

Burcu ŞENTÜRK

Precarity, Gender and Migration: The Case of the Professional Syrian Male Migrants in Turkey¹

1 Introduction

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) underlined that the world is facing the most severe refugee crisis in the last 20 years regarding the armed conflict in Syria. Due to the severe armed conflict in Syria, millions of Syrians have been displaced and left Syria to find asylum. Turkey witnessed an unprecedented mass migration movement in 2011 and host the largest number of Syrian refugees. According to the official numbers, approximately 3.610.398 million refugees from Syria live in Turkey by 2019 and the number of Syrians remaining in the camps is 112.708 (DGMM, 2018).

The migration process has economic, political, social and cultural repercussions both on Syrian refugees and on the people living in Turkey. In that sense, growing Syrian population in Turkey takes the attention of the academic research inevitably. A significant body of literature emerged in a diverse spectrum from studies focusing on legal schema and its effect on the living conditions of Syrians (see Yıldız and Uzgören 2016, Kirişçi 2014), integration to labor market and society (see İçduygu and Şimşek 2016) to media representation (Yaylacı and Karakuş 2015). Gender relations stand for a major field of study not only in the case of Syrians in Turkey but also for the migrant communities in many other cases because of the significant impact of migration on the gender relations. The gendered characteristics of the migration have long been admitted by the researchers, particularly by feminists (Morokvasic 1984, Pessar and Mahler 2003). The primacy of gender in migration is well explained and discussed in Fitzpatrick's work on US migration policy where she suggested that gender goes beyond being a simple variable in migration, being rather an organizing principle and (1997:24) "being female, like being male, strongly shapes the direction and consequences of many migrations" (1997:24–25). Admitting the gendered characteristic of the migration flows triggered the researchers look

1 The preliminary findings of the research were presented in the XIX. ISA World Congress of Sociology, Toronto, 2018.

at the women's migration stories besides the gender relations through migration. Main studies on the gender dimension of the migration were initiated by the works on women's migration stories and later a growing body of studies appear questioning the impact of migration on masculinities, femininities besides the family patterns (see Walters et al. 2004, Choi 2019), and have shown that the migration is a gendered process.

Following the feminists' standpoint, this study draws from the assumption that the gender is an organizing principle to be used in understanding the migration and proposes to understand complexity caused by the migration process in gender roles and relations. For this aim, the masculinities of the Syrian men who used to work in professional occupations before migrating to Turkey and are not able to continue on their professions are focused on. Based on the narratives of the professional Syrian men in İzmir, this study aims at exploring the effect of changing social/legal/economic status on masculinities, gender roles within family and Syrian men's coping strategy with loss of status in their new social setting.

2 Syrians in Turkey

Until the late 1980s, Turkey used to be a migrant-sender country; however, various conflicts in neighboring countries transform it into a rather transit as well as a destination country. Turkey has been both a transit and destination country for migrants since the 1990s, but the migratory patterns have changed after it has had more than 4 million Syrians in the past and currently hosted the majority of the Syrians who fled to find asylum. It has never hosted such a large number of immigrants as it now does as a result of the Syria crisis, with the number hitting more than 3 million.

Despite the extensive use of the concept of refugee for the Syrians in Turkey in media as well as the political and academic discourse, it is better to recite the absence of the refugee status for the Syrians in Turkey. In the very basic terms, they are not granted the status of refugee legal due to the geographic restriction of the related legal documents. Turkey is one of the original signatories of the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and under this regulation, Turkey is legally obliged to grant refugee status only to European citizens seeking asylum due to events occurring in Europe (Kaya 2017). Turkey may grant limited protection in the form of one of many temporary statuses such as conditional refugee status, humanitarian residence permit, or temporary protection for those coming from outside of this zone, (Kadköy 2017). October 2014, Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) oversees the legal status of Syrians as Foreigners under Temporary Protection. As a result of the geographical limitation by the 1951 Refugee Convention, the legal status of the

war-escaped Syrians are not refugees due to the legal restriction and they are considered under Turkey's Law on Foreigners and International Protection. While Turkey grants non-European asylum applicants the status of "conditional refugee," unlike other refugees, "Syrian refugees are neither registered by the UNHCR nor offered 'conditional refugee' status by Turkey"; rather, "the Turkish state grants them 'temporary protection', which provides them access to public services such as education and health care" (Sarı and Dinçer, 2017: 60–61). The Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), specialized government institution with offices throughout Turkey, is the main body responsible for the registration of all individuals under the temporary protection regime.

