

Resilience, Work and Gender in the (Turkish) Migratory Context Literature Review

by
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March, 2019

HEINRICH BÖLL STIFTUNG
DERNEĞİ TÜRKİYE TEMSİLCİĞİ
TURKEY REPRESENTATION

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Resilience, Work and Gender in the (Turkish) Migratory Context

Literature Review

Introduction

Turkey hosts the largest refugee population in the world since 2014. According to the Directorate General of Migration Management statistics, there are 3,635,841 Syrians under the temporary protection status by February 2019.¹ Including the Syrians today, more than four million refugees live in a ‘permanent temporariness’ in Turkey due to the country’s limitation to the 1951 Refugee Convention. Turkey provides refugee status; hence, integration becomes not an option neither to Syrians nor to the other asylum-seeking groups. In the latest statement, the Ministry of Interior declared that 76,443 Syrians acquired Turkish citizenship in January 2019. He also provided the number of work permits given to Syrians as only 65,000.² On the other hand, it is estimated that 750,000 to 950,000 Syrians are working in Turkey, most of whom performing manual labour, unskilled or semi-skilled jobs in textile, construction, other manufacturing industries and services in 2018 (Kumar et al., 2018: xvi).

According to the report by UN Women prepared in collaboration with the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) in 2018, half of the Syrian refugees living in the country are women and children. Based on structured and in-depth interviews with 1291 Syrian

¹ See the website of DGMM at: http://www.goc.gov.tr/icerik6/gecici-koruma_363_378_4713_icerik (Last accessed on 1 March 2019).

² See at: <https://t24.com.tr/haber/suleyman-soylu-bu-gunc-kadar-76-bin-443-suriyeliye-vatandaslik-verdik,791996> (Last accessed on 1 March 2019).

women and girls across seven cities, the report stated that extreme poverty is a widespread problem. The women in the survey fell far below Turkey's poverty and hunger thresholds (4,979 TL and 1,518 TRY for a family of four) (UN Women and SGDD-ASAM, 2018: 6). Syrian women consider access to housing, inability to speak in Turkish (70% of the participants) and unemployment to be their primary challenges. The study found that the dropout rate for Syrian girls rises with age due to forced marriages. Main reasons for the drop are listed as child marriage, family pressure, work, household and care responsibilities (p. 8). According to the survey, only 15% of the women interviewed participated in the Turkish labour market (p.62).

The study also found that Syrian women work in either regular or irregular/seasonal work especially in agriculture, textile industry and service provision, although the fields differ from city to city. Among the employed Syrian women, the most common profession is teaching with 40%. Other jobs are tailoring (24%), agriculture (15%), hairdressing (13%) and lastly healthcare professional (5%). 85% of refugee women do not have an income-generating job in Turkey, similar to their former situation in Syria (p.19). According to the findings of the survey, employment rate among Syrian women is only at 20%. A majority of women end up dependent on their male spouse or family member (p. 45).

To have a better understanding of this economic and social situation of Syrian refugee women in Turkey, we designed a research that will focus on the labour market participation. In this research, we will take the economic participation of Syrian refugee women as a way of building resilience in a forced migratory and diasporic context. We claim that further studies could be designed based on this literature review and fill some of the gaps in the context of forced migration in Turkey. Here, is a literature review divided into three sections. Respectively, each section will analyse the literature through gender and migration, social resilience, the economic integration and activities of refugees in the host countries. Starting with the following paragraph, you can find a summary of each of

these three sections.

The first section **'Gender and Migration'**, argues that protracted situations increase vulnerability, as well as pressure of resorting to negative coping mechanisms such as child marriage, polygamy, child labour, poverty and so on. In the gender and forced migration literature, we see a division between the people on the move and those in limbo as in the case of Syrians in Turkey. We argue that protraction or –permanent temporariness- is often feminised, depoliticised and accepted as immobile and genuine (*the feminisation of asylum*). In these kinds of long-term displacement cases, the enjoyment of basic rights is restricted for years and uncertainty becomes the norm. Feminisation leads to the gendering of labour market segregation and inequality. It also refers to a change in gender relations, regarding those perceived as 'female or feminine'. Men could be feminised if they, for instance become stay-at-home fathers after losing their jobs or their status as breadwinners.

However, not much written on the 'feminisation of asylum' in the literature. This is because gender was only taken as an add-on in refugee and forced migration studies until the late 1980s. Lack of feminist and postcolonial critiques of this sub-discipline is quite eminent. Transnational ties were not also taken seriously in refugee studies and neglected. When it comes to women, only those so-called conventional women issues were analysed; such as health, education, childcare, language barrier and training. Until the early 1990s, studies were only 'on women' from a single discipline and gender was a variable like ethnicity, class, race and age. In the mid-1990s with the linguistic turn, gender started to be understood as relational, fluid and performative rather than a given, assigned and static status in social sciences. This new understanding of gender suggests that the whole migration process should be analysed as a gendered phenomenon including the lives of female and male migrants, the politics and the governance of global migration, the workplace of migrants, neoliberal and welfare state policies towards migration, diasporas and even the capitalist world system. The most important contributions of

feminist scholars to the field were on households, family relations, and social networks.

In the second section **‘Approaches to Resilience Across Disciplines’** we see that although the temporary protection system provides basic rights including the right to work and the protection against deportation, it does not lead to the necessary set-up to foster social and economic interdependence of Syrian refugees in local settings. Resilience, in a broader term, refers to the capacity of giving positive responses to the negative, possibly to the traumatic human experiences. Trauma has been conceptualised primarily through the individual psychological responses following a shock. Resilience became a pronounced research field across various academic disciplines and a key term in policy implementations. Although the literature on resilience in psychoanalytical approaches prominently highlights the individual characteristics, inner strength or mental ability in researching the issue, the findings of emerging research uncover the strong tie between the resilience and the social, economic and political environment. In other words, resilience is not only a personal trait or individual attribute, but it is a social phenomenon. Considering the resilience as a social phenomenon, the term ‘social resilience’ provides understanding without “medicalising” and “pathologising” the concept. Resilience is not limited to the capacity of individuals struggling with trauma, but also about communities, collectives and even nations.

Social resilience is crucial in understanding the factors that enhance or constrain the actors’ potential of resiliency in a social setting. Moreover, access to social networks and possession of social and economic capital should be included in the analyses of resilience. This approach sheds light on the impact of power, hierarchies, culture and gender relations. Resilience should be conceptualised and scrutinised as a multi-dimensional and multi-layered social phenomenon in researching refugees, who are the potential sufferers of variable traumas. The dynamics of social stratification such as gender, race, class, age etc. besides the social institutions, values and norms transform resilience into a fluid concept in which the experiences

of sufferers are diverse and numerous. For instance, the related literature clearly illustrates that gender relations appear as an outstanding factor in developing the means for the resilience process. Women's potential for resilience could be inhibited by the patriarchal social values and practices of local communities, while they appear to be the prioritized beneficiaries of the inter/national empowerment programs.

In the third section **'Immigrants' Labour Market Integration'** we look at the literature on labour market integration. We see that migrants usually lose their social and cultural and financial assets while moving from one place to the other. De-qualification and losing previous networks are often seen within the migrant diaspora of the host country. In this literature, the scholars focused on different dimensions of incorporation process such as informal sector, transnational networks, ethnic markets or differentiated integration process. When it comes to refugees, they face different hardships and develop different strategies than immigrants regarding integration. In this respect, many studies investigate the legal and political conditions in which asylum seekers are a subject to. Still, other studies focus not only on what happens to refugees after they become legal workers in the host country but also their economic activities in and around refugee camps as well as their entrepreneurial activities. Refugees' economic integration and their remittance behaviour are mostly gone unnoticed, because refugees are mostly seen as transient in the host country with different legal status than their immigrant counterparts. New literature developed as a response to the studies that take legal distinction between immigrants and refugees as granted while ignoring other difference or similarities, which affect the relationship of refugees with their homeland. Some of these studies focus on the difference of refugees' decision-making process at the beginning of their initial migration, leading to the difference in their legal status. Whereas others are about the refugee obligation to remit even if they do not generate an income and about the pressure of this obligation on the households. However, these studies also take remittances both as a source of social bond between refugees and

the sending country and as a medium that refugees exercise their agency through. Another stream explores the characteristics of the economic sphere where remittances are generated as “refugee economies” (Betts et al., 2017) as an institutional context due to the different legal status of refugees and their position vis-à-vis the state. Ritchie (2018) also investigates refugee enterprises; however her focus is on the gender aspect. According to her, in refugee settings, women’s participation in economic activities may result in complex effects on gender relations.

1. Gender and Migration

Temporariness and Feminization of Asylum

According to UNHCR, a protracted refugee situation is a long-lasting state of limbo. Their lives may not be in great danger but their access to fundamental rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unmet through years in exile. Protracted situations are often the result of political action or inaction in the country of origin where fleeing from persecution happened. The situation continues due to the ongoing problems in the country of origin, where most of the time involves restrictions on freedom of movement and access to labour market and confinement to camps. As a result, refugees become dependent on external assistance and live a precarious life. Prolongation of exile for five or more years is accounted to a protracted refugee situation according to UNHCR (ExCom decision, 2004).

By looking at the situation of Salvadoran asylum seekers in the US remained in legal limbo for decades, Bailey et al. identify it as a 'permanent temporariness'. (cited in Hyndman and Glies, 2011: 361). In these kinds of long-term displacement cases, the enjoyment of basic rights, except a refugee's fundamental right to live is restricted for years and uncertainty becomes the norm. Hyndman and Giles argue that refugees who stay in transit countries under temporary statuses such as in Turkey, are not seen as a threat compared to those who are on the move towards the countries of the global North. They claim that those who stay 'in place' are both *feminised and depoliticised* for the sake of humanitarian aid and suspension of their fundamental human rights. According to them, these protracted

situations are also connected to the externalisation of asylum by the developed world (Hyndman and Glies, 2011: 362).

