitable consequence of the coexistence and interactions of different societal groups, since these interactions lead to alterations in the social, economic, and cultural dimensions of society. The influx of Syrian migrants has had a profound and enduring effect on Turkey, altering population patterns, transforming economic dynamics, and exerting influence on cultural customs. The prolonged presence of Syrians in Turkey is likely to continue driving these changes, highlighting the need for policies promoting inclusive and sustainable integration.

In conclusion, the integration of Syrians in Turkey involves complex dynamics shaped by demographic shifts, social attitudes, and transformative institutions. The societal multiplicity approach provides a comprehensive framework for understanding these interactions, emphasizing the importance of a community-centered perspective in migration research. By recognizing and addressing the challenges and opportunities presented by societal multiplicity, Turkey can develop a more inclusive and cohesive society where both Turkish citizens and Syrian migrants can thrive.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION**

The objective of societal multiplicity theory is to discredit the conventional understanding of international relations (IR) as a subfield preoccupied with power struggles and interstate wars. The objective of this argument is to underscore the significance of international migration for the field. If one were to draw an extremely loose distinction between high and low politics, international migration could be situated within the realm of high politics. This would entail a critique of the core ideas and thinking of international relations. High politics encompasses the interaction, communication, exchange, and transformation of conflicts (or wars), migration, trade (and to some extent diplomacy) between civilizations, as seen through the lens of societal multiplicity.

When Kenneth Waltz completed his doctoral thesis "Man, the State, and War" in 1954, he introduced a revolutionary, speculative, and fundamental approach to the International Relations theory. At the most fundamental level, his thesis changed the field radically by presenting the study of International Relations as a history of wars from a high-political standpoint. In the field, he laid out and built the ontology of the "international," quite conflictual and structural, stressing the same elements. It has generated important debate. Waltz was groundbreaking in giving this structural and conflictual framework to the understanding of IR, which also stimulated critical debates and further theoretical developments within the discipline itself. These criticisms and their theoretical aftermath highlight the importance of more than one perspective to detail the whole essence of International Relations and the elements that condition IR. It is in line with this argument advanced by Waltz that theory on International Relations is an account of much strife and war, hence the

preponderance of military and strategic matters he refers to as "high politics" within IR (Waltz 1954).

This not only drew attention away from what is usually considered the "low politics": economic, social, and cultural factors but also put international migration into the same category of "low politics." Indeed, if there is to be a commitment to the true spirit of the discipline of International Relations in developing a theoretical approach to the causes and consequences of international migration, it will have to come through the reshaping of focus from traditional conceptions of hierarchy and anarchy to that of societal multiplicity in terms of exposure and internationalism. Indeed, from both the causes and consequences of migration, it is a criterion that exposes societies to one another. While the discussion of this thesis deals with how helpful the concept of multiplicity is in the context of post-migration, it still equally fits for application for the causes of migration. For instance, push and pull factors, conflict, and economic disparities are ultimately directly related to societal multiplicity.

Reducing International Relations to relations between states is unlikely to be very fruitful for those who study the discipline. On the contrary, recognizing the agency of all sorts of actors other than the ideal type of state—for example, when they undertake precisely the same kinds of relations as states—suggests that the 'international' precedes the state. (Powel 2024, 8). It is, therefore, valid for the international perspective to pay attention to the relatively late emergence of inter-state interactions as well as the more transhistorical relations and interactions between societies.

Rosenberg claims that societal multiplicity theory serves as a robust ontological framework, offering valuable insights into the intricate and composite characteristics of evolving societies around the World (Rosenberg 2020, 479; Davenport 2020, 533). This theory belies the usual state-centric perceptions of International Relations theorists, who hardly found enough evidence to explain the complex social, cultural, and political processes interacting beyond the framework of nation-state borders (Castles 2010, 1566).

This research is intended to provide light on the intricate and multifaceted experiences of Syrian migrants in Turkey, with a focus on multiplicity lens.



Applying the theory of multiplicity to the example of Syrian migration has the potential to provide new and unconventional perspectives that go beyond existing theories on migration. The primary objective of this research is to provide a substantial and noteworthy contribution to the academic disciplines of IR and migration studies.

**Table 9.** Comparison of Societal Multiplicity Theory with International Migration Theories

<b>Aspect</b>	<b>Traditional International Migration Theories</b>	<b>Societal Multiplicity Theory (SMT)</b>
<b>Approach</b>	state-centric, focusing on political and economic factors.	Goes beyond state-centric approaches, emphasizing interconnected social, cultural, and political dynamics.
<b>Conceptual Basis</b>	Rooted in methodological nationalism, assuming a linear, unidirectional migration process.	Challenges methodological nationalism by viewing migration as a multidirectional process involving multiple societies.
<b>Focus on Migrants</b>	Often sees migrants as passive agents influenced primarily by economic conditions or political factors.	Views migrants as active agents who use social networks, cultural capital, and legal strategies to navigate complex sociocultural landscapes.
<b>Cultural Interaction</b>	Uses metaphors like the melting pot or salad bowl to describe cultural integration, which may oversimplify the process.	Rejects oversimplified metaphors; emphasizes diverse ways societies interact, including coexistence, combination, and historical change.
<b>Analytical Lens</b>	Often compartmentalizes economic, social, and political aspects, with less emphasis on cultural and normative factors.	Provides a holistic and interdisciplinary analysis. More societal- based and focuses on interactions and exposes.
<b>Transnationalism</b>	Views transnational ties as secondary to the main focus of state-centric analysis.	Centralizes transnationalism; recognizes the ongoing relationships and exchanges between migrants and both origin and destination societies.
<b>Globalization</b>	Limited engagement with globalization beyond economic dimensions.	Places migration within a broader understanding of globalization, considering it both a consequence and catalyst of global interconnectedness.
<b>Policy Implications</b>	Focuses on state-level policies for managing migration, often neglecting the migrants' agency and the dynamic nature of societies.	Advocates for policies recognizing migrants' diverse identities and the dynamic, interconnected nature of modern societies.

This thesis proposes a radical transformation in the area of migration studies, going beyond the limitations of methodological nationalism and its inherent emphasis on the nation-state. This argument stems from a perceptive observation: whereas existing theories provide valuable insights into international migration, they struggle to fully grasp the complexity of human movement within a more interconnected global framework. This issue is not only a theoretical inadequacy; it is intricately linked to the pervasive effect of methodological nationalism, which continues to shape research methodologies and analytical viewpoints despite efforts to adopt other frameworks.

Methodological nationalism, which places the nation-state as the primary subject of investigation, often disregards the complex character of migration. It neglects to recognize the diverse makeup inside societies, downplays the impact of worldwide influences, and often presents immigration as a problem that should only be dealt with domestically. According to Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002, 302), methodological nationalism causes a lack of awareness towards the contradiction that transnational processes are limited by the national boundaries they are meant to surpass. The societal multiplicity concept addresses this constraint by acknowledging the intrinsically international character of migratory movements.

This thesis provides a brief overview of societal multiplicity theory, encompassing its core concepts and an ontological explanation of the "international." Furthermore, the thesis showcases the practicality of multiplicity theory by using it in various migration procedures and case studies. To conclude, the previously listed questions have been answered. What is the justification for addressing methodological nationalism? What is the exact definition of methodological nationalism? How may the use of a framework like multiplicity theory help to free migration studies from the limitations imposed by the nation-state paradigm? This thesis aims to enhance the knowledge of migration by directly addressing these problems, so promoting a more comprehensive and multidisciplinary approach. This approach would acknowledge the dynamic nature of boundaries, the autonomy of migrants, and the intricate interaction of social, cultural, and political factors that influence their travels.

The five consequences of societal multiplicity —coexistence, interaction,

differentiation, combination, and historical change—emerge to life through open-ended questions and interactive dialogue with many manners in which these factors influence the social dynamics and processes of migration. An example of the 'interaction' effect may be seen in the impact of Syrian refugees on the local economy in Turkey, namely via the rise of enterprises owned by Syrians (Bélanger and Saracoglu 2020, 418). The 'combination' consequence is shown via the fusion of Syrian and Turkish culinary traditions, resulting in the emergence of novel hybrid cuisine cultures (Appendix B. interview T-2). The Southeast region of Turkey has long exhibited gastronomic similarities with Syria (Appendix B. interview T-4) due to its geographical proximity and historical connections. The migration of Syrians to Western Turkey has rendered these gastronomic traditions more prominent in that region. Semi-structured interviews offer profound insights into personal experiences and narratives, emphasizing the significance of multiplicity as a fundamental theoretical framework for comprehending international migration and interaction.

It is important to acknowledge that the theory of societal multiplicity highlights the transnational nature of migration. In interacting with the host society, the migrants have been shown to have a strong connection with their homelands, and socially conditioned encounters between the host and home societies take place. Being transnational in nature would make it more comprehensive in understanding the dynamics involved. Hence, it can be helpful in developing more effective policies for migrant populations and their families. If viewed from the perspective of societal multiplicity, the Syrian refugee crisis can be an exciting and important case study. The civil war ignited in Syria in 2011 has created an unprecedented and protracted refugee crisis of global dimensions, prompting massive forced migration within Syria's borders and across multiple international borders. The Syrian migration and the socio-political instability that came along are a complex but brilliant scenario that allows application to the theoretical framework of societal multiplicity to understand the diverse and dynamic experiences of Syrian migrants, as well as the impacts of their journeys on both origin and destination countries.

The enormous influx of Syrian refugees to Turkey started in 2011 when many temporary camps were established near the border. This open-door policy, which called refugees "guests," was under the assumption that the Syrians would only stay

in Turkey temporarily. In the first two years of the crisis, the coming of people who were seeking protection was handled logistically through temporary protection centers, also known as camps. The escalating Syrian crisis in 2013 and beyond imposed the fact of the exponential increase in Syria's refugee flow into its neighbor, Turkey. Since then, this new influx has spurred Turkey to develop various policies and organizations to address the surge of these multitudes. According to official statistics, it turns out there are already over 3 million Syrians under temporary protection and status in Turkey by 2020, together with the forced and irregular migrants from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and Iran reaching 350,000.

By concentrating on the theory of societal multiplicity with a case study perspective on Syrian migration, this thesis attends to such critical voids in existing migration theories. Conventional migration theories might be considered to have a narrow focus, as they predominantly concentrate on economic aspects and regard migration as a unidirectional phenomenon. Societal multiplicity theory, on the other hand, recognizes that migration is very complex and multifaceted, with continuous relationships that exist among both the host and origin communities of the migrants. This perspective allows us to gain insight into the different experiences and trajectories of migrants, pointing toward policies that have to work within complex realities. The case in point is how mass displacement following conflicts in Syria has profoundly affected host societies and the displaced. This dissertation elaborates on the deep, complex dynamics of Syrian migration to Turkey with the help of societal multiplicity, considering the delicate interaction of different social, cultural, and political factors. The research, hence, provides a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted experiences of Syrian migrants and broader implications for migration theories in International Relations.

These arguments are confirmed by the empirical findings derived from the interviews with Syrian migrants in Turkey. The conclusions drawn from the lived experiences of these Syrian migrants reflect strategies that they adapt to integrate themselves and become adapted into Turkish society while still keeping some kind of connection with their homeland. Such experiences indicate the necessity of contemplating multiple dimensions of identity, culture, and social interaction in migration studies. The interviews also include the challenges encountered by Syrian migrants, including

the disparities they encounter, economic hardships, and legal obstacles they confront. Additionally, online news and reports relating to the topic were reviewed while collecting data which support the interviews.

The study offers profound insights into how Syrian migrants manage their multifaceted identities and affiliations. Diverging from traditional assimilation theories that advocate for a singular cultural integration into the host community, the concept of societal multiplicity acknowledges that migrants maintain robust ties to their home countries while actively engaging in the host society. This notion of dual belonging challenges the idea of a singular identity, emphasizing the dynamic and fluid nature of cultural relationships. Syrian migrants in Turkey exemplify the delicate balance between preserving their cultural heritage and adapting to new, unfamiliar circumstances and opportunities. The ongoing process of negotiating identity underscores the importance of recognizing the diverse experiences and affiliations that shape the migrant journey.

As stated earlier, the thesis aims to analyze the complex dynamics between Syrians and Turkish society through the concept of societal multiplicity lens. This theory recognizes that as a result of migration, societies move beyond the basic narratives of peaceful coexistence or the inevitable conflict of societies. International migration, like to warfare, arises from multiplicity, i.e. being more than one. Hence, the processes of integration and assimilation, together with the resolution of clashes that emerge from migration, are outcomes of social diversity. The specific contrasts that will be perceived may vary throughout the procedure. The influx of Syrians has unquestionably altered the economic terrain. On one side, the rise in Syrian-owned firms represents a substantial shift in labor markets, which might impact employment prospects and compensation structures for both Syrians and native-born Turks (Bélanger and Saracoglu 2020, 417-419). Conversely, there is an increase in significant unemployment, resulting in elevated inflation. Hence, it is essential to thoroughly analyze the impacts of this economic relationship on various social groups, going beyond mere assertions of favorable or unfavorable consequences. Furthermore, the opening bilingual schools and public education centers (halk eğitim merkezleri) not only showcases intercultural interaction, but also emphasizes the difficulties of intergration a substantial non-Turkish speaking populace into current

educational and social structures. Moreover, this thesis investigates the influence on social relationships and availability of resources within Turkish culture. One notable distinction between Turkish culture and Syrians is their approach to marriage. It also examines the possible consequences of Syrians returning to Syria after moving and asserts that this would persistently affect the transferability of skills, economic opportunities, and evolving social and political institutions (Wahba 2014, 343-346) in Syria. Put simply, it is anticipated that development and societal change would continue without interruption due to this circumstance resulting from interaction (Cassarino 2004, 4-5; Gmelch 1980, 143).

Through interviews with Syrian migrants, I found out about the different strategies they use to adapt to their new surroundings while staying connected to their homeland. They get involved in transnational networks, jump into local economic activities, and preserve their cultural practices. It's fascinating to see how they navigate their new lives while holding onto their roots.

It's important to take a fresh look at different areas like education, employment, and social participation. The societal multiplicity theory comes in handy here. It helps us understand that these processes are complex and context-dependent. It's not just about money. Access to education and job opportunities plays a major role in helping migrants integrate, while social networks and community support systems are crucial resources. The experiences of Syrian migrants show us how important these factors are and why we need policies that cater to their diverse needs and challenges.

The 1948 Palestinian refugee crisis, similar to the situation in Syria, serves as a compelling illustration of the intricate nature of mass displacement caused by war and the prolonged existence of refugee populations. This wave of migration resulted in the creation of one of the most enduring refugee crises in recent history, which has had significant and ongoing social and political ramifications (Chen 2009). In Jordan, the integration process of Palestinians has been influenced by the strong cultural and linguistic links, which have facilitated the process. However, there are also problems arising from increasing political and legal impediments. Although Jordan's choice to confer citizenship onto a substantial number of Palestinian refugees may first seem like a commendable demonstration of integration, it is imperative not to overlook the

social and political difficulties that have arisen as a result of this policy (Brand 1995, 47-48). Merely possessing citizenship status has not been enough to ensure complete and fair integration. The unresolved legal status of Palestinians in Jordan continues to be a persistent issue. Although a significant number of Palestinians possess Jordanian citizenship, there are still many who lack a citizenship or have only temporary residency permits. This situation restricts their ability to enjoy fundamental rights such as work, education, and political engagement (Chatelard 2002, 4-5). The existing legal uncertainty has given rise to a process of incremental assimilation, wherein some Palestinians are integrated into Jordanian society, while others continue to face marginalization and exclusion. Despite the close ethnic and cultural similarities, the relationship between Jordanians and Palestinians remains strained due to political and economic disparities (Becker et al. 2023, 619-621) This demonstrates that integration encompasses more than simply cultural concord or legal standing; it requires profound social changes, including fairness, equality, and political representation.

The Balkan migration crisis of the 1990s was an international migration problem that emerged as a result of conflict. After the Yugoslav Wars, more than a million Bosnian sought refuge in Europe (UNHCR 2000; Valenta and Zan Strabac 2023, 15). In this process, Germany and Sweden were among the countries that accepted the largest number of refugees and pursued different integration policies (Valenta and Ramet 2011, 4-5; Dimova 2006). Germany provided temporary asylum to thousands of Bosnian refugees, but faced challenges in integrating them into society and the economy owing to a lack of comprehensive integration programs (Dimova 2006,8-9). The temporary protection status imposed limitations on refugees' ability to engage in the labor market by limiting work permits and access to social assistance. Contrarily, Sweden provided extensive language classes, job placement programs, and social assistance to thousands of Bosnian refugees, facilitating their swift integration into the workforce. Sweden's permissive citizenship policy enabled majority of Bosnian refugees to get Swedish citizenship (Barslund et al. 2017). The disparity between these two countries underscores the crucial significance of migration policy and social cohesion measures. Nevertheless, the significance of social dynamics and inter-societal interaction in ways to integrate is on par with that

of government initiatives.

Migrants often stay connected to their home countries through transnational networks. These networks keep the flow of remittances, ideas, and cultural practices going, making our global societies even more interconnected. The situation of Syrian migrants in Turkey is a great example of this. They continue to send money back home, participate in political activities, and maintain cultural ties there. It challenges the traditional idea that migration is a one-way street and shows us that it's a complex and multi-faceted process that needs a more nuanced understanding.

Migration is a transformational procedure wherein migrants and host societies are remade. Entangled in battle and geopolitical trade, the ancient backdrop to Syrian migration underlines the capability course of migration in effecting social and cultural trade. Across their historical formation, societal multiplicity signs point in the direction of exchange as a determining characteristic of the dynamics of migration. The impact of Syrian migration is not seen as a simple integration or assimilation, but rather as a complex process of negotiation, contestation and reconfiguration within and between the multiple social spheres that make up Turkish society.

One high contribution of the principle of societal multiplicity is that it accepts interrelation and interdependency subsumed with international societies. The undertaking this poses to the conventional view of a set linear process for migration strikingly underlines that migration flows are complicated and dynamic in nature. The stories of Syrian migrants in Turkey underline the necessity of contemplating the broader social, cultural, and political contexts inside which migration takes vicinity; hence, it underlines the want for regulations that keep in mind the heterogeneity respecting the various desires and challenges that migrants have confronted.

This study contends that the theory of societal multiplicity is a good instrument for examining the influence of migration on social and migration policies. This framework has the capability to facilitate the creation of policies that are more comprehensive and efficient by acknowledging the distinct requirements and experiences of both migrant and host populations. Additionally, it enhances the subject of International Relations and migration studies by offering a more intricate



and dynamic comprehension of migratory dynamics. The implementation of societal multiplicity theory may differ in different migration situations, but its fundamental principles provide useful insights into the universal phenomena of migration and its effects on social, structural, and political aspects. This study will provide a chance to examine and investigate future or historical instances of international migration from a distinct standpoint by concentrating on the Syrian migrants to Turkey. This study is the first examination of societal multiplicity theory within the framework of international migration. Hence, the use of this viewpoint, particularly its five consequences, in specific instances presents an opportunity to broaden the application of the theory and enhance the field of international migration studies.

Interaction, the consequence of societal multiplicity highlights the concept of active engagement and reciprocal impact among different social entities. The impermanent inhabitants of Syrian refugees within the Turkish Republic have set off new cross-cultural relationships between these groups. These are the most amazing combinations that have all the potential cultural, economical and social dimensions to discover. To emphasize, the introduction of the Syrian language into Turkish schools, the participation of the Syrian public in local hard labor markets, and the cultural exchanges among the two communities actually play a part of the mentioned processes. These interactions are not simply one-way; there is mutual influences and adaptation, which causes the conglomeration of new hybrid societies.

Difference is an essential element in understanding societal multiplicity - a primary concern of the work here within this thesis. The framework of differentiation foregrounds the specific cultural, social and political skill sets that migrants bring to new settlements (Bosoni 2011; Alivizatou 2012). Misunderstandings, when coupled with human weaknesses such as fear of the other, can set societies on a path towards unrest, such as racism and local conflicts. However, they can also open doors to cultural enrichment through innovation as a result of migration and interactions. For example, in Turkey, Syrians may bring new foodstuffs and traditions, and host societies may create a more inclusive and diverse social fabric as a result of their acceptance of these differences.

Combination refers to blending and merging of various social elements, which in

terms generates new hybrid forms. The wave of Syrian refugees has created new social realities and institutions, as well as fusion of some features of the Syrian and Turkish cultures. For instance, the entrepreneurial ventures that Syrians have established in Turkey has led to new products and services that cater for both Syrian and Turkish consumers. Together they help empower the local community and drive social cohesion by increasing opportunities to use shared spaces for meeting and collaboration. The blending of cultural customs and societal structures illustrates the fluid and progressing character of social connections within the framework of migration.

Migration has had a transformative effect on shaping cultures throughout history. In this context, the presence of Syrian refugees in Turkey is the most prominent example that has significantly impacted both Syrian and Turkish societies. This phenomenon can be observed through various lenses, such as the rise of new political movements, shifts in cultures, impacts on the economic structure, and changing demographics of societies.

The profound and enduring influence of migration on cultures throughout history is emphasized by historical change, also known as dialectics, as the last consequence of the multiplicity. It also denotes changes in the trajectories of societies (Castles 2003, 15-16). The extended duration of Syrian refugees in Turkey serves as a prime example of this occurrence, since their integration has profoundly transformed the societal structure of both Syrian and Turkish communities (Cagaptay et al. 2016). This shift is seen in several crucial domains: 1) Shifts in population characteristics: The arrival of Syrian refugees has had a substantial impact on Turkey's demographic composition, especially in areas along the border and in major cities. This demographic transition impacts housing markets, labor dynamics, and social service supply, generating both prospects and obstacles. 2) Altering Social Norms: The contact between Syrian and Turkish populations prompts the reevaluation and adjustment of social norms and cultural practices. Traditional Turkish food, for instance, could be influenced by the culinary traditions of Syria -or vice versa (Bremzen 2022; Ötleş et al. 2016, 89-90), while linguistic practices are modified to include aspects from both languages (Alfashtakie et al. 2022, 306). Moreover, the interplay between the two cultures challenges and transforms beliefs on marriage,

family structures, and gender roles (Karamişe 2023, 10-12). 3)Altering Political Processes: The substantial Syrian population has ignited discussion and impacted political dialogue in Turkey (Kınıkliođlu 2020; Tümen 2023, 11-12). This could cause to rise of novel political parties and movements, along with changes in public sentiment on citizenship, integration policies, and national identity. Societal multiplicity, when seen through a historical lens, allows us to transcend beyond superficial evaluations and understand the continuous changes and directions of societies that define the migrant experience. A study of history is essential for comprehending the enduring impacts of migration and for formulating policies that tackle the underlying reasons and complex outcomes of migration on both the countries of origin and the countries of destination.

Examining the application of the concept of "societal multiplicity" to the migration of Syrians to Turkey yields significant revelations for the field of social sciences. It surpasses basic classifications and highlights the acknowledgment of the many identities and affiliations that influence migrants' experiences. This concept emphasizes the reciprocal and interactive nature of the interaction between migrants and host communities, whereby both parties have a significant impact on one other, resulting in cultural and social transformations on both ends. The primary focus is on fostering cultural and social advancement via the acceptance of variety, but also questioning the imposition of assimilation. Significantly, multiplicity illuminates the development of novel cultural manifestations and social behaviors, such as blended culinary traditions, hybrid language use, and developing social conventions, as Syrian and Turkish groups engage and adjust. The framework highlights the enduring and profound impact of migration across time, showcasing its influence on the formation of civilizations, cultures, and identities, and its role in pioneering our globally linked world.

This thesis also tackles the problem of methodological nationalism observed in migration studies. By embracing the concept of societal multiplicity, it could surpass the limitations imposed by individual countries and takes into account the wider transnational and global aspects of migration. This approach is especially pertinent in the context of Syrian migration, as regional and global forces have a substantial impact on the formation of movement patterns and the resulting experiences. By

taking into account the impacts of global economic, political, and social factors, the transnational approach enables a more thorough examination of migratory patterns.

Ultimately, the concept of societal multiplicity offers a strong and all-encompassing perspective for examining global migration. By emphasizing the interconnections and dynamic interactions among social entities, it enables a more complex and empathic understanding of the migrant experience. The Syrian migration to Turkey exemplifies the practicality and significance of multiplicity in the field of migration studies. This thesis has shown that societal multiplicity not only overcomes the constraints of conventional migration theories but also provides significant perspectives for policymakers and practitioners who want to assist migrants and foster social cohesion in an increasingly linked society.

According to Rosenberg, the international arena consists of diverse and separate social forms that exist simultaneously and engage in interactions with one another (Rosenberg 2019; Rosenberg 2020; Davenport 2019; Kurki 2019; Waring 2020). This multiplicity encompasses not just nation-states but also communities, networks, and other entities that are not affiliated with a state (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022). His methodology is firmly grounded in historical sociology, analyzing the evolution and interaction of many social systems throughout history (Pries 2005; Donati 2017). This viewpoint offers a more comprehensive comprehension of how historical processes influence present-day international relations. Rosenberg critiques the Eurocentric bias in conventional International Relations theories by highlighting the importance of non-European social formations and their contributions to world history. Understanding migratory patterns is essential, since they are frequently influenced by previous colonial and post-colonial settings (Lemke et al. 2023, 22; Rosenberg 2024; Squire 2020; Massey et al. 1993).

Applying Rosenberg's theory to migration studies enables a comprehensive comprehension of migration as a process intricately intertwined with many social circumstances, rather than only the act of individuals relocating between different countries. This requires comprehending the cultural, economic, and political determinants that motivate migration from various social contexts. Rosenberg's framework, characterized by its historical sociology perspective, provides valuable

understanding of the historical origins and outcomes of migration. It sheds light on the ways in which previous migrations, colonial legacies, and historical connections shape present-day patterns of migration and policy.

It must be acknowledged, however, that this study is not without limitations. The conceptualization process has proven to be a significant challenge throughout the writing of this thesis. Furthermore, although this theoretical framework has been employed to examine the post-migration process, it is also possible to conceptualize societal multiplicity theory in relation to the causes of migration. Ultimately, this relational ontological endeavor can be studied and analyzed in any field that emphasizes internationalism.

A further limitation of this thesis is the diversity within Syrian society. Syrian society is divided into various groups, including Bedouin, urban and rural Arabs, ethnic groups such as Kurds, Arabs and Turkmens, political groups such as the FSA opposition, ISIS, the Kurdish opposition and the central government, and religious groups such as Alawites and Sunnis. This diversity has made it challenging to define a singular Syrian identity within the framework of the theory. It is essential to differentiate between concepts such as the Syrian nation, Syrian society, Syrians, Syrian civilization, the Arab race, and Syrian citizens (Appendix B. interviewee/T-8; S-6; Anand 2023), and to comprehend why the term Syrian society is both distinct and of greater significance than the other terms.

The empirical situation of the Syrian migrant community reveals another limitation of the thesis. Some of the Syrians interviewed expressed concern about the politicization of the issue, which caused them to hesitate in their responses. Furthermore, the relatively low level of education of most Syrians who have settled in Turkey makes it difficult for them to interact with Turkish society, especially among adults with limited language skills. Nevertheless, this limitation is less pronounced among younger generations, indicating that the potential for interaction and communication between the two communities may increase over time.

The discipline of International Relations (IR) has had multiple notable theoretical advancements throughout time, many of which are situated within a post-modernist framework. The rise of the "migration turn" indicates an increasing curiosity in

investigating the influence of international movement on the global structure, pointing to a developing field of academic research. The increasing significance of migration in influencing international relations and the study of International Relations is shown by this trend. Justin Rosenberg's concept of "societal multiplicity" presents an innovative viewpoint on migration that has the potential to make significant transformations in this field.

Rosenberg's framework suggests that the world stage is marked by a plethora of diverse social frameworks and ideologies that interact and mutually influence each other. This perspective questions the traditional perception of the global order as a group of autonomous nation-states exercising unquestionable power. Examining international migration from this perspective exposes it as a dynamic phenomenon that mirrors and strengthens the inherent variety of the worldwide social structure. Rosenberg's theory highlights that migrants should not be seen just as people crossing national borders, but rather as proactive participants in the creation of diverse "imagined communities" that often extend beyond state lines.

Throughout history, significant wars and internal conflicts have led to extensive migrations, with the specific characteristics of these movements varying greatly according to the particular historical context. The scale and nature of these migrations are influenced by the size and nature of the conflict, its political and economic aftermath, and the response of the international community. The study of migrations caused by wars offers valuable insights into the adaptability and resilience of humans, as well as the profound effects of warfare on societies and cultures.

Rosenberg's concept of societal multiplicity underscores the significance of comprehending these interconnections and their potential for change. By examining historical and contemporary cases, like the arrival of Syrian refugees in Turkey, we can gain a more profound understanding of how migration shapes societal change and the emergence of new social frameworks. This theoretical model provides a comprehensive lens through which to explore the complex dynamics of migration and its impacts on both migrants and host countries.

The theory can be applied as well to comprehend specific cases in the field of migration studies. The emergence of far-right parties in Europe may be explained by

considering societal multiplicity, which highlights the simultaneous presence and interaction of several social structures within a global system. This theory questions the idea of a uniform society and highlights the intricate interaction of identities, cultures, and social networks that go beyond national boundaries. The surge of migrants entering European nations has heightened discussions on national identity, cultural assimilation, and social unity. Far-right parties exploit these tensions by advocating for cultural uniformity and national autonomy, appealing to some elements of the public who see immigration as a risk to their cultural and economic security (Rosenberg 2020, 479).

### **5.1. Implications**

The societal multiplicity the theory has major consequences for migration policy formation. Traditional approaches to migration policy, typically based on methodological nationalism, have tended to stress economic and security concerns while ignoring the complex social and cultural components of human movement (Castles 2010, 1566). By adopting a multiplicity lens, policymakers and researchers may create more complete and nuanced frameworks that address the diverse character of migrant experiences as well as the complex dynamics of inter-societal connections. This paradigm change allows for a more in-depth understanding of the unavoidable consequences of global migration, supporting the development of more effective and compassionate policy solutions. According to Brettell and Hollifield (2022, 3), migration theory must go beyond basic push-pull models to account for the complexities of human movement in an interconnected world.

The policy development process is significantly influenced by the deep and complex implications of societal multiplicity theory. According to Castles (2010, 1565), migration strategies often prove ineffective due to their reliance on limited and temporary perspectives on the migration process. The societal multiplicity approach provides a more holistic framework for policy formulation, acknowledging the complex interplay of social, cultural, and economic aspects that influence migratory experiences. This viewpoint urges policymakers to go beyond conventional 'push-pull' models and take into account the intricate, often non-linear dynamics of human movement in a linked society.

The implications can be examined with six sub-categories:

### 1. Redefining International Relations: Moving Beyond the Beyond State Centrism

This thesis questions the conventional state-centered paradigm in international relations by highlighting the efficacy of social interactions in influencing global dynamics. The Syrian migration case clearly illustrates that international relations are not only shaped by state actors, but are significantly influenced by the mobility and interaction of many social groups. This viewpoint requires a fundamental change in how we understand the term of 'international', going beyond fixed national boundaries to acknowledge the dynamic and interrelated character of the global community.

The study presents empirical evidence on how cross-border social contacts may fundamentally alter political landscapes and power dynamics. It also raises issues about the extent to which one society's connections and relationship processes extend beyond its own boundaries. This argument posits that future theories of international relations should include the intricate network of social, cultural, and economic connections that go beyond national boundaries. Additionally, these theories should acknowledge the impact of non-state actors in determining global results.

The existence of a substantial Syrian refugee population in Turkey has significant socio-political consequences. This study posits that migration may serve as a catalyst for social and political transformation, by questioning established systems and promoting the establishment of fresh frameworks for handling diversity. The presence of diverse civilizations inherently amplifies the inclination towards conflict and disputes. The successful integration of Syrian refugees necessitates a political and social milieu that cultivates reciprocal comprehension and acceptance, eventually fortifying democratic mechanisms and societal unity.

### 2. Enhancing Migration Theory: Embracing the Flow of Movement in Multiple Directions

This research presents a novel approach for comprehending migration processes by highlighting the diverse and reciprocal nature of cultural and social interactions. This study diverges from standard migration theories that mostly emphasize one-way



assimilation, instead emphasizing the interactive and mutually influential processes of cultural hybridization and social change. The Syrian migration scenario demonstrates that both migrant and host communities experience substantial transformations as a result of their contacts, resulting in the establishment of new cultural expressions, social customs, and identities.

The existence of a substantial Syrian refugee population in Turkey has substantial socio-political consequences. This study proposes that migration may serve as a catalyst for social and political transformation, by questioning established systems and stimulating the creation of fresh approaches to handling diversity. The successful integration of Syrian refugees necessitates a political and social milieu that cultivates reciprocal comprehension and acceptance, eventually fortifying democratic mechanisms and societal unity.

3. Policy Innovation and Governance: Advancing Transformative Approaches: The findings of this study need a fundamental change in migration policy and governance. Conventional approaches often see migration as a transient occurrence that requires "management" or "control". Nevertheless, this analysis uncovers the enduring and profound impact of migration and emphasizes the need for policies that prioritize enabling beneficial social changes rather than just controlling the movement of people.

When considering societal multiplicity, the situation of Syrian migration demonstrates that the process of integration is intricate and may take a long time. It is affected by several elements that go beyond government initiatives. Studying previous instances of migration throughout history provides insight into the difficulties and advantages of effectively handling societal multiplicity.

Despite the long-standing living together and shared cultural history, the process of integrating Palestinian refugees in Jordan remains incomplete. Although a considerable proportion of Palestinians possess Jordanian citizenship, a substantial number of them still do not have full citizenship rights, resulting in their marginalization and exclusion (Brand 1995; Chen 2009; Suleiman 2006). This emphasizes that legal structures by themselves are unable to accomplish substantial integration. Profound and long-standing disparities in society and the economy,

together with political conflicts, may impede progress even when there is a perception of cultural commonality.

Similarly, the migration crisis in the Balkans throughout the 1990s provides useful insights. The experiences of Bosnian refugees in Germany and Sweden exemplify the significant influence of government policy on the results of integration. The temporary protection status and limited integration initiatives in Germany posed challenges for refugees in terms of their ability to join the job market and access social assistance. On the other hand, Sweden's extensive integration initiatives, which include language instruction, employment assistance programs, and a lenient citizenship policy, helped to foster a more seamless integration process. This contrast emphasizes the significance of proactive government action in establishing a conducive climate for effective integration.

The Syrian case, however, presents distinctive difficulties because of its unparalleled magnitude and prolonged duration. The large influx of migrants has placed significant pressure on available resources and intensified social tensions in many regions. The study indicates that policymakers should go beyond basic assimilationist or integrationist models and instead take into account the intricate dynamics of multiplicity. This necessitates a more flexible and responsive approach to policy development, acknowledging that integration is a continuous process that need continual evaluation and modification.

4.Rethinking Social Cohesion: The results of this research endorse the need to redirect the focus of policies from only economic and security factors to a more all-encompassing approach that considers social and cultural factors. Despite the relatively short duration of Syrians' presence in Turkey, similar patterns have been seen in other migratory scenarios. Enacting policies that encourage cultural interchange and engagement may effectively foster social cohesiveness and mitigate xenophobia. Policies that have the opposite effect will incite disputes and crises between the two populations. Integrating aspects of Syrian and Turkish cultures into school programs might facilitate the integration of Syrian youngsters and provide a feeling of belonging and validation. To mitigate socio-economic inequalities and foster fair integration, it is crucial to tackle structural differences, such as those

related to employment and access to healthcare services. Due to the presence of structural disparities and the absence of social policy, there is a high likelihood of discontent and violence arising between the two societies.

5. Economic Implications: Prospects and challenges: Societal Multiplicity Theory provides insights into the economic consequences of Syrian migration in Turkey, which is a significant issue of concern. The approach highlights the significance of migrants as proactive contributors to the host economy, fostering economic expansion and advancement (Rosenberg and Tallis 2022, 257). Syrian refugees in Turkey have generated job prospects and made valuable contributions to the informal sector, which plays a substantial role in the country's economy (Erdoğan 2021, 63).

