

CHAPTER 23

**DISCURSIVE POWER OF SCHOLARLY
PRODUCED KNOWLEDGE ABOUT
SYRIAN REFUGEEEDOM IN TÜRKİYE**

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Abstract

Socially engineered and constructed meanings, concepts, ideas, and values related to Syrian refugeedom are nowadays produced and re-appropriated by numerous experts and scholars almost without regard to the detrimental effects on the lives of refugees and host societies. Their efforts to treat refugees as global citizens with human rights, while well-intentioned, do not provide workable solutions to the protracted lives of Syrians worldwide. To date, knowledge about the current situation of refugees has been informed by epistemological and policy frameworks developed to better understand and care for refugees. However, this knowledge of the conceptual and empirical space of refugeedom as a new mode of being today largely fulfills the bureaucratic and technocratic needs of Western liberal democracies that seek to control and discipline people on the move within their normative taxonomies of legal categorizations. Based on a critical qualitative sociological study of Turkish scholars/experts' knowledge production about Syrian refugees on the Balkan route since the 2015/2016 European migration/refugee crisis, the aim of this chapter is to present a methodological innovation in research design and the study of contemporary migration issues within the sociology of migration. A balanced study of knowledge production and global refugeedom was conducted to bridge the epistemological, methodological, and empirical divergences between critical sociology/sociology of knowledge and migration studies. By applying an interdisciplinary qualitative analysis (constructivist grounded theory methodology combined with a Foucauldian discourse analysis), it was possible to determine how and what kind of scientific/expert knowledge was produced by Turkish scientists/experts and to what extent their research findings were in line with those of their international colleagues. This chapter will therefore conclude by revealing the unknown and unexpected findings about the discursive power of knowledge produced by scientists on the Syrian refugee issue and the subaltern potential of Turkish academia in order to produce new methodological results (sociology of knowledge discourse approach) that are open-ended and deal intensively with morality.

Keywords

Knowledge Production, Turkish Scholarship, Syrian Refugeedom, Discourse, Subaltern Potential

Introduction

Even though deliberation about the Syrian refugeedom would require a detailed and comprehensive explanation of the armed conflicts in this Middle Eastern country, this chapter, however, aware of its limitations, only briefly summarizes the most important factual truths about the so-called Syrian civil war. According to Encyclopaedia Britannica (06/07/2011) the Syrian democratization process of the 21st century has turned violent during, what is nowadays called, the Arab Spring. Considered “the most complex conflict to emerge from the 2011 Arab uprising” Syrian war has imbued divergent political and military powers from number of countries, regional Middle Eastern governments, and global players (Yacoubian, n.d.). Numerous “foreign figures and militias” as “external actors” have over time transformed peaceful protests into militarized uprisings that have driven internal divisions and conflicts in Syria for more than a decade (Yacoubian, n.d.). Since 2014, separate initiatives, international diplomacy and negotiations had not led to peaceful outcomes that could ensure the safety of Syrian citizens. Internal military dynamics, terrorism, religious extremism, and violent ideologies have therefore destabilized Syrian society (Anderson, 2016). Consequently, destabilized Syrian state has escalated the number of residents escaping regime brutality and deteriorating economic conditions (Hudson, 2018). In addition to widespread destruction and displacement, the Syrian society has been and continues to be severely depopulated, resulting in seven million Syrian refugees/asylum seekers/stateless people worldwide (Yacoubian, n.d.). Of the countries in close proximity to Syria (such as Lebanon, Jordan, Iran, Egypt, and other North African states), Türkiye nowadays hosts the largest number of Syrians – 3.6 million (UNHCR Türkiye fact sheet, April 2024). In comparison to Türkiye, all European countries together host little over one million Syrian refugees and asylum seekers (Mach 18, n.d.). Domestic circumstances in Syria and conditions in the countries of refuge (legal protection, social/health care, and economic provisions) have therefore propelled hundreds of thousands of Syrians to seek international protection/asylum in Europe. Namely, precarious livelihood of Syrians under international protection and care in the neighboring countries of the Middle East has made their lives unsustainable in the long run. So, migration aspirations of some Syrians under temporary protection have converged with those from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, and Iraq as they decided to reach the territory of European Union in 2015. Joined by those who were already stranded in Greece and countries of the Western Balkans, Syrian refugees have embarked on a challenging journey through transit countries (Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Slovenia) towards intended destinations in European Union (Nancheva, 2015). Mass migration in that direction has created social, political, and economic crisis in Europe. The European refugee crisis in 2015/2016 therefore, has changed refugees’ lives and host societies in ways that no one could have anticipated. Aside from governments, politicians, and policy makers, those who tried to understand this refugee crisis and mass migration to Europe were scholars of various academic disciplines. Much like their counterparts – policy experts - scholars have produced knowledge in honest hope to assist and guide national governments in protection of refugees’ rights and in facilitation of their integration into new host communities. However, it is still difficult to determine how much of produced knowledge has indeed improved circumstances and lives of both refugees and host societies.

This chapter therefore provides an insight into Turkish scholarly and expert knowledge production about Syrian refugeedom since the 2015/2016 European refugee crisis based on unpublished research findings from the six-month sociological research project funded by the TÜBİTAK Grant 2221 – *Fellowship Programme for Visiting Scientists and Scientists On Sabbatical Leave* (2021/6) in the academic year 2021/2022. Furthermore, it also assesses, on the level of discourse, the subaltern potential of Turkish migration studies to engage with new research methods and epistemology (Amelina, 2022). However, the chapter only briefly summarizes the methodological and theoretical frameworks used to explore contemporary discursive construction of this new mode of being in Turkish scholarly and expert publications. The proposed framework includes qualitative sociological research (Clandinin & Connelly, 1998; Flick, 2014) – an interdisciplinary qualitative analysis (constructivist grounded theory methodology and critical discourse analysis) linked to the interpretative approach of M. Foucault and G. Agamben and their understanding of postmodernist European society. Constructivist grounded theory methodology used in the study was developed according to Kathy Charmaz’s (Wertz et al., 2011) qualitative sociological inquires and was combined with the critical discourse analysis – the Foucauldian strain (Klos-Czerwinska, 2015; Dillon, 2009; Anderson, 2003) to form an interdisciplinary sociological research framework.

