Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies

ISSN: 1369-183X (Print) 1469-9451 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/cjms20

Intersecting marginalisations: violence against LGBTQ+ refugees and ethnic minorities in Turkey

Burcu Gümüş & Jón Ingvar Kjaran

To cite this article: Burcu Gümüş & Jón Ingvar Kjaran (11 Jul 2025): Intersecting marginalisations: violence against LGBTQ+ refugees and ethnic minorities in Turkey, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2025.2529496

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2529496

Published online: 11 Jul 2025.

JOURNAL OF ETHNIC AND MIGRATION STUDIES
https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2025.2529496

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Intersecting marginalisations: violence against LGBTQ+ refugees and ethnic minorities in Turkey

Burcu Gümüş [a] and Jón Ingvar Kjaran [b]

[a]Faculty of Health, Department of Public Health, Aarhus University, Aarhus, Denmark; [b]Faculty of Education and Diversity, University of Iceland, Reykjavik, Iceland

ABSTRACT

This study explores the intersecting forms of violence experienced by LGBTQ+ individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds, including Turkish citizens and refugees living in Turkey. Drawing on 35 in-depth interviews, the research highlights the systemic exclusion, marginalisation, and physical and sexual violence these individuals face. It examines the compounded discrimination rooted in ethnic, sexual, and migration identities through the lens of intersectionality. Findings reveal three primary themes: othering and marginalisation, racism and exclusion, and physical and sexual violence. LGBTQ+ refugees face precariousness due to legal vulnerabilities, while Turkish citizens from minority ethnic groups encounter exclusion for not conforming to 'Turkishness'. In-group dynamics within ethnic communities further exacerbate violence, with queerness perceived as threatening cultural or political struggles. The research situates these experiences within theoretical frameworks such as Ahmed's 'stranger danger', Agamben's 'bare life', and Butler's (2005) concept of grievability, emphasising how systemic structures devalue these lives. The study contributes to existing literature by offering a nuanced understanding of the violence against LGBTQ+ individuals in Turkey, bridging state-level policies and intimate/private sphere dynamics. It calls for inclusive policies and societal shifts to address these intersecting forms of oppression, promoting dignity and belonging for marginalised communities.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 26 February 2025
Accepted 30 June 2025

KEYWORDS
LGBTQ+; ethnic minorities; refugees; Turkey; violence and marginalisation

Introduction

Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic following the fall of the Ottoman Empire, *Turkishness* has functioned not only as a national identity but also as a performative and intersectional regime of belonging. More than a set of linguistic or ethnic attributes, Turkishness is reproduced through daily acts, emotions, and embodied practices that align with state-defined (hetero)norms (Butler 1990; Ahmed 2004). It is both an ideological and affective construct that regulates who is considered grievable, legitimate, and valuable. As such, individuals must continuously perform and negotiate Turkishness

CONTACT Burcu Gümüş bgumus@ph.au.dk

to avoid marginalisation, particularly if they hold non-dominant ethnic, religious, sexual, or gender identities. In this sense, Turkishness operates as both a national discourse and a disciplinary structure that governs inclusion and exclusion in both public and private spheres. However, modern Turkey is populated by different ethnicities, religions, and cultures, which have been living there since the Ottoman Empire. These different groups must navigate Turkishness to avoid the disciplinary mechanism of the state and the public of not being Turkish enough. This applies particularly to LGBTQ+ refugees, and LGBTIQ+ Turkish citizens with a different ethnic origin. These groups are increasingly subjected to discrimination and/or hate speech (Keneş 2015; Tekin 2023; Ünlü 2018).

The aim of this paper is therefore to investigate the similarities, as well as the differences, in how these groups experience violence within the social and intimate/private sphere. To better understand the experience of our participants we draw on intersectionality theory. In so doing, we will demonstrate how the interconnected structures of privilege and oppression are produced, by focusing on race, ethnicity, sexualities, gender, and migration status (Bowleg 2013). Although there are published reports on various types of violence experienced by LGBTQ+ refugees and ethnic minorities in Turkey, there is no study that directly examines and compares how symbolic and structural violence intersects with everyday violence, at work and in private/intimate spaces. This study will therefore generate new knowledge on violence experienced by queer refugees and ethnic minorities in Turkey.

Research on refugee populations and ethnic minorities in Turkey often sparks politicised and contentious debates. This article contributes to scholarly knowledge by offering an intersectional analysis of how LGBTQ+ individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds and refugee statuses experience multiple forms of violence in Turkey. The study is grounded in theoretical frameworks provided by Judith Butler, Sara Ahmed, and Giorgio Agamben. Butler's theory of performativity (1990) and her notion of 'grievable lives' (2005) illuminate how certain lives are rendered unworthy of recognition and public mourning. Ahmed's (2000) concepts of 'stranger danger' and 'stranger fetishism' help explain how emotional economies and everyday encounters mark certain bodies as threatening. Agamben's (2020) concept of 'bare life' further illustrates how marginalised individuals, particularly refugees, are stripped of legal and political value. These theoretical tools frame our analysis of how 'Turkishness' functions as a normative and disciplinary regime of national belonging. These concepts are particularly useful in the Turkish context, where national belonging is not only a legal but also an emotional, linguistic, and performative matter, shaping who is seen as fully human: grievable, and socially legitimate.

Furthermore, this article builds on Yener Bayramoğlu's (2021) analysis of how Turkishness is not only an ethnic construct but also deeply heteronormative, particularly in times of national anxiety. Bayramoğlu demonstrates how queer and migrant bodies are discursively framed as threats to both public health and national morality, revealing the sexualised borders of belonging in Turkey. Similarly, Aslı Zengin's (2024) ethnographic work on trans lives in urban Turkey shows how state violence is enacted not only through formal institutions but also within intimate spaces. Her concept of 'violent intimacies' captures how trans and queer individuals are governed through everyday forms of surveillance, criminalisation, and moral policing that operate at the

intersection of nationalism, heteronormativity, and cisnormativity. These works allow us to see how Turkishness functions as both an ethnic and a heteronormative project, which systematically excludes those who do not conform to dominant norms of sexuality, gender, and national identity.