Nevertheless, relying on informal work presents difficulties for both migrants and host communities. Enacting policies that support the integration of Syrian refugees into the official job market might enhance their economic impact by guaranteeing equitable pay and social safeguards (Bélanger and Saracoglu 2019, 2). This requires a thorough strategy that tackles the legal, social, and economic obstacles to obtaining formal work. These modifications have the potential to enhance the cultural environment and encourage social unity by cultivating a collective identity and feeling of belonging.

6. Cultural Evolution and Global Identity: Towards Fluid, Multilayered Identities: The thesis provides valuable perspectives on the mechanisms of cultural change in a society that is becoming more linked. The case study of Syria-Turkey demonstrates the dynamic process by which cultural practices, languages, and identities change via ongoing contact, resulting in the emergence of hybrid forms that challenge conventional understandings of cultural borders.

This study adds to discussions on the development of global identity, proposing that next civilizations could be defined by flexible, complex identities influenced by many cultural factors, rather than by clear national or racial identities. This has significant ramifications for how we perceive citizenship, belonging, and cultural heritage in a world that is interconnected and demands for a more comprehensive and dynamic comprehension of the development of identity. However, the process of contact, historical change, and transformation continues unabated, even whether

migrants choose to return or are forcibly repatriated. The process of migration will have a lasting impact on the future and fate of civilizations. During the interviews, for instance, Syrians expressed their desire to implement some systems, such as the OSYM in Turkey, in Syria upon their return (Appendix B. interview S-1).

Furthermore, there are specific instances from the past that serve as tangible illustrations. For instance, in Saudi Arabia, Cristiano Ronaldo's influence on the cultural norms of the country and his contribution to the societal change. During the Ottoman era, the majority of Turkey's founding elite originated from the western regions of the Ottoman Empire. The decision of this founding team to align with Western influences greatly influenced the trajectory of Turkish culture. Hence, encounters that exhibit internationalism play a crucial role in facilitating the alteration and evolution of societies.

In the introduction chapter, I have argued that interaction is one of the most important premises of "internationality", and that "internationality" and interaction cannot be only reduced to wars and conflicts. In addition to wars and conflicts, trade and migration are also dominant factors that increase "internationality" and interaction. From this point of view, migration can be considered more comprehensively, even though this thesis focuses on human population mobility. In addition to people and societies, the migration of ideas, brands, lifestyles and capital can also be considered within the broader framework of international migration. From this perspective, for example, NIKE's advertisement for Saudi Arabia, with its iconic slogan "Just do it", focuses on women's participation in sports and the transformation of social transformation through the brand (T24 2024). Both the Ronaldo example and the example of the NIKE ad are significant in terms of showing us how much social change and transformations depend on external factors and ethicalizations. International migration is one of the most important phenomena of these interactions.

Conversely, the perspective on religion or the degree of religious devotion among many Syrians has undergone a transformation (Appendix B. interview S-1; S-7). Hence, regardless of whether migrants relocate to other nations or go back to their countries of origin, this contact perpetuates enduring social ramifications and impacts

without any interruption.

In conclusion, amidst the ongoing challenges of migration, diversity, and global change, the findings of this study provide a means to develop a more sophisticated comprehension and more efficient, systematic solutions. This statement urges us to transcend simplistic, nation-centric frameworks of global affairs and immigration, and instead embrace a comprehensive comprehension that acknowledges the intricate, diverse movements of people, ideas, and civilizations that create our worldwide community.

Applying the concept of societal multiplicity to the Syrian migration in Turkey has uncovered some noteworthy outcomes. The connection between Syrian and Turkish populations has led to the establishment of new social formations and hybrid cultural practices, as emphasized by Kaya (2020c, 32-33). Furthermore, the theory has shed light on the intricate mechanisms involved in the negotiation and change of identity among Syrian refugees, hence questioning oversimplified ideas of integration or assimilation (Erdoğan 2021, 5). Furthermore, it has shown how the existence of Syrian refugees has stimulated transformations in Turkish society, including alterations in employment marketplaces, educational structures, and societal conventions (Bélanger and Saracoglu 2020, 419). Furthermore, according to this idea, it is said that societies undergo a paradigm shift due to migration. Even if migrants eventually go back to their countries of origin, they would still pass on the effects of this contact to future generations, resulting in societal change. The theory has emphasized the significance of transnational links and networks in influencing the experiences of Syrian migrants and their effects on both Syrian and Turkish society (Levitt and Schiller 2004, 1010). Furthermore, differences in culture may give rise to tensions and hostilities across societies, particularly during times of economic crisis. This is due to differences that are the consequence of societal multiplicity rather than anarchy.

An examination of the experiences of Syrian refugees in several host countries demonstrates notable disparities in integration results and policy strategies. Germany faced challenges in integrating immigrants due to their temporary protection statuses and limited access to labor markets. In contrast, Sweden's integration programs, such as language classes and job placement assistance, helped to facilitate a more

seamless integration process (Valenta and Ramet 2011, 4-5). These differences highlight the significance of policies that are tailored to the individual circumstances of each host country, taking into consideration their distinct social, cultural, and political environments. The societal multiplicity framework provides a comprehensive and detailed comprehension of these differences, acknowledging that the process of integration is not consistent but rather influenced by the interaction of many social structures and historical circumstances (Castles 2010, 1565).

## **5.2. Limitations and Future Research**

Although recognizing the constraints of its simplified model and the possible difficulties of implementing integration or assimilation strategies in reality, the research contributes to the advancement of more sophisticated and comprehensive methods in the field of migration studies. The study's main limitation is its emphasis on the necessity for a more profound comprehension of the intricate dynamics of international migration. It highlights the significance of interdisciplinary collaboration and the utilization of more comprehensive theoretical frameworks (Aksu Kargin and Sirkeci 2021, 866).

Moreover, due to the short timeframe of the research, some of the lasting consequences of Syrian migration may not have manifested themselves yet. The Syrian migration is relatively fresh, occurring within the previous decade, and while its impacts on both populations are continuous, the current ethical considerations and exchanges may be limited. Although the study's methodological benefits are recognized, it is crucial to understand specific limitations when applying the results to all regions in Turkey. Unique issues occur in locations where there is minimal or absent interaction between Syrian refugees and the local community. The limited level of contact hindered the study, requiring the use of generalizations to form the main claims. Moreover, the limited amount of interview participants further restricts the scope of this study, thereby affecting the comprehensiveness of the results made. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that these limitations do not diminish the credibility or relevance of the societal multiplicity theory used in this research. The acquired insights remain strong and significant, especially when taking into account the wider dynamics in action. The restrictions may provide more difficulties for

integration studies rather than for the theoretical framework itself.

Applying the concept of societal multiplicity to Syrian migration reveals the intricate interaction of social, cultural, and political elements that influence migratory paths. The choice to migrate is impacted by several factors, including war, economic inequalities, transnational networks, cultural affinities, and historical linkages between Syria and possible host countries (Massey et al. 1993, 448). The original open-door policy and cultural affinities in Turkey have aided migration, but later policy shifts and societal conflicts have modified migration patterns and integration processes (Erdoğan 2021, 63). This diverse perspective enables a more thorough comprehension of migration as a dynamic phenomenon driven by a multiple of linked causes.

In addition, it would be intellectually stimulating to use multiplicity theory within a comparative studies framework and examine migration situations that span over a longer period of time. An examination of the Syrian refugee experience in Turkey in relation to other migratory settings might provide useful insights on the relevance and constraints of societal multiplicity theory. For instance, doing a comparative examination of integration processes, examining patterns of social remittances, or exploring the role of diaspora groups in various circumstances might enhance the depth of the investigation. In addition, closely observing the extended process of how Syrians in Turkey adapt and integrate, together with the changing dynamics of social diversity, will provide useful longitudinal data. Possible methods for investigation might include further interviews, scrutiny of social indicators, or longitudinal examination of policy modifications.

Future study should prioritize exploring the applicability of societal multiplicity theory in various migration contexts. This may entail examining the function of transnational networks, the influence of remittances on both the societies sending and receiving them, and the strategies employed by migrants to navigate their identities in the presence of cultural and social disparities (Levitt and Schiller 2004, 1009-1010; Cassarino 2015, 224). Specifically, by applying the five consequences of the theory to different migration cases, new insights and perspectives may arise.

Further research should also investigate the convergence of societal multiplicity

theory with other developing paradigms in migration studies. Urry (2007) introduced the concept of the 'mobilities paradigm', which provides additional valuable perspectives on the intricacies of human mobility. Cresswell (2010, 18) emphasizes that mobility encompasses more than just transportation between two points. The subject matter revolves on the disputed realm of significance and authority. By incorporating various viewpoints, a more thorough understanding of the intricate social, cultural, and political aspects of global migration might be achieved.

Lastly, the theoretical framework of UCD, alongside concepts such "the whip of external necessity" and "historical backwardness" discussed in the thesis, can provide significant and diverse perspectives on the underlying causes, features, and outcomes of Syrian migration specifically and international migration studies in general. These frameworks emphasize the role of Syria's location within an imbalanced global system in facilitating mass migration, while simultaneously acknowledging the ability for migrants to exploit some benefits associated with underdevelopment. These frameworks promote a thorough examination that places Syrian migration within wider historical processes of global capitalist growth, state formation, and geopolitical rivalry (Anievas and Nişancıoğlu 2015, 8). Although this theory and concepts, which are among the main substantive perspectives of the theory of multiplicity, are not at the core of this thesis, they are important in terms of their potential contributions to the study of international migration. However, by grasping these principles and theories, a plethora of diverse researches might potentially develop.

To summarize, this theory suggests that international migration, similar to wars and trade, will influence the international system and have consequences for societal dynamics. The argument that social consequences would manifest over extended durations and the explanation of the phenomena of international migration may be categorized into five primary themes within the framework of the consequences of the multiplicity theory, offering a systematic advantage. The application of this theory in the field of international migration studies will inevitably give rise to novel research inquiries. If there were no international migration at all, meaning fully isolated nations, what would be the current structure of societies? Would there be inter-societal disparity in such a situation? Is societal multiplicity, considered as a



structural theory, an indispensable prerequisite for societies to change and transform? What perspective can multiplicity theory provide in comparative approaches to international migration? What opportunities do the consequences of multiplicity provide in the context of migration theory? etc. It raises the significance of the questions.

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## APPENDICES

### A. METU HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE REPORT

**UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ**  
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

**ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ**  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DUŞLUYUNAR BUZ YOLU ÜZÜMÇÜ  
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TÜRKİYE  
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**Konu:** Değerlendirme Sonucu **29 KASIM 2023**

**Gönderen:** ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

**İlişi:** İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

**Sayın Zerrin TORUN**

Danışmanlığımı yürüttüğünüz Yusuf FİDAN'ın "*Suriyeli Göçü için Teorik Çerçeve: Rosenberg'in Toplumsal Çokluk Teorisinin Uygulanması*" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek 0530-ODTÜİAEK-2023 protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım

**Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN**  
Başkan

**Pröf. Dr. İ. Semih AKÇOMAK**  
Üye

**Doç. Dr. Ali Emfe Turgut**  
Üye

**Doç. Dr. Şerife SEVİNÇ**  
Üye

**Doç. Dr. Murat Perit ÇAKIR**  
Üye

**Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Süreyya ÖZCAN KABASAKAL**  
Üye

**Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ**  
Üye

## B. CURRICULUM VITAE

YUSUF FIDAN

Contact Information:

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Address:

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### Education

Ph.D. in International Relations (*Expected 2024*)  
Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

Dissertation: "Societal Multiplicity Theory and International Migration: An Empirical Application to the Case of Syrian Migration to Turkey"

Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zerrin Torun

M.A. in International Relations (*Thesis Program*)  
Akdeniz University, Antalya, Turkey

Thesis: "Post-Cold War NATO's Balkan Policy"

Advisor: Prof. Dr. Şenol Kantarci

Dates: 2014 – July 20, 2017

B.A. in International Relations  
Karadeniz Technical University, Trabzon, Turkey

Dates: 2008 – June 2013

Exchange Program: Budapest University of Economic Sciences and Public Administration, Hungary (2012 – January 2013)

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## Academic Positions

Research Assistant

Department of International Relations

Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University, Nevşehir, Turkey

*April 28, 2022 – Present*

Research Assistant

Department of International Relations

Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

*July 20, 2018 – April 28, 2021*

Research Assistant

Department of International Relations

Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University, Nevşehir, Turkey

*October 2, 2017 – July 20, 2018*

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## Publications

### Articles in International Refereed Journals

Mengüaslan, H., & Fidan, Y. (2022). Pandemic and Irregular Migration: A Critical Review of the European Union's Irregular Migration Policy on the Basis of the Turkey and Libya Deals. *Ankara Avrupa Çalışmaları Dergisi*, 21(1), 195-223.

DOI: [10.32450/aacd.1148626](https://doi.org/10.32450/aacd.1148626)

### Book Chapters

Fidan, Y. (2019). Propaganda Activities in Turkish Political Life. In M. Karaca & C. Çakı (Eds.), *[Title of Book]* (pp. 269). Akademisyen Kitapevi. ISBN: 9786052583654.

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### Articles in National Refereed Journals

Çakı, C., & Fidan, Y. (2020). Presentation of China-Taiwan Relations in Chinese Propaganda: A Study on Mao Zedong Era. *Istanbul Gelişim University Journal of Social Sciences*, 7(1).

DOI: [10.17336/igusbd.549639](https://doi.org/10.17336/igusbd.549639)

### Conference Presentations



Mengüaslan, H., & Fidan, Y. (2021). The Sustainability of European Union Migration Policies During the COVID-19 Period: The Erosive Consequences of the Turkey-EU Agreement. Presented at *International System's New Crisis: COVID-19 Pandemic* Conference.

Fidan, Y. (2024). Re-evaluating International Relations Theories: The Impact of Artificial Intelligence and Robotics Technologies on the International System. Presented at *TESAM VIII International Social Sciences Congress: Opportunities, Challenges, and New Dynamics in the 21st Century International System*.

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### Professional Experience

#### Intern

Turkish Embassy in Pristina, Kosovo  
2014

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### Certifications

Spanish Language Course Certificate (Level B2)  
Trabzon Youth Center  
*October 10, 2011 – September 10, 2012*  
Certificate No: 124989

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### Languages

Turkish – Native

English – Fluent

Spanish – Intermediate (B2 Level)

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### Research Interests

International Migration

International Relations Theory

Impact of Artificial Intelligence and Robotics on International Systems

NATO and Post-Cold War Security Policies

## C. TRANSCRIPTIONS OF INTERVIEWS

### Interviewee/ T-1

Q- Could you introduce yourself in relation to Syrian migration in Turkey?

A-I have been working since 2014, mostly on their access to higher education, secondly on housing (together with architects), urban planning. I also had my own volunteer activities. Therefore, I was frequently involved in the field.

Q. How do you think the presence of Syrians in Turkish society has affected and shaped your life and the lives of the Turkish society?

A-For the first time, Turkish society has faced a society with such a large population. Turkey used to be more of an emigration country to different countries. Suddenly people were faced with the challenge of living (namely Syrian migrants). Since the number was so high, this first experience actually had a very unique characteristic. It was the first time since the Republic that such a dense population came face to face. For Turkish society, it affected Turks in terms of learning to live with diversity. It also had an economic output as the Turkish society was going through bad economic times. I also study the relationship between migrant workers and employers. There has been a process in which employers can take advantage of the exploitation dimension a little more and employ migrants without insurance and precariousness. Again, in this process, there has been an increase in the number of informal migrant workers. Syrians in Turkey are not qualified. They mostly came to sectors that are part of Turkey's informal economy, such as construction, textiles, agriculture, etc. Since there were already Turks working informally here, there was competition for jobs between Turks and Syrians. Since they arrived during Turkey's economic downturn, they were scapegoated for the economic crisis. Another difference with Turkish society was that they raised concerns about ghettoization and demographics. People started questioning identities again. A new agenda emerged in which Turkish

identity came to the fore and ghettoization was not wanted and feared. In other words, ghettoization used to occur in our structure, mostly in the Roma culture and some Kurdish neighborhoods. Now a new foreign element has been added to this and it has been added with a very disturbing perception. Therefore, I think it has also brought this. I mean, for the first time, ghettoization of foreigners... For example, in the US there is a Chinatown. The US is familiar with this, but we don't have such a situation. In our country, the establishment of Syrian restaurants (too often on one street) causes a concern, and of course the Syrian population that comes here is dispersed throughout the country without any planning (after the camps). This has led to demographic concerns in Turkish society.

Q-I have a question about the concept of internationalism. Do you think internationalism is limited to relations between states? Or does the interaction of two or more societies and the process of interaction directly give rise to internationalism?

A- Two societies for sure... What we call a border is a very abstract phenomenon. In other words, borders create a situation where the interaction between one side of the border and the other side of the border determines a very different region. It is necessary to look at it as a region. Therefore, I consider it more as an interaction between two societies.

Q- Can the concept of internationalism or internationalism be applied to Syrian migration? If so, what comes to your mind first when you think of Syrian migration and internationalization?

A- I can't really put the concept together because I have to look at a number of parameters here. First of all, these two societies are forced to migrate to each other (as you know, it is also a forced migration), this is something that is forced. It is neither something that the Turkish society wants, nor is it something that the Syrian society comes willingly. Therefore, this is an important question mark in this interaction. How much both communities want to know each other, how much they want to interact with each other. Does the incoming society want to interact with the Turkish society? Maybe even on a city-by-city basis, we come across very different interaction models, and the second factor is the time the two communities spend together. For example, in Gaziantep or Hatay, Syrians do not have any problems in

terms of language, or there is a cultural infrastructure that interacted long before this, and there are also trade and entry and exit. As a matter of fact, the border was open for a while. These kinds of factors can give very different results when the concept there is adapted to the Southeast and when the concept is adapted to Izmir. Therefore, I think this concept may make sense in societies that we call multicultural. Maybe this study can be established in the UK or Canada. Because the structure of the society and its history is based on interaction with foreigners. Both sides are satisfied with the relationship and there is consent. In the other

It is a bit more like in the Barry model (Barry had two ores) acculturation model. The first question is does the society really want to interact with the other? This is a very decisive factor. And if it does, how much and at what level does it want it? If not, it is already a model of separation. And when it is separated, 'internationalization', I think it might be a bit difficult to fit this concept here. But it can be used in migration. I am not sure if only Syria is very suitable for this.

Q-Multiplicity has five outcomes. Co-existence, difference, combination, interaction, historical change (dialectics). My first question is about coexistence. What do you think are the challenges and opportunities of coexistence between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens in Turkey?

A- Again there is the regional issue, it can be very different between provinces. difficulties, first of all the two societies are very different from each other. They are not the same (similar) society as it is said. So just having religious brotherhood is not enough to bring the two societies very close. The way they work, the culture, etc. are very different. I think this is a challenge. What we call opportunity is that Syrians relatively want to be in Turkey. So if there are good conditions in Turkey, they want to continue in Turkey. They are not very closed towards Turkey, because right now they have nowhere to go back to. There is nowhere they can go. That is why. These two things came to my mind (one positive and one negative).

Q- What do you think can be done to improve the culture of living together between Syrians and Turkish citizens?

A- A more pragmatic approach is needed. Turkish society needs to be convinced that

Syrians being in Turkey is not a threat and a better communication strategy needs to be followed. If there are some concerns, information needs to be transparent. For example, information such as how many Syrians and how they become citizens should be transparently disclosed to citizens. Another issue is that I think better examples of Syrians need to be brought to the forefront. I mean, yes, they exist, but they also contribute to this society. In other words, there is a need to increase the examples that they are a contribution to this society, not a burden. For example, as far as I know, Syrians cannot be licensed football players, this should not be a very difficult thing to regulate. However, we need to set examples of success and show that these people are also contributing to this society and this identity. The new perception that they are not always a problem and a burden needs to be given more. It creates a concern in the minds of Turkish society. These need to be explained with more scientific studies.

Q- What can be done to increase the interaction between Syrians and Turkish society. Social relations with this interaction. Can we argue that cultural, commercial and technological exchanges can be made and that this can benefit both societies?

A- I think that the issue of disadvantage is handled incorrectly when providing job opportunities etc. to Syrians, because there are many groups in this society who are Turkish citizens. Therefore, I think that the projects that are done with the contributions of international donors should include much more of the Turkish community because there is no such disadvantage here. In other words, it is not the case that you are in a very bad situation because you are a refugee in Turkey, but you are in a very good situation because you are a Turkish citizen. That's why there is a big difference between the model applied in Sweden, Germany, etc. and the model here. Because in Turkey, citizens can be exposed to situations where they cannot access certain rights despite being a citizen. For example, being disabled. Being an LGBT individual or having a different ethnic identity also prevents access to certain rights in Turkey. The perception that Syrians are always given money and aid and should always be given their rights negatively affects the interaction between the two communities. That's why I think we need to address disadvantage in those processes a little more. Another issue is education. There is a serious Syrian youth population. Most of them are children and young people, they have never even seen Syria in their

lives, we should see them positively. As a matter of fact, it was good that the classes were merged.

It is good for interaction that they are not in separate education but in mixed classes, but there should still be more emphasis on language. At that point you can see me as an assimilationist. But I can certainly understand that a community preserves its own language, but I cannot understand that it does not want to learn the language of the community it has immigrated to. At this point, I think we are not raising children well. I think at least 2-3 generations need to pass for this interaction to reach a certain point. Germany was like us. So it was not multicultural. In that sense, there is a difference between those who come to England, Canada and Turkey. The structure of the society you come from is also very important. I mean, what kind of society is Turkey? But what kind of society is Canada? That is also a very determining factor.

Q-Do you agree that the Syrian society and the Turkish society have been shaped, can be shaped or influenced by each other's cultural symbols over the decades? If so, how might this affect the fate of the society in the future?

A-I believe so, on the issue of the role of women. In Syria, especially the population that comes to us is mostly from rural areas, which we call rural, and I think that those women have developed more positively in Turkey. The fact that girls go to school, that they follow their children's education as parents, that women work at the point where they are forced to do so is a positive comment, without going into issues such as human trafficking and forced marriage, I say that the increase in the number of child brides, especially in this population, and the fact that the second and third wives are from Syrians is the negative side of the issue. How does it shape each other? I mean, I don't think Turkish society has been shaped and influenced much by Syrian society, but I think Syrians have taken some positive things from Turkey, from living together with Turks. For example, women entering business life. I can say it in this way. Also the education factor is important. Especially the issue of girls going to school is another example. Not a lot, but we can talk about positive interaction at these points.

Q- The third result is the differences. How do Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens differ from each other in terms of culture and values?

A-Turkey is a society with a republican experience, so it is a society that has experienced Westernization processes compared to Syrian society. But Syrian society is a society where the law is defined according to religion as a way of life and culture. Therefore, there is a historically different democratization process between the two societies. Their perception of law is very different. problem solving for example... Problem solving is perceived differently in our society as a public official rather than a wise person. For example, when there is a problem, we turn to public officials such as the police, whereas when there is a dispute among Syrians, the issue of wise people is more important. There are also sectarian divisions among them. These sectarian distinctions also exist among Turks, but the distinction among Syrians is much sharper... Marriages, living together, living in the same neighborhood... These are sharper in that society, it is a more controversial society within themselves. In other words, it is a society that debates within itself more than the Turks. Culturally, sharing the same religion is not something that reconciles us very much, only up to a point. For example, they told me that their working habits are very different. In Turkey, paying electricity bills and water bills in a certain systematic way (through toll booths, by credit card, etc.) is not something they are familiar with. At this point they had different habits, these are the differences I can think of for now.

Q- Are there any examples where these differences have led to positive or challenging situations?

A-Yes, yes... For example, marriage and divorce... We have this situation in the east as well. But we cannot only take the east as an example. For example, they have a problem. Then when you try to solve the issue legally in Turkey, you encounter rules from a different culture. It's very difficult to explain it and it's very difficult to explain it, you know, sometimes it's the role of the police in their internal disputes, the role of the teacher at school, the role of the female teacher, marriages, divorce, the acquisition and division of property... I think these can also cause problems. Of course, the uncertainty in their status and the legal legislation can also make the issue problematic. For example, the most important thing for a person to adapt to a society is to get a job and start a business. However, since they are exposed to very different legislation there, there is always an uncertainty, incompleteness, makeshift situation.

That is something that prevents people from fully interacting with the society. Either he establishes it with a Turk or he establishes it illegally. This time the Turk says that he does not pay taxes, he is not audited, etc. So the legal legislation is not very sustainable. It is constantly changing and transforming. I think this affects things a bit, there is such a thing as a person's habit of living, some may call it integration, some may call it getting used to it. So there is a legal legislation that prevents this. In other words, it restricts, affects and directs people up to where they live.

Q- Fourth combination of results, do you think it would be possible to somehow combine and blend the cultures and traditions of Turkish citizens and Syrians (at least at certain points)?

A- Time will tell. I think it is too early for that. I don't know whether to call it the influence of Syrians or the influence of Arab culture. I started to hear similar music in some of our songs to the music played at some Syrian weddings. These are very rare and rare examples. We never see them in movies.

There are no Syrian classmates or lovers in any TV series or movies yet, for example, people cannot get used to such a detail. Because it doesn't exist. Actually, if movies are the mirror of our lives, I think this is also a reality. It is an important reality in our society. But it's not there. Another issue is that the social spaces they can enter are limited. This is also due to legislation. For example, there is a Syrian lawyer boy I met. He has a very important experience in the field of law that Syrians need. However, he cannot practice his profession because he is not a Turkish citizen. Therefore, he cannot enter that circle... For example, Zaid cannot enter the field of social interaction.

He cannot be an actor there. Not fully. Why, because he does not have citizenship, he cannot practice his profession. I want to connect this here. Again, it is a legislative issue. If people can practice the professions they are good at, the professions they have spent years in (in Turkey), then the actors (connectors) in the field will be stronger enough to interact with the society. For example, they can have a presence in medicine, law, art, but there are problems with the recognition of their diplomas, which means that they can practice their professions. Therefore, in order to 'Survive', a person with a completely different profession takes part in a very different social



'circle'. He sells mussels, he works as a painter. In fact, his role as a social connector should be much different. Again, this is a problem stemming from a legislative problem, a problem stemming from the lack of regulation, In fact, regulations are being made; however, the main goal is not being achieved. For example, they can exist in medicine, law, art, but there are problems with the recognition of their diplomas, that is, the recognition of their professions. Therefore, in order to survive, a person with a completely different profession takes part in a very different social "circle". He sells mussels, he works as a painter. In fact, his role as a social connector should be much different.

He cannot take part in places where he can take part in a different interaction in a very correct and accelerating way, Again, this is a problem arising from a legislative problem, the lack of regulation, In fact, regulations are being made; but the main goal is not being achieved.

Q-Perhaps the regulations mentioned will be made, but the government may not be making the legislative arrangement in question because it is afraid of the electorate. This is my observation. But maybe the situation will change after the elections.

A- I mean, it may not be done after the elections. Because the Turkish society is not ready for this. Turkish society is very uncomfortable with the current uncertainty, I mean, we will live together for years, they are part of this society. How much do Syrians feel about it? I don't know of any study that has been conducted on Syrians. Is it? It's not a question like 'do you want to go back to Syria', it's not a question like 'do you want to go back to Syria', it's a question like 'this much of the society wants to go back; this much doesn't want to go back'.

Okay, that is also important, but that is not the question about the coexistence of two communities. How much do they want to belong here? How much are they open to this? I mean, do they also say this? I don't want my daughter to marry Turks, for example. Or do they internally say that one day we are also accumulating issues that we are oppressed against the Turks. We don't know these, of course.

Q-Did you notice any cultural elements or practices interacting with each other during your field experience? Did you observe any changes in the general behavior

of the Turkish community, their cultural structures, their outlook on life, etc. in areas where there is a high concentration of new Syrians?

A-I haven't observed reconciliation, but I have observed segregation. I mean, I know that they say we don't want them in this neighborhood and they take them out of the neighborhood, I know that they force those people to leave the neighborhood. I mean, they reconcile at the point where the employers they reconcile with exploit them. There is a silence there sometimes, in some very small neighborhoods, there are some people who say, "He earns his bread in the same environment with us, I don't feel uncomfortable". So this is not a subject I can generalize.

Q-Final consequences of societal multiplicity: Historical Change, how has the relationship between Syrians and Turkish citizens transformed and changed since 2011? A general question?

I'm talking about historical change. I mean, what kind of changes have taken place from the beginning of the migration to today?

A- According to the theory, time is very insufficient. To understand the transformation that the theory addresses. But in our small and short experience, if we had asked the society from the beginning, maybe in 2011, we would have gotten the same answer. If we had asked the question "Do we want to spend the rest of our years with Syrians? Do we want to live together in this society in the future of Turkey?" in 2011, maybe we would have gotten the same answer as today. However, the process progressed in the following way: compassion, temporariness and the perception that they are in need. They are being persecuted, now they are threatening Turkish society, their fertility rate is very high. They will never come back. They burden us... They are a burden to us... They don't contribute anything to this society, and in fact there is such a perspective in society against migration and against all migrants... people only think of Afghans and Syrians when it comes to migration. Irregular and forced migration... The British have settled in Dalaman... There is no such point of view, they have historically led this society to form an idea about migration, and this idea has not been positive. In fact, there was a positive idea before the wave of migration. The perception in Turkey when it comes to immigrants was Turks working in Germany, now when it comes to immigrants, Turks in

Germany are not remembered. Syrians come directly to mind and the perception is that they shouldn't come to us. Even in the incident in Palestine, people say. They started to say, will the Palestinians also come here? However, this country would not have said that in 2011.

Q-Do you believe that the paths of societies have changed drastically after the migration wave? In other words, if such a large and irregular migration wave had not occurred, would both societies still have the same level of cultural, technological, political and economic development? Or can we say that the fate of both societies has changed with this migration?

A- We need a period of 20-30 years to see this, but as a social scientist, it is not right to make predictions, but what I see is that both societies could have had a better interaction if there had not been such an irregular and large number of migration waves, because Turkey - Syria relations were a process in which trade intensified in the period after the visa was lifted and this was a positive process of interaction. However, today there is a negative and unwanted migrant group. Number and year is a very important factor here.

In fact, the difference between the immigration process experienced by the Canadian and Turkish communities is actually due to the fact that Canada is already multicultural. The other is a society with which we have historically very different relations, I am not saying that it is part of the Ottoman Empire.

Our struggle is different from the struggle there, the Turkish and Arab approach is different, I think this is a very clear distinction in society. I think it could have been different if it had been more planned in such high numbers. People were suddenly faced with uncertainties. Hüffstede is working on this uncertainty. Hüffstede says that. The society was faced with uncertainties with the Syrians.

It comes down to this. Is marriage a good thing? Does it improve both sides? If you marry for love it is a good thing, but if you marry by force it can be a cruelty to both sides, so ours is a bit of a forced marriage, so Turkish society only eats falafel now... I saw the other day that falafel has started to appear in our dining hall. Why? Because there are Syrian students. But this is not a big deal, but what happens? There comes a

day when we don't say this is Syrian, this is Turkish and we see them as a whole... For example, in Germany, we look at the third generation, the generation that speaks German so well... German?... Or you don't wonder about his ethnic identity... We need to get to that point, the painter comes to the house, I ask him to eat, he doesn't speak, I take the car to be washed, he doesn't speak to me, why doesn't he speak? He's scared. Because he speaks with an accent, he is afraid that it will be understood that he is Syrian, I experience this often. Many people experience this, so he feels the need to hide himself and keep quiet. What does this mean then? There is nothing good that passes from that community to here and from here to there. There is still fear and anxiety.

Q- Regarding the whip of external necessity, Syrians live in unequal and difficult conditions in their country of origin, which is something that every migrant inevitably faces. But can this inequality, underdevelopment or hardship serve as a whip to develop more in the future compared to the Turkish society?

A- I don't think positively, the Syrian group in Turkey is not the group that can create a challenge, I mean in which areas will it come out? In the years when they went with the Turks, they worked in bad jobs. But then, it's not because the Turks were whipped, it was possible because the Turks have high entrepreneurial qualities, not Moroccans for example, but the Turks are much more likely to start their own business and take risks. I don't see this in Syrian society now. I mean, for example, opening their own business and increasing their education are personal issues and they are areas that have not been studied in Turkey, they are missing areas, so I don't think it will be met. Because the society and culture they come from is not such an individualistic society. Their culture is not competitive; it is more social, more familial and has the characteristics of a rural society. So I cannot think very positively. It has been 11-12 years. This is a long time. There should have been more progress in such a long time. This does not mean that the Syrian society has failed to achieve this. It means that the Turkish society did not provide the necessary environment in that sense. After 12 years, we are still at the same point, we have even gone in a negative direction. That's why Turks went (to Germany) in the 60s. Let's say the international context of that period was a bit different. It will take some time for us to be able to answer these questions more clearly.

## **Interviewee/T-2**

Q-Can you briefly describe your academic and field experience in relation to Syrian migrants?

A-Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences, Department of International Relations, we were given a seminar assignment in 2007 as part of the International Law course. My homework at that time was the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 Additional Protocol, I started to look at what kind of practices there are in Turkey within that framework. How many people are there, where and when did they come from, etc.? Of course there was nothing at that time. There was no law.

When I came to Izmir, I made one or two interviews. I met some officials from Amnesty International during that time and then I completed the homework. Then I graduated. I returned to Izmir and wanted to work somewhere voluntarily. So when I was looking for which association, there was a refugee association. The Association for Solidarity with Refugees in Izmir... This is how I entered the field in 2009. Suddenly I found myself working at the Refugee Association, I worked as a volunteer for two years. I got involved in the subject, I learned about the subject as I became curious, the more I learned about the subject, the more they included me in the work, they showed a very inclusive approach. In this process, for example, I took part in the establishment of the refugee rights coordination, together with that group. In the meantime, I had started my Master's degree. I started working as a Research Assistant at a university. At that time, there were Afghans. There were very few Syrians. There were Kurds coming from Syria, there were Kurds without identity cards, there were Iraqis.

There were a lot of Africans, and then the war broke out. Therefore, while I was already working on the subject, suddenly the subject came into my study. Part of my thesis was about the use of human rights discourse in foreign policy. Therefore, it was indirectly related to Syrians, and then the topic continued on the issue of Syrians. Therefore, I kept in touch with civil society, I took part in the board of directors etc. After a certain point, I started to take part in some training activities because I was working both in academia and in civil society, so both my academic curiosity and my human rights advocacy developed in a shaped way. It's like we

don't call people refugees, but we really should. Therefore, I tried to balance and maintain both aspects. I continue to do so now.

Q-How do you think the presence of Syrians in our society has affected your life and perceptions, and how do you think Syrians have affected and shaped the life of Turkish society?

A- As I said, I was already studying this field. My field of study became more visible after the wave of migration, that is, when I said that I was working on refugees during my Master's degree. One of my professors asked me how many refugees are there in Turkey? Indeed, the numbers were around 75-80 thousand at that time, and I said, yes, there are not many, but I said there are not many people working. So my field of study, which attracted less attention, suddenly became interesting, this is the academic dimension of the issue. The social dimension of the issue is that while what I used to do was more accepted and there were fewer people, the issue has evolved into a discourse that these people have become too many, of course this did not happen immediately after the Syrians arrived. It happened in the last couple of years, unfortunately, people would say to my face... They spewed their stereotypes such as "let them go, they are like this, they are like that", they did not hesitate to say negative things, something changed in Basmane where I live, the Syrian population has increased a lot here. It became very difficult to explain this to people in Izmir. Because there were people from Africa - people who were not very similar to them - who came from far away and they were not harmful. Because they didn't mix with the society. But with the people coming from Syria and the realization that they will be permanent, with the lack of their return, people have now come, settled here, they are with us. As the visibility of their public presence increases, there are some negative discourses about this.

