FRANSA'NIN DENEYİMİNİ YENİDEN YORUMLAYARAK SURİYELİ MÜLTECİ KADINLARIN TÜRK TOPLUMUNA UYUMUNUN SAĞLANMASI

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ADJUSTING SYRIAN REFUGEE WOMEN INTO TURKISH SOCIETY THROUGH RE-INTERPRETING FRENCH EXPERIENCE

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Öz

Türkiye Aralık 2016 itibarı ile Suriye'den kaçan 3,2 milyon kişilik bir mülteci dalgasıyla karşı karşıyadır. Türkiye bu sığınmacı grubu için 25 milyar Amerikan dolarından fazla harcama yapmış, Türkiye'ye vaat edilen dış mali kaynaklar tahsis edilmemiştir. Öte yandan, Avrupa'da Müslüman grubun topluma en iyi entegre olduğu ülke olan ve tahminen beş milyon Müslüman'ın yaşadığı Fransa, Suriyelilerin, özellikle Suriyeli kadınların Türk toplumuna entegrasyonu için bir model olabilir. Fransız modeli kültürel hazmetme ve istihdam esaslıdır. Türkiye, Suriyeli kadınların Türk eğitim ve çalışma hayatına katılmalarını kolaylaştırarak daimi olarak Türkiye'de kalacak olanlara hukuksal zemini hazırlayarak Türk kültürü ile bütünleştikleri ikinci bir memleket olabilir. Makalede bunun olabilirliği ve gerçekleşme yolları incelenmiştir. Yazın taraması daha çok Fransız modeli ve Berry'nin kültürlenme ve uyum kuramına odaklanmaktadır. Berry'nin kuramı ve Fransız modeli yeniden yorumlanmış ve şematize edilmiştir. Fransa'nın Müslüman grubun özellikleri Fransız Müslüman kadınların topluma uyumunu sağlamasının dinamikleri Türkiye'ye uyarlanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda belirleyici olan eğitim ve istihdamın getirdiği kültürlenme ve uyumdur. Çerçeve Fransız Müslüman kadınların Fransa'ya ve Fransız kültürüne uyumu bağlamında Türkiye'deki Suriyeli kadınlardır ve bu değerlendirme çalışmasında yöntem olarak betimleyiciliğin yanı sıra bir dereceye kadar normatif bir eğilim benimsenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Uyum, kültürlenme, istihdam, eğitim .*

JEL Kodları: *J15, J61, Z13*

Abstract

Turkey has faced a refugee wave of 3.2 million who escaped from Syria as for December 2016. Turkey has spent more than 25 billion American dollars and foreign aid promised to Turkey has not been allocated. On the other hand, the country where Muslim group has been best integrated in Europe is France where approximately five million Muslim lives. France could be a model for Turkey for the integration of Syrians especially for the integration of Syrian women into Turkish society. French model is based on acculturation, integration and employment. Turkey could be new homeland for those Syrians who will permanently stay in Turkey preparing the legal framework for them and facilitating Syrian women's work and education in Turkey. Thereby, Syrians could acculturate and adjust into Turkish culture. The probability and ways of achieving that have been interrogated in this article. Literature Review mainly focuses on French model and acculturation and adaptation theory of Berry. Berry's theory and the French model have been re-interpreted and schematised. The dynamics of adjustment of French Muslims especially French Muslim women into French society have been tried to be adapted into Turkey. Within the context, the determinant is acculturation and adaptation which mainly education and employment of French Muslim women brings about in France. Thereby, this evaluative article is to certain extent prescriptive in methodology.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Turkey faces serious challenges in integrating Syrian refugees into Turkish society. The Syrians refugees have reached a huge number in Turkey (3.2 million as 29th December 2016). Turkey's humanitarian and benevolent approach has limited international support (550 million United States dollars). Turkey has spent 25 billion US dollars for them, 0.37 % of Turkey's national income has been spent for refugees (*Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Harmony report by Immigration and Politics Research Centre at Hacettepe University*) (www.milliyet.com.tr/Yazdir.aspx?aType=HaberDetayPrint&Article⏐D=2374476).