The Temporary Protection Regulation enshrines a range of rights, services and assistance for beneficiaries of temporary protection. This includes, among others, access to health, education, social assistance, psychological support and access to the labor market. So, although Syrians are not legally excluded from the economic life, the temporary protection does not automatically provide Syrians the right to work. There are criterion and long process for both businesses employing Syrians and Syrians who want to work. As a result, less than 1 percent of Syrians of working age are in the formal labor market (Kaya 2017). In the early stages of the migration, Syrians entering Turkey with valid passports were allowed to apply for residence permits and then for the right to work. Nevertheless, most of the Syrian incomers have no passport, and the ones with valid passports cannot renew them before the expiration. Since the application process was long and cumbersome, Syrians, no matter what their qualifications, were mostly employed illegally and often paid very low wages (Kızıl 2016).

Turkey now has a legal framework that allows employment of Syrian nationals, but due to limitations of the law, the number of people who can realistically get work permits is very small. Since January 2016, the estimated 250,000 to 400,000 Syrians working in Turkey have been eligible to obtain work permits if they are registered with the government and have been in the country for at least six months.

3 Methodology

This study is based on the narratives of the Syrian men who used to work in professional occupations before migrating to Turkey and currently are not able to continue on their professions and have to work in/search for lower status jobs in which they are neither supposed to use nor have the chance of using their skills and full professional capacity. The fieldwork of the study took place in İzmir where the current numbers of the Syrians under temporary production exceed 130.000 according to the official data (DGMM 2018) and the number is expected

Tab. 1: Sample of the Research

Participant	Age	# of Children	Profession	Duration of Stay in Turkey (months)
Osman	28	1	Mechanical Engineer	16
Nazmi	47	4	Teacher	48
Şerif	57	1	Lawyer	30
Karun	56	5	General	36
Mahmud	34	2	Electric Engineer	8
İsmail	38	6	Academician	6

to be more than the official authorities declared. İzmir is located in the west of the country and is a departure point for refugees who want to emigrate to EU countries and act as an important transit hub and hotspot for refugees. Men who were interviewed in the framework of this study are also asked their reason to come to İzmir among the other cities of Turkey. The most significant reason to choose to come to İzmir is the availability of job opportunities compared to the other cities and network of Syrians in which they might collaborate with their neighbors, family members and relatives.

Target group of this study is reached through a snowball sampling. This technique is a method that “yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristics that are of research interest” (Biernacki and Waldford 1981:141). As Bailey (1994: 96) mentions, snowball sampling is useful for the study of groups where respondents may not be visible and routine sampling procedures may be impractical. The field research includes the interviews held with six Syrian men living in İzmir. The selection of the target group members is generated on two criteria. The first criterion for the sampling was the changing position of the men in the labor market. So, only the Syrian men who used to perform a White-collar, prestigious profession but not able to continue in Turkey are selected. Moreover, only married men within this group are selected to the sample in order to be able to ask the questions about the change in gender roles among the couples. As illustrated in the Tab. 1, apart from their marital status, country of origin and position in the labor market, maximum variation is aimed in terms of age, number of children, destination before Turkey and duration in İzmir and Turkey.

Interviews with Syrian men were conducted in their native languages with the help of an interpreter, transcribed by the research. Due to the legal restrictions by Migration Office, interviews were not recorded. In order to minimize the

loss of information during the interview in the absence of the voice recorder, the researcher had pre-prepared questionnaire form which include the possible answers, and thanks to the spontaneous translation, time is gained to take notes. Immediately after each interview, the researcher and the interpreter work on the interview notes and note down their observations about the interview. So, in line with the principles of qualitative research, which are based on text and writing (Flick 2007), the primary sources of data on which this study is based are the narratives of the Syrian men.