Here are some overreactions together with the negative reactions in the news... Or there is a situation like this in Izmir, Izmir is a very CHP-dominated province and a situation like Syrians=AKP supporters has emerged. They will get citizenship. They will vote... they will corrupt Turkey... So this is what I observe in my environment and in the most general form. Interest in the issue has also increased in Turkey. Both in civil society and academia, interest in the issue has increased. Because I think the

most important reason is funding, which goes beyond problem solving or academic curiosity about the issue. Until now, the funds were coming more Syria-based, I think they were coming more to keep them here. Now development funds are increasing, and the Ukraine Crisis exploded. So the funds started to shift. Therefore, I think that the interest in the field will decrease to some extent, at least it will start to be studied less - both academically and in civil society. I think it will be studied in different dimensions. We will work on their return, their integration. Or, for example, as in the case of ASAM, ASAM changed its name to contribute to development funds. So I really think that something else is evolving in a different direction.

Q- Do you think internationalism is limited to inter-state relations, or does the interaction of two or more societies and the process of interaction also lead directly to internationalism?

A-High politics or the state-centered approach seems to be a thing of the past. It is still very much the nation state or some other form of state, it doesn't really matter. Being attached to all these things, still acting on the classical understanding of sovereignty. I think these are not things that explain our current conditions, I mean, you can defend the existence of only states as much as you want. For problems and for solutions. You can try to solve it with the borders that states have achieved themselves. It can try to resolve the issue through the platforms here. We can argue that all this is very transitory, that the confrontation of states alone does not offer us a solution. Whether there are negotiations with the EU as much as desired, states can say whether we are passing or not, they can pass as much as they want. Refugees or people who really want to migrate. Migrants somehow find a way, if they are going to migrate, they cross the borders that those states claim to be sovereign. They don't just cross on their own.

There is smuggling involved. There are those who are sent from here and those who receive them from there. Therefore, we are not talking about a situation where migrants alone are the subject, so this is a serious interaction, there is a serious work in between. After that, there is also solidarity between them. Therefore, as I said, if we take the issue further than forced migration, people live where they come from, and they will continue to live. Therefore, societies here are now interacting with each

other. Although there is a combination, that is, a positive interaction, sometimes negative situations are also encountered, but in the end, it is neither possible to evaluate all of these as positive nor to generalize all of them as negative, Yes, migration changes and transforms something in society, it transforms it culturally. For example, Basmane was a place where the socio-economically lower income group lived in the last 35-40 years, but this place has started to be taken over by immigrants as a space and it appears as an area that has started to be shaped in this way, Syrians settle here (in Izmir). They open shops here, their children attend schools, they somehow communicate and interact with the local people here, for example, if they sell cheap bread, someone else goes and buys it, although it may seem like the issue is very different, that is, everyone shops at their own grocery store, but this is not entirely the case, so cuisines start to resemble each other, societies start to learn from each other, they start to mingle. Some commonalities and solidarities emerge. Why do I think so? Because some solidarity needs arise there, various projects, various activities targeting these groups, situations such as "Let's only work with Syrians", "Let's only provide vocational training to Syrians" have started to disappear. When migration started 10 years ago, only Syrians were chosen as the target group.

Nobody was asking anything to Turks. Gradually it became clear that this issue cannot be understood with a single community (group). In many studies, we even ask other migrant groups, compare them, and include other migrant groups in the work of civil society... There are also different goals here. Like preventing polarization between them. Therefore, I think there is more of this interaction in the lower income group. As for the upper income group, I think there is a prejudice and a serious reaction against them, they are not as likely to meet. Because now everyone retreats to their own castles (for people with similar socio-economic structures).

For example, if there is an Arab in İstinye Park, they think he is Syrian and completely different people come and shop. There is no possibility to sit together anymore. Or a Syrian who actually shops there or a Syrian who builds a factory in Antep cannot come across people in his own income group, maybe he deals with his own workers, maybe he pays rent and does not deal with anyone, but if he does not go to certain non-governmental organizations for help, if he does not go to certain



organizations, if he is not in need of solidarity, then they are left in their own space. It already feels like people from Turkey in a similar income group have no other worries but themselves, so there is much more interaction in the lower income group. I think it has more transformative power. I think that Turks and Syrians in that income group are in a reluctant progress in integrating with each other, if not a little more voluntarily, then by necessity, due to life practices.

Q-Living together; do you think there are any difficulties in living together between Syrians and Turks in Turkey? Also, what are the opportunities for coexistence?

A-Difficulties; Turkey's historical background and its generalization of the Middle East geography as Arabs and its serious uniformization. Actually, I don't think it's only about Syrians, but I think the political and cultural polarization in Turkey right now is not only for Syrians, but I think whoever would come here would face the same difficulties. So, this is one of the challenges. So for Turkey, it's the fact that the face is turned towards the West and Syrians represent everything but the West. So in short, prejudice is one of these challenges. Economic problems are again one of the challenges of living together. But again, I am actually saying something independent of Syrians, I mean, if any other ethnic group had come here, not Syrians, they would be seen as the "scapegoat" of the economy due to the current economic conditions in Turkey. This prejudice is a serious obstacle to coexistence. Hence some problems in the justice system in Turkey. Essentially, I think that all of this is the Turkish people externalizing their own problems with Syrians. It's a kind of projection. In other words, I think they are trying to explain something that is in Turkish culture politically and culturally with Syrians. Like what? The penal system for example. If a Turk thinks that a Syrian commits a crime and is not punished, this becomes something he can generalize to the society. Or the problem of tax evasion etc. are very general problems. But if this is observed in the neighborhood where the Syrian lives, suddenly everyone pays attention to it. Therefore, this polarization and stereotypes are actually the biggest obstacle to coexistence. In fact, the economic crisis could be an opportunity if there is a chance to explain these things a little more, if there is a chance to reach and influence lawyers a little more, the economic crisis could be an opportunity, solution mechanisms for unemployment here could be developed in terms of employment, if some projects are put forward, it actually has

the potential to give a serious momentum to the development of Turkey. Therefore, what I am talking about is far beyond 'let's use them in agriculture, let them work as shepherds'. Turkey needs to realize what it has in its hands. If it still doesn't understand... The migration administration shares a lot of numbers. Distribution by provinces, etc. What I mean by quality is not really a class thing. I just mean the level of education people receive, their knowledge about health, the level of vaccination etc.

Q- Interaction; what can be done to encourage positive interaction between Syrians and Turkish society? Can we also argue that this interaction will strengthen the social relations between the two communities and that there can be social, cultural, commercial and technological exchanges between the two communities and that this can benefit both communities?

A-Turkey has to accept as soon as possible that Syrians are here to stay, it also has to explain this to the whole society, it has to explain it transparently, and then it has to think about what we can do together without emphasizing that the two societies are very different from each other, without adopting an exclusionary approach. I liken the situation of Syrians to that of Kurds. In the 80s Turkey said that there is no such thing as Kurds. Only later did it accept this. Then it accepted that Kurds should be represented, but at the end of the day Turkey lost years. As a matter of fact, this process has been full of fights, arguments and bickering, and Turkey has lost people. If we accept the presence of Syrians as soon as possible, at least the 30-40 years lost in the Kurdish issue will not be lost in the Syrians issue, just as countries like Canada, the USA and Germany integrate themselves in a very different way when it comes to immigrants. On the one hand, they provide their own integration in a relatively more harmonious way and make use of them for their own development. People are relatively more satisfied to be in such environments. Yes, of course, some projects should be developed, but this should not be forced by international organizations such as the EU or the UN. Turkey should be doing this by considering it as its own internal issue. And it should be able to evaluate this from a non-partisan point of view. Therefore, it should be developing employment and education policies that bring the two communities together. Otherwise, you can prevent the settlement of migrants in some neighborhoods by closing them off, but you may not be able to

prevent ghettoization and polarization in total ten years from now. If you say that Syrians should only receive education within their own community, or that they should only receive certain health services, then even the things you do positively, whether you tell the public about them in a closed way or not, or whether you have a negative public discourse but provide services from within, will not unite societies. Therefore, both discourses and policies need to change and there needs to be more frequent interaction between the two communities. We also need to do more comprehensive work in terms of interaction. For example, we should stop stringing beads on 10 or 20 Syrian women in order to bring them into the workforce, and instead carry out broader and more comprehensive projects. For example, we need to meet with people representing businessmen on one side and bring together those representing migrants on the other side, meet with more nationalist groups and carpets, and make more mediation and diplomatic moves within the country to encourage reconciliation and coexistence.

Q-Do you think that the Turkish and Syrian societies have been shaped or influenced by their cultural symbols in the last period? If so, how does this affect the destiny of the two societies in positive or negative ways? By cultural symbols I mean their food culture, religious beliefs, work habits?

A-I think that they are in interaction with each other. As I just said, of course, this is possible for groups that interact with each other more, and I think that this is something more class-based and related to living spaces. Similarly, I think that the possibility of interaction will be higher in the lower-middle income group in terms of having more opportunities to meet in terms of receiving or trying to receive support from solidarity networks, sharing common public spaces or being in more public spaces. I don't think that this migration will have a negative impact on the future of societies. The world is in a state of motion. Nobody is actually standing still. I think migration has a more peaceful and inclusive, much more enriching effect. So yes, of course things will change. For example, the falafel eaten in Alsancak. Before there was no such thing, now shops selling falafel have started to open. Moreover, if you go to Basmane for example, you can eat falafel much cheaper and in bigger portions. There is something like Syrians = hookah... There was already an increasing use of hookah in Turkey. It only becomes an issue when Syrians smoke it, so a

consumption culture is formed around it. But not with Syrians; hookah use was already increasing in the country. Nevertheless, of course something will change due to this wave of migration. Therefore, the food culture will be affected, the way of working, I think what I have observed and heard in İzmir is that the working life of Syrians is positively affected. Because there is a serious shortage of intermediate staff. For example, employers who have difficulty in finding employees in the shoemakers' site or similar industrial areas can employ Syrians who are qualified in this sense. I don't think there is anything very negative here, but what will be negative? If you exclude people from education and deprive them of basic rights, these will be negative. At this point, since we will share the same space, whether they are educated or not, whether they have a job or not, etc. will directly affect us and our environment. This is essentially independent of being Syrian. It is something independent of being Afghan, it evolves into something where a person who is broke will steal and thus disturb the environment, a sick person will spread the disease to those around him, a young person without money and without education can disturb the environment and harm the society through illegal activities such as drug trafficking and mafia relations, I think the real danger here is the situation. It's going to be what Syrians do when they are left out of the system. Otherwise - a bit *cateris paribus* - but other things being equal, I don't have a perception or an opinion that cultural interaction will have a huge impact on the fate of societies or that it will lead to huge changes and that these will have negative consequences.

Q-Is there any difference between Syrians and Turkish citizens in terms of religion, culture, values, etc.? How do these differences manifest themselves in daily life?

A-I work in Ankara, Hatay and Izmir. If we talk about Izmir, there is a very serious language difference. This is not a place like Hatay where the local people speak Arabic. Therefore, there is such a difference, and of course there are more common points in terms of religion. Because a significant part of the people who come here are Sunni, so there is not a very serious divergence in this regard, and religion also plays a more unifying role in places like mosques and Quran courses for people in the middle-lower income group. Therefore, it may have such an effect. As the language barrier disappears, interaction will become easier. Arabic and Turkish are very different languages, even though they have common words. On the other hand,

Izmir is a city with a large Kurdish population and a significant number of the people who come here speak Kurdish as well as Arabic. Therefore, as soon as they meet and realize that they have a common language, this interaction can be more intense. I observe this especially among women, because it is women who go to get help somewhere, and the projects are mostly about women. So the interaction of women is more in this context, especially when children come together, they somehow have the opportunity to be together more. Of course, this does not always develop in the form of embracing practices. Exclusionary situations are also very common. It is possible to say that when the language barrier can be overcome, people come together more and develop relationships.

Q- What is the role of culture, art and music in the blending of the cultures of Syrians and Turks in Turkey? Have you observed a change in these areas after the Syrians arrived in Turkey?

A- I don't think there is enough opportunity to make observations about this, because when we talk about these issues, we cannot go beyond Maslow's first step, and the field of art you mentioned means moving to the upper steps of the pyramid. Indeed, the most basic needs of Syrians here are primarily food and shelter. Art is the next step. But of course there is a differentiated cuisine. Therefore, the changes are not a complete change, but I think it is a contribution. Here is the example of the falafel shop in Alsancakt. Their number does not increase immediately. They are gradually increasing in number. Culturally, there have not yet been opportunities to give us data on this. I think this is due to two things, the first is their material conditions and the second is stereotypes. I mean, Syrians are still hesitant to show themselves in other fields such as art, etc. For example, it is one thing for us to go out and sing, but it is a different thing for them to do it, because if they sing, they may face reactions from the public that "they are singing in public as if it is not enough that they came here". Or, you know, there was a war in their country, but how dare they have a wedding now? Therefore, they don't want to be too visible, and I think that in the conditions under which this is done, it is not disseminated in good faith. For example, a local newspaper does this in a more targeting way that will attract a reaction if it is disseminated. Or such good activities are not publicized because they see it as positive but avoid public reaction. Well, how do I know this? In Izmir, for

example, it was 6-7 years ago, on World Refugee Day, they brought together Turkish and Syrian poets. Both Turkish and Syrian poets read poems in Alsancak, both Arabic and Turkish versions of separate poems were read. This was very important. There was also a choir of both Turkish and Syrian children. Children's songs were sung that day. At that time, anti-immigrant sentiment was not as strong as it is today. Despite this, this social activity did not find a response even locally. Yes, both Syrians and people from the human carpets area came to the event, there was no negative reaction. However, if it were held today, there might be a reaction. In fact, such events are very limited. There is also the Izmir Musicians Association in Izmir. They organize events where they bring together children from migrant groups and Turks. They organize events where they bring together children from migrant groups and Turks. Again, there was a recent event about immigrants. There were African children, Afghan children, Syrian children and Turkish children. They all sang songs together. It is a very interesting community. Most of the Africans were undocumented. When I went to the event, I thought that there would be no participation, that there would be interference. But nothing like that happened. It was very enjoyable, very crowded. It was made up entirely of mothers and children. In fact, this kind of work is being done and the participants enjoy it very much. But they are not very visible, so they remain in their own small spaces, but it still creates an impact.

Q- My next question about the historical transformation; what kind of changes and transformations in the structures of the two communities could happen in the future with the impact of the union?

A- Societies will necessarily somehow merge through marriages. This is a serious transformation. For example, I come across things like this on Tik Tok; "Do you have a Syrian boyfriend?" "Will you marry a Syrian?" So this was not an issue 10 years ago. But it is an issue now. Marriages will increase. There are children born here who have never been to Syria, who have never seen Syria, whose Turkish is much better than Arabic, and who are more Izmir than my daughter, so they will actually constitute a synthesis in a way. Because they will be a transitional generation, it is not possible to say that these children are completely Syrian. Even though their parents are, but still, if issues such as education and integration are not

given importance, this can still be a problem. Of course, there will be a serious population change in the society. First of all, they will become citizens. So there will be a change. There will be a serious Syrian population. Of course, when I was talking about interactions, I always talked about the transition from Syria to Turkey, from Syrian cuisine to Turkish cuisine. You cannot just make people citizens and leave them. Somehow they will also have the right to be elected. Therefore, these discussions will take shape in that context. Just as political parties today talk about quotas for women and quotas for young people, there will be a mechanism that includes Syrians and allocates quotas for them. Today, civil society organizations will not only be made up of Turks; the NGOs of Syrians will also be present at the table. Also, an organization will not only need Turkish and English translations, but also Arabic translations. Yes, somehow there will be social change. Turkey is already a very crowded country, so I don't think that the whole population will be dominated. I mean, Turkey should definitely include Syrians in its plans when making its plans, right now our population is said to be 83+3.5 million, but in the future it will not be said this way. It will be the total population.

Q- The fact that Syrians are in Turkey and living in unequal and difficult conditions, can we foresee that these difficulties may act as a whip for Syrians in the future?

A- Of course people will want to show themselves. For example, there is a family from Hatay who settled in Izmir after the earthquake. No matter how hardworking the children are, no matter how much they want to show themselves, they cannot go to school right now because their travel permits have expired. Therefore, their presence here is seen as "illegal". Therefore, they can only participate in short-term educational activities and play with their friends on the street. They also try to maintain a low profile. Because if you are a man and you go out, you are immediately subjected to identity checks, and since your travel permit has expired, your family can stay here, but you will be deported and your family will know about it maybe in the evening. Therefore, how much the opportunities we mentioned at the beginning will be opened up is an important question. If we compare it with Germany. Germany has an experience from the Nazis, it has a sharp wing that is trying to fight against the xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiments of the past. So while one side continues to be exclusionary, there is a wing in the middle that rejects

the past legacy completely and tries to be as multicultural and inclusive as possible. And there are a considerable number of them. So yes, there are restrictive policies there, but there is also a side that opens space for people but tries to do it through politics. I just told you that the situation of Syrians should also be evaluated in terms of brain drain. Therefore, people will see these things. If the anti-immigrant, anti-foreigner sentiment that emerges in every election, which increases especially during election processes, continues in this way, if polarization continues, people will feel that whip, and when they feel that whip, when they realize that there is no future for them in Turkey, those who feel that whip will look for a way to go to other countries. Therefore, if we do not create favorable conditions for them, they will not feel that whip. Those who are here only for the Red Crescent Card will stay here. And we will be left alone with them. As we are already smuggling highly qualified people to Europe and other countries today, we can argue that the same thing will be similar in terms of migrants, and we should also ask the question of how others can find that motivation when even Turkey's own citizens cannot find it in themselves under these conditions.

### **Interviewee/T-3**

Q- Could you briefly describe your field background in relation to the situation of Syrian migrants in Turkey?

A- I started working as a Provincial Migration Specialist in Hatay in 2015. I was mostly working in the field in Hatay. We were mostly working in Cilvegözü during the Eid celebrations. I have been in Nevşehir since 2020. Here, we mostly carry out projects with harmonization policies.

Q- How do you think the presence of Syrian migrants in your community has affected your life and perceptions? Also, how do you think it has affected and shaped the life of Turkish society? Very broad and complex question. But I would like to ask for the first answer that comes to your mind.

A-The Syrians were actually welcomed with tolerance when they first arrived in Hatay. There was tolerance in the early stages of migration. There was also a historical background between Hatay and Syria. However, this tolerance started to



evolve into a negative one in the following period due to issues such as the long duration of their stay, the difficulty of their return, and the provision of various aids to them. Various discourses started to develop on the Turkish side, such as "Enough of this aid". Q- What are the challenges and opportunities of coexistence between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens in Turkey?

A-In terms of opportunities, there have been some opportunities in the field of work. They are open to labor exploitation due to labor and labor law. They have created an opportunity for some capital owners and business owners in terms of labor force. Syrians started to work especially in agriculture and animal husbandry. The challenges are social tensions and an increase in hate speech. There are also some entrenched misconceptions. There are misconceptions that Syrians are involved in too many crimes, and there is also resentment that they do not learn Turkish. Because of such tensions, there are difficulties in living together. Syrians also live among themselves. Shopkeepers usually always have Syrians as customers. They cannot fully realize that interaction.

Q- How have Syrian migrants interacted with Turkish society? o What are the positive and negative consequences of this interaction?

A- We also have difficulties in our integration activities, but children and young people have no problems. However, there is some dissatisfaction among adults. Also, younger people can integrate more easily, but this is not possible for adults.

Q- What can be done to encourage positive interaction between Syrian migrants and Turkish society? Can we also argue that this interaction will strengthen social relations between the two communities and that cultural, commercial and technological exchanges can take place and that this can benefit both communities?

A-When we go to the bazaar here, we see a lot of falafel sellers. But I don't think a Turkish person eats falafel. Yes, Syrians can keep their culture and traditions alive. But they do it by preserving it rather than interacting with it. Maybe there may be an influence on our culture in terms of polygamy and living without civil marriage. There were already unions with religious marriage in Turkish society. However, after the Syrians, I can say that this has increased and become more normalized in Turkish

society.

Q-How does the presence of other immigrant groups affect the situation of Syrians?

A- Actually, Nevşehir can be a good example in this regard. Because Iranians and Afghans have been coming here for about ten years under the guidance of the UN. In terms of Iran, it has not been affected much. Because the education quality of Iranians is relatively higher and in general they do not share the same social environment much. But Afghans have been affected a little more. Because Afghans are generally targeted and cited as an example in certain crimes. But after the arrival of Syrians, Syrians started to be associated with certain crimes. Syrians were not positively affected by the high quality of education of Iranians, but Syrians were negatively affected by the involvement of Afghans in crime.

Q- How do Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens differ in terms of culture, religion and values? How do these differences manifest themselves in daily life?

A- In Syria, public institutions are closed in summer because it is very hot. They mostly work in the evening. That is why not many Syrians come here in summer. They come more in winter. Because they think that this place (Provincial Directorate of Migration) is closed in summer. They buy us gifts for public personnel. This is forbidden for us. Gradually we started to overcome this. In this context, some people even brought fish here.

Q- Do cultural and social differences between Turkish and Syrian society affect integration and cohesion? If so, what can be done about it?

C- We do cohesion activities. But it is not very effective. Yes, the foreigner participates in integration activities. But this does not affect his general view. If he is not going to obey the law, he continues to do so. For example, we had Social Cohesion and Life training. In 2021, this activity started with the coordinators of the Directorate of Public Education. All foreigners over 18 years of age in our country were given an 18-hour training. We organized a very comprehensive training program covering the general structure of Turkey, customs, traditions, rental contracts, legal aid, etc. Yes, foreigners participated in the training. But we could not see any difference in the level of consciousness. This is a bit forced and superficial.

Q- When Turks migrated to Germany, they also had difficulties in terms of integration. However, the new generation is much better and successful in these matters. Can we see a similar situation in the case of Syrians?

A- I think yes. Families may not meet, but children play the same game on the streets, they can interact more easily. But what we do not observe negatively in this generation is that they hate more easily. Because the first generation came here fleeing from the war, they have a sense of gratitude. However, the second generation does not have this feeling because they were born here. I think this has the potential to create a spark that can ignite more social tension. Q- How have Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens merged their cultures and traditions? What are the positive and negative consequences of this cultural and social combination?

A- Most of the foreigners who first arrived in 2011/5 were wearing chador, they were covered. But now relatively more young people do not wear chador even if they are covered. Or if we talk about men's clothing. For example, men used to wear full-length dresses. Nowadays, there are almost no Syrian youth wearing such clothes.

Q- What is the role of art, music and food in blending the cultures of Syrians and Turks in Turkey?

A- Maybe through art exhibitions and painting courses, there has been an interaction and blending between these two communities. We took photographs of foreigners living in Nevşehir and organized a photography exhibition, which of course created a certain amount of combination.

Q- Do you believe that the ways of societies have changed drastically after the wave of migration? Do you agree or disagree?

A- If Syrians had not come to our country, we would have had problems in finding labor in some areas, especially in agriculture and animal husbandry. There has been a lack of demand in some professions, especially with the increase in the level of education of Turks. Economically, Turkey might have struggled. Syrians have also developed a resistance to everything because they lived under more oppression in Syria. They have developed resistance against education, against obeying the law, etc. But maybe after they settled here, this resistance may have been broken to a

certain extent. Also, when I would say something, they would not pay much attention to me because I was not a woman. However, when they saw a policeman or a soldier, they would immediately stand at attention. Maybe this perspective may have changed now.

Q- The fact that Syrians are migrants fleeing the war in Turkey has a negative impact on their development and they experience unequal and difficult conditions in the country they migrated to. But can this inequality, underdevelopment or difficulties serve as a whip to progress much faster than Turkish society in the future? Do you accept this or are you against this idea?

A-Yes, they may feel such a whip. But the main purpose may not be to gain a place in Turkish society, to be respected, but to go to Europe and settle down. Anyway, the first goal of Syrians would be to go to Europe.

#### **Interviewee/T-4**

Q- Do you think internationalism is limited to relations between states? Or does the interaction of two or more societies and the process of interaction lead directly to internationalism?

A-Turkish society and Syrian society are very similar. Culturally they are very close to each other. They have a lot of similarities especially with the Turkish society in the Southeastern region of Turkey. Therefore, it does not lead to internationalization, they are already similar societies.

Q-What are the challenges and opportunities for coexistence between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens in Turkey?

A- For employers, the presence of Syrians creates an opportunity. There is a need for physical labor in certain professions. There are also marriages between the two communities, which can be an advantage. The disadvantage is that these two communities will become an inseparable whole. Therefore, when these two communities merge and form a whole, it will be more difficult to separate again.

Q-How have Syrian migrants interacted with Turkish society? What are the positive and negative consequences of this interaction?

A- There is a limited interaction between the two communities. Especially in public spaces such as schools, workplaces, parking lots, etc. For example, in neighborhoods where Syrians live densely, the parks are always filled by Syrians. Turks are uncomfortable with this situation.

Q- How do Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens differ in terms of culture, religion and values? How do these differences manifest themselves in daily life?

A- The rate of polygamy is very high among Syrians. This is one of the most fundamental differences. There is also a high rate of child marriage. This situation also makes adaptation difficult. In addition, according to the Turkish legal system, marriage under the age of 18 is a criminal offense, but the fact that this is commonplace for many Syrians makes integration difficult. Turkish society has come face to face again with issues that our society has overcome in 100 years.

Q- Do cultural and social differences between Turkish and Syrian society affect integration and cohesion? If so, what can be done about it?

A- We do not eat in their restaurants and they do not eat in our restaurants. Since their status is temporary protection status, both sides are far from harmony.

Q- What is the role of art, music and food in the blending of the cultures of Syrians and Turks in Turkey?

A- In terms of food, for example, their food is more spicy. But it is also very similar to the Southeast culture. They also don't drink our tea. In general, it is easier for those of a certain age to adapt.

Q- According to your observations, how has the relationship between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens developed over time? What are the challenges and opportunities of this evolving relationship?

A- At first, there was a security-oriented migration wave. After 2018, the migration wave was not security-oriented. It was more of an economic migration.

Q- Do Syrians interact with other migrant groups in Turkey?

A- Iranians, for example, implied that they were not taken care of after the Syrians

arrived. Of course, there is a partial truth in this. As a matter of fact, after the arrival of the Syrians, immigration offices and institutions started to take care of the Syrians in large numbers.

#### **Interviewee/T-5**

Q-What are the challenges and opportunities for coexistence between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens in Turkey?

A- The older generation inevitably has difficulties with integration. The younger generation is more comfortable with integration. We can say that Syrians creating a labor market is an opportunity for Turkish industrialists. The difficulties arise from lack of planning. In this context, language learning is a challenge in the interaction of the two communities. In the Kayseri region, Syrians are ghettoizing in certain neighborhoods. This may be a leading indicator of social problems.

Q-How have Syrian migrants interacted with Turkish society? What are the positive and negative consequences of this interaction?

A- The two communities interact through marriage and labor force participation. The use of Syrians as cheap labor is positive for employers. However, some Turks have difficulty finding a job due to cheap labor. This is also a negative situation.

Q- How do Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens differ in terms of culture, religion and values? How do these differences manifest themselves in daily life?

A - There is not as much interaction between the two societies as it is thought.

Q- Do cultural and social differences between Turkish and Syrian society affect integration and cohesion? If so, what can be done about it?

A- It is useful to focus on the younger Syrians in terms of integration and cohesion. Because it is easier for this group to adapt and integrate. Also, I don't know if this is a good example, but Syrian children try to look like Turks due to the fear of being ostracized. They feel the need to hide their identity.

Q- According to your observations, how has the relationship between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens developed over time? What are the challenges and

opportunities of this evolving relationship?

A- At first, Syrians were seen as " Ansar". With the prolongation of the guest period, the perspective towards them started to change.

**Interviewee/ T-6**

Q- Can you tell us about your academic and field background in relation to the situation of Syrian migrants in Turkey?

A- We conducted two studies after it came to the agenda. I also had one of my students do fieldwork on the subject. As a side field of political science, I also intersect with the field of medicine and health. In fact, my doctoral thesis topic was migration from Turkey to the TRNC. Therefore, I had a general knowledge of migration literature and migration. Of course, we are facing very different situations in the issue of Syrians. In 2010, in the formation of monthly services for migrants - At that time, there was a state program for family community health centers and the employment of Syrian physicians for Syrians. We researched it and wrote an article about it, and then we conducted a study on the integration of Syrian health workers. Of course, these are the field part of the studies. We also conducted a study on the discourse of immigration in the discourses of the MHP and Zafer Parties in a book chapter. Finally, as a doctoral student's homework, we conducted a study in the Tarabya neighborhood where Syrians live densely. conducted fieldwork with entrepreneur migrants. This was a study with a business perspective.

Q- How has the presence of Syrian migrants in society influenced your perception?

A- Life and perception should be divided into two. I attach great importance to perception in politics. Perceptions are as important as facts. In other words, rather than a reality, how that reality is perceived is also important. This is a separate aspect of the job. And by whom this perception is formed is determined by the actors, by political actors. This is not very different from Turkey's own domestic political dynamics. The discourse is built on it. On the perception side, there is a polarized political climate from which both sides benefit. Within Turkey itself, there is already a rising danger from the 90s onwards. Others adopt the view that we should take our position accordingly. In fact, this is a polarization that not only benefits those who

create this perception, but also the perception's interlocutors, because we are talking about a political climate that consolidates its own base. In other words, there is an effort to design politics based on the secular vs. religious conflict. However, there are different class perspectives, rising classes, classes that have lost their position and their perceptions of reality. In this climate of perception, Syrian migrants are something that the government - from a class perspective - can kill many birds with one stone, something that can lower the price of labor. But it has the potential to legitimize this with the discourse of "guests", "ihvan", "our brother". There is indeed oppression there. This is not a perception created out of nothing. In the end, we are talking about a mass of people who were ostracized by the regime because they were Muslims and because they were people with Islamic sensitivities. I can't put all of Turkey in that category, but we are talking about a government brought to power by an excluded religious population. This sometimes creates an area where common codes can easily be formed at the level of discourse. Therefore, in terms of perception, it is one of the parties that builds this perception. It can be argued that it has succeeded in constructing itself as the representative of the religious. But through such a perception, it is a situation that legitimizes it through an actor that the opposition also accepts, but at the same time camouflages a reality such as "cheap labor". This is similar to this; there is a terrible human tragedy in Gaza. There is a political discourse over this. On the other hand, there is also an environment of trade with Israel. Part of the perception is built on this. Islamic brotherhood, Muslimness etc. But this perception is of course based on the coding of Syrians as guests, which was one of the biggest mistakes of the government. It was a mistake in the sense that it looked at it from a political scientist's point of view and left itself no room for maneuver. As a matter of fact, it was easy to say, if they are guests, send them back. This is partly how the ruling party coded it. Of course, while this was being codified, it had not yet consolidated its own power and had not yet allied itself with a relatively nationalist party. After 2016, the perspective has changed, the conjuncture has also changed. We will touch on that separately. This is one side of the coin regarding perception, the other side is that there is also a vein that emerged with the discourse of 'Arabization'. Of course, this is combined with the veins of "anti-Islamism" and "secularization" and immigration is taken out of its structural context and transformed into a scapegoat, as in every immigrant society. As a result, the



secular-religious polarization we mentioned at the beginning becomes a consolidating area for the opposition over Syrians. However, the contradiction of the opposition is that on the one hand it claims to be a party, but on the other hand it needs to keep the secular and nationalist vein alive. Those who are dissatisfied with this are shifting to the Victory Party. The party's main themes are: "occupied Turkey", "immigrants with high fertility rates", "Arabs whose population will overtake ours after a while", "Arab joy at being in power", and so on. Especially after the MHP's alliance with the AKP, it is understood that there is a social base among those who are dissatisfied with this alliance. On the other hand, this perception is not independent from what we are going through economically. As in all countries receiving migration, there is also another dimension. In my opinion, this is the point where life and perception intersect. Until 2017, the AKP gave certain segments of the population an upper class, or thought it did, as a matter of fact, a certain mass of people who had been out of the comfort zone for a long time started to enter the "comfort zone". For example, you open 200 universities. 200 universities have no qualifications, but if you know that you are giving university education to the children of people who could not go to university, it creates this feeling. On the other hand, a gap has emerged in the positions that have been elevated, and we now have the following reality; we are now faced with large masses of university graduates. Nobody wants to do the work that migrants do. There is also such a reality. Nobody wants to be a porter, nobody wants to be a barber, nobody wants to be a factory worker. On the one hand, we have such a migration process. But there is also a perception as if the Syrians and migrants are the cause of this and the reason why they cannot find a job. Now the coin is hypocritical. Because of their status, like I am a university graduate, I am not going to be a forklift driver, I am not going to be a porter, a barber... Just as in Germany, Germans do not do this work and Turks do it, that migrant population will do it. But it is not the migrants who have changed life, I think something else has changed life. At the point where life changed, immigrants filled the gaps. However, when we look at the perception part, of course, it is not something that can be expected that the man in the coffee shop understands the structural situation and makes a class reading; but immigrants have filled that gap. There is a non-political, non-partisan social perception, a society that sees Syrians as the cause of this situation and considers them as scapegoats, saying that Syrians have

a job, there is no job for me, but when it is their turn, they cannot find a job even though they are university students. As for how it directly affected your life; Let's take the example of Kayseri. From the 80s onwards, Tarlabası in Istanbul and Tarabya in Kayseri were neighborhoods where the old urban nobility used to live, but they moved to villas as they moved up in class, and when Syrians filled the derelict neighborhoods they left behind, they suddenly became valuable... The neighborhoods of Tarabya where the neighborhood relations and Kayseri culture used to live, but now that the Syrians have arrived, these neighborhoods are said to have become Arabized, but you (the Turkish residents) left it behind, you moved to the villa in Bağlar, and others settled there. I am sure that those who criticize this issue do not even encounter Syrians in their daily lives. They live their lives in their own gated communities and liberated public spaces, secular or religious... Neither the ones who affirm nor the ones who negate are the ones who encounter Syrians in daily life, in the public sphere. But they legitimize this through perceptions. Whose life is directly affected. It has affected the blue-collar worker. But this is one aspect of it. It is one thing to lose one's job because of Syrians, it is another thing to die because of their demands and the demands of migrants. In addition, it is another thing as if he lost his own job or his child would work if he had that job and could not find a job because of Syrians: It is as if the middle class and upper middle class are acting as spokespersons for the working class. For some of the middle class and upper middle class, perhaps the area where they will encounter Syrians in their lives will be the porter who comes to their house when they move house. Or if they own a factory, they may encounter them as the person who informally employs Syrians there. In other words, it is a different situation for people who have only these encounters to worry so much about Syrians and to speak on behalf of those who are really victimized. Are there really victimized people? Yes, there are. As a political scientist, I can say that those who are really victimized are not the ones who turn to the Zafer Party; I think they are the masses who organize in the auto-industrial site or the new industrial site in Kayseri and form the base of Yeniden Refah. In other words, the issue here is looked at through Yeniden Refah's labor narratives, not through issues such as Arabism and religiosity. As far as my observations go, Yeniden Refah is approaching the issue from a very good place. If you ask, where do those whose lives are directly affected turn to? I think they turn to Yeniden Refah. Those who go

through perceptions are part of the polarization (both in terms of opposition and government), the CHP and Zafer Party on behalf of the opposition are very much scratching the issue. But we cannot say that they interact with Syrians in the public sphere. Similarly, there are AKP voters who do not have any interaction with Syrians, but who prevent the evaluation of the pros and cons based on the Islamic brotherhood. So on the one hand, the actors of polarization are consolidating each other. On the other hand, they turn to parties like the Zafer Party or the Welfare Party that find a vein in this polarization. Also, if we look at the issue from a theoretical perspective, something like this comes to mind: For Habermas, for example, we are talking about a plane where mutual prejudices will decrease as contact in the public sphere increases. Also, there is something I missed at the beginning of the interview that comes to my mind now. We are working on a Tubitak Project. In this project, we gather Syrian and Turkish students around a table and expect them to consult on a topic. As a result, we examine whether there is a change in perceptions.

