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A Feminist Geographic Reading of Masculinities: Syrian Entrepreneurs in İzmir

Erkekliklerin Feminist Coğrafya ile Okunması: İzmir'deki Suriyeli Girişimciler

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Öz

Bu araştırma, göçmen erkeklerin mekânsal yörüngelerini, kesişen hiyerarşiler ile nasıl müzakere ettiklerini ve işyerlerini nasıl düzenleyip dönüştürdüklerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çerçevede, araştırma, feminist coğrafya merceği ile Suriyeli girişimcilerin İzmir'in Basmane ve Buca semtlerindeki işyerlerinin haritasını çıkarmıştır. Küçük işletmeleri olan Suriyeli erkeklerin sosyal ilişkilerini ve cinsiyetlendirilmiş performanslarını daha geniş bir sosyo-kültürel ve ekonomik bağlamda incelemek için etnografik araştırma yapılmıştır. Araştırma kapsamında, büyük çoğunlukla katılımcı gözleme dayanmak ile beraber 4 restoran sahibi, 1 berber, 1 bakkal ve 1 tatlıcı ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu çalışma erkekliklerin zamansal ve coğrafi olasılıklarını temeline alarak, (1) erkeklerin kendilerini "yabancı erkeklikler" karşısında nasıl konumlandırdıkları/disiplin ettiklerini, (2) erkeklerin koruyucu rolünün işyerlerine yayılmasını sağlayan mekânsal yapıları, (3) süreklilik ve istikrar yaratan homososyal bağları tartışmıştır.

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Abstract

This research aimed to analyze migrant men's spatial trajectories with an emphasis on how they are negotiating with intersecting hierarchies and how they refine and transform their refuge, workplaces. With a lens of feminist geography, it mapped Syrian entrepreneurs' workplaces in Basmane and Buca, İzmir. To attend the social relations and also gendered practices of Syrian men who run small enterprises and to scrutinize the aspects of their life within broader political, socio-cultural and economic contexts, a feminist ethnographic research was conducted. While heavily relying on participant observation, informal and formal interviews were conducted with the owners of 4 restaurants, 1 barber shop, 1 grocery store and 1 confectioner. Based on the understanding of temporal and geographical contingency of masculinities, it discussed (1) how men positioned/disciplined themselves vis a vis "foreign masculinities", (2) spatial structures that enabled men's protector role spilling over into their workplace, (3) homosocial bonds that created continuity and stability.

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1. Introduction

Being a migrant is a dynamic position. An individual's subjectivity may change within the process of migration as it has shaped the contours of identity and belonging. Being mobile, changing refuge possibly has transgressed the understanding of home and space in various ways. While approaching taken for granted explanations that supposedly work with all groups with caution, one can also argue that the concept of migrant must be permitted to break out from the category of object of the study. Being migrant is not unidirectional and there is a need to go beyond the imposed identity and experiences of migration that impact differently on women, men, LGBTI, young, old, disabled etc (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014). With a gender lens, the literature marks international migration as a global process that strains regional and local gender orders resulting in varying patterns of masculinities and femininities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2000; Mahler and Pessar, 2001). Nevertheless, given gender as a relational construct between men and women, the focus on women and the construction of femininities within the processes of migration have simultaneously marginalised men and masculinities. The literature has concentrated on female migrants since the 1980s, which has intensively discussed the characteristics of female migrants' migration for marriage and family reunifications, and migration for labour purposes (Ghosh, 2003; Ryklina, 2004). By the 1990s, women were not only analyzed as wives but also as migrants to supply the international labour market. This move re-hinted the question of public and private dichotomies and historical patriarchal roots that have been demanding women's domestic service. Transnational care work and motherhood started to be analyzed in depth. In parallel, scholars have not been blind to the different forms of exploitation and violence that women have been subject to as well (Pateman and Mills, 2010).

In addition, based on the performative nature of gender and diversities of experiences, scholars have analysed different migration stories. Narratives of women voiced processes, networks, discourses and, most importantly, other structures of power that they have experienced (Morokvasic et al., 2003). Feminist scholars who emphasized different voices of women theorized complex personal, social, cultural and international relations along migration chains (Erel, 2009). Upon this background on women and migration literature, to have a holistic gendered analysis of migration, it is of utmost significance to find different experiences of men and constructions of masculinities. Given gender is a relational construct, there is a need to highlight men's experiences of migration to redress historical lacunae on gendered analysis of migration. As women-only approach has left changes of masculine identity as underrepresented or oversimplified, recently growing literature on male migrants urges the need to reconsider hegemonic masculinity in transnational context (Hearn, 2013; Scheibelhofer, 2012).

