

T.C.

UNIVERSITY OF GAZİANTEP
INSTITUTE FOR MIGRATION
DEPARTMENT OF WOMEN'S STUDIES

**CROSS-BORDER MASCULINITIES: AGENTIC
MASCULINITIES IN EUROPE'S REFUGEE CRISIS**

MASTER'S OF ART THESIS

ÖZGE, BOZTAŞ

GAZİANTEP
MAY, 2020

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SUPERVISOR: DR. FAC. MEM. ŞENAY LEYLA KUZU

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ABSTRACT**CROSS-BORDER MASCULINITIES: AGENTIC MASCULINITIES IN EUROPE'S REFUGEE CRISIS**

BOZTAŞ, Özge

M. A. Thesis, Department of Women's Studies

Supervisor: Dr. Fac. Mem. Şenay Leyla KUZU

May 2020, 99 pages

Applying the theoretical framework of masculinity studies in association with migration studies and using discourse analysis methodology, this dissertation shall look into the methodological and practical limitations on defining and dealing with refugee men as gendered subjects in the European Union. As humanitarian border management defines the scope of engagement with refugees in the EU case, this dissertation will analyse how humanitarian border management's overemphasis of refugees as vulnerable subjects in need of protection and basic needs led to disregard over gender-based identities of refugee men especially. It results from lack of engagement between masculinity and migration studies, which cooperates only in small instances, mostly on approaching refugee women as gendered individuals. This dissertation takes the sexual harassment incidents taken place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations as the case study to apply discourse analysis. Its repercussions in the European Union policymakers and public will prove incapability of the European Union engaging with refugee identities from a gender-based perspective while its repercussions among feminist circles will demonstrate how gender could have incorporated into the official and public responses. This dissertation will argue that by overemphasising vulnerability and ignoring gendered identities of refugee men, the European Union's humanitarian border management led to a harsher transformation from compassion to moral panic among the public and the European policymakers.

Key Words: Humanitarian border management, refugee men, Europe, vulnerability, gender, Cologne, sexual harassment.

ÖZET

SINIR ÖTESİ ERKEKLİKLER: AVRUPA'NIN GÖÇMEN KRİZİNDE EYLEMLİLİK GÖSTEREN ERKEKLİKLER

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Erkeklik çalışmalarının teorik çerçevesini göç çalışmaları ile bağlantılı olarak uygulayan ve söylem analizi araştırma yöntemini kullanan bu tez, mülteci erkekleri toplumsal cinsiyetli bireyler olarak tanımlama ve ele alma hususunda Avrupa Birliği özelindeki metodolojik ve pratik sınırlamaları inceleyecektir. İnsani sınır yönetimi Avrupa Birliği sınırları içerisindeki mültecilere karşı tutum ve iletişim kapsamını tanımlar ki bu sebeple bu tez, insani sınır yönetiminin mültecileri korumaya ve temel ihtiyaçlara ihtiyaç duyan, savunmasız özneler olarak ele almasının özellikle mülteci erkeklerin toplumsal cinsiyet temelli kimliklerini göz ardı etmeye nasıl yol açtığını analiz edecektir. Zira bu eksikliğin insani sınır yönetiminin temelini oluşturan göç çalışmalarının erkeklik çalışmalarıyla akademik ve politik kapsamdaki işbirliği yetersizliğinden kaynaklanır ve toplumsal cinsiyetin kadınlarla üzerinden tanımlanmasıyla sürdürülür. Bu tez, 2016 Yılbaşı Arifesi kutlamalarında gerçekleşen cinsel taciz olaylarını söylem analizinin uygulanacağı vaka olarak alır ve bu olayların Avrupa Birliği üyesi ülkeler ve feminist çevrelerdeki yankılarını inceler. Bu tez temel olarak, Avrupa Birliği'nin insani sınır yönetiminin savunmasızlığı aşırı odaklanması ve mülteci erkeklerin toplumsal cinsiyetli kimliklerini göz ardı etmesi sebebiyle, Avrupalı halk ve politik çerçeveler arasında merhametten ahlaki paniğe sert bir dönüşüme yol açtığını ve mülteci kimlikleriyle toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı bir bakış açısıyla ilişki kurmadığını tartışır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İnsani sınır yönetimi, erkek mülteci, savunmasızlık, Avrupa Birliği, Köln, cinsel taciz.

