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**GÜNDELİK HAYATTA DEĞİŞEN TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET ROLLERİNE KARŞI BAŞ ETME
STRATEJİLERİ: YOZGAT'TA YAŞAYAN GÖÇMEN KADINLAR¹**

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ÖZ

Dezavantajlı gruplar arasında yer alan kadınlar göçten en çok etkilenenlerdendir. Bu durumun yaşanmasında ise eşitsiz koşullarda yaşayan kadınların göç ile birlikte daha eşitsiz koşullara boyun eğmek zorunda kalması etkili olmaktadır. Güncel göç literatüründe de çoğunlukla erkeği birincil ve özne konumunda görürken kadını ise onunla hareket etmek zorunda olan bir eşya gibi ikincil konumda görmektedir. Bu ilişkilendirmenin aksine göç sürecinde kadınlar değişen sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel yapının da etkisiyle değişimde aktif özne olmuştur dolayısıyla toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri de bu değişimden bağımsız değildir. Roller gereği süreci göçün feminizasyonuna dönüştürmüştür. Daha çok bireysel ya da psikolojik sorunların çözülmesi veya davranışın iyileştirilmesi anlamlarını içeren baş etme, ilerleyen zamanlarda bireysel/psikolojik sorunlar kadar, aile, aile içi ya da aileler arası ilişkilerini, grup veya toplulukların eylemlerini de kapsar hale gelmiştir. Baş etme daha çok, bireyin ya da grubun (ailenin) karşılaştıkları sorunu veya engeli ortadan kaldırıcı araçlar bulma çabası, sahip olduğu imkân ve kaynakları seferber etmesi olarak tanımlanmaya başlanmıştır; bu çalışmada da göçmen kadınlar özelinde kullanılan baş etme benzer süreçleri ve anlamları içermektedir. Bu çalışmada göçmen kadınların değişen cinsiyet rollerine bağlı olarak gündelik hayatlarında geliştirdikleri baş etme stratejileri ve bunun sosyo-kültürel değişime uyum çabalarını nasıl etkilediğini gündelik hayat kuramsal çerçevesinde saha verileriyle analiz edilecektir. Bu çalışma YOBÜ BAP Birimi tarafından desteklenen projeden üretilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göçmen, göçmen kadın, baş etme stratejileri, Yozgat.

**COPING STRATEGIES AGAINST CHANGING GENDER ROLES IN EVERYDAY LIFE: MIGRANT
WOMEN LIVING IN YOZGAT**

ABSTRACT

Women, who are among the disadvantaged groups, are among those most affected by migration. The fact that women living in unequal conditions experience more unequal conditions with migration is effective in this situation. In the current migration literature, while it has been seen that the man as the primary subject, the woman is seen as the secondary position as an object that has to move with him. Contrary to this association, women have been active subjects in the effect of the changing socio-economic and cultural structure in the

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migration process, so gender roles are not independent of this change. Due to their role, they have transformed the process into the feminization of migration. Coping includes family, intra-family or inter-family relations, group or community actions as well as individual/psychological problems in the future. In this study, coping used in particular for immigrant women includes similar processes and meanings. In this study, the coping strategies that immigrant women develop in their daily lives depending on changing gender roles and how this affects their efforts to adapt to socio-cultural change will be analyzed within the theoretical framework of daily life with field data. This study was produced from the project supported by YOBÜ BAP Unit.

Key Words: Migrant, migrant woman, coping strategies, Yozgat.

Introduction

From the moment of birth of human babies, cultural elements that are built on their biological qualities emerge. Although these cultural elements change from society to society, some basic elements remain. For example, the idea that men are protective and women are fragile, born out of the fact that men are different from women due to their physical structure. Accordingly, as men are assumed as rational, women are emotional. It is seen that human babies are differentiated from the moment they are born and that biological differences are normalized as social differences.

Although these examples are not innate elements of women and men, they still continue today without being questioned because they are normalized within the culture. When we look at these features, it is often revealed that physical features and meanings arising from cultural and social conditioning are attributed. As a result, the private space = Female is assumed. All work pertaining to the house; cleaning, arranging, cooking, taking care of children, taking care of spouse, preparing for the next day as a workforce. The biological contributions of women become their social responsibilities: Motherhood, the responsibilities it brings, and the care of children are considered to belong to the mother alone. Leaves taken due to maternity, career breaks are disadvantages; it leaves women powerless in the workforce.

On the other hand, the public space = Male is designed. Spatial segregation also corresponds to economic segregation: Women = housework, Men = work that creates economic value. Gender roles also determine behavior patterns, responsibilities, sharing patterns, and our access to resources and privileges. Gender plays an important role in the access of people of different genders to resources, as well as determining the jobs and responsibilities. This situation manifests itself in situations such as women not being hired for certain jobs, receiving a lower salary than a man doing the same job, being considered suitable for organizational-based jobs, not being approached to jobs that require practice, and ultimately being more difficult to rise in a job compared to men. As seen in many examples mentioned, gender roles cause gender discrimination.

Women are involved in various forms of work and production activities in every period and society. The diversity in the way women work gives a different meaning and content to the concept of work for men and women. For women who participate in the working life, unlike men, things such as housework and childcare – related to unpaid work-styles – continue to be the responsibility of women; women participate less in working life concentrates on certain occupations; opportunities for training and

advancement at work are limited; working in low-status and low-paid jobs. Gender-based division of labor is the division of labor between men and women which expresses both its sexual and social and cultural structure. This division of labor gives women domestic work or reproduction. It also imposes public or production-related obligations on men. Gender-based division of labor gave women the jobs that should be done inside the home and the men the jobs outside the home. While the woman is assigned with the house and child care work, the livelihood of the house is seen as man's work. As a result, the gender-based division of labor differentiates men and women. It also creates inequality in their access to social resources. This inequality creates differences in the access of women and men to rights and opportunities. Thus, women construct some coping strategies for their daily life struggles.