33 % Syrians are illiterate, Syrian university students 5. 6 %. At least 500 thousand Syrians work as cheap labour. The number of Syrian children at school age is 968 thousand. 550 thousand go to school (172 thousand to state schools and the rest to temporary education centres) (*Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Harmony report by Immigration and Politics Research Centre at Hacettepe University*) (www.milliyet.com.tr/Yazdir.aspx?aType=HaberDetayPrint&Article⏐D= 2374476).

Interrogating a wide range of Muslim population in France demographically, on the hand, the following could be mentioned: It is forbidden to ask about race, ethnicity or religion of the residents of France in French law. Therefore, it is impossible to officially statistically say the exact reliable number of French Muslim(s) (women). It is approximately over 5 million. They are mostly Algerian and Moroccan (http://www.understandfrance.org/French/Issues/#ancre2235863).

The aim of this study is to shed light into the possibility of integration of Syrian refugee women into Turkish society by interrogating French model. French Sociologist Alain Touraine conducted a detailed research study about identity and belongingness of French Muslim women with the support of French government in 2007. The findings and results of the research and Touraine's perspective could be re-interpreted to gain insights about prospective identity and belongingness of Syrian refugee women in Turkish society and whence some inferences could be drawn about the future of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Some of such inferences could be based on relevant theoretical grounding in the Literature Review and whence they could be discussed in the Discussion. Furthermore, French model has been schematised and interrogated through Berry's acculturation theory in the Discussion. The findings have been interrogated whether they are applicable in Turkey. Some of the plausible suggestions have been mentioned in the Results section. French Sociologist Alain Touraine defends Europeans could live and have already lived together with the cultures of Islam and others as part of European way of living. These elements of the French and other European societies are inseparable and inevitable. Berry's one of major works, Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society, has been referred in the Literature Review and Discussion in this study. There are a variety of academic articles of Turkish academic circles about Syrian refugees in Turkey. Though they are not directly associateable with the focus of this article, one of the relevant ones has been studied in Literature Review. Some of the article's (Migration Management and Local Governance in Turkey Social Integration Policies for Syrian Refugees) points have been associated with this study in the Discussion. Applicability and relevance of French model for Turkey have been questioned by re-interpreted acculturation theory of Berry through schematised study and inquiry of the model.

2. METHOD

An evaluative article makes moral judgements. These value judgements could be made explicitly or they could be managed by researcher by a certain ways (Gomm, 2008, pp.322-323). Weber claimed social research must be *value relavant* but *vale neutral* (Gomm, 2008, p.324). However, there is also

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value led research in which researcher tries to maximize chances of findings to promote the vales s/he supports and use findings for the consequences s/he desires as in feminist, anti-racist research (Gomm, 2008, p.323).

This evaluative article is value-relevant in that it does not interrogate all integration models but French model. However, it is value-free because it interrogates whether French model is compatible with Berry's acculturation and adaptation framework and whether it is applicable in Turkey.

The study tries to answer three research questions throughout the study: 1. Is French model compatible with Berry's acculturation and adaptation theory? 2. Is it applicable for Syrian refugee women in Turkey? 3. What are plausible ways to run the model in Turkey?

France is accepted as culturally less plural country than the United States or Canada; however, this is not supported by references in the Literature Review. This is one of the weaknesses of this study. Plus France and Turkey are supposed to be alike in that they have similar nation unity and unitary state structure, which is not supported by references much, either.

Though this study is descriptive to a certain extent, it is prescriptive in some ways, because the suggestions are based on the plausible applicability of a cultural integration model, videlicet French model. At the same time, the theoretical grounding of Alain Touraine's findings in his research has been tested through Berry's acculturation and adaptation theory. The results about the French model have been schematised and thereby studied. The ultimate theoretical results have been prescriptively suggested for Turkey as ways of coping with issue of Syrian refugee women's integration into Turkish society.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

As highlighted by Berry (1992), some immigrants adapt host country well while others experience difficulties. Psychological, social and cultural factors that affect *adaptation* are moderately well known so that some steps could be taken to make adaptation more positive. *Acculturation* is culture change which results from continuous contact between two different cultural group videlicet usually non-dominant immigrant group and dominant settlement society on both group and individual scale. As for group scale, acculturation occurs in physical, biological, political, economic and cultural domains. As individual level *behavioural shifts* that are changes in values, attitudes, abilities and motives, and *acculturative stress* which results from psychological, social and physical health consequences of acculturation are available.