PREFACE

This year has been exhausting and demanding in so many ways, mostly because I have been working a full-time job to make a living and writing a dissertation at the same time to forget about the job that I had no satisfaction with and about the city that I have been isolated in far too long before COVID-19 started. I spent my weekends, my annual leaves to focus on that and did not even have much spare time to rest but it had been what I wanted.

For being tolerant and welcoming and supporting me along the way, I sincerely thank fore and foremost to my supervisor Dr. Fact. Mem. Şenay Leyla Kuzu and also for their comments which helped to shape this dissertation to a greater degree, to the Examining Committee Members, Dr. Fac. Mem. Nehir Gündoğdu and Prof. Dr. Meltem Karadağ.

I hope you enjoy reading as much as I enjoyed reading for and writing this dissertation.

May 2020
Özge BOZTAŞ

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ABBREVIATIONS

EC	European Commission
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
FRA.....	European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
MSF	Medecins Sans Frontieres
SAR	Search and Rescue
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

FIRST CHAPTER: INTRODUCTION

At the time of writing this dissertation, there is an increased flow of refugees towards the European Union (EU) through its border with Turkey for the first time in this scale since the summer of 2015. The official and public response in the EU is likely to be transformed into a different phase. However, there are still ongoing debates related to the events taken place in the previous years, with the case study of this dissertation being one of them, which is the sexual harassment incidents taken place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebration in Cologne. Reflecting the mentality of humanitarianism border management to disregard gender into the policymaking, the EU continues to prioritise strengthening of its borders over supporting the dignity and sustainability of refugee lives in the EU territories.

The sexual harassment incidents taken place during the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations was selected as this dissertation's case study, for which marked a turning point in the so-called European refugee crisis following the summer of 2015 by transforming the debates and discussions from portraying refugees as vulnerable for going through excessive suffering at the EU borders to highlighting possible threats that high number of refugee men arriving to Europe will bring. The underestimation of humanitarian border management to define refugee men as gendered individuals led to humanitarian border management sustaining a de facto refugee identity and resulted in ineffectiveness in the situations when refugee men demonstrated agency and rejected sustaining subordinate masculinities. The experiences of women narrating the events should be taken with respect and should have been dealt urgently; however, the events had further repercussions and were used by anti-refugee groups and policymakers to set a case for an easy solution: deportation of refugee men the harassers. To this day the problems on integrating refugees into the EU continue but in a harsher environment, resulting from the inability of humanitarian border manage-

ment to engage with refugees as gendered individuals who sustain mostly hegemonic masculinities.

Only a few months before the events, Merkel was a pro-refugee figure of the EU for being vocal about the social and economic advantages of accepting refugees into the EU. Meanwhile, many EU citizens were volunteering to provide basic needs of refugees, replicating humanitarian practices which focus on sustaining 'bare, naked or minimal humanity' of refugees arriving (Malkki, 1996:390). The intensification of refugee influx in 2015 has forced the EU countries to take official steps to react and resulted in commitments towards resettlement and integration of refugees. However, what was missing both from the public reactions and the political responses was the engagement with gender on defining the identities and needs of refugees, which resulted from a strong focus on vulnerability in association with the construction of emergency/crisis situation.

The case study of this dissertation will take the events in the last day of 2015 when the EU lost sleep over mass sexual harassments perpetrated by a group of young, brown-skinned men in Cologne and in some other European cities during the celebrations of 2016 New Year's Eve (Abdelmonem et al, 2016). The mainstream media did not initially give significance to the incidents; however, following the above-mentioned portrayal of the harassers, the incidents started to be widely covered by the media and emanated public reaction and protests only in a few days (Boulila and Carri, 2017). The number of male refugees has not increased over a night from 31 December 2015 to 1 January 2016; however, in the public eye and in the official's responses, it actually did seem so. The majority of voices in fact was sure that the sexual harassment incidents were related to the refugee influx that Europe faced in the summer of 2015. Quite a large majority blamed newly arriving refugees whom they welcomed only a few months ago and were talking of economic advantages that especially male refugees could bring.