Closely related to this critical postmodernist methodological approach is the theoretical framework used to interpret research findings. The theoretical framework combined M. Foucault's (2002, 2003) understanding of the postmodernist European society through his conceptions of knowledge/power relationship (Dillon & Neal, 2008; Campbell, 2005; Zembylas, 2010; Harvey, 2014) and G. Agamben's (1998, 2008, 2009, 2020) notions of bare/naked life and state of emergency. Furthermore, social constructivist approach (Berger, 1984; Checkel, 1998; Christiansen et al., 2001; Hay & Rosmond, 2002; Salskov-Iversen et al., 2000) was used because it complements both, methodological (Clarke & Charmaz, 2014; Charmaz, 2008) and theoretical (Mumby, 1993; Abercrombie et al., 1984; Debord, 2012) frameworks. The concept of social construction in this chapter refers to Berger' and Luckmann's ideas about the institutionalization process of modern society and how meaning is embedded in society and ascribed by its social actors. This shows how people's conceptions of their reality are inextricably interwoven and connected to the institutional structure of modern society. Namely, the analytical model developed in this way has enabled in-depth review of produced knowledge in various types of publications published in the period 2015-2022 (books/book chapters, articles, policy briefs/reports, research reports, policy reports/papers, projects, programs, strategies etc.). In its conclusion, based on the Turkish study case, the chapter provides evidence to limited capacity of scholarly/expert produced knowledge to resolve issues related to contemporary Syrian refugeedom and migration to Europe in general.

Circumstances of Knowledge Production about Syrian Refugeedom

The reality of contemporary Syrian refugeedom is determined by the epistemological and policy frameworks developed to understand and care for refugees (Kirkwood, 2017; Stone, 2012). The knowledge produced in this regard exerts a powerful influence on their lives (Hass, 1992; Herta, 2017; Janks, 2005). Moreover, (as an integral part of contemporary "knowledge industries") this knowledge is itself the commodity that is used, reused, and combined with other forms of knowledge to either solve problems, or meet the needs of refugees and host societies (Gibbons, et.al., 1994, p. 85). The scientific production of knowledge about Syrian refugeedom therefore, has a strong influence on the way in which data is collected, analyzed, and interpreted (Anderson, 2003). Hence, the experiences and memories of Syrian refugees are mitigated and articulated in specially designed research studies that collect data on the misery of their protracted/stranded lives and/or the vulnerability of their displacement (Pope, 2017). Furthermore, its discourse is embedded in a knowledge/power structure of socially constructed meanings, concepts, ideas, and values that refer to the spatial and bodily entrapment of refugees as global citizens (Anderson, 2003; Kirkwood, 2017; Stone, 2012). Refugeedom as a new mode of being presents Syrian refugees as the omnipresent Other – a foreign entity within the host society and the national territory (Cvikić & Špoljar Vržina, 2016). However, according to Riga, Langer and Dakessian (2020), what is conceptualized and theorized today as the refugeedom means that being a refugee is marked by particular experiences that can both create and enable an intertwining of subjectivities (Dakessian & Riga, 2023). They conceive forced migration "or refugeedom – as a human condition or experience of political (sub)alterity, within which (refugees) inhere distinctive subjectivations and subjectivities" (2020, p. 709). Also, their "simple theoretical architecture of refugeedom's subjectivations, subjects, and subjectivities" treat refugees as "humanitarianism's rights-bearing or juridical subject; the vulnerable and resilient, innocent and suffering subject; and the Othered or racialized subject, formed through the exclusions of displacement's politicized spaces" (2020, p. 709). More importantly, Riga, Langer and Dakessian "conceive refugeedom as a space of values, and so the ground on which moral and significance attach to agency and subjectivity" (2020, p. 709). Therefore, a definition of contemporary Syrian refugeedom subsumes the intricate fabrics of suspended lives in constant existential flux, and in this chapter, reinterprets the overarching conception defined by Riga, Langer, and Dakessian. Rather than focusing on an intellectualized understanding of refugeedom as a human condition, this chapter analyzes Syrian refugees "as complex political subjects" struggling against the constraints of their forced displacement (Riga, Langer & Dakessian, 2020, p. 734), as people navigating societies, communities, territories and spaces in their constant struggle for survival. Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye is therefore examined to determine how normative taxonomies of legal categorizations of the contemporary refugeedom are deeply rooted in the knowledge/power structures produced and re-appropriated by both academics and expert policy makers (Mbembe, 2003; Malkki, 1995).

Namely, the question of adequate representation and utility of the knowledge produced, which conceptually and empirically corresponds to the neoliberal (Harvey, 2014) bureaucratic and technocratic needs of political decision-makers and power politics, is still very much present (Walters, 2010; Fox, 2001). However, since the refugee crisis of 2015/2016, empirical and theoretical efforts to develop workable socio-political solutions to address its consequences have been further strained by the increasingly complex migration dynamics of the human beings on the move to Europe (Walters, 2010; Fox, 2001). In order to understand the dynamics of normative categorizations of migration in the context of homogenization, essentialization, criminalization, racialization and (de)humanization of refugees and migrants alike, research strategies at a conceptual level must go beyond academic neutrality and the unadulterated discursive construction of refugeeedom. Against this background, the following sections present research findings that demonstrate, on the one hand, the discursive power of scientifically produced knowledge about Syrian refugeeedom, and on the other hand, the limited ability of Turkish scientists and experts to offer practical solutions to the unresolved problems of contemporary migration.

The Scope of Knowledge Production about Syrian Refugeeedom

What has prompted qualitative sociological study of Turkish knowledge production related to Syrian refugeeedom is a scholarly debate initiated by interdisciplinary group of scientists gathered around Nicholas de Genova and Martina Tazzioli in 2015 titled *Europe at a Crossroads: Managed Inhospitability – Europe/Crisis: New Keywords of “the Crisis” in and of “Europe”*. This was a thought-provoking way to critically examine and question contemporary understanding of migrations and how it is defined in knowledge production by international scientific community (De Genova & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 3). This network of scholars in critical migration and border studies have managed to defy the intellectual and political ghettoization of “migration crisis topics” in Europe and initiate problematization of its very language (De Genova & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 3). Since they have acknowledged that their endeavor is by no means exhaustive, efforts invested into conceptual frameworks that interrogate scholarly discourse through critical lenses remains largely unexplored and open to investigation. Particularly, when it comes to contemporary production of knowledge about Syrian refugeeedom which this chapter deems is important. So why is it important to focus particularly on the production of knowledge about Syrian refugeeedom in Turkish scholarship?