Coping is usually defined as the person's or group's (family) effort to resolve a problem or obstacle, using every available means (İncetahtacı, 2020: 508). Coping strategies are personal and may differ depending on many factors such as age, gender, cultural background, and illness (Folkman & Lazarus, 1986; as cited by Algin, 2009). Coping methods either directly address the situation (problem-focused coping) or manage the emotional reactions (emotion-focused coping). However, a common view regards problem-focused coping methods as more adaptive and supportive for personal development; but emotion-focused coping strategies as maladaptive, defensive, and damaging for personal growth (Ağargün et al., 2005). Coping behavior is associated with protective functions such as: eliminating or modifying conditions that cause problems; altering the meaning of experience to neutralize its problematic nature; and keeping the emotional consequences of problems within controllable boundaries.

Throughout the history, the numerical ratio of migrations is consisting of men compared to women. Most migrants during Syrian conflict were also constituted of men. However, when we examine the today's world, women participate in migration much more than they used to in the past. Thus, women are also in need of some coping strategies for both being migrants and being female migrants also. This study will deal with the effect of socio-cultural change on gender roles and the process of women's adaptation by patriarchal bargaining and the strategies they develop in daily life.

Methodology of the Research

A qualitative research approach was chosen for this study; semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect research data. In-depth interviews were conducted with fifteen migrant women living in Yozgat between the ages of 18-55. The interviews started after ethics committee report was taken. The participants were asked questions regarding gender roles to determine whether the migration experience affected the visibility of women in their daily lives through gender roles. Migration requires individuals to adapt to change and acquire survival skills quickly. This may cause women to develop coping strategies for survival against the changing gender roles in their daily lives. In terms of our research topic, our study focuses on the coping strategies of women living in Yozgat. Migrant women who settled in the early stages of migration had mostly overcome language and communication problems; however, as the language barrier kept being an issue for the participants who migrated later,

questions were kept as short, simple, and straightforward as possible. In contrast, the participants with a better command of Turkish helped with translation. Despite the language barrier being a severe problem during our research in 2017, the improvement in the current circumstances is a significant indication that women are actively making use of coping strategies.

1. Conceptual Framework

The history of the phenomenon of migration is as old as the history of humanity. The phenomenon of migration, which is identical with the history of humanity, is a multifaceted phenomenon with demographic, economic, political, psychological, anthropological and sociological contents (Yalçın, 2004: 3). In particular, sociology has dealt with the phenomenon of migration in a comprehensive way. Migration from the perspective of sociology; They are voluntary or compulsory, regular or irregular, individual or collective, temporary or permanent displacement movements within the country or between international settlements (Sarp, 2020: 11-12).

Turkish Language Association defines migration as: "the act of individuals or communities moving from one country or place of residence to another for financial, social, political reasons." With the simplest definition, migration is an act of relocation. The definition of migration is based on moving from one's place of residence to somewhere else. There are various reasons for an individual, family, or group to leave their place of residency and live in another place for a while or permanently. There are various reasons why a person makes the decision to immigrate. Individuals usually decide to change their place of residence due to social, economic, political reasons, acts of nature, and climate conditions (Adıgüzel, 2018).

Migration involves the permanent movement across political or symbolic boundaries (Marshall, 2009: 685). The permanency of the movement of relocation is the decisive factor for migration. Therefore, short-term relocations are not considered as an act of migration.

However, it is not sufficient to define migration simply as a change of residence. The distance of the move, the duration of living in the new location, and the reasons behind the move contribute to the definition of migration. Change of residence can occur within or outside the country's borders where the abandoned place of residency is located. Migration can be temporary and result in returning to the old area of residence, but one will permanently leave their old residence in some cases. The decision to change one's abode can either be voluntary or forced. Therefore, it is possible to come up with a more inclusive definition for migration. Migration is a voluntary or forced change of residence over a certain distance and for a specific duration due to social, economic, and political reasons or acts of nature.

There are economic and emotional factors involved with migration. It is not only people that migrate, but languages, cultures, memories, and dreams (Adıgüzel, 2018). In this regard, the phenomenon of migration ensures the global spread of humanity's cultural values from the past through today and tomorrow.

In today's world, international migration takes precedence over internal migration. Internal migration refers to a change of residence within the borders of a

single country. In contrast, international migration indicates permanent or long-term relocation to another country for work and residency purposes. In other words, internal migration implies migrating from one region to another within a single country, while international migration entails migrating from one country to another (Sağlam, 2006: 34). One type of internal migration commonly experienced is rural-urban migration as the workforce moves to industrial centers. There are studies on internal migration that mainly focus on developing countries (Marshall, 2009).

The country of origin is the country one leaves after deciding to live somewhere else, while the country of destination indicates the country one intends to live in. In some cases, immigrants must stay in another country on their journey to the country of destination. The country which one stays in for a while before reaching the country of destination is called the country of transit.

In particular, the international movement of people resulted in many sub-concepts being added under the definition of migration. Internal migration, international migration, country of origin, country of destination, and country of transit were the first notions to address when it comes to the phenomenon of migration.

2. Forced Migration

Fear of oppression or life-threatening situations may force a person or group of persons to leave their places of residence. Forced migration is described as forced abandonment of one's place of residence. Forced migration may also be referred to as displacement. The United Nations uses the concept of "displaced" for people subject to forced migration (Sarp, 2001: 26). People subjected to forced migration were forced or obliged to leave their place of residence (Tekin, 2011: 93). Forced migration can take place individually or in groups. Forced migrants or displaced people leave their homes to seek refuge in a city, region, or country where they will feel safe.

Mass movements of refugees can be observed when forced migration requires moving to another country, and there is a mass inflow of people towards the border of another country. In the case of collective asylum, asylum-seeking groups are provided with temporary protection and certain rights (Adıgüzel, 2018).

International migration causes several social problems, particularly in countries of destination and transit. These problems are more common when an influx of people enter a specific country due to forced migration. The primary issue lies in society's possible reactions against asylum seekers.