Q- When we say internationalism, do you think we should only understand relations between states, or does the interaction of two or more societies also directly lead to internationalism?

A- The encounter of two societies is internationalized insofar as it has the effect of influencing or shaping the policies of any two or more than two states. For example, workers from Armenia working for the Armenian community in Istanbul. Their internationalization of relations between Armenia and Turkey only makes sense when there is a problem between Turkey and Armenia, and Turkey internationalizes the issue by putting it on its agenda as a result of the illegal work of this group in Turkey. Similarly, I do not think that leather traders from Eastern Bloc countries in Laleli or Russian brides who get married and start living in Antalya create an interaction in terms of international relations. However, they can be internationalized by states or other actors of the international community - not necessarily states, but the EU, NGOs, supranational organizations. I think they are approached in this way after they come to the agenda of these actors. Another example from history is the events of September 6-7. Or the massacre of neighboring Serbs and Bosniaks in one night during the Yugoslav War... Communities of different nationalities can consider themselves as actors within the borders of a country and strangle their neighbors or

loot a Greek's store. Lefter, for example, says this: One day I was on shoulders as a national team player; the next day my house was looted. What makes this possible depends on the capacity of the state to present an international problem as an inter-communal problem, and this capacity is also related to the political culture of that society. In a society with a culture of lynching, the inter-state relationship is also about the manipulation and provocation of this societal multiplicity against each other and the capacity to codify the relationship between societies as a relationship between states, the political culture of that society, the place the state occupies in that political culture, Whether there is a culture of lynching, a culture of hatred, in other words, if relations are based on a matchstick, if they are based on me provoking people and saying Syrians are like this, let's go to Eskişehir Bağları to loot and demolish their houses, not only inter-state power relations but also the social culture that creates this ground is effective. Therefore, from the outside, relations between societies, between peoples, or between people can be normal in the course of daily life. A Turk may shop at a Syrian grocery store, or a Syrian may shop at his grocery store. These people can interact and synthesize. But this is not something that will happen for sure. I mean, my experience throughout history is that the common culture that emerges as a result of that interaction rarely translates into taking a common stance or defending the rights of those who are not mine. I think culture and state-centeredness are very intense in these lands and civil society is not possible independently of the state, the state of trade unions is already obvious. All these have to work in coordination with the state. Therefore, as soon as you say that the interests of the state require this, you have the power to direct the mass in interaction, so if the government codifies this interaction as a positive situation, this will continue and there may be a transformation in international relations, but as soon as the government says that this is no longer necessary, it can easily use the situation that it has easily taken into its repertoire, which is now being defended by the Zafer Party. We experienced this in the early 2000s. As a matter of fact, in this period, when I say that differences are our richness, not today, so I am speaking more from an orientalist point of view due to geography - I think that when the relationship between societies is left alone and not manipulated, it will find its own way, whatever its sociology requires. This means that if the interests of inter-state relations are in line with this, it can potentially create new interactions, new riches, but ultimately the interests of the

states and public opinion, especially in societies where civil society develops in dependence on the state, this interaction will easily happen, but I think it is very difficult to be independent of the state and the interests of the state.

Q- What are the challenges and opportunities of coexistence between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens in Turkey?

A- There are difficulties in these two aspects, I don't have empirical data on how intertwined they are. However, as far as my observation is concerned, all migrant communities are like that, they are self-sufficient in certain neighborhoods of the city. However, I can't base this on anything, I can't base it on data, but I think that the contact and language practices of their children are better. To be honest, I like to share the same space with people who have common values in the geography and get to know them. For example, the food, etc. Of course, I don't know what the radicalization capacities of the people who come here are, frankly, at the end of the day, Anatolia is a Muslim geography, but as long as it is not provoked. It is a tolerant geography as long as it is not manipulated, and it is a geography where it is a little difficult for Fundamentalism to take root, and I don't know if there might be a risk of Fundamentalism through them, I didn't encounter such a prototype, but there were profiles I saw outside. However, I don't know how healthy it is to act on images and comment on this issue in this way. The idea of multiculturalism, of living side by side without anyone changing is something that actually causes more harm than good. Everyone closes in on themselves and people who cannot hold on become radicalized. Obviously, this is how it happens, in my opinion, assimilation is inevitable in certain areas within the framework of a certain integration and integration, that is, you have to teach, you have to teach, you either learn Arabic or they learn Turkish in order to somehow ensure contact. In other words, I think that this inevitable paradox of these states may be an opportunity for us to overcome the internalized orientalism of that geography, we have an internalized orientalism of that geography, everything that belongs to the east is bad and we have to be absolutely western, etc. It is a very difficult geography for us to live together, but on the other hand, we cannot read orientalism as if there were only Republican elites, etc., or there were Muslims who were excluded, etc., etc., because now 20-22 years have passed. Because now 20-22 years have passed and there is a bloc in power with

an ontological claim of indigenusness. I don't know how much their connection with geography continues to be felt as it was in the early 2000s. They are secular too. Because when we look at it from one side, there is also such a sociological situation. The feeling at the beginning of the 2000s and the feeling now, those civilizational discourses and so on are no longer there, that is, we are building civilization and civilization in the early 2000s, which was underlined a lot. We are all part of a civilization and so on, and frankly, there are not many signs of them at the level of discourse anymore. At least such things like civilization, coexistence, culture of coexistence, etc. are discourses that can be built when the economy is good. Just as philosophizing for pleasure requires leisure time and the economic prosperity that makes that leisure time possible, it is clear that such construction efforts actually require a certain amount of leisure time and a certain amount of prosperity. Therefore, as the economy deteriorates, it seems to me that there is a risk of living together in the opposite direction, scapegoating them and providing such a social comfort through them.

Q- What do you think can be done to encourage positive interaction between Syrian migrants and Turkish society? Can we also argue that this interaction can strengthen social relations between the two societies and that there can be cultural, commercial and technological exchanges and that this can be a beneficial exchange between the two societies?

A- Yes, but we can't talk about a benefit on the same levels. Even our most Islamist women have become part of the social life in our country, they are studying, but I don't know what the situation is with Syrians. Maybe they are a little more traditional. Of course, if you say something like being a role model for them, I would be saying something very orientalist, to be honest, their dynamics are very different. Of course, I am not saying this in a good or bad way, it is clear that there will be an interaction in this way, but it would be like saying it is good for me and placing it in a bad way. Therefore, I am not saying it in this way, but of course there will be this interaction.

More girls will probably study, they will have easier access to information and they will probably experience a sociological transformation, or in migrant communities,

women and men will have to work together in order to survive. These are the first things that come to my mind, in other words, there will be a transformation in a way that women will be more visible in public spaces, but I don't know if this is good or bad for them. I think this is what has kept us alive for thousands of years, the power to synthesize Byzantium and Iran, the power to synthesize the East and the West, the power to synthesize Turkishness and Arabism, and so on. But these are things that happen when they are organic, when they are left to their own devices. Therefore, I think that efforts to integrate them at the institutional level, etc. may backfire in this climate, that is, there are programs to integrate Syrians and maybe they are successful, but there is no way to introduce Syrians to Turks at an institutional level by the state. I think that anything that is done with an emphasis from the outside, such as let's take this as a friend and play, can be counterproductive in this climate. I think that the accumulation of nationalism and radicalization, which has the potential to increase, can also backfire. You know, in a more liberalized atmosphere where the economy is good and Syrians will not be blamed for everything, something like Aleppo Days, where the ethnic food of the region will be introduced, can be done. But right now, it would be better to leave this to spontaneous interaction between the peoples rather than such local or national integration policies. For example, I can see now that some people have started to say that they learned from my Syrian neighbor while sharing a recipe on Instagram. If you follow the comments, even there, the question may come to mind that we have been doing this for years in Antep, why were we learning it from our Syrian neighbor? Since people have the logic of a nation-state in their minds, they can only act in the perspective of borders, so even there they can react. Therefore, such a common culture needs to be left to its own devices. As long as states and societies do not try to manipulate it for their own purposes, I think it will find a certain balance, I mean, for example, in the West, for example, anti-immigrant parties start with 10%, while in the US it is a good thing that it stays around two and a half and three, in this sense, so it can find its own way.

Q- Now there will be a problem with the third result, which is about differences. How do Syrians and Turks differ from each other in terms of culture and religion and how do these differences manifest themselves in daily life?

A- Of course, in order for me to say this, I need to think that Syrian migrants are very

homogeneous. There are probably things I can say. The rich people of Aleppo have probably provided a well-to-do life here and they live the way an average traditional Turkish family lives. I don't think there is a significant cultural difference except for language. But we have a parenthesis like this, we have a process of westernization. Of course, we also have Turkish Muslims who define themselves as Muslims, who go to the Friday prayers, attend the Eid prayers and fast. These are the Muslims who drink alcohol when necessary, maybe this can be written in the risks section. As long as they don't try to teach the Muslims here about Islam, I don't think coming together at the mosque will cause much of a problem. But there is a group of people who live in vineyard houses outside of public life, you know, at the intimate level, but not very Islamic, secularized and degenerated to the extent of disclosing this in the public sphere, but traditionally, there is a group of people who do this in secret at 3 points in their privacy, with friends or in Ürgüp in Istanbul. As long as they are not taught Islam or imposed their way of life as the norm, there will be no problem. Maybe there are situations among them that are not completely Islamic. In fact, I think, of course, as we get closer to that geography, the culture of Antep and Urfa is more similar. Therefore, I think that when a villager from Urfa goes to Izmir, when a villager from Antep goes to Konya, when a villager from Kayseri goes to Izmir, they will experience what will be experienced culturally. But let me also make this comment. They came from a vacuum of authority. They were not even citizens properly, we have at least 100 years of civic consciousness. We have the practice of voting. Even the most radical of us have come a certain distance. When you look at it, this doesn't end with just eating and drinking, but my observation is that when it is considered on a cultural level, it varies depending on the class position. Especially in the villages, elderly people whose wives have died are buying Syrian brides, or if there is a normal exchange of girls in a place, it shows that such a culture or existing culture can be articulated in a way that it will continue. In Cyprus, Greeks and Turks, even the Turks who feel Cypriot have a very low level of intermarrying with Greeks. Therefore, nothing can be expected to emerge between different communities here and there. At this point, when we think about this example, essentially at this point, a Cypriot culture was tried to be run there, but this did not work there, but since it can be accelerated here, it seems that there is a common cultural plane.



Q- I have a question about the 4th consequence of Multiplicity, the combination, what is the role of art, music and food in the blending of the cultures of Syrians and Turks in Turkey according to you and your observations?

A: I don't think there is a new synthesis yet. Maybe falafel has opened in Istanbul, but it is mostly Lebanese here. We are talking about things that are in Turkish culture, run by Syrians. At least it doesn't seem different to me. Maybe there are things that are different. If you say art, of course these kinds of things are very complicated and I can't tell you which one we can take as a basis. When we look at the cultural understanding of a man who listens to Radio 3 and a man who says, "Let me have a glass of wine", they are both part of this culture. I don't know, the man who keeps a glass of Zamzam by his bedside so that if I die, they can put it in my mouth is also a part of this culture. Now I don't know which of them I will perceive as the culture of the breadth of this. I don't know how it will interact with the Syrians, because we are in our own efforts to build and rebuild, I don't know how it will affect them. But we don't have much difference with them in terms of food and drink. Their introduction to the fast food culture will probably be influenced by us. They don't have a fast food culture. In my opinion, they will be articulated with the global world through us. That is the way it is. Rather than localization or Arabization, I think people who leave Anatolia for the big cities first become conservative with the concern of protecting what exists. Conservatism is a very urban phenomenon. It starts with the emergence of the concern to preserve, and then they start to communicate in the system in some way. It will be the same here, first they will try to keep their own culture alive, because they will be very introverted, maybe they will be radicalized, but the next generations will inevitably articulate with the global world through Turkey. Most of them have probably seen McDonald's and Burger King here. So I think they will be more influenced by us than we will be influenced by them, and we have more capacity to transform them, more capacity to globalize them, more capacity to open them up to the outside world. . When we look at it, there is also something like this. For example, an example like this came to my mind. Now barbers are migrating from Turkey to Europe. In this period, a large number of barbers are migrating to Europe, and for example, something has started in England, such as a type of barber, where the hair is massaged, washed, etc. Such a

culture can be carried. I don't know if Syrians have such a culture where they can carry something with a lodge, and if they do, I haven't seen it yet. I don't know if there is a culture that Syrians can bring me an innovation that is different from ours, and if there is, it is now coming not through Syrians but through Arab tourists and shops that try to attract Arab tourists. Hookah shops and so on and so forth... Therefore, our job is very difficult. I don't know which transformation is due to the interaction of Syrians and which is due to the interaction of Arab tourists, but it is difficult for me to determine how many hookah cafes are Syrian and how many are Arab tourists. Therefore, I am saying that we have a higher capacity to transform it rather than it affecting us. In terms of music, anti-Sisi salaries in Egypt are listened to here as entertainment music. We already had an oriental music for Arab music. As far as I know, I feel like they will put another stone on it. I don't know how established they are, I mean Aleppo music, I'm a foreigner. Of course, this depends on the possibility of those immigrants from Syria to create their own artists here and so on. Just as Turks in Germany are able to influence the Turks there, in time, perhaps artists who interpret Aşık Veysel through the melodies of Aleppo will grow up here. Of course, why shouldn't it grow, and it's a good thing.

Q: The last conclusion is the problem with dialectics, do you believe that their societies have changed drastically after the wave of migration, in other words, if there had not been such a large and irregular wave of migration, do you think the current cultural, social, technological, political and economic levels of development in the two societies would still be the same, how would this be transformed in the future, or can we assume that the fate of the two societies has been profoundly transformed by migration?

A- There may be a possibility that a change in the fate of one of the societies may be a more minor change in the other. I don't think there is a macro change in terms of Turkey, because in terms of foreign policy, Northern Syria is a geography from another framework that we perceive as a threat and we will face a dilemma there. We will be faced with a dilemma such as cheap labor force here or the Arabs who have returned to their own lands and established their own states in time and have been patronized by Turkey. Because Turkey has a serious presence there, Turkey is trying to establish an artificial state in order to prevent the formation of a Kurdish state

there, if you are not mistaken, in order for them to return. Therefore, nothing much has changed for Turkey in terms of its existing sensitivities in line with its sensitivities in foreign policy, we were already doing this by attracting an existing population group more to its side and supporting the private Syrian army even if they did not come. Therefore, I don't think there will be a big path shift for Turkey, I don't foresee it, frankly. I think that the interests of the states are more independent from these, more macro, in that sense, I look at it from a more international relations perspective, and I think that they will try to adapt their macro interests. Of course, when we look at it on a sociological level, there will be great transformations for those who come. Because people who will not be able to get a university education there, who will not even be considered a citizen, are opening different doors here and they can knock on those doors. They can articulate with the world, but whether they stay here or go back, this transformation will inevitably lead them to a different path. So they will not stay as they came. If they hadn't come, they would have been different, but after they came, of course they became different. At least they learned a language, they learned Turkish, and they will eventually return.

Q-There is the concept of whip of external necessity. I have one last question about that. The fact that Syrians are migrants fleeing the war in Turkey has a negative impact on their development and they live in unequal and difficult conditions in the country they migrated to. But can this inequality, underdevelopment or hardship act as a whip for Syrians to progress faster than Turkish society? Can such a situation occur? This is essentially similar to the case of Turks in Germany. When the Turks first settled there, they were in very difficult conditions, especially the first generation, but in the following generations, this situation changed and they settled in more advanced dimensions than the German society, whether in the businessman dimension or in the sportsmanship and artistic dimension, we can say that the Turkish society has become more prominent at this point.

A- I am from Bursa. I grew up in Bursa and I remember the '89 Migration very clearly. Let's say that the migrants who came to Bursa have 2 dimensional consequences. One of them is the structural dimension, since they have to hold on to their class, husband and wife have to work harder. This is an obligation, essentially the scarcity of resources and they have to utilize those scarce resources in the most

optimum way. But the Turk in Germany, but the feathers from Bulgaria, but the Syrian This is an obligation. In essence, when we look at an ontological situation arising from the fact that they are immigrants. This is not to say that they do this to make themselves accepted in society. They also have to work so hard in order to fulfill their necessities in order to survive. I think that if the need for an immigrant population has emerged in a society because of this, it means that a certain level of prosperity has already been reached, such as in Turkey, which means that jobs that the locals will not do have emerged. Okay, so you have a more comfortable population and you need a population that wants others to work. Automatically, it is already a benefit of this, but the Turkish employee wins, but the Syrian immigrant wins, this is the way it is, the one who gets used to the comfort becomes loose. From an Ibn Khaldunian point of view, asabiyya weakens and migrants appear to be more successful, but this is an ontological consequence of this, they have to do this to survive. To be able to exist in an environment where they are excluded and to say I can do this as a Syrian is a different thing. I think this will happen in the second generation, in the generation that is studying and when they are oriented towards jobs in fields such as art and white collar jobs where they can compete directly with the Turks. However, they can only just get a foothold. They still have to work hard to fulfill their necessities. The children who will come after this hard-working generation and who will prove themselves in other fields will have the whip that I can do this as a Syrian in the middle and upper middle and upper class areas where there are common Turks. I foresee this starting in the future. They're in the holding phase right now. And then there's the current whip. Yes, but this is more of a whip that comes from the survival instinct. The whip that comes from discrimination and second class is a little bit later, after a Syrian violinist comes out and says look at a Syrian playing the violin, then they will feel that whip and they will start to succeed at that moment. But there is still time, most of them are still working or working in the fields.

**Interviewee/T-7**

Q-How does the presence of Syrians affect other migrant groups?

A - Other migrant groups think that Syrians are a more privileged and advantageous

group. That is why they say why we are not offered the privileges they are offered.

Q- Do these groups interact with each other?

A- Not very much. Iraqis and Syrians, Palestinians and Syrians interact in general.

Q- Other than Syrians, what is the general level of interaction between other immigrant groups and Turkish society?

A-Turkish society has a warmer relationship with Uzbeks from Afghanistan. Because Uzbeks are culturally very similar to us. Their children speak Turkish like our children. That's why Uzbeks are generally in contact with Turks. Iranians, on the other hand, are more introverted. So they are closed.

Q-Did these immigrant groups exchange culturally with each other?

A- Of course. People from the same group spend time with each other. This leads to cultural exchange during the time they spend together.

### **Interviewee/T-8**

Q- Could you tell us about your academic and field background in relation to Syrian migrants?

A- I graduated from Istanbul University, Faculty of Political Sciences, and then I did my Master's degree at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. My Master's program was Middle East Politics. The date I entered the Master's program coincided with the beginning of the Arab Spring. Therefore, the interest was spontaneous. Then I came to Turkey and 'Daily Sabah' was being established in Turkey. At that time, there was a very intense wave of migration from Syria to Turkey. Therefore, since I was constantly covering Syria in the newspaper, it came directly into my field of interest. I covered both the war and Syrian migrants closely.

Q- How do you think the presence of Syrians in Turkey has affected the perceptions of Turkish society?

A- This has more than one aspect. First of all, one of the mistakes made in Turkey is this: We call Syrians as Syrians, but Syrian society is a society that contains diversity

of communities and ethnicities within itself. In other words, just like there is a difference between the people from the Black Sea and the people from the Aegean, there is a very serious difference between the people from Raqqa and the Syrians from Aleppo. People coming to Turkey from the south of Syria, from the desert region, are more difficult for the people in Turkey to relate to, whereas those coming from the regions already under the control of the Turkish Armed Forces or the YPG (the region from Idlib to the Raqqa border) will be no different from the people living in Urfa or Mardin. After determining this, there is no great difficulty, no great difference in starting to live with these people. So it is not like 5 million Cambodians coming. This is one side of it. How much has it changed the perception of the Turkish people? I am not sure about that, because Turkish people are very open to the outside, but they are also closed to learning. I mean, since 2011, over 3 million Syrians have arrived in Turkey. But how many Turks have gone and learned Arabic? Or researched what Syrians are and what they are not? Or more technically, how many research institutes on Syrians have been established? Despite being a country that has received so much immigration, this has not been enough. Of course, this situation is unique to Syria. With the arrival of these Syrians, the political fractures in Turkey have intensified. More precisely, it has become more obvious. On the one hand, the Islamists emphasized the brotherhood of the ummah, while the Kemalists emphasized Turkishness, Arabism as a sign of backwardness, and so on. Here is the example of the Zafer Party on the table. Frankly, I think this: there are so many Syrians, there are so many Syrians. This is a bit exaggerated. I mean, I don't observe that they have a changing, transformative effect on the Turkish population, I mean, of course, in Fatih, Istanbul, the Maltese bazaar is completely owned by Syrian shopkeepers, such as restaurants, dried fruit shops, bakeries, etc. I don't know if this has changed anything. This bush is a natural thing. I've lived in London, I've lived in Vienna, there's a neighborhood in Vienna where Turks came in the 1960s, the bakery, the doner shop, the gallery, the builder, etc., they all became Turkish. Did this transform Austrian society? I don't think so. There is something similar in Turkey.

Q-What are the challenges and opportunities of coexistence between Syrians and Turks in Turkey?

A- Since Turkish society has urbanized very fast, the rate of university graduates has increased very fast, and it has become more secularized in various areas, there is a perception that Syrians are following this social transformation behind Turks. A concrete example of this is that Syrians have many children. Here are 7-8 children. In Turkey 20-30 years ago, this was normal. But not today. There is also talk that Syrians do not pay attention to hygiene and cleanliness. Thirdly, there are complaints that Syrians talk loudly and that they don't obey when it is necessary to be quiet after 9 pm. Of course, I am saying this as a result of the interviews I conducted in the field. The places where these complaints are concentrated are the places where the economic level is low. For example, when we look at neighborhoods like Başakşehir, where Syrians with relatively good socio-economic status live, these problems decrease. The Syrians who have money and are well-off are the ones who came from the upper stratum in Syria. There is such a situation. There was a shortage of cheap labor in Turkey. It still continues. Since the schooling rate among Turkish citizens has increased a lot, Turks no longer want to do direct labor-intensive jobs at minimum wage. Therefore, these jobs are mostly left to Syrians, and when Syrians start doing these jobs, let's say when they enter a garment workshop, if they started as a cleaner, after a while they become a middleman, then they start sewing, and over time they learn the craft. Then they start to fill in their fellow countrymen and friends. This leads to a perception that Turks are unemployed. What kind of reflection will this have in the long run? How much capital will be produced there? How much of it will be shared among Syrians and how much of it will the Turks be deprived of? These are important questions, but there are not enough studies in Turkey.

Q- Interaction: What can be done to encourage positive interaction between Syrians and Turkish society? Can we also argue that this interaction would strengthen social relations between the two communities, i.e. increase cultural, technological and commercial exchanges, which would benefit both communities?A- The assumption here is that there is a uniform Syrian society. First of all, there can be social and cultural interaction with Syrians, even if it is limited. However, Turkey is not a very open society. Moreover, since Syrians have started to be seen as a security threat, this interaction has been largely blocked. However, the most important interaction with Syrians is language learning. In other words, some Turks learn Arabic from Syrians.

Syrians have courses that teach Arabic, another issue is cuisine. Syrians have many restaurants in Turkey. Especially those who come from the Mediterranean coastal cities of Syria, who already know how to cook, have come here and have opened some very upscale places. How well known are these? I don't know... As far as I can see, after the arrival of the Syrians, some dishes such as variations of hummus and Syrian sherbet, which are also available in Turkey but are not very common and are more typical of the Southeast, have become widespread. Of course, this has not become widespread in Ankara, for example in Çankaya, but it has become widespread in Keçiören. In Istanbul, it is more common in Fatih than in Suadiye, but even in Suadiye there are kitchens selling felafel. In the past, for example, foods from Levant cuisine like felafel were almost never thrown away. Of course this is an interaction. But in order to pave the way for this social interaction, Syrians must be taught Turkish. These people want this, they don't want to learn on the street; they want to learn Turkish properly, with grammatical structure. While doing this, they want to teach Arabic to their own children in order not to lose their own language. In order to increase this interaction, the language issue needs to be overcome. An integration map needs to be presented to Syrians. Unfortunately, everything is unplanned at the moment. But after the Syrians arrived here, they needed to be taught certain things to adapt to the society. But Turkey is late for this. A lot of water has passed over this. If we have so many human resources, if Turkey's fertility rate is gradually decreasing, if Turkey is emigrating, then these people should be utilized. When these people first arrived, a man working in a bakery in Fatih was a physics engineer, but he was carrying flour. Like Germany, they were not classified and sorted according to need. But from now on, this needs to be done to increase this interaction. So how can we benefit from these people? This needs to be questioned and steps need to be taken. Also, xenophobia and Arabophobia, which is not a big issue in Turkey at the moment, is at a very high level. This needs to be punished. Issues such as the large number of Syrians and the fact that they are spread in many parts of the country can be discussed. Are Syrians loyal to the Assad regime or are they related to the PKK, are Syrians ghettoizing? Are they involved in mafia activities? All these can of course be discussed. However, in many interviews I conducted, especially during the last election period, many people said that money etc. is not important, but we send our children to school, let alone their peers, even



teachers discriminate against our children. For example, their children want to recite the national anthem, but they are told that they are Syrians. Now how do you ensure the nationality of these people? In order to ensure interaction, Syrians need to know your language, your history, your culture, and they need to establish a bond with you, if this happens, Syrians will not only do business among themselves; they will slowly start to enter the society. One of the solutions to this is, as I said, criminal sanctions against discriminatory and racist speech. Q- Differences: How do Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens differ in terms of culture, religion and values, and how do these differences manifest themselves in daily life?

A- First of all, Syrians are more religious than Turks. Because even though Syria has been ruled by the socialist Baathist regime (for 40-odd years), the Socialist movements in the Arab world have not brought about a secularization like in Turkey. Therefore, from primary school or kindergarten onwards, Syrians are subjected to an education that can only be obtained in Turkey through private education. For example, in our schools, some of the religion classes are compulsory, but even this can cause controversy. In the Syrian curriculum, on the other hand, a child memorizes surahs and prayers from kindergarten onwards and, if necessary, becomes a hafiz. As I said, the most striking difference is the level of religiosity. Also, as far as I see religion is much more organic in Syrian society. Syria is actually an exceptional case in some respects. The Assad regime is composed of Alawites. There is an Alawite-Sunni divide, but at the end of the day, Assad's tribe is also Sunni. There is a serious difference between being an Islamist in Syria and being an Islamist in Turkey. Because if Syria is not Alawite, communists and liberals are also Muslims. As I said, their connection with religion is more organic. Now when they come to Turkey with this baggage, that is, we are migrating from one Muslim country to another. The shock they experience here is deeper. It is very strange for Syrians that at least certain segments of Turkish society have no interest in religion at all. This is a challenge for them. For the Turks, on the other hand, a community has arrived whose religiosity is not open to question and they don't make an issue of it. When they came to Fatih, suddenly the number of congregations in the neighborhood masjids increased, because Syrians go to prayer at prayer times. This is independent of whether you are an Islamist, whether you belong to this sect, whether you are a

waterman, whether you are an Arab. When Turks see this, especially conservative Turks are surprised. The Syrians also started to have demands from the Diyanet; they asked for permission from the Diyanet, saying that in Syria we sit in the neighborhood masjid every evening, read the Qur'an, then sing hymns, 'this is our life', and then they were given permission. Therefore, there is an interesting encounter over this perception of religiosity. This should be addressed in more depth. In addition, Syrian hodjas (religious scholars) are more conservative on certain issues than our religious scholars, and Diyanet is very disturbed by this, for example the issue of Tahüddütü- zevcat. In other words, the issue of polygamy, is this halal for Syrian hodjas? Yes, it is halal. That's it. The hodjas in our country say it is halal but.. Can girls be married before they are of legal age? At least for the mainstream in our country (i.e. the Diyanet and certain communities that at least accept the Diyanet as an authority), they say that yes, girls can be married when they start menstruating, but it is better if they don't marry, or it is better if they come of age. For Syrians, there is no such debate. Because the Baathist regime, although it is not a religious/Islamist regime, they did not aim to transform society in this sense, and even though they had some secular statements in their programs when they first arrived, they did not put this into practice. In other words, on this example, the Baath Party did not address a situation like you can't marry your underage girls, whereas Turkey eventually fought certain struggles on these issues. Another point is that the Sunnism of Syrians is stricter than the Sunnism in Turkey. The participation of this Sunnism also manifests itself in its approach to non-Sunni groups, which is understandable in the Syrian context. 1) The fact that it is ruled by the minority Alawites and Iranian militias (Hezbollah) have occupied many parts of Syria. On the other hand, the word Nusayri gained a pejorative meaning during the Ottoman period, so in order to remove themselves from this negativity, they started to call themselves Alawites. It is assumed that Alevism there is the same as Alevism in our country. However, there is no historical connection. For example, when I spoke to a Syrian, he told me how many Alevis there are in Turkey and expressed his surprise at this situation. Also, Syrians have madrasahs etc. in Turkey. There are also Turks who go here. There is also a religious narrative here that is not under the control of the Diyanet. Culturally, these people (Syrians) are more relaxed than Turks, less stressed, more lax about keeping time. They do things in a more organized way.

Because they are used to this in Syria.

Q- How do the cultural and social differences between Turks and Syrians affect integration and harmony? What can be done to ensure integration?

A- Some of their characteristics affect integration, language affects integration. I think their relationship with religion and their perspective on male-female relations are also very important, overcoming these is not something that will happen with this generation. The most disturbing points for the Syrians I have spoken to are that their children cannot learn Arabic and that their children are becoming secularized. The secularization of their children does not mean that they are against religion or that they are drifting towards a positivist perspective, but that they are indifferent towards religion. In fact, not only indifference towards religion, but indifference towards the baggage of being Syrian. So whatever happened, happened, now we are in Turkey. Let's look ahead. Now, in order for this new generation not to fall into the spiral brought by this baggage; these children need to be educated, these children need to be given job opportunities, they need to be kept away from discrimination. Also, interaction will increase through marriages. I am also against positive discrimination against them (such as additional quotas for Syrians in universities).

Q-Are there any concrete examples you have encountered in the field regarding the integration of Syrians and cultural exchange between the two communities?

A-There was a family I met. Their daughter was in her teens. She did not speak Turkish, she was not taught Turkish. In other words, it is not like kindergarten. It's not like let's blend in with your friends and learn. They really learned Turkish with a lot of difficulty. The girl worked and struggled. She won an undergraduate program at Cumhuriyet University in Sivas. In fact, her family was a very pious family. She also wore a headscarf, but her style of dress began to resemble that of women in hijab in Turkey, and as she entered the university environment, the relationship between men and women changed. The family is bewildered rather than disturbed by this situation. Of course, when people think about migration beforehand, they focus on questions such as how to rent a house, how to get a job, how to buy a car. But when they encounter cultural situations, it can be painful at times. For example, his father was proud of his son. We came here, he learned Turkish with a lot of

difficulty, he took the exam and won medicine. Of course, taking technology and utilizing cultural capital is something that will happen with the new generation. In Turkey, there is a group of conservatives who publicly distort history. That the Arab revolt or the revolt of Sharif Hussein was a lie. They are consoling themselves that it was a British game. Of course this is a case. Many tribes in Syria today also revolted against the Ottomans at that time. Of course, the foundations and associations established by Turks today say that Syria was Ottoman. Abdulhamid built a fountain in Damascus... Su Han, whoever he was, built a minaret in Raqqa... arguments like this have created a conservative Islamist perception of history in Turkey. I see that this also has an effect on Syrians, because they are looking for a branch to hold on to here. Especially in a period when xenophobic parties such as the Victory Party are under increasing attacks, people who are looking for a root feel the need to hold on to such a place. One can argue, of course, that one can think that there was no Arab revolt, what is wrong with that? The problem with this is that Syrians may be included in the polarization in Turkey, and on top of that, Syrians may bring their own historical background into it. Q- What is the role of art, culture and food in the blending of the cultures of Syrians and Turks in Turkey?

A- We can argue that all of them have a role, for example in music, the music in Syria and our Turkish music are basically the same. I am a bit interested in music. There are only differences in the pitches they use. Syria has unique melodies, and this difference is to fit them. After the Syrians came here, Syrian musicians somehow joined the music activities in Turkey. Of course, this is the music community in Turkey, which is big. Music production companies are not within the reach of Syrians. It is already difficult even for Turks. However, their small groups are the ones who go to weddings and associations. Those who make music for Youtube, Spotify, and when they meet Turks, this is something interesting. Because when a Turkish musician and a Syrian musician come together, there is a real interaction like "Son give this string, I'll hit that string", "why did you tune it like this". I personally know a Nashid (i.e. a singer who sings hymns. The most popular maqams in our country are hicaz, hüzzam rast etc., and these maqams are the same in Syria. But in addition to these, nihavend, yegah, etc. Now, when Syrian singers and Turkish singers met in an environment, there was no politics or religion involved. Nothing is

new. Because it is music after all. There are also many compositions out there. Therefore, there is a very serious interaction there and I think this will increase. In terms of art, especially Syrian calligraphers have somehow entered the market in Turkey. In Turkey, these traditional arts, especially calligraphy, are somewhat closed communities. And they still are. Therefore, Syrians appear here again as cheap labor. For example, if a plate written by a calligrapher in Turkey costs 20,000 TL, a Syrian can write the same plate for only 2-3 thousand TL. Most of the calligraphy seen in these souvenirs are hand drawn calligraphy written by Syrians. If you ask me if that's good. It is not bad. I have also seen calligraphers from Syria come to great Turkish calligraphers and receive their icazet. They have their own unique fonts, taliki, they write a little differently to us. I have seen them taught here, so there is interaction here. Gradually something hybrid can emerge. There will be no problem in this, no calligrapher will ask the other why did you draw an elif in this way, it will not cause a crisis. Therefore, I think the three areas where Syrians can be productive together culturally are food, music and art.

Q- Dialectic: How has the relationship between Syrians and Turks developed and changed over time? I am asking this especially for the wave of migration after 2014?

A- When the war first started and the first wave of migration occurred, Syrians were taken to camps and they were not allowed to leave. When I visited the camps at that time, there was an incredible gratitude on the Syrian side towards the Turks. The Turks were also in an aid frenzy against Syrians. Even the secular/Kemalist sector was not very vocal about the issue at that time. I was in Syria at that time and the situation was as bad as when Israel bombed Gaza. I was in contact with the Öso. Through one of their commanders, I closely observed the hot clashes, but of course it was quite troublesome. Al-Nusra wanted to detain him. Then they were dissuaded by putting someone in between, there was an organization called Ansarullah. When you go down to a village, you have to cross a mountain road, and when you cross the mountain, the village is between two mountains. So you are in the open, that's why they started scanning our minibus. Then they were somehow talked out of it. Then when we were shooting, regime howitzers were falling. Going back to the question, at the beginning there was a very serious aid campaign. The state was actually encouraging this. But over time, the Turkish society started to ask "what about the

Syrians?" and the Syrians started to ask "what about us?". When Syrians came here, they did not come thinking that we would not go back. When they came here, they thought that if these conflicts stop, we will go back. In 2014, 70 percent of Syria was in the hands of Oso. Of course, the FSA was not a monolithic structure. The "train-and-donate project" implemented by Turkey and the US together meant that at least the command level was obeying Turkey and the US. But in 2014, two events took place. 1) ISIS split from Al-Qaeda and grew and took over the desert region of Syria and ISIS targeted the FSA before the Assad regime. The FSA was dealt a blow, and in the second important case, in September 2015, Russia decided to intervene. With Russia's air intervention, the FSA's fighting power was largely broken. Obama stated that the use of chemical weapons was a red line. If the US, Israel and Turkey had intervened in this period, if Russia had been subjected to sanctions like it was subjected to in the Ukraine attack, there was a very strong possibility that the Assad regime would have fallen in 2015, if the Assad regime had fallen, these migrants would have gone back. Now they are not likely to go back. Because the last time I was in Idlib was about a year ago, and there is no place to go back to. In fact, it is almost impossible for them to go back. For two reasons: 1) the children will never return, they will be used to this place and will have nothing to do with Syria. 2) There is a very serious title deed problem in Syria right now. I mean, whose house was where and what is it now? Going back to the first question, the feeling of pity and gratitude started to change over time. The real explosion started when Syrians were allowed to settle in the cities. At the beginning of that period, Syrians were bringing cash to the cities and at first they liked this situation, there are many Syrians working in Çorum organized industry, there are many Syrians working in Aydın Çini. People liked this situation at first. Because they were cheap labor, they were working without insurance and they were taking half of the Turks' wages. It turned into a matter of exploitation. In fact, it was like this for the Syrians as well, because do they want to eat the food that the UN will distribute in the camp? Or finding a job and being able to move more freely. But as the economy deteriorated in Turkey, people started to question the reasons for this. A certain segment of Turkish society saw the Syrians as the reason for the deterioration of the economy. This is also normal, this kind of situation also happens in Europe. When the opposition also got involved in the issue, the issue has now evolved to a point of hatred and indifference.