The article explores how violence is produced and sustained through this national imaginary. It is based on 35 in-depth, one-on-one interviews: 27 with Turkish citizens of diverse ethnic origins (Armenian, Circassian, Georgian, Greek of Turkish nationality, Kurdish, Laz, and Syriac), and 8 with refugees from Iran, Iraq, and Syria. To our knowledge, this is the first study to examine both the similarities and differences in the experiences of violence faced by LGBTQ+ refugees and ethnic minority citizens in Turkey who are perceived as insufficiently 'Turkish'. Rather than aiming for generalisation, the goal is to highlight how intersecting axes of exclusion, ethnic, sexual, national, and legal, shape these individuals' everyday experiences. The article first contextualises the rise of Turkishness as a national identity in the post-Ottoman era and examines how migrants and minorities navigate this identity. It then analyzes the interplay between structural and interpersonal forms of violence before presenting the study's methodology and findings.

National identity and the other

The Turkish nation-state emerged through a project of homogenisation that sought to consolidate national identity around the performative ideal of Turkishness. This project was not limited to ethnic or linguistic assimilation but extended to the regulation of bodies, emotions, and behaviours (Göle 1997; Ünlü 2018). Turkishness is thus best understood as a performative (hetero)norm enacted through everyday practices, emotional attachments, and visible loyalty to state ideals. Following Sara Ahmed's (2000) concept of 'stranger fetishism', the figure of the non-Turk becomes a threat not because of what they do, but because of who they are perceived to be emotionally, bodily, and politically divergent from the imagined Turkish subject. Furthermore, Judith Butler's notion of performativity reveals how national identity is enacted through repetition and regulation, which leaves no room for queer, ethnic, or refugee bodies that deviate from normative scripts. As a result, Turkishness functions as an exclusionary regime that is at once national, emotional, and corporeal, producing the non-Turk as an abject figure both outside the law and outside affective community.

The goal the founders of the post-Ottoman Turkish nation-state was to modernise society and align it with Western civilisation (Göle 1997; Gülalp 1997), which led to policies of secularisation and nationalism. This new nationalism emphasised a common identity based on ethnic Turkish values, often sidelining the diverse ethnic and religious groups living within Turkey's borders. While the 1923 Republic sought unity, this also meant that differences – whether ethnic, linguistic, or religious – were suppressed or ignored (Aydın 2002). In addition to its ethnic dimensions, Turkishness is also constructed as a heteronormative and cisnormative ideal. Yener Bayramoğlu (2021) demonstrates how Turkishness is maintained not only through racialised boundaries but also through sexual and moral hierarchies, where queer bodies become signs of crisis and disorder. Similarly, Aslı Zengin (2024) conceptualises 'violent intimacies' to show how queer and trans individuals in Turkey experience surveillance, criminalisation, and

disciplinary violence even in everyday and intimate contexts. These works reveal that Turkishness is not only a national and ethnic identity but also a sexual project that governs bodily legitimacy, rendering LGBTQ+ subjects doubly 'othered' through both ethnic and sexual difference.

Turkey's policies, particularly in language and education, reinforced a Turkish-centric national identity. The Turkish language was made the sole official language, and those who could not speak it were marginalised (Bali 1998). These policies, often referred to as 'Turkification', sought to assimilate minorities, including Kurds, Armenians, and Greeks, into the dominant culture (Yeğen 1999). Non-Turkish ethnicities and languages were often excluded from public life, and the government maintained a strict policy on language use, criminalising public use of languages such as Kurdish (Oran 2023).

This historical context of exclusion continues to affect ethnic and religious minorities in contemporary Turkey. The concept of 'boutique multiculturalism' (Fish 1997) highlights the superficial recognition of cultural diversity, where ethnic and religious minorities are tolerated only to the extent that their cultures add flavour to the dominant Turkish identity. As a result, full citizenship and societal inclusion are often contingent upon adopting Turkishness, creating a clear divide between the 'us' (Turks) and the 'other' (non-Turks), including LGBTQ+ individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds (Kadıoğlu 2008; Oran 2004).

For LGBTQ+ individuals, especially those from ethnic minority groups, this marginalisation is compounded. They face not only ethnic and racial exclusion but also sexual and gender-based violence, which positions them as double outsiders in Turkish society. Their struggles are shaped by the intersection of their sexual identity and ethnic background, which continues to be excluded from the dominant national narrative.

The emergence of the Turkish migration state in the twenty-first century

Since 1987, Turkey has evolved from a transit country to a source country for migrants, particularly as political instability in the Middle East increased migration flows. As part of its ongoing EU accession process, Turkey began to formalise migration and asylum policies, which included significant legal reforms between 2001 and 2008. However, these reforms were often inconsistently implemented, leaving room for rights violations and creating legal uncertainty for migrants (Dardağan 2013; Yılmaz 2014). In 2008, the establishment of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) marked the centralisation of migration policy under the Ministry of Interior. Despite the positive reforms, Turkey's legal framework still limits asylum seekers from outside Europe, preventing them from obtaining refugee status. This legal gap leaves migrants, particularly those from countries like Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran, in a state of precariousness (Şenol and Yıldız 2017). While Syrians have gained temporary protection status with access to certain rights, other migrant groups remain in limbo, facing severe restrictions and uncertain futures (Üstübici 2019). Moreover, Turkey's migration policies reflect a hierarchy of migrants, where Syrians are treated differently from other refugees based on their perceived cultural affinity with Turkish society. The cultural differences, particularly linguistic and religious, have heightened social tensions, leading to structural and symbolic violence against migrants. As anti-migrant sentiments grow, refugees face

exploitation, limited access to basic services, and political manipulation (Korkut 2017; Üstübici 2019). This complex landscape of migration policy and social exclusion contributes to the marginalisation of LGBTQ+ refugees, especially those from ethnic backgrounds that are not Turkish or Syrian. These individuals, often denied full legal protection, face intersecting forms of discrimination, compounded by their sexual identities, within an environment of legal uncertainty and social hostility.

LGBTQ+ refugees may gain visibility, but this recognition is rarely matched by national policies or societal acceptance in Turkey. The state's focus on 'Turkification' and its emphasis on cultural homogeneity leave little room for the inclusion of those who do not conform to dominant (hetero)norms of Turkishness. Saleh's (2020) framework underscores how intersecting identities compound vulnerability. In Turkey, an LGBTQ+ refugee from a Kurdish or Iranian background faces exclusion not only due to their sexual orientation but also their ethnic or linguistic differences. This mirrors Saleh's (2020) observation that queer refugees are often reduced to a single narrative of suffering, erasing their broader identities and struggles. In Turkey, LGBTQ+ refugees face not only the structural violence of precarious legal statuses but also symbolic violence that positions them as outsiders, incapable of fully participating in Turkish society.