Verdirame and Harrell-Bond (2005: 335) argues that by accepting the countries of asylum as “waiting rooms” – refugee warehouses – before repatriation, UNHCR chooses to keep refugees at the margins of the host societies or in camps. This way, host governments might easily stir the situation, define the conditions of local integration and negotiate their sovereign rights with UNHCR and other international bodies according to their interests (cited in Hyndman and Glies, 2011: 362). In their article ‘Waiting for what? *The feminisation of asylum* in protracted situations’, Hyndman and Giles argue that without a government to protect their rights, refugees in a long-term limbo are left at the mercy of international donors and UN agencies. This causes the feminisation of asylum by which they mean the construction of distinction between two groups of refugees, those on the move and those in limbo. While refugees ‘in place’ are depicted as genuine, immobile, depoliticised, feminised, those on the move are seen as a threat to national security and the welfare state (2011: 363.)

In the same article, by drawing on Nancy Fraser’s work, Hyndman and Giles argue that humanitarian agencies and systems create gendered subjects. This feminisation leads to the attribution of certain programmes and practices as passive, helpless and static. It can also signal the gendering of labour market segregation and the production of inequalities. According to them, feminisation refers to a change in gender relations regarding those considered ‘female or feminine’. It does not need to refer to women only. Men could be feminised if they, for example become stay-at-home fathers after losing a job or their status as breadwinners (2011: 363). With reference to Enloe, they claim that a long-term displacement situation by war can nonetheless be feminised as a space of vulnerable ‘women and children’ (Enloe, 1993: 165 cited in Hyndman and Giles, 2011: 367). In sum, they argue that refugees in long-term legal limbo, waiting for the cessation of conflicts at home or an opportunity to be granted a permanent legal status

in exile, are feminized by first, the charitable systems that manage them, second, through their treatment as ‘rights-optional’ subjects (2011: 368).

As depicted, protracted refugee situations and asylum are constructed as feminised in many ways, yet when we look at the forced migration literature there is little discussion in this regard. When Hyndman (2010) prepared a special issue on the feminist politics of refugee migration, she preferred to submit it to *Gender, Place & Culture* rather than a journal dedicated explicitly to refugee studies. She explains that gender played itself out of this context. They checked all the articles since the foundation of *the Journal of Refugee Studies* in 1988 up until 2009, March and found that only 45 articles out of 497 contained references to feminism, gender or women in the abstract or title (2010: 454). Referring to Chimni (1998, 2009), she argued that theoretical and conceptual framing of refugee and forced migration studies is in the hands of scholars from wealthy countries. The absence of postcolonial and feminist critiques of this sub-discipline is eminent (2010: 454). In this introduction, she particularly emphasised that refugee transnationalism should be distinguished, as the transnational ties between refugee and country of origin are precarious and politically charged compared to labour migrants (p. 455).

‘Gender’ in Forced Migration Literature

Indra, one of the early writers on gender in refugee studies, underlined that overall discourse, practice, and research concerning the refugees is a predominantly male paradigm. This is quite clear if we look at the definition of refugee in the 1951 Geneva Convention: a refugee is a person who “from a just fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, belonging to a social group or on political convictions, is outside the country of his nationality and who cannot or will not invoke the protection of this country as a result of such fears. . . [and] will not

return to his country.” Sex and gender oppressions are omitted as criteria. Therefore, an individual risking death at the hands of majority group institutions for maintaining a minority religion (for instance a Baha’i man in Iran) fits the definition, whereas a woman (let’s say in Iran) facing death by the same majority institutions for stepping out of her traditional gender role does not (1987: 3). Male and female refugees stand in various positions when we also look at the state oppression, the process of flight, protection mechanisms at the host state and camps. Refugee women are further restrained by culture and class resources to make their problems heard starting from the initial phase of flight. They suffer from two levels of gender inequality; one from their host country and other from their source culture (1987: 4).

In a later article, Indra argued that women’s issues are identified by default as the same as those of men. The critical ways in which gender is the central element of humanitarian assistance and refugee lives were ignored entirely (1989: 222). In fact, starting from the 1970s, there was a substantial increase in research on women refugees, but those only focused on conventionally defined women’s issues such as health, education, childcare, language and training. As Barbara Harrell-Bond addressed, the articles that dealt with significant refugee issues, mentioned neither gender structures nor women at the end of the 1980s (cited in Indra, 1989: 224). We can say that the research on women was still an add-on at that stage.

According to Indra, a critical feminist approach to refugee studies could change the paradigm, which is only the ‘women as men’s equal’. It could allow a change in the formulation of policy, the bureaucratic organisation of aid provision, political decisions concerning refugees and the cause of the refugee flight. These insights could come from the incorporation of the gender lens into refugee studies which neglect an important topic that also affects men: domestic life. This makes it easier to reduce individual lives into ‘refugee flows’ or aid discourse (1989: 239).

Indra furthered her criticism in a book she edited called ‘Engendering

Forced Migration, Theory and Practice' in 1998. This book has made three editions until 2008. The basic assumption of Indra was to challenge 'gender' as simply one topic or topical frame among many others in forced migration (2008: 1). She claimed that gender is instead, a key relational dimension of human activity and thought informed by cultural and individual notions of men and women- having consequences for their social and cultural positioning and how they experience and live their lives (p. 3). She argued that academics, government policymakers and international agencies from the global North dominate the debate on refugees. Gender is attributed as another variable into this debate. The rest of the topic then, becomes primary and the big picture is framed as they are in universal and general categories. The little picture is just a qualification: how women are impacting or impacted by the phenomenon under consideration (2008: 4). She criticised that even the critical research on refugees, such as Malkki's sophisticated article (1995) contained no mention of women and gender in the 1990s. As Henrietta Moore (1988) and Helen Callaway (1987) described that even the first wave of feminist anthropology was just an answer to the ignorance of women. The aim was then to 'put the women back' into ethnographic representations where before they were completely ignored (cited in Indra, 2008: 6).

An Evolving Concept of 'Gender': from Refugee Studies to Migration Studies

In 2006, a special issue on gender and migration was edited for *the International Migration Review*. Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan and Pessar (Donato et al.) held meetings under the Gender and Migration Working Group of the International Migration Program of the Social Science Research Council in the U.S. In the editorial of the issue, they claimed that until the mid-1990s most of the scholarly work on gender and migration focused on one single discipline and women migrants. As

the work on migration became interdisciplinary, women-focused research shift happened gradually, but only some degree with the analysis of gender (p. 4). They claimed that compared to the previous special issue “Women in Migration” by Morokvasic (1984), theirs was the first multidisciplinary effort in the IMR collection. Their approach also reflected two critical changes in perspective. One of them was bringing female migration out of shadow like their precedents, meaning that female migration was equal to that of men in the world. The second one took migration as a gendered phenomenon, which required more sophisticated analytical and theoretical tools compared to the past. In this special issue, while they surveyed the development of gender analysis across some disciplines in migration studies, they firmly noted that anthropology as a discipline affecting its neighbours led to solid ground for an interdisciplinary discussion.

‘Gender’ as a term was widely used in social science already in the mid-1970s (Kofman, 2004). Those studies underlined how different societies established and assigned separate roles for men and women and as a result how public and private spheres were demarcated. Before 1985, the social science literature was dealing with culturally specific articulations of gender roles. Critiques of these binary models and culturally particularistic understandings of gender were followed by a linguistic turn led by *Butlar and Scott*. Gender started to be understood as *fluid, performative and relational* rather than a given, assigned and static status. Therefore, Donato and her colleagues showed in this special issue how this subjective, relational understanding of gender was applied to migration studies (Donato et al., 2006: 5).

Most gender analyses accept that male and female are defined in relation to each other like all the other power axes such as class, race and ethnicity. However, this new understanding of gender suggests that gendered ideologies and practices change as human beings cooperate or struggle with each other, with their pasts and with the structures of changing economic, social and political worlds connected through their

migrations (Brettell and de Berjois, 1992; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994, 2003; Mahler and Pessar, 2001 cited in Donato et. al. 2006). The whole migration process started to be analysed as a gendered phenomenon including the lives of female and male migrants, the politics and the governance of global migration, the workplace of migrants, neoliberal and welfare state policies towards migration, diasporas and even the capitalist world system (p. 6). Mahler and Pessar (2006) in this issue highlighted the contribution of feminist anthropology both in anthropology and sociology in pushing scholars in these fields to consider the epistemological debate on the limited possibilities of quantitative methods to capture subjectivity and agency of migrants (p. 14). In conclusion, Donato and her colleagues argued that future scholarship in migration studies must take the insistence of gender theorists that gender structures all human relationships and all human activities across various chronological and spatial fields of migration – “gendered geographies of migration” used as a describing term by Mahler and Pessar – According to them, in the case of refugee movements, researchers should carefully examine the structures of interethnic violence and the gendered impacts of war and conflict. The collective projects should look at migration histories, how a foreign employer or state agents work with migrants including the role of human perception, subjectivity and decision-making (p. 21).

Nawyn (2010) in her article ‘Gender and Migration: Integrating Feminist Theory into Migration Studies’ also emphasised that gender should be conceptualised as a fluid, multi-level set of practices embedded in social relations shaped by race/ethnicity, class, sexuality, and nationality. She demonstrated historically that how the term gender integrated into migration studies starting with the stage ‘add women and stir up’ approach in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Only in the late 1980s, scholars could start to focus on gender as a system of relations. One example of this shift was the special issue in IMR in 1984. By referring to Hondagneu-Sotelo (2003), she underlined how at this stage, scholars changed the understanding of gendered institutions and gender relations

through immigration by focusing on the interactions of micro and macro levels (p. 750). At the most recent stage, gender and migration research focused on how gender relations changed due to migration and settlement by drawing heavily upon the theory of Connell (1987, 2002). According to Connell, there are four dimensions of gender relations (power, production, emotional and symbolic relations) interact with one another in social institutions, with each institution having a particular regime of gender relation shaping how people's individual gender performance is constructed. This approach allowed room for the individual agency while still recognising the structural constraints upon the agency (cited in Nawyn, 2010: 751).

Migration scholarship emerging from anthropology, history, law and area studies and non-US, Canadian based sociology often incorporated more post-modern categorisations of gender, focusing on it as a discursive element (p. 72). She then, pinpointed a few areas where feminist scholars made significant contributions to the interdisciplinary area of migration studies. For instance, feminist scholars heavily criticised neo-classical economic and Marxist political economic theories of migration since they theorised migrants as rational actors embedded in social contexts without gendered power relations. With regards to labour and migration, feminist migration scholars distinguished two themes. One of them was increasing employer preference for women workers and the second one was the effect of increased labour market participation on women's power within their families (p. 753). Feminist scholars argued that the employer preferences and the institutional support those preferences received that shaped the prevalence of immigrant women and men in particular occupations, such as male migrants' presence in agriculture (p. 753).