Q-Do you believe that the paths of both the migrating society and the receiving society have changed to some extent after the migration wave? In other words, if such a large and irregular migration wave had not occurred, would the current levels of cultural, sociological and technological development in the two societies still be the same? Or have there been changes in the two societies as a result of migration?

A-These changes are actually difficult to measure. If Turkey is going to compete with countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan, Egypt, etc. that focus on manufacturing and production, this means that it will need more cheap labor. The arrival of not only Syrians but also Afghans and Pakistanis could help Turkey to stay in this competitive basin. This could perhaps change the fate of the country. On the other hand, it cannot be expected to change the fate of Turkey culturally. Because the number of Syrians coming here who are equipped with these skills is very small, and secondly, culture and art in Turkey appeals to a very limited circle. It is refined. What is refined is not standardized in Turkey. More precisely, quality does not standardize, aesthetics does not standardize. Aesthetics is always exceptional. So anything that emerges from the interaction here will not change things radically; it will only remain in limited circles. But for Syrians it is a change. After all, Syria was a backward country before the war with its economic and infrastructural facilities, so for Syrians it is a very developed country. Moreover, since they are given the opportunity to study here, they can make a future for themselves.

Q- After waves of migration, the migrant community faces certain difficulties. Could this lead to the emergence of the whip of backwardness? Can this happen in the case of Syrians?

A - There are some cultural codes. Of course there are those among Syrians who feel obliged to show themselves. Almost every year, at least one of the winners of the YKS exam is from Syria. There are also those who have received Turkish citizenship and have settled in really good schools. . However, it is difficult to say this for the whole society. First of all, in order to achieve this, women need to be allowed to work and have fewer children. The current system among Syrians is that the woman takes care of 5-6 children at home and the man works somehow. In Turkey, where Bulgarian and Greek immigrants live, fertility rates are lower. However, this is not

the case for Syrians. In societies that are under duress and in societies that are mobile for a long time, the relationship between men and women changes. In very sedentary societies, women never leave the house and do not feel the need to do so. But we can say that Syrians have not yet broken the male-female relationship. I also think that the provinces where Syrians feel most comfortable are the Kurdish provinces. They do not have many problems there. As they come to the West, problems start to arise.

### **Interviewee/ S-1**

Q- Can you tell us about yourself in relation to Syrian migration?

A- I came to Mersin in 2014. I came to Mersin through official means. I am from Damascus. I have a relative who works as an academic in Malatya. I worked as a lecturer at Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University. However, after I became a citizen, I was not given a work permit. I became a Turkish citizen. I received exceptional citizenship. Before coming here, I was working as a research assistant at Damascus University.

Q- What do you understand by internationalization?

A- I could have gone to France in 2014, but I didn't. Turkish and Arab cultures are similar. That is why people prefer Turkey. But today most people are no longer satisfied with Turkey and they want to leave. But they are not allowed to leave. Also, there are some fake news being circulated by the media here such as "Syrians are given free medicines", "health is free for Syrians", "Syrians study at universities without exams", "Syrians receive salaries" and so on. For me, this is also about internationalism. Because if we did not come from a different society, news like this would not be spread in any way. In other words, if Turks benefited from the same services that we benefit from here, this would never come to light. I have a brother who is a German citizen and works in a big company. I work here as an interpreter. Syrians are afraid of the police here. They even have to give another name to the police when they are asked their names. . My brother got out of the camp in Germany. Within 6 months he got German. He said I want to work, I don't want to stay as a refugee. Here, the migration administration does not make things easier, it makes it harder. If we go through the documents, one document may be accepted



while another document may not be accepted. So there is a double standard. For 8 years I taught at the university, but I was dismissed when I got citizenship. I worked for very little money. My brother is more peaceful and prosperous in Germany.

Q- What can be done to improve coexistence between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens?

A- Syrians are slowly taking the culture of Turks. After 20 years they will probably start to adopt many cultures of Turks. For example, a Syrian acquaintance of mine who is studying at Istanbul University Faculty of Medicine feels like a Turk. In fact, the more educated are more easily influenced by Turkish culture, while the less educated are more difficult to be influenced. Because interaction is either non-existent or very limited. Everyone speaks Arabic among themselves in the streets. There is a Syrian village in Derinkuyu. There is a closed society here and they do not interact with Turks. However, people from Syrian cities have opened businesses here, engaged in economic activities, and are studying at universities. In this process, they have been and continue to be influenced by Turks. For example, city dwellers opened a restaurant in Istanbul. However, those who live in Derikuyu in Nevşehir and are agricultural workers do not experience any development in terms of interaction. Their life is limited to that village or district. Therefore, in order to protect future generations, the state should impose sanctions on those who do not attend schools.

Q- How have Syrian migrants interacted with Turkish society? o What are the positive and negative consequences of this interaction?

A- Younger Syrians are in a better situation in terms of interaction. I have not seen anything like conflict or problems between the two communities here. Syrians here are lazy. They do not take anything from Turkish culture. For example, it is normal for us to raise our voice during a conversation, but in Turkey it is shameful and Syrians who are less educated do not understand this. I think there should be cultural courses for this. The dress of Syrians here is not normal. The clothes that Syrians in Damascus wear are normal. They live in villages. Cultural differences can be negative.

Q- How do Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens differ in terms of culture, religion and values? How do these differences manifest themselves in daily life?

A- The religion of the two communities is the same. However, there are some differences in practice. The Arabic language is a rich language. That is why the Quran was revealed in Arabic. We can follow our religion better than the Turks because of the language. Turks can reject some things that are rules in religion. This is not possible in Syria. Religion is religion and its rules are rules. For example, there can be criticism about hadiths in Turkey, such as they are wrong, etc., but if someone says this in Syria, he will be labeled a Kafir.

In fact, the Turkish way of dealing with religion may be more reasonable. But Arabic is also important for this. Syrians and Turks living in the center do not differ much in terms of culture. The main difference is between Turks and those in the villages. For example, while people from the villages can enter institutions etc. without an appointment, city dwellers do not. The uneducated Syrians want to live here very freely. But this is not possible.

Q- How have Syrian immigrants and Turkish citizens merged their cultures and traditions?

A - There has been a significant change in the way Syrians dress, especially those who have settled in big cities. Especially the younger ones want to change their clothes and look more modern, but at the same time they are afraid of their families. I think they will gradually enter the Turkish culture. There is a serious change especially in the clothes of children. As for food, there is no significant change at the moment. Turks do not prefer Syrian restaurants. For example, as a Syrian myself, I only prefer Syrian restaurants. At least 80% of other Syrians feel the same way. Both communities are afraid of new experiences. Moreover, for example, Syrians are not afraid to open a restaurant in Munich, but those in Nevşehir are. Sometimes Turks hate Syrians and sometimes vice versa. Moreover, when things don't go the way they want in the organization they go to and things go wrong, Syrians have the perception that "Turks hate us". I think one day the war will end and we will continue to live side by side as neighbors as two different societies. So the memory should be good for both sides so that the relations will not be bad in the future. Especially the

younger and younger generations accept this. But the older generations are not interested. Especially those under 20 accept it or follow it. Those over 20 do not want new cultural elements.

Q- Is your profession in Turkey the same as your profession in Syria? If it is the same, has this created a change in your professional perspective and vision?

A- In Syria, being a teacher (academician) had a value and importance. Here it does not. Before the war, my salary there was 400 dollars, now I know academics who are still working in Syria and their salaries have dropped to 30 dollars in dollars. My sister works in Syria. Her salary runs out in a day. She can only buy 1.5 kg of meat with her salary. The salary of a retired rector there is around 30 dollars. Those who are there are definitely sent money from outside so that they can continue their lives. I have a professor there and I talk to him and he has to do other jobs besides academics. Being a teacher here is dangerous and risky. I am scared. Sometimes Turkish students can be rude to Syrian teachers, but the teacher cannot do anything against this situation. Regarding my workplace, my salary has never been paid regularly. It is also very easy to become an academic in Turkey. I mean, there are professors who pass the whole semester with maybe 10 pages of material. There is nothing like this in Syria. Education courses are also very easy here. Also, academics are not valued here. Outside, academics are very undervalued. Education and justice are very important. Neither of them are valued here. I worked for 8 years as an academic. I never felt valued. My salary dropped to 800 dollars in 2018. For 3 years, my salary did not increase at all. When we went to the administration here about the issue, they told us: you came out of the war, be grateful for your situation. There are nearly 300 Syrian academics working in Turkey and 70% of them are not happy with this situation. Because they are not valued. Education is a very different and important issue. No one can teach here with their heart and soul. Everyone is afraid of the administration and external factors. I would also like to say something about the differences between the two societies. In our country not every teacher can determine the syllabus. The way this lesson is taught and the program is left to the teachers here. I think this is the right thing.

Q- According to your experience, how has the relationship between Syrian migrants

and Turkish citizens developed over time? What are the challenges and opportunities of this evolving relationship? A-When I first came here, I thought I would stay here, work a little and then come back, but that was not the case. In the 10 years since I came here, my life has not changed much. I only got diplomas, but my brother in Germany has changed a lot of positive things in his life. Here, those who work for daily wages change their lives, but the lives of educated people do not change. I wish I had not gone into academics, I wish I had gone into trade.

Syrians in general seem to have no rights. I witnessed it recently. A Syrian uncle hit a Turkish man's car. The young man started beating the uncle. But no one tried to save the uncle. Therefore, the lives of Syrians staying here need to be organized and secured. Since this has not happened yet, working life is not good in Turkey. They have to work in whichever province their ID card says.

Q- This migration has also created inequalities and underdevelopment. Do you think that these inequalities, underdevelopment or difficulties can serve as a whip to progress much faster than Turkish society in the future? Do you accept this or are you against this idea?

A-Syrians here are getting very little rich. They get a very small share of capital. Here they work from morning till night. But in Germany they work less and get richer. Foreigners are not doing well in Turkey. I worked here for 8 years. I wanted to defend my rights. In fact, it is very wrong for us to sue and so on. It is very contrary to our culture.

Q- Do you send financial support back home and beyond financial support, what other "non-material remittances" do you send home (e.g. knowledge, skills, cultural practices)?

I send money to my family in Syria. This of course affects their lives. They need this money to survive there.

For example, we should send OSYM (Student Selection and Placement Center) experience there. We should transfer it to Syria. OSYM experience here is very significant. OSYM is very impartial and reliable foundation. Also, I like the contracting services and buildings in Turkey. If I go back one day, I would like to

bring them to Syria. When I was in Syria, I could afford it. Therefore, I can move there. Also, Turkey's materials and roads are very good. We want to go back when the war is completely over. But the children and those born here will probably not want to go. This is their life now. Those who work in the fields here may return, but probably the educated and rich Syrians will stay here. As for me, as I mentioned before, I would like to go back. And when I go back, I would like to transfer my experiences here. I like the institutions and the system here. I like the travel routes, shopping and ticket applications. The shop system and the e-commerce system work very well. I want to transfer all these experiences when I go back.

I have learned a new culture and system here and I can contribute to the state when I go back. I can aspire for high ranking positions in the Syria. In these positions, I would like to provide some knowledge and cultural capital. In Syria, working hours are until 14.00-15.00. In Turkey, however, it is longer.

Q- From your point of view, what are the potential benefits or disadvantages of obtaining citizenship in the host country?

A- From my point of view, I have not benefited from naturalization. But this is a special case for me. Immigrants who get citizenship here are more comfortable and more self-confident. At the same time, when they work, they work more wholeheartedly. In short, those who are citizens live more comfortably.

### **Interviewee/S-2**

Q- Can you briefly describe your background and connection to the Syrian migration situation in Turkey? I mean when did you come to Turkey and how did you come?

A- I was in the 10th grade when I arrived, we came illegally in 2012. We were placed in a camp with my family. The education process started immediately. I completed high school, then I went to university, then I got married in Nevşehir and settled here. We really experienced incredible difficulties during the migration process. When we first arrived, we said that we would stay until Eid, but that was not the case. The environment in Syria is not very favorable, so it is not even a dream to go back there now. I am from Bayırbucak Turkmens. My brother joined the opposition. So at first we never thought of leaving, but then we came here with a

suitcase. One of my brothers who came here returned to Syria, one of my brothers is a student in Konya. There is mistrust against Turks. Especially Syrians. They are also timid towards Turks.

Q- Does being Turkmen and having such an identity make you less exposed to discrimination. What impact did this identity have during and after migration?

A-There are those who actually use this. In some cases, Arabs can say they are Turkmen. I experienced this myself. When I was in Syria, it was actually the opposite. Turkmen were not very popular there either, Arabs were more like first class citizens. Here the situation is reversed. Turkmen are more loved and protected here. But this was a bit difficult for them. Arabs are also proportionally more likely to acquire Turkish citizenship. But this is more related to education.

Q- Are you seen more as a Turkmen or a Syrian in the society? What is the perception?

A- Turks approach us as if you are Turkmen, you are one of us. Sometimes we even encounter situations like this; they say you are not Syrian; you are Turkmen. But I don't accept this either. Yes, I am Turkmen, but I am Syrian after all.

Q- What are the challenges and opportunities of coexistence between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens in Turkey?

A- On the negative side, there is the language barrier. After so many years of migration, there are even some people who do not speak a word of Turkish. Social cohesion is also very bad. In general, it is not that bad, but in Nevşehir, social cohesion is very bad. There is a lot of timidity in Syrian society. On the other hand, the issue of establishing intimacy with Turks is more limited for me. Because they cannot understand me. That's why I communicate better with Syrian friends. Some of them have noticed that when we meet someone who is not very close to Syria, for example, we communicate with our eyes. This is a little bit about the unity of fate. Opportunities are more for the new generations.

Q-Such a massive wave of migration was experienced for the first time in Turkey's history. This is a population close to 5% of Turkey's population. This migration also

gives birth to multiculturalism. What do you think multiculturalism leads to?

A- We still maintain our own culture here. Sometimes when we invite Turkish friends to events they are surprised. When we go, differences arise. Also, because we are refugees, when we take care of ourselves, it can be a problem for them. For example, when I do personal care etc. they find it strange, they think that we have no right to such things. However, we work, earn and go with our labor.

Q- What can be done to improve coexistence between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens?

A- First of all, the perception of foreigners should be broken. After all, we are all human beings. Turkish society should respect Syrian society and Syrian society should respect and understand Syrian society. After all, we are living here now. Of course, it cannot be as much as a Turk, but in the end we have rights too.

Q- Do you have any direct examples of this?

A- Yes. We had an event recently. I invited my Syrian friends for the event. I witnessed conversations that they dress better than us, that they live more comfortably than us. The interesting part is that when a poorly dressed person comes, he is called a beggar who does not pay attention to his clothes. And when someone dresses well, they dress better than us, they take better care of themselves than us. I don't know what we should do about it.

Do you believe that Syrian society or Turkish society has been shaped or influenced by the cultural symbols of another society? If so, how does this affect the future destiny of the society? (positive or negative and explain)

A-Turkey is fifty years ahead even compared to Syria before the war. After living here, if we return, we will definitely want to improve Syria and make it like here. In Syria, a woman's only duty was to stay at home, cook and take care of the children. There were definitely areas in Syria where women worked and were more modern. But here, even the closed Syrian groups have started to change and transform. They started to think that it would be better for us if we worked. There is also the hope that one day we will return and when we do, we will do these jobs.

Q-Do you believe that Syrian society or Turkish society has been shaped or influenced by the cultural symbols of another society? If so, how does this affect the future destiny of the society? (positive or negative and explain)

A- Syrians have more children than Turks. This leads to concerns in the Turkish society that Syrians will overtake us in terms of buffets, that they will take over Turkey. There is also a misconception in Turkish society about aid.

Q-How do Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens differ in terms of culture, religion and values? How do these differences manifest themselves in daily life?

A- We attach less importance to work. But this has started to change. Also harassment issues... In Syria, women were harassed a lot. Women are always perceived as weak in our country. If such a thing happens here, women can claim their rights more easily. Also, the society in general can have a harsher attitude. Syrians are actually more unconscious than Turkish society. For example, if I give an example from my own experience. I used to dress differently when I was there. When I came here, there was a change in the way I dressed. But I am also criticized at the same time. There is a criticism that I do it to look like the Turks. Also, in the interaction between the two communities, sometimes something like this happens. We didn't know you like this, you are very nice, etc.

Q-Do cultural and social differences between Turkish and Syrian society affect integration and cohesion? If so, what can be done about it?

A-Syrian society is constructing its own neighborhoods. Ghettoization occurs in some neighborhoods. This affects the interaction and harmony between the two communities.

Q-There are other migrant groups in Turkey. How does their presence affect the situation of Syrians?

A- Syrians are the first group that comes to mind when we think of refugees. The first group that comes to mind when it comes to drugs are Afghans. In fact, refugees get along better among themselves and interact more easily. Cultural exchange can also occur.



Q- What is the role of art, music and food in blending the cultures of Syrians and Turks in Turkey?

A- We like food more. This is culturally so. We spend more money on food. Afghans are more interested in music.

Q- Imagine your life in Syria before the conflict. Now look at your life in Turkey today. How has your life changed?

A- Our life was better there. When we were in Syria, we could access everything more easily. Here, even though we spoke the language, we were hesitant. For a while we thought about what we had become and we could not accept it. We were supposed to buy food. But we could not accept this.

Q- Do you send material support back home, and beyond material support, what other "non-material remittances" do you send home (e.g. knowledge, skills, cultural practices)?

A- We send money mostly. From here through intermediaries.

Q- This migration has also created inequalities and underdevelopment. Do you think that these inequalities, underdevelopment or difficulties can serve as a whip to move forward much faster than Turkish society in the future? Do you accept this or are you against this idea?

A- We have been trying to improve ourselves since the year we arrived. When we came to Turkey, we started to see some issues as opportunities, especially women started to see reading and self-development etc. as opportunities. Turks also look at this positively. This is an opportunity for Syrians on the one hand.

Q- Does your micro-ethnic identity come into question in the field? In other words, how does being a Turkmen affect you in the field?

A- In the field, I am Syrian and most Syrians don't even know my ethnic identity at the micro level.

**Interviewee/S-3**

Q- Can you briefly describe your background and your connection to the Syrian migration situation in Turkey?

A- We arrived in August 2011. Our village was very close to Hatay. There is a highway between Hatay and our village. Right after the highway is our village. When the war broke out in our village, we stayed there for a month or two. Then we crossed to the Turkish side illegally. We were already crossing in and out easily because of food shopping. When we came here, I had finished the 6th grade. I came here. Schools for migrants had not yet opened here. I worked for about a year and then I went back to school.

Q-What are the challenges and opportunities of coexistence between Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens in Turkey?

A- Of course there are challenges. The most difficult thing is the language. Some people may not perceive our situation there and judge us easily. The harshest word used against us here is "you fled". ! Now here is the situation: we are in such a situation there... We are cut off from water... We are cut off from electricity... We are cut off from food. There is nothing to sustain life. You just sit and wait to die. Of course, people take advantage of this when they find an opportunity. This is the biggest challenge for us. Negative perceptions and the language barrier.

Q-What can be done to improve coexistence between Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens?

A- We are foreigners here. In order for the other side to accept us, we need to behave well. I came here, this is my 13th year here. I and my mother have not heard a single bad word so far. There are other Arabs, for example, who criticize Turks and the Turkish state in some environments. There needs to be mutual understanding between the two communities here. After there is understanding, everything will get better. For example, when you work in a business, a normal person works for 10.000 liras while a Syrian works for 3-4 thousand if he needs it. This is also evaluated by the business owner. In this respect, we may have affected the labor market. I cannot deny this.

Q- Have you lived together with migrants from other societies, other countries in

your neighborhood? If so, what are your observations and thoughts?

A- I have not met them in Hatay, but there are Afghans in Nevşehir. But most of them are not in jobs I like. Because when my mother and sister are walking, they look at us very wrong. We are also uncomfortable with this. You are a foreigner, you have taken refuge in another country. You should do your work. You don't do other things. You don't cause trouble. They are very quarrelsome. I've heard that a lot.

Q-How have Syrian migrants interacted with Turkish society? What are the positive and negative consequences of this interaction?

A- I think the biggest interaction has been through the labor market.

Q- Do you believe that Syrian society or Turkish society is shaped or influenced by the cultural symbols of another society? If so, how does this affect the future destiny of the society? (positive or negative and explain)

A-When I came here, my thinking was completely different. I stayed the way I was educated. But when I came here, I always worked with Turks. My view of religion has changed a lot. I may have been influenced by some things. I worked with Alevis. I used to not drink alcohol, I was against it, but now I can drink alcohol. At this point. I have an older sister. In the past (if we were in Syria) I would never accept my sister having a boyfriend. Now, after I passed the age of 20, I started to think that she can love and be loved. I cannot interfere in her life at these points. But if I stayed in Syria, I would probably continue to be against it. When I have a girlfriend, for example, I can introduce her to my father here, but if I were in Syria, I would not be able to do that. However, there were people who judged me for doing this. Q-What are your similarities and differences with other migrant communities?

A- There are many immigrant groups in Turkey. We adapt more to Turks than Afghans here. I think Afghans want to continue living here the same way they live in their own country.

Q- How have Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens combined their cultures and traditions?

A- I told you that there are Turks where I work. I offered a dish from our culture

there. They liked it. Since he liked it too, he recommended it to others. For example, the use of falafel has increased recently. As for the issue of clothing. Most of the Turkish girls have their heads uncovered and ours are covered. This situation has started to change slowly.

Q- What is the role of art, music and food in the blending of the cultures of Syrians and Turks in Turkey?

A- My profession for example. I am also a baker. I have done this both in Syria and here. The bread we make is better. Tandoori bread. I showed it to the Turks and they changed it. Now he started to make it the way I showed him.

Q-According to your observations, how has the relationship between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens developed over time? What are the challenges and opportunities of this evolving relationship?

A- We came here in 2011 and settled in Hatay. Before the war, we were already visiting relatives in Hatay for holidays. We came but we settled in a neighborhood where we did not know anyone. We received a lot of attention when we first arrived. But now there is not even 10% of that help and interest. I attribute this to the bad things of our people. There are some negativities. Incidents such as fights etc. affect the perception of our society. These incidents affect the whole Syrian society. Syrian businesses did not pay taxes until 2018-2019. However, there is no such thing now.

Q- Do you think there has been a change in your life and the Syrian society in general after the migration?

A- If I had stayed in Syria, I would definitely want to be a soldier, but I don't look at it negatively. If I had stayed in Syria. I would not work at all, there would not even be a need to work there. Only my father's work was enough for the whole family economically. I have been working here for 12 years, but I was only able to buy my car recently. I had a car even when I was a child in Syria. I worked hard for it, that's how it happened.

Q-There are types of capital. Financial capital, cultural capital and social capital. Do you transfer money to Syria?

A- Yes, we transfer money there. We do not send very high sums. For example, I send money to my grandmother. We already use Turkish lira.

Q- This migration has also created inequalities and underdevelopment. Do you think that these inequalities, underdevelopment or difficulties can serve as a whip to progress much faster than Turkish society in the future? Do you accept this or are you against this idea?

A-I came from nothing. I couldn't believe our situation. I am a very ambitious person myself. When we first came, we had nothing. We had a villa there. In summer we harvested the season, in winter we lived there. My father used to buy cars, motorcycles, fields, etc. with the money that was left over. Just during the war period my father made new investments, I bought a new house, a car, a motorcycle, a field. We had about 30 decares of land in Idlib in the city. The annual income there used to be around 200.000 dollars in today's money. But now we can only get 2000 dollars. Because we are doing this so that someone does not come and seize it. For example, my uncle is there. We say to my uncle, go and live in it, take your income, no one will confiscate it. Where is 2000 dollars and where is 200000 dollars. We couldn't bring anything from there. Cars, land, motorcycles, etc. all stayed there. Before we left, we were attacked by Assad and the FSA. They took our car to blow up the bridge. They confiscated all the electronic devices in the house. Then the FSA came and took all our other assets - gold, money, vehicles, etc. They took them all. A clash broke out on the bazaar side. Everyone started coming towards our side to hide. There was a man who kidnapped soldiers. That man was caught in our house. They shot him in the head in front of his wife and children, in front of our house. ISIS comes, for example they seize girls. Before we came, we temporarily gave the houses to my uncle. They asked my uncle, they said if you have two houses, you will give us one of them. I think all these things make a man who goes from wealth to poverty more ambitious. This can bring you to a better place, of course.

#### **Interviewee/S-4**

Q: Can you briefly describe your history and experiences regarding your migration situation in Turkey, i.e. when did you arrive in Turkey and how did you arrive?

A: I went regularly in 2012 and changed my passport.

Q: What do you understand by the concept of internationalism, what comes to your mind when you think of internationalism?

A: International institutions, international agreements, international treaties conventions these come to my mind the European Convention on Human Rights comes to my mind the Geneva Convention and similar things come to my mind.

Q: Is internationality limited to relations between states or does the interaction of 2 or more societies also constitute internationality?

A: I think international is a more formal term, so what happens between states and what happens between societies can be different.

Q: My questions now are about the 5 outcomes of Rosenberg's Multiplicity theory. First of all, coexistence is the first outcome of Multiplicity, what do you think are the challenges and opportunities of coexistence between Syrians and Turkish citizens in Turkey?

A: First of all, integration, secondly not integration, labor market, work opportunities, but you know Turkey is a country consisting of 81 provinces, especially the Eastern provinces are a bit similar to Syria in terms of local customs, there is even kinship between Turks and Syrians in that region, so let me put it this way, a university student can integrate well in the Western provinces, Istanbul Izmir, in bigger cities like Ankara, Konya, etc., integration can be achieved more easily in cities like Konya, but since there are no free language courses, there is a bit of a problem so far.

Q: What do you think can be done to improve and strengthen coexistence between Syrians and Turkish citizens, in other words, what can be done to improve relations between the two communities?

A: It is necessary to work on the misconceptions that are known to be true. It is also necessary to cooperate with international organizations in a way to strengthen the integration process. On the other hand, cultural events and cultural activities should be organized about migration and migrants, and in this framework, it is necessary to

provide environments where stakeholders come together and exchange ideas between stakeholders to solve problems.

Q: How do you think Turkish society and Syrian society interacted and what are the positive and negative aspects of this interaction?

A: This is something that can vary from person to person. For example, if you are open to interaction, you can interact more easily, but if you have discrimination and similar things, it is a bit difficult. Especially misconceptions about Syrians are also effective in this process, for example, the example of the Red Crescent card.

Q: Are there differences in culture, language and values between Syrians and Turkish citizens? I am asking this mainly as an observation, an observation about your own life.

A: In some provinces, yes there are differences, but in Eastern provinces there are similarities. For example, in some Syrian families women are not allowed to work. However, for Syrians who migrated to Turkey, especially to the West of Turkey, women are forced to work. Because the cost of living is high in the West, women have to work.

Q: Do the cultural and social differences between the Turkish society in Turkey and the Syrian society affect the integration and harmonization process?

A: Yes, it is effective, it would be good to bring Turks and Syrians closer to each other, so what needs to be done is to ensure the cultural interaction between these two societies by the state or with the interest of NGOs.

Q: What is the importance of music, art and food in the blending of cultures between two societies?

A: These are very important in terms of bringing societies together and making bilateral relations warmer, especially in music.

Q: Is what we do in Turkey the same as what we do in Syria?

A: No, it is not.

Q: What kind of contribution did it make to your job here in general, did it make an extra contribution to you compared to your job in Syria?

A: Yes, I can say that working with non-governmental organizations has added good things both in terms of education, international concepts and my personality, I can say that I have gained good experiences, especially by working in non-governmental organizations, I can say that it has helped my main profession a little bit, no matter how indirect it is, my main profession is a lawyer, it has a humanitarian aspect, working on humanitarian issues, working as a lawyer, talking to them, talking to my wife, I can say that it adds something.

Q: The final conclusion is that we can call it a dialectical historical transformation. Do you think that after this wave of migration, that is, after the migration of Syrians to Turkey, the paths of their societies have changed to a great extent, I mean, the two societies came together, there was a migration from Syria to Turkey, so can we say that the fate of the Syrian society and the fate of the Turkish society has also changed?

A: What I am saying is that what we call migration essentially always leads to democratic changes, this is already evident in history, such a large population from Syria has come to Turkey, of course this will have a democratic outcome for both sides of the ball, also when we go to a place to visit, we are influenced by it, especially technology and we want to transfer some perspectives, we want to create something for our own society, the ability to create something, these are effective, but when it comes to migration, this leads to demographic changes.

Q: What you have learned in Turkey, whether it is about work or life, do you plan to go back to Syria when the war is over and if you do, how do you think your habits here, your experiences here, your know-how here can contribute to Syria or how can you contribute to the Syrians living there?

A: I am a Turkish citizen of Turkish ancestry, for example, Turkey is not a separate country for me Before I came here from Syria, I was already following many things about Turkey, for example, I was following subjects such as art and music, I was following TV series, I have been speaking Turkish since 1998, as I said, Turkey,



especially Izmir, did not seem foreign to us. Even the structure of my family is different from Syrian families in terms of perspective, I mean, there is a modern family structure, we are open to education, we are open to information, we can easily integrate into this society. For us, as I said, we are Turkish, but for Syrians it may be different and more difficult. I can give an example about this issue, but I can at least give some examples about the difficulties Syrians face because they face a lot of difficulties, they have difficulties with the travel law, there are differences in civil laws and especially the laws are very different, there are differences in the education and upbringing of the person there, being with women and making friends with women, these issues play a very important role. Essentially, when they go back, there may be a cultural transformation in terms of religion, so they will try to do something. If they go back, the people I mentioned will definitely transfer their experiences from here to there, if the laws and the authority there allow them to do so.

Q: The wave of migration has also created inequality and underdevelopment. So do you think that this inequality, underdevelopment or difficulties can serve as a whip for Syrians in the future to move forward more than Turkish society, do you accept this or do you oppose it? They lived in Germany and then they settled there. At first, the first generation had a lot of difficulties, but later generations came to more important positions in the society with the damage of living there.

A: There is a similarity, but not completely, but to a large extent. In fact, there are similarities, especially the new generation of Syrians are closer to the Turkish society in terms of adapting to the society, they are closer to the Turkish society in terms of adapting to the society, in other words, this new generation does not have much cultural knowledge about the Syrian society.

Also, when a migrant goes to another country, he/she feels the need to show himself/herself more, he/she makes more effort and does his/her best to reach somewhere, he/she wants to take advantage of all the opportunities in front of him/her, and he/she reaches, some of them reach, after all. But you know, there is also a problem with this. At this point, physical conditions can be an obstacle, there are structural problems such as discrimination. They also face some negative things

like xenophobia, and these are obstacles for them to reach somewhere, to get to a better place.

Q: Do you send remittances back home, I mean to people you know in Syria?

A: My sister is there and I send them from time to time.

### **Interviewee/S-5**

Q-Can you briefly describe your background and connection to syrian Migration situation in Turkey?

A-I am Syrian. I came to Turkey in late 2012 where I spent 1,5 year employed in Istanbul. Then, I appointed in Istanbul an internship 'Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey is where I currently employed. I am currently appointed as Project manager. And in the last nine years. I've been following subject of Syrians in Turkey. Considering the nature of the instation, where I work, we have been focusing on the labour market integration of Syrians or economic Contributions of Syrians. Whether it is wage employment or through entrepreneurship activities. Of course, within the past years, I have interested in the issue of Syrians getting visa or get establishment of Syrias in Ankara and Istanbul. We also looked at the impact of Covid- 19 on Syrians and Afghans in Ankara and the role and inclusivity of municipality policies toward Afghans and Syrians during the pandemic period. Ialso wrote two evaluation notes for TEPAV and other instations. I also participated in couple of T-20 ThinkTank policy briefs as well, Related to migration not necessarily of the issue of Syria in Turkey. But it was more of global migration related. For example, aging or like about market or not. Su it has been my ontributeen to the field of migration so far.

Q-What do you understand by the term of internationality?

A- Not being limited by subject to national (probably). This is initial idea come to my mind I have not trained much about it.

Q-Do you think 'internationality'is limited to relations between states or does interaction of two or more societies and the process of interaction give rise of the internationality?

A-This is a good question. It is actually applicable to both. In the case of migration I would say Internationality through state relations is much more easier compared to relations or interactions between societies. Since you are hooking Syrians in Turkey, I think we are not even remotely closed to sort of internationality which you put it. The society or certain groups still rejects the idea of Syrians in the country. And itself limits the possible interaction go toward internationality in that way. Maybe it is good example. I dont know how much relevant to your study, for example, I was in Nether lands last year. I had Turkish citizenship. When they saw my Turkish citizenship, people at the airport started to speak with ne in Turkish. So, that is obviously has element of Netherlands hosting a group of Turks, second or third generation works at the airport. That is may be sign of internationality. But we have have 3. 2 million Syrians in this country. If a Syrian or an Arap, for example, arriving to Istanbul or Ankara or anywhere in this country I doubt he/she greeted in an Arabic language saying that welcome to Turkey. Because there is an element of nationalism that tear away sort of societal interaction from the internationality 70 begin with. But if you add the element of internationality which means the interaction between two society is internationality. At least the current circumstances I don't think that is viable now.

A-I do not think that many Syrians are communicating or interact w/ Turkish society and Turkish arguage so that happen in that way. We also know that may Turks as well and Syrians do not have English language skills or communicating and overcome the language problem. This interaction which you describe just know exists only limited to small community for both sides of the society from the interna tionality perspective.

Q- Now, I would ike to ask about the multiplicity concept. This concept tos five consequences. First Consequence of the theory is co-existence. What are the challenges and opportunities of co-existence between Syrians and Turkish residences n Turkey?

A- Language and misperceptions are barriers. Language barrier, especially, stem from the poor design of policies from government side since 2011. Because there is no state. If we are talking from the perspective of International Relations ve are

experiencing ways of migrants whether you called them economic migrants or displaced migrants namely, refugees. Without having or imposing language learning, that hosting community (Turkish) as first stepping stone to being welcomed to that community, Here in Turkey we do not see this kind of agenda except for NGOs projects. But we are not talking about 50.000 Syrians in Turkey we are talking about 3.2 million Syrians (maybe the number is currently lower now), There is no -no or enough number of NGOs that would be actually undertake such a big scale teaching of initiative or earning initiative or so on. If the state does not kick in a policy, actually behave those arrivals learning language, almost all of the examples we have seen in Europe. This thing are associated with welfare state benefits, So it is like language, vocational training. But in return of that I am providing free accommodation and sort of financial support until you get your feet or eligible to become a job-seeker, like active member in labour market. We don't see any of them in Turkey until 2016, when Turkey- EU Deal Kicked in in ministries and NGOs started to work together. But the efforts of all these three stakeholders have been ad-hoc -has not been properly designed-. And result of that is having first generation of Syrians, when you talk with them you would see or you would encounter very few people who are capable of speaking Turkish to navigate our way to get internet in their houses. Maybe you came across even the difficulties that Syrian parents came across when the pandemic happened. Everybody started joining this online earning initiative and the teachers became in direct on section with their parents. When Syrians could not have, because they did not have learning curve. They had some problems with the teachers interaction. Therefore I could easily say that a wage is the first barrier. The second barrier, is misinformation. Because today more Syrians learned Turkish whether at schools or working place. But there are certain images of Syrians in the minds of Turkish society these may take decades. For instances the idea that Syrians are picking the money from PTT offices. they are not worked but they till get payment are mostly used as counter-argument among Turks. I think the term is ossified, therefore it is not gonna be easy that the image the out of the Turks minds (Namely these misinformations like all Syrians go to universities without exams or they are becoming doctors or practising certain professions. Without having certificates. So poor language skills with these sort of misinformations that happens or that has been happening in the society. I think it put shackles on the interaction to

have its natural flow. Because now both sides are on the defensive part. And they fear the other, because they are like always thinking probably that they do not like us. So me become a bit defensive against them. When they become defensive naturally withdraw comfortzone. So they do not allow any foreign people or objects like penetrate comfortzone.