Data and analysis

The data consists of 35 semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. To investigate the interpersonal and societal experiences of LGBTQ+ individuals within the sample a phenomenological approach was employed. The phenomenological approach is designed to explore phenomena that are acknowledged but lack a profound and detailed understanding (Yıldırım and Şimşek 2018). The analysis of the interviews was conducted by using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2019). The primary focus of this research is the varied experiences of discrimination and violence encountered by LGBTQ+ individuals with diverse ethnic backgrounds in Turkey – both at societal level and within the intimate/private sphere. The recruitment of the participants involved contacting LGBTQ+ associations with social media. Acknowledging the persisting sensitivity of having a different ethnic background in Turkey's societal context, the sampling strategy was constructed through individuals who share mutual familiarity and trust. This approach facilitated more open and comfortable responses from participants, and consequently, a snowball sampling method was employed. The demographic data of the participants is shown in Table 1.

To be eligible for participation in the study, individuals had to identify as LGBTQ+ with diverse ethnic backgrounds, either as Turkish citizens or immigrants, residing in Turkey, and they needed to be at least 18 years old. The participants were explicitly informed that the interviews would be utilised for academic research purposes, and their personal data would not be disclosed to third parties. They were guaranteed that their identities would be completely anonymised within the study's scope. With the explicit consent of the participants, the interviews were recorded and then verbatim transcribed. To minimise power imbalances and gain the trust of the participants, interviews were conducted in Turkey at the time and place of the participants' choice. The interviews were conducted in Turkish and each interview lasted 1.5 to 2 hours.

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of the participants.

Age groups	#	%
21–24	17	49%
25–29	9	26%
30–35	9	26%
Education level	#	%
High School Degree	12	34%
Bachelor's Degree	8	23%
University Student	15	43%
Ethnic origins	#	%
Armenian	2	6%
Circassian	1	3%
Georgian	5	14%
Greek of Turkish Nationality	1	3%
Kurdish	14	40%
Laz	2	6%
Syriac	2	6%
Iran	1	3%
Iraq	1	3%
Syrian	6	17%
Occupation	#	%
Freelance	17	49%
Private Sector Worker	2	6%
Unemployed	5	14%
University Student	11	31%
Sexual orientation and sexual identity	#	%
Bisexual / Cis man	4	11%
Bisexual / Cis woman	1	3%
Gay	10	29%
Heterosexual / Transwoman	1	3%
Lesbian	5	14%
Pansexual / Cis man	3	9%
Pansexual / Cis woman	4	11%
Queer / Cis man	4	11%
Queer / Cis woman	3	9%

The research was conducted in accordance with the European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity.

Findings

The findings first describe the interviewees' experiences of how they are evaluated and marginalised by the Turkish society and within private/intimate sphere because of their ethnic origin. Following these explanations, the types of violence they were subjected to is described. As a result of the thematic analysis, we focus on three main themes: (1) Othering and marginalisation; (2) Racism and exclusion; (3) Physical and sexual violence. These themes are analyzed below respectively. Since the identities of the participants were kept anonymous, each participant's description is identified with the abbreviation P and the interviewee's sequence number.

Othering and marginalisation

The stranger is someone the members of the community do not know and have never met before (Ahmed 2000, 21). In fact, the community or the ingroup recognises the foreigner at the very first moment they make eye contact. In that respect, the foreigner

embodies their strangeness in our context relates to 'deviation' from Turkishness, which can be detected through our senses, particularly by seeing and hearing. In so doing, the foreigner is positioned outside of the community as they might present a threat or a danger to the local community. These dividing practices also serve the purpose of conserving the local community and its social cohesion (Ahmed 2000). In the context of LGBTQ+ individuals migrating to Turkey, or those who possess different ethnic backgrounds, have consistently articulated a sense of being 'strangers' and thus positioned outside of the community by their fellow citizens. In other words, migrants and those with different ethnic background experience unbelonging and being othered. This can be seen in the following interview extract:

> When someone asks where I'm from, I say, 'I'm Assyrian', and they respond with, 'Oh, that's okay; you're one of us too'. It's a simple expression, ostensibly associating me with them, but I am Turkish, and I live in Turkey. (P 13, Lesbian)

P 13 identify herself as Assyrian (an religious minority in Turkey), lesbian, and Turkish. These identities intersect in a way that marginalises her both within the broader Turkish society (due to her ethnicity and sexual orientation) and potentially within the Assyrian community (which might not fully accept her lesbian identity). The phrase, 'Oh, that's okay; you're one of us too', reflects a conditional acceptance that erases her Assyrian identity, demonstrating how her ethnic identity intersects with her sexual orientation and national identity to complicate her belonging.

The Kurdish participants interviewed likewise frequently reported encountering expressions of the kind described by P13. This experience, while not always overt, reflects a consistent feeling of social exclusion or differentiation and not belonging. Identifying also as non-heterosexual or gender non-conforming can contribute further to discrimination and marginalisation because Turkish society does not have a social structure that tolerates sexuality diversity as participant no. 17 expressed:

> When you are both Armenian, Christian, and gay, you don't hold much value in this country. We are a very closed and small community. Nobody in the Armenian community talks about homosexuality. It is thought that there are no queer individuals in the Armenian community in Turkey. Turks don't accept it, but the community doesn't accept it at all. (P 17, Gay)

P 17 discusses being Armenian (a Christian minority in a predominantly Muslim country) and gay, emphasising how this combination of identities renders him invisible and unvalued, even within his own ethnic community. The quote, 'It is thought that there are no queer individuals in the Armenian community in Turkey', illustrates how his queer identity is erased within his ethnic group, while Turkish society marginalises him for being Armenian and Christian.