Recent studies have scrutinized the gender dynamic from the perspective of male migrants in deviance of the literature's tendency to equate gender with women (Ryan and Webster, 2008). It can be argued that, literature on masculinities within the migration context has marked how the construction of masculinities has entangled with governing migration at macro levels and, masculinized strategies and processes at micro levels (Donaldson et al., 2009; Gallo and Scrinzi, 2016; Montes, 2013; Ryan and Webster, 2008). Ethnographic research on migrant men has shifted the content of the academic studies and transgressed the tendency to configure the migrant as a singular, bounded, international actor (Ryan and Webster, 2008: 36). For instance, upon the main question of how migration allows migrant men to

renegotiate their gendered identities, practices and family formations in the UK, Batnitzky, McDowell and Dyer (2009: 1281) suggest a deeper analysis of local, national and transnational networks. They added that "an examination of the cultural and symbolic effects of migration, as well as the politico-economic consequences, is necessary in order to capture the full impact of migration as a source of social change" (2009:1290). Precisely, transformations in the construction of masculinities hint other hierarchical power relations such as class, race, and, ethnicity and resultant consequences. The recently growing literature on migrant men map different stories of migration, offering a means of discerning to read different tactics and negotiations within the power structures that position them as 'virile', 'other', 'victims', 'threats' or any other stereotyped categories for men (Batnizky et al.,2009; Osella and Osella, 2014; Walter et al. 2004). The migrant men's positions and relations with other hegemonic forms of masculinities, as centre of the gendered socio-spatialities, offered important analyses of these men's strategies that shape their everyday life in different ways. For instance, in a context of post-colonial and transnational experiences, Farahani and Tahapar-Björkert (2019) discuss experiences of Iranian men and Pakistani-Muslim men in two diasporic contexts of Sweden and the UK. They argue that marginalization and "(…) alienation from dominant (white) discursive constructions and the impact of dislocatory events shape their everyday lives" (2019: 99). In this case, like most of the experiences of non-European men (mostly Muslim) in a European country, the stigmatization of Muslim racialized men exert an influence on social identities and are being disrupted. Suerbaum's analysis on Syrian men in Egypt also mark how Syrian men renegotiate their masculinities and distance themselves from the stereotypical 'refugee' (2018: 379). The hierarchical positioning of these men in Egypt hint the power of stigmatization of Syrian refugee men as they distanced themselves from this label (of refugee) and erecting boundaries between themselves. Although the first research explicitly unpacks the significance of Islam for migrant men's renegotiating of their masculinities, both of the research discuss the key role of stigmatization and marginalization in migrant men's symbiotic relations with the other. Throughout the process of displacement, men may take deliberate sacrifices against not only the insidious calls inviting them to live up to the values attributed to the hegemonic norms but also disrupts the stereotypical image of refugee men. At this point, what is critical is transgressing presupposed singularity of refugee man's experiences by integrating the agency alongside with an intersectionality approach.

Agency is a useful concept to differentiate an individual's 'autonomous' position and his/her 'capacity' and/or 'ability' to act/decide/initiate (Kandiyoti, 1987; Mahmood, 2001; Williams, 2006). This approach is valuable for mapping gendered stories of migration. This approach enables us to analyse how individuals facing similar and/or different external circumstances may act in various ways, and, second, assists in exploring the assumed vulnerability of migrants. Mahler and Pessar's (2001) conceptualization of "gendered geographies of power" offers a dynamic framework for understanding the interplay among everyday experiences. These blocks are geographic, social location, agency and imagination (Mahler and Pessar, 2001: 445). According to this model, geographies refer to "multiple spatial and social scales" in which gender operates, while social location marks other power hierarchies' role in persons' positions (ibid). The third block examines "the types and degrees of agency people exert given their social locations" with an emphasis on "power geometry" as elaborated by Massey (1994)

and to complete their model, they suggest to integrate initiations, imagination and cognitive processes as the elements of the final block. The second block, social location, is significant for this work as the persons' social location created through historical, political, economic, geographic and other socially stratifying factors, reveal (gendered) hierarchies. As Mahler and Pessar argue "(…) hierarchies of class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality and of course gender operate at various levels that affect an individual or group's social location. (…) multiple dimensions of identity also shape, discipline and position people and the ways they think and act." (Mahler and Pessar, 2001: 446). Hence, advantages and disadvantages affected by different hierarchies are not built on national level but also at different socio-spatial contexts. That's how people exert power over different forces/processes/networks as well as being affected by them. Soytemel and Karadenizli (2021) in their recent research on Balat, İstanbul, well discuss how different representations of masculinities affect social and spatial clustering. Men's gendered identity in Balat, a gentrified area, are reproduced and reconstructed vis a vis socio-spatial dynamics. For instance, these 'newly' emerging spaces limit these men's interactions and hence positioning with reference to hegemonic masculinities. In this framework, Soytemel and Karadenizli's research unravels socio-spatial clustering's relationships to gender hierarchies representing either hegemonic or marginalized types of masculinities (Connell, 1995). While this research offers a myopic view of the pivotal role of the spatiality, developing a nuanced account of forced migrants' negotiations with other forms of hierarchies in a specific location would develop a new lens. Especially, upon this theoretical framework, re-reading Syrian men's gendered identities and masculine practices would clarify the dimension of understanding how these men position and spatially situate themselves. In a context that they have been represented as 'threat' to host society's safety and security (Göktuna-Yaylacı and Çapar, 2019) and also 'deserter' hence lacks patriotism and courage to defend their own country[1], re-reading their negotiations of masculinities by incorporating agency and spatiality would enable the researchers to have new views.