The most significant contributions of feminist scholars to the migration field have been on households, family relations, and social networks. However, as Nawyn (2010) underlined feminist scholars also worked on refugee issues (Boyd 1999; Coven 1995; Hyndman 1998; Indra 1987, 1999; Mahmud 1996) some of which were on gender-based

prosecution in refugee law (p. 756). The latest research more focused on access to rights (political, civil, social) and membership (affiliation, belonging and exclusion) and their relation to the family configuration by the state. Ong (1999) called this the connection between ‘the moral economy of the family’ and ‘the moral economy of the nation-state’ (cited in Nawyn, 2010: 758). The lack of gender lens is evident in the economics of migration, both in the search for economic forces that drive people to migrate and the economic upward and downward mobility through migration (p. 759).

Research on Women Refugees in Turkey

Sema Buz conducted one of the early studies on women refugees in Turkey from the Department of Social Work at Hacettepe University in 2006. Focusing mostly on Iranian refugee women, Buz showed how the definition of refugee was constructed based on male asylum seekers’ experiences and how women’s political asylum claims were disregarded. Buz also analysed women’s experiences in the migration process and how they were differentiated from men. In particular, she addressed the subjectivity of women in decision-making, their increasing responsibility in the family after migration, their experiences of trauma and violence during the flight and the difficulties they face to find a job (2007: 44-45). In the Turkish forced migration literature, earlier studies mostly focused on one group of refugees such as Iranians, Iraqis or Somalis until recent times. In a comprehensive collection on migration edited by Ihlamur-Öner and Öner (2012) in Turkish, we can find the first theory-informed pieces on forced migration from different perspectives with regards to the settlement issue of the 1903s, migration from Bulgaria and the forced displacement of Kurds during the 1990s. However, under the title of ‘Women and Migration’ in the collection, there is only one article focusing on the feminist forced migration literature. In this piece, Akis

reviewed the international literature under three main topics as gender and development; women in forced migration and gender beyond women such as the situation of children, men and LGBTs in the international literature. As we did in this review, Akis also underlined the changing character of the term ‘gender’ from the 1980s onwards and showed how it transformed from an add-on topic and a binary classification to a perspective, which covered not only women but also men, the changing gender roles within the households and the feminization of migration in general.

We can argue that gender was also an add-on in Turkish literature as it was in the preliminary stages of international literature. With the arrival of Syrian refugees, we have seen a proliferation of single case studies in the form of mostly master dissertations. These studies focused on one city and women and living conditions. In terms of more advanced research, we can divide the literature into two themes as in the case of general gender and forced migration literature. Some of the most recent work on women refugees came from legal scholars such as Zeynep Kivilcim and Faika Deniz Pasha. While Kivilcim wrote on Syrian women and LGBTs; Pasha wrote on Ezidi women living in Fidanlik camp (2018). They both analysed the Turkish legal framework from a gender perspective. Most of the remaining studies on women refugees, in particular on Syrian women, were conducted by social scientists other than lawyers.

Kivilcim and Baklacioglu’s (2015) book ‘Gender in Exile: Syrian Women and LGBTI Refugees in Istanbul’ was the first comprehensive study on Syrian women in Turkish literature. They co-edited and contributed to a book later in English in 2017 based on the same fieldwork, which to be referred to later below. In this first book, the authors analysed the temporary protection and international protection legislation with a gender lens and highlighted the dependent position of women for Turkish law. This is also the first study that incorporated Turkey’s obligations under the Council of Europe Covenant on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence (Istanbul Covenant) into the gendered interpretation of Turkish legislation. In the second part of the

book, they addressed the problems of women and LGBTI refugees living in the peripheries of Istanbul. They concluded that Syrian women refugees face physical, legal and economic violence as well as extreme poverty. One of the most important findings of their study was that Syrian forced migration to Turkey consisting mainly of women and children but neither the state authorities nor the NGOs working in the field have gender-based policies. Syrian women and LGBTI refugees cannot find any channels to convey their problems and a security-driven perspective dominates the field without a proper dialogue. Due to the language barrier, household responsibilities in extended families and the fear of sexual harassment and abuse hinder Syrian women from employment (p. 75-77).

Research upon the Syrian refugee women living in camps is rare. As one of them, Barin's article (2015) covered qualitative data from Islahiye, Nizip, Yayladagi, Oncupinar and Elbeyli camps while calling refugees as 'guests'. The lack of private spaces designed specifically for women and of female personnel in the camps were the main problems that women refugees expressed in this study. Forced, early marriages and religious marriages were common in the camps. Syrian women explicitly underlined the fact that they were not given any information about the legal complaint mechanisms in case of sexual harassment. Barin argued that it is not possible to measure physical violence in the camps because women prefer to remain silent due to the ignorance about the solutions (p. 35-37). Educated Syrian women in particular had difficulty in finding work since their diplomas were not recognised in Turkey. Deskilling, precarious jobs and low payment were the key issues while Syrian women could only find work as domestic workers or in garment industry outside the camps (p. 39).

In her article 'Legal Violence Against Syrian Female Refugees in Turkey', Kivilcim (2016) argued that legal inaction of the Turkish state-led Syrian refugee women to face sexual, physical and economic violence of other actors. She claimed that an exceptional legal regime, i.e. temporary protection, which was supposed to be limited to a certain

period, has become permanent and shaped the lives of refugees as the main denominator of legal violence. She provided several examples to the government inaction. While forced, early and child marriages left Syrian women exploited as sexual and house workers, public officials in the camps involved in the trading networks of Syrian women and girls. Inaction of the state to regulate work permits within the temporary protection system until 2016 rendered Syrian refugees as Turkey's new exploitable cheap labour source. The law also reinforced the constant fear of enclosure in the camp as a punishment.

Jane Freedman together with Kivilcim and Baklacioglu edited a book entitled 'A Gendered Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis' in 2017. In this book, the authors claimed that within the past twenty years or so, there has been an emergence of research primarily focused on gender within the migration literature such as Indra, 1999; Hyndman, 2000, 2004; Giles et al., 2003; Giles and Hyndman, 2004). Besides these studies, feminist investigations in international relations such as Enloe, 1989, 1993, 2000; Whitworth, 1997; Baines, 2004 provided us with insights into the experiences of gender among refugees and into how international organisations such as the UNHCR have responded to the needs of "refugee women". These studies showed that although gender mainstreaming is a policy commitment of international organisations, gender issues are often ignored in practice (2017: 11).

Freedman and et al. argued that several studies on the Syrian refugees in neighbouring countries have shown that gendered needs of refugees were not adequately addressed. Some population groups, in particular, the elderly, women and girls living outside the camps, people with disabilities and sexual minorities had less access to programs (Women's Refugee Commission, 2014: 1 cited in Freedman and et al., 2017: 3). Several studies and reports show that Syrian women refugees have experienced sexual and gender-based violence in conflict, during the influx and in the hosting countries. According to Charles and Denman, there was a law in pre-war Syria, which required married women to take permission

from their husbands to travel outside of the country (2013:105 cited in Freedman and et al., 2017: 4). This problem is under-reported because women fear that if they report violence, their husbands will send them back to Syria (Masterson, 2012 cited in Freedman and et al., 2017: 3). The Women Under Siege Project documented that ‘rape was reportedly used as a tool of control, intimidation, and humiliation throughout the conflict (cited in Freedman and et al., 2017: 4). Forced and often informal marriage is also prevalent within the Syrian refugee community, or among men from the host community (p. 5).

In her contribution to the same book, Abu-Assab discussed the position of women in Syria under the Ba’ath regime. She underlined the fact that state feminism has existed in Syria which is meant the state’s push for and encouragement of women’s participation in public life while committing atrocities towards other groups to cover up other forms of discrimination that exist within the bounds of the state and the oppressive regime. According to her, this policy created divisions already between women in pre-war Syria. In accordance with this fact, one should not just look at the integration of women into the labour market as a marker of women’s rights and gender equality in the Syrian case. The Alawi – Shiite division and the group boundaries under the Ba’ath regime had an effect on gender relations as well (Abu-Assab, 2017: 17-18). Then, those Sunni women who were marginalised and sidelined by the state feminism took to the streets; demonstrated against the Assad regime and helped the opposition. Many women took the breakdown of the structure as an opportunity to take off their hijab. This also meant the loss of authority for men in households. Syrian women gained power by engaging in economic activity during the conflict. Due to the high inflation and deteriorating economic situation, women had to pursue employment outside of their traditional gender roles (p. 20). Abu-Assab concluded that although research has shown that economic activity could be empowering, they do not necessarily break gender binaries, achieve equality or change stereotypes about women. Post-2011 projects led by

non- governmental organisations have regrettably led to a reinforcement of the roles that women should play. These projects were often designed as quick fixes to economic deprivation, and focused on professional training in nursing, hairdressing, tailoring and embroidery, among other professions considered as “womanly” and “feminine” (p. 23).

In her contribution to the book, Baklacioglu used Galtung’s (1990) theory of structural violence to explain the multidimensional context of legal, political and societal violence that Syrian women refugees face in everyday life. Pickering (2011) claimed that it is essential to focus on the role of gendered technologies of power during exile, border transit, flight, accommodation, detention and return (p. 43). Based on a qualitative gender-based methodology, Baklacioglu conducted 25 semi-structured interviews with Syrian women living in (Tarlabasi, Fatih, Bagcilar, Bahcelievler, Aksaray, Basaksehir, Sariyer) Istanbul, as well as guided conversations with citizens, charity volunteers, NGO practitioners from the Human Resource Development Foundation, UNHCR, ASAM, Multeci- Der and local officials from the Directorate General for Migration Management (DGMM) in order to reveal the strategies through which various state and non-state actors produce direct and structural violence (p. 43). First, she underlined poverty as the primary component of structural violence and in particular the administrative reproduction of poverty through discriminatory registration procedures, limited access to employment and discursive reproduction of Syrian women as powerless and vulnerable guests. Extreme poverty led Syrian women to turn to broader family solidarity (p. 47). Landlords subjected Syrian women to violence and harassment on the grounds of their nationality and/or sexual orientation and threatened them with eviction (p. 49). Secondly, besides some exceptions for skilled Syrian refugees with work permits, informal employment remained as the only option left for most Syrian refugees in Turkey. Women refugees were regarded as unskilled and paid the lowest wages because they did not know the Turkish language (p. 51). Thirdly, a future generation is also sacrificed for the sake of the family’s honour.