Q-Do you face these kind of hardships or do you tell that you observed within Syrians?

A-I went through them, when I didn't have enough Turkish language skills to express myself properly. But then the more I became able to express myself in Turkish. It is easier to become for me to sit down and discuss the certain ideas about Syrians in the country. But even after certain interaction, the Turks who I still know, have till rigid understanding or perceptions about Syrians. But then they tell me openly that I am not the Syrians they are talking about. Because I can speak with them and May be I am not conservative enough due to my lifestyle. So I am excepted from that circle. But then they always say Yeah! but you are not Syrian that we are talking about, we are talking about other type Of Syrians that we see on the news or whatever it is.

Q- How do you perceive the co-existence of the multiple cultures in Turkey? (Syrians culture and Turkish Culture)

A-There are many similarities between the two societies and perhaps even more differences. But I think it is important to consider whether the majority of Turkish society supports the idea that the majority of Syrians in Turkey are of Arab origin and that there is a historical memory in Turkish history of Arabs stabbing Turkey in the back. I think the majority of Turkish society, including those who have somehow adopted the concepts of "Muhajir" and "Ansar" or the acceptance of the AK Party in the past, still think that there are not enough similarities between Turkish and Syrian cultures other than religion that bind the two societies together. They completely reject the idea of having Syrians in the country. They say that culturally, economically, politically, they are not treated in a way that justifies their objection to Syrians because they fled without fighting for their country. So this is also a regional situation. If you are in the southeast of Turkey (Şanlıurfa, Kilis, Gaziantep), I think that before 2011 tribal or family ties could facilitate the application of cultural

similarities or cultural differences across borders (it would be a melting pot). But when you are in more North Western or Eastern or Central Anatolia, you are less welcome because you are Syrian. Because religious elements can be important in Turkish society's culture of welcoming Syrians.

Q-Second consequence of multiplicity is interaction. The question will be about the interaction between two societies. What are positive and negative outcomes of interactions between two societies?

A-I think positive interaction or an example of positive interaction is probably marriage establishing. Households or families by having a Turk marrying with Syrian or Syrian marrying with Türk. But I think that would be prime example of the cultural interaction or positive interaction between two sides. Negative example of interaction would be any sort of institutional racism that Syrians encounter when they go to hospital or Göç idaresi... Or even if they had Turkish citizenship but they cannot speak Turkish language they present that Turkish idea in That public officer cannot have sort of communication channel open with them, that would be present negative example of interaction between two cultures.

Q-This question is very essential. Because it is the one of the backbone argument of the thesis. Do you believe that Syrian society or Turkish society is shaped or influenced by any cultural symbols from other society, If so how this affect societies' future destiny in a positive or negative aspects?

A-I think there is influence. I think Turkish side more influences the Syrian culture. In this particular case. If I am giving an example to this it would be for example meal. Schedule of Syrian society after they coming to Turkey. Because back in Syria, for example, having breakfast was around nine or ten am. Lunch at 2 or 3 PM and dinner is like Spain or Italy around 10 pm. But when Syrians came to Turkey, they found that for the integration of the labour market everything starts earlier in Turkey. Lie public facilities or institutions start at 9 am or even some private sector works start at 7 am. So naturally speaking you are supposed to be at the work at 7 am or 9 am you are supposed to have your breakfast either before you go to work or most likely when you arrive at work. Then Turkish lunch is around 2 pm and 1 pm and dinner is at 6 PM or 7 PM. So, that is may be one way of Turkish culture influencing

Syrian culture. We see also another example of working Turkish culture impacting Syrian one in the sense that within the passing years since 2011, this is just an anecdote, but we see more Syrian females participating to labour market. Because they need to support their husbands to make and meet because they are widows or single mothers and there is nobody else to support financially. So they need to participate to labour market to find a job. This would not have been necessarily the case had they living in Syria and something similar to them. Perhaps, if I had been living in Gaziantep where there are more Syrians or in Fatih, Istanbul. If I had friends from both sides, it could be easier for me that Syrian Culture influenced The Turkish culture, but where I am living Ankara I do not see sth similar to that on Turkish society at least on my circle.

Q-Now is the third consequence of the multiplicity, difference, do cultural and social differences between Turkish and Syrian society affect the integration and for adaptation? If so What can be done about it?

A- It certainly affect integration in both positive and negative ways. If I start with negative ways... It took me a long time to understand quite time that integration is two ways, Then I had to go through these concept myself, so I could understand what it means that integration is two way street. I will give you an example of this. When I pick up my Turkish ID I went to PTT to get my temporarily residence permit to get ID, Naturally, anybody works there they ask someone ID's. Then I gave that person my ID and she looked at it. ID was Turkish but my name is Arabic. Then lady told me Oh! you are foreigner. I said excuse me. Then the woman reiterated "you are foreigner! I said No, I am citizen now. And now I just have taken my ID from Nüfus Müdürlüğü. She insisted that but your name is Arabic not Turkish. I responded; why is it matter? My name could be Arabic but still I have Turkish ID. So that does not make me foreigner anymore. Then she gave me wildest look ever on her face. But she could not do any thing. Because she understood that I have Turkish citizenship and I am Turkish anymore. This is one example of to illustrate that integration is two way street. The society is not necessarily ready yet accept Syrians becoming citizens let alone hosting them for ten years. But this sort of cultural element impact integration? Yes of course, Because the new arrivals and hosting society whether it is Syrians in Turkey or Turks in Germany they would want to stick to what they know. And they

would want to live the way they have been knowing until that change happened kicked in. This is why for example here different parts of Turkey that the Syrians stay up until 2-3 in the morning, they cooked using certain spices what not it feels weird, So, these are cultural elements of how Syrians execute or had their life on the daily basis. From integration perspective again when you see sth different to what you are used to whether culturally speaking or socially speaking and you are not ready to accept that difference at any level. You just like close the doors and stay behind what you are used to. And when that happens from hosting society perspective that would not motivate me integrate. Because it chooses me that the other party the other side is not voluntary interact with me or they are not accepting me. So why should I learn for example the language deal with people who are not volunteer even to speak with me or interact with me to begin with. So I think that is how cultural impact on integration,

Q- Combination: How Syrian migrant and Turks combined their cultures and traditions?

A-Again, I haven't seen... I see more of embracing or imbracing on the side of Syrians of the Turkish culture. But I haven't seen yet, Turkish side, I think now more and more Turks are becoming familiar especially with Syrian cuisine, falafel, whether one vegetarian or vegan. That is a delicious go to different food. And along with other dishes that could be eaten in the Syrian breakfast. There is more may be also accepted music as well. Not every where but in some certain areas you would hear Turks becoming more familiar with Fehruz as song listening in the morning or some other Arabic songs and bands. May be they do not necessarily understand the lyrics but they like the music and sentiment what they listen to. That is also becoming something prevailing with the year passing. About arts... I am very poor at arts. I don't have any taste on arts. I always find myself stranger when it comes to exhibition. So I could not say something on this issue. But from music and food perspective, I am very sure of that ones I told you.

Q- What are the positive and negative outcomes of these combinations?

A-I think positive outcome of this... It shows readiness on both sides to try new. Well, if you like to try sth new is one thing and you don't like to try sth new is



another thing. But mere fact that you are open to try new things is in itself positive thing. Whether listening to Arabic song whether eating 8th from Syrian cusine or they can date w Syrian men or Syrian women. The negative affect of that, I think negative impact would come base on what you do with that sorts of change. If you twist the change into certain perspective or to certain context just ike when we talk about for example a Syrian who came from back in the day and now who is running for X party ticket upcoming local elections. If you take that for example and you reject the idea because those people fled country they did not defend their ands ithey are gonna become representatives our municipalities. So that is may be a twisted way of sort of negative outcome of that interaction. Then for example you yok at Turkish origin minister in Germany and Netherlands. You would see a certain degree pride for themselves. Yes, we work hard to reach that position. So, Why Syrians cannot da same in Turkey. Because Syrians are refugees and they fled the country and they did not fight for their country. Whereas Turks in Germany and Netherlands going for work and they stayed there established the rules. So we cannot compared two stories together,

Q- The last consequence of multiplicity is dialectics (historical change). How has the relationship between Syrians and Turks evolved over time (from the beginning of 2011)

A-I think it is started good. But then it windled into not so much good and negative case. Because back in the day or early years I would say 1 frankly. that almost all of the Turkish society showed compassion and sympathy towards whats happening to Syrians in the country and noone question at least that vocally the idea of having of having and open border policy and welcoming to those fleeing from violence. But in time again I pend this down on the not so pro-active policy design on the Turkish government side. Actually the policies initial warm welcoming toward colder defensive stamp that we see. I think the status of Turkish economy played great role in shaping this shift. Because, I think we started seeing and hearing more negative voices against Syrians back in 2016 2017. You know this time Turkish economy was gradual going toward ill performing state. Then the worst the economy got negative perspectives ve started to seeing across the society and social media helped a lot in spreading these things. So, I think it started positively (initially) but has been brought

to negative pool of sentiment primarily due to not so proactive government policies and haky economic performance in the last 5-6 years.

Q-About economic crisis there is mainly two arguments by experts. First argument is that in 2016 oup detat ocured and this initiative aused that Turkey had started to performing poorly after that. The second main argument is that the major Syrian population reached to Turkey after 2014. This has not caused immediate economic crisis but this help to worsen Turkish economy day by day. Because Syrian population needed houses, foods and jobs etc. So what do you think on these arguments

A-I don't have much information about first argument. When you have that sort of number of people namely Syrians by large number moved to Turkey, they would boost demand on so many different rent, housing, labour marketi super market, infrastructure and so on. Just the mere arrival just like boost demand in unforeseen ways before they started coming certainly. But initial shock of arrival cannot last 6-7 years. Because eyes ve pike at the ear when may Syrians started to move to Turkey (2014). Then the spike continue to happening until 2016 and then numbers somehow stabilized. We have 3,8 million Syrians in 2017-18 and then the number of Syrians in Turkey Stabilized. But how can ve for example explain inflation in Turkey now exceeds 5% because 3,7 million Syrians came. We cannot pen this on 3,5 million Syrians. Yes, they caused surge in rents in certain areas. What we are also seeing now with the pandemic and earthquake ve have housing problem in Turkey, And this is not driven by arrival of Syrians in 2011. They added may be housing crisis. But it was not initiated by them and they are not definitely only responsible people for the sort of this problem that we have. At the same time we have heard from the CEO's of LCW and some large textile factories and owners across the country in Istanbul and Bursa those agricultural sector companies as well. We heard that if it wasn't for Syrians our Shops would be empty because there is also following element how Syrians are penetrating to the about market they are also may be statistically significant they are driven wages down. The education system in Turkey is allowing Syrians to do this in labour market. Because when you have every year one million or almost close to one million rest graduate, I don't think University graduate on undergraduate would want to work in the field after they obtained four- five years

degree studying at the universities. At the same time, they need to have bread for their breakfast. So somebody should be filling the gaps in the agricultural sector or like they need t-shirt to wear to go out jogging, If I only study business administration or Political Science or Medicine. I am not gonna be able to work in the field. Because I find that after attaining that certain education level, you create a vacancy in the labour market and everybody who is trying to defend themselves they fill that space back in the day it was Kurds doing that dirty jobs in Turkish labour market. Now on Syrians came, Syrians are doing the dirty jobs in the labour market. By dirty I mean labour intensive jobs, 'manufacturing, agricultural and construction sector etc. At the same time there are many studies that show because Syrians are doing these jobs in an informal way it is pushing Many Turks to start working formally. There is positive outcome also coming out of this informal employment of Syrians. I am not saying that these wash away in a negative impact of Syrians on the economy of Turkey. But we often attempt to focus on negative and dismiss the positive. Because it is unfortunately more of services to political populist discourses trying to load to shoulders of Syrians.

Q- What can be done to ensure that relationship between Turkish society and Turkish society to make positive and productive?

A-I think it is gonna be next to impossible to sort of utopian state of interactions or relations btw two sides. Because the presence of Syrians always help any comp that would negate or exploit the negative presence of Syrians in Turkey. But I think in the future what could be shaped this is this is gonna be a little technical but I don't think having Syrians in the future under temporary protection status is gonna build help positive and cooperative future between two sides. Because when you are Syrian under protection you do not pay taxes and as long as you do not pay taxes, you can easily be painted someone who benefiting from state salary on government support. And like Turkish citizens who are also eligible to this funds or this type of supports, but under certain circumstances. So, I do not think if you want to foster any positive co-operation, collaboration or relations between two sides, we should start with legal transition out temporary protection status. Because, I do not see any solution in Syria until 2028-2030 for example. So, Syrians have been here for the last 11-12 years now. As long as we have demand the equal status, the

Turkish society will always look(see) Syrians as receivers not producers. Although they are producing now, they statistically not formally harvested into the contributions they provide. May be simple example of this, Syrians are working in the fields. They are working in the factories informally and whatever contribution that is it is counted into the Turkish GDP what when we talk about GDP per capita, it only involved Turkish citizens, It is not divided including Syria in the country. So, that is unfair. Why would I have my work contributed to country's GDP but I am not being counted as someone who is at least maybe as a tax payer. I am not saying that they should be given citizenships all Syrians, There should be transition from residence permence status, because the government annot took after Syrians the way they have been doing. The international community and the EU particularly cannot keep sending money to Turkey and definitely to look after Syrians that what have been doing. We cannot just rely on pinky wishes (Oh ve are gonna have peace talks in Syria and normalize relations and we will help Syrians to go back their country- Well! Good luck with that). Until that happens, we need to be writing different story. If you want to write different story ve need to start thinking about transition out of this temporary protection status into more sustainable Status for Syrians themselves. Consequently, that is sonra be suistanble for relations between two sides.

Q-Do you believe that after migration wave paths of Societies strongly Changed? Do you agree or not?

A- From my personel experience. When I was in Syria I was working in syria. F was not used to working 12 hours a day or 9-10 hours a day, I used to work 7-8 hours a day, and when I was working

private sector, So, that is one way of how coming to Turkey and changed at least my working o lture. It is the norm in Turkey to work 9-10 hours a day. Recently, there has been talks about reducing the working hours per week for 45-40 hours. That will be great. But still I think I also gave other example on this question earlier when we started. But Iam took included my answer I would say at least what I have been saying so far. The Syrian society in Turkey has been expose to more then the Turks the Syrian community that has been trying to adapt the new ways of living, working socially, cu lturally and economically speaking than the Turkish society itself.

Q- Now is the conclusion part. I want to add here two concept from Rosenberg. 'Whip of external necessity' and 'historical backwardness: The fact that Syrians are migrants in Turkey, fled from war had caused any impact on their development, and they live in uneven and challenging conditions in the country where they migrated. But can this inequality, under development. Hardships also serve as whip to progress much faster than Turkish society in the future? Do you accept or counter of this idea?

A- If we want to talk about examples of Syrians in Turkey comparatively speaking. Turks in Germany has been three decades to arriving. We have just barely finished first decade of Syrians living in Turkey. So this is long run game for change for middle-Class, lower-classes. May be we will see some powerful Syrians in politics, economics circles like business atmosphere. But it is gonna take time. But we don't have at least one for compared to Turks in Germany. Germany experimented with Turks when it comes to integration. Turkey is not experienced with Syrians when it comes to integration. They realize like you know the story, Germany is now opening citizenship actually dual-citizenship I think one of the main drivers of that change is not only limited to having the left SPD in power, But it is the fact that Polish people and Turkish people who have been the blocked the dual nationality. Because of the strict and etho-nationalist German Understanding citizenship. But that took probably lobbying and efforts from NGOs (civil society organizations) and academics, activist for many decades. So Germany could arrive at the Stage that is like merely exist a few countries around Turkey. The government is inviting Syrians to citizenship, but the public is totally refusing. This idea before we talk about the extending citizenship of Syrians. We need to talk about sort of integration outcome. We want to see before the eligible to citizenship That's why I said Germany experimented with Turks when it comes to integration. Here, we do not see anything. The anger that we don't have policy I don't think that we are gonna be arriving sooner the example of Turks in Germany, There it took decades to have this powerful Turks becoming ministers, or very powerful businessmen. But these are the results of policy in place. failed. At the end of the day the result the people you mentioned, we don't have a Skeleton to help Syrians come out this like layers of mud and become a success stories as collective part of Turkish society so far. We only see individualistic level success stories... Good... But these are not enough.

Q-If there had not been a civil war in Syria. Syrians would not have a bad life if they had not migrated and stayed in their homelands. That difficulty they are experiencing today in Turkey interaction with Turkish society, cultural differences and cultural structures have been emerged as a result of these differences have and will bring them better position today and tommorow?

A- If there was no war or the conflict did not emerge with their lives would be better compared to situation now? As many hardships as now! I would probably say Yes! But better in the sense they would have better financial means or they would be welfare or more educated that is sth I cannot answer compared to the hardships they have faced in Turkey. I would ay yes may be they would have lived a live ess hardship and troubles if there was no war in 2011.

Q- Do you have any plans to return to Syria when the war ends or the regime changes?

A- After coming here and living here for 0-12 years, I would definitely not go back to Syria. Because what happened in 2011, the country I knew before 2011 is no longer there. The society I know is no longer there.

### **Interviewee/S-6**

Energy systems engineer, foreign trade expert, translator, volunteer Turkish teacher

Q-Can you briefly describe your background and connection to the Syrian migration situation in Turkey? I mean when did you come to Turkey and how did you come?

A-We left our home in Aleppo due to the civil war that started in Syria in 2011 and took refuge in our house in the village. Towards the end of 2015, the situation started to deteriorate and the danger increased. Livelihood, living conditions, education, such as water and electricity, and the security of being under a ceiling were no longer guaranteed. Therefore, we decided to leave Syria and migrate to Turkey. My family and I spent a total of 4 years during the war. Of all the other countries, we chose Turkey as the closest destination for us because of the similarities in both religion and culture (although not completely).

Q- What do you understand by the term "internationalism"?

A- From my point of view, the term "internationality" is the characterization of any person according to the country in which he/she is located anywhere in the world and according to the whole world. If we want to give a general example; it is a term known by the whole world that a person is qualified as a citizen of that country according to the country where he was born. Or "Tourist" if he/she is in the country he/she is traveling to, or "Immigrant/Refugee" if he/she is in Turkey for the purpose we are in Turkey at the moment. They are labeled with these qualities by the whole realm and the world. To give a simple example, the case of a famous football player or artist is called by the quality of "Internationalism".

Q- What are the challenges and opportunities of coexistence between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens in Turkey?

A- As it is known by everyone, if we list the challenges, the first one is the "language" problem. It is a big problem when an asylum seeker does not have a language to express his/her problems in a country where he/she is living. This situation leads to many troubles and problems. In order for a person to integrate in an environment, he/she should know the language of that environment. In fact, in other countries, language education is immediately compulsory for immigrants. It would be much more beneficial for both communities if language teaching activities were initiated here as well.

In the second order, even though I said it at the beginning, "cultural differences". Of course, this is not valid for all climates in Turkey. It varies from region to region. The third is the issue of finding a "house for rent". Especially for Syrian refugees in recent times, finding a house to rent has been a nightmare. At the fourth level, the inability to continue the "education" process is now a dangerous problem. Especially the exorbitant tuition fees of universities have prevented many students from continuing their education. Because they cannot pay the fees. That's all I want to talk about the challenges for now. You asked about opportunities. It is a valuable opportunity for both Syrian refugees and manufacturers in terms of labor and trade. Although some may not see it as an opportunity, the positive impact of this situation can be seen very clearly. Also, the presence of Syrian refugees in Turkey has been an indicator of the hospitality of Turkish citizens. It will always be known in history as

the unpayable debt of Syrian refugees.

Q-What can be done to encourage positive interaction between Syrian refugees and Turkish society?

A- Many activities can be implemented to promote positive interaction between Syrian refugees and Turkish society. For example, the positive results of "harmonization activities" so far are a great evidence for this. Many activities such as Turkish courses, excursion programs organized by state institutions, Ramadan tables can be organized. "Exploiting industrial and commercial advantages" is an important project in terms of contributing to Turkey's economy. A fruitful result can be achieved by utilizing the advantages of communication with foreign countries offered by skilled and unskilled workers, professionals and translators. "Education". Targeting Syrian refugees for education is not something to be ignored. Utilizing these opportunities by the right institutions can make a huge contribution to positive interaction.

Q-How do Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens differ in terms of culture, religion and values?

A-This question can be answered as follows; the cultural difference between Syrians and Turkish society varies from region to region. For example, since the Southeastern Anatolia Region is geographically bordering Syria, we cannot see a big difference. But when we start from Central Anatolia Region and move towards Marmara Region, we can clearly see that the cultural difference diagram increases. Living, dressing and thinking styles are changing.

In terms of religion, the fact that the general population of Turkey and Syrian refugees belong to the religion of "Islam", especially the Sunni sect, constitutes both a common point and a strong similarity. In short, we can say that there is 95% no difference in terms of religion. To talk about values, the values in Turkey "justice, friendship, honesty, self-control, patience, respect, love, respect, responsibility, patriotism and helpfulness" are known to apply to Syrian refugees. However, communication problems between the two sides may not make this clear.

Q-What is the role of art, music and food in blending the cultures of Syrians and



Turks in Turkey?

A- There is a famous saying in our language: "If bodies are not alike, souls are alike and find each other". If we analyze this expression; such activities that appeal to the soul such as art, music and food play an important role. By finding commonalities in these activities, two different societies can create a significant fusion effect.

Q- So, are you divided among yourselves? What kind of a social structure do you have under the umbrella of the Syrian identity?

A-We can divide the social structure in Syria into three parts. It is divided into three as local, peasant and Bedouin. These three cultures are essentially very different from each other. However, when they came together, they had difficulties in living together. These three different types of cultures have come here, so these three different types of cultures that have come here now present themselves differently. So, for example, Turkish society might be less prejudiced against Syrians if they met with urban Syrians.

Q-How has the relationship between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens developed over time?

A-Since 2011 until today, it has been more or less clear what kind of culture and structure Turkish society has for the Syrian refugees' time in Turkey. Otherwise, Turkish society has also analyzed this situation by coming together with Syrian migrants. Over time, the two sides started to get to know each other more closely. We can say that especially the Syrian, who improved his Turkish, started to express himself more and developed his relationship with the Turkish society in this way.

Q-Do you believe that the paths of the societies have changed drastically after the migration wave? In other words, would the current levels of cultural, social, technological, political and economic development in the two societies be the same if such a large and irregular migration wave had not occurred? Or has migration profoundly changed the fate of both societies?

A - After a certain age, especially for those after 25 years of age, they have already seen the cultural infrastructure in Turkey. Also, the development of the society

stopped with the war. For this age group there was a pause in time. Therefore, people who come here may have problems encountering the new culture when they come here. They are still there in their old form. As for Syrians under 20 years old, although they are influenced by their own culture and their families, they are more intensely influenced by Turkish culture.

Q- What kind of changes happened in your life and your perspective on life after you settled in Turkey?

A-There is no difference between the environment I lived in Syria and the environment I live in here. Especially if we talk about Aleppo, we were already living together with different religions and races in Aleppo. Aleppo is a very old city. In the same village or city or neighborhood, Muslims, Jews and Christians lived together and everyone practiced their religion in their own way. It was only the language and the love of homeland that united us. As I got older, the experience of migration actually added a lot to me. At first, I was young and I had a lot of difficulties, so that process was very troublesome. But today, I am aware of the positive aspects of this experience. I was able to somehow fuse with the culture here. I also undertook a mission for myself. What is this mission? To mingle and get along with the people here in a good way and not to break away from the culture I came from. I am struggling for this.

Q- There are different types of capital. There are cultural capital, social capital and material capital. Do you currently transfer these types of capital to your friends and family in Syria via phone or other communication channels? And if you return one day, what would you transfer from these types of capital?

A-If a person has a positive outlook on life, he/she wants to pass on the knowledge and experience he/she has or has learned. For example, we would have done it differently in Syria, it might make more sense to do it this way, etc. For example, in our country we are paid daily or weekly. Here, salary payments are monthly. I think this is a ridiculous system. It would be better if it was like our system. Also the issue of working hours... We are not used to such long working hours in Syria. Such an intense working tempo affects people's psychology in a negative way, it spoils their psychology. That's why I keep saying that I wonder if this can be changed.

Q- There are other immigrant groups in Turkey. Afghans, Iranians, Iraqis etc. How does their presence here affect your situation?

A- It does not affect directly in a negative way. But the prejudice against Syrians and the arrival of other migrant groups in Turkey has increased the prejudice against us. Also, any migrant, whether Syrian or not, has started to be directly called Syrian. At least this is the case in Turkish society. This has affected us negatively in this direction. For example, there are a lot of Iranians in this neighborhood, but everyone says that it is completely filled with Syrians. We also have stronger communication and interaction with Iraqi immigrants. This is probably because of the language and also because Iraqis had previously migrated to Syria after the Iraq War in 2003. Maybe our connection with Afghans and Iranians is not so strong.

Q- What is the meaning and importance of Turkish citizenship for you? What changes do you expect in your life if you get Turkish citizenship?

A- I think about this issue more from a commercial point of view. I am also engaged in trade. I work in an export company. It will be very useful for me in terms of traveling. I mean commercial travels.

Q- The fact that Syrians are migrants (refugees) in Turkey has a negative impact on their development and they experience unequal and difficult conditions in the country they migrate to. So, can this inequality, underdevelopment or difficulties serve as a whip to progress much faster than Turkish society in the future? Do you accept this or are you against this idea?

A-I cannot say that I agree 100% that this idea applies to all Syrian Refugees. But the Syrian community with certain criteria can fall under this theory. In the future, this theory may even predict results that will not disappoint. The Syrian Refugees in Turkey, who have these specific criteria, despite all the troubles and difficulties, have not given up and have achieved more success than individuals who have many opportunities and do not have difficulties. It is a matter of "enthusiasm" in different terms. The displacement of an individual from their home or homeland can have two different outcomes. Either these hardships and unintentional prejudices hinder his/her journey of life or success. Or he/she can overcome dozens of hardships and

continue his/her life struggle or success journey. To give an example; I would like to share with you a memory I had. In 2016, when I first came to Turkey with my family, I started a job to support my family. One day during the work process, we were sitting at lunch with other masters and workers. We were having lunch. Everyone was sitting at the table and I couldn't understand anyone because I didn't speak Turkish. But I could feel that they were telling jokes to each other because they were laughing all the time. When it was my turn, everyone looked at me and laughed because I couldn't express myself. At that moment, I left my food and went outside. I started to cry. Only those who have experienced that desperation know. My master came and said something. I think he wanted to console me. That day I recovered and I had an enthusiasm. I would learn this language. Since that day, my journey to learn Turkish began and you can see the result in this story. I hope this answer was enough.

#### **Interviewee/S-7**

Q- Can you briefly describe your background and connection to the Syrian migration situation in Turkey? I mean when did you come to Turkey and how did you come?

A - If I have been in an environment and this environment is no longer productive for me, I can say that I should go to an environment where I should be more productive. I worked as a teacher in Syria from 2011 to 2016. After this period, I preferred to leave Syria in terms of personal development. I wanted to come to a place that could contribute more to my personal development. I mean, the main reason for coming here is not the war - although this may be one of the side reasons - but the main reason is the desire and desire to improve myself. When I came to Turkey, the first goal I focused on was to finish my Master's degree. Both my English score and my transcript score were quite high. I won an EU-funded Master's scholarship and continued my Master's program in Erzurum. Now coming back to the refugee issue. After I finished my Master's degree, I wanted to directly participate in EU harmonization projects. The aim was to help migrants in Turkey to integrate. We established this association within this goal. This association is not only about Syrians, it covers all immigrant groups.

Q- How has your presence in Turkey affected your life and perceptions? Also, how

do you think it has affected and shaped the life of Turkish society?

A-I can relate culture to language. I am basically a religious person. When I came to Turkey, I did not see a big difference between me and the Turkish society in terms of religion, but I also realized that the Turkish society is very secular. When we were in Syria, we made a great effort to protect ourselves against this secular logic, but here people are different. This gave me a different cultural perspective and flexibility. When I was in Syria, I couldn't accept a person being an atheist, being religious, etc. But after I came to Turkey, I realized that this is normal. This made me more flexible. In Latakia, where I was born, there were also Alevis. We could already live together, but we had problems because of Syrianization, protecting our own power, etc. Otherwise, no one was in Assad's Alawite identity. The administration provoked the Alawites against the Sunnis. When I saw this richness of culture in Turkey, I became more flexible and comfortable.

Q- Do you think internationalism is limited to relations between states? Or does the interaction of two or more societies and the process of interaction lead directly to internationalism?

A- My understanding of internationalism is to break borders. In fact, my coming to a different country, receiving a scholarship from a supranational organization such as the EU and providing my education is directly related to internationalism.

Q- How do you perceive the coexistence of multiple cultures in Turkey?

A - Going from a culturally diverse environment to a completely different environment enriches people culturally. It also has a positive effect on personal development. I would like to talk about some of the positives related to coexistence. For example, there is a sense of nationalism, togetherness and hospitality that we have not observed in Turkish society. We were not able to love each other because of what the Assad regime did in recent times. These qualities of the Turkish nation have set an example for us. We learn from them.

Q- Do you believe that Syrian society or Turkish society has been shaped or influenced by the cultural symbols of another society? If so, how does this affect the future destiny of the society? (positive or negative and explain)

A-There are actually some obstacles for this. Language is the first obstacle. Also not supporting integration programs and not increasing Turkish courses support these obstacles. The issue of law is very important. My fusion with a culture is my adoption of that culture. Since there are some obstacles both in terms of law and culture, the adoption of the culture is not fully realized. To give an example, Syrians have to work unregistered. They cannot apply for legal jobs because they are not offered opportunities. This has a negative impact on intercultural interaction.

Q- Do cultural and social differences between Turkish and Syrian society affect integration and cohesion? If so, what can be done about it?

A-Language is very important here. However, it is possible to communicate and interact without language. How can this be done? By going directly to the soul... This can be through art, food, music, etc. It may not be necessary to know a language for this. It requires feeling. The best way is through art. In other words, as long as we cannot integrate and interact, prejudices against Syrians will increase. So we need to be able to dialog in different ways. I want to give a good example. I worked in an integration project. First we taught a language and then we taught a profession, a competence. That profession was cooking. What did they do? Both Turkish and Syrian women came together. When that project ended, women from both communities started crying. Both communities loved each other so much there... In fact, carrying out such projects is the best thing that can be done in terms of integration and harmony. Neither side knew each other's languages. However, by meeting on a cultural common ground such as food, they created this beautiful bond. They also introduced each other's cultures in this process. This project started at the public education center in 2021.

Q- How has the relationship between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens developed and changed over time?

A- When the civil war started in Syria in 2011, Turkish society and the Turkish government opened their doors to us immediately. This was a great example of hospitality. In terms of humanity, the Syrians were indebted. In 2014, there was a big wave of migration. A significant number of Syrians came to Turkey, especially from the camps. In the early days, the government allowed migrants to settle in the

provinces they wanted. This, of course, had negative consequences. This is where groupings and ghettoization stemmed from. After 2016, a negative perception of Syrians started to emerge and negativity started to increase. The great wave of migration had a negative impact on Turkey's resources. Indeed, Turkey's infrastructure and economy were not sufficient to cope with the sudden influx of so many migrants. This was perhaps not the fault of the two communities, but the conditions and lack of resources turned relations into a negative one. Then, Turkey's economy deteriorated even more with the pandemic and the earthquake. In this process, people's stresses increased even more. At first, the Turkish government empathized with the migrants. After 12 years, the Turkish government started to set strict rules. This is a positive step, to restore order, but it is also a step too late. If this had been done at the beginning, Turkish society would have felt safer if they felt that the migration was orderly and there would not have been so much prejudice against the Syrian community. There were also social media accounts that spread and spread false news and propaganda, and the government failed to develop a response to this. False news about Syrians was spread through these social media platforms. The government should have taken action against this. Because this both reinforced Syrian hostility and put the government in a difficult situation.

Q- There are other immigrant groups in Turkey. Afghans, Iranians, Iraqis, etc. How does their presence here affect your situation?

A-Of course we have contact with other migrants. After all, we have one thing in common and that is "migration". We can empathize with them to a high degree. Every single person I have met is a positive contribution, I don't feel negativity. Within the framework of the integration projects we have carried out, maybe these other migrant groups may be jealous. We have heard before that they have associations and organizations, so if there is going to be aid, it should be given to them and not to us. But with our approach and empathy, we won their hearts and they started to trust us and develop good relations with us.

Q- There are different types of capital. There is cultural capital, social capital and financial capital. Are you currently transferring these types of capital to your friends and family in Syria via phone or other communication channels? And if you go back

one day, what would you transfer from these types of capital?

A-I believe that I need to influence other people in the circles and environments I am in. Of course I mean in a good way. I opened an association here, I finished my master's degree, I work on projects, and I run them. If the war ends one day, people like me will be needed in Syria. I would gladly transfer my knowledge and experience. Even if I do not return, I always want to help people there.

### **Interviewee/S-8**

Q- Can you briefly describe your background and connection to the Syrian migration situation in Turkey? I mean when did you come to Turkey and how did you come here?

A- We came to Turkey in 2013. I graduated from Syria as a classroom teacher. It was not an easy decision to migrate here. But at that time we only had that decision in front of us.

Q- How has your presence in Turkey affected your life and perceptions? Also, how do you think it has affected and shaped the life of the Turkish community?

A-The language has been our biggest challenge. There are differences in customs and traditions. But we have differences in some small things. There are differences in the way of dressing. Your society is more organized and they follow the rules more.

Q- When you think of internationalism, what is the first thing that comes to your mind in relation to migration?

A--It is a term that distinguishes something. Even though we faced some problems at first when we came here, the common culture, way of thinking, etc. left over from the Ottoman Empire made our lives easier at some point.

Q- What are the challenges and opportunities of coexistence between you and Turkish citizens?

A- Educated Syrians can communicate with Turks more easily. Therefore, I think lack of education is a big challenge. The irregular increase in migration is another challenge.



Q- What can be done to encourage positive interaction between Syrian migrants and Turkish society? Can we also argue that this interaction will strengthen social relations between the two communities, and that cultural, commercial and technological exchanges can take place to the benefit of both communities?

A Projects and activities between Turks and Syrians benefit both communities. I come from Hatay. When I was there, there were activities between the two communities such as handicraft activities, travel activities, food activities, etc. The harmonization projects really contributed very well in this regard.

Q- How do Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens differ in terms of culture, religion and values? How do these differences manifest themselves in daily life?

A- There is not that much difference in terms of religion. But there are some differences in customs. For example, when asking for a girl, the bride throws salt into the groom's coffee. For example, we don't have this. Of course this is a small example but I think it is a good example.

Q- How did Syrian immigrants and Turkish citizens combine their cultures and traditions? Is the way you dressed before coming here similar to the way you dress now or has it changed?

A-I am a person who can accept every difference in character. I am actually the same here as I was in Syria. But before I came here, I lived in Saudi Arabia for a while and I always dressed like this. I try to adapt here without losing my identity and without giving up my personality.