For this research, upon this backdrop, it is important to analyze migrant men's spatial trajectories with an emphasis on how they are negotiating with intersecting hierarchies and how they refine and transform their refuge, their workplace with the help of "agential intervention" (Sigona, 2014: 230). With a lens of feminist geography, this work aims a novel approach in unpacking different experiences of Syrian men who have small scale business in İzmir, the third most populous city of Turkey. What do these workplaces owned by Syrian men unravel about their gendered experiences? How do spatial constraints and separation in Basmane and Buca districts affect men's experiences in their workplace? To answer these questions, this work attempts to map migrant masculinities so as to have a view of temporal and geographical contingency of masculinities in İzmir.

The first part of the work will analyze the literature by giving the conceptual framework of the research. The following part will define the main contours of the ethnographic research conducted in İzmir. The third part will discuss different forms of masculinities in different spatial constructions and will reveal patterns of 'peripheral masculinities'.

2. Literature Review

The influx of Syrian refugees to neighboring countries like Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and to Europe has created challenges for local, central, and multi-level governance of the migration in terms of providing basic services and social services to these forced migrants of diverse backgrounds. The socio-political contexts in host countries from a macro perspective received a growing scholarly attention. Experiences of migrants have also been documented in diverse contexts (Bolch 2014; Burrell, 2008). In addition to the researches that examine the role of ethnicity, religion, class on the construction of migratory experiences, a focus on gender dynamics of forced displacement have also offered new avenues of discussions on stereotypes (Kotzur et al., 2017), discrimination (Namer et al., 2020), human trafficking (Yousaf, 2017) and gender-based violence (Ozcurumez et al., 2020). In parallel to insights from other countries, analyses of Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey followed similar patterns. Scholars offered important analyses of forced migratory experiences with a focus on psycho-social well-being (Hynie, 2017) needs and aspirations (Van Heelsum, 2017), familial relationships (Akyüz and Tursun, 2018), schooling (Shakya et al., 2012), citizenship (Long, 2013) and precariousness (Şenses, 2020). Recent studies also scrutinized the gender dynamic from varying perspectives including but not limited to reproductive health care (Krause et al., 2000), education (Hatoss, 2010), and different forms of vulnerabilities (Tastsoglou et al., 2014) and victimisation (McGinnis, 2016).

A gendered analysis of Syrians under temporary protection revealed vital key findings. Women refugees suffer different barriers that increase their vulnerabilities and insecurities. The most visible yet rendered invisible issue is gender-based violence (GBV). Syrians are exposed to different forms of GBV throughout different phases of their migration journey including different manifestations in the host country (Ozcurumez et al., 2020). In addition, literature highlights that women and girls face double discrimination of being female and a forced migrant (Boutwell, 2015; Pittaway and Bartolomei, 2001). These varying forms of discriminations experienced in the labor market are also highly discussed. Şenses (2020: 58) in her work that offers very important insights on precariousness of women refugees in Turkey argues "migrant women's irregular status vis a vis the state makes them increasingly vulnerable especially when there is an abuse of rights and harassment in the workplace." Existing patriarchal gender norms lead to some other forms of precarity – "material"- such as informal work, long working hours, low wages, and poor housing conditions (ibid). On the one hand, the literature discusses the varying forms of vulnerabilities that are exacerbated by material forms of precarity, on the other hand scholarly works also analyse the other side of the coin, namely the characteristics of 'what is acceptable'. These women are mostly recognized as victims. Reflecting a simplified and homogenised view of refugee women, these works including reports of INGOs and IOs, neglect interconnected categories of disadvantages (Freedman, 2010; Grabska 2011). However, a nuanced view of gendered experiences of forced migration may vary over time, across cultures and in relation to other circumstances (Charsley and Wray, 2015; Ozcurumez et al., 2020; Williams et al., 2013). This understanding of fixity of experiences homogenise the refugee into female victim and masculine threat and undermine analyses that discuss women's and men's different gendered practices in varying socio-spatial settings (Freedman, 2017). This is problematic in two ways: first, it limits readings of gendered performances, experiences of refugees, second, it obscures how gendered constraints and limitations

interact with other hierarchies. Although some recent researches voiced women different experiences that allowed them being free from stereotypes, we also need to understand refugee men's multifaceted performances and identities in detail.

Other than women-only approach of gender analyses of (forced) migration, incorporating masculinities into the analysis has the potential to unravel how dynamics of gender are constructed by and, in return, reconstructing the migration process. The relative absence of masculinities in the understanding of different phases of forced migration journey calls for integrating a more holistic approach and reformed the foci of different disciplines. Scholars integrated "the man question" into migration governance (Edwards, 2010), different processes throughout the journey (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014), everyday experiences (Osella and Osella, 2000), working lives (Batnizky et. al, 2009; Walter et. al, 2004). Recently, the need of discussing multidimensional and intersectional aspects of migrant men's practices is also marked (Wojnicka, 2019). The questions arose around "how immigrant men renegotiate their gendered identity as they relate their own cultural understandings of masculinity to the meanings and practices in the dominant culture" (Donaldson et al., 2009: 15). Scholarly works discussed these different forms of negotiation and multidimensionality with reference to family relationships (Nobles, 2011; Zadkowska et al., 2017) and gendered privileges (Hearn, 2015). The recognition of multiplicity of migrant men's experiences that are influenced by other factors such as race, ethnicity, social class, age and sexuality enabled the scholars to have a holistic approach and transgressing the stereotype of migrant men (Hearn, 2015; Wojnicka, 2019).