Apart from the largest Syrian population group living under temporary protection in Türkiye, the protracted status of refugees in this country has provided Turkish scholars with broad insight into various issues related to their reception, (dis)integration and migration to other European countries. As a result, Turkish scholars are uniquely qualified to produce knowledge that can support national governments and international efforts to address the needs of Syrian refugees in Türkiye and globally. The knowledge they have produced over a period of ten years therefore holds tremendous potential and should be able to provide some kind of solution to the current precarious living situation of numerous Syrian refugees. Furthermore, the 2015/2016 European refugee crisis has not only raised the issue of mixed mass migration to Europe, but also the centrality of the political power that Türkiye holds in this regard. Since then, the Western Balkans route as an ongoing migration/refugee corridor to Europe/EU has maintained the balance of power created in the 2015/2016 refugee crisis. The latest migration statistics (IOM UN Migration Global Data Institute, Arrivals) and the EU’s policy solutions attempting to control and manage migration to Europe across all seven migratory routes (Central Mediterranean top migratory route into the EU in first half of 2023, n.d.) therefore bear witness to an ever-increasing number of so-called irregular border crossings at the EU’s external borders on the one hand, while on the other hand the recent Pact on Migration and Asylum proposes policy reforms that simultaneously externalize international care for migrants and bureaucratically implement the EU’s technocratic means of shared solidarity and responsibility (Pact on migration and asylum, n.d.). Is a workable solution in sight and how can the knowledge produced about Syrian refugeeedom in Türkiye contribute to a better understanding of current migration movements in Europe?

How to Study Turkish Knowledge Production about Syrian Refugeedom?

Any academic discussion today should begin with a clear statement about the self-reflexivity, centrality, and subjectivity of scientists' research (Fábos, 2019). Therefore, it is claimed here that in the postmodern world of the spectacle of life, there are no objective social sciences that are value-neutral (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998) and interest-free (Charmaz, 2008). Moreover, the knowledge produced, whether intentionally or unintentionally, helps to create what Tim Cresswell (1997) calls the postmodern primitive or the new spoilers (Stedman, 1997) – in this case, those unfortunate migrants/refugees/asylum seekers - who are plunged into the absurdity of language games (Lyotard, 1984). Therefore, the international and Turkish scholarly literature on Syrian refugeedom, the refugee crisis in Europe and the Western Balkans route, when viewed through the critical lens of migration studies, reveals factual truths about socially constructed policies that create dysfunctional coexistence, induce coercion, and conformity of populations within host societies.

The background research and initial efforts to develop a qualitative sociological model of analysis in this regard have helped to provide a methodological and theoretical framework to critically assess the shortcomings of Turkish evaluative comparisons and the selection of research contexts. The application of Foucault's (critical) discourse analysis and his (theoretical) understanding of postmodern European society, as well as G. Agamben's understanding of the contemporary abuse of state power, has nevertheless proven to be a useful analytical tool, albeit to a limited extent. Therefore, the proposed analytical model was later complemented by a constructivist grounded theory method (Charmaz, 2008) in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the topic in question. In this chapter, the examination of Syrian refugeedom at the level of discourse has made it possible to question the socially constructed discursive practices of Turkish scholars. Turkish science and/or scientific/expert knowledge production refers to scientific works produced by Turkish scientists/experts, whether individually or as members of a national/international group of scientists within or outside their respective countries. Discourse is rendered as a social action or something that influences and legitimizes it (Austin, 1976, 2004). Statements made by Turkish scholars and experts inside analyzed discourse about Syrian refugeedom, European refugee crisis, and the Western Balkans route are therefore, social representations which in turn produce performative effects – they socially construct reality (Austin, 2004). As indicated by Austin, to speak means to act, so in this respect, discourse “is not only the description of social practice, but it is thing in itself (Cvikić et al., 2018, p. 48).

Even though, different theoretical schools and authors that focus on the discursive and non-discursive social practices (language and non-language social practices) are left out of the scope here; it is however important to mention that they all claim that words are both powerful and ambiguous in nature (Cvikić et al., 2018, p. 48). Words become concepts, and as such they construct social reality. Therefore, the language “as media that informs one about the real non-language world” is not neutral (Cvikić et al., 2018, p. 48). In the case of Turkish academic and expert knowledge production, language is “a powerful tool utilized to construct and reconstruct social reality” of Syrian refugeedom, while its discourse “is understood as a whole containing both language and non-language practices” (Cvikić et al., 2018, p. 49). Next to studying purpose-built vocabularies that rule discursive practices of Turkish scholars and experts in their construction of Syrian refugeedom, critical discourse analysis utilized to study this Turkish knowledge production also considers institutional non-language practices. What is meant here is that concept ‘purpose-built vocabulary’ refers to a vocabulary that is “designed and built for a particular use” (Purpose-built, n.d.). In this case purpose-built vocabularies include concepts related to migration depending on the subject matter and issues that are dealt with by various disciplines (political, legal, economic, etc.). Namely, what is studied here are produced meanings which construct reality of “the social action” inside discourse on Syrian refugeedom along “with frameworks of rules that govern statements about refugeedom” (Cvikić et al., 2018, p. 49).

As it will be evident later, the social reality of Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye “is not only the consequence of produced discourse since it is shaped by various circumstances of non-discursive character,” such as EU border security regime and related migration/immigration policies (Cvikić et al., 2018, p. 49). Their social reality is, more importantly, socially constructed based on factual

truths about their temporal existence produced by Turkish scholars that maintains “conductive conditions for its dissemination and reproduction” inside expert knowledge production utilized further on by policy makers and politicians (Cvikić et al., 2018, p. 49). As it was mentioned beforehand, an innovative sociological analytical model developed to study Turkish knowledge production about Syrian refugeedom did offer a new way to answer what is considered here to be very important core research questions in contemporary migration studies. How and in what way refugeedom is discursively constructed in knowledge production about European refugee crisis and the Western Balkan route by international scholarship? How and to what extent internationally produced knowledge influences contemporary Turkish knowledge production? Can Turkish scholarship challenge its shortcomings of evaluative comparisons and the selection of research contexts as scientifically rooted injustices through epistemic destabilizing and theoretical questioning?