The feeling of belonging to neither community, the Turkish hegemonic culture nor their ethnic community of origin is also expressed by participant no. 8, who identified as an activist for both Kurdish and transgender identities:

> Being a transgender person and Kurdish, it doesn't fit well with Kurdishness. The most common thing I hear is, 'Do whatever you want, but don't undermine our struggle'. There is a conflict both through Kurds and LGBTQ+, but you realise that even your comrades are not with you. In Turkish society, nobody likes any subject that undermines Turkish masculinity. That's why especially trans women and gays cannot fit into this

> society. There is the symbol of power in masculinity, which is the penis, and [some] trans individuals cut that symbol, while gays render it dysfunctional. This is something Turkish society cannot tolerate. No matter how much you join the same cause, fight, cutting off your penis is not forgiven. (P8, Transgender woman and heterosexual)

P 8 is Kurdish (a politically marginalised group in Turkey), transgender woman, and involved in activism for Kurdish political/civil rights. The participant faces dual exclusion: From Kurdish comrades, who may see their gender identity as undermining the Kurdish struggle. From Turkish society, which views both Kurdish and LGBTQ+ identities as threats to hegemonic masculinity and societal norms. The statement, 'Cutting off your penis is not forgiven', metaphorically encapsulates how some trans identities challenge patriarchal and nationalist constructs of masculinity. Participant no. 8 emphasises the importance of the penis and how it symbolises masculinity, not only within Turkish society but also in their ethnic community. Thus, trans women and those gays who take the role of the 'bottom' (being penetrated) in sex undermine hegemonic masculinity and are therefore a threat to the cohesion of the community. It also intersects with the political struggle for Kurdish independence which values gender conformity and phallocentric understanding of the society. In that sense being read as trans woman, not only undermines your ontological existence, but also excludes you from the political struggle, and activism, for your ethnic community. Furthermore, as both participants no. 8 and 17 draw attention to, due to their marginal position in terms of gender and sexuality they are not fully included within their in-group. Neither are they part of the out-group as they have not fully adopted what can be defined as 'Turkishness'. This is also the main theme in the following examples which revolves around livability and how it intersects with belonging or more precisely non-belonging:

> For the past 10 years, I've been here. I speak and understand Turkish quite well. When they hear that I'm from Iraq, they either give up on renting the room to me or immediately increase the price. (P24, Gay)

> Since we don't have an identification number, we can't access some services. For instance, if you rent a room or a flat, you can't apply for water, gas, or electricity. A Turkish friend I work with said he could help me for a month in exchange for all the tips I would receive. (P22, Gay)

> The only thing I've learned here is that every kindness comes with a price. (P23, Bisexual)

P 24 describes how landlords either deny housing or inflate rental prices upon discovering they are from Iraq, despite their linguistic integration and cultural adaptation. This reveals xenophobia and discrimination based on national origin, where being Iraqi marks them as outsiders, regardless of their ability to assimilate. P 22 explains how lack of legal documentation prevents access to basic utilities like water, gas, or electricity, leaving them dependent on exploitative arrangements, such as giving up their entire income (tips) in exchange for temporary support. This underscores the interplay of structural inequalities – as undocumented refugees, they are excluded from public services, and as LGBTQ+ individuals, they may face additional workplace discrimination or isolation.

P 23's statement reflects their lived reality of systemic exploitation, a transactional and dehumanising social dynamic where acts of kindness are conditional. This stems from

their refugee status, which often positions them as dependent or burdensome in the eyes of the host society. These examples reveal how intersecting inequalities – xenophobia, structural barriers, and LGBTQ+ discrimination – create a precarious reality for these individuals. Despite cultural or linguistic assimilation, their refugee and LGBTQ+ identities mark them as outsiders, subject to exploitation and conditional acceptance. This highlights the urgent need for policies that address these vulnerabilities, promoting both inclusion and dignity.

According to Agamben (2020), refugee bodies that are not born within political borders are 'naked bodies', devoid of human rights and citizenship rights. Furthermore, refugees and other migrants, like those in the above narratives, who do not know how long they will stay and what they will do, often turn into subjects to be feared – or what Ahmed has termed as 'stranger danger' (21). In other words, the 'stranger danger' migrant is constituted as a threat to the 'space purged of evil' and the 'pure and clean life of the acceptable citizen' (Ahmed 2000, 37). Those 'acceptable citizens' are in our context the ones who embrace Turkishness and are thus defined as members of the Turkish imagined community. Thus, drawing on Agamben (2020), those who are not part of the idea of Turkishness become *homo sacer* in the sense that they are beyond civil rights and laws of the nation-state, resulting in marginalisation and bare 'life of existence'. In the examples referred previously, this is demonstrated in precarity of everyday life, manifested in insecurity in obtaining basic needs such as shelter. In fact, housing insecurity and discrimination in terms of shelter of migrants and refugees has been reported in studies from other parts of the world (Rosen et al. 2023; Weidinger and Kordel 2023; Ziersch, Loehr, and Miller 2023). In the Turkish context, as revealed by the participants in our study, Turkish landlords regularly discriminate against migrants and refugees. They not only have to pay much higher rents for the housing / accommodation than Turkish citizens but also pay higher commission to housing agencies. Social exclusion and discrimination against migrants also occur at work and in terms of employment as participant no. 25 explains:

> Because I am Syrian, they always say that I am usurping the rights of Turks. They say that I get free services everywhere, that I work in jobs that Turks should work in. I have been in Turkey for 11 years. I was studying architecture in my country. Since I came here, I have been working as a laborer in construction sites or as a dishwasher in restaurants. Is this the employment opportunity I stole from Turkish people? (P25, Gay)

The claim that Syrians are 'usurping the rights of Turks' reflects xenophobic stereotypes and scapegoating, where migrants and refugees are blamed for economic hardships faced by the host society. Despite contributing labour in undervalued jobs, the speaker is accused of taking opportunities from locals, revealing a paradox: migrants are vilified for both 'stealing jobs' and occupying low-status, poorly paid work that locals often avoid. The speaker's descent from studying architecture to working as a labourer or dishwasher reflects the structural barriers migrants face in accessing equitable employment opportunities, such as non-recognition of credentials, language barriers, or legal restrictions. As a gay Syrian, the speaker likely experiences homophobia in both Syrian and Turkish communities. This double marginalisation leaves him vulnerable to isolation, limiting their access to support networks that might mitigate the economic and social hardships he faces. The participant's rhetorical question – 'Is this the employment

opportunity I stole from Turkish people?' – points to the symbolic violence he endures, where his dignity and contributions are systematically denied. The social exclusion and employment discrimination faced by migrants, like Participant 25, reflects Agamben's notion of 'bare life', where those excluded from national identity are stripped of rights and reduced to mere existence. Ahmed's 'stranger danger' explains xenophobic stereotypes framing migrants as threats, such as accusations of 'stealing jobs'. These concepts highlight how structural barriers, symbolic violence, and intersecting marginalisation (e.g. homophobia and xenophobia) devalue migrant contributions and sustain systemic exclusion.