Q- What is the role of art, music and food in blending the cultures of Syrians and Turks in Turkey?

A-Art, music and food are the most important tools of culture. With a plate of food made with love, we can make friends with someone whose language we do not know. Because music and food are essentially a universal language.

Q- How has the relationship between Syrian migrants and Turkish citizens developed and changed over time?

A- At first I didn't want to integrate, but then I realized that I had to integrate with this society and adapt to the Turkish society here. This is a necessity.

Q- There are other immigrant groups in Turkey. Afghans, Iranians, Iraqis, etc. How does their presence here affect your situation?

A- As Syrians, we are used to living together with different societies. Palestinians, Iraqis, etc. But unfortunately there is a perception and feeling that there is competition and disagreements between these immigrant groups. But on the contrary, we try to support each other.

## D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

### 1. GİRİŞ

Bu tez, Sosyal Çoğulluk Teorisi'ni (SÇT) Suriyeli göçmenlerin deneyimlerine uygulayarak Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçmenlerin entegrasyon sürecine ilişkin kapsamlı bir anlayış sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırma, ekonomik ve devlet merkezli modellerin geleneksel çerçevelerinin ötesinde, göçün nüanslı ve çok boyutlu analizlerine yönelik artan ihtiyaca bir yanıt niteliğindedir. 2011'de başlayan yıkıcı Suriye İç Savaşı'nın bir sonucu olarak ortaya çıkan Suriye göçü, 21. yüzyılın en önemli insani krizlerinden birini teşkil etmektedir. Türkiye'ye sığınan 3,7 milyondan fazla Suriyeli nüfusu zaman içerisinde 3 milyon civarına gerilemiş olsa da bu nüfus oldukça büyük bir büfustur. Geleneksel göç teorilerine meydan okuyan karmaşık sosyo-politik, kültürel ve ekonomik dinamikler yaratmıştır. Bu nedenle tez, çeşitli kültürel, sosyal ve ekonomik güçlerin etkileşiminin hem göçmen hem de ev sahibi toplumları nasıl şekillendirdiğini ortaya çıkarmak için SMT'yi kullanarak nitel bir metodolojik yaklaşımla Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçmenlerin deneyimlerini araştırmaktadır.

Bu araştırmanın özünde, Justin Rosenberg tarafından geliştirilen ve çoklu toplumların bir arada bulunmasının ve etkileşiminin karmaşık sosyal ve siyasi değişimleri anlamak için temel oluşturduğunu öne süren SMT'nin uygulanması yer almaktadır (Rosenberg 2013). Devleti analizin merkezine yerleştiren geleneksel Uluslararası İlişkiler (UI) kuramlarının aksine SMT, toplum temelli analizi esas alarak uluslararası süreçlerin ortaya çıkışında merkezi olduğunu kabul eder. Bu bakış açısı, göçmenlerin göç ettikleri toplumlarla olan etkileşimlerini incelemek için yenilikçi bir teorik merceğe potansiyeli sunar. Göçün sadece sınırlar arasında fiziksel bir hareket meselesi olmadığını, aynı zamanda sosyal yapılarda, kimliklerde ve kültürel pratiklerde - sadece göçmenler için değil, ev sahibi toplum için de - önemli dönüşümler içerdiğini vurgular. Göçmenleri ev sahibi toplumdaki yabancılar olarak

görme eğiliminde olan metodolojik milliyetçiliğin sınırlamalarının ötesine geçerek, SMT daha geniş ve daha dinamik bir göç anlayışını benimser. Çeşitli aktörlerin, kimliklerin ve sosyal süreçlerin hem yerel hem de uluslararası ortamları nasıl etkilediğini ve yeniden şekillendirdiğini göz önünde bulundurur (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002).

Tez, Suriye göçü ile ilgili zorluklara bir girişle başlıyor ve bu zorlukların Türk toplumunu nasıl temelden yeniden şekillendirdiğini ve bir dereceye kadar uluslararası göç politikalarını nasıl değiştirdiğini vurguluyor. Suriye İç Savaşı'nın tetiklediği kriz, sadece insani bir felaket olarak değil, aynı zamanda ev sahibi ülkelerin, özellikle de Türkiye'nin sosyo-politik manzarasını yeniden şekillendiren bir katalizör olarak sunulmaktadır (Erdoğan 2019; Erdoğan 2021; Erdoğan 2022). Türkiye'ye odaklanma kararı, Türkiye'nin jeopolitik önemi, Suriye ile kültürel ve tarihi bağları ve küresel olarak en fazla Suriyeli mülteciye ev sahipliği yapan ülke konumundan kaynaklanmaktadır (UNHCR, 2023). Bu benzersiz koşullara rağmen, mevcut göç literatürü, göçü genellikle ekonomik veya güvenlik sorunlarına indirgemekte, mecvutkültürel ve sosyal boyutları büyük ölçüde ihmal etmektedir. Bu nedenle bu çalışma, Suriyeliler ve Türk nüfusu arasındaki kültürel etkileşimi, kimlik müzakeresini ve sosyal dönüşümü araştırmak için SMT'yi benimseyerek bu boşluğu doldurmayı amaçlamaktadır.

SMT tarafından sağlanan teorik temel, özellikle mevcut göç teorilerinin aksine, ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir. Neoklasik ekonomi teorisi gibi geleneksel teoriler göçü ücret farklılıklarının bir sonucu olarak görme eğilimindeyken, göç sistemleri teorisi kaynak ve hedef ülkeler arasındaki yapısal bağlantıları vurgulamaktadır (Todaro, 1969; Mabogunje, 1970). Bu tür yaklaşımlar, faydalı olmalarına rağmen, göçmenlerin yaşadıkları deneyimlerin içerdiği karmaşıklıkları yakalamakta yetersiz kalmaktadır. Öte yandan SMT, göç süreçlerinin farklı kültürel kimlikler arasında nasıl dinamik ve çok yönlü etkileşimler içerdiğini anlamaya önem verir. Göçün, hem göçmen kimliklerinin dönüşümüne hem de ev sahibi toplumların yapılarının yeniden yapılandırılmasına neden olan kültürlerin harmanlanmasını, bir arada var olmasını ve melezleşmesini içerdiği fikrini yakalar (Rosenberg, 2016). Bu teorik duruş, entegrasyon sürecinin yalnızca Suriyeli mültecilerin Türk toplumuna dahil edilmesi değil, daha ziyade hem Suriyelileri hem de Türkleri etkileyen bir dönüşüm olduğu

Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçmenler için özellikle geçerlidir. Farklılık kavramı SMT'nin merkezinde yer alır; sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik farklılıkların varlığının özünde sorunlu olmadığını, aynı zamanda bir zenginlik ve toplumsal dönüşüm kaynağı olabileceğini kabul eder (Anievas & Matin, 2016).

Metodoloji bölümü, Suriyeli göçmenlerin deneyimlerini keşfetmek için kullanılan nitel araştırma yöntemlerini detaylandırmaktadır. Yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler, Suriyelilerin kimliklerini nasıl oluşturdukları, Türk toplumu ile etkileşim süreçleri ve ilişkilerini anlamak ve anlamlandırmak için kullanılmıştır. Araştırma tasarımı ayrıca Türk vatandaşları ve göç konularında çalışan sivil toplum kuruluşlarından (STK'lar) paydaşlarla yapılan görüşmeleri de içermektedir. Yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerin kullanılması, kişisel deneyimlerin derinlemesine incelenmesine olanak tanımış ve katılımcılara düşüncelerini özgürce ifade etme esnekliği sunarak zengin ve ayrıntılı veriler elde edilmesini sağlamıştır (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Bu araştırma için benimsenen yorumlayıcı yaklaşım, bireylerin göç ve entegrasyon deneyimlerine yükledikleri öznel anlamları ortaya çıkarmak için özellikle seçilmiştir. Bu yaklaşım, sosyal çoğulluğun sadece niceliksel ölçümlerle tam olarak yakalanamayan dinamik doğasını anlamak için özellikle uygundur. Görüşmeler, farklı yaş gruplarından, cinsiyetlerden, eğitim geçmişlerinden ve sosyo-ekonomik statülerden bireyler de dahil olmak üzere çok çeşitli katılımcılarla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu çeşitlilik, hem ortak zorlukları hem de benzersiz kişisel hikayeleri vurgulayarak Suriyeli göçmenlerin çeşitli deneyimlerini yakalamaya yardımcı olmuştur.

Araştırmadan elde edilen bulgular, Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerin entegrasyonunun kültürel farklılıklar, sosyal etkileşimler ve yapısal faktörler tarafından şekillendirilen hem zorluklar hem de fırsatlar içerdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Temel bulgulardan biri farklılık kavramıyla ilgilidir. Suriyeliler ve Türkler farklı kültürel geçmişlerden geliyor ve bu farklılıklar dil, dini uygulamalar ve sosyal normlar da dahil olmak üzere günlük yaşamın çeşitli yönlerinde kendini gösteriyor. Örneğin, dil engeli Suriyeliler için, özellikle de Türkiye'ye daha önce hiç Türkçe bilmeden gelenler için en önemli engellerden biri olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu dilsel boşluk, sağlık, eğitim ve istihdam gibi temel hizmetlere erişimlerini etkilemiştir (Cassarino, 2004). Ancak araştırma, Suriyeli göçmenlerin dayanıklılığını ve dil kurslarına kaydolmak ya da Türkçe pratik yapmak için topluluk faaliyetlerine katılmak gibi bu zorlukların

üstesinden gelme çabalarını da vurgulamaktadır. Ayrıca, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ve aile yapılarındaki farklılıklar gibi farklı kültürel norm ve uygulamaların varlığı, Suriyeliler ve Türkler arasındaki etkileşimleri hem karmaşıklaştırmış hem de zenginleştirmiştir. Bu farklılıklar bazı durumlarda yanlış anlamalara ve sosyal gerilimlere yol açarken, bazı durumlarda da karşılıklı saygı ve öğrenmeyi teşvik etmiştir.

Bir arada yaşama kavramı, entegrasyon sürecinin bir diğer önemli unsurudur. Çalışma, Suriyeliler ve Türkler arasındaki bir arada yaşamının hem işbirliği hem de çatışma ile karakterize edildiğini ortaya koyuyor. Okullar, işyerleri ve mahalleler gibi ortak kamusal alanlar, bu toplulukların etkileşime girdiği ve farklılıklarını müzakere ettiği yerler olarak hizmet etmiştir. Bir arada yaşama genellikle kaynakların, sosyal rollerin ve kültürel uygulamaların müzakere edilmesini içermektedir. Örneğin, Suriyelilerin yoğun olarak yaşadığı mahallelerde, Suriyeli ve Türk kültürel unsurların bir arada var olması, yeni melez sosyal örgütlenme biçimlerinin ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Bazı durumlarda bu etkileşimler, kültürel alışveriş ve yeni arkadaşlıkların gelişmesi gibi olumlu sonuçlara yol açmıştır. Ancak çalışma, özellikle konut ve istihdam olanakları gibi sınırlı kaynaklar için rekabet söz konusu olduğunda, bir arada yaşamının zorluklarla dolu olabileceğini de ortaya koyuyor. Bu rekabet zaman zaman iki toplum arasında gerginliklere yol açmış, Türk nüfusunun bazı kesimleri Suriyelileri kamu kaynakları üzerinde bir yük olarak algılamıştır (Glick-Schiller vd., 1995).

Etkileşim, sadece bir arada yaşamının ötesine geçerek Suriyeliler ve Türkler arasındaki aktif ilişkilere odaklanmaktadır. Tez, bu topluluklar arasındaki etkileşimlerin karmaşık ve çok boyutlu olduğunu vurguluyor. Bir yandan, kültürel zenginleşmeye ve karşılıklı desteğe yol açan çok sayıda olumlu etkileşim örneği var. Örneğin, Suriye mutfağı Türkiye'nin birçok yerinde popüler hale gelmiş ve Suriyeli girişimciler yerel ekonomiye katkıda bulunan işletmeler kurmuşlardır (Kaymaz and Kadkoy 2016, 6; Simsek 2019; Erdoğan et al. 2021). Öte yandan, yanlış anlamaların veya önyargıların sosyal çatışmalara yol açtığı olumsuz etkileşim örnekleri de mevcuttur. Bulgular, Suriyeliler ve Türkler arasındaki etkileşimlerin kalitesinin ekonomik koşullar, hükümet politikaları ve mültecilerin medya temsilleri gibi çeşitli faktörlerden etkilendiğini göstermektedir (Doğanay & Keneş, 2016). Ortak toplum

projeleri veya kapsayıcı eğitim ortamları gibi anlamlı etkileşim fırsatlarının olduğu bölgelerde, sonuçlar genellikle olumlu olmuştur. Buna karşılık, Suriyelilerin marjinalleştirildiği veya sosyal hayattan dışlandığı alanlarda, olumsuz stereotipler ve önyargılar devam etme eğilimindedir.

Farklı kültürel, sosyal ve siyasi unsurların birleşmesi anlamına gelen kombinasyon süreci, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçmenler arasında melez kimliklerin ortaya çıkışında açıkça görülmektedir. Çalışma, birçok Suriyelinin, özellikle de genç bireylerin, hem Suriye hem de Türk kültüründen unsurlar içeren melez kimlikler geliştirme sürecinde olduğunu ortaya koyuyor. Bu kültürel melezleşme süreci, gündelik hayatta gerçekleşen çeşitli etkileşim ve bir arada yaşama biçimleri tarafından kolaylaştırılıyor. Örneğin, Türk okullarına giden Suriyeli çocuklar, kendi kültürel geleneklerinin yanı sıra sıklıkla benimsedikleri Türk kültürel normlarına ve uygulamalarına maruz kalıyor. Benzer şekilde, birçok Suriyeli aile Türk geleneklerini günlük yaşamlarına dahil ederek kültürel unsurların harmanlanmasına yol açıyor. Bu birleşme süreci, genellikle birbiriyle çatışan kültürel norm ve değerlerin müzakere edilmesini gerektirdiğinden zorlukları da beraberinde getirmektedir. Bununla birlikte, çağdaş Türk toplumunun çeşitli ve dinamik doğasını yansıtan yeni kültürel formların geliştirilmesi için de önemli bir fırsat teşkil etmektedir (Cassarino 2004; Appendix B. interview T-3; Appendix B. interview S-3; Rosenberg, 2016a).

Tez aynı zamanda tarihsel değişim kavramına da değinerek Suriyeli göçmenlerin entegrasyonunun durağan bir süreç olmadığını, zaman içinde sürekli bir evrim geçirdiğini vurguluyor. Türkiye'de büyük bir Suriyeli nüfusun varlığı, hem Suriyeli hem de Türk toplumlarında önemli değişikliklere yol açmış, sosyal normları, kültürel uygulamaları ve hatta siyasi söylemleri yeniden şekillendirmiştir. Örneğin, Suriyeli mülteci akını, mültecilerin entegrasyonunu kolaylaştırmayı amaçlayan yeni düzenlemelerin getirilmesi de dahil olmak üzere, Türk göç politikalarında değişikliklere yol açmıştır (Il Goc, 2024). Bu politika değişiklikleri, Türk devletinin ve toplumunun göç ve entegrasyona bakışındaki daha geniş bir değişimi yansıtmaktadır. Çalışma ayrıca, Suriyelilerin Türkiye'deki varlığının ulusal kimlik ve sosyal uyum üzerinde kalıcı bir etkisi olduğunu, geleneksel Türklük kavramlarına meydan okuduğunu ve Türk toplumunun bir parçası olmanın ne anlama geldiğinin

yeniden değerlendirilmesine yol açtığını ortaya koymaktadır. SMT'nin sağladığı tarihsel perspektif, bu değişimlerin hem yerel hem de küresel faktörler tarafından şekillendirilen daha geniş ve süregelen bir toplumsal dönüşüm sürecinin nasıl bir parçası olduğunun anlaşılmasını sağlamaktadır (Castles 2010; F Bélanger and Saracoglu 2020; Faist, 2000).

Farklılık, bir arada yaşama, etkileşim, kombinasyon ve tarihsel değişim kavramlarına odaklanan araştırma, göçün içinde gerçekleştiği sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi bağlamları nasıl şekillendirdiğine ve bu bağlamlar tarafından nasıl şekillendirildiğine dair incelikli bir anlayış sunmaktadır. Bulgular, Suriyeli göçmenlerin entegrasyonu ile ilgili hem zorlukları hem de fırsatları vurgulayarak, göçü hem göçmen hem de ev sahibi toplumları zenginleştirme potansiyeline sahip dinamik ve dönüştürücü bir süreç olarak görmenin önemini ve göçün uluslararası boyutlarını vurgulamaktadır.

## **2. SOSYAL ÇOĞULLUK: ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER İÇİN YENİ BİR ONTOLOJİK ZEMİN**

Justin Rosenberg tarafından ortaya atılan Sosyal çoğulluk Teorisi bu tezin teorik omurgasını oluşturmaktadır. Rosenberg'in çalışması, Uluslararası İlişkileri (UI) siyaset biliminden uzaklaştırarak yeniden konumlandırmayı amaçlamakta ve uluslararası alanın dinamiklerini yalnızca siyasi anarşinin değil, sosyal çoğulluğun yönlendirdiğini savunmaktadır. Rosenberg'e göre, bir arada var olan sosyal varlıkların çoğulluğu tarihsel olarak toplumlar arası ilişkileri şekillendirmiş ve böylece toplumların farklı ancak birbirine bağlı şekillerde nasıl evrildiğini etkilemiştir (Rosenberg, 2016a). Bu tez, göçün sadece bireylerin bir siyasi varlıktan diğerine geçmesi ya da bir coğrafyadan başka bir coğrafyaya taşınma olgusu olmadığını, hem ev sahibi hem de göçmen toplumların sosyal dokusunu değiştiren daha derin, daha karmaşık toplumlar arası ilişkileri içerdiğini öne sürerek bu perspektifi göç çalışmalarına genişletmeye çalışmaktadır.

Bir kavram olarak çoğulluk, realist bir anarşi görüşünden uzaklaşır ve bunun yerine UI'yi bir arada var olan ve etkileşim içinde olan topluluklar, uluslar ve imparatorluklar gibi çeşitli sosyal varlıkları içeren karmaşık bir sistem olarak yeniden tasavvur eder (Prichard 2018). Bu bakış açısı, geleneksel güç politikası kavramları yerine toplumlar arası etkileşimlerin ve tarihsel mirasların önemini



vurgulayarak Uİ'nin ontolojik olarak yeniden temellendirilmesi çağrısında bulunur (Rosenberg 2016a).

Rosenberg'in geleneksel Uİ'de tespit ettiği en önemli kusurlardan biri, ontolojik olarak Siyaset Bilimi'ne bağımlı olmasıdır. Bu ilişki, Uİ'nin bağımsız bir alan olarak gelişimini kısıtlamıştır. Uİ genellikle siyaset biliminin bir uzantısı olarak görülmüş, merkezi otorite olmadan yönetime odaklanmış ve bu nedenle Rosenberg'in “siyaset bilimi hapishanesi” olarak adlandırdığı şey tarafından kısıtlanmıştır (Rosenberg 2017b; Rosenberg & Tallis 2022, 252). Morozov, Uluslararası İlişkiler'in anarşi ve iktidarı aşırı vurgulama eğiliminde olan Siyaset Bilimi'nden farklı olarak kendi ontolojik çerçevesini geliştirmesi gerektiğini savunmaktadır (Morozov 2021, 2).

Bu sosyal çoğulluk yaklaşımı, Uİ'nin bir disiplin olarak parçalanmasından da etkilenmektedir. Sylvester gibi akademisyenler, Uİ teorisinin giderek daha fazla bölündüğüne, farklı kampların nadiren birbirleriyle iletişim kurduğuna ya da anlamlı bir diyalog içine girdiğine dikkat çekmiştir (Sylvester 2007, 55-56). Sonuç olarak Uİ, diyalojik olmaktan ziyade monolojik hale gelmiş ve küresel etkileşimlerin karmaşıklığını ele alma kabiliyetini sınırlamıştır (Davenport 2020, 534).

Sosyal çoğulluğun sunduğu yeni ontolojik çerçeve, devlet merkezli bir bakış açısından uzaklaşmakta ve devlet dışı aktörlerin, tarihsel olumsuzlukların ve toplumlar arası bağlantıların etkisini kabul etmektedir. Uluslararası sistemi, temel olarak güç rekabetinin yönlendirdiği anarşik bir yapıdan ziyade dinamik, çok katmanlı ve birbirine bağlı bir alan olarak anlamayı amaçlamaktadır (Morozov 2021).

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisinin önemli bir parçası, kökenleri Leon Trotsky'nin yazılarına dayanan Eşitsiz ve Birleşik Kalkınma (EKK) teorisidir (Trotsky, 1930). UCD, sosyal değişimlerin farklı gelişmişlik düzeylerine sahip toplumlar arasındaki etkileşimlerden nasıl etkilendiğini açıklayan bir meta teori olarak hizmet eder. Toplumların izole varlıklar olmadığını, farklı gelişim aşamalarında olan diğer toplumlarla etkileşimlerle sürekli olarak şekillendiğini vurgular (Rosenberg, 2013b, 196-199).

Rosenberg'e göre UCD, Uluslararası İlişkiler'in Avrupa-merkezci yaklaşımlardan uzaklaşmasına ve daha çeşitli gelişimsel yörüngeleri dikkate almasına yardımcı

olabilecek teorik bir çerçeve sunmaktadır (Anievas ve Nişancıoğlu, 2015). ÜCD, doğrusal kalkınma kavramına meydan okumakta ve geri kalmışlığın nasıl bir ayrıcalık haline gelebileceğini vurgulayarak toplumların aynı gelişim aşamalarını tekrarlamak zorunda kalmadan başkalarının teknolojik ve sosyal ilerlemelerinden faydalanmasına olanak tanımaktadır (Rosenberg 2016a, 141).

Geleneksel Uluslararası İlişkiler, küresel arenayı genellikle ulusal çıkarlara göre etkileşimde bulunan egemen devletlerin hakim olduğu anarşik bir sistem olarak görmektedir. Ancak SMT, ontolojik odağı toplumsal olana kaydırarak, farklı toplumların bir arada yaşamasının ve etkileşiminin uluslararası dinamikleri anlamının merkezinde olduğunu savunmaktadır (Rosenberg, 2017b). Bu paradigma, farklı toplumların (hem ev sahibi toplum hem de göçmenler) devam eden etkileşimler yoluyla nasıl etkileşime girdiğini, uyum sağladığını ve dönüştüğünü analiz etmek için bir çerçeve sağladığından, göçü incelemek için özellikle uygundur.

Sosyal çoğulluk çeşitli tarihsel ve güncel bağlamlarda gözlemlenebilir. Örneğin, Büyük Buhran, dünyanın farklı bölgelerindeki eşitsiz sanayileşme süreçlerinin birbiriyle bağlantılı ekonomik krizlere yol açması nedeniyle ÜCD merceğinden anlaşılabilir (Rosenberg, 2013b, 212). Benzer şekilde, Batı'nın yükselişi ve Doğu'nun durgunluğu, tarihsel geri kalmışlık kavramı ve diğer toplumlardan yeniliklerin ödünç alınması ve uyarlanması kaynaklanan avantajlar aracılığıyla analiz edilebilir (Ezcurdia, 2020, 1-2).

Bir başka örnek de Çin'in teknolojik ilerlemelerinin Batı sanayileşmesi üzerindeki etkisidir. Çin'in metalürji ve tarım gibi alanlardaki ilk gelişmeleri daha sonra Avrupa ülkeleri tarafından benimsenmiş ve bu da hızlı endüstriyel büyümelerine katkıda bulunmuştur. Bu durum, toplumların başkalarından öğrenerek gelişim aşamalarını atlayabildiği tarihsel geri kalmışlık kavramını örneklemektedir (Davies, 2003, 43).

Rosenberg'in geleneksel Uİ'yi 'siyaset bilimi hapisanesine' hapsedilmesiyle eleştirmesi, bu alanın devlet merkezli modellere odaklandığını ve siyasi güç dinamiklerinin toplumlar arası ilişkilerin sosyal ve kültürel boyutlarını gölgede bıraktığını vurgulamaktadır. Rosenberg, Uİ'nin yalnızca siyaset biliminin bir uzantısı olarak değil, toplumların çokluğuna dayanan kendine özgü ontolojik temelini benimseyen bir alan olarak kavramsallaştırılması gerektiğini iddia etmektedir (Rosenberg, 2013;

Morozov, 2021). Devletlerin izole aktörler olarak görülmesinden toplumların üst üste binen ve birbirine bağlı aktörler olarak anlaşılmasına doğru yaşanan bu kayma, insan hareketlerinin siyasi sınırları aştığı ve yeni sosyal konfigürasyonlara yol açtığı göç gerçeğiyle de örtüşmektedir.

Dolayısıyla sosyal çoğulluk teorisi, Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye göçünü anlamak için önemli çıkarımlara sahiptir. Göçmenler bir boşluğa girmezler; kendi yerleşik normları, yapıları ve hiyerarşileri olan bir topluma girerler. Bu süreç, hem Türk toplumunun hem de Suriyeli göçmenlerin anlamlı şekillerde değiştiği karmaşık toplumlar arası etkileşimlere yol açmaktadır. Rosenberg (2016b), sosyal çoğulluğun sadece farklı toplumların bir arada var olmasını değil, aynı zamanda hem çatışmaya hem de işbirliğine yol açabilen devam eden etkileşimlerini de içerdiğini savunmaktadır.

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisinin Uluslararası İlişkiler teorisinin geleceği için önemli çıkarımları vardır. Devlet merkeziliğin ve güç politikalarının hakimiyetine meydan okumakta ve küreselleşmiş bir dünyanın karmaşıklıklarını anlamak için daha uygun bir çerçeve sunmaktadır (Rosenberg, 2016a). Çoğulluk kuramı, toplumlar arası etkileşimlerin ve küresel dinamikleri şekillendiren tarihsel olumsuzlukların önemini kabul ederek, uluslararası ilişkileri incelemek için daha kapsamlı ve kapsayıcı bir yaklaşım sunar.

Dahası, çoğulluk uluslararası ilişkiler ile sosyoloji, tarih ve antropoloji gibi diğer sosyal bilimler arasındaki boşluğu doldurma potansiyeline sahiptir. Çoğulluk, toplumların birbirine bağlılığını vurgulayan farklı bir ontolojik çerçeve sağlayarak, Uİ akademisyenlerinin disiplinler arası tartışmalara daha etkili bir şekilde katkıda bulunmalarına ve küresel zorlukları bütüncül bir şekilde ele almalarına yardımcı olabilir (Wiener, 2020, 6).

Justin Rosenberg tarafından geliştirilen sosyal çoğulluk, uluslararası ilişkileri anlamaya yönelik dönüştürücü bir yaklaşımı temsil etmektedir. Devlet merkeziliğe, anarşiye ve güç politikalarına geleneksel olarak odaklanmaktan uzaklaşan çoğulluk, çoklu toplumların bir arada varoluşunu, etkileşimini ve tarihsel gelişimini vurgulayan Uİ için yeni bir ontolojik temel sağlar (Rosenberg, 2016a). Bu perspektif, Uİ'nin disiplinler sınırlarına meydan okumakta ve modern dünyanın karmaşıklıklarını ele

almak için daha uygun olan küresel dinamiklere dair daha incelikli bir anlayış sunmaktadır.

Sosyal çoğullukkuramının zorlukları ve eleştirileri olsa da, uluslararası ilişkilerin doğasını yeniden düşünmek ve geleneksel Uİ teorisinin önyargılarını ve sınırlamalarını ele almak için değerli bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Uİ, çoğulluğu benimseyerek küresel toplumun çeşitli ve birbiriyle bağlantılı gerçekliklerini ele alabilen daha kapsayıcı ve dinamik bir alana dönüşebilir (Rosenberg & Tallis, 2022, 252).

### **3. ULUSLARARASI GÖÇ TEORİLERİ VE SOSYAL ÇOĞULLUK**

Göç, yüzyıllara yayılan, farklı motivasyonlarla hareket eden ve siyasi, sosyal ve ekonomik koşullar tarafından şekillendirilen insanlık tarihinin tutarlı bir yönü olmuştur. Göçü açıklamaya çalışan teoriler genellikle kökenlerini, kısa mesafeli yer değiştirmeler ve ekonomik teşviklerin rolü gibi kalıpları özetleyen ilk “göç yasalarını” oluşturan Ernst Ravenstein'in (1885) çalışmalarına dayandırmaktadır. Castelli (2018) göçün hem tarihsel hem de çağdaş bir olgu olduğunu, BM ve OECD gibi kuruluşların modern istatistiklerinin son yıllarda göç eğilimlerinde keskin bir artış olduğunu gösterdiğini vurgulamaktadır (O'Reilly, 2022). Göç konusuna giderek daha fazla odaklanılmasına rağmen, kapsamlı göç teorileri oluşturma çabaları genellikle parçalı olmuş ve nadiren birbiriyle bağlantılı olan çeşitli modellerin ortaya çıkmasıyla sonuçlanmıştır (Arango, 2000).

Ravenstein'in öncü çalışması, göçteki genel eğilimlerin anlaşılması için temel oluşturmuştur, ancak çağdaş araştırmalar, ekonomik, politik ve kültürel etkileri içeren karmaşık motivasyonları ve kalıpları keşfetmek için bu ilk teorilerin üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Göçün tek bir teoriyle açıklanamayacak kadar çok yönlü olduğu ve ampirik verilerle test edilebilecek makul hipotezler sunabilecek geniş bir teorik yaklaşım yelpazesi gerektirdiği yaygın olarak kabul edilmektedir.

Birinci ve İkinci Dünya Savaşlarının ardından yaşanan kitlesel göçlerin de gösterdiği gibi, 20. yüzyılın jeopolitik çalkantıları göç modellerini önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Bu olaylar milyonlarca insanı yerinden etmiş, Orta ve Doğu Avrupa'nın demografik ve coğrafi yapısını yeniden şekillendirmiştir. Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra meydana gelen zorunlu göçler Belarussular, Ermeniler, Yunanlılar ve Macarlar gibi

çeşitli grupları etkilemiştir (Agamben, 1995). Bu göç kargaşası İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra da devam etmiş, milyonlarca kişi Avrupa'da zorla yer değiştirerek nüfus dağılımında ve istikrarında daha fazla değişikliğe yol açmıştır (Stalker, 2002).

Bu dönemdeki kitlesel insan hareketleri, göçün nasıl kalıcı demografik, ekonomik ve sosyal etkilere sahip olabileceğini vurgulamaktadır. Örneğin, Almanya mülteci akını nedeniyle önemli değişiklikler yaşamıştır. 1950'lerin başında 15 milyondan fazla yerinden edilmiş insan nüfusun önemli bir bölümünü oluşturuyordu. Bu demografik değişim Almanya'nın işgücünü etkilemiş ve ülkenin savaş sonrası hızlı kalkınmasına katkıda bulunmuştur (Stalker, 2002). Ekonomik fırsatlar ve siyasi istikrarsızlık göçün başlıca itici güçleri olmaya devam etmiş, son dönemdeki eğilimler güvenlik ve daha iyi ekonomik beklentiler arayışıyla Afrika ve Orta Doğu'dan Avrupa ve Kuzey Amerika'ya doğru önemli hareketler olduğunu göstermiştir (Kurvet-Käosaar vd., 2019).

Göç aynı zamanda uluslararası ilişkiler bağlamında, özellikle de güvenlik kaygılarıyla ilgili olarak önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Uluslararası terörizmin yükselişi, özellikle Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ndeki 11 Eylül saldırılarından sonra, sıklıkla göçle ilişkilendirilmiştir. Göçmenler ve mülteciler sıklıkla ulusal güvenlik tehditleriyle ilişkilendirilmiş, göç uluslararası ilişkilerde bir mesele olarak önem kazanmıştır (Hollifield, 2016). Göç ve güvenlik arasındaki ilişkinin daha önceki örnekleri arasında Cezayirli Silahlı İslami Grup'un Paris'teki saldırıları ve Sri Lanka'dan Hindistan'a Tamil mültecilerin hareketi gibi bölgedeki gerilimi artıran olaylar yer almaktadır (Adamson, 2007).

Göç üç temel aktörü doğrudan etkiler: göç alan toplum, göç veren toplum ve göçmenlerin kendileri. Ayrıca dolaylı olarak daha geniş uluslararası çerçeveyi de etkiler. Göçün bu aktörlerin her biri üzerinde dönüştürücü etkileri vardır ve bu etkiler ister gönüllü ister zorunlu olsun göçün türüne bağlı olarak çeşitli şekillerde ortaya çıkabilir (Jennissen, 2004). Uluslararası ilişkilerde göç, Suriye'de devam eden mülteci krizi ve bunun bölgesel ve küresel siyaset üzerindeki etkisinin de gösterdiği gibi, genellikle diplomatik ilişkiler ve müzakere gerektirmektedir (Adamson ve Tsourapas, 2019).

Göçün arkasındaki nedenler, hem itme hem de çekme faktörlerini içeren çeşitli ve

karmaşıktır. “İtme ve çekme” kavramı ilk olarak Lee (1966) tarafından ortaya atılmış ve göçün itici güçlerini bireyleri kendi ülkelerinden uzaklaştıran ve yeni varış noktalarına doğru çeken faktörler olarak sınıflandırmıştır. İtici faktörler arasında şiddetli çatışmalar, yoksulluk ve siyasi baskı yer alırken, çekici faktörler ekonomik fırsatlar, iyileştirilmiş yaşam koşulları ve ifade özgürlüğünü kapsamaktadır (Fuchs, 2021).

Ekonomik motivasyonlar, bireylerin yurt dışında daha iyi iş fırsatları aramaları nedeniyle göçün merkezinde yer almaktadır. Literatür ayrıca gönüllü ve zorunlu gibi farklı göç türleri arasında da ayırım yapmaktadır. Savaşlar, ayrımcılık veya doğal afetler nedeniyle gerçekleşen zorunlu göç, İsrail'in kuruluşu sırasında yerli Arapların zorla yerlerinden edilmesi ve Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Yunanistan ile Türkiye arasındaki nüfus mübadelesi gibi tarihsel olarak en büyük göçlerden bazılarını oluşturmuştur (Adamson, 2006).

Göç sadece mekânsal değil aynı zamanda zamansal bir süreçtir; yani göçmenlerin deneyimleri ve motivasyonları hem yaşadıkları mekândan hem de göç ettikleri zamandan etkilenmektedir. Griffiths ve diğerleri (2013) ve King (2018) göç kararlarının, göç etmek için doğru zamanı beklemek ve ev sahibi ülkede gelecekteki fırsatları öngörmek gibi zamansal faktörlerden nasıl etkilendiğini tartışmaktadır. Mekân ve zaman birlikte, göçmenlerin yalnızca coğrafi mesafeyi değil, aynı zamanda uzun vadeli entegrasyon ve sosyo-ekonomik fayda potansiyelini de değerlendirdikleri için yaptıkları seçimleri şekillendirmektedir.

Tarihsel bir perspektiften bakıldığında, göç her zaman sanayi devrimi ve küreselleşme gibi daha geniş sosyo-ekonomik dönüşümlerle yakından bağlantılı olmuştur. Wallerstein (1974) ve diğerleri, zaman içinde meydana gelen sosyo-politik değişimlerle derinden iç içe geçtiği için göçün tarihsel olaylardan ayrı tutulamayacağını savunmuşlardır (Massey, 1990). Göçü dinamik ve tarihsel bir süreç olarak anlamak, insanların sınırlar arasında nasıl hareket ettiği ve yerleştiğine dair daha incelikli bir analiz yapılmasını sağlar.

Göçün hem göç veren hem de göç alan ülkeler için önemli sosyo-ekonomik sonuçları vardır. Göçmenler, işgücü açığını kapatarak ve üretkenliği artıran farklı beceriler ve bakış açıları getirerek göç alan ülkelerdeki ekonomik büyümeye katkıda bulunurlar.

Göçmenlerin gelişi, daha geniş ekonomik etkileri olan tüketim ve tasarruf kalıplarında da değişikliklere yol açabilir (Gieseck vd., 1995).