Considering the multiple methods used and that the aim is to describe “a specific group in fine detail and to explain the patterns that exist, certainly not to discover general laws of human behavior” (Schofield 2002: 201), this study is based on qualitative research methods and prioritizes the richness of the data as much as possible. In brief, the aim is to present a slice of the transformation in lifestyles, social settings and family relations of Syrian men. Since “every instance of human interaction represents a ‘slice from the lifeworld’” (Denzin 1983), even the narrative of a single interviewee has a value.

4 Gender, Work and Masculinity

Gender, based on the very definition of the terminology, connotes the unitability of the sex roles and is open to continuous change throughout the life course of individuals as well as affected by the race, class, ethnicity, and other forms of social stratification. In this point, the concept of intersectionality is called as an explanatory key word. Intersectionality, coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) and developed by a series of feminist scholars (see Smith 2013), describes the experience of multiple forms of oppression and asserts how all aspects of social and political identities (gender, race, class, sexuality, disability, etc.) discrimination overlap/intersect.

Considering the discussions developed around the concept of intersectionality, gender goes far beyond the binarities of the women and men categories and does not have to follow the biological sex and the binarities; it is multiple and built (Butler 2006). Masculinities are the direct outcome of the gendered social relations and is continuously (re)built by daily practices (Kimmel and Messner, 2001). So, despite of being a constructed identity with some norms, the meaning of the masculinity changes in accordance with the historical, social and economic, geographic settings (Özarslan 2016:73). What brings together the variety of masculinities is the power over women and their interest driving of this power (Kimmel 2004, Connell 2012, Kimmel and Messner 2001). R. W Connell suggests (1) division of labor, (2) the structure of power and (3) the structure

of cathexis as the main frameworks to be used in analyzing and understanding the basic structures where any gender regime is organized (see Connell, 1987). Among these frameworks, division of labor is mostly highlighted by the scholars and in many parts of the world financially supporting one's family, and being breadwinner is without a doubt considered as the defining features of masculinity (Gutman 2003, Lamont 2000).

The 1990s and 2000s, when the impact of globalization was most visible, saw the continuation and maturation of the structural adjustment policies that had begun to be implemented during the 1980s as well as the completion of economic liberalization and the consolidation of neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore 2002:374). The implementation of neoliberal policies during the 1980s and the intensification of these policies throughout the 1990s and 2000s have had a direct impact on the labor market. It could be suggested that neoliberal policies created economic insecurity, decrease in real wages, degradation and dispersion of basic employment and enlarging of informal labor market (Goldstein 2005:397, Kaya 2017). The result was turning precarious work to the regular form of work through which nonnegligible number of people earn life. Discussions on the capitalist reorganization of the work and class relations marked the analysis of the concept of precarity in a variety of disciplines of social science. The concept is overwhelmingly attached to the position in the labor market in a way replacing the traditional category of class (Bourdieu 1998, Standing 2014). However, the connotation of the concept has gone beyond the position in the labor market with the feminist researchers' suggestions for gender lens for the concept (Butler 2006). Moreover, the inextricable link between work and masculinities result in emerging literature on masculinities and precarity. In this regard, participants are asked a series of questions to understand the nature of their new occupations and their perceptions.

Interviewed men who used to be occupied in prestigious jobs started to be occupied in precarious jobs in which they were not well-paid, protected by law and could be dismissed without any notice and not paid. So, the first finding is about the precarity of the new working conditions. A great deal of uncertainty of the work seems to cover all the aspects of their work in Turkey. Uncertainty appears as the flexibility of the times of working as a repeated category in the narratives of the respondents. Osman who is 28 years old, married and father of two, had been working in İzmir for 2 months after working in Kayseri around a year at the time of the interview. He used to be a mechanical engineer back in Syria; he described his work in Turkey as follows: *Work is intermittent. For example, we work one day and wait for a week for the other work.* Şerif, who used to be a lawyer, was unemployed at the time of the interview. However, he has been occupied in intermittent jobs, and he has worked in a number of occupations in

his three-year duration of his stay in Turkey. His last job was a kitchen porter in a restaurant where he was the only Syrian. In the absence of any form of job security, he told that he was fired all of a sudden by the wife of the boss while he was cleaning and he has been looking for a job for two months after his firing.