As mentioned by Berry (comp. 1992), adaptation stands for both the strategies of acculturation and their outcomes. There are three strategies which lead to adaptation which occurs in different varieties: *adjustment, reaction* and *withdrawal*. Adjustment occurs when individual is peaceful with her environment without conflict, which is the most intended strategy. Reaction is the strategy through which one retaliates against environment. Withdrawal occurs when one removes from adaptive zone whence excluded either by force or voluntarily. One could persevere her ethnic distinctiveness, retain her own cultural identity and values in culturally plural societies. Acculturation options are fourfold in such societies: *assimilation, integration, segregation- separation* and *marginalisation.* Assimilation is when one or group has been culturally absorbed by culturally dominant host culture and when she or group deserts her own culture as in a melting pot. Integration occurs when group or individual retains her cultural integrity and joins new dominant host culture. Segregation is keeping people in "their place" without full participation in a larger society by the dominant host culture. This might lead to separatist movements. Marginalization occurs when group loses both their traditional culture and larger society.

The people of host culture may perceive newcomers a cause of insecurity, lossof their profession, raise in rents, overload of social services, diseases, crime, etc. Unrest and xenophobia may develop (Göksu, Karadoğan Doruk, Yavaşgel & Mengü, 2017, p.153).

Living in a specific country has stronger impact on immigrants' belief system than the religious faith itself. This supports the integration theory (Inglehart & Norris, 2009:8). However, as multiculturalism asserts immigrants will tend to live under the influence of their original culture in situations in which distinctive differences exist between original culture of the immigrants and their host culture. Furthermore, alienation may not diminish in the second and third generation Muslim youth in the West (Inglehart & Norris, 2009:11).

The basic differences between Muslim immigrants and Western societies are in religiosity, gender roles and gender norms. Furthermore, women's liberalisation, democratic political culture and women's equality are domains in which Muslim immigrants have disagreement. Existential insecurity, xenophobia, intolerance may be replaceable with cultural pluralism, cultural diversity, diversity of lifestyles even in relatively homogenous cultures such as France and Sweden (comp. Inglehart & Norris, 2009:18-19).

Alain Touraine's findings and the results he obtained in the end of his research do not affirm the Clash of Civilisations theorised by Samuel Huntington. Muslim women in France lead their lives in on an ambivalent axis: they are nationally and culturally French and as origin and belongingness Muslim. However, Muslim French women are both "French" and "Muslim." They are loyal to Islam but refuse the introversion imposed by Muslim community. The prioritise education but refuse discrimination at school. They love their parents but they refuse arranged marriage. They are loyal to France and freedom of speech in France but they exhibit and critique discrimination (comp. Touraine, 2007:205-207). It could be said that this is French model of acculturation and integration.

Muslim community is the largest demographic and religious group in France. French Muslims is the best integrated group compared with other Muslim groups in European countries. They have adopted French traditions and elements including perfect command of French language as part of their identity (Canan-Sokullu, 2016:109-11). However, bans against headscarf, veil, full (or facial) veil (burqa) caused a kind of social un-rest or social problem potentiality among French Muslim (women). Moreover, there was tension between French nationals and French Muslims. This was observed in 2013 (https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/22/frances-headscarf-war-attack-on-freedom).

Though French laicism and Anglo-American secularism have common premises and grounding, there are in differences in some aspects in practice. Scholar Denis Lacorne says the following about French laicism and American secularism in a speech he made at Standford University (news.stanford.edu/news/2013/february/lacorne-france-secularism-022213.html):

If by secularism – in France, we say laïcité – is meant the neutrality of the state, the rejection of an established church, respect for freedom of conscience and all existing religions, then there is no real difference between the two societies. But what one could call the boundaries of tolerance are not the same. French laws and courts do prohibit the wearing of Islamic veils in public schools and the full facial veil in the public space. These laws, which are not always enforced, are controversial ..."

It could be said that toleration of hijab in public zone is one departing point in the two systems. Regulation of public zone as no way to religious symbols as acceptable is the practice in France.