Forced migration is a traumatic experience. The traumatic aspect of this experience becomes visible during or after the migration journey and especially among children and women. The risk of forced migration trauma increases or decreases based on the opportunities country of asylum provides to the asylum seekers. In addition, collective consciousness can develop among people who have experienced forced migration (Tekin, 2011). Both the traumatic aspect of the migration experience and the collective consciousness cause some backlash in society. The migration trauma is accompanied by violent tendencies, while collective consciousness results in a closed community. Either situation reinforces the migrants' status as the "others" in their new country of residence.

3. Migrant, Refugee, Asylum Seeker

According to the Turkish Language Association, a migrant is a person who left their home country and settled in another country. In the case of migration, the meaning of migrant status differs depending on whether a voluntary or forced migration took place. People subjected to forced migration are usually referred to as refugees or asylum seekers. It is known that the concept of refugee is used together with forced migration. However, approaches prefer to use the concept of immigrant to cover the concept of refugee. The different use of the concepts of immigrant and refugee sociologically transforms the concept of refugee into a problematic expression and causes conceptual confusion. The United Nations Refugee Organization tends to see those who migrate voluntarily as immigrants and those who migrate compulsorily as refugees (Sarp, 2021, as quoted from the UNHCR Emergency Handbook). International Organization for Migration considers refugees to be migrants. According to International Organization for Migration, all refugees are migrants. However, not every migrant is a refugee (Özdemir, 2018). The perspective of the international migration organization on the concept of refugee is controversial. Since refugees are a legal status, different practices and interpretations are encountered regarding the definition of refugee. The definition of immigrant is a more comprehensive and explanatory definition. The definition of immigrant, including refugees, provides a general framework for people who carry out each type of migration, whether voluntary or compulsory (Sarp, 2021: 25).

A refugee is an individual forced to migrate and cannot return to the country of origin due to oppression. Individuals must apply for refuge as an asylum-seeker before attaining refugee status. An asylum seeker is a person who migrated to another country and applied for refugee status, having left their country of residence against their will due to oppression (Adıgüzel, 2018). Asylum seekers and refugees have been displaced and subjected to forced migration, or they are likely to be persecuted if they return to their country of origin. For a person to be accepted directly as a migrant regardless of their asylum seeker or refugee status, they must have chosen to migrate of their own free will.

Migrants, who have voluntarily decided to move of their own free will, leave their places of residence to attain better social and/or economic conditions. Migrants can move to the country of destination through legal or illegal means. Regular migration is defined as migration that occurs through authorized channels, and irregular migration refers to migration through unlawful means (Adıgüzel, 2018).

4. The Feminization/Effeminization of Migration

The phenomenon of migration is almost as old as human history. Humankind has been migrating for centuries and millennia. The massive migrations deeply influenced and radically altered societies, history, ages, and civilizations.

Throughout migrations in history, the numerical ratio of men compared to women has been considerably higher. Most migrant workers during the Industrial Revolution were also constituted of men. In today's world, however, women participate in migration much more than they used to in the past (Adıgüzel, 2018). The numbers of

female and male immigrants are especially close to each other regarding voluntary migration.

Studies on migration have acknowledged the increasing proportion of women in migration events as the *feminization of migration*. Women have been participating in the migration process more than in the past, especially in labor migration (Adıgüzel, 2018: 22). The share of female migrants reaches 70-80% in some areas within Europe and North America. These conditions have introduced the notion of feminization of migration or, in other words, effeminization of migration (Yılmaz, 2019: 386).

5. Theoretical Framework

Push-Pull Theory, Ravenstein's Laws of Migration, Petersen's Five Types of Migration, Center-Periphery Theory, and Network Theory were chosen from the various migration theories and discussed in the theoretical framework section.

The push-pull theory was a migration theory proposed by Everett Lee. Based on the main features that characterize migration, Lee determined four factors that impact the decision to migrate. These are factors associated with the place of origin; the place of destination; intervening obstacles; and personal differences (Çağlayan, 2006). These are the factors that form the basis of Lee's push-pull theory. The push-pull theory considers the attractive (pull) and/or repulsive (push) effects of these factors for the person deciding to migrate.

The push factors related to the place of residence are influential in the decision-making process. Dangerous surroundings, limited employment opportunities, extreme climate conditions, lack of or limited access to education and health resources in the place of living are examples of push factors that influence the decision to move. Attractive factors related to the destination are also important when one considers migration. Safety of surroundings, an abundance of job opportunities, a mild climate, and ease of access to education and health in the destination are examples of pull factors regarding the decision to move.

The phenomenon of migration is determined by push factors that negatively affect the quality of life and safety; or by attractive pull factors. It should be considered that push and pull factors are subjective. Due to this subjectivity, while some people decide to migrate, others that live in the same place may decide against migrating and continue to stay. A factor that one perceives as repulsive may not be considered as an issue by another. Here, individual factors affecting the choice should be examined. People's age, gender, and level of education influence their perception of attractiveness or repulsiveness. For example, a high school graduate may prefer to stay in their current location, while a university graduate may migrate to increase their chances of employment (Çağlayan, 2006).

The personal aspect of these push-pull factors revolves around complex and multidimensional social facts. Therefore, a push and pull factor that can be considered absolute and valid for everyone does not exist. If the push and pull factors that influence the decision to migrate are personal, they are regarded as micro factors, while non-personal factors are considered macro factors (Çağlayan, 2006).

The factors related to the obstacles encountered are referred to as intervening obstacles. Uncertainties and challenges of the migration process are the most important among these factors. The distance of the move means of transport, material

and mental costs, legal procedures, possible social maladjustments are examples of challenges one may encounter during the migration process. These difficulties may differ between individuals. These obstacles are regarded as micro-obstacles if they are on a personal level and macro obstacles if they are on a general level. Examples of these macro-obstacles include strict visa restrictions against certain nationalities and legal obstacles (Çağlayan, 2006).

The push-pull model approach applies to both international and internal migration. There are places within the borders of the same country with different push and pull factors. Metropolitan cities, in particular, possess pull factors such as a higher number of employment opportunities, better access to education and health facilities, causing an internal migration from small cities to big cities as a result.