Data based on the interviews with the Syrian men indicate high levels of uncertainty about the payments of the work. Despite the fact that all the interviewees mention they have not been paid their full salary at least once after they come to Turkey, none had gone through a formal and institutional complaint. The reason for not applying to police office or a related legal body for complain is explained through their migrant status. Mahmud was looking for a regular job at the time we met in an NGO run by Syrians in İzmir. He holds a bachelor's degree in Electronic Engineering and used to work in Saudi Arabia before coming to Turkey. He told me that due to the visa restrictions he could not look for another job in Saudi Arabia after his contract finish and he could not turn back to Syria because of the severe conflict and this is why he is now in Turkey with his family. Since he was not able to find a job as an engineer he was working daily jobs at the time of the interview. He told, "I worked in Kayseri for a month and they did not pay. I'd like to complain but I was told, 'You are Syrian.'"

The vulnerable position of the Syrian men in the job market does not only reflect in the uncertainty of the work and their fear of legal authorities, but also in the requirements of the job. The accounts of the interviewees reveal that in the job market open to the Syrian migrant workers almost regardless of their skills and trainings, the employees' expectations are greater. Thus, Syrian men insist on the fact that Syrians are expected to work more in tougher conditions for less money compared to the local working class. Nazim's comment on the working relations in the job market explain the situation as follows: *If the job was hard, they only call me, since I was Syrian. They did not ask Turks to do the physically hard jobs. Although there were so many younger workers than me, they asked me to do the hardest work.*

It was not surprising that Nazmi would like to talk more about the challenging requirements of the job market for Syrians and the greater expectations of the employees since he hurt his back in his last job in a bakery and was not able to work at the time we met. Serif's account on his last job in restaurant seems to summarize the precarity of their position in the labor market by listing the uncertainties:

I was the only worker in the restaurant. I worked from 7 am to 7 pm for 40 liras per day without insurance. Sometimes I was not paid on the payment day. After 5–6 months, they

fired me because I was Syrian. The work was too tiring. I worked for 2 months. The wife of the boss came and told me not come anymore. Although the other told her that my work was equal to 10 men's work, she fired me since she did not want older workers. I was working 12 hours a day and 6 days in a week for only 200 liras.

The stories revealed by the interviewees indicate that migrants consider job market in Turkey and their jobs in particular in a comparative way with their opportunities in their home country. In this way, they do not only compare the jobs in two different national labor market but also their comparison takes place between professional jobs and blue-collar manual jobs. The respondents told that they used to work five to eight hours per day and the money they get was enough for the survival of the whole family. So working times are what they mostly highlight as the difference between their changing working conditions. On the other hand, this comparison itself was class based as they compare their precarious status with middle class in Syria. Şerif's evaluation reveals the common comparison made by the interviewees:

In Syria everyone has certain working hours. . . Let me give you some examples. . . as doctors work from 8 am to 3 pm, engineers from 9 am to 2 pm, officers usually work from 9am to 2 pm. Only in some construction business workers work for 12 hours.

5 Social Relations

The major aspect of the Syrian men lives which are tremendously affected by the migration process is social relations in daily practices. Men that I interviewed were circled with people from the same class and education background as they used to socialize with their colleagues occupied in white collar jobs, and socializing with men from the same educational and class background stands for a large part of their daily routine. When Ismail, who has taught in Iraqi and Syrian universities, is asked to explain about his social life in Turkey, he mentioned that he lost all his social network and said he had no friends now. He explained the absence of any friends through long hours of work as following:

When I was in Syria, my friends were from the university. I have no friends here, just the neighbors. When I was in my country, the people around me were equal to me. Here I worked 12 hours a day and in my off days I go to sea with my family.