This dissertation claims that this harsh transformation from compassion to moral panic among the public and the European policymakers resulted from incapability of humanitarian border management to engage with refugee identities from a gender-based perspective. Among the policymakers, the incidents sparked immediate emergence of proposals to restrict refugee movements to the German land and to admit only a limited number and group of refugees based on qualifications (Bielawska, 2019). Once the main advocate of admitting more refugees, Merkel herself

did a U-turn, from calling for solidarity in 30 December 2015 to supporting the proposal enabling swift deportation of migrants accused of crimes in Germany in early January 2016 (DW, 2016c).

Humanitarian border management is formulated around the condition of vulnerability of refugees, without engaging with illegality as well as disregarding both gendered identities and experiences of refugees (Allsopp, 2017). Although 'practices of border securitisation have created a more hostile and violent environment' not only for women but also for men (Bosworth, Fili and Pickering, 2018:2182), humanitarian border management was silent when it comes to refugee masculinities, apart from portraying vulnerability of male refugees using their fatherhood mainly for fundraising purposes (Allsopp, 2017). The lack of engagement with refugee men as gendered individuals with vulnerabilities resulted in portrayal of refugee men as threats to the European society as happened in the case of sexual abuse incidents in New Year's Eve of 2016. The political landscape avowedly started to extrapolate that not all refugees who reached Europe are vulnerable enough or need protection of European states, primarily pointing to the majority of male refugees arriving to the EU. Additionally, the EU's reaction sustained the mainstream gender trope that equals gender with women and considers men as the agents to support women's equality without taking concrete steps for behaviour change. It was also noticeable that the EU wanted to shift the focus towards protecting refugee women instead of understanding and building integration packages for refugee men who were decided to be better deported and dealt with in safe third countries.

Applying the theoretical framework of masculinity studies in association with migration studies and using discourse analysis methodology, this dissertation shall look into the methodological and practical limitations on defining and dealing with refugee men as gendered subjects in the European Union. As humanitarian border management defines the scope of engagement with refugees in the EU case, this dissertation will analyse how humanitarian border management's overemphasis of refugees as vulnerable subjects in need of protection and basic needs led to disregard over gender-based identities of refugee men especially. It results from lack of engagement between masculinity and migration studies, which cooperates only in small instances, mostly on approaching refugee women as gendered individuals. This dissertation takes the sexual harassment incidents taken place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations as the case study to apply discourse analysis. Its repercussions in the

European Union policymakers and public will prove incapability of the European Union engaging with refugee identities from a gender-based perspective while its repercussions among feminist circles will demonstrate how gender could have incorporated into the official and public responses. This dissertation will argue that by overemphasising vulnerability and ignoring gendered identities of refugee men, the European Union's humanitarian border management led to a harsher transformation from compassion to moral panic among the public and the European policymakers.

1.1. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To analyse methodological and practical limitations on defining and dealing with refugee men as gendered subjects in the European Union in the case of and repercussions to sexual harassment incidents taken place in 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations, this dissertation shall use discourse analysis methodology. For marking a turning point in the debates around refugee influx towards Europe from transforming the debates and discussions from portraying refugees as vulnerable to highlighting possible threats that high number of refugee men arriving to Europe will bring from, this dissertation will take the sexual harassment incidents taken place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations as the case study and will analyse the repercussions in academic studies, newspaper articles and official briefings and announcements depending on the nature of the responses in each setting in Germany, Finland and the EU contexts.

For newspaper articles, Deutsche Welle and Yle websites were used to identify repercussions in Germany and Finland respectively and the search was restricted to specific dates: 1st January – 31st December 2015 to incorporate in the Chapter 3 as this timeframe represents the rise in number of refugees arriving Europe and 1st January – 31st December 2016 to incorporate in the Chapter 4 as this timeframe represents the repercussions to the sexual harassment incidents taken place in 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations. For the academic articles and official briefings, Google search engine was used, and the search was not time-bound as the production and publishing of the articles take longer time. The search terms 'refugee men' 'Cologne' 'sexual harassments' were used. I have limited the timeframe of analysis from the beginning of 2015 to the end of 2016 in order to benefit from fresh analysis on the media and reactions from the policy makers; however, I have utilised the scholarly articles which were published in later years. As the refugee flows marked the highest

in numbers in 2015, the analysis of reactions towards refugee men as vulnerable individuals will focus on the year of 2015 while as the event chosen as the case study took place in the last day of 2015, the analysis of reactions towards refugee men as gendered individuals will focus on the year of 2016. I will build the background from the previous academic studies published on the topic, the introduction to the event from the articles on online media outlets (mainly the ones with the English websites, such as Deutsche Welle, BBC, the Guardian, Telegraph) and the reactions to the event from both the previously-published academic studies and the articles.