Due to the fear of xenophobia and sexual abuse, Syrian women do not want to send their daughters to school (p. 52). In conclusion, she claimed that the legal, political and administrative procedures governing temporary protection put Syrian refugees in a protracted situation under structural violence due to securitisation, victimisation, marginalisation and minimal access to fundamental human rights (p. 56).

As previously mentioned, there are also articles derived from the master and/or PhD dissertations on Syrian women refugees. These are mostly focused on one city and/or compared the situation of women in different cities. For instance, Herwig's study on Şanlıurfa argued that the experiences of female migrants are still largely neglected in academic discourse, hence she explored Syrian women's strategies of resistance (2017). Based on her fieldwork in Şanlıurfa, Herwig claimed that it is difficult to find work as a Syrian woman and even if there is work, then, there is almost always discrimination at the workplace. Her respondents complained about domestic violence, harassment and assault as major issues and emphasised the lack of state support in response to them. They also mentioned forced, polygynous and early marriage as a problem but at the same time acknowledged it as a survival strategy (2017: 184). Herwig argued that although women are well aware of what they get into with a polygynous marriage, they do that to support themselves and their family or to be less targeted by other men (p.188).

In another article based on a PhD research, Altunkaynak (2016) focused on the intersecting lives of Syrian and local women in Hatay and Gaziantep. By describing Syrian refugees with Simmel's stranger, Altunkaynak found that local women see Syrian refugee women as a threat to their family lives. Beside this constructed media image, also the language barrier led to miscommunication and segregation between the local and refugee community (2016: 498). Syrian refugee women's perception of temporariness should be read in connection with this non-relationship, indifference and uncertainty. In conclusion, Altunkaynak underlined the importance of regional analysis and argued that in each

city the perception of refugees and the problems are changing. While in Gaziantep it was characterised more by economic discrimination; in Hatay it was marginalisation due to the difference in religious sects (p. 501-502).

In another master dissertation, Aktaş (2016) studied Syrian refugee women in Kilis and found that domestic violence was a significant problem among her respondents. Based on a qualitative study in Adana, Özüdoğru argued that Syrian refugee women living alone were seen as a threat by local women and pressed upon by Turkish men to marry (2018: 1144). Her respondents, most of whom lost their husbands in the conflict stated that the children and themselves faced violence by their neighbours; had difficulty going out alone; stigmatised as widows and experienced social exclusion. Being a single woman made life even more difficult for Syrian refugees due to the changing roles in the household (p. 1148).

2. Approaches to Resilience across Disciplines

Background

Resilience, in a broader sense refers to the capacity of responding positively to the negative, possibly traumatic events in life. Trauma has been conceptualised primarily through the individual physiological responses following shock experiences. The psycho-analytical approach is not necessarily defining trauma as a disorder but a reaction to a kind of wound (Goodman et al., 2017: 309). The sources of trauma might be injurious or life-threatening incidences or the events or experiences that shatter the sense of well-being. Trauma may arise from human-made situations such as experiences of discrimination, oppression, poverty, or war. Besides, trauma is not necessarily emerging after one shocking event but might arise from events extended in time, namely cumulative trauma. Additionally, trauma might transmit across generations, arguing that it is not only a personal experience but maybe a collective one (Alexander, 2012). Sztompka explicates that, although the trauma conceptualisation emerged from medicine and psychiatry, the notion of cultural trauma applies to the theory of social change (Sztompka, 2000).

Traumatic events might bring psychological sequels but also facilitate strength and sources of resilience (Goodman et al., 2017: 310). While definitions of resilience differ, it generally refers to “bouncing back”, elasticity under extreme stress and maintaining equilibrium in the face of life adversities (Sossou, 2008: 367). Although much of the literature on resilience focused on individual characteristics, inner strength or psychological ability, resilience is deeply related to an outcome of the

social, economic and political environment. In other words, resilience is not a personal trait or attribute of the individual (Luthar and Cicchetti, 2000: 2); rather it is a “social phenomenon” (Lenette, 2012: 638). Ungar states that, while early conceptualisations of resilience identified mostly individual or individually mediated factors, later research came to point ecological interpretations of resilience, such as interactions between individuals and environment, and culture (2007: 287).

Resilience has become a pronounced research field within many academic disciplines and a key term in policy implementations. According to Hall and Lamont, the term resilience features most prominently in three kinds of literature- ecology, developmental psychology, and the response to disaster (2013: 23). However, Bourbeau affirms the “ubiquity of resilience” across the broad social sciences (2015: 1958). As the resilience broadly defines the capacity to bounce back and adaptation and an advance of well-being, the term is applied to communities, groups, even the nations in response to shock, trauma and challenging events. Thus, resilience is an indispensable term engaged within understandings of personal, communal or global types of post-traumatic phase and recovery.

Trauma, Resilience and Refugees

Forced migration is a global issue and the number of forced migrants is constantly increasing. According to UNHCR data, the displaced population increased in by 2.9 million 2017 and by the end of the year 68.5 million people were forcibly displaced worldwide due to persecution, conflict or generalised violence (UNHCR, 2018). The refugee experience is traumatic not only because of the push factors but also the route taken by the sea or walking across countries which repeatedly reported as dangerous and violent, in other words, life threatening. In other respect refugee and/ or asylum application conditions and practices per se creates traumatic

experiences due to uncertainties and ambiguous waiting. Moreover, in the case of the unwelcoming social, economic and institutional environment in host countries negatively affects the refugee experiences.

Taking resilience as a dynamic and embedded in social process entails focusing on the interplay between individual and surrounding social setting. This social-ecological definition of resilience emerges in psychology discipline as resistance to the effects of traumatising events let it be natural or human-made. Although this approach defines the resilience as the capacity of both individuals and their environments, they interact that optimise developmental process (Ungar, 2013: 256), still the focus is on individuals and their well-being, most importantly mental health. Yet, social-ecological perspective presents insights to understand the aspects of resiliency across contexts and cultures. This is crucial in “de-medicalising” and “de-pathologising” the trauma and resilience (Lenette et al., 2012). Pulvirenti and Mason emphasise the importance of an approach to resilience as a dynamic and ongoing process rather than resilient/non-resilient dichotomy based on psychological assessments since this kind of approach neither consider culture nor the context. In a similar vein, individualistic and medicalising understanding of resilience that excludes non-personal factors also results in de-politicisation of the resiliency process (Lenette et al., 2012: 640).

Refugees are possibly distressed because of losing family members, friends, disruption of their life, exposure to severe violent events, the absence of beloved ones and solidarity, detainment conditions, and deprivation. It is crucial not to frame refugees as suffering persons due to not being able to cope or personal traits. Sossou et al. show the importance of social support services during the resettlement process in their study among Bosnian refugee women resettled in southern United States (Sossou et al., 2008). Resettlement policies can support both social and economic integration of refugees in host societies or lead to isolation. Goodman et al. indicate that refugees experience both structural and situational stressor. Those stressors are emerging in the adaptation process in the

host country. According to their study, structural stressors such as poverty, and situational stressor such as perception of discrimination intersect and lead to accumulation of stressor. For example, language barrier results in employment challenges and economic marginalisation (Goodman et al., 2017: 314). Hutchinson and Dorsett show obstacles to resilience in refugee people in the relevant literature. These included language barrier, racism and discrimination, and labelling or trauma story (2012: 61-66).

On the other hand, the research in Buduburam Camp in Ghana illustrates the complex interplay between personal networks, livelihoods and broader relations between refugee and host population (Porter et al., 2008). Considering the difficulties that refugees' come across in everyday life in host countries, a critical resilience approach should be employed to avoid a limited perspective of the resiliency process. Hall and Lamont, stress the importance of national states and transnational organisations. According to them, to understand prospects of immigrants in local communities, we should take into consideration of national symbolic communities. Even, international regimes are relevant by virtue of how they support human rights and transnational linkages among migrant groups (Hall and Lamont, 2012: 26).

Gender is a crucial determinant in experiencing trauma and resilience as well as the displacement process. Experiences of women are significantly different from those of men. Women are exposed to violence at home country, crossing the border, camps, detention process, and resettlement (Pickering, 2011). Also, stereotypes of the 'dangerous' migrant male or the 'vulnerable' migrant woman prevail both in media and political discourse (Freedman, 2016: 13). Women are also portrayed as victims, being passive and depending on limited abilities to survive, cope and adapt (Moussa, 1991: 12). To by-pass these representations gendered nature of the migration process should be analysed with a gender lens.

Women Refugees and Resilience

The impact of gender roles on resilience has been researched among different refugee communities. Sossou et al., in their study among Bosnian refugee women showed that women find their families as the most critical resilience factor. Women participated in the research provided their sense of purpose, belonging, duty, and responsibility as mothers and wives (Sossou et al., 2008: 379-380). Similarly, an ethnographic study about single refugee women with children in Australia reveals that women aimed to lead “normal” and meaningful lives in Australia particularly for their children’s sake (Lenette et al., 2012: 648). Faith, spirituality and religious beliefs are salient for many refugees in the process of “bounce back”. The firm belief facilitates peace of mind and gratitude to deity in face of suffering (Pearce et al., 2016). Babatunde-Sowole et al., in their integrated literature review focusing the resilience of African migrant women, explained that women see faith and spirituality as a potent source of resilience because it provides a base for planning and provides the capacity to make meaning of their migration and settlement challenges (Babatunde-Sowole et al., 2016: 11).

When it comes to circles of social support, having relationships with compatriots, mother tongue etc. is vital to develop resilience. Internal assistance is essential not only for refugees but for all deprived communities. However, considering refugees’ severe conditions, both economic and legal existence of solidarity networks and their capacity become important. Social support contains communication of information, assistance and understanding between family members, friends, peers, and professionals. Social support has the potential to decrease isolation, enhance a sense of belonging and mediate the stress and discrimination (Stewart, 2014: 91-92). It is critical especially where formal support systems are absent or not working effectively. However, internal assistance does not always occur harmoniously. Omata argues that internal support based on networks is often an inevitable response to communal crises, rather than evidence of the vibrancy of solidarity, as people compelled to help each other, even

with limited access to material assets (Omata, 2012: 275). Ives, in her study among Bosnian refugee women also displays the importance of support systems in the resettlement and integration process. Since the language barrier appears as one of the main factors accessing the job market, the language courses offered by resettlement agencies are vital. As she states, the courses are ineffective due to varying proficiency levels in the same class and/or unavailability of classes frequently enough. Thus, organised sponsorship programs, including religious congregations, connect the persons to a job as well as emotional and material support, which is vital for resettling refugees (Ives, 2007: 60).