Osman's account, as well as İsmail's testimony presented above, on the change of the social relations after migrating to Turkey indicates an intense relation between ones' position in the labor market with social relations: *In Syria, I was chatting with judges and hanging around with lawyers, my colleagues. But here I have no friends, I always stay at home, rarely I go shopping to Basmane.*

The accounts of the interviewees revealed that shared nationality and status of migrations have replaced the occupational, educational and class-based segregation. However now, they either do not socialize with any men apart from their family members or socialize with only working class men regardless of their nationality.

6 Transition in Gender Dynamics

The inability of continuing their jobs in Turkey combined to the cost of migration and higher life expenses in Turkey for Syrian men. This pushed children at schooling age and women at household to the labor force. The participation of women and children in labor market challenged the classical patriarchal position of men at home as the main breadwinner, and this has had an impact on the gender relations. Working of children and women were options for three respondents in the sample, namely Şerif, Karun and Nazmi. Those men were older than a certain age, and it could be suggested that their age is an important variable in understanding participation of female members and children to the paid-work outside the home. First of all, their age limited their physical capacity which becomes their basic asset to find a job in Turkey whereas it used to be their professional knowledge and mental work back in Syria. Their limited physical power also shrinks their job opportunities in the labor market, and the available jobs for them are intermittent and low paid. Second, they had no children in need of care, so their wives and young adult daughters can work outside. In that point, Mahmud, father of two, told that despite the fact that he would let his wife to work since survival in Turkey is not possible only with his income, however, they have to wait until two children get old enough to stay at home alone.

Şerif, who used to be a well-known lawyer in his hometown, had been working in precarious and temporary jobs, and so his income is unstable and was not sufficient for the survival of the whole family as it used to be. His wife had never worked back in Syria though she holds a bachelor's degree, started to work as a kitchen porter. At the time of the interview, his adult daughter, who used to be an Arabic teacher in Syria, was living with them and learning Turkish to find a job.

Dissolving of the desirable patriarchal cultural norm of men outside, women inside do not only make changes within family relations but create a new position that has the potential to push men into an identity crisis. Nazmi injured his back as a result of an accident in his last workplace and had to stop working for a while without any compensation. His testimony about his and his wife and children's position in the family and labor market shows us how the societal norms about gender division of labor and social control mechanisms affect this situation:

If I had a proper job that I was qualified for, I would not let my two sons work and I would send them to school. My younger son, at the age of 10, would start to middle school in Syria, now he has to work for 70 liras per week. My wife worked, too. Syrians here were gossiping about us that «he stays at home, sitting down as a man, while his wife is working outside» I get so upset when I hear those. But they are not in the same position, they have adult sons who are able work.

His account seems to confirm validity of the gendered division of labor where men should be working outside as the main breadwinner, and this is why he needs to explain his special situation.

Our interview with Karun revealed another perspective about change in gender relations within the family. He used to be a high-ranked soldier who had his own driver. He opened a falafel shop after coming to Turkey, and he was the only interviewee who does not need to work in a manual job which needs physical capacity. His wife, who holds a master's degree in English language, used to work as a teacher and stopped working in Turkey as she would not be able to find an equivalent job, he told me. His teenage daughters were attending vocational courses launched by the local NGOs and paid upon their participation. Karun told me that the daughters were not asking his permission to participate in those courses and would like to work after they finish although they do not need it financially. His changing relations with the family reflect downsizing of his power as a prestigious soldier as a result of the migration.

7 Conclusion

A wide literature on the migration of men, both internationally and urban-to rural, displays that migration may turn into a functional instrument for the reproduction of masculinity and a ground that men fulfill their roles as male breadwinner in the geographies where economic sources are rather limited. On the other hand, a growing body of literature on humans' mobility shows that migration has the capacity to loosen the rigid gender roles and gendered division of labor as well as the tight connection between being male and main breadwinner, as migration may result in downward mobility, loss of social status and changing power hierarchies in families (See Choi,2019, Şentürk 2016).