Data sample structure of Turkish scholarly and expert knowledge production about European/EU refugee crisis, Syrian refugeedom and the Western Balkan route collected for the background research (Cvikić, 2020) in 2020 entailed in total 123 publications: 81 scientific works (abstracts/articles) and 42 expert works (reports/policy papers/working papers). However, the body of extensive scholarly and expert publications published in the period 2015 – 2021 in the subsequent research from 2021/2022 was accessed through university library search engine in the Özyeğin University, Istanbul, and analyzed next to those published also by their international counterparts (Table 2). Data source, in total 260 Turkish scholarly and expert publications, as well as international and Turkish scientists’ publications (176) contained following types of texts: articles, books/book chapters, policy briefs/papers/reports, working papers (see Table 1). The data was collected on two levels. At the first level, data was collected from publications based on selection criteria on three specific topics: European refugee crisis, Syrian refugeedom, and the Western Balkans route. At the second level, data was collected based on selection criteria related to international, general migration topics: Migration Theory, Migration Methodology and Migration Research. Furthermore, the collected data was divided into two methodological categories – qualitative and quantitative -, two theoretical categories – mainstream and critical - and finally the research data was divided into three categories – issues related to the refugee crisis, Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye, and refugeedom in the EU.

Table 1
*Turkish Scholarly and Expert Knowledge Production 2015 – 2021**

Year	Number of Publications Per Year
2015	18
2016	53
2017	42
2018	44
2019	41
2020	40
2021	22
TOTAL	260

Note: Detailed lists of analyzed publications are available on request and were on disposal to the reviewers of this chapter.*

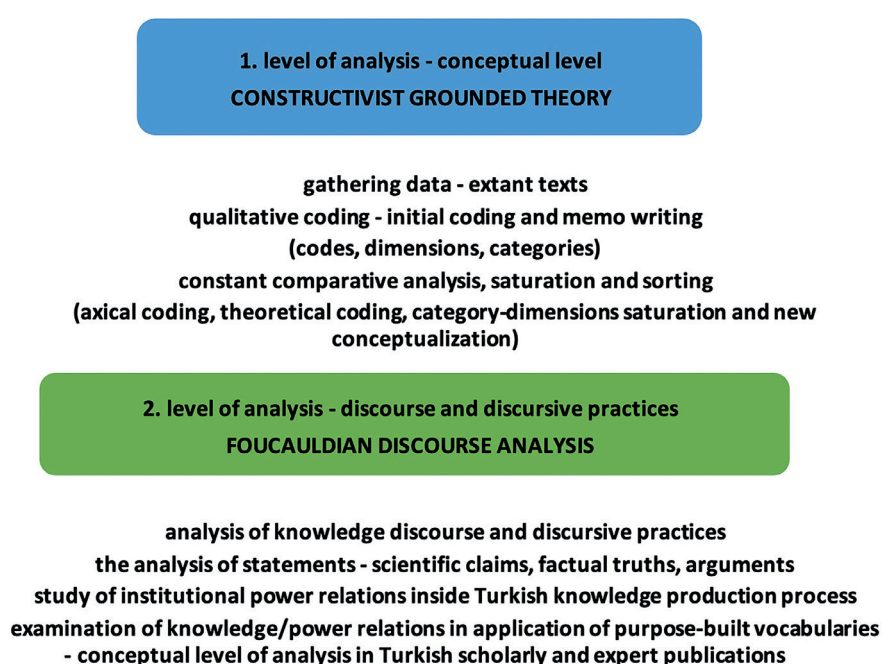
Table 2
*Turkish and International Publications Related to General Migration Topics, Theory and Methodology, Geopolitics of Knowledge Production and Subaltern Knowledge Production**

Topics	Number of publications
<i>Publications about general subjects on contemporary migration issues</i>	38
<i>Theory and concepts</i>	129
<i>Geopolitics of knowledge production and subaltern knowledge production</i>	109
TOTAL	176

Note:* Detailed lists of analyzed publications are available on request and were on disposal to the reviewers of this chapter.

A methodological and theoretical framework (Graham, 2011) was developed to enable a critical evaluation of Turkish knowledge production (texts) on the Syrian refugeedom (Figure 1). The evaluation of selected texts was based on a methodological framework combining constructivist grounding theory and Foucaultian discourse analysis. The theoretical framework was then applied to interpret the collected data. It is assumed here that most contemporary scholars are nowadays familiar with the works of Foucault, Agamben, Berger and Luckmann. So, this chapter does not provide an overview of their developed methodologies and theoretical frameworks. Instead, those are employed in more detail in the overall discussion and analysis of collected data on *Syrian refugeedom* knowledge production inside Turkish scholarship. Both the methodological and theoretical frameworks provide a research design (Figure 1) – the development of an analytical model - that allows for in-depth data collection (constructivist grounded theory) and data analysis (Foucauldian discourse analysis).

Figure 1
Research Design



The first step of this desk research was to collect data on Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye, the Balkan route and the European refugee/migration crisis in different types of texts written by scholars and experts in migration studies. The initial coding, guided by the research questions, resulted in a memo in which the codes, dimensions and categories of data generated were recorded. Constant comparative analysis saturated and sorted the data, which formed the basis for the construction of two general data categories – mainstream and critical knowledge production. Furthermore, the axial and theoretical coding of the texts provided saturated data categories on research themes in migration studies and on specific issues that point to a new conceptualization of contemporary refugees/migrants. The second step was to re-read the existing texts at the level of discourse and discursive practices with the help of Foucauldian discourse analysis (methodologically and theoretically). Using a Foucauldian lens to analyze new power relations and/or the reinforcement of existing power relations within the migration studies discourse that has developed since the 2015/2016 European refugee/migration crisis has enabled the study of knowledge production and the impact of this knowledge on Syrian refugees (Cvikić, 2019). “Namely, as a methodological framework, both the detection of statements that function with constitutive effects” on Syrian refugees and “criticism of ‘Foucauldian’ discourse analysis are used to” examine “the role of power in (...) knowledge production by scholars/experts” and “the power relations they develop as researchers sponsored by various stakeholders (universities, international organizations/institutions, governments) (Cvikić, 2019, p. 701). In addition, the knowledge/power relations were revealed in applied, purpose-built vocabularies – vocabularies used by academics and experts, analyzing Turkish and international academic and professional publications at a conceptual level. However, the “Foucauldian frame of reference” in this research endeavored “to avoid the substitution of established” truths about Syrian refugees with others (Cvikić, 2019, p. 707). “Therefore, the Foucauldian criticism is applied to” problematize the “already established (...) ‘factual truths’” in order to avoid, on the one hand, the temptations of relativism that arise from the diversity of perspectives and, on the other hand, “to question ‘truth’ as a contingent subject” that is constantly scrutinized by the social sciences (Cvikić, 2019, p. 707). In this way, “the ‘truth’ is treated as a ‘construction’ that is in constant change, while its contingency appropriations and misappropriations are established by” the purposive vocabulary of migration studies (Cvikić, 2019, p. 707). In this type of research, contingency “is “a profoundly ethical standpoint” (Graham, 2011, p. 667). Therefore, the Foucauldian frame of reference used should not be seen as “a prescribed scientific method”, but rather lenient (...) to a developed methodological guide that is clear about its aims, its limitations and, above all, what is done within this critical knowledge discourse analysis (Cvikić, 2019, p. 707).