National and international organisations often focus on women refugees to support, both in material and non-material ways. Hilhorst states that humanitarian aid seems to be utterly blind to men. She asserts that women are more vulnerable in the humanitarian aid sector and “gender” almost always indicates women. Psycho-social assistance also targets women, no matter the existence of tortured, molested, violence exposed men. She warns that this orientation should not lead to turning the face away from men’s vulnerabilities (Ritchie, 2018; Hilhorst, 2016). What is critical is in “women-first” orientation in empowering is that highly fragile settings are changings and transformations in gender roles may cause new tensions within the community, and possibly violence on women. For example, Porter et al. observe tension between men and women refugees because women have better access to job opportunities than men, causing them to feel that they are unable to fulfil traditional breadwinner role among the Liberian camp-based refugees in Ghana (Porter et al., 2008: 240). Women are supported in various ways such as vocational training, giving the chance to start a small-scale business in order to earn their livelihoods. Women’s participation in the labour market has implications on refugee-host relations, internal relations within the refugee community and as well as the resilience of the community and women themselves. Ritchie observed the empowerment and self-resiliency and changing gender roles in her study among Somali refugees in Kenya and Syrian

refugees in Jordan, in the context of protracted refugee environment. Ritchie highlights the lack of refugee male acceptance of women's new practising, threatening women's socio-economic gains (Ritchie, 2018: 55). Refugees face difficulties through economic integration due to language barrier, problematic recognition of home country credentials, discrimination or greater cultural distance. Although these difficulties are relevant for all immigrants regardless of their statuses, the asylum application process and waiting in limbo (protracted refugee situation) make them more insecure (Bakker 2016).

The debates about the effects of social relations among the relevant community refer to another discussion, which is "resilience of whom?" As discussed above, resilience is not only related to personal traits, individual capacity, etc. but also highly dependent on social, political and cultural institutions. Thus, the question of "what strengths can people gain from community" (Fielding and Anderson, 2008: 7) and vice-versa needs deliberation. A community should not be taken as a harmonious group of people with shared interests or characteristics but also needed to be understood as 'continuum of 'conflict' and 'synergy' within which members are occupying 'intersecting subject positions' (Over and Criminol, 2012: 4). In this perspective, cases as mentioned above, where community members or cultural strains constrain refugee women, show the oppressive aspects of the community. Over and Criminol scrutinise domestic violence on women, arguing that community is a source for refugee women during resettlement process and a core ingredient in building resilience, whereas domestic violence can be 'papered over' for the sake of the safety of community. Community resilience is seen as a key to individual resilience and asserted to be built in the process of strengthening personal, familial, organisational and economic systems to resist in times of crises (Doron, 2005: 184).

Fielding and Anderson make a distinction between community resilience and collective resilience, which is possibly more relevant in the case of refugees. According to them, while community resilience focuses

on strengthening only one community, collective resilience “refers to groups of traumatized people whose old communities have been destroyed and who are learning to survive in a new world, where community may be non-existent, new or emerging or multiple” (Fielding and Anderson, 2008: 7). Refugees find themselves in an unfamiliar environment after the loss of previous social relations, networks, etc., and create a new community, generating collective resilience. Collective resilience is ‘played out as a two-way process: building community so that more people may gain support from the community’ (Fielding and Anderson, 2008: 7). Overall, whether the conceptual framework focuses on community or collective, social networks and bounds appear as the focal point of resilience.

Social Resilience

The debate on resilience elaborated above indicates that resilience is neither a product of personal traits nor solely related to individual actions but a process that is through culture, social and political structures. Yet, there is a growing criticism on the conceptualisation of *social resilience* in social science. Olsson et al., as a result of their research that is on related literature review, debates about why the concept is appealing in social sciences. The most notable result of their research along with other important ones is that “incommensurability between the natural and social sciences constrains the dialogue in two ways: the resilience vocabulary does not fit into the social sciences, whereas core concepts and theories in social science—such as agency, conflict, knowledge, and power—are absent from resilience theory” (Olsson et al. 2015: 9). In a similar vein, Cannon and Müller-Mahn argued that uncritical transfer of resilience into social science research might disguise “the essence of the issue: power relations and the behaviour of actors in differing levels of power” (Cannon and Müller-Mahn, 2010: 623). While keeping given critics on conveying the concept from natural sciences to social sciences,

social resilience “retains the potential crafted to be into a coherent analytic framework” (Keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013: 6).

According to Hall and Lamont (2013), social resilience is an ‘essential characteristic’ of successful societies that can provide resources to their members for well-being and fulfilling life. Thus, they are interested in institutional and cultural resources that people actuate. Social resilience inevitably points the medium and macroscale structures since they are the contexts that empower or constrain the capabilities of individuals or groups, whether collectives or communities. From this point, the argumentation on resilience should consider the social determinants of the resiliency process as much as whether the individuals, collectives or communities are the units of the resilience.

In disaster perspective social resilience defined as “as an absorptive, adaptive, and transformative capacity; or the ability of social entities or social processes, to anticipate, respond to, and recover from disasters” (Saja et al., 2018: 31). The question here is, what determines the capacity or ability of social entities? Also, the constraining factors are vital as well. Obrist et al. point the “capacity of actors to access to capitals” in coping, adjusting, and developing phases in dealing with threat (Obrist et al. 2010: 289). As they call their approach as *multi-layered resilience*, they emphasise “the interactions between enabling factors and capacities operating at various levels of the environment and society” (Obrist et al. 2010:291). Although approaches stressing that the capacities are essential to reveal power relations and agency, still the question of means to develop capacities or of access to capitals needs to be answered.

Social network analysis provides a way to contextualise social resilience in social sciences by bringing network and capital together in the same framework. However, the network approach is not new. Both the structure and the content of the networks have been debated widely. Notably in migration research, network approaches have been employed in various issues such as ethnicity, entrepreneurship, decision-making process and so

on. Social network analysis underlies the connections between actors and inherent material and non-material resources in the network. Networks are critical components of social capital theory (Cherti, 2008) since the capitals are the channels through the connections, ties, and contacts within and/or between the networks. Therefore, existence or absence of connection, the strength of the connections, and the amount of the social capital in the network determine the capacities of actors. Nonetheless, reciprocity, power relations, trust, etc. are significant to enjoy the resources in the network.

Regarding the debate on social resilience, such an approach provides a way to overcome the flaws arising from transferring the concept from natural sciences and applying it in social relations. In their study dealing with migration-environment nexus, Sakdapolrak et al. employ *trans-local social resilience* which is theoretically informed by Bourdieu's 'Theory of Practice'. In this approach, resilience is interpreted in terms of social practice and "it is understood as an interplay between the structural properties of household livelihoods embedded in local and trans-local networks and specific risk contexts and human agency" (Sakdapolrak et al., 2016: 87). Such an approach emphasises the connectedness of actors and unequally distributed capital within the network.

Macro Scale Approaches to Resilience: Resilience-Based Development Responses in Refugee 'Crises'

As is mentioned before, resilience has become one of the key concepts for individuals, groups or nations struggling adversities. Since international concern on migratory movements has increased and, started to be framed as "crises", it opened a discussion of international and especially humanitarian responses to the "crises". The discussion does not only cover the refugees arriving in Western countries but also the ones in

neighbouring countries, those of so-called refugee-producing countries and the ones who found themselves in protracted refugee situations. To address the needs of Syrian refugees in neighbouring countries as well as the needs of host countries we need a shift in humanitarian refugee responses. To respond this call “the international community adopted a resilience-based development approach to the Syria crisis which has informed the development of a refugee and resilience response at the regional level and the country level” (Sigmond, 2016: 1). This “new aid architecture” has been forged as “new resilience-building opportunities” (Gonzalez, 2016). The Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan (3RP) planned to develop under the leadership of national authorities- Egypt, Jordan, Turkey, Iraq, and Lebanon.³ 3RP was first launched in December 2014 and targeted 5.3 million registered Syrian Refugees and 3.9 million host community members in the mentioned countries.⁴ Within this program in Turkey, municipalities with a substantial number of refugee inhabitants and public institutions are supported. 3RP 2018-2019 Turkey determines responses to six sectors namely, protection, food and agriculture, education, health, basic needs, livelihoods, and includes both refugees and host community members.

Nonetheless, Sigmond’s research focusing on 3RP Jordan 2015, states that the Jordanian government interpreted resilience for vulnerable Jordanians and Jordanian host communities rather than refugees (Sigmond, 2016). Similarly, Arar argues that Jordanian government capitalised from the influx of Syrian refugees and paved the way for Jordanian resilience and development as a result of a *grand compromise* between Global North and Global South (Arar, 2017). Although it is very crucial to see asymmetries among a group/community/collective regarding resources and capabilities, which may cause tension and even violence, resilience-based development 3RP seems to reinterpret humanitarian aid and also ease the burden on the refugee absorbing countries.

³ <http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/the-3rp/strategic-overview/>

⁴ <http://www.3rpsyriacrisis.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/3RP-Regional-Strategic-Overview-2018-19.pdf>

3. Immigrants' Labour Market Integration

Economic integration of the immigrants turned out to be a prominent issue with the economic crisis of the 1970s. One of the first scholars who investigated this issue is Manuel Castells (1975). He discussed the immigrant workers' position in the class struggles of Europe. He relates international migration with the international division of labour. He sees the immigrants' position with the lower wages under worse working conditions than the local workers as a natural result of capitalism. This is how capitalism integrates immigrant workers into the existing labour market. Piore (1979) suggests that there is a segmented labour market for the immigrants because of the distinctive characteristics that are available for them. Burawoy (1981) also puts that capitalism needs immigrant workers because they are cheaper to maintain and renew due to the powerlessness of immigrant workers in the labour market. According to him, the regulations which force the immigrant workers to accept harsher conditions, are the products of dominant political and economic interests. Moreover, these regulations are the very reason why immigrant workers cannot fully integrate into the labour market.