Acknowledging the importance of integrating an intersectionality approach, Wojnika (2019: 288) also aptly mentions that the analyses that address interconnections among different forms of power "must also be supplemented by the application of geographical dimension." She emphasizes that spatiality plays a vital role in "positioning migrant men" (ibid). Adding mobility perspective, either downward or upward, also offers clues on the type of gender identity imposed on migrants by others. Scholarship on feminist geography highlighted how gender relations in general, femininities and masculinities in particular, are organized and sustained in parallel to spatial boundaries and resulting inclusion/exclusion practices (Massey, 1994; McDowell, 1999).

The emergent research on masculinities with a focus on spatiality uses place in its broadest connotation and refers to "an entity which renders masculinities as multiple, moulding the construction, experience and performance of masculinities in diverse ways." (Lohokare, 2019: 293). The 'arena of work' is one of the place that is constitutive of masculinity. Social and material spaces of finance banking (McDowell, 2001) and other fields that are dominated by working-class men (Nayak, 2006) are discussed. Migrant men's worksites are also elaborated as a place for ethno-different masculinities (Datta, 2009, Warren, 2014). These researches unpack how migrant men make claims on gendered hierarchies and how masculinities intersect with patterns of inclusion and exclusion. In this framework, the understanding of 'localness' designates the boundaries of hegemonic masculinities and also resultant negotiations of not being excluded. This scholarship also contributes to the understanding of the interplay among local, regional/national and global levels and highlight the centrality of locating masculine performances and discourses within spatial their contexts (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). For instance, Warren (2014: 428) in his research highlights how different types of work become

'matching' with particular gendered identities especially in segmented economies. Therefore, personal subjectivities of working men need to be re-read from a perspective that enables researchers to explore "the relational, intersecting and often competing nature of masculine identity work" (ibid, 429).

In this framework, this research will contribute to this field by analyzing forced migrants' masculinities in a local context, İzmir, Turkey, with a specific focus on spatial constructions and segregation to understand how Syrian men's gendered identities are emplaced and embedded within particular settings. As there is few researches on migrant men's masculinities (Bozok and Bozok, 2017; Göktuna-Yaylacı and Çarpar, 2019) in Turkey, this work also offers a step in locating masculine performances. In addition, although Syrians in İzmir have been discussed by scholars in varying perspectives (Oner et al. 2020; Yıldız and Uzgören, 2016), there is no research on the constructions of migrant masculinities. Hence, providing knowledge on masculinities and spatiality from a feminist geographical perspective would enable researchers to have a robust understandings of plural masculinities and also to map masculinities in the 'periphery' where is overlooked.

3. Research Design and Methodology

In Turkey, Syrians under temporary protection are mostly concentrated in 10 provinces, most of which are in Southeast Turkey.[2] Izmir is the eighth among those with a number of 147.997 as of March 2021. Izmir's significance lies in being a port city which has been preferred before the sea journey because of its proximity to Greek islands. Izmir has not only been a transit city but also a destination city for migrants from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran and Africa for so many years (Oner et al., 2020). It has been a base for those who were in need of spending an intermediate period to accumulate funds to continue their journey to European countries (Yıldız and Uzgören, 2016). The city has also been a hub for Syrians who wanted to settle down for varying reasons including its job opportunities, especially in informal sectors (ibid). Belanger and Saraçoğlu (2018) suggest that Syrians are dispersed around the city where they can find job opportunities in central and peripheral locations. Another significant point that differentiates the city from other cities that host Syrians under temporary protection is its perceived 'modernity'. The inhabitants of Izmir are proud of living in such a leading secular modern commercial center. In the popular discourse the city has been widely referred as *gavur* to denote non-Muslim citizens who have populated the area since Ottoman Empire and local inhabitants embrace this as it refers to its multicultural background and secularist ethos as they are converging. However, on the other hand, as the data suggests Syrians experience alienation, discrimination, accompanied by abject conditions of housing, education, health and other social services (Oner et al., 2020: 7). In this framework, Basmane and Buca districts were chosen to conduct the ethnographic research as these have been accommodating migrants, refugees and new-comers through the ages. Especially, Basmane has historically been a multi-ethnic residential neighborhood. It has been a location for those who have been marginalized for a longer period of time. "Decades of sheltering internal migrants from south-eastern Turkey has resulted in the area being associated with 'outsiders', in spite of its local historical significance" (Oner et. al., 2020: 10). Historic built environment well justifies this historical 'legacy'. For instance, first, Kortejos that "were designed to accommodate the Jewish population that migrated from Spain in the 15th century and are unique to Basmane" and nowadays several Kortejos are used as affordable hotels for new comers. (Oner et. al., 2020: 9). Second, its deteriorated built environment has also contributed to the assumably