Following the literature focusing on impact of migration on family relations, this study underlines the theoretical intersection of masculinities and precarity by using qualitative data on the changing positions of the professional Syrian men in the labor market which is one of the major areas on which the masculinity is focused. Most of the Syrian men, who used to hold professional occupations before the migration, are not able to continue on their professions and have to work in/

search for lower status jobs in which they are neither supposed to use nor have the chance of using their skills and full professional capacity in Turkey. Drawing upon the narratives of the Syrian men, this study aims at exploring the effect of changing social/legal/economic status on masculinities, gender roles within family and Syrian men's coping strategy with loss of status in their new social setting.

Professional Syrian men were not able to continue their job which they have been trained for and experienced due to labor market and legal restrictions, language barriers. Inability of continuing their jobs inevitably push men to find out other jobs, and they mostly find jobs which are based on physical capacity and require almost no other skill. In these occupations, Syrian men had no job security and were little paid. They, as the new precariat of Turkey, become the targets and the beneficiaries of the social assistance programs conducted by the government and the NGOs. Considering the rather higher life expenses in Turkey and the cost of migration, under these circumstances, one salary at home is not sufficient for the survival of the family as it used to be; therefore, the children and the women, who are not used to work, start to take part in labor market as a part of survival. So, migration brings socially downward mobility which goes hand in hand with decreasing of life standards for men and change in gender relations relating to the economic activity. The inability of preserving advantageous position in labor market and their social and legal status pushed them into a new negotiation between their masculinities and conditions of a new social setting.

This study contributes to the discussions on the fluidity and contextuality of the gender, besides the masculinities, through the stories of professional Syrian men who migrated to Turkey following the armed conflict in Syria. The stories of professional Syrian men reconfirmed the contextuality of gender and gender relations besides the power dynamics at home as well as the gendered characteristics of migration. Considering the precise connection between femininities and masculinities, the change in gender role and identity of men should be considered with that of women's. In this regard, the results here call for a combined study of men and women in terms of understanding empowering and disempowering impact of migration which is a gendered process.

Bibliography

- Bailey, Kennet, (1994), *Methods of Social Research*, New York: Free Press.
- Bettio, Francesca, Annamaria, Simonazzi, and Paola, Villa, (2006), "Change in Care Regimes and Female Migration: The 'Care Drain'in the Mediterranean", *Journal of European Social Policy*, Vol. 16, N. 3, pp. 271–285.

- Biernacki, Patrick and Dan, Waldorf, (1981), “Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling”, *Sociological Methods & Research*, Vol. 10, N. 2, pp. 141–163.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, (1998), *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Brenner, Neil and Nik, Theodore, (2002), “Cities and the Geographies of ‘Actually Existing Neoliberalism’”, *Antipode*, Vol. 34, N. 3, pp. 349–379.
- Butler, Judith, (2006), *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, New York: Verso.
- Choi, Susanna, (2019), “Migration, Masculinity, and Family”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 45, N. 1, pp. 78–94.
- Connell, Raewyn, (1987), *Gender and Power*, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, Raewyn, (2012), “Masculinity Research and Global Change”, *Masculinities & Social Change*, Vol. 1, N. 1, pp. 4–18.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle, (1989), “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics”, *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, Vol. 1989, Iss.1, Article 8. Available at: <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=ucl39>.
- Denzin, Norman, (1983), “Interpretive Interactionism”, (G. Morgan, Ed.), *Beyond Method: Strategies for Social Research*, Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.
- Directorate General of Migration Management DGMM, (2018), *Migration Statistic*. Retrieved from https://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik/migration-statistics_915_1024, (05.05.2020).
- Erdoğan, Mustafa and Ünver, Can, (2015), *Türk İş Dünyasının Türkiye’deki Suriyeliler Konusundaki Görüş, Beklenti ve Önerileri*, Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu.
- Fitzpartick, Joan and Katrina, R. Kelly, (1998), “Gendered Aspects of Migration: Law and the Female Migrant”, *Hastings Int’l & Comp. L. Rev.*, Vol. 22, p. 47.
- Flick, Uwe, (2007), *Using Visual Data in Qualitative Analysis*, London, California, New Delhi, Pekin: SAGE Publications.
- Goldstein, M. Daniel, (2005), “Flexible Justice: Neoliberal Violence and ‘Self-Help’ Security in Bolivia”, *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol. 25, N. 4, pp. 389–341.
- Göktuna, Yaylacı, F. and Karakuş, Mine, (2015), “Perceptions and Newspaper Coverage of Syrian Refugees in Turkey”, *Migration Letters*, Vol. 12, N. 3, pp. 238–250.