Racism and exclusion

Hannah Arendt (2013), who herself became refugee in the 1930s, conceptualised the state of being a refugee as existential loss and grieving for the past life in the country of origin as can be seen from the following excerpt from her essay 'We Refugees':

> [O]nce we were somebodies about whom people cared, we were loved by friends and even known by landlords as paying our rent regularly. Once we could buy our food and ride in the subway without being told we were undesirable. We have become a little hysterical … [W]e already are so damnably careful in every moment of our daily lives to avoid anybody guessing who we are, what kind of passport we have, where our birth certificates were filled out. … Since passports or birth certificates, and sometimes even income tax receipts, are no longer formal papers but matters of social distinction. (2013., p. 115)

In the excerpt Arendt describes well how social distinction and exclusion is constituted through various modalities of power, which then produces refugees and migrants as docile bodies, not wanting to be spotted as such in their daily encounters in the host country. Furthermore, the dehumanisation of refugees and migrants is also perpetrated discursively, through language and speech. This was experienced by our participants, which then intersected with racist comments and rhetoric. In other words, because they were assumed to lack Turkishness they were excluded and not seen as members of the community as can be read from the narrative of participants 5 and 26:

> There is a gay club in Istanbul that I go to from time to time. The last time I went there, they said only Turks were allowed in and they didn't let me in. (P26, Lesbian)

> My name already reveals that I am Greek. The reopening of the Hagia Sophia as a mosque in 2020 caused me to receive unbelievable reactions from my circle of friends. People in my circle of friends told me without hesitation that this was the best lesson for Greeks. After all, I am a Turk, but I also have a Greek identity. (P5, Pansexual)

P 26 is a lesbian refugee woman living in Istanbul. Despite seeking refuge in an LGBTQ+ space, which is expected to be inclusive, they face exclusion based on national origin or ethnicity. The policy of only allowing Turks into the club reflects nationalistic xenophobia within a subculture that itself often faces societal marginalisation. P 5's Greek identity intersects with their Turkish nationality, placing them in a conflicted position where their ethnic background is used against them, particularly in the context of nationalist or religious tensions. The reopening of Hagia Sophia as a mosque becomes a symbolic act of exclusion, weaponised by their social circle to dismiss or marginalise their Greek heritage.

These two narratives exemplify different yet interconnected forms of exclusion that LGBTQ+ individuals with ethnic minority backgrounds face in Turkey. P26's experience illustrates a material and spatial exclusion being denied access to a public LGBTQ+ venue due to national origin. This reflects how even subcultural spaces that are themselves marginalised can reproduce dominant nationalist and xenophobic logics. In contrast, P5's account reveals a more symbolic and discursive form of exclusion, where his Greek identity becomes a target for nationalist rhetoric among her peers following the reopening of Hagia Sophia as a mosque. Although not a direct act of physical exclusion, this response weaponises a national-religious symbol to question his belonging and loyalty. Together, these examples reveal how both material and symbolic mechanisms work to reinforce the boundaries of Turkishness, functioning across both institutional and interpersonal levels. They demonstrate that exclusion in contemporary Turkey is not limited to legal or spatial restrictions but is also enacted through everyday conversations, social cues, and historical reinterpretations.

Racial difference and whiteness as a marker of supremacy are also reflected in both online and offline romantic or sexual interactions in Turkey. These dynamics manifest through racism, nationalist rhetoric, and symbolic violence, as illustrated by participants 6 and 7:

> I met a nationalist guy through dating apps, and we got together. After we got together, he said we will not let you establish Kurdistan. Just to satisfy his ego after sex. I think this is purely about his instinct to be a man. It brings out his repressed feelings. (P6, Gay)

> For example, when we start chatting on Tinder, they say you are very handsome, where are you from? When I tell them I am from Iraq, I am immediately blocked. There are many people like this in Turkey. There are a lot of accounts on dating apps that say people from Middle Eastern countries should not contact or only Turks and Europeans can contact. (P7, Queer)

The nationalist's comment – 'We will not let you establish Kurdistan' – reflects how nationalism and masculinity intersect to create a power dynamic in the relationship. The comment reveals a sense of dominance linked to national identity, where the speaker uses nationalism to assert superiority over their Kurdish partner. Patriarchal masculinity is expressed through an instinct to dominate or 'put down' their partner after intimacy, revealing deep-seated insecurities or prejudices. P7 describes being excluded on dating apps based on their nationality (Iraq), because its Turkish users overtly state that they prefer contacts with Turks or Europeans, thereby excluding Middle Easterners. This reflects xenophobia and racial/ethnic discrimination within the LGBTQ+ community, where physical or romantic desirability is filtered through racialised and nationalistic biases. These dynamics resonate with what Zengin (2024) identifies as 'violent intimacies', where nationalist, patriarchal, and heteronormative structures are reproduced even in private and sexual encounters, thereby reasserting the borders of belonging. Bayramoğlu (2021) similarly notes that queer bodies become contested figures in the national imaginary, particularly when they are racialised or foreign.

Participant no. 6 describes how sex is used as a tool to 'colonize' and subjectify Kurdish gays by those Turkish men who hold nationalist believes and embody Turkishness. During informal talk after sex, borrowing from Elder (2006), soft borders are established, drawing a line between us and them. This is also evident in the narrative of

participant no. 7 which also demonstrates the ingrained racist discourse in interactions on dating application. These soft borders contribute to the precarity of queer refugees in contemporary Turkey, constituting them as the 'other'. Because of their foreignness they become a threat to the presumed Turkishness. In other words, they are undesirable subjects which have, as Arendt points out in her essay, have lost their homes, and need to be careful how they act and behave in their daily lives so they will not be spotted as not belonging. Moreover, again it is realised that the Turkish diaspora and refugees face similar forms of othering, rooted in nationalism, xenophobia, and racialised biases. Participants' experiences reveal how foreignness or divergence from the dominant Turkish identity marks individuals as undesirable or threatening, whether in social interactions, dating, or daily life. Nationalistic and racial preferences exclude Middle Easterners and diasporic identities, establishing 'soft borders' that reinforce divisions between 'us' and 'them'. This marginalisation mirrors the precarity faced by refugees, who, like diasporic individuals, must navigate exclusion and discrimination to avoid being seen as outsiders within a society that prioritises Turkishness.