'insecure' and 'precarious' situation of the neighborhood and inhabitants. On the other hand, Buca has also started to host Syrians relatively later than Basmane. The data suggests that Syrians are dispersed around Buca, in last years due to its job opportunities (Yıldız and Uzgören, 2016). The migrant population is relatively younger than Basmane. Syrians are mostly working in informal economy in the manufacturing, construction and food sectors.[3]

In this framework, analyzing Syrian entrepreneurs in İzmir constituted an interesting case in two interrelated ways. First, İzmir's socio-cultural characteristics are different from other host cities. Izmirians have always been considered as 'Western' not only because of being located in the western coast of Turkey but also locals have always been strong supporters of secularism and modernity as opposed to conservative and/or traditionalist eastern parts where Syrians live. Second, unlike cities in the (south) eastern part of Turkey, Syrians in İzmir lack social networks and cultural ties. This lack of networks also make the case of Syrian entrepreneurs remarkable. Starting up a new business in an environment that is alien to themselves has potential to reveal their masculinized spatial strategies of refining their refuge other than their fellow citizens who work in 'someone else's' place.

To attend the social relations and also practices of Syrian men who run small enterprises and to scrutinize the aspects of their social life within broader political, socio-cultural and historical contexts, this work conducted a feminist ethnography. Mainly feminist ethnography analyzes "the ways in which gender is understood and made meaningful in social life, as well the ways that gender is related to the distribution of power and resources." (Hesse-Biber, 2014: 110). To have an in-depth understanding of how Syrian men with small enterprises in İzmir construct their workplaces and reproduce their masculinities, this research studied natural settings to have a "productive understanding of lived realities" (ibid), which has widely become a popular research method in the field of feminist geography (Moss et al., 2002). Deniz and Öksüz's (2017) recent research on Iranian restaurants in Ankara, for instance, used the ethnographic method. This method allowed researchers to have a dynamic position with themselves and the 'researched'. As positionality of the 'researched' is important for the knowledge production, they critically consider their position and accounts for reflexivity. Second, in line with the previous argument, the ethnographic research enabled the researchers to practice and learn while they do the research. Hence, for this research on Syrian men's workplaces in İzmir, to map migrant masculinities, the knowledge is produced through relationships and did not proceed in a linear order.

The initial preliminary fieldwork was conducted in periods between May – September 2019. The principal researcher made a number of observations in these two districts as they have been populated by Syrians under temporary protection and also their restaurants, cafes etc. During these initial visits to these places, she had a chat with the workers over snacks and coffee. These visits also consisted of walking in the neighborhoods and talking to local inhabitants of the city about the "Syrians in town". Then, in January 2020, the research was conducted in Basmane and Buca. Multiple strategies were used to collect data in the field. While heavily relying on participant observation, several informal and 7 semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with the owners of these workplaces, namely 4 restaurants, 1 barbershop, 1 grocery store and 1 confectioner. The semi-structured interview questions were finalized after the initial visits to these neighborhood. Personal questions were avoided to be asked so as not to make these men uncomfortable as there were other customers (or other men) in these

restaurants and there was no option to visit them after working hours. The questions were on their decision to start up this business, a brief information on the other workers, their customers' profile and their plans for the future. In addition, the decorations and the ways these men talk to each other and to the researchers were observed. Two other researchers also accompanied the researcher during different times. As the main researcher is a cis female, the 'invisible' power and gender dynamics were also taken into account. As Lefkowich aptly argues "within the context of research about men and masculinities, (female) researchers must be responsible for reflecting on and confronting gender norms as a part of their intersectional experiences of privilege and oppression" (2019: 1). Hence, by considering relational gender dynamics in these visits and especially while conducting the interviews, the main researcher remained self-critical and continuously consulted on her colleagues, one cis male and another cis female. In addition, as all of the researchers have been born and raised in İzmir, it was relatively easier for them to read the Throughout the data collection during the field visits, the extensive field notes and interview data were re-read and analysed. A dynamic interpretive process was embedded into all stages of the field work and analysis.

4. Analysis and Discussion

4.1. The Boundaries of "Foreign Masculinities"

Scheibelhofer (2017) in his research discusses the portrayal of migrant men as dangerous, uncivilized men who break the norms of the host country. As a vivid way of defining migrant men, the perception of foreign masculinity has strong negative connotations. For migrant men, masculinities were being reworked around the insecurity and public embarrassment felt by jobless or out-of-place identities (Elmhirst, 2007). In this line, in public discourses in Turkey, Syrian men have also been generally perceived as a threat to the safety and security (Akyüz and Tursun, 2019; Bozok and Bozok, 2019; Göktuna-Yaylacı and Çarpar, 2019). These men who are at the bottom of social hierarchies are seen as potential perpetrators of sexual violence and also a threat to local women and also (informal) jobs. The body of evidence on these communities generally mark high unemployment rate, poor housing, limited language skills and very high level of school dropouts (Bircan and Sunata, 2015; Göktuna-Yaylacı and Çarpar 2019). Borrowing from Connell, it can be argued that these foreign Syrian masculinities are "marginalized" (2005: 80). As the constructions of masculinities are diverse and fluid, different macro structures and hierarchies including socio-spatial clustering render refugee men as marginalized thus excluded. The understanding of foreignness has a decisive role in such construction and it is important to map their experiences and also perceptions of their own gendered identities.