Turkish Republic could achieve very interesting syntheses in building up a nation-state: integrating a "nation" definition of French origin in harmony with the understanding of Ernest Renan and "national economy" of German origin. Another synthesis was on political plane: also based on the transformations of Ottoman reforms since nineteenth century, a "laic" state in a country where a vast

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majority of people was Muslim could be set up for the first time in world history (Kazgan, 2013:34). Democrat Party whose party programme was in harmony with global system won the elections (1950) in the years when the United States set off to set up a global system (Kazgan, 2013:64). Democrat Party started to try to follow trans-Atlantic model of liberalism. 1980's with radical socio-economic reforms and transformations was a turning point to depart the social philosophy based on "social state" in Western Europe and democracy model underlying it (comp. Kazgan, 2013:103). The long-time conservative democrat mainstream which has been in power in Turkey is inclined to fill the centre in the political wing (Sözen, 2014:131).

According to Suda (Güler) (2016:159), in spite of the claim of Enlightenment tradition to propose a universal liberation vision to liberate humankind in every domain and free them from the chains, conservative ideology emphasises specific traditions, customs and perspective of history shared by people. It is very difficult to understand the new flourishing of conservatism which is a kind of opposition to modernity in the postmodern age which emphasises scepticism and relativity and the dependence on local and specific. It could be argued that, in contrast with Suda (Güler), ambivalence in central to post-modernity and new flourishing conservatism is related to scepticism arising from elusive nature of post-positivism.

On the other hand, there is a variety of articles in the field of Syrian refugee (women) in Turkey. One of them is has just been referred and is going to be just referred as below to highlight the associations to be made in the Discussion.

54 % Syrian children and young people under age 18 should be exposed to Turkish Language learning and education (Göksu, Karadoğan Doruk, Yavaşgel & Mengü, 2017, p.163).

All Syrians have had temporary protection status and have had the right to work in Turkey. However, a limited number of them have had official work permit. Underground economy with no registration and with bad working conditions result in exploitation of Syrain labour (Göksu, Karadoğan Doruk, Yavaşgel & Mengü, 2017, p.163).

Though Syrians do not pay the cost of their primary and secondary health care costs, they have difficulty to get appointments or receive health services in Turkish health institutions due to their Turkish diability Göksu, Karadoğan Doruk, Yavaşgel & Mengü, 2017, p.164).

4. DISCUSSION

Berry's acculturation and adaptation theory (comp. 1992) could be re-interpreted and schematised as follows:

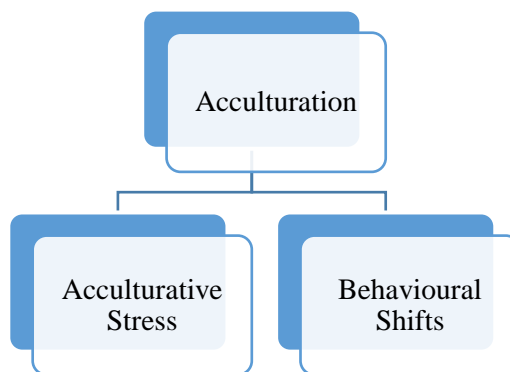**Figure 1:** Outcomes of Acculturation

Figure 1 shows the prospective outcomes of the immigrated person in host culture.