During the 1980s, as well as with the changes in economic sphere, features of migration flows also changed. The immigrants became more diversified, initiating temporary or circulatory migration more easily with the newly developed information and transportation technologies. Transnational communities and their networks gained importance (Castles, 2002). With the advance of post-industrialism; immigrants are not needed anymore; however, their services are in high demand (Massey, 1998).

After these developments, the scholars focused on different dimensions

of the incorporation process. For example, Portes (1995) distinguishes modes of immigrant incorporation according to the levels of reception. The first is at the state level. Each government has a different approach to the immigrant groups under its legislation. However, government policies towards a different group of immigrants can also vary, leading to a different mode of incorporation. The second level is determined by the civil society and public opinion of the receiving country towards the immigrant groups. Many factors, such as the historical affinity, existing political or cultural networks, prior experiences could affect the attitude of the host community, thus creating a different mode of incorporation for the immigrant groups. The third level is the immigrant group characteristics, its demographic structure, the density of the networks within and with the home country. Differentiation of these characteristics causes a different mode of incorporation. Basch et al. (1994) state that there could be ways to integrate the immigrants into the host society while the immigrants are still different from host society in a globalised world. They claim that social ties with the home country could benefit their integration into the host society. Their five diverse types of pathways are based on cultural characteristics of the groups, historical ties with the host country, networks and their position in the cosmopolitan culture. Around the world, immigrant-receiving countries had different legal frameworks which are mainly products of their history and economy, aiming to include or exclude the newcomers. Alexander (2001) argues that there are three main ways to incorporate the immigrants into host societies, namely: assimilation, hyphenation and multiculturalism. Similarly, Schierup et al. (2006) also define three ideal types of incorporation as differential exclusion, assimilation and multiculturalism.

Sassen's (1995) study sheds light not only on the political dimension of migrant incorporation but also on their economic integration to the labour market. She emphasises the importance of the relations between workplace and household and the relations between the workplace and community. According to her, these diverse set of relations and changes in

the structure of labour market enable us to see how different patterns of immigrant integration could emerge. The issue of immigrant position at the informal sectors, especially in construction, tourism, food preparation and agriculture sectors are the subject of considerable debate in the literature. In another study, Sassen (1998) relates the informalization of the immigrant labour with the global economic restructuring which led to the decline of manufacturing and the increase of the service sector. According to her this has two significant consequences. First, there is an increasing gap between the high income and low-income groups, especially in global cities. Second, traditional producers cannot function anymore in the manufacturing or service sectors for the new consumption patterns in the new competitive markets. Increasing inequality, changing consumption patterns of different social groups and changing the organisation of the workforce, such as the increase in subcontracting and informalization thus making participation into the economy harder for traditional actors. In global cities, some immigrants work in high paying professional jobs, but many more works in the informal sectors for low paid jobs under harsh conditions. Mingione (1998) adds this picture to the immigrant entrepreneurship. Presence of cheap labour and ethnic network in the urban areas a new class of entrepreneurs emerges in highly informal sectors.

Sassen's (1998) theses about global cities and immigrant labour are criticised since they overlook the importance of networks of the immigrants, ethnic economies and their participation into the informal sector in smaller places than the global cities (Samers, 2002). Light (2004), for example, states that Sassen's (1998) theory is a demand-driven one which misses the immigrants' effect. According to him, informalization is the result of immigration from the developing countries to the developed countries whose economies are dependent on cheap labour. Light (2004) claims that after the migrants from the third world filled the appropriate positions in the informal sector, they create an ethnic economy which functions as a buffer zone between formal and informal

economy. Castles and Miller (2003) emphasise that despite the economic crises and high rate of unemployment among the local population, the demand of the employers for immigrant workers continue. They put that there is a complementary relationship between the sectors which employ workers informally and migrant labour. Schierup et al. (2006) also argue that Fordism and Taylorism did not end up with globalisation, but only changed their shape. They turned to be “bloody Taylorism” which is a cheaper version of the original one and “peripheral Fordism” which spreads into the different part of the world. According to them, the clustering of immigrants in the informal sectors and the emergence of new ethnic communities of immigrant workers are the result of these two coinciding processes.

The theories which explain immigrants’ economic integration in the micro level mainly focus on the immigrants’ human capitals and the compatibility of these with the host country’s economy. The pioneering study in this strand is Becker’s (1964) claiming that the success or failure of immigrants in the labour market depends on individual skills. The importance of certain factors such as education, work experience, language skills, age at the time of migration, and length of stay in the host society has been shown in the literature (Chiswick and Miller 2002). Immigrants who move at an early age, those who have been resident in the destination country for a long time, and those with higher education, more work experience, and a better command of the destination language perform better economically. Within a human capital framework, macro effects are assumed to result from the skill composition of immigrant groups. According to Borjas (1987), the selection of immigrants by host country depends on t having preferable skills or not.

Refugees' Integration into Labour Market

In this broad framework about the immigrants' incorporation into the labour market, Zetter et al. (2018) highlight the importance of the right to work and access to labour markets for refugees on becoming self-reliant, building their lives, securing dignity and allowing them to contribute to their host communities. However, refugees have distinctive characteristics than immigrants in terms of the integration process. Cortes (2004) investigates this difference. She proposes that because of the waiting time for the entrance to the labour market, the refugees fall in a disadvantaged position in terms of using their existing human capitals and developing new ones and reaching the wage levels received by host population when it is compared with the immigrants. Hynie (2018) explains this difference with refugees' being susceptible to the effects of the social and political contexts of the host country. She states that this has two reasons. First, the refugees arrive in the host country in more vulnerable conditions. Second, their settlement process is under more direct control of various host country policies. Their pathway to integration could also have different forms than that of immigrants. Havrylchuk and Ukrayinchuk (2017) define this special situation or time as a limbo. According to them, the length of this limbo, the time between refugee entrance into the host country and having the permanent refugee status, which secures the work and stays is vital in understanding the refugees' integration.

Ager and Strang (2008) define an integration model for refugees based on four pillars. The first one is functional aspects of integration such as housing, health, employment and education. The second one is social connections such as social bonds, networks, relationships. The third one is the facilitators such as language and cultural knowledge, safety and stability. The fourth one is the foundation, including rights and citizenship. According to the authors, for all these interrelated levels, the integration of refugees is a process in which both refugees and host community adopt. Some studies show that many members of host societies believe that refugees are an economic burden (Casati, 2017; Costello & Mouzourakis,

2016; Mulvey, 2010). It is also perceived that refugees will increase the competition for the existing jobs (Eamets & Pataccini, 2017). However, some other studies also reveal that hosting refugees could be beneficial for host country's economy after they are provided with the right to participate into the economic system (Omata et al., 2015; Dadush, 2017).

There are different studies focusing on various aspects of refugee integration. For example, De Jong (2018) takes refugeeeness as a form of capital and claims that this kind of capital enables the refugees to find employment in migrant support and advocacy organisation. Grace et al. (2017) claim that citizenship and refugees' path to citizenship are constrained by neo-liberalism because the allocation of the citizenship rights is determined by individuals' economic position and participation in the labour market. In this situation, creative mobilisation of the refugees and their social ties with different generations of refugees can enable the integration under the neo-liberal condition. Bilgili (2015) suggests that the refugees' capacity to send remittances increases with the refugees' integration, thus she states that homeland and host country engagement together facilitates the refugee integration. Hynie (2018) also claims that refugee policies, which aim to reduce the costs of hosting them, may increase the costs by hindering their economic participation.

As much as, refugees' participation into the host country's economy as workers after their legal integration; their economic activities in and around the refugee camps as well as their entrepreneurial activities are also investigated. According to Werker (2007), the economic activities in the camps are shaped by the host country's policies such as limits on work and movement. Werker (2007) also shows the camp economy with its price determination rules are affected by humanitarian assistance as much as the demographics of the camp population. For example, Fong et al. (2007) show that personal characteristics of the individual entrepreneurs when they face with the challenges in the familial or community relationships are important and policymakers should consider these characteristics and relations when they want to increase refugees' capacities.

In addition to Werker (2007), Betts et al. (2017) emphasise the importance of refugees' agency, skills, talents and aspiration in their economic involvement. They claim that such a change in the perspective towards refugees may highlight their capacities instead of vulnerabilities. In this respect, empowering refugees and letting them stand on their feet with their economic initiatives can offer a better way than creating dependency on social provisions. They can build their economic activities on their social networks and a separate set of capitals in and around the refugee camps. Moreover, these new ways may also increase the level of development in the host country (Betts et al., 2017). In a different study, Betts and Omata (2017) ask important questions about the position of refugees in economic life. These questions, which are about the peculiarity of the refugee economic lives than other economic activities, explanations about variation in refugees' income levels and the importance of the refugee entrepreneurship, could be used in further studies to understand Syrian refugees in Turkish economic life.

Immigrants' Remittances

The issue of immigrant remittances is often discussed first in the nexus of migration and development and then in the context of transnationalism in the wider literature on migration. Migration studies in Turkey intensified in the period of 1960s and 1980s when Turkish state-led development plans needed the foreign currency from the immigrant workers who went to European countries as a result of bilateral agreements (Arar, 1972; Antürk, 1979; Karaman, 1974). However, after the economic depression of late 1970s in the industrialized countries with the most Turkish immigrants and the 1980 coup d'état ending the import substitution industrialization, the immigrant remittances that Turkey received lost its significance as the funding source for development and it turned to be one of the macroeconomic factors which are studied mainly

within the macroeconomic perspective (Alper, 2005; Aydaş et al., 2005; Sayan, 2006; Yigit, 2005).

During the 1980s and 1990s, when Turkish scholars lost their interest in immigrant remittances, the increase in the remittances exceeded the increase in direct foreign investment, official development aids and foreign debts proportionally (Van Hear, 2006; Dean 2015). This made the scholars all around the world curious about the relationship between immigrant remittances and development in different economic and social contexts. Moreover, with 9/11 attacks in 2001, the flow of money around the world scrutinised by the authorities to cut the financial resources of terrorism, which changed the ways and the amount of remittances. As much as this increased the registered amount of remittances and it also made harder to remit especially for more vulnerable groups of immigrants or refugees (Van Hear, 2002; Ballard, 2003; Vaccani, 2010).