The majority of responses was from Germany as the country where the events took place. The responses in Germany were two-fold: political/legal, and public. Based on that, I have analysed the legal changes and political responses using the scholarly articles, political briefings and newspaper articles. To analyse the public responses, I mainly derived from the newspaper articles and academic studies. The second major response was from Finland, where initially similar claims were raised. Based on the nature of responses, I have analysed the public responses using several academic studies and the newspaper articles. For the political responses, I have looked into official briefings and newspaper articles which included statements from the political authorities. Thirdly, as the events impacted the migration policies of the EU countries, I have examined the official responses of the EU using the briefings, official announcements, and studies published by the EU institutions following the events and referred to the sexual harassment incidents taken place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations. Lastly, I have analysed two major feminist critiques to the events using the scholarly articles in order to demonstrate what was missing from the above-mentioned official and political responses.

Consequently, I have reached the conclusion that the responses have not done more than unravelling the fact that the majority of arriving refugees were in fact men as gendered individuals who were thought to develop subordinate masculinities as vulnerable individuals in need of assistance, but in fact used to develop hegemonic masculinities back at home with all the roles associated to being a man. Suggesting the deportation of the harassers as the best solution rather than engaging with gendered identities of refugee men, the responses reflected the official EU strategy on migration which focuses keeping refugees outside of the EU borders and dealing with them in safe third countries.

The primary research question that this dissertation aimed to answer is as follows:

How did the incapability of humanitarian border management to engage with refugee men as gendered individuals lead to moral panic among the European public and policymakers in the repercussions of the sexual harassment incidents taken place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations?

1.2. OUTLINE

The structure of this dissertation is as follows: a brief introduction in this first chapter is followed by the analysis of relevant literature on masculinity studies in relation to migration studies that is constituted of three sub-chapters: hegemonic masculinity, subordinate masculinity and debates around masculinity and migration. The literature review sets the groundwork for understanding hegemonic masculinities that refugee men are expected to develop, and subordinate masculinities that refugee men are forced to develop in the migratory context. It also demonstrates the lack of engagement between masculinity and migration studies, which leads to the restrictions on structuring humanitarian border management and its engagement with gender. The following chapter scrutinises the EU's humanitarian border management through looking into the literature on humanitarian border management and the evolution of practices, its understanding and engagement with gender. It demonstrates the strategically political usage of vulnerability in portraying refugees to prove the necessity of humanitarian borders and in leading to the emergence of compassion towards refugees, as well as humanitarian border management's limited engagement with gender. Finally, the fourth chapter sets discourse analysis of sexual harassment incidents which took place during the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations in Cologne and (claimed) to be taken place in some other European cities and analyses its repercussions in Germany, Finland and the EU circles, marking a transformation from vulnerability-based portrayal of refugee men to moral panic which claimed to be resulting from the threat of refugee men. Overall, this dissertation will argue that by overemphasising vulnerability and ignoring gendered identities of refugee men, the EU's humanitarian border management led to a harsher transformation from compassion to moral panic among the public and the European policymakers and proved incapable of engaging with refugee identities from a gender-based perspective.