As discussed above both Basmane and Buca are two districts that are located in the heart of city as İzmir is one of the biggest metropolitan cities and one of the most densely populated areas of Turkey. The city's residential quarters are not concentrated in one single area while the industry is concentrated in suburbs too. In Basmane, there are two important transportation hubs of Konak, one of important squares of the city, and the Basmane Train Station. The workplaces are mostly in Anafartalar street which started to be known as 'little Syria'. The street offers affordable accommodations, small food stores, barber shops, bakeries specialized in Syrian deserts and grocery stores. These stores are extended to the sidewalks and streets. Most of them even impede vehicular and pedestrian flows. In addition to

the literature (Oner et al., 2020), based on the small talks with Izmirians during field visits, it can be mentioned that the overcrowd of the neighborhood is increased by the arrival of Syrians. These negative opinions intensified when Syrian entrepreneurs started to dominate the area as presumably 'risk generators' and 'job takers'. In addition, especially during the initial influx of Syrians in 2011, a peripheral area of the district around Anafartalar Street served as a point for human trafficking operations. Some shops and restaurants were the spots "to conclude deals and shops along Anafartalar Street or Fevzipaşa Boulevard sold life vests, and money exchange shops converted funds into Euros." (Oner et. al. 2020: 13). The owners of the workplaces also referred to this negative image. "We are not all smugglers" said one of the restaurant owners referring to these operations mainly conducted by Syrian men.

Other than emphasizing their ethnic identity and nationality, their workplaces were mainly decorated by Turkish flags, Ottoman figures and photos of İzmir. Another element that was apparent in several workplaces was the Quran. Framed prays were also mainly used as a decoration element. As a very significant common element between two nations, seeing Quran in the workplaces and other references to Islam was not coincidental. However, in workplaces, the workers, mostly the waiters, were wearing Turkish flag t-shirts. This was a very explicit symbol of 'not being a foreigner'. Syrian entrepreneurs' ways of negotiating with intersecting hierarchies were first seen in their decorations object. The visibility of references to Turkey and Turkish history (the Ottoman Empire) palliate their foreignness and it works as a potential arena for cultural reconstructions of masculinities. Another common theme among these men was their emphasis on calmness (*sakinlik*). As opposed to public perception of refugee men as aggressive and violent, their reference to be calm can be considered as a working strategy to distance themselves from stereotypical framings. A barber in Basmane mentioned "We have always prioritized kindness here in this shop. As long as you are kind and calm, the customers will come. They also give credit to kindness, calmness and sincerity." and added "Basmane is very chaotic but not us." During the visit, he repetitively highlighted these as the reasons behind their customers' engagement. This young man in his 20s, who was also working as a barber in Syria also compared Basmane and Karşıyaka and argued "Karşıyaka is nicer with kind and sympathetic people. Here life is different" His reference to Karşıyaka can be read as a sign of negotiating his masculine identity. Karşıyaka as an allegedly nicer district than Basmane does not provide socio-spatial opportunities for reproducing hegemonic forms of masculinity which deemed to be unkind.

Another Syrian restaurant owner in Buca, referred to the name of his restaurant which means credence with an Islamic connotation and added "This name is the name of our restaurant in Syria. We wanted to continue the legacy here." This might be read as a symbol of sustaining continuity in the face of change, especially when he wanted to construct something familiar and stable (Firnhaber et al., 2018). In addition, all of the participants of the research were doing the same job in their home country and they mentioned they did not look for other job opportunities. For a participant, being a shop owner was "destined to him" while another one argued "under these circumstances [being under temporary protection] this is the only way to survive". This can be analyzed with reference to temporal and geographical contingency of masculinities. As workplace is mainly discussed as a refuge for men in the literature on entrepreneurship and masculinities (Ahl and Marlow, 2012; Giazitzoglu and Down, 2015),

in the framework of doing/accomplishing entrepreneurial masculinities, he fulfills his true masculine self while performing his job in a time of change. In response to changing conditions, his masculine self got anchored in the workplace. In this way, he constructs a form of masculinity which is not foreign to himself and others. However, paradoxically, while entrepreneurialism enshrines the values of competition, these men posed a challenge to such form of business masculinity (Giazitzoglu and Down, 2015). During the interviews, they did not mention about their Turkish colleagues. They only referred to Turks as their (potential) customers but not entrepreneurs or shop owners in the same neighborhood. It can be argued that the socio-spatial clustering of the city limited their negotiations of masculinities vis a vis Turkish men. Being in the periphery restricts them to be portrayed in line with hegemonic norms of business masculinities that are being productive, competitive, and industrious.

4.2. "This is Reserved for Families"

As there is a need to discuss "Spatial structures that underpin masculine identities and maintain patriarchal gender relations, we need to be aware of the extent to which power in one domain spills over into other domains" (Jackson, 1991: 209). Upon this apt remark, Syrian men's workplaces requires a delicate lens to be analyzed. The most significant and common spatial organization in these workplaces was separate places reserved for families. Men as the provider of the family and protector of the dignity of his family transfer this 'power' to his workplace by providing a section for the family.