Physical and sexual violence

Studies show that hate speech and racist discourse tend to turn into physical violence (Matsuda 1989; McClure 2020). In other words, hateful discourse, particularly in online spaces, sets the context for all kinds of violence experienced by the participants in our study, as we have already demonstrated. For example, most of them did not have or benefit from social and economic support networks, and often experienced structural/systemic violence. Thus, the violence experienced, whether discursive, linguistic, interpersonal, or structural, created a precarious situation for them in Turkey. In this section, we focus on sexual and physical violence, perpetrated in the context of hate speech and racist discourse, produced in online spaces and the media. Due to the precarious situation of all the participants in our study, and their lack of socioeconomic support, those who then experienced physical violence, could do little to defend themselves or report the issue to the authorities. They could only endure the violence and try to escape from that situation as participant no. 20 expresses in the following quote:

> I moved to Ankara because it is both the capital and a big city. I started working as a dishwasher in a restaurant. It was the fifth day of my employment; it was a busy day. The shop had closed, and I had just finished the dishes. There was no one left in the restaurant except me and the owner. The owner came into the kitchen. He was going to pay me weekly for the work. He said he wouldn't pay me because I didn't wash the dishes properly. When I heard this, I lost my temper and started screaming. We started fighting. He started hitting me with one of the pans in the kitchen and then raped me. He told me that if I told anyone about this, he would kill me, that I had no value in this country. I ran out of the store, and it was over. But believe me, this is just one incident. (P20, Queer)

The speaker's work as a dishwasher reflects their socioeconomic vulnerability as a marginalised individual likely facing limited employment opportunities due to their migrant status and possibly their queer identity. The refusal to pay for their labour underscores how economic exploitation intersects with marginalised identities. Employers often exploit individuals who lack social or legal protections, assuming they have little recourse to demand justice. Intersectionality highlights how class and migrant status intersect to

create a power dynamic where the speaker's labour is devalued, and their rights are ignored. The owner's escalation from economic exploitation to physical and sexual violence reflects how patriarchal power dynamics disproportionately harm marginalised individuals. The violence is not only an act of sexual aggression but also a means of asserting control and dominance, as seen in the owner's threat: 'You have no value in this country'. This statement dehumanises the speaker, tying their lack of worth to their migrant status and perceived lack of societal support. The threat of violence if the speaker reports the assault reflects the systemic lack of accountability for perpetrators when their victims are members of marginalised communities. Refugees, especially those who are undocumented or have precarious legal status, often face barriers to seeking justice due to fear of deportation, societal stigma, or disbelief from authorities. Intersectionality shows how fear of retaliation, compounded by societal and legal marginalisation, traps victims in cycles of abuse and silencing.

In other words, drawing on Butler's (2005) concept of grievability, they do not embody any value for the society, and can therefore be treated in dehumanised manner. No one cares and there are often few options left for them to except to accept and move on. For those participants in our study who identify as Kurdish, violence sometimes occurred during mundane activities, as participants no. 34 describes:

> In Turkey, if you are Kurdish, you are not Turkish. If you are Kurdish, you are already considered a terrorist. Turks want to divide you before you divide the country. One day I went to a barber shop. It was not a place I always went to. The man asked where I was from, and I said Dersim [Kurdish name of the town]. He said why don't you say Tunceli [Turkish name of the town]. Then he cut my ear completely by mistake while cutting my hair. Okay, maybe it wasn't a big cut, but I know that the reason for this 'carelessness' was that I said Dersim instead of Tunceli. (P34, Queer)

This narrative reflects the deep intersections of ethnic discrimination, nationalism, and queer identity in Turkey, showcasing how microaggressions and violence are used to enforce dominant cultural norms and suppress marginalised identities. By examining this experience through an intersectional lens, we can uncover the broader power dynamics and societal pressures that shape such incidents. The speaker's Kurdish identity is immediately questioned when they use 'Dersim', a name that carries cultural and historical significance for Kurds. The barber's insistence on using 'Tunceli', the official Turkish name, reflects a denial of Kurdish identity and an attempt to enforce cultural assimilation. The act of cutting their ear, whether intentional or careless, symbolises the physical manifestation of systemic discrimination. It serves as a reminder that Kurdish individuals are often punished or excluded for asserting their identity. Moreover, the barber's demand to use the name 'Tunceli' is a form of symbolic violence, as it invalidates the speaker's connection to their Kurdish heritage and enforces the dominance of Turkish nationalism. The ear-cutting incident may seem minor but represents a microaggression that escalates to a physical act, reinforcing the power imbalance between Turk and Kurd. The statement 'If you are Kurdish, you are already considered a terrorist' reflects how Turkish nationalism constitutes Kurdish identity with a threat to national unity, fostering suspicion and hostility. Intersectionality emphasises how this exclusion interacts with queer identity, compounding the speaker's marginalisation. For queer Kurds, navigating these dual stigmas (ethnic and sexual) likely increases their sense of isolation and vulnerability. The insistence

on using 'Tunceli' over 'Dersim' reflects a broader strategy of erasing minority cultures to assert the dominance of the majority. This erasure is tied to the historical suppression of Kurdish identity, language, and heritage in Turkey. The speaker's resistance to this erasure – by asserting the Kurdish name – becomes an act of defiance, which is met with punitive behaviour.

The discourse on the 'stranger danger' which depicts migrants as violent and dangerous, produced in the (social) media, could also cause migrants to be physically violated as participant no. 21 revealed:

> On TV and social media, there are constantly news reports or posts about migrants molesting Turkish women and taking videos of them without them noticing. Every time such news comes out, either the neighbors break the windows of our house, or they leave their garbage in front of our door. Not to mention the insults we receive while walking on the street. (P 21, Queer)

In the narrative of participant no. 21, we can see how violence against migrants is stirred up in the media by portraying them as threat to Turkish society and women. This has also been the case in some counties in the global north, for example in Germany, where the media reported about accusation against Muslim men who molested German women. This then caused moral panics and fed into the Islamophobic discourse (Yanarışık 2017). The boundary making between us and them was also experienced by some of the queer participants within their own ethnic groups, which then caused them physical harm and violence. Out of Kurdish participants interviewed for this study, P3 stated that they were subjected to sexual assault, and P5 said that they experienced some forms of physical violence by members of their ethnic group. In that respect, being Kurdish and queer, placed them under increased oppression and susceptibility of being violated, by the members of the in-/outgroup. This kind of double violation is revealed in the following excerpts:

> I had two Kurdish friends with whom I shared a house in Istanbul. I never hid my sexual identity, but they never accepted it either. In Kurdish struggles, we sometimes protested together on the streets. I thought we were comrades, but these friends of mine did not refrain from sexually or physically assaulting me at different times when they had the chance. (P 35, Gay)