SECOND CHAPTER: A LITERATURE REVIEW ON MASCULINITY STUDIES IN RELATION TO MIGRATION

Connell (1995:68) posits that “[m]asculinity’ does not exist except in contrast with ‘femininity’”. In effect, masculinity studies have predominantly been constructed by gender studies and feminist scholarship. As Connell, Hearn and Kimmel (2005:1) stresses, gender studies scholarship has been inspired by feminist scholars, which conduced to an overwhelming focus on women ‘and women have therefore mainly been the ones to make gender visible in contemporary scholarship and in public forums.’ In other words, gender studies emerged and have evolved in connection with feminism. As men’s misogyny forced the feminist scholarship to emerge, feminism similarly established the foundations of masculinity studies to disentangle from gender studies as a separate field (Gardiner, 2004). In effect, it would be accurate to claim that the birth of masculinity studies is a result of feminist knowledge accumulation (Connell, 2012). Late 20th century corresponded to the rise of claims for the acknowledgment of women’s rights. Feminist theories and wide range of research on social determinants of women’s status was allowed by the emergence of gender studies departments and research centres principally in the North American universities (Gardiner, 2004). Studying structural limitations that women encounter in a given socio-historical context was not realisable without analysing the other side of the coin, men and masculinities, which in effect led to huge knowledge accumulation on masculinities and help feminist scholars have a better grasp of men’s experiences (Kimmel, Connell and Hearn, 2004). In effect, considering Connell’s (1995) claim around compulsory intellectual bound between masculinities and femininities, ‘men and masculinity play a crucial role in feminist theory’ (Gardiner, 2004:36). Some scholars posit that this dialogue between masculinity and feminist studies has been reciprocatory. To instantiate, Wiegman (2002) sustains that through the researching male behaviours and hierarchies among men, masculinities literature helped feminist

studies on better structuring the variance affecting the status of women in socio-cultural contexts.

Although there are some studies conducted with the lenses of humanities and life sciences, masculinity studies have mainly been constructed by social scientists and theoretical divisions in the body of social sciences have affected discussions over masculinity studies (Kimmel, Connell and Hearn, 2004). Most of the literature on masculinity studies focus on the realities of the Global North where it has been widely acknowledged that masculinities are primarily about male bodies, resulting from biological differences that men hold with different hormones etc. This has also been acknowledged by Connell (2000); however, with one difference: masculinities are related to male bodies but cannot be controlled or determined by biological considerations. Still physical and emotional experiences, desires and vulnerabilities of male bodies have been immensely embraced in the literature (Browning, 2007). Contemporary masculinity studies literature is founded on R. W. Connell's book *Masculinities*, published in 1995. Diverging from the mainstream theoretical considerations embracing the gender binaries of women and men, Connell suggests a more vogue definition of masculinity with intersectional linkages to considerations over gender, sexuality, class, and race together with changing social practices of different locations, times, and cultures (Haggis and Schech, 2009).

As gender and gender roles, masculinities are constructed and continuously re-constructed in relation to social and historical developments (Griffiths, 2015). Therefore, it will be accurate to claim that 'masculinity is contingent and fluid', as Browning (2007:84) underlines. Men are forced to persist with bargaining in altering socio-cultural and historical contexts (Palillo, 2018). Research on men and masculinities pays particular attention to multiplicity of masculinities owing to increasing attention on the relations among gender, race and class in different cultural and spatial contexts (Connell, 1995). The position of men in society changes in line with the evolution of class, race and gender relations and therefore, masculinity is considered as 'a social construction that is renegotiated in each particular context' (Messerschmidt, 2004:198). This proves that migration processes indirectly contribute to the diversification and emergence of new types of masculinities by means of spatial and socio-political context changes. Multiplicity produces hierarchy, which in effect demonstrates that while assisting some favoured, genuine men, patriarchal

construction of society misfeatures the rest for not adhering to the mainstream male traits and behaviours (Hibbins and Pease, 2009).

The current research centralises the questions over differences among men and male bodies and the ways these distinct features among men shape one's life (Hibbins and Pease 2009). According to a great amount of research conducted so far, masculinities have been observed to be homogenous but presenting different behavioural patterns and desires of men (Browning, 2007). 'To recognise more than one kind of masculinity is only a first step.' says Connell (1995:76). In addition to historical and cultural changes and developments which add coincidental and interchangeable dimension to it, race, class, ethnicity, age have also been widely recognised to diversify constructions of masculinities in a great many ways (Hibbins and Pease, 2009; Browning, 2007). However, historical and cultural developments especially which male bodies are exposed to over the course of their lives result in construction of individual personal traits. Representations of masculinities are achieved through negotiation of competing discourses too (Palilo, 2018). In this regard changing social and cultural discourses would mean continuous negotiation and construction, and therefore emergence of new types of masculinities (Hibbins and Pease, 2009).