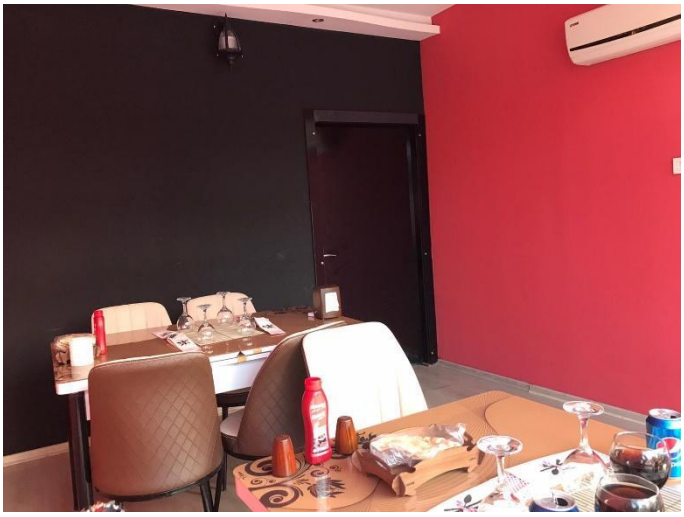


Photo 1. The special section for families

The photo taken during a visit to a restaurant in Buca shows the special section for families. This part was painted in another brighter color than the rest of the restaurant. The owner mentioned "This is very important. In the restaurants in Basmane, there are also these sections but they are mainly on the second floor. If you did not see them that is why. Here, in our restaurant it is visible. You can walk in and enjoy your food." In this restaurant, there was also a special section reserved for young customers. In this special section, they were only allowing young boys and men to sit. However, if there is a female in the group, either young or old, they ask this group to sit in the "family section".

The photo given below (Photo 2) shows the section for young customers. This was relatively darker than the other sections in the restaurant.



Photo 2. The special section for young customers

Another restaurant in Basmane has also such special section only for families and as the owner of the restaurant in Buca mentioned, in this restaurant the special section reserved for families was on the second floor. It was not easily accessible and visible from the street. The photo given below shows this section. Compared to other restaurant, this section was not as 'stylish' as the other. There were empty boxes in this section and the floor was not well organized.



Photo 3. The special section for families in the second floor of the restaurant

The construction of masculinity was embedded within masculine familial roles and this role spilled over to the workplace as the protector of safety and dignity of the families. The responsibilities of "looking after the family", "providing for the family", "being the breadwinner in the absence of father" were explicitly mentioned by the participants. In the same vein, they were also the 'boss' of their workplace. This can be analyzed as a strategy to keep home and work stable while forced migration was a source of change. In line with the previous analysis on having same job in both home and host countries, for these refugee men, not only having the same job but also continuing the 'protector' role enable them to sustain their traditional masculinities. While they have been othered by local gaze, their spatial segregation support their way of reconstructing their masculinities in their own refuge. Hence as the literature on hegemonic masculinities marks, the way of legitimating patriarchal relations

constructed in arenas of face to face encounters and immediate communities are powerful adaptive gendered strategies (Messerschmidt, 2016).

4.3. Masculinities in the Periphery

Bozok and Bozok (2019) in their analysis of young Afghan men in Karasu discusses the importance of homosocial solidarity networks in the household, in the street and in the labour market. The authors emphasized the fluid, shifting, fractured, diverse and plural forms of masculinities and argue that "they have developed stern-yet-fragile, transnational migrant masculinities" (Bozok and Bozok, 2019: 13). In line with the literature on migrant masculinities, young Afghan men renegotiate their gender identity and as a way of locating themselves, they use support networks.

Homosociality is a working analytical tool to analyze how men through their friendship and collaborations with other men maintain the gender order (Hammaren and Johansson, 2019: 213). In the field visits in Basmane and Buca, in most of the workplaces, even in the smallest grocery store, there were groups of Syrian men who were spending time and these men were not necessarily customers. As the neighborhoods where Syrians mostly live are spatially clustered, (physical and social) constraints and separation of spaces from the other parts where local inhabitants live and socialize made them more conversant. In these places, Syrian men were re-constructing a safe male bonding. As their repetitive reference to "importance of safety" and "being not like the other Syrian men" also unravels their need to create a secure space where they are not a 'threat' or 'foreigner to someone'. The owners of the shop and the other workers were all men in most of the places. Only in one place, the owner mentioned his plan of hiring a woman. These men's positions within the socio-spatial dynamic are also significant to evaluate. The spatial constraints and separation work as an accelerator to support each other and develop solidarity mechanisms. Hence, in line with Mahler and Pessar's conceptualization of social location, the existing hierarchies of class, ethnicity and nationality position and discipline these men (2001: 446). Given their "gendered geographies of power" Syrian men exert agency over hierarchies that position them in the society as "foreign", "threat" and "dangerous" and attempt to transform them into a safe refuge. According to the research conducted by Oner, Durmaz-Drinkwater and Grant, the physical characteristics of built environment like location, locality, affordability, proximity have also "contributed to the adaptation of Syrians by providing opportunities and space to integrate their tactics of belonging together with their social support networks and solidarity mechanism" (2020: 14).