Ravenstein has identified seven laws related to migration, thus pioneering the development of other migration theories. Ravenstein's laws of migration, published in 1885, are accepted as the first theoretical work on immigration. Ravenstein's work is based on industrialization and urbanization. Developments in employment opportunities and transportation networks have altered the phenomenon of migration and encouraged migration mobility. Western Europe and North America, in particular, experienced massive waves of migration during this period. Ravenstein's laws of migration consist of seven articles. These are migration and distance; migration and its steps; absorption and dispersion process; migration chains; direct migration; the difference between natives of rural-urban areas; and females and males.

Migrants initially prefer to move a short distance; however, when a migration movement begins close to their destination, a separate migration mobility towards big cities, industrial and commercial centers will be observed. The migration size is determined by the ratio of vacancies and the local population at the destination (Çağlayan, 2006). As the vacancies decrease at the first place of migration, further industrial and commercial centers are selected as the next migration point. Locals from the first place of migration may also be included in the subsequent migration movement.

When there is a migration movement towards industrial and commercial centers with the hopes of having better employment and social conditions, the abandoned places of living may be preferred by people coming from more distant areas or restrictive living conditions. This causes the migration movement to spread over a much wider area. According to Ravenstein, there are two types of migration: short-distance and long-distance (Çağlayan, 2006).

Migration wave starts with short-distance moves and spreads with long-distance moves. The arrival of migrants from regions close to the places abandoned due to migration causes the migration wave to proceed step-by-step (Adıgüzel, 2018: 23). Big cities, industrial and commercial centers attract migrants with the employment and social opportunities they provide. The pull effects of big cities, industrial and commercial centers determine migration direction as migrants spread. Migration gains continuity with the coexistence of these two factors. The migration wave that spreads with migrants seeking better conditions gets absorbed by big cities and industrial and commercial centers. This process that directs migration is referred to as the absorption and dispersion process. In this process, migrants get the better conditions they seek

while the industrial and commercial centers get the workforce they require (Çağlayan, 2006).

According to Ravenstein, migration is a continuous process and progresses like a chain (Adıgüzel, 2018: 24). New residents of the abandoned places continue the migration mobility towards the new destination. A place that loses its population due to long-distance migration may become a destination for short-distance migration. Ravenstein describes direct migration as long-distance migrations that occur without any steps. Direct migrations usually take place towards big cities, industrial and commercial centers (Çağlayan, 2006). According to Ravenstein, rural residents migrate more than urban residents (Adıgüzel, 2018: 25). At the same time, migrations in rural areas can trigger new migration waves. However, people living in urban areas don't tend to leave even if their place of residence gets migration (Çağlayan, 2006). Males are more migratory over long distances and go on migration journeys alone, especially with international migrations. This situation is not as valid when it comes to short-distance migrations (Çağlayan, 2006).

Petersen considers the migration phenomenon from a push-pull perspective. He notes that push-pull factors may differ. A phenomenon that might be regarded as a push effect in one period of history can turn into a pull effect over time (Çağlayan, 2006). A region that had a push effect due to its barren and arid lands at a certain point in history may turn into an industrial center and thus a pull effect in the following years. The factors affecting the migration phenomenon are not the same for all social and economic classes. Economic fluctuations can affect social and economic classes in different ways. In this context, individuals' reactions before the phenomenon of migration also differ.

The five types of migration Petersen determined based on the historical and individual differences of migration phenomenon are as follows:

The "primitiveness" in the primitive migration term is not related to the primitive times of humanity (Adıgüzel, 2018: 27). Primitive migrations occur due to the push effect of the natural environment and climate conditions. Primitive migrations also include migrations of nomadic communities (Çağlayan, 2006). The second and third types of migration Petersen identified are forced migrations and impelled migrations, respectively. Given that both types of migrations occur under compulsion, they are evaluated together. Forced migration happens due to social coercion and pressure. Those who must migrate have no other alternatives and cannot freely choose when deciding to migrate. On the other hand, an impelled migration occurs when the individuals retain some power to determine whether they will migrate or not (Çağlayan, 2006). Despite having a choice in the migration decision, these people who leave their homes are usually marginalized, excluded, and forced to leave. In the case of free migration, migration decision is not taken under any outside influence. The decision to migrate is not made as a result of any push effect or pressure. Free migration occurs solely as a result of the individual's decision. Labor migration falls within the scope of free migration (Adıgüzel, 2018: 27).

Technological advances led to improved communication and transportation facilities, thus encouraging people to migrate in masses. Moreover, mass migrations were observed following the pioneers who had individually migrated due to personal motivations (Çağlayan, 2006). Petersen considers mass migration to be a

consequence of free migrations (Adigüzel, 2018). The migrant lifestyle and migration phenomenon gradually progressed with the acceleration of mass immigration. Pioneer migrants started the immigration phenomenon and awareness for countries such as Canada, Australia, and the USA, often described as countries of immigration today. Mass migration followed these pioneers and caused these countries to be known as countries of immigration. These countries of immigration continue to get immigrants from all over the world even today.

Center-periphery (or core-periphery) theory is also known as dependency theory or world-systems theory (Adigüzel, 2018). Many thinkers, notably Samir Amin, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Andre Gunder Frank, contributed to developing this theory. Center-Periphery theory is a sociocultural migration theory (Adigüzel, 2018). The world has a dual structure that consists of core and periphery countries. This dual structure is based on the colonization that followed geographical discoveries. The colonial countries of that time are the core countries today, while their colonies are the periphery countries. The world is divided into industrialized capitalist core countries and underdeveloped not-yet-fully-capitalist periphery countries. These countries are mutually dependent on each other. Center countries need countries that provide cheap labor, raw materials, and a "market." At the same time, undeveloped periphery countries need core countries to complete their development, integrate into the capitalist system and increase their economic welfare (Çağlayan, 2006). This mutual need creates a mutual dependency.

The capitalist relations between the core and periphery countries also generate migration movements. There is a notable labor migration from periphery countries to core countries. Migration towards the core countries is international migration on a global scale. Today, although migration to core countries continues, its characteristics have changed. Today, center countries prefer qualified people while accepting immigrants from periphery countries. During the manpower-based production line phase of industrialization, the need for unskilled labor caused a significant influx of workers from periphery countries to center countries. However, as the human factor in production gradually lost its importance with the use of robots on the production line, the need for cheap labor from periphery countries came to an end.