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Figure 2: Acculturation Strategies and Outcomes in Culturally
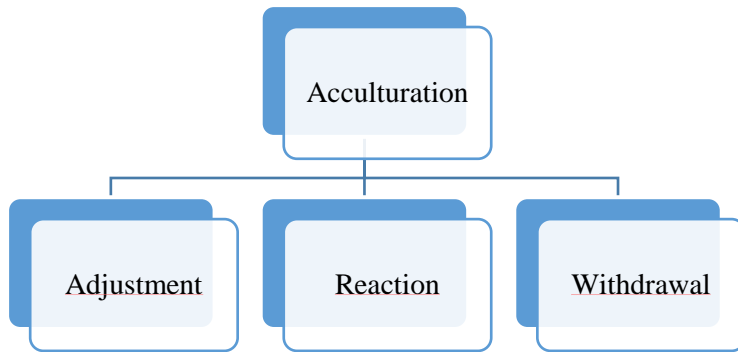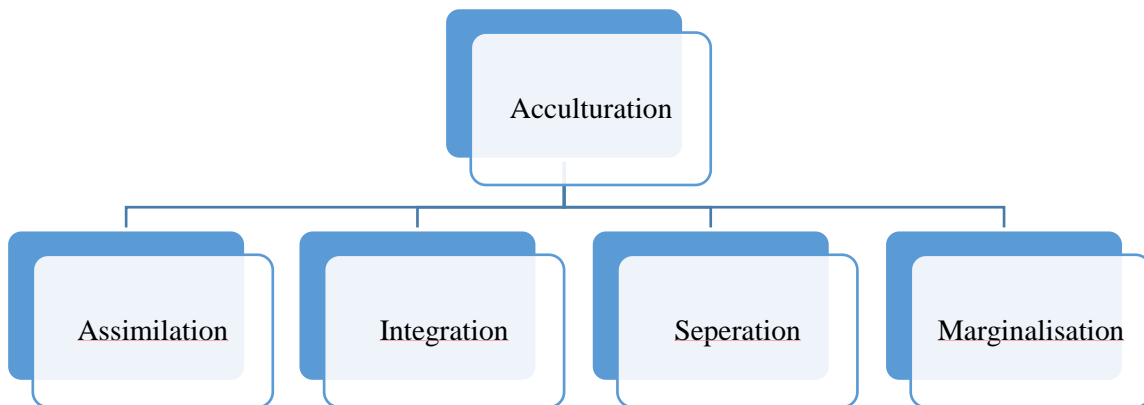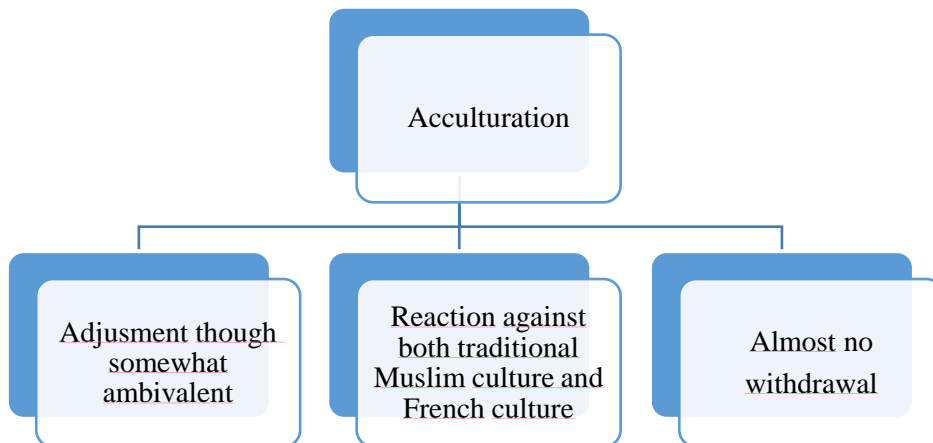Less Plural Countries

Figure 2 and Figure 3 denote acculturation strategies and outcomes mostly in Western countries though they may be applicable anywhere.

Figure 3: Acculturation Strategies and Outcomes in Culturally
Plural Countries

Figure 4: Acculturation Strategies and Outcomes of French Muslim Women in
French Society

As it could be seen in Figure 4, French model is a successful way of acculturation and adaptation. Whence, this is one of the reasons why is applicable for Syrian refugee women in Turkey.

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It could argued that Turkey is nation state thereby culturally less plural than countries in whose population there are a lot of immigrants such as the United States or Canada. From this perspective and from the perspective of unitary state structure, French culture and Turkish culture are more alike than Turkish culture and American or Canadian culture. Whence, French model which Alaine Touraine delineates is more plausible to be eligible to apply in Turkey than co-called American (culturally plural) model. Likewise, French public administration and Turkish public administration are more alike (comp. Sözen, 2018, pp.46-7). The viewpoint based on similarities between France and Turkey has also been emphasised by Kazgan as referred in the Literature Review.

Some elements of French model are replaceable with the elements available in the current conjuncture of Turkey. Turkey has turned down French model for laicism. Bans on headscarf and covered dressing have been abolished in Turkey. Whether Syrian women with covered dressing would adapt Turkish identity and belongingness without ambivalent hesitation is difficult to estimate. However, they must conform to the secular legal system in Turkey including Turkish Civil Code and Surname Code and thereby monogamy must be the lifestyle if they are planning permanent stay in Turkey. Moreover, more sociological studies and studies on immigration sociology about their adaptation, integration into Turkish society and acculturation process are required for the estimation of their prospective identity and belongingness in Turkey. They have come to Turkey when conservative democrats were in power. How conservative democracy will affect their prospective identity and belongingness is an issue to be studied from the perspective of political sociology.