The homosocial bonds among Syrian men were working not only as a network to increase solidarity but also as a safety net to protect them from local gaze.

> The migrant entrepreneur – in leveraging the available opportunities and forms of capital – generates not only a new business enterprise but also new goods, relations, appearances, places for coming together, and intercultural communication between host and immigrant populations. Hence their experiences are interrelated with integration. (Atasü-Topçuoğlu, 2019: 201)

Atasü-Topçuoğlu, in her research on small-scale entrepreneurship of Syrians, argues these entrepreneurs creates new places for coming together with local inhabitants of the host community for integration. However, during the field visits, there were very limited references to the integration to the host community besides rareness of Turkish customers and hardships of Turkish bureaucracy. Syrian men dominating the places either as customers or friends who were talking, making jokes to each other. During the interviews, the other men around the participants never interrupted but their presence was noticeable. For instance, the owner of the grocery store mentioned "I am very happy here. Life is stable." in a satirical way and the other four men in the shop started to laugh. Their presence was creating a support other than hierarchies. Hence, homosocial bonds do not only create hierarchies based on exchange of means, especially in a clientelistic way, rather, as this example illustrates, it may also create equalities among these entrepreneurs. At this point, it is also important to note that these small-scale entrepreneurs have never referred to their Turkish colleagues. Their reference to Turk was limited to customers. Hence a perceived hierarchy among the men in the periphery and the (Turkish) ones in the center was developed based on an implicit image.

5. Conclusion

This research brings geographical dimension to the (re)construction of migrant masculinities. Based on the understanding of dynamism, diversity, fluidity and contested nature of masculinities, it also incorporates positions of race, ethnicity, and class into the study. Hence, it is significant to unravel different positions of migrant men and integrate a critical lens on the investigation of masculinities as "emplaced and embedded within particular spaces, contexts and scales, ranging from the body to the nation, from institutions to home" (Lohokare, 2019: 296).

To map migrant masculinities, the research adopted a feminist ethnography methodology. This enabled us to not only juxtapose different parameters affecting the construction of masculinities but also to scrutinize socio-spatial dynamics within. It first discussed how Syrian entrepreneurs reconstructed their gendered identities vis a vis the image of "foreigner". Since the initial refugee flow to Turkey, while women were victimized, Syrian men were marginalized. The resultant discourse of marking Syrian men as perpetrators, threat and dangerous, positioned and disciplined these men within other power hierarchies of nationality, ethnicity and class. Their reference to continuity, stability, calmness and order reflected itself in their choices of decorations. Turkish flag t-shirts, framed prays, Ottoman figures, photos of Turkey and İzmir were mainly used as objects that drew close them to Turkey and palliated their foreignness. In the face of change, they constructed 'something stable'.

The research also discussed spatial structures, namely different sections in the restaurants reserved for different groups of people. Traditional breadwinner role of the father as protector of the family spilled over into his workplace. Syrian shop owners 'guaranteed' the safety of other families who came to their restaurants. In addition, as they considered any group with a woman as family, they also marginalized young men and boys by asking them to sit in a different section. This section reserved for the young men, mostly Syrians, which is darker than the other parts of the place, provided not only a barrier from the other's gaze but also enabled them to create closer, even intimate bonds.

Finally, the work analyzed how these peripheral masculinities were spatially constrained. As the districts that the ethnographic research was conducted is characterized by its abandoned and old buildings, infrastructural problems, unsafe streets, the Syrian men who owned these workplaces were 'naturally' marginalized. However, spatial and geographic constraints and separation worked as an accelerator for more homosocial networks among these men. As men's places, these restaurants, grocery stores, confectioner and barber shop enabled them to have closer bonds based on 'equal'/'similar' past and present experiences. As there were no explicit reference to Turkish entrepreneurs in the same districts, it can be argued that there is perceived center where Turkish men are positioned and such center discipline them. This interesting puzzle urges the researchers to make in-depth analysis of the encounters between Syrian and Turkish entrepreneurs. As spatiality as central to the construction of gendered identities enabled us to have a deeper analysis, thus facilitated to discuss essentially plural experiences, it would be significant to unravel other dynamics that challenge or sustain the hierarchies between hegemonic and marginalized masculinities in the field of business. Finally, from a broader theoretical perspective, based on the relationships among the Syrian entrepreneurs in a host country, their intimacies and socio-spatially constructed support networks advised us to reconsider whether all hegemonies are equally bad.

Notes

1.Regarding the stereotypical representation of Syrian men, eksi sozluk, a popular internet dictionary where participants can share their ideas, well exemplifies how Syrian men were framed especially in the context of being "less man" and they have been asked to "go back to their country to fight" (See https://eksisozluk.com/suriyeli-erkekler-savasa-gonderilsin--6385754). In addition, with the same rationale this news coverage reflects how such public perception of Syrian men mirrored itself in the discourse of political parties (See https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/chpli-vekil-gulay-yedekci-ulkemizde-yasayan-suriyeli-erkekler-askere-alinsin-1734578/)

2.https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638

3.https://unescochair.yasar.edu.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/SIVIS_YILDIZ_July2019-2.pdf?csrt=17146029980877551300

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