The researchers cannot reach an agreement if the remittances effect the migrant-sending country positively or negatively. For example, Rhoda et al. (1979) and Chimhowu et al. (2003) claim that remittances increase the dependency of the migrant-sending country, while Ballard (2001), Kritz et al. (1981) and Chami et al. (2005) argue that the remittances affect the development adversely since they increase the consumption rather than investment. On the other hand, Yang (2003); Edward et al. (2003); Finkle et al. (1982) and Keely et al. (1984) argue that with the help of remittances, the receivers could make use of infrastructural services in more efficient way. Moreover, the remittances help people by increasing their household income and consumption levels especially on education and health (Azam et al. 2002; Kannan 2002; Ahmed 2000; Alarcon 2002). Remittances' impact on gender relations in sending and receiving households is another matter which is debated in the literature and many researchers emphasize the importance of the cultural, political and economic context both in the sending and receiving countries (Al-Ali et al., 2001; Kothari 2002; Dostie et al. 2002; Lindley, 2009).

De Haas (2010) in his article examines the relationship between development and migration, stating that this relationship should be understood in its original context with specific structural factors and interventions of the actors. He suggests employing new economics of labour migration theory and a transnational perspective to understand the households' decisions related to transnational spaces within the migratory processes. Portes (2009) also developed a typology to understand the relationship between development and migration based on three aspects: social and educational capital of the immigrants, the time they spent in the host country and structural changes in the migratory context. According to this, in the short run, the migration of skilled or unskilled workers usually supports the sending country's development. However, in the long run, the migration of unskilled labour harms the development of the sending country; whereas it is hard to generalise the results of skilled migrants.

When the literature on transnationalism and remittance nexus gained impetus during the 1990s and 2000s, position of Turkey and immigrants within this picture changed tremendously. As written before, immigrants' remittances were a valuable financial source for Turkey in the period of 1960s and 1970s as it was among the top ten remittance-receiving countries. However, since the 1980s as Turkey became to be a country of immigration and transit, the remittance flow also changed direction. By the late 1990s, remittance inflow to Turkey decreased dramatically as the third and fourth generations of Turkish guest workers in Europe stopped channelling their savings into Turkish economy. By the mid-2000s, Turkey became a remittance-sender country. After this, rather than financial remittance, Turkey tried to make policies to attract social remittances and reverse the brain drain (Paçacı Elitok, 2018).

Even if there is an extensive literature on the remittances, their effect on sending countries and the reason of the fluctuation on the remittance flows globally, there are relatively limited numbers of research focusing on the remitting behaviour of the refugees and forced migrants. However,

the restrictive effect of 9/11 attacks on the refugee remittances was spotted immediately. For example, Van Hear (2002) states how informal money transfer or hawala offices all over the world which Somalis used were closed since it was believed that terrorist networks also used them.

Jacobsen (2000, 2002) states refugees' economic integration and their remittance behaviour are gone unnoticed because the refugees are mostly seen as transient in the host country with a different legal status than their immigrant counterparts. In her article, Jacobsen (2002) examines the livelihood resources of protracted refugees including remittances. In her case study, she shows how refugees in Kenya could receive remittances from their home countries as well as from the other refugees mostly in more developed countries, or how they could send remittances to the home country as much as they transfer the third-party remittances to the home country. According to her, this is the refugees' agency as transnational actors. She also described how money transfers mechanisms between the home and host countries work in unofficial – such as refugee network-based systems- or official – refugee banking- ways. In addition to remittances, income generated programs which are developed by international or national agencies are also resources for refugee livelihoods. These programs could have two approaches. They can be grant-based, providing cash support and equipment. Alternatively, they could be based on micro-finance. The effect of refugees is also mixed regarding the effect on the economic resources of the host community; in some cases, it leads to increased resentment by the host community, in others increased willingness to socialise with them (Jacobsen, 2002: 112).

As Jacobsen (2002), Al-Ali et al. (2001) also claim that many studies that took granted the legal distinction between the immigrants and refugees and ignored the other differences or similarities which could affect the relationship of the refugees with their homeland. They claim that the most crucial difference between refugees and immigrants lies in their decision-making process at the beginning of their initial migration which determines the difference in their legal status. Despite this, as much

as the immigrants do, refugees also involve in transnational activities in economic, political, social and cultural spheres. These activities can be individual or collective in nature or can be focused on the home country or diaspora members in the host country. The remittances can be directed to the immediate family members mostly for the day to day needs such as food, housing or medicine; or for the charity organisations or hometown associations. These financial resources could have a direct or indirect effect on the political situation in the home country as well.

Moreover, the authors also emphasise the social pressure, due to the obligation of remitting to home countries. According to them, economising, saving and prioritising the household expenditure for remitting could especially put pressure on the women in the refugee households. They also suggest that all these transnational activities that take place in different spheres including remittances could change gender relations in the remittance sending or receiving households and women refugees' position in the job market in host societies according to the dynamics of both host and sending countries' cultures (Al- Ali et al., 2001). Akuei (2005) also emphasises that even if refugees do not involve in money generating activities, they can send remittances out of their limited resources. She also stresses that remittance-sending obligation creates pressure on the limited household budget and anxiety while refugees juggle among dissimilar needs. However, remittances also provide a source of social continuity between the refugees and friends and family members in the sending country (p.2).

Lindley (2009) suggests that there is little knowledge about the diaspora perspective on remittances and its repercussions. She claims that micro-dynamics of remittance sending are important. These micro-dynamics are dependent on refugees' characteristics and interactions with the host country as well as their relations with the home country at various levels. Moreover, sending remittances shows refugees' agency in economic activities and in keeping contact with the home country. Lindley (2009) shows the feminisation of the remittances as women's refugees' economic

activities increased outside of the home. Women remitters are also more visible because they run counter to the traditional culture. Remitters are also under pressure from the diaspora and home country, they feel an obligation to send remittances. Lindley (2009) defines this as forced or pressured trans-nationalisation. This is also a factor that reinforces poverty in remittance sender households as well as provides familial and cultural reaffirmation.

As Al-Ali et al. (2001), Vargas-Silva (2016) starts the analysis with that sending remittances is not the primary reason for refugees to leave their home country. They go through a different process of integration and have a different adoption process. He also emphasises that there are still a small number of studies about refugee remittances as of 2016 and they are mostly qualitative studies which do not allow to generalise. His findings in this article suggest that forcedly displaced people remit mostly for altruism because their family members are more likely in danger. The remittances can be seen as a response to the changing security levels in the sending country. He also claims that in addition to social continuity among the senders and receivers which is shown by Akuei (2005), the remittances also provide a social bond among the diaspora members especially if there is a difference between late comers and early comers. Vargas- Silva also claims that formal ways to remit could be unavailable for the refugees and forcedly displaced people since they lack necessary identification documents, or they are afraid to use it. In this respect, they prefer informal ways.

Van Hear and Cohen (2017) examines the diaspora perspective and remittances' place in it. They suggest that the role of diasporas, which have mostly refugee members, is controversial due to their position in the conflict-ridden or post-conflict settings. They can be seen as “war-mongers” or “peace-builders”. However, they suggest, there are different forms of diaspora and they engage with the sending context in different ways. According to them, diasporas can be distant or contiguous and could engage in three different spheres or levels with the sending country: the

household/extended family sphere, the known community sphere/ the imagined community. The main form of engagement in the household/extended family sphere is sending remittances to assist different family members for their daily needs. It can also be seen that diaspora members remit to support associations which function in different areas. According to the writers, the amount of this second type of remittances can be smaller than the first one but they function as a bond between home and host countries. These different forms and levels of engagement generate varying levels of demand on diaspora households, members of which must balance the demands of their livelihoods and family members in the sending countries.

In addition to the studies that explore the refugee remittances and their impacts on both sending and receiving households, there are studies investigating the economic sphere in which refugee remittances are generated. For example, Betts et al. (2017) define this sphere as “refugee economies” as an institutional context due to the different legal status of refugees and their position vis-à-vis the state. Refugee economies are marked by market imperfections and distortions that enable and constrain refugees differently from other populations (p. 46). They argue that there are three key features of refugee economies and refugeehood. First, they are at the intersection of state and international regulations. Second, they are at the intersection of the formal and informal economy. Third, they are at the intersection of national and transnational economies in which hosts the refugee remittances. They argue that these institutional characteristics shape the relationship between refugees, states and markets (p.50). They also try to understand the position of refugee entrepreneurship within this context and evaluate their agency which can have a source from community and culture as well as individual talent and ambition. According to them, outliers in the refugee economies can be examined to understand how individual refugees transform their communities (p. 55).

Ritchie (2018) also investigates refugee enterprises; however, her focus is on the gender aspect. According to her, in refugee settings, women’s

participation in economic activities may result in complex effects on gender relations. In these situations, women may adopt the precarious nature of the refugee economies more easily, while men are mostly excluded. This is caused mostly by women's increased public mobility and engagement in the enterprise under forced and strained circumstances, without a process of negotiation and engagement with male family members. This brings the renegotiation process of social norms, according to Ritchie (2018). It is also possible for these new enterprises to face surveillance, local harassment and intimidation. When the lack of access to credit, raw material, and access to formal sectors meets with a sense of obligation and a desire for independence, it spurs women's income generation initiatives.

Moreover, economic activities, which are accomplished under the stressful family and environmental conditions, provide a broader sense of personal empowerment and self-reliance among refugee women (p. 551). Ritchie (2018) claims that in the protracted refugee settings, by forming women's groups, they can gain collective agency and support for the new economic practices which change the established gender roles. Her article also shows how refugees could benefit from joining in such organisations and how these organisations can support their local communities. These organisations the paper suggests, may also strengthen refugee resilience and enhance women's collaboration in the community (p.555).

Dean (2015), who studies on remittances to Syria from Turkey and Jordan, conducted online surveys with remittance senders and receivers to understand the flow of remittances to Syria. 44 % of their sample sends remittances from Turkey to mainly northern Syria. He states that in Turkey even if only banks, Western Union and Money Gram are licensed for international transfers, large numbers of unregistered hawaladars – people who send money through other people and their networks- operate across the country and handle substantial flows into Syria. People also send money with their relatives and couriers. The flows are directed to Damascus and Aleppo's urban areas rather than rural areas. Beechwood International's (2015) report investigates humanitarian use of the hawala

system. Since in the opposition-led part of Syria the banking system is not working, the money could only be sent through informal networks of “money men”. Amid ambiguity surrounding their legal status, those “money men” may have a rented space, mobile phone and close-knit agent network. The money transfers can be fully understood only within the context of a new geography of Syria by considering the patchwork of religious, sectarian, tribal and military division at the local level. According to the report (Beechwood International, 2015), Turkey functions as a hub for INGOs wanting to transfer money from Western countries into Syria. Both INGOs and NGOs from Turkey are using transfer agents in Kilis, Reyhanlı, Gaziantep, Antakya to send money to Aleppo, Idleb, Hazara, Marea, Azaz, Aktarin, Haritan as well as Al-Mayadin, Ras Al-Ain, Al-Bab, Menjeb, and Ar-Raqqa.