In her book *Gender and Power*, Connell (1987) commences to argue for unacceptability of a solitary sex role affiliated with men, but for the necessity for hierarchy and multiplicity of masculinities to be taken into account. In the same book, Connell (1987:110) anatomises three types of masculine identity: *hegemonic, conservative and subordinated masculinities*, all of which are constructed in comparison to each other and femininities. However, publishing the book *Masculinities*, which sets the prominent basis of masculinity studies, Connell (1995:76-81) analyses the interconnections among four types of masculinities: *hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginalised masculinities*. She sustains multiplicity of masculinities, which is constructed within the scope of hierarchical composition enabling subordination of other masculinities as well as of women who lack subjugating leverage (Haggis and Schech, 2009). Diversifying of masculinities is undergirded by hierarchy, which effectuates to the exclusion of some on the basis of class, ethnicity, and gender and exculpates the unequal employment of patriarchal dividend for the benefit of others (Hibbins and Pease, 2009). This leads one to consider

the intersectional dynamics of multiple masculinities and hierarchy among them (Connell, 2000).

In the rest of this section I will analyse relevant literature on masculinity studies into two aspects: hegemonic masculinity and subordinate masculinities. The literature review sets the groundwork for understanding hegemonic masculinities that refugee men are expected to develop and, for understanding subordinate masculinities that refugee men are forced to develop in the migratory context.

2.1. HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

Hegemonic masculinity has been discussed and researched in a relatively huge scale compared to marginalised and subordinate masculinities. The popularity of hegemonic masculinity is associated with the widespread focus of masculinity research on the developed Global North and due to hegemonic masculinity's linkages and representation of the developed-world masculinities (Kimmel, 2005). This leads to disregard of cultural inconsistencies and deformations shaping the Global South while strengthening social knowledge accumulation thanks to stability of gender structure in the Global North (Connell, 2012).

While the concept of hegemonic masculinity first appeared in Kessler et al.'s field research study focusing on social inequalities in Australian high school context, it has been theorised by R. W. Connell, who is a professor in the University of Sydney in Australia (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). As Connell herself argues on her website summarising the evolution of her work, '[t]he idea of 'hegemonic masculinity' in particular had been fiercely debated.'¹ Connell (1998) adapts the well-known Marxist scholar Gramsci's definition of hegemony to masculinity studies, maintaining its association with class relations. It would be fair to claim that from the beginning the research on hegemonic masculinity had maintained an intersectional approach, mainly building over the relations of men with hegemony, class and hierarchy. Albeit the recognition of multiple masculinities, hegemonic masculinity has been individualised over other types of masculinities for setting a precedent and being held forth as the most preeminent form of being a man (Connell, 2012). Connell explains as follows:

¹ It's retrieved from R. W. Connell's website: http://www.raewynconnell.net/p/masculinities_20.html (10.10.2019)

“Ascendancy of one group of men over another achieved at the point of a gun, or by the threat of unemployment, is not hegemony. Ascendancy which is embedded in religious doctrine and practice, mass media content, wage structures, the design of housing, welfare/taxation policies and so forth, is.” (Connell, 1987:184).

She also argues for impossibility of absolute hegemony but rather for the possibility of ‘the winning of hegemony’ (Connell, 1987). Beasley (2008) claims that hegemonic masculinity presents a singularity through its global popularity, which associates hegemonic masculinity with socially dominating transnational business masculinity. On the other hand, Messerschmidt (2004) defines hegemonic masculinity as a type of masculinity which is heavily approved in a given historical era and social context. Hegemonic masculinity has to be honoured, idolised by the society and the institutions of the present era. Additionally, since it is established in comparison to the state of subordinate masculinities and of women, the amount of glory and honour that hegemonic masculinity holds depends on how dishonoured subordinate masculinities and women are in the society at that time. What is common between two attitudes is the essential superiority of hegemonic masculinities to other types of masculinities and gender categories (Beasley, 2008).

Messerschmidt (2004)’s standpoint is affirmed in Connell (1998)’s main research which argues for the emergence of hegemony in one part of history while undergoing changes through the course of historical developments. In her later work, Connell (1998) accedes to the negative connotations associated with hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, she underlines the possibility of hegemonic masculinity to be less toxic, more cooperative and more courteous than its widespread understanding. Connell (1998) also reminds that negative connotations were not what she intended at the start of her academic journey on hegemonic masculinity. In fact, in her original thesis she adopts Gramsci’s understanding of hegemony respecting to the possibility for hegemony to be a confirming force.