In terms of production costs, cheap energy, cheap factory lands, less strict environmental protection regulations (restrictions or obligations) have become just as important as cheap labor. Core countries have moved their production centers to periphery countries that do not have rules or obligations on environmental protection but can provide inexpensive energy and land prices, in addition to cheap labor. Hence, the international migration from periphery countries to core countries has decreased while the periphery countries experienced increased internal migration towards industrial centers. Mutual dependency still carries significance for the migration phenomenon as core countries' investments influence the internal migration within periphery countries.

Network Theory is one of the sociocultural migration theories. Immigrants build various social relationships, connections, and networks over time in the countries they migrate to. Migrants form cloistered (introverted) links with their compatriots, relatives, and friends; while establishing extroverted connections with former immigrants.

Pioneer immigrants have meaningful experiences, having overcome some of the potential migration journey and adaptation process problems. They also have essential information about their new place of residence and connections with the locals. This experience, knowledge, and relationships are encouraging for potential future immigrants.

A potential migrant who has recently decided to migrate may prefer a city where their relatives or compatriots live, thinking that they can more easily overcome the adaptation problems and the challenges of finding accommodation and employment. Social networks formed by pioneer immigrants have a significant and definitive role in making a choice regarding migration and the country of destination.

Pioneer immigrants who have settled in a place earlier attract their relatives, friends, and compatriots to their new place of residence. Immigrants who arrive later are also more advantageous as they can benefit from pioneer immigrants' experience, assistance, and resources. Successful migration of one family member can create a chain of opportunities for nearly the whole extended family network (Marshall, 2009: 686). As the challenges become easier to overcome thanks to the network established with the pioneer immigrants, the decision to migrate becomes easier for those who hesitate. This accelerates the migration movement towards a particular place.

The bond between migrants can make it easier for immigrants to adapt to their new residence; however, it could also create more closed structures that resist integration. Migrant networks encourage international migration in particular (Adıgüzel, 2018: 31). Network theory prioritizes the individual. In that sense, it provides a broader perspective on the phenomenon of migration (Çağlayan, 2006).

1. Research Findings and Discussion

1.1. Patriarchal Bargain

The social organization system is based on male authority, and great importance is attached to men and their descendants, thus actualizing male supremacy. During the interviews, participants expressed that there was a change in the glorified situations related to sons and manhood compared to the past. At the same time, men and women started to share more in their daily lives.

"...My mother cried whenever she gave birth to my sisters; the reason for her sadness was the difficult lives women led in those days. She would not be pleased when she gave birth to my brothers. In our family, men made the decisions for women; we only did what men saw fit." (49, Housewife, Primary School).

"When my father had to go away from home, he entrusted the house to my brothers. If my mother, I, or my sisters needed something outside of the house, my father or brothers had to accompany us; otherwise, we would either wait for them to be available or not go at all." (52, Housewife, Illiterate).

"...Our elders always told my brother that your sisters are entrusted to you, we grew up as such. They had him study, while they made us marry." (34, Cleaning Staff, Primary School).

These interviews demonstrate male supremacy as women would be "entrusted." In terms of definition, to entrust means to make somebody responsible for taking care of somebody or something. This way of leaving women under the protection of the men in the household until the consignment is successfully handed over and they are placed under their husbands' authority. Thus, this leaves the woman weak and in need of protection, but also puts her in a subordinate position. The importance attributed to the male lineage of the family, in particular, the exaltation of masculinity and similar formations of patriarchy referred to as "old times" by the participants, persist in different shapes, and male dominance carries on.

The interviews with the migrant women are significant since they show how patriarchal bargain is perceived in societies. The patriarchal bargain, a term coined by Deniz Kandiyoti, is not a system that solely oppresses women; it offers protection and resources. Women accept this bargain because of promises such as: "you will not have to work, and all your needs will be taken care of, you will be raising your children."

"...When we are getting our daughters married, the fact that the man has a job, a house, if any, and a wealthy family affects our choice. We let them marry our daughter since they could take good care of her and their children while providing for the family. But since the number of men with these characteristics has decreased in recent years, we cannot marry our daughters with peace of mind" (42, Housewife, Middle School).

"We used to say they must be in need when women would work. It is desirable both for women and the families that women should not work and raise their children themselves." (39, Assistant Cook, Primary School)

The interviews often revealed that middle-aged women directly or indirectly served the mechanisms that make the patriarchal system work due to the power and security they could achieve within the system. Since women usually are undereducated, a social status achieved through marriage increases the emphasis on marriage, and these women become the subjects ensuring the continuity of the system in return for small gains.

"If we click, we can earn a living together; getting along is the most important thing. Thankfully, my husband and I are in it together for richer and for poorer. I married for love, my family disapproved, but I didn't listen." (32, Cleaning Staff, Middle School).

"I think arranged marriages are a thing of the times of our parents. I can't marry someone I don't like. You have to meet and get to know them." (35, Hairdresser, Primary School).

However, for women of the younger generation, "to love, understanding and get along" has become important when choosing a spouse. Women have stated that they know difficult living conditions and low-income results in poverty, but human needs take precedence. The interviews reveal that as a coping strategy with existing in the patriarchal order, the participants participate in the patriarchal bargain process with roles and positions such as becoming a mother-in-law, becoming the first bride, or giving birth to a son.

1.2. Gender Role Dynamics

Gender roles are formed by what society expects from men and women. They play a critical role in shaping daily life by constructing woman(hood) and man(hood) in social life through behavior, attitude, belief, and perception. Young female participants have expressed a wish to utilize their potential instead of being present only in limited areas like in the past.

"Both my mother and father raised us saying you can't, you won't. But my sister nor I listened to these cant's, and now we can stand on our own feet. We have never seen working as a weakness." (32, Cleaning Staff, Middle School).

"My husband does not work; he couldn't find a job. I work at the hairdresser. Every morning when I get up to go to work, in a half-joking half-serious manner, he says, you are now the man of the house, I am no different from a mattress in this house." (35, Hairdresser, Primary School).