Based on the critical analysis of scholars’/experts’ statements about Syrian refugeedom within the migration studies knowledge discourse in this research, the focus was “on what this type of knowledge does, rather than what constitutes the underlining ‘subtext’ inside (...) knowledge discourse production” (Cvikić, 2019, p. 707). Furthermore, the aim was to explicate statements that serve to set a discursive frame around a particular migration studies position – “statements that are socially constructed through” purpose-built vocabularies that form “rhetorical constructions that present a particular reading of social texts”, in this case scientific/expert text on Syrian refugeedom, the European refugee/migration crisis and the Western Balkan route (Graham, 2011, p. 667). The expected outcome of such methodological framework application was a critical analytical model which could prove the need for an alternative subaltern theory (substantive and/or formal) and/or a new way to conduct research in migration studies based on the Turkish case study. To illicit response to such a challenging task is to go beyond what has currently been scientifically produced inside contemporary migration knowledge industry. Therefore, theoretical framework in that respect would complement the development of substantive theory in a social constructivist manner while initiating subaltern ways of conducting qualitative sociological research in contemporary migration studies. Even though, at the time this research design was developed the author of this chapter was unaware of the methodological framework created by Prof. R. Keller and associates (2018); still, applied methodological and theoretical framework was later scientifically validated as innovative way in conducting qualitative sociological research under the umbrella of sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (SKAD) at the workshop organized by the University of Augsburg, Faculty of Social Sciences and Philosophy in 2022 led by prof. Reiner Keller and Wolf J. Schünemann. Thus, to elaborate in more detail how this qualitative sociological research was conducted according to the proposed analytical model would require one to go beyond the limitations of this chapter. Instead, the following section outlines, from the critical (qualitative) sociological point of view summarized research findings related to Turkish scholarly and expert knowledge production about Syrian refugeedom.

Discursive Understanding of Syrian Refugeedom in Turkish Scholarship

According to the background research, the content analysis of the collected data on selected topics in general discourse about contemporary migration issues has shown who produced, disseminated, and shaped factual truths and knowledge about Syrians in Türkiye. Namely, this refers to the institutional framework of Turkish knowledge production: academic institutions (government funded or privately), foreign academic institutions, and international expert institutions (government funded and/or donor funded) in Türkiye. It has also shown how the overall discourse produced by Turkish academia is based on various embedded discourses that are socially constructed through purpose-built vocabularies utilized in their works. Proposed Foucauldian/Agamben theoretical frame of reference had therefore focused on how the identified embedded discourses on Syrian refugeedom are produced/reproduced through constructed, purpose-built vocabularies within Turkish scholarship, and what knowledge-power relations have developed over time. In turn, the influence of the knowledge they produce on the contemporary understanding of the Syrian refugeedom could be determined.

Furthermore, discursive practices and related conceptual frameworks developed by Turkish scholars on Syrian refugeedom were also analyzed. Preliminary research findings therefore conveyed that institutional framework of Turkish knowledge production includes four types of higher education institutions: public, private, non-profit private and state institutions. All institutions combined have produced more scholarly publications than expert publications. While domestic, Turkish institutions produced more scholarly works than the international institutions, the international institutions however, had produced more expert works than Turkish institutions. Also, Turkish scholars are coming from predominantly domestic public/state academic institutions (predominantly universities), and their research was financed through state funding producing knowledge in the form of scientific articles. To a lesser degree as experts, they produced works in the form of reports/policy papers/working papers. On the content level, majority of Turkish publications did not deem important to grapple with the imminent task of theorizing the contingencies of contemporary Syrian refugeedom.

However, they were inclined to investigate more general issues related to refugees' migration aspirations, temporary protection status, access to health care, education, and work force. The general – overall discourse on Syrian refugeedom developed by Turkish scholars and experts contained six embedded discourses: Turkish citizens' discourse, NGOs' discourse, journalists' discourse, politicians' discourse, scholars/experts' discourse, and refugees/migrants' discourse. Those embedded discourses had produced/reproduced knowledge about Syrian refugeedom, European refugee crisis, and the Western Balkans route through four purpose-built vocabularies established by scientists: political/technocratic, normative/legal, militarist, and humanitarian. In doing so, Turkish scholarly production indicates that there is a knowledge spill-over from scientific into expert policy making and legislation, and vice versa, because scientists are quite often experts utilizing their academic competences inside policymaking driven projects. This framework is a self-perpetuating device with enormous power not only on policy making but more importantly, on how new normative taxonomies and categorizations of migration are made having great impact on the people on the go as well as on the European citizens' perceptions of those studied/targeted populations.

Finally, the institutional framework and fundings behind implemented research projects have instigated not just proliferation of new social strata of professionals-scholars that became self-perpetuating force behind data-driven economy (World Bank, N.d.-a), but also a force behind knowledge production that invests enormous power into the system that regulates both national and international migratory trends and politics. It could be inferred therefore, that the concept of knowledge/power as it is presented in this chapter, refers to an ever-present and self-perpetual force that runs every social interaction and relation in the postmodern globalized world. In Western societies, power is, according to Foucault, most strongly exercised through knowledge which is produced and reproduced by science. It is, on one hand, inflicted upon and internalized by individuals as values, beliefs, norms, and ideologies, while on the other hand, it is simultaneously reinforced and maintained by all social relations and by every member of society. Scientifically produced knowledge therefore not only enables but also fixes certain types of social relations as it installs supremacy and superiority of the Western rationalization and reasoning that is legitimized through discourse (Connell, 2007). Thereby, such knowledge is what constructs particular discursive practices that effectively manage, select, and