> My cousin and I grew up like brothers. But the moment he found out about my sexual orientation; his world fell apart. I'll never forget, his first reaction was to say, 'Does this look good on us?' I told him this after my [real] brother beat me up just because I was not heterosexual. At that time, I was very uncomfortable with this situation. I didn't know how not to tell anyone about this. But after I told him about this, he never looked at me again. He still doesn't. (P11, Bisexual)

The speaker's experiences with Kurdish comrades reveal the contradictions within social justice movements that aim to fight for liberation while failing to embrace all marginalised identities. Despite the shared oppression as Kurds, the speaker's queer identity becomes a point of disqualification from full solidarity, revealing a hierarchy of acceptable identities even within marginalised groups. The cousin's response – 'Does this look good on us?' – reflects the pervasive role of family honour and masculinity in Kurdish and broader Turkish cultures. The cousin's reaction and the brother's physical violence highlight the collective dimension of shame and honour, where one person's queerness is

seen as tarnishing the family or ethnic group's image. Both physical and sexual violence, as described by the first speaker, demonstrate how power hierarchies operate even within marginalised communities. The phrase 'when they had the chance' indicates a sense of opportunism, where the speaker's vulnerability as a queer person is exploited despite their shared Kurdish identity. This reflects a broader intersectional vulnerability where marginalised individuals face violence from multiple sources, including their own communities, because of their sexual orientation. Through the lens of intersectionality, these stories underscore the importance of addressing overlapping systems of oppression to fully understand and combat the unique vulnerabilities faced by LGBTQ+ individuals in ethnic minority communities. These experiences challenge both the broader society's discrimination and the internalised biases within marginalised groups, advocating for more inclusive activism and cultural change. Turkey's nation-building efforts have historically emphasised a monolithic identity centered on 'Turkishness', sidelining ethnic minorities such as Kurds, Armenians, and Arabs. This marginalisation extends to LGBTQ+ individuals from these communities, who face exclusion not only because of their sexual or gender identities but also due to their ethnic backgrounds. Their experiences echo the dynamics described by Saleh (2020), where cultural hierarchies determine whose identities are seen as legitimate or 'deserving'. Ethnic LGBTQ+ Turks often exist in a space of double exclusion: they are othered by mainstream Turkish society for their ethnicity and by their own ethnic communities for their queerness.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the narratives and theoretical perspectives discussed illuminate the pervasive nature of othering, marginalisation, and systemic exclusion faced by individuals at the intersection of ethnicity and LGBTQ+ identities in Turkey. Drawing on Ahmed's concept of 'stranger danger' and Agamben's 'bare life', it becomes evident that these individuals are systematically positioned as outsiders, devoid of rights and recognition within the Turkish national identity. This exclusion manifests across various spheres of life, including housing, employment, and social interactions, where discriminatory practices perpetuate their precarity and reinforce their status as 'strangers'. The participants' experiences highlight how intersecting forms of marginalisation – rooted in xenophobia, homophobia, and structural barriers – undermine their access to basic rights, resources, and dignity. These dynamics are not unique to Turkey but resonate globally, underscoring the urgency of addressing such systemic injustices. The consistent erasure of ethnic and queer identities within both the dominant Turkish society and marginalised ethnic communities reflects a broader inability to accommodate diversity and intersectionality, further compounding the challenges faced by these individuals.

The experiences shared by the participants illustrate the pervasive nature of exclusion and marginalisation faced by refugees and Turkish citizens of different ethnic origins within Turkey. Through the lens of racism, nationalism, and xenophobia, these individuals encounter systemic discrimination that reinforces their status as 'others', rendering them invisible or unworthy of full inclusion within both their ethnic communities and Turkish society at large. This process of 'othering' intersects with their LGBTQ+ identities, further complicating their sense of belonging and identity. Whether through nationalistic exclusion in social spaces or the racism embedded in dating apps, the stories

highlight how cultural and ethnic differences, combined with sexual identities, expose individuals to a range of social vulnerabilities. As Arendt and Ahmed suggest, the precariousness of these marginalised lives – marked by a constant awareness of being perceived as outsiders – reflects the structural power dynamics at play. These individuals navigate a complex landscape where survival often requires a constant negotiation of their identity, embodying a 'bare life' that is shaped by exclusionary forces rooted in national and racial ideologies. Addressing these forms of discrimination requires a broader societal shift that recognises the intersecting nature of identities and creates more inclusive spaces for marginalised communities.

The narratives shared by participants in this study highlight the intersection of hate speech, racism, and violence experienced by marginalised individuals, particularly LGBTQ+ refugees and Turkish citizens of different ethnic origins. These experiences reveal the complex layers of violence – physical, sexual, and structural – that arise from a toxic mix of nationalist, racist, and homophobic discourses. The violence described is not only the result of direct physical assaults but also a consequence of dehumanising ideologies, often fuelled by media portrayals that frame Turkish citizens of different ethnic origins and refugees as a threat to national values. For example, participant no. 20 recounts being sexually assaulted by an employer, a scenario that underscores the vulnerability of refugees without social or economic support, where their survival depends on the goodwill of those in power. This precariousness is compounded by the perception that refugees and Turkish citizens of different ethnic origins have no intrinsic value in Turkish society, as articulated by Judith Butler's concept of 'grievability', where certain lives are rendered invisible or unworthy of protection. Additionally, for Kurdish participants, their ethnic identity intersects with their queerness, resulting in violence not only from the broader Turkish society but also from within their own communities. This intra-group violence, as demonstrated by participants no. 34, 35, and 11, highlights the internalised prejudices and cultural pressures that exist even among marginalised ethnic groups. These individuals, already oppressed due to their ethnic background, face further marginalisation because of their sexual orientation, revealing how ethnic and sexual identities can create compounded vulnerabilities.

Overall, the study emphasises the need to consider how multiple forms of discrimination – racism, nationalism, homophobia – intersect to produce unique forms of violence against marginalised individuals. On the other hand, this study is important in terms of revealing how LGBTQ+ individuals who are Turkish citizens but are not considered to be truly Turkish due to their ethnic origin and LGBTQ+ refugee individuals are exposed to similar experiences of violence and are marginalised.

The participants' stories underscore the importance of creating more inclusive spaces and addressing the intersecting oppressions that contribute to the vulnerability of LGBTQ+ refugees and Turkish citizens of different ethnic origins. Recognising and challenging these multiple layers of discrimination can help foster solidarity and create meaningful change for marginalised communities.

Declaration

As part of this study, the ChatGPT program was utilised to check for grammatical errors and ensure the accuracy of English translations.