Statements such as "women's increasing participation in the labor force is concerning for men" are quite significant as these women unknowingly express that their empowerment causes the masculine gender to lose power in this patriarchal system. Women do not particularly strive for change; however, there is an increasing demand for jobs that have been classified as women's work for a long time by the global capitalist system. This, in turn, has added work mobility to the list of reasons for women to migrate, allowing them to be employed more than men in the countries of destination. This classification of women's work feeds traditional gender roles. It leads to unreported employment for women with no job security, but from a migration point of view, in the places they migrate to, women start bringing income to the household before men. The interviews show that despite harsh working conditions and low wages, the financial satisfaction of being able to provide subsistence to the family (most have not experienced before) and the transition from invisible domestic labor to earning their wages are some of the developments caused by migration process which strengthen women and improve their coping strategies against the challenges.

6.2.1. Participation in Family Decision-Making Mechanisms

The participants were asked whether they were consulted or had a say regarding their spouses, children, house budget, etc. As nearly all participants had observed the decision process in their families as they were growing up, they used their previous family lives for comparison purposes and expressed today they have much more say in the family than their mothers used to.

"I'm learning the job while working beside a tailor, and thankfully he also pays me per job. Although I don't earn much, I am grateful to get some money. My husband is unemployed, and I give the money I get to him. He gives me an allowance for my needs, which was also the case when he was employed. He always assumes that women don't know how to use money." (36, Assistant Tailor, Primary School).

"... nobody listened to our mother at home, she couldn't even speak. We used to live with my grandmother and always obeyed what she said. My husband never interferes with me regarding children. He sets half of his salary aside for my needs and the needs of children and the house." (22, Store Worker, Middle School).

Most participants stated they mutually decide regarding issues such as shopping for the household, raising the children, and work life. It is evident they consider this situation to be differentiation and achievement compared to how it used to be in the past. It is important to note that some working women revealed that they give their earnings to their spouses. Their husbands calculate the budget and then give them an allowance, which shows that the patriarchal mechanism patterns maintain their continuity at some points. A person's attitude is a decisive element for coping strategies but carries personal traits and may change based on various factors such as age, gender, and cultural background. Therefore, for older women, the cultural values of the society they grew up in and habits from a previous life are more dominant, with more visible effects.

6.3. Women's Participation in the Workforce

Having their own income expands women's freedom while being recognized as empowerment by the men and other people around them. This situation causes men to worry about losing their superiority and authority in particular. Men seem to be far from considering women's income to be a positive value for the house income and budget even when they can't find work.

"...I had been telling my husband that the sink was leaking water for a while, but he was not interested. The first day I started work at the tailor shop, they gave me some money, so I called a plumber to fix the sink. When my husband answered the door and saw the plumber, he said, "you earn your own money, hire people to do things for you; you don't need me anymore." That day, I was sad but also realized that men are afraid women will become stronger with their earnings, even if they are your spouse." (36, Assistant Tailor, Primary School).

"My husband gets up earlier than me in the mornings and goes out to look for a job. He says the money I bring home hurts his pride. I have to force him to accept it; it seems to me they find it difficult to accept because of their upbringing." (39, Assistant Cook, Primary School).

Raising boys according to traditional gender roles ensures the continuity of stereotypes with their attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs. The desire to maintain what has been taught for many generations as tradition can cause them to resist change. This situation leads women to resort to the protective function of coping behavior, namely altering the meaning of experience to neutralize its problematic nature. In other words, as women cannot make sense of it, they try to define it as male pride.

6.3.1. Division of Women's Work and Men's Work

"Women's work" is considered low status, low income, temporary, precarious, and unskilled work, while "men's work" is high income, permanent, secure, qualified work that requires authority and responsibility (Parlaktuna, 2010: 1221-1223). Low education levels among women further fuel the practice of women being employed in unreported, uninsured, and unskilled jobs. Gender roles and stereotypes may cause women to face inequality in wages or problems getting promoted, even when they participate in the workforce. Although the same is valid for migrant women, the difficulties they experience increase due to factors such as the language barrier and differences in social structure and culture. Working in jobs based on gender roles (care, house chores, sales, etc.) enables women to find a job earlier than men in the country of immigration, although they work in low-pay, unreported jobs due to being refugees and women. Women have confessed to remaining silent in the face of adverse situations so there would be a household income.

"As it became more difficult to find a job due to the epidemic, we can't object to the work environment or wages. We do whatever they say, and we make no objections. I am quite versatile; if I can't find a job outside, I will do beading and embroidery at home." (35, Store Worker, Middle School).

"When they see that we are women, they don't even let us speak. They say this is the job if you will, your choice if you won't. My last place of work used to say, what do you do anyway? You brew two cups of tea and sweep the floor." (45, Housewife, Illiterate).

The majority of the women expressed that their spouses don't want them to work due to "not earning much," however, as they could not find employment themselves, they don't have a negative approach to their wife to be working to ensure a small income for the household. Most married women stated that they went to job interviews with their spouses, and their spouse evaluated their employers to decide whether they could work in that workplace.

"...My husband does not want me to work with a male boss or in a workplace with too many men. He comes with me to see the place, and if there is something he doesn't like, he says he disapproves, and I don't force it. If I insist on working somewhere he disapproves, then we can't have peace at home." (36, Assistant Tailor, Primary School).

"I work as a caregiver, the aunt I look after is seriously ill. May God give her a long life, but if she dies, I will be unemployed. As uneducated women, there are very few jobs for us; it is difficult for women to earn a living..." (33, Caregiver, Primary School).

Male dominance continues in the work-life; most participants expressed that it's not themselves but their spouses who choose from the limited number of jobs available. They stated their spouses respect their earnings, and most of the time, they have a say in how to spend it.

6.4. Changing Perception of Parenthood

Parental behaviors are more important than most social and environmental agents, affecting the child's emotional, cognitive, and behavioral development (Grusec & Davidov, 2007). During the upbringing phase, sexist approaches of parents impact the behavior and personality development processes of children. Parents are the active subjects within the family, which is the primary and essential agent of the socialization process, shaped by the influence of social structure and cultural values.