Aynı zamanda göç, göçmenlerin geldikleri toplumları da etkiler. Eve geri gönderilen işçi dövizleri genellikle aileler için çok önemli gelir kaynaklarıdır ve göç veren ülkelerde ekonomik kalkınmayı teşvik edebilir. Bununla birlikte, genç ve vasıflı işgücünün kaybı, büyüme potansiyellerini sınırlayabileceği ve mevcut eşitsizlikleri daha da kötüleştirebileceği için bu ülkeler için olumsuz sonuçlar da doğurabilir (Jennissen, 2004). Ayrıca toplumlar ve hanelerarası bilgi, bereci, tecrübe ve teknoloji aktarımlarına da yardımcı olabilir. Dolayısıyla göç, hem göç veren hem de göç alan toplumları yeniden şekillendiren, kültürel, ekonomik ve sosyal sistemlerde değişikliklere yol açan dönüştürücü bir güçtür.

Göç teorileri, göçün altında yatan nedenleri ve dinamikleri açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. En eski göç teorilerinden biri olan Neo-Klasik Ekonomik Teori, göçün bölgeler arasındaki ücret ve istihdam fırsatlarındaki farklılıklardan kaynaklandığını savunmaktadır. Bireyler, işgücünün talep gördüğü bölgelere göç ederek kazançlarını maksimize etmeye çalışan rasyonel aktörler olarak görülmektedir (Massey vd., 1993). Ancak bu teori, göç kararlarını etkileyen siyasi, sosyal ve kültürel faktörleri hesaba katmadığı için göçe basit bir bakış açısıyla yaklaştığı gerekçesiyle eleştirilmektedir.

Dünya Sistemleri Teorisi, küresel kapitalizmin göç kalıpları üzerindeki etkisini vurgulayarak makro düzeyde bir yaklaşım benimsemektedir. Göçün merkez ve çevre ülkeler arasındaki ekonomik eşitsizliklerin doğal bir sonucu olduğunu, işgücünün kapitalist sistemin ihtiyaçlarını desteklemek için daha az gelişmiş bölgelerden daha zengin uluslara doğru hareket ettiğini savunur (Wallerstein, 1974). Göç Sistemleri Teorisi ve Kümülatif Nedensellik Teorisi, göçün nasıl kendi kendini sürdürebilir hale geldiğini ve sosyal ağların insanların sınır ötesi hareketini nasıl kolaylaştırdığını araştırarak bu fikirleri daha da genişletmektedir (Massey, 1999).

Entegrasyon ve asimilasyon, göçmenlerin yeni toplumlara nasıl uyum sağladıklarını anlamada anahtar kavramlardır. Entegrasyon, göçmenlerin ev sahibi topluma katılırken kültürel kimliklerini korumalarına olanak tanıyan dinamik bir süreçtir; asimilasyon ise kişinin kendi kültürel mirası pahasına ev sahibi kültürü

benimsemesini içerir (Berry, 2005). Bu süreçler hükümet politikaları, kamu tutumları ve ev sahibi ülkedeki sosyo-ekonomik ortam gibi faktörlerden etkilenmektedir.

Almanya'daki Türk göçmenlerin ve Lübnan'daki Filistinli mültecilerin deneyimleri, entegrasyonun zorluklarını ve karmaşıklığını göstermektedir. Almanya'daki Türk göçmenler, Alman toplumuna entegrasyonlarını engelleyen dil, kültürel farklılıklar ve ayrımcılıkla ilgili engellerle karşılaşmışlardır (Kaya ve Kentel, 2005). Buna karşılık, Lübnan'daki Filistinli mülteciler, istihdam ve sosyal hizmetlere erişimlerini sınırlayan yasal ve sosyal engeller nedeniyle önemli ölçüde marjinalleşme yaşamışlardır (Sayigh, 1994).

Öte yandan asimilasyon genellikle sosyal uyumu teşvik eden bir araç olarak görülse de kültürel kimliğin erozyona uğramasına yol açabilir. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde ortaya çıkan “Eritme Potası” teorisi, farklı geçmişlerden gelen göçmenlerin tek bir ulusal kimlik içinde harmanlanacağı bir toplum öngörüyordu. Ancak bu ideal, göçmen toplulukların kültürel çeşitliliğine uyum sağlayamadığı ve çok kültürlülüğü kutlamak yerine tek tipliği dayattığı için eleştirilmiştir (Berray, 2019).

Göç teorileri, çeşitli ve bazen çelişkili olmakla birlikte, insan hareketliliğini yönlendiren karmaşık süreçlere ilişkin değerli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Göçü anlamak, ekonomik, siyasi, sosyal ve kültürel faktörleri dikkate alan multidisipliner bir yaklaşım gerektirir. Sosyal çoğulluk kuramı, göçmenlerin farklı deneyimlerini ve göçün hem bireyleri hem de toplumları şekillendirdiği çoklu yolları açıklamak için çok önemlidir.

Göç, küresel manzaranın belirleyici bir özelliği olmaya devam ettikçe, gelecekteki araştırmalar mevcut teorilerin sınırlamalarını ele alan daha kapsamlı çerçeveler geliştirmeye odaklanmalıdır. Tarihsel bağlam, sosyo-ekonomik faktörler ve bireysel eylemlilik arasındaki etkileşim, göçün değişen doğasını ve toplum üzerindeki etkisini anlamanın anahtarı olmaya devam etmektedir.

#### **4. VAKA ÇALIŞMASI: TÜRKİYE'DEKİ SURİYELİLER VE SOSYAL ÇOĞULLUK TEORİSİ**

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisi, tek bir coğrafi ve sosyal alanda birden fazla toplumun bir



arada var olduğunu ve bu toplumların kaçınılmaz olarak birbirlerine maruz kaldıklarını ve etkileşime girdiklerini vurgular. Üç milyonun üzerinde bir Suriyeli'nin Türkiye topraklarında bulunması da bu kuram çerçevesinde Türk toplumu ile olan etkileşimi ve maruz kalmayı zaruri kılmaktadır.

Türkiye, Suriye krizinin başlangıcından bu yana, göçmenlere yönelik olumlu hükümet tutumları ile şüpheli toplumsal görüşler arasındaki paradoksu yansıtan göç politikasında “sui generis” özellikler sergilemiştir (Erdoğan 2014). Bu ikilem, Türk vatandaşları ve Suriyeli göçmenler arasındaki karmaşık etkileşimleri şekillendirmiş ve daha geniş entegrasyon sürecini etkilemiştir.

Kamuoyu zaman içinde değişmiş, sosyo-politik ve ekonomik değişimlere bağlı olarak tutumlar da değişmiştir. Sosyal Politikalar için Türk Göç Fonu (TMFSP) tarafından 2016 yılında yapılan bir araştırma, Türk toplumunun %47'sinin Suriyeli mültecileri onayladığını ifade ederken, %44 gibi önemli bir oranın da varlıklarının yerel halkı olumsuz etkilediğine inandığını ortaya koymuştur (TMFSP 2016). Kötüleşen ekonomik durumla birleşen bu artan rahatsızlık, Türk toplumunda Suriyelilere yönelik hassas dengenin altını çizmektedir (Sunata ve Yıldız 2018; Uslu ve Kargın 2022).

Türkiye, Avrupa'da büyük nüfus hareketlerinin yaygın olduğu İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra başlayan uzun bir mülteci ağırlama geçmişine sahiptir. İslam Devrimi sırasında İranlı göçmenlere ev sahipliği yapmaktan, baskıdan kaçan Bulgaristan Türklerini barındırmaya kadar, Türkiye sürekli olarak farklı mülteci grupları için bir varış noktası olmuştur (Latif 2002; Kirişçi 2000). Mevcut Suriyeli göçü de bu geniş tarihsel eğilimin bir parçasıdır. 2020 yılına kadar 3,7 milyondan fazla Suriyeli Türkiye'de yaşayacak ve bu da Türkiye'yi dünya çapında en fazla mülteci barındıran ülke haline getirecektir (Erdoğan 2021).

Tarihsel olarak, Türk hükümeti mülteciler için açık kapı politikası benimsemiş ve başlangıçta Suriyelilerin ülkeye serbestçe girmesine izin vermiştir. Daha sonra, temel hizmetleri sağlayan ancak tam vatandaşlık haklarına sınırlı erişim sağlayan Geçici Koruma Statüsü getirmiştir. Bu geçici statü, Suriyelilerin entegrasyonunun doğasını şekillendirmiş ve Türk toplumunda kalıcı ve istikrarlı bir yer edinme becerilerini kısıtlamıştır (Ineli-Ciger 2015).

Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik kamuoyu duyarlılığı, Türkiye'nin siyasi ve ekonomik iklimine bağlı olarak değişkenlik göstermiştir. Türk toplumunun önemli bir kısmı geri dönüşü desteklediğini ifade etmiştir. 2022 Metropol araştırmasına katılanların %81,7'si Suriyelilerin ülkelerine dönmesini savunmuştur (Karabat 2022). Bu duygu özellikle muhalefet destekçileri arasında güçlüdür ve bu oran milliyetçi partiler için yaklaşık %97'ye ulaşmaktadır.

Suriyeli toplumun bakış açısı da benzer şekilde çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Bazıları koşullar iyileşirse Suriye'ye dönmek isterken, diğerleri Türkiye'yi uzun süreli ikamet için tercih ettikleri yer olarak görüyor (Apak 2015). Bu ikilik, isteklerin ve gerçeklerin sıklıkla farklılaştığı entegrasyon sürecinin karmaşıklığını yansıtmaktadır.

Entegrasyon genellikle Farklılık, Etkileşim, Bir Arada Yaşama, Kombinasyon ve Tarihsel Değişim gibi sosyal çoğulluk sonuçları açısından tartışılmaktadır. Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler, toplumsal çeşitliliğe katkıda bulunan bazı kimlikler ve kültürel pratikler getirmektedir. Türk ve Suriyeli topluluklar arasındaki etkileşim, çoğu zaman gerilimlerin eşlik etmesine rağmen kültürel yayılmaya yol açmıştır (Erdoğan ve Aker 2023).

Asimilasyon ve entegrasyon tartışması, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli varlığını anlamının merkezinde yer almaktadır. Entegrasyon karşılıklı bir uyum sürecine işaret ederken, asimilasyon Suriyelileri baskın Türk kültürüne dahil etmeye yönelik tek yönlü bir çabaya işaret etmektedir. Kaya (2020) gibi araştırmacılar, dil engelleri ve belirli haklara sınırlı erişim gibi zorlayıcı unsurlar mevcut olsa da, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli deneyiminin büyük ölçüde zorla asimilasyondan ziyade entegrasyonu gösterdiğini savunmaktadır (Baban vd. 2017).

Suriyeliler için Türk vatandaşlığına giden açık bir yolun olmaması, entegrasyonlarının önünde önemli bir engel olmaya devam etmektedir. Suriyelilerin yalnızca küçük bir kısmı vatandaşlık kazanırken, çoğunluğu geçici koruma altında kalmakta ve bu da temel haklara ve sosyal hizmetlere erişimlerini kısıtlamaktadır (Mülteciler Derneği 2023). Suriyelilerin “misafir” olarak tanımlanması, onları ne tam haklara sahip mülteciler ne de geçici ziyaretçiler olarak bir belirsizlik durumunda bırakmaktadır (Nielsen 2016).

Okullar: Eğitim, entegrasyon sürecinde çok önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. Geçici Eğitim Merkezleri (GEM) gibi girişimler başlangıçta Suriyeli çocukların okula erişimini sağlamayı amaçlarken, bu merkezler Türk devlet okul sistemine entegrasyonu teşvik etmek için aşamalı olarak kaldırılmıştır (UNICEF 2022). Ancak, dil engelleri ve kültürel farklılıklar önemli zorluklar yaratmıştır.

İş Piyasası: İstihdam, Türk ve Suriyeli toplumlar arasındaki etkileşimin bir diğer kritik alanıdır. Suriyeli göçmenler genellikle kendilerini düşük ücretli, kayıt dışı sektörlerde, sömürü ve sınırlı iş güvencesiyle karşı karşıya bulmaktadır. 2016 Çalışma İzni Yönetmeliği Suriyeliler için istihdamı resmileştirmeyi amaçlamıştır, ancak çoğunluk hala güvencesiz koşullarda çalışmaktadır (Badalić 2023).

Şehirler ve Mahalleler: Kentsel alanlar hem çatışma hem de işbirliği noktaları olarak hizmet vermektedir. Gaziantep ve İstanbul gibi şehirlere önemli ölçüde Suriyeli yerleşimi olmuş, bu da kaynaklar ve kültürel farklılıklar konusunda gerilimlere yol açmıştır. Şiddet olayları ve protestolar, ortak kentsel çevrelerde bir arada yaşamın zorluklarını vurgulamaktadır (Doğanay ve Keneş 2016).

Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilerin ekonomik etkisi çok yönlüdür. Suriyelilerin işlerini ellerinden aldıkları ve konut maliyetlerini artırdıkları yönünde şikâyetler olsa da, özellikle girişimcilik sektöründe olumlu katkılar da söz konusudur. Suriyeli işletmeler, özellikle sınır bölgelerinde yerel ekonomilerin canlandırılmasında rol oynamıştır (ORSAM 2015). Ancak kayıt dışı işgücünün baskın olması, ücretlerin bastırılmasına ve düşük vasıflı işler için rekabetin artmasına yol açmıştır (Kirişçi ve Uysal 2019).

Türk ve Suriyeli toplumların bir arada yaşaması zorluklar içermemektedir. Her iki toplumun da sınırlı kaynaklar için rekabet ettiği kentsel alanlarda sosyal gerilimler sıklıkla tırmanmaktadır. Gaziantep ve İskenderun'da yaşanan olaylar, kültürel yanlış anlamaların ve ekonomik baskıların nasıl çatışmaya yol açabileceğini göstermektedir (Hürriyet 2014). Bu gerilimlere rağmen, topluluk programları ve yerel STK'lar tarafından kolaylaştırılan başarılı entegrasyon çabalarının örnekleri de mevcuttur.

Suriyeli göçü Türkiye'de oldukça siyasallaşmış bir konu haline gelmiştir ve aşırı sağcı partiler Suriyeli karşıtı duyguları siyasi çıkarları için sıklıkla istismar

etmektedir. Bu kutuplaşma, uyumlu entegrasyon politikalarının geliştirilmesini zorlaştırmakta ve toplumsal bölünmeleri şiddetlendirmektedir. Türk hükümetinin açık kapı politikalarından geri dönüşü vurgulamaya kadar değişen değişken tutumu, Suriyeli entegrasyonunun ulusal siyasi söylem içindeki tartışmalı doğasını yansıtmaktadır (Zihnioğlu ve Dalkıran 2021).

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisi, Türk toplumu ile Suriyeli göçmenler arasındaki çok yönlü etkileşimleri analiz etmek için kapsamlı bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Çoğulluğun beş temel sonuca vurgu yapmaktadır: Farklılık, Etkileşim, Birlikte Varoluş, Birleşme ve Tarihsel Değişim. Her bir sonuç, Suriyeli göçmenlerin deneyimlerini incelemek için farklı bir merceğe sunmakta, hem fırsatları hem de zorlukları vurgulamaktadır.

Farklılık: Suriyeli göçmen akını, Türk toplumunun çeşitliliğine önemli ölçüde katkıda bulunan farklı kültürel kimlikleri, dilleri ve uygulamaları beraberinde getirmiştir. Suriyeliler, Türkiye'nin kültürel mozaiğini zenginleştiren mutfak gelenekleri, sanatsal ifadeler ve dini uygulamalar da dahil olmak üzere zengin bir kültürel mirası beraberinde getirmiştir. Ancak bu çeşitlilik, özellikle sosyal uyum açısından zorluklar da ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Ekonomik istikrarsızlık ve sınırlı kaynaklar için rekabet, Suriyelilerin “öteki” olarak algılanmasını artırarak ev sahibi ve göçmen toplulukları arasında gerginliklere ve yanlış anlamalara yol açmıştır.

Etkileşim: Suriyeli göçmenler ve ev sahibi toplum arasındaki etkileşim, hem işbirliği hem de çatışma ile karakterize edilen dinamik bir süreçtir. Kültürel pratiklerin değiş tokuşu melez kimliklerin oluşması ihtimalini doğurmuştur. Bu olası kültürel yayılma, ortak mutfak alışkanlıklarında, Suriyeli işletmelerin yaygınlaşmasında ve kültürel farkındalığın artmasında görülmektedir. Öte yandan, bu etkileşimler her zaman sorunsuz olmamıştır. Dil, gelenekler ve sosyal normlardaki farklılıklar, özellikle her iki toplumun da yakın bir şekilde bir arada yaşadığı mahallelerde zaman zaman sürtüşmelere yol açmıştır. Bu zorluklara rağmen etkileşim, karşılıklı öğrenme ve kültürel zenginleşme için fırsatlar sunarak entegrasyonun temel itici gücü olmaya devam etmektedir.

Birlikte var olma: Birlikte yaşama, Suriyeli göçmenlerin ve Türk vatandaşlarının genellikle ortak coğrafi alanlarda sürdürdükleri paralel yaşamları ifade etmektedir. Birçok durumda Suriyeliler ve Türkler yan yana yaşamakta, ancak anlamlı etkileşim

sınırlı kalmaktadır. Bu birlikte varoluş biçimi, entegrasyon politikalarının hem başarılarını hem de eksikliklerini vurgulamaktadır. Suriyeliler belirli kamu hizmetlerine erişebilir ve kendi topluluklarını kurabilirken, ev sahibi nüfusla daha derin sosyal bağların eksikliği mevcut entegrasyon çabalarının sınırlarına işaret ediyor. Dolayısıyla birlikte yaşama kavramı, sadece fiziksel yakınlığı değil aynı zamanda sosyal ve kültürel entegrasyonu da teşvik eden politikalara duyulan ihtiyacın altını çizmektedir.

**Kombinasyon:** Zaman içinde Suriye ve Türkiye kültürlerinin unsurları etkileşime girmesi sonucu yeni sosyal ve kültürel yapıların doğmasına işaret eder. Bu birleşim özellikle Suriyelilerin önemli sayıda yerleştiği kentsel alanlarda görülmektedir. Örneğin, İstanbul ve Gaziantep gibi şehirlerde Suriye pazarlarının, restoranlarının ve kültür merkezlerinin kurulması, her iki kültürün iç içe geçtiği alanların ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Bu kültürel kaynaşmalar daha kapsayıcı bir toplum yaratma potansiyeline sahip olmakla birlikte, entegrasyon sürecinin adil ve sürdürülebilir olmasını sağlamak için hem devlet hem de sivil toplum kuruluşlarının desteğine ihtiyaç duymaktadır.

**Tarihsel Değişim:** Suriyelilerin Türkiye'deki uzun süreli varlığı, ülkenin toplumsal yapısında önemli tarihsel değişikliklere yol açmıştır. Ayrıca kurama göre bu denli toplumsal etkileşimlerin sonucunda, toplumsal ve tarihsel değişimler kaçınılmazdır (transhistorical). Türk hükümeti ve toplumun geneli daha çeşitli bir nüfusun gerçekleriyle boğuşurken, bu değişim ekonomi politikalarını hatta siyasi söylemi etkilemiştir. Türkiye'nin Suriye krizindeki rolünün komşu ülkeler ve Avrupa Birliği ile ilişkileri üzerinde kalıcı etkileri olduğundan, tarihsel değişim daha geniş bölgesel dinamikleri de yansıtmaktadır. Türk toplumunun kısmen Suriyelilerin entegrasyonu ile devam eden dönüşümü, toplumsal değişimin faydalarını barındırabilecek ve kullanabilecek uyarlanabilir politikalara duyulan ihtiyacı vurgulamaktadır.

Tezin ampirik bulguları, entegrasyon deneyimini şekillendirmede yerel bağlamların önemine de işaret etmektedir. Türkiye'nin farklı bölgeleri, yerel ekonomik koşulları, siyasi dinamikleri ve sosyal tutumları yansıtacak şekilde Suriyeli göçmenlerin varlığına farklı şekillerde tepki vermiştir. Bazı bölgelerde Suriyeliler nispeten

başarılı bir şekilde entegre olabilmış, iş bulabilmiş ve sosyal ağlar kurabilmiştir. Ancak diğer bölgelerde, yerel halkın onları zaten kısıtlı olan kaynaklar üzerinde bir yük olarak görmesi nedeniyle ciddi bir düşmanlıkla karşılaşmışlardır (Kirişçi, 2014). Bu farklılıklar, entegrasyon konusunda yerel bağlamların çeşitliliğini ve hem göçmenlerin hem de ev sahibi toplumların deneyimlerini şekillendiren çoklu faktörleri dikkate alan incelikli bir yaklaşıma duyulan ihtiyacın altını çizmektedir.

## 5. SONUÇ

Sosyal çoğulluk kuramı, göçün karmaşık, birbiriyle bağlantılı doğasını ve küresel dinamikler üzerindeki etkisini vurgulayarak geleneksel Uluslararası İlişkiler (Uİ) görüşlerine meydan okumaktadır. Yalnızca güç mücadelelerine ve devletlerarası çatışmalara odaklanmak yerine, sosyal çoğulluk, uluslararası göçü hem ev sahibi hem de göç alan toplumlar üzerindeki dönüştürücü etkisini vurgulayarak 'yüksek siyaset' alanına yerleştirir. Bu özet, sonuç bölümünde sunulan sosyal çoğulluk çerçevesini daha derinlemesine incelemeyi, ontolojik temelini ve Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçüne uygulanmasının sonuçlarını vurgulamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisinin amacı, geleneksel, devlet merkezli Uluslararası İlişkiler anlayışına bir alternatif sunmaktır. Göçmenler ve onların ağları gibi devlet dışı aktörleri de dahil ederek teori, 'uluslararası' olanın sınırlarını zorlamaktadır. Göçü çevresel bir olgu olarak değil, Uİ'yi anlamak için merkezi bir konuma yerleştirerek, bir arada var olma, farklılaşma, birleşme ve tarihsel değişimi vurgulayan daha kapsamlı bir çerçeve sunar. Bu genişletilmiş özet, sosyal çoğulluğun göç çalışmalarına nasıl yeni perspektifler sağladığını, potansiyel politika çıkarımlarını ve gelişen Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplini için uygunluğunu inceleyeceğiz.

Kenneth Waltz'un 1954'teki ufuk açıcı çalışması “Man, the State, and War” (İnsan, Devlet ve Savaş), Uİ alanını “yüksek politika” olarak adlandırdığı savaşlar ve güç mücadeleleri merceğinden çerçeveleyerek devrim yaratmıştır. Waltz'un tezi, Uİ'yi devletlerin eylemlerinin hakim olduğu, yapılandırılmış, çatışma odaklı bir alan olarak anlamının temelini atmıştır. Ancak sosyal çoğulluk teorisi, geleneksel devlet merkezli paradigmaya meydan okuyan sosyal, kültürel ve ulus ötesi boyutları da dahil ederek bu sınırlı bakış açısını eleştirmektedir.

Göç bağlamında sosyal çoğulluk, uluslararası etkileşimlerin devletten önce geldiğini

ve çeşitli sosyal gruplar arasındaki sürekli alışverişle şekillendiğini vurgulamaktadır. Bu gruplar arasındaki birbiriyle ilişkili ve gelişen ilişkilere odaklanan sosyal çoğulluk teorisi, göçün devlet sınırlarıyla sınırlı, doğrusal ve tek yönlü bir süreç olduğu varsayımı olan metodolojik milliyetçiliğin ötesine geçen bütüncül bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Bunun yerine, göçün çok yönlü doğasını ve menşe ve ev sahibi toplumlar arasında süregelen etkileşimleri vurgulamaktadır.

Rosenberg'in sosyal çoğulluğun toplumların değişen özelliklerini anlamak için sağlam bir ontolojik çerçeve sunduğu iddiası bu argümanı daha da güçlendirmektedir. Ona göre, geleneksel Uluslararası İlişkiler teorileri ulusal sınırları aşan karmaşık süreçleri açıklamakta yetersiz kalmaktadır. Sosyal çoğulluk, sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi dinamiklerin birbiriyle bağlantılı doğasını vurgulayarak bu boşluğu doldurmayı ve böylece uluslararası göçe daha geniş bir bakış açısı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Metodolojik milliyetçilik göç çalışmalarında önemli bir kısıtlamadır çünkü analizi ulus-devlete odaklayarak göçün karmaşık ve ulusötesi doğasını göz ardı etmektedir. Wimmer ve Glick Schiller'e (2002) göre, metodolojik milliyetçilik genellikle toplumlar arasındaki içsel bağlantıyı gizlemekte ve göçü etkileşimli bir süreçten ziyade izole bir olgu olarak sunmaktadır. Sosyal çoğulluk teorisi, göçün doğası gereği birden fazla toplumu içerdiğini ve her birinin diğerini etkilediğini kabul ederek bu sorunu çözmeye çalışmaktadır.

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisinin Suriye göçüne uygulanması, entegrasyon süreçlerinin çok boyutlu doğasına ilişkin içgörüler sunmaktadır. Teori, sosyal çoğulluğun beş temel sonucunun altını çizmektedir: bir arada var olma, etkileşim, farklılaşma, birleşme ve tarihsel değişim; bunların hepsi Türkiye'deki Suriye deneyiminde açıkça görülmektedir. Örneğin, Suriyelilerin girişimcilik yoluyla ekonomik entegrasyonu ve mutfak geleneklerinin harmanlanması, hem Türk hem de Suriyeli toplulukları zenginleştiren yeni melez kültürel formlarla sonuçlanan 'kombinasyon' yönünü göstermektedir.

Suriyeliler ve Türklerin bir arada yaşaması, sosyal çoğulluğun doğasında var olan gerilimleri ve fırsatları da ortaya koyuyor. Ekonomik eşitsizliklerden ve kültürel farklılıklardan kaynaklanan çatışmalar yaşanırken, kültürler arası alışveriş için yeni

fırsatlar da ortaya çıkıyor. İki dilli okulların ve halk eğitim merkezlerinin kurulması, etkileşim için alanlar yaratma çabalarını yansıtmakta ve entegrasyonun dinamik doğasını vurgulamaktadır. Bu örnek, sosyal çoğulluğun asimilasyon ve çatışma gibi basit bir ikilemin ötesine geçerek kimlikler ve kültürel uygulamalar arasında süregelen müzakerelere dair incelikli bir anlayış sunduğunu vurgulamaktadır.

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisinin göç politikası üzerinde önemli etkileri vardır. Geleneksel politikalar göçe genellikle ekonomik veya güvenlik merceğinden bakarak insan hareketlerinin karmaşık sosyal ve kültürel boyutlarını ihmal etmektedir. Politika yapıcılar, çoğulluk çerçevesini benimseyerek, göçmenlerin farklı deneyimlerini ve toplumlar arası etkileşimlerin karmaşık dinamiklerini dikkate alan daha kapsamlı ve incelikli stratejiler geliştirebilirler.

Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçmenlerin deneyimleri, salt ekonomik entegrasyonun ötesine geçen politikaların önemini vurgulamaktadır. Suriyelilerin sahip olduğu işletmelerin yerel ekonomiye katkıda bulunması, göçmenlerin ev sahibi toplumlara şekillendirmede nasıl aktif bir rol oynayabileceğini göstermektedir. Ancak bu katkıların sürdürülebilir olması için politikaların, göçmenlerin kayıtlı ekonomiye tam katılımını engelleyen yasal ve sosyal engelleri ele alması gerekmektedir. Politika yapıcılar, göçmenleri pasif alıcılar yerine aktif aktörler olarak kabul ederek sosyal uyumu ve karşılıklı anlayışı teşvik eden bir ortam yaratabilirler.

Suriye göç krizi, sosyal çoğulluğun daha geniş etkilerini anlamak için diğer zorunlu göç örnekleriyle karşılaştırılabilir. Örneğin, 1948'deki Filistin mülteci krizi ve 1990'lardaki Balkan göç krizi, kitlesel yerinden edilmenin ev sahibi toplumlar üzerindeki kalıcı etkisini göstermektedir. Ürdün'deki Filistinli mültecilerin deneyimleri, ev sahibi ve göçmen topluluklar arasında kültürel ve dilsel yakınlıklar olsa bile entegrasyonun zorluklarını vurgulamaktadır. Benzer şekilde, Yugoslav Savaşları sırasında Bosnalı mültecilerin Almanya ve İsveç'e göçü, farklı entegrasyon politikalarının nasıl farklı sonuçlara yol açabileceğini göstermektedir.

Ürdün'de, Filistinli mültecilere vatandaşlık verilmesi yoluyla sağlanan kısmi entegrasyon, birçoğunun hala karşı karşıya olduğu yasal ve sosyal marjinalleşme ile tezat oluşturmaktadır. Bu örnek, tam sosyal entegrasyonun sağlanmasında yasal çerçevelerin sınırlılıklarının altını çizmektedir. Almanya'da Bosnalı mültecilerin



geçici koruma statüsü işgücü piyasasına entegre olma becerilerini kısıtlarken, İsveç'in daha kapsamlı entegrasyon programları daha sorunsuz entegrasyonu kolaylaştırmıştır. Bu örnekler, entegrasyonun sadece hukuki veya ekonomik boyutlarını değil, sosyal ve kültürel boyutlarını da dikkate alan proaktif hükümet politikalarının önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisi, göçü küreselleşmenin daha geniş bağlamına yerleştirmekte ve küresel birbirine bağlılığın hem bir sonucu hem de bir katalizörü olarak görmektedir. Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçmenlerin sürdürdüğü ulusötesi bağlar, göçün tek yönlü bir süreç olduğu fikrine meydan okuyarak menşe ve ev sahibi toplumlar arasında süregelen ilişkileri örneklemektedir. Bu bağlar, Suriyeli göçmenleri anavatanlarına bağlayan ve aynı zamanda onları Türk toplumuna yerleştiren havale akışını, kültürel pratikleri ve sosyal ağları içermektedir.

Dolayısıyla sosyal çoğulluk teorisi, odağı devlet merkezli bir göç analizinden göçmenlerin eylemliliğini ve etkileşimlerinin dinamik doğasını vurgulayan bir analize kaydırmaktadır. Bu bakış açısı, göçün hem göç veren hem de göç alan toplumların dönüşümüne nasıl katkıda bulunduğunun daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlamakta ve bu değişimlerin karşılıklı doğasını vurgulamaktadır.

Göç sadece bir hareket süreci değil, aynı zamanda tarihsel değişim için bir katalizördür. Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye'deki varlığı hem Suriye hem de Türk toplumlarını önemli ölçüde etkilemiş, kültürel pratiklerde, ekonomik yapılarda ve sosyal normlarda değişimlere yol açmıştır. Bu dönüşüm süreci, farklı toplumsal varlıklar arasındaki etkileşimin yeni, melez toplumsal örgütlenme biçimlerine yol açtığı diyalektik kavramı aracılığıyla anlaşılabilir.

Suriyeli mültecilerin entegrasyonu, Türk toplumunda yeni kültürel pratiklerin ortaya çıkması ve sosyal normların değişmesi gibi önemli değişikliklere yol açmıştır. Örneğin, Suriyeli ve Türk mutfak geleneklerinin harmanlanması yeni melez mutfak kültürlerinin ortaya çıkmasına neden olurken, Arapça dilinin Türk okullarına dahil edilmesi Suriyeli göçünün daha geniş kültürel etkisini yansıtmaktadır. Bu değişiklikler, sosyal çoğulluğun hem göçmen hem de ev sahibi toplumları yeniden şekillendiren, devam eden, dinamik bir süreç olarak nasıl işlediğini göstermektedir.

Göçün tarihsel etkisi, Suriyeli mültecilerin varlığının Türkiye'deki kamusal söylemi ve politikayı etkilediği siyasi alanda da görülebilir. Mültecilerin entegrasyonu Türkiye siyasetinde merkezi bir konu haline gelmiş; vatandaşlık, entegrasyon politikaları ve ulusal kimlik üzerine yapılan tartışmalar toplumsal çeşitliliği yönetmenin daha geniş zorluklarını yansıtmıştır. Bu durum, göçü siyasi manzaraları yeniden şekillendiren ve toplumsal gelişimin yörüngesini etkileyen dönüştürücü bir güç olarak anlamının önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Sosyal çoğulluk, göçü anlamak için kapsamlı bir çerçeve sunarken, sınırlamaları da yok değildir. Karşılaşılan zorluklardan biri, göçmen toplulukların kendi içlerindeki çeşitliliktir. Suriye göçü örneğinde, Suriye toplumunun çeşitliliği - etnik köken, din ve siyasi aidiyet farklılıkları da dahil olmak üzere - tek bir teorik çerçevenin uygulanmasını zorlaştırmaktadır. Göçmen deneyiminin incelikli bir şekilde anlaşılabilmesi için teorinin bu iç farklılıkları hesaba katması gerekmektedir.

Bir diğer sınırlama ise göçmen deneyimlerinin ampirik gerçekliğidir. Türkiye'deki Suriyeli göçmenlerle yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler, göç meselesinin siyasallaşmasına ilişkin endişeleri ortaya çıkarmış, bu da bazı katılımcıların deneyimlerini açıkça paylaşma istekliliğini etkilemiştir. Ayrıca, birçok Suriyeli göçmenin eğitim seviyesinin nispeten düşük olması, özellikle dil edinimi ve ekonomik katılım açısından entegrasyonları için zorluklar teşkil etmektedir. Bu zorluklar, farklı göçmen gruplarının spesifik özelliklerini ve kısıtlamalarını dikkate alan daha incelikli bir sosyal çoğulluk yaklaşımına duyulan ihtiyacın altını çizmektedir.

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisinin Suriye göçüne uygulanması, gelecekteki araştırmalar için çeşitli yollar açmaktadır. İlgili alanlarından biri, sosyal çoğulluğun farklı ortamlarda uygulanabilirliğini ve sınırlılıklarını anlamak için farklı göç bağlamlarının karşılaştırmalı analizidir. Örneğin, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilerin entegrasyon deneyimlerinin farklı ülkelerdeki diğer göçmen grupların deneyimleriyle karşılaştırılması, başarılı entegrasyonu kolaylaştıran veya engelleyen faktörler hakkında değerli bilgiler sağlayabilir.

Bir diğer potansiyel araştırma alanı da göçün hem ev sahibi hem de menşe toplumlar üzerindeki uzun vadeli etkilerinin incelenmesidir. Göçmenlerin deneyimlerini zaman

içinde takip eden boylamsal çalışmalar, sosyal çoğulluğun nasıl geliştiğine ve göçün sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi dinamikler üzerindeki kalıcı etkilerine dair daha derin bir anlayış sağlayabilir. Bu, teorinin ve göç politikasına yönelik çıkarımlarının daha da rafine edilmesine yardımcı olacaktır.

Sosyal çoğulluk teorisi, uluslararası göçün karmaşık dinamiklerini anlamak için olası bir çerçeve sunar. Sosyal, kültürel ve siyasi faktörlerin birbirine bağlılığını vurgulayarak, göçmen deneyimi ve göçün hem ev sahibi hem de menşe toplumlar üzerindeki dönüştürücü etkisi hakkında daha kapsamlı bir bakış açısı sağlar. Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye göçü örneği, entegrasyonun çok boyutlu doğasını ortaya koymakta ve göçmen deneyiminin şekillenmesinde bir arada yaşama, etkileşim, farklılaşma, kombinasyon ve tarihsel değişimin önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, sosyal çoğulluk, uluslararası göçü görmek için değerli bir mercekle sunmakta ve giderek birbirine daha fazla bağlanan dünyamızı şekillendiren entegrasyon ve dönüşüm süreçlerine dair yeni içgörüler sağlamaktadır. Metodolojik milliyetçiliğin ötesine geçerek göçün karmaşıklığını kucaklayan bu teori, insanların sınır ötesi hareketlerinden kaynaklanan zorluk ve fırsatlara ilişkin daha empatik ve kapsamlı bir anlayış sunmaktadır.

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