- Gutmann, C. Matthew, (2003), "Introduction: Discarding Manly Dichotomies in Latin America" (Matthew C. Gutmann, Ed.) *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 1–26.
- İçduygu, Ahmet and Şimşek, Duygu, (2016), "Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Towards Integration Policies", *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 15, N. 3, pp. 59–69.
- Kadkoy, Omar, (2017), "Syrians in Turkey: Is Work Permit Regulation Enough", *Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey*. Blog. Retrieved from www.tepav.org.tr/en/blog/s/5929 (01.05.2020).
- Kaya, Ayhan, (2017), "A Tale of Two Cities: Aleppo and Istanbul", *European Review*, Vol. 25, N. 3, pp. 365–387.
- Kimmel, M. Scott, (2004), "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity" (Peter Murphy, Ed.), *Feminism and Masculinities, Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kimmel, Michael and Messner, Michael, (2001), "Boyhood, Organized Sports and the Construction of Masculinities" (Michael Kimmel and Michael Messner Eds.), *Men's Lives*, Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Kirişçi, Kemal, (2014), *Syrian Refugees and Turkey's Challenges: Going Beyond Hospitality*. Report. Washington, DC: Brookings, pp. 1–46, Retrieved from <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2014/05/12-turkey-syrian-refugees-kirisici/syrian-refugees-and-turkeys-challenges-may-14-2014.pdf>, (03.04.2020).
- Kızıl, Cihan, (2016), "Turkey's Policy on Employment of Syrian Refugees and Its Impact on the Turkish Labor Market", *Turkish Migration 2016 Selected Papers*, (Deniz Eroğlu, Jeffrey H. Cohen, and İbrahim Sirkeci, Eds.), London: TPL.
- Lamont, Michele, (2000), *The Dignity of Working Men: Morality and the Boundaries of Race, Class, and Immigration*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Morokvasic, Mirjana, (1984), "Birds of Passage Are Also Women", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 18, N. 4, pp. 886–907.
- Özarlan, Osman, (2016), *Hovarda Âlemi: Taşrada Eğlence ve Erkeklik*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Pessar, Patricia R., and J. Mahler, Sarah, (2002), "Transnational Migration: Bringing Gender", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 37, N. 3, pp. 812–846.

- Sarı, Elif. and Dinçer, Cemile Gizem, (2017), “Toward a New Asylum Regime in Turkey?”, *Movements*, Vol. 3, N. 2, pp. 59–81.
- Schofield, J.W., (2002). “Increasing the Generalizability of Qualitative Research” (A.Michael Huberman and Matthew B. Milles Eds). *The Qualitative Researcher’s Companion*, London: Sage Publications.
- Smith, Sharon, (2013), “Black Feminism and Intersectionality”, *International Socialist Review*, Issue 91. <https://isreview.org/issue/91/black-feminism-and-intersectionality>, (05.05.2020).
- Standing, Guy, (2014), *The Precariat-the New Dangerous Class*, London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Şentürk, Burcu, (2016), *Urban Poverty in Turkey: Development and Modernisation in Low-Income Communities*, London, New York: IB Tauris.
- Walter, Nicholas, Philippe, Bourgois, and H. Margarita, Loinaz, (2004), “Masculinity and Undocumented Labor Migration: Injured Latino Day Laborers in San Francisco”, *Social Science & Medicine*, Vol. 59, N. 6, pp. 1159–1168.
- Yıldız, Ayselin and Elif, Uzgören, (2016), “Limits to Temporary Protection: Non-Camp Syrian Refugees in İzmir, Turkey”, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 16, N. 2, pp. 195–211.