"...We have a saying that goes well-behaved birds do what they see. The children, naturally, know what they see at home and do what they see. Therefore parents should raise their children with the awareness that they will get what they give..."(52, Housewife, Illiterate)

The participants expressed in different ways that the family is an essential agent of the socialization process and that social learning plays an active role in the development of children. The fact that women have reached this level of awareness is promising for the upbringing of girls and boys in terms of transforming gender role stereotypes into a form that will be free from gender discrimination, labels, stereotypes and adopt an egalitarian approach.

6.4.1. Raising Daughters and Sons

Within the sociocultural structure, in addition to biological growth and maturation, norms, cultural values, and behavioral expectations of society play a role in children's cognitive and emotional development (Recebov, 2000). In line with cultural values and norms, applied processes feed the gender roles attributed by societies. Especially since infancy, girls prepare for motherhood by playing with dolls, and they grow up with a housework-oriented game system. On the other hand, boys play games that include traditional masculine roles (strong, brave, protective, breadwinner) (Öznel: 1991: 250). Since how a boy perceives women is shaped at a very young age, the family and social environment should consider the role and importance of social learning. Almost all participants stated that the way they raise girls and boys differs in the same house. We raise daughters that can do housework and crafts while raising sons as the breadwinners, working any job necessary.

"My daughter can make a meal out of a stone; I taught everything as best I could. I don't know to whom, where she may go or whom she may meet, but I wanted her to be able to sew a patch and boil a pot. (42, Housewife, Middle School).

"Our society disapproves of men sitting at home without a job. They say a man earns his crust. My husband is now unemployed, and at home, he is not used to this and feels sad and ashamed. If we had stayed in our country, my husband would have been even more ashamed of the people around us, here nobody knows us now, but he still tries to do whatever job he can find, even if it is for a day and he is careful not to come home without bread." (46, Housewife, Secondary School).

Women have expressed they raise their daughters according to mother and wife roles in a hand-to-mouth culture, emphasizing that women can make or break the

family. During the interviews, participants expressed how the child upbringing processes that fuel traditional gender roles have reflected on their husbands and themselves. In the interviews, it was observed that female participants participated in the workforce and moved away from negative judgments of the past related to working. This change in women is promising as it will also trigger a shift in child upbringing and family relations. It was noted that women did not continue the traditions passed on from their childhood and parents and made revisions according to changing conditions.

6.5. The Decision to Migrate and Building a Life Together After Migration

Since women participate less than men in the decision-making process, women's problems and priorities cannot be reflected in public or private sphere from a female point of view, which hinders the adoption of necessary regulations or other gains. Spouses should reach a mutual consensus in the family decision-making process in line with the egalitarian approach; however, it is common to expect that family members, including the wife, should comply with the man's decision as the head of the household. This approach later manifests in various areas such as family finances, child upbringing, and social relationships. The woman pressured into a passive and compliant status stops keeping track of decisions, whether they are big or small, and moves to the unconditional acceptance stage. While early studies on migration would address and evaluate the passivity of women in this process, international migration is a widespread phenomenon today, and some differences can be observed as migration types are divided into different categories. Almost all women have mutually decided to migrate due to their financial problems, safety, and future concerns.

"What we are going through in our homeland was not a problem that could end within days or months, so we had to leave, and we did. We took this decision as an extended family, with all men and women, to survive, only our elderly relatives stayed behind, saying their days are numbered anyway, and we should go." (35, Store worker, Secondary School).

"It was not easy to leave everything behind, but we have to think about the future of our children. Before, we wondered if we should leave the country for work, but we always decided otherwise. When you are between life and death, everyone thinks the same; otherwise, no one would leave their homeland." (46, Housewife, Middle School).

Various expressions of the participants imply that prejudices against refugees reflect negatively on their daily lives and employment processes. Women stated it was challenging for them, being forced to leave their country and adapting to the unknown, unusual, and new conditions without owning anything other than a few items they managed to carry on their person.

6.5.1. Settling in Yozgat and Duration of Residency

The conflict and chaos the Middle East experienced in 2011 led to mass migration. Yozgat is on the migration route for immigrants that come to Turkey. Ministry of Interior data shows that in 2014, 50 Syrians were residing in Yozgat. According to the Provincial Security Directorate data of 2015, regarding transactions related to

foreigners and refugees, 1499 residence permits were issued in 2014, and 116 asylum applications were approved. By 2014, 62 asylum seekers stayed in the Refugee Accommodation Center (ORAN, 2019: 30). The majority of the participants expressed that they first arrived in Ankara. Then United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees assigned them to different cities according to the population density. Participants consider coming to Yozgat a misfortune as there are limited jobs and rents are expensive, etc. Refugees who settle in Yozgat reside in the city for 2-5 years. Most participants stated that Yozgat has positive population density and social environment qualities, which helped them overcome adjustment issues faster.

"Yozgat is not a big city and not very crowded; it is like where we come from, so our children got used to it right away. Where we came from was in ruins, we are survivors. There's no not to getting used to the place you migrate to and you live in." (35, Hairdresser, Primary School).

"We don't have a problem here other than unemployment. The municipality is helping us, and the people were unfriendly at first, but now we got used to each other. Let there be health and peace; the rest is easy." (45, Housewife, Illiterate).

Some of the participants confided that the locals of Yozgat sometimes helped them in ways their relatives wouldn't, and they prefer to stay in Yozgat as the city is quiet and peaceful, while their husbands leave town for short term employment. As a result, the number of migrant women in the city is higher, and women are directly responsible for their families.