control people – it determines who can talk, what they can talk and under what circumstances and conditions (Cvikić et al., 2018). So, the pursuit of power relations developed inside Turkish scholarly knowledge production has provided so far evidence as to its subtle working inside contemporary understanding of Syrian refugeedom as ever-present power that disciplines Syrians on the move through self-perpetuating discursive rules (purpose-built vocabularies), thus entitling scholar/expert discourse with enormous power of control through words and images (Yalaci & Karakus, 2015). In the Turkish case, studied discourse has provided an insight into the origins and the persistence of power dynamics behind discursive forms prevalent in Turkish scientific epistemic community (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 26). Namely, Turkish scholars and experts have much, like their international counterparts, exercised discursive practices that imply power inequalities and produce and reproduce embedded discourses for the inclusion of some and/or exclusion of others, thus maintaining the hegemony of Northern metropolitan academic reasoning (Androvičova, 2016). Although academic articles, to name but a few, realistically examine the Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye, such as works on the Turkish policy response to the Syrian refugee crisis (Aras & Mencutek, 2015; Koca, 2015; Carpi & Şenoğuz, 2018), social issues (Bircan & Sunata, 2015; Akgündüz, van den Berg & Hassink, 2018), societal perceptions of Syrian refugees (Yaylaci & Karakus, 2015), the vulnerability and mobility of Syrians (Öner & Genç, 2015); as well as the critical examination of Turkish normative power in relation to Syrian refugees (Oktav & Çelikaksoy, 2015), geopolitics of refugees and displaced persons (Fabbe & Sinmazdemir, 2019), perceptions of political parties (Gümüş & Eroğlu, 2015) and Islamophobia (Hafez, 2015); the overwhelming majority of research findings do not challenge the prevailing understanding of the victimized Syrian refugee as a humanitarian subject, and even less engage in providing solutions to their situation. Thereby, it could be inferred that the hegemony of discourse on Syrian refugeedom is also reproduced inside numerous reports/policy papers/working papers (such as Türkiye's Syrian Refugees: Defusing Metropolitan Tensions, n. d.) by Turkish scholars and experts only to re-establish conditions for knowledge dissemination and reproduction inside policy development and making (Pope, 2017; Stone, 2012).

Faced with challenges to overcome existing migration policies' and asylum legislations' normative dysfunctionality and partiality thus has necessitated synergy inside data-driven economy of knowledge production about European refugee crisis in 2015/2016. The inner logic of numerous reports, policy and working papers produced by Turkish scholars and experts since then has therefore helped to socially construct human rightism and biopolitics of governed and managed unwanted human mobility on the Western Balkans route, namely the governance and management of the new Other (Cvikić & Špoljar Vržina, 2016). Human rightism as a concept is thus, understood in line how Alain Pellet perceives it. Human rightism, according to Pellet characterizes „the state of mind of human rights activists“ (2000, p. 2). Also, it stands for „being absolutely determined to confer a form of autonomy“ to human rights, which Pellet thinks, „it does not possess“ (2000, p. 2). Furthermore, biopolitics as a concept according to M. Foucault, means to investigate strategies and mechanisms through which human life processes are managed under regime of authority over knowledge, power, and the processes of subjectivation in the contemporary neoliberal world of Western democracy and market economy (Foucault, 2003, 2007, 2017; Dean, 2010; Dillon, 2009). So, what kind of knowledge was produced by Turkish scholarship since 2015/2016 European refugee crisis?

From the onset, the temporary protection status in the Turkish scholarly discourse as a research subject permeates conceptual framework of refugeedom thus, paradoxically leaving out of its scope the epistemology of Syrian refugees' permanent condition – their new “mode of being” (Cvikić & Špoljar Vržina, 2016, p. 504). Contrary to what would one expect, produced knowledge in the contemporary academic industry is fueled by constantly reemerging migration/refugee crisis where Turkish scholars and experts, much like their international counterparts, are unable to overcome the structural dependencies of today's social sciences research. Every scientist today belongs to an academic system with coerced financial dependency and project compliance that forces researchers to constantly negotiate their ethics of conviction and responsibilities (Hanafi, 2019). Therefore, what is evident from the Turkish case, produced knowledge and its embedded discourses about Syrian refugeedom conveniently frame what Agamben (2008) calls state of exception thus, mitigating acute production of policy-driven knowledge. This on its own would not cause problems unless, as it will be evident further on, produced knowledge about Syrian refugeedom does not provide solutions for their temporary life condition.

Moreover, its conceptual framework developed by purpose-built vocabularies of refugeedom, has contrary what was intended, contributed to a discourse of ever-increasing securitization, governmentalization, militarization and control of borders, migration, and mobility in general. In this respect, produced knowledge by Turkish scholars and experts, has actively re-reified already established conceptual and discursive categories of subjugation, control, and management of Syrian refugees. Dictated by the conditions in the Turkish society, developed policies to manage Syrians livelihood based on produced knowledge, does pose a serious question as to how long the refugees will be able to sustain the temporality of their living, and for how long the local Turkish communities will be able to sustain Syrians prolonged and precarious stay in their country (Sert, 2023). However, with few notable exceptions, such as works of Negriz Canefe (York University), the manifold of Turkish scholarship has not questioned the reality of Syrian refugeedom in the context of purported Western Balkan route and related multiplicity of co-existing crisis – in Europe/EU and Türkiye – trying to defy or highjack the dominant discourse that surrounds and controls how one speaks of refugeedom. Namely, the new approaches even though present in their scholarship however have only confirmed the intellectual ghettoization of certain topics, leaving out of its scope scientific self-reflexivity, and questioning of their own scholarly/expert language. Most of the topics in reviewed Turkish literature about Syrian refugeedom fall under the headings of politics and legislation (refugees and asylum seekers), economy and employment, livelihood (health and welfare), and education.

The way conceptual framework about Syrian refugeedom was developed by Turkish scholars, and how they used purpose-built vocabularies in produced knowledge discourse have thus, greatly determined the outcome of the spill-over effect this type of knowledge has on policy making. Consequently, while disconnected from the policy-making process led by both, political technocrats and knowledgeable experts, Turkish researchers are nonetheless not absolved from the moral responsibility they have for produced knowledge about Syrian refugees. There is, however, still an ongoing debate on the definition of migration and implementation of target analysis that can deliver demand-driven and tailor-made analytical studies in support of territorial decision-making (ESPON, n. d.). So, it is evident that the knowledge about Syrian refugeedom produced by Turkish scholars is not only self-constrained by the mainstream language of contemporary migration studies; but more importantly, the scholarly discourse and varied definitions of concepts have additionally reappropriated demand-driven and tailor-made analytical studies that largely support territorial decision-making of internationally assisted policy solutions rather than challenge established normative/legislative understanding of migration governance, surveillance, control and management. The humanitarian language of Turkish discursive practices shows how human rights as universalist tool re-rarify “normative values related to respect, empathy, and tolerance” while at the same time, respective scholarly publications provide evidence to its inability to deliver in practice justice that Syrian refugees deserve (Cvikić & Špoljar Vržina, 2016, p. 502). The paradox of simultaneous coexistence of liberal human rights justifications and its practical incompatibility with Syrian refugeedom established by scholarly produced knowledge is therefore based on the evidence – factual truths that can only deliver “humanistic representations” of Syrian refugees and a strategy of their “re-humanization” as victims (Cvikić & Špoljar Vržina, 2016, p. 502).