Author contributions

CRediT: **Burcu Gümüş:** Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Methodology, Writing – original draft; **Jón Ingvar Kjaran:** Supervision, Writing – review & editing.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author, upon reasonable request.

ORCID

Burcu Gümüş http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2643-2744
Jón Ingvar Kjaran http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6221-6382

References

Agamben, G. 2020. *Kutsal insan, egemen, iktidar ve çıplak hayat*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
Ahmed, S. 2000. *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-coloniality*. London: Routledge.
Ahmed, S. 2004. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. London: Routledge.
Arendt, H. 2013. *İnsanlık durumu*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
Aydın, Z. 2002. "Uncompromising Nationalism: The Kurdish Question in Turkey." In *The Politics of Permanent Crises: Class, Ideology and State in Turkey*, edited by N. Balkan, and S. Savran, 85–105. Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers.
Bali, R. N. 1998. "Resmî ideoloji ve gayri müslim yurttaşlar." *Birikim* 105-106:170–176.
Bayramoğlu, Y. 2021. "Border Panic Over the Pandemic: Mediated Anxieties About Migrant Sex Workers and Queers During the AIDS Crises in Turkey." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44:1589–1606.
Bowleg, L. 2013. "Once You've Blended the Cake, You Can't Take the Parts Back to the Main Ingredients: Black gay and Bisexual Men's Descriptions and Experiences of Intersectionality." *Sex Roles* 68:754–767. https://doi.org/110.1007s11199-012-01524.
Braun, V., and V. Clarke. 2019. "Psikolojide tematik analizin kullanımı." *Journal of Qualitative Research in Education* 7 (2): 873–898. https://doi.org/10.14689/issn.2148-2624.1.7c.2s.17m.
Butler, J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge.
Butler, J. 2005. *Kırılgan hayat- Yasın ve şiddetin gücü*. İstanbul: Metis.
Dardağan, K. E. 2013. "An Overview and Discussion of the New Turkish Law on Foreigners and International Protection." *Perceptions* 18 (3): 109–128.
Elder, K. 2006. "Europe's Borders: The Narrative Construction of the Boundaries of Europe." *European Journal of Social Theory* 9 (2): 255–271. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431006063345.
Fish, S. 1997. "Boutique Multiculturalism, or Why Liberals Are Incapable of Thinking About Hate Speech." *Critical Inquiry* 23:378–395.
Göle, N. 1997. "The Quest for the Islamic Self Within the Context of Modernity." In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by S. Bozdoğan, and R. Kasaba, 81–99. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
Gülalp, H. 1997. "Modernization Policies and Islamist Politics in Turkey." In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by S. Bozdoğan, and R. Kasaba, 52–63. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
Kadıoğlu, A. 2008. *Vatandaşlığın dönüşümü- Üyelikten haklara*. İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık.

Keneş, HÇ. 2015. *Yeni ırkçılığın kirli ötekileri: Kürtler, Aleviler, Ermeniler*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları.
Korkut, U. 2017. "Applying the Theory of Discursive Analysis to Governance of Forced Migration." *Middle East Journal of Refugee Studies* 2 (2): 144–160. https://doi.org/10.12738/mejrs.2017.2.2.0113.
Matsuda, M. J. 1989. "Public Response to Racist Speech: Considering the Victim's Story." *Michigan Law Review* 87 (8): 2320–2381.
McClure, E. 2020. "Escalating Linguistic Violence: From Microaggressions to Hate Speech." In *Microaggressions and Philosophy*, edited by L. Freeman, and J. W. Schroer, 121–145. New York: Routledge.
Oran, B. 2004. *Türkiye'de azınlıklar kavramlar, teori, lozan, iç mevzuat, içtihat, uygulama*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
Oran, B. 2023, July 27. *Lozan'da dil hakları ve Türkiyeli Kürtler*. BaskinOran. https://baskinoran.com/lozanda-dil-haklari-ve-turkiyeli-kurtler/.
Rosen, J., V. Ciudad-Real, S. Angst, and G. Painter. 2023. "Rental Affordability, Coping Strategies, and Impacts in Diverse Immigrant Communities." *Housing Policy Debate* 33 (6): 1313–1332. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2021.201801.
Salehi, S. 2020. "The Significance of Turkish Language Reforms of Early Republican Turkey in the Creation of the Modern Turkish Nation-State." *Journal of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations* 12:55–66.
Şenol, S. D., and U. Yıldız. 2017. "Göçün jeopolitiği ve Türkiye'nin coğrafi kısıtlaması üzerine farklı bir yorum." *Toplum ve Bilim* 140:93–106.
Tekin, F. 2023. Türkiye'de din, inanç veya inançsızlık temelli nefret suçları raporu 2022. İnancozgurlugugirisimi. https://inancozgurlugugirisimi.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/iog-nefret-sucu-raporu-2023-web.pdf.
Ünlü, B. 2018. *Türklük sözleşmesi – Oluşumu, işleyişi ve krizi*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları.
Üstübici, A. 2019. "The Impact of Externalized Migration Governance on Turkey: Technocratic Migration Governance and the Production of Differentiated Legal Status." *Comparative Migration Studies* 7 (46): 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0159-x.
Weidinger, T., and S. Kordel. 2023. "Access to and Exclusion from Housing Over Time: Refugees' Experiences in Rural Areas." *International Migration* 61:54–71.
Yanarışık, O. 2017. "Rise of Islamophobia in Germany, France and Switzerland After 9-11." *Ombudsman Akademik* 4 (7): 101–125.
Yeğen, M. 1999. *Devlet söyleminde Kürt sorunu*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
Yıldırım, A., and H. Şimşek. 2018. *Sosyal bilimlere nitel araştırma yöntemleri*. Ankara: Seçkin.
Yılmaz, A. 2014. "Türkiye'de yabancıların sınırdışı edilmesi: Uygulama ve yargısal denetim." In *Sınır ve Sınırdışı: Türkiye'de Yabancılar, Göç ve Devlete Disiplinlerarası Bakışlar*, edited by D. Danış, and İ Soysuren, 207–245. İstanbul: NotaBene Yayınları.
Zengin, A. 2024. *Violent Intimacies: The Trans Everyday and the Making of an Urban World*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Ziersch, A., N. Loehr, and K. Miller. 2023. "Discrimination in the Private Rental "Market in Australia: Large Families from Refugee Backgrounds." *Housing Studies* 39 (11):2938–2962. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2023.2238626.