6.6. Women in the Migration Process and Coping Strategies in Daily Life

Women may experience migration-related difficulties more than men post-migration as the roles and responsibilities dictated by the gender roles change and intensify during the migration process; financial challenges become more common; and they have restricted outside contact due to sociodemographic characteristics and the pressures of the patriarchal society (Tüfekci, 2019: 29). The migration process causes female immigrants to step out of the passive and compliant roles assigned to them. The empowering and individualizing aspect of migration should not be overlooked. These women who try to survive as immigrants in another country face many sexist structural factors (Url-1). One of the basic concepts De Certeau uses while problematizing everyday life is invention. According to him, male and female actors could come up with many inventions during their daily lives. Actors who seem to have no means of resistance in their everyday lives can introduce themselves by creating many inventions within the system. Accordingly, thousands of tactics and strategies established in people's daily lives form a spiral, and this spiral determines the basic structure of society. The individual, however, is the power that determines how this mechanism will function (De Certeau et al., 1980, Schilling, 2003, as cited in Sezer Şanlı, 2018: 60-61). During the interviews, most of the participants expressed that after the migration experience, they had to take on duties and responsibilities they were unfamiliar with, both in and outside the house; become ready to face anything at any time, and this was necessary to survive.

"You can't say I don't know, I can't, I can't live here. You must do anything and accept everything. We are renting a small house now but live with another family. Almost everyone at home is looking for a job, both men and women, and they work when they find a suitable job, even if it is daily." (34, Cleaning staff, Primary School).

Migration literature explains that in countries where women are more or relatively more engaged in the public sphere, especially within the global capitalist economy, the increasing demand for female gender role-related labor led to women participating more in migration (even for patriarchal societies) and their international mobility being increased, which resulted in feminization of migration. Interview data show that some of the participating migrant women migrated to escape the financial problems in their homeland and have better living conditions. At the same time, some took part in labor migration.

"In our native country, women are at home whether they are hungry or not. Both the woman and the children accept whatever the man brings home. However, since there were no jobs for men either, it became even more difficult to make a living, and on top of that, we were told to stay at home as a woman should while they waited for us to die of starvation. We decided to migrate for the sake of ourselves and the future of our children. My husband and I found jobs here, even if the wages are low, and we are working. It's enough for us to have a salary that lets us feed ourselves and send our children to school." (33, Caregiver, Primary School).

As the women listed their reasons, such as the social structure, financial problems, political problems, war, or conflict, it became apparent that migration meant something different to each of them. However, these distinct meanings intersected at a common point: "migration." Leaving everything related to past lives behind or journeying towards the unknown is already not easy. Still, the fact is migration was a necessity for being able to build a future. Women need to actively make use of coping strategies to make decisions and strongly defend them.

6.7. Migration Experience and General Changes

Refugee/asylum seeker migration is a type of forced migration, causing rapid and unexpected changes in the lives of refugees. Women focus on protecting their own, (and if they have) their spouses' and children's psychosocial integrity. This approach makes them an active subject in the migration process due to the role they play. In general, immigrants participate slightly more in the workforce than non-refugees. Immigrant women usually work in jobs associated with women, such as domestic services, babysitting, and nursing (Yılmaz, 2019: 388). During the interviews, the majority of the participants expressed obstacles such as their low education levels, lack of or insufficient work experience, language barrier, foreign nationality, and general unemployment problem in the country, making it impossible for them to be selective, and they must work even if it's unreported or insecure. It can be said that immigrants' higher participation in the workforce compared to non-refugees reflects their survival struggle. They are aware they left behind the incomes, statuses, classes

back in their homeland, and they are "doing whatever it takes to live and survive" and "don't see it as a matter of honor or pride."

"...I studied accounting in my country, I am good at bookkeeping. Although the numbers are universal, unfortunately, no one here lets us do the bookkeeping for their accounts, receivables, and payables. I think it's because we are foreigners. That's why I could only get a job as a salesperson in a store, and I am grateful for that." (38, Store worker, Associate degree).

"I was unemployed, my husband's income was enough to support our family, now we are here, and he is unemployed, so we both started to look for a job. I have no work experience, but we'll do anything. We have no other choice." (31, Housewife, Primary School).

The women confided that encountering many unfamiliar situations and processes and the social, cultural, and individual changes in their lives caused difficulties at first. However, it should be noted that participants expressed in different ways how they later realized these difficulties served to make them more understanding, solution-oriented, and "actually empowered them." When the interviews are evaluated with regard to coping strategies, it was noted that migrant women use active and problem-focused coping strategies rather than emotion-focused ones. Getting the social support of institutions (local government, social aid, etc.) is the coping strategy they mostly use against the stress of adaptation issues.

2. Conclusion

It has been observed that the meaning of patriarchy differs in young and old women. Especially in the interviews conducted with young women, it was seen that unlike the previous periods, women did not want to be present in limited areas and wanted to evaluate their potential. As a result, this study shows that coping strategies also change depending on the age difference. Factors such as age, gender and culture are the determinants of coping strategies. It is seen that the cultural values of the society in which they were raised, the past life habits are more dominant and the effects are more observable in women of older ages. Older women continue their traditional attitudes in Yozgat, where they migrated, due to both age and the power provided by patriarchal bargaining. Where this appears most obvious is in the upbringing of boys, as well for young women.

It has been understood from the discourses of women that young women's employment in order to survive economically in this new environment in which they migrated causes a "masculinity crisis" among migrant men. However, the study showed that gender-based job definition still continues and immigrant women are mostly employed in jobs defined as "women's work". It can be said that being a paid employee is one of the innovations that the migration process has brought to their lives, as well as empowering women and improving their coping skills against difficulties.

Although male dominance continues in working life, and the majority of women stated that their spouses choose the limited number of jobs they can work for, not they, women stated that they could choose where they spend their money. In this sense, the fact that women control over their earnings by working can be considered as an

example of women's empowerment among female migrants. In the interviews, it was observed that female participants participated in the working life and moved away from negative judgments about working in the past. This change experienced in women is promising as it will also create a change in child-rearing and family relations. However, this study also shows us that among female migrants there is still common traditional gender based child rearing behaviors.

The majority of the participants stated that Yozgat has positive features in terms of population density and social environment, and this situation helped them overcome the adaptation problem quickly. This situation has resulted in the fact that the number of migrant women is higher in the province and women are the ones who directly assume the responsibility of the family because their husbands can easily travel to near provinces to earn money.

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