Furthermore, the institutional framework behind knowledge production in Türkiye is important to the extent it paradoxically helps to constitute Europe’s/EU’s proliferation of border struggles/security and refugee integration issues. Rendered “as existential temporal and transitory issue” in the embedded political discourse, Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye however indicates how Turkish knowledge production provides an insight into EU’s periphery borderline preemptive strategies to (il)legalize “mobile people asking asylum” through selective transitory inclusion and/or exclusion (Cvikić et al., 2018, p. 53). However, it also empowers the policy-making expert discourse through normative/legal and militarist language. Thereby, the population in question, namely the Syrian refugees are not empowered with resilience that such knowledge can provide, but contrary to what was expected, the expert discourse renders their temporary and transitory existence as a managerial concern to increased EU securitization and governmentalism. On one hand, as it is stipulated by the embedded political discourse, Turkish scholars have reiterated EU’s efforts to contain the Syrian refugees’ issue as externalized migration/refugee crisis exported to a trusted partner outside EU territory. While, on the other hand, the issue of Syrians’ integration into the Turkish society rendered through political/technocratic, normative/legal and humanitarian language of scientists’ and experts’ discursive practices has additionally fortified

compartmentalization of refugees' temporary protection status in education, health care, welfare and employment as generic logic of normalized refugeedom in self-explanatory terms (Roitman, 2013; Stone, 2012). Namely, as it is evident from analyzed embedded discourses, this self-explanatory generic logic of normalized refugeedom developed inside Turkish knowledge production, has become a tool to single out particular and fragmented events and social issues leaving out of its scope critical assessment of scientist's own narrative constructions thereby allowing selective interrogations of the issues in question. Not only did this selective questioning of Syrian refugeedom bring about an epistemic impasse (Roitman, 2013) and/or what Agamben defines as an epistemic crisis (Hass, 1992) of scholars' and experts' epistemic community; but more importantly, it has greatly obstructed possibility to engage in what De Genova and associates (New Keywords Collective, n.d.) call epistemic destabilizing of the thing called European migration/refugee crisis. However, this is not to say that there is no validity in already produced knowledge about Syrian life in Türkiye and the way it has been done so far; but to draw attention to a very important and obvious truth about contemporary knowledge production – that there is a lack of interest and/or capacity, as indicated by Heller, for “collective task of producing a critical ‘history of the present’ (Foucault, 1984)” (De Genova & Tazzioli, 2016, p. 12).

Conclusion

What does it entail to conduct a critical history of contemporary knowledge production about Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye? Amongst numerous efforts to “deliberately avoid offering solutions” to address the 21st century realities of forced migrations, its reduction to raised questions nonetheless forces one “to rethink” scientific reliance “on current paradigms that frame the field of practice” (Fábos, 2019, p. 129). In hope to diverge from the “conceptual minefields of terminology” and the showcase of mainstream and critical debates, this chapter moves to elaborate on the pressing issues coming from conducted qualitative sociological research about Syrian refugeedom in Turkish scholarship (Fábos, 2019, p. 129).

What could be inferred from the study of Syrian refugeedom in Turkish scholarly and expert knowledge production is that the body of knowledge belongs to two distinct ways of studying contemporary migration issues – the mainstream and the critical migration studies/refugee studies/forced migration studies. The concept mainstream here refers to “the thoughts, beliefs, and choices that are accepted by the largest number of people”, which in Turkish case means the epistemic community of migration studies (Britannica dictionary, n.d.). So, on this general level, the analysis shows two distinctive ways of meaning production and construction of factual truths about refugee populations: the mainstream and the critical. On the next level, what is often missing in the mainstream production of knowledge about Syrian refugeedom (that largely outnumbers the critical studies) is an honest researcher's self-reflection on issues of representation, self-representation, and representation of others. Further on, as it was previously mentioned, the institutional framework of knowledge production in Türkiye holds an enormous power over meaning making process, construction of factual truths and knowledge distribution. The mainstream knowledge production and the critical knowledge production, likewise, are project driven to collect data in the way that is stipulated and established by the Western metropolitan scholarship. The funding and the economy behind this type of academic system of knowledge production therefore create strong structural dependencies of the contemporary social sciences. This in return, coerces researchers into project compliance that demands from them to negotiate their ethics of conviction and responsibilities. Institutional framework, academic regime and funding have therefore enabled proliferation of new social strata of professionals and scholars in migration studies. They have become a self-perpetuating force of data-driven economy which fuels the knowledge production and the policy system that regulates national and international migratory trends and politics.

Also, the conceptual framework of scholarly and expert discourse is developed through purpose-built vocabularies of migration/refugee/forced migration studies. Those vocabularies broadly fall under four, often overlapping, conceptual frameworks: a) political/bureaucratic/technocratic conceptual framework; b) normative/legal conceptual framework; c) militarist conceptual framework; and d) conceptual framework of humanitarianism. Together, those conceptual frameworks are nowadays a self-perpetuating device that utilizes its purpose-built vocabularies of migration/refugee/forced

migration studies to construct national/international normative taxonomies and categorizations in migration policies. Detected conceptual spill-over also indicates a knowledge spill-over effect from scientific to expert knowledge production and vice versa. Therefore, scholar's and expert's discourse and discursive practices developed inside Turkish mainstream and critical knowledge production still actively re-reify established factual truths about Syrian refugeedom inside five distinctive subject arias: homogenization, essentialization, criminalization, racialization and (de)humanization. So far none of the scholars and experts were able to escape a firm grip of the knowledge/power structures deeply rooted in migration studies related to securitization, governmentalization, militarization, and humanitarianism of Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye. The paradox of contemporary knowledge production, be it mainstream or critical, lies in the factual truth that whether intentionally or unintentionally, it very much enables continuous subjugation, control, and management of refugee populations, despite scholar's and expert's good intentions to give them voice. The mainstream, and to a lesser degree, the critical knowledge production therefore, intentionally/unintentionally reproduce inequalities even when scholar's and expert's studies indeed humanize the Other, in Turkish case, the Syrian refugees. So far, no change has come from the knowledge produced about Syrians bodily, spatial, and emotional protraction of atomized life and livelihood – nothing visible and measurable that can vouch for their improved life conditions and legal status in Türkiye (Sert, 2023).