Syrian Refugees in Turkish Migratory Context

According to İçduygu and Diker (2017), in 2014 by transferring the control of migratory processes from Security General Directorate to Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration which is a civil authority, Turkey took a revolutionary step by abandoning the nation-state approach of treating migrants as a security threat. With the Law on Foreigners and International Protection enacted in 2014, Syrians officially became persons under temporary protection. In January 2016, a new regulation came into effect providing the right to work for Syrians under temporary protection. With this regulation, employers can apply for permission to employ refugees (Düvell, 2018). İçduygu and Diker (2017) specify that in agriculture or stockbreeding sector, she/he should apply for work permit exemption at Provincial Directorate of Labour in the province he/she registered. If they want to work in the health or education sector, they should go to relevant ministry for the work permit. Düvell (2018) also states the economic integration of Syrian refugees into Turkish economy is gendered and migrant women are more likely to be

left behind, which also hindered the integration chances of their children in the long run.

İçduygu and Diker (2017) put that a considerable number of Syrians became entrepreneurs in Turkey and they have small businesses in food, construction, trade, textile, real estate, travel and transportation sectors which many of them are claimed to be informal (p. 27). According to Del Caprio et al. (2018), there are 6000 formal businesses established by Syrians and it is estimated that the figure rose up to 20000 including informal businesses as of 2017. Karasapan (2017) claims that Syrian business owners in Turkey are committed to Turkey and plan to hire more people for coming years, even if there is a newly emerging ghettoisation or even an underclass among them. Kaymaz and Kadkoy (2016) emphasise that Syrian entrepreneurs transferred their networks into Turkey further claiming that it increased Turkey's exports to Syria. This trend could be seen especially after 2014 in the cities of Gaziantep and Hatay.

Ünlütürk Ulutaş (2016) claims that there is a substantial difference between the Syrian refugees living in and outside of the camps. The first group enjoy a relatively better level of welfare and social services, they are mostly isolated and in lack of permanent housing. The refugees who live outside of the camps face a diverse set of problems, especially in the labour and housing markets. Even if they can work formally, most of them still work in the informal market under harsh conditions and for lower wages. The increasing number of underage children who work in the informal sector is another prominent issue that refugees face. Refugees' effect on local labour markets varies from city to city based on the industrial development, refugee population and specificities of the local labour market (p.169). Ünlütürk Ulutaş states that competition between Syrian refugees and local workforce increased in low-skilled and agricultural jobs. Refugee flow especially replaces the low-skilled female workers. Seasonal agricultural work has been an important source of employment for refugees. However, rather than filling a gap in the sector, their entrance in the market aggravated the existing problems of

the agrarian labour relations and the exploitation in the sector intensified. Moreover, this increase in the labour force created a crowded class of intermediaries.

Within this general context, Lordoğlu and Aslan (2015) show that there are three main ways for Syrian refugees to enter the labour market. First, they can start their businesses that specialise in wholesale commerce, auto repair or construction, especially in Istanbul, Mersin and Gaziantep. Second, refugees can start small businesses like coffee shops, hairdressers, restaurants or jewellers. Third, they can join the labour market as workers concentrated in construction, agriculture, textile and service sectors.

As other scholars put, Dedeoğlu (2018) highlights the change created by Syrian refugees in Turkish migratory context, additionally she examines how this change reflects on labour market conditions. Her article focuses on immigrant workers working in the agricultural sector as seasonal workers and she states that Syrian refugees work especially in hazelnut and tea production in east and west Black Sea region, cattle breeding in Karabük, sugar beet production in central Anatolia, citrus fruits production in Antalya, Mersin and Adana and cotton production in Adana. She explains that when the changing dynamics of Turkish agricultural sector are accompanied with the characteristics of Syrian refugees such as being poorly educated, young and inclined to migrate and work as families, Syrian refugees easily work in the various places in the agricultural sector. However, they must also accept lower wages with worse conditions than the local population obtains. As other researchers put, number of working children is high among the Syrian refugees whom Dedeoğlu (2018) conducted interviews with in 2015. Dedeoğlu (2018) also investigates how refugees find jobs and how the networks work. According to her, like many other immigrant groups, Syrian refugees find jobs through their existing networks of relatives. That is why they overwhelmingly work in Şanlıurfa and Adana. Intermediary people who negotiate between the employers and the refugees could be their relatives too, especially when they find their first job. The intermediary people

can recruit the refugees from the labour markets, parks or coffeehouses as much as among their relatives or acquaintances. Sometimes refugees also become intermediary. Obligation to work with intermediaries may increase exploitation, however they also provide security both for the employers and the workers. According to her, the influx of Syrian refugees worsened the living conditions and wages for the agricultural workers. Not being able to reach the intermediaries or networks could also lead to unemployment in the agricultural sector. Dedeoğlu (2018) investigates how the competition among diverse groups changes with the influx of refugees. According to her, before the influx, the urban poor turned to be the seasonal agricultural workers which replaced each other in time. However, with the refugees and their effect, the race to the bottom in the agricultural sector gained an impetus. Only different time frames, various locations and differing levels of skill for each product could slow down this race. Another critical point, she makes through her article with the inclusion of the refugees as seasonal workers in the agricultural sector, the rural areas which were free from these new types of confrontations and interactions have turned to be spaces in which different ethnic and cultural groups competing over the limited number of low paying jobs.

Similar to Dedeoğlu's (2018) assertion about the relation between the influx of Syrian refugees and seasonal workers' position in the Turkish agricultural sector, Tören (2017) also relates the Syrian refugees' integration process into the Turkish labour market with the general transformation in Turkish economy since 2001 crisis. According to him, after the 2001 crisis, the Turkish economy underwent a "comprehensive legal, institutional and structural transformation" (p. 5) which centralised the decision making in the economic sphere. After this, working conditions worsened, serial and fatal work accidents increased, subcontracting turned to be the new normal and youth unemployment increased. After 2016's attempted coup and the developments that followed, labour rights were restricted. Under such labour regime, Turkey accepted Syrian refugees into its labour market and as Dedeoğlu (2018), Tören (2017) also claims that it hastened the race

to the bottom for working conditions and workers' rights.

Çetin (2016) also underlines that many Syrians who live in urban centres of Adana and Mersin are underpaid and sometimes they are not even able to collect their earned wages. According to the fieldwork he conducted in Meydan and Gürselpaşa neighbourhood of Adana and Yeni Pazar- Hal, Yeni Mahalle and Mezitli neighbourhoods of Mersin, the main reason for this is that having a work permit turns to be a kind of charity for the refugee by the employer and thus they feel entitled to pay the lower wages. Many Syrian workers in the sample of the study had to work as unskilled workers in Turkey, even if they were initially shopkeepers, artisans or professionals. Çetin (2016) also states that in addition to the woodwork or food sectors, 26 % of the people interviewed are unskilled workers who work mainly in the relatively stable textile sector. These people are mainly from Aleppo, which was famous for its textile industry. 21 % of the people in the sample work in daily jobs such as construction worker or waste collector, whereas 6.7 % of them work as informal shopkeepers in the food sector. The remaining of their sample is unemployed and they live on the resources from charity organisations, official aids, money they get from their relatives or the money they brought from Syria.

According to the latest survey completed in 2018, several challenges that the Syrian refugees have faced in the Turkish job market are listed. These include low educational attainment among the Syrians and lack of Turkish-language skills; high unemployment among Turkish workers (particularly in the east where Syrians are concentrated); a geographic mismatch between where Syrians are concentrated and the locations with the highest economic growth. The 2016 legal framework does not provide necessary incentives for the employers to apply for work permits for Syrians and the current livelihood programmes do not match the labour market needs (Kumar et al, 2018: 23). Moreover in the same research, it is found out through focus groups that travel restrictions due to the temporary protection system is a barrier for Syrians to find a job. Both Syrian women and men in the focus groups underlined the changing

character of household relations. Compared to the situation in Syria before the war, they claimed that more Syrian women are working in Turkey because of the necessities and the safe work environment (p.27).

Conclusion

At the end of this literature review, three important and interrelated points stand out which may enlighten further research. The first one is about the gender perspective. A holistic gender perspective, which focuses on the changing gender roles and dynamics in refugee situations covering both women and men's positions is vital. This is not only important to understand the feminisation of refugeehood and asylum, but also to understand the changing positions of men in the host countries, their vulnerability and hence, the consequences of these new gender dynamics for the households and in general for both communities.

The second aspect is about the agency of refugees, which is overlooked in many studies, since those assume refugees as receiving, submissive and silent. However, a perspective that takes the refugee agency as conditioned by structural constraints could be more useful to understand the position of refugees concerning the topics covered by this literature review, such as gender relations, social resilience and economic activities. All these fields are constructed and reconstructed by social practices, which could be seen as negotiations between refugee agency and structural factors. In this respect, taking the refugee agency into consideration could prove useful to see how refugees steer in their social environment as much as to see their ability to manipulate this social environment under certain circumstances.

The third aspect is about methodological considerations. The literature review highlights the importance of family relations, household dynamics and circles of social support which bypass the national borders in changing gender dynamics, refugees' capacity for resilience and

economic activities. Moreover, these areas of research show considerable variations due to their openness about the effects of structural factors. In this respect, a methodological perspective aiming to understand the operations of refugee social networks will answer many questions about these topics. Qualitative research methods such as in-depth interviews, oral history interviews or participant observation can provide particularly useful and novel insights about the refugee experience under changing conditions from country to country or even from city to city.

This review shows that there is a gap regarding a holistic gender approach in Turkish literature to understand the refugeehood in Turkey. There is a considerable need for more ethnographic studies that will not only convey the voice and the problems of refugee women but also the changing dynamics of gender relations in both Syrian and Turkish communities in several aspects.

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Resilience, Work and Gender in the (Turkish) Migratory Context

Literature Review

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