On the other hand, Turkey tends to differ from Western societies in terms of religiosity, gender roles and gender norms especially for conservative sectors of society. New millennium witnesses the rising conservative democrat political mainstream in Turkey. It could further be claimed that conservative values in Turkey have been rising. It could be inferred from the quotations in the Literature Review, handling mechanisms concerning the issues in relation with gender roles, equalisation of women and gender norms in Turkey do not fully overlap with the existing conditions in the West and do not fully overlap with Western mentality, because traditional conservative values in Turkey may not compromise with modernity, the liberation in gender roles, equalization of women and men as part of conservative ideology as quoted in the Literature Review. Rather conservative democrats propose social values with historical perspective and traditional customary grounding. Whence such liberal values are questionable and are not resolved just like in the West in conservative sectors of Turkish society. However, conservatism is just one lifestyle in Turkey. Western minded lifestyle with liberal values about gender roles, gender norms, women's equalisation co-exist. Turkish politics in general promises respect to all lifestyles. Syrian refugee women's belongingness and identity within Turkish culture in accompany with their Islamic belongingness and identity would be different from those of French Muslim women whom Alain Touraine researched.

As it could be infrered through the Lierature Review especially through Göksu, Karadoğan Doruk, Yavaşgel & Mengü, the problems which Syrian refugees in Turkey encounter are lingual, cultural, educational and they are concerned with employment. The situation is more dramatic for Syrian refugee women. These issues are the cornerstones for the applicability of French model in Turkey in that (the achievement of) French model is based on acculturation, education and employment.

5. RESULTS

Syrian refugee women in Turkey could be entitled with positive discrimination for employment; they must be given such rights as free child care, nursery school, kindergarten to support them when they work. Mothers are cornerstone for integration as they bear, re-produce and spread culture. Thereby, Syrian refugee women must be prioritised in access to education, Turkish culture and language and they must work. Employment of Syrian refugee women is essential. It is an important starting point. It is also important to include young Syrian refugee girls in Turkish

education system and accreditate their former education in Syria. Turkish preparatory school before starting high school must be compulsory for young Syrians.

Turkish Language Teaching for Foreigners departments must be developed quantitatively and qualitatively in Turkey. Foreign Language Teaching departments (English, French and Arabic) must cooperate with Translation Studies departments. More than Arabic medium higher education both for Turks and Syrians, academic Turkish teaching to Syrians and Turkish medium higher education must be developed. Syrians must be able to speak Turkish as perfectly as Muslim community in France is able to speak French. Young Syrian girls and women who will have been highly educated through Turkish higher education system could maintain as the Syrian elite who could cooperate and collaborate with Turkish authorities for the needs, desires and problems of Syrian refugees who will stay in Turkey as long as the civil war and international clash and other problems in their homeland have come to an end.

6. CONCLUSION

The most urgent need for Syrian refugee population in Turkey is preparing comprehensive legal framework and relevant legislation to recognise legal status to all Syrian refugees and enacting it with proper practice so that Syrian refugees could be subject to some legal rights and duties such as full access to education, access to work opportunities and they could benefit from such rights as valid identity, surname, et cetera either for temporary or permanent stay. The legal frame has been enacted through Foreigners and International Protection Law in Turkey in 2013. The law recognises legal status for foreigners and refugees and their protection. Immigration Administration Directorate within Interior Ministry has been established (http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/ 20134/04/20130411.2.htm). These are very noteworthy. The surname and legal marriage dilemma of Syrian women which stem from polygamy which is illegal and illegitimate in Turkey should be solved from legal standpoint as Turkey is a state of law by Constitution. Instead of polygene marriage, monogamy must be the lifestyle in accordance with Turkish Civil Code and Surname Code for permanent stay. Adopting Turkish legal system is a must. Syrians who would like to stay in Turkey permanently must adapt Turkish culture from this standpoint, too.

Syrian refugee women must be prioritised to access education, jobs and social security. They are the starting point to have full command of Turkish language and culture. These are important cornerstones for permanent stay in Turkey with Turkish citizenship. Provided that these requirements are met by Turkish government, it could be argued that Syrian refugee women would have been acculturated and adapted into Turkish society.

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