Finally, when it comes to what kind of results – research findings were produced by Turkish scholars and experts – one finds that most studies about Syrian refugeedom deal with consequences of their current condition/circumstances rather than initial causes of their refugee status. Even though scientifically legitimate and academically valid, selective, and fragmented studies of Syrian refugeedom do provide valuable insight into most pressing issues related to their legal status and problems of everyday life in Türkiye. However, apart from giving them a voice, Turkish studies confirm what has been evidenced time and again, that Syrians livelihood did not improve in Türkiye, and their temporary protection status has transformed their lives into permanent suspension of citizenship rights. Therefore, unaware of its subtle working, discursive practices of Turkish scholars and experts show how particular knowledge is produced and influenced by existing power relations established inside socially constructed discourse on Syrian refugeedom. Overall, the developed conceptual framework of Turkish scholars' and experts' discourse on Syrian refugeedom is thus umbilically connected to interest data-driven economy dependent not only on national financing, but also (quite often) on international (EU, UN, World Bank) which makes very difficult to challenge already established scientifically based injustices about contemporary refugees (De Genova, 2010).

However, contrary to what was expected, studied Turkish knowledge production about Syrian refugeedom and developed scholarly and expert discourse point to an ominous conclusion. Much like their international counterparts, Turkish scholars and experts do not offer functional/workable solutions to Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye and worldwide. Not only refugees, but scientists themselves are coerced into the language games where they often have a double role – of being both the scientist and expert. In doing so, they create and re-create through purpose-built vocabularies discourses on contemporary migrations without improved conceptual clarity and certainty. Since 2015/2016 European refugee crisis, scholars, and experts alike, could not and did not provide workable solutions to the contemporary issues related to irregular migration in Europe. No visible positive social change, on the societal and individual level, is present. The growing frustration and discontent by the local communities and societies on the receiving end of the newly implemented migration policies in Europe indicates how fragile is the potential for change that can satisfy both, the needs of the incoming irregular migrants and citizens of the host country. State systems, however, are unable to satisfy the needs and rights of all. If anything, circumstances on the supranational EU level, and on the level of member states have become increasingly more complex in nature and intensity. Persistent polarization and/or conflicting political and national interests of the member states with regards to joint migration policy implementation so far have only introduced more divisions and opposition along the lines of national security and identity. The non-member EU states are facing similar, if not, more serious problems in that respect. So, the general question of feasible solution to irregular migration to Europe is still subsumed under the heading of diverse epistemologies and research that holds no moral and real responsibility for produced knowledge.

As it is presented in this chapter, the unexpected outcome of the Turkish knowledge production analysis about Syrian refugeedom is the blatant truth that opens Pandora's box of harsh reality. If, according to all evidence collected by scientists and experts alike, Syrians in Türkiye cannot be saved by project-oriented return to their homes, simply because there are nowadays no financial, human, and infrastructural means available to manage their safe return and sustainable peaceful reintegration into the Syrian post-conflict society in the long run; then, what options are there left? Not only in Türkiye, but numerous examples from various European countries have indicated that migrant's integration into new host societies is limited to individual success stories. In most cases, mass irregular migration has produced so far more socio-political and economic problems that it has contributed to the peaceful coexistence and productive life. Pressing and increasingly complex issues arising from irregularized migrations are not and could not be sustained by the contemporary knowledge production that science has promised. Namely, contemporary regime of scientifically produced knowledge is developed to tolerate critical academic endeavors only to largely legitimize its own unbiased, objective, and impartial construction of factual truths. Much like their mainstream colleagues, works of critical migration studies scholars are paradoxically misunderstood and misused to support socially destructive movements that lead to chaos and unproductive forms of true change. Still very experimental in nature, new ideas and policy solutions to manage contemporary migration issues have shifted their focus of interest since 2015/2016 European refugee crisis. Initial focus on refugees/migrants/asylum seekers rights and integration has shifted to citizens security and social order protection. All efforts are now invested into externalization of care for migrants already stranded elsewhere, and into unrealistic expectations from the EU member states solidarity burden share stipulated by the financial penalties for non-compliance.

What could be concluded from this Turkish study case is that contemporary knowledge production about Syrian refugeedom, be it scholarly or expert, is very much limited and constrained by the academic regime that does not happily welcome innovative and radical qualitative sociological inquiry. Since their scientific community is already internationalized and Europeanized, the subaltern potential for new endogenous Turkish knowledge production is limited. The Global South knowledge production empowerment as well as joint projects with the Global Metropolitan knowledge production of innovative kind, such as the one presented in this chapter, however, represent a true potential for engaged, moral and responsible production of knowledge (Connell, 2007; Connell & Dados, 2014). Diverse epistemologies, binary and conceptual/theoretical/methodological ambiguity in migration studies therefore can be transformed into innovative interdisciplinary fields of research through sociology of knowledge approach to discourse (Keller et al., 2018). In return, this approach can enable production of endogenous knowledge that tapes into the folk wisdom collected over the centuries, thus disregarded as insufficiently scientific to be true.

In conclusion, the postmodernist application of theoretical and methodological language based scholarly research about Turkish scholarly and expert knowledge production shows to what extent contemporary project-oriented studies can diverge from the true purpose of intellectual endeavors to produce workable solutions to society's ills and problems. Trapped inside language games that cannot overcome the conceptual ambiguity of produced knowledge about contemporary refugeedom, migration studies scholars and experts often tend to overintellectualize circumstances and conditions in which refugees and migrants alike find themselves. Their need to give refugees and migrants the voice and the agency paradoxically overpowers the actual circumstances and the status people on the move must acquire to survive. Human rights in this respect do not and cannot provide protection inside functional Western liberal democracies since those require extensive financial and administrative state capacities that governments often do not have at their disposal. If one steps out of diverse epistemologies that manage the postmodern human condition – the bare/naked life – than the hegemony of produced knowledge about populations such as refugees and migrants can be purposefully dislocated from the language games into the reality of everyday life. In hope that this chapter provides a valuable insight into Turkish scholarly and expert knowledge production about the reality of contemporary migration issues and Syrian refugeedom in Türkiye readers are reminded of the indispensable role this knowledge plays in informed policy making and political decision making that shapes not only the lives of migrants and refugees, but also, the everyday life of the citizens in host countries (Balta et al., 2023).

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