Plummer (2004) identifies four main roles of hegemonic masculinity: avoiding the feminine; desire to be the big fish embodying success, authority and exemplariness; masculine spirit incorporating bravery, self-confidence and reliability and incorporation of aggression, violence and boldness. It has been widely discussed that although men earn more than women, holds majority of managerial positions, they do also work in the most dangerous lines of work, experience more occupational accidents, pay more taxes, and are subject to a sociocultural pressure to be employed and earn an income to sustain family livelihood (Connell, 2005). On the other hand,

the intersection of class with masculinity shows that the ones who hold advantages only for being men are quite different than the ones who pay a price only for being born in biological male bodies (Connell, 2005).

In addition to being widely captured by Connell (1987, 1995, 2005, 2000) on her original and following masculinity research, the interrelation between hegemonic masculinity and class has also been explored in the contemporary literature on masculinities (Beasley, 2008). Donaldson (1993) discusses, in his paper called *What is Hegemony Masculinity?*, that hegemonic masculinity is shaped by class struggles. In parallel, Connell (1995) argues for the prominent role of ethnic relations on constructing the framework of both hegemonic and subordinate masculinities. For this very reason there is a need to scrutinise the intersection of class structures and social foundations of ethnicity in relation with gender relations which alter the construction (and continuous reconstruction) of particular types of masculinities.

Morgan (2004) argues that being the provider as a masculine trait is part of both economic and ethical construction. In this regard private and public space division materialises, in which the identification of men with public space leaves men with the burden of being the provider while at the same time, giving denominational value and superiority. Morrell and Swart (2004) attain the association of masculine identity with financial endeavour and discuss the huge impact of unemployment resulting from economic turbulences on the reconstruction of masculinities in the Global South. Health problems led by the risk-taking behaviour for masculine displays have rarely attained a significant place in the masculinity discussions focused on the European continent. The scarce sources prove that men ignore self-care and health problems and are unwilling to seek medical assistance as in line with the construction of masculine identity (Morrell and Swart, 2004). Fatherhood as a critical component of masculine identity and men's reproductive behaviours have been largely scrutinised although socio-culturally reproduction is associated with women (Figuroa-Perea and Rojas, 1998 in Connell, 2004). For instance, Vigoya (2001) examines changing description of fatherhood in her study focusing Latin American masculinities.

The widespread scholarship agrees upon Connell (2005)'s establishing hegemonic masculinity in connection with dominance, coercion and violence. However, gainsaying with the majority of scholarship on hegemonic masculinity, Connell (2012) underlines that she does not see a natural connection between violence and hegemonic masculinity as hegemony was being structured around cultural

centrality, authority and power. Emerging under certain conditions, hegemonic masculinity is also prone to historical and definitional alterations by means of struggles to embrace hegemony (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). This encourages hope that in the future with changing realities it might even be possible for hegemonic masculinity to be defined more humane and less dominant form of being a man. Masculinity is not a personal characteristic, but rather heavily shaped by social institutions. As Connell (2000) observes in one of her interviewees, Steve, when consumer capitalism is placed as an internal component of contemporary social structures, it helps define male bodies with hegemonic masculine traits and adds a social meaning to it.

As much as it has been adopted, hegemonic masculinity has also been broadly criticised by many scholars. Let me elaborate on some of the main critical points. First of all, Howson (2009) lists the sources of hegemonic masculinity as heterosexuality, providing household livelihoods, and aggression and in this regard, defines it as empty signifier which is not what women and men aim but aspire to achieve. In other words, he does not think it likely that hegemonic masculinity has actually ever been practiced or will ever be practiced in any time of history. Martin (1998, cited in Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) finds fault in hegemonic masculinity allowing for unyielding adoptions, and for presenting rigid type of masculinity in certain points while on the other hand serving as the most dominant in a given historical and spatial zones. Collier (1998) criticises hegemonic masculinity for acquainting men with negative connotations such as being emotionless, independent, non-nurturing, aggressive and insensible. Elias (2008, cited in Howson, 2009) criticises the ultimate focus on power associated with hegemonic masculinity which results in disregard of other aspects in the contemporary gender structures. Howson (2009) criticises Connell for focusing too much on hegemonic masculinity in spite of recognising the multiplicity of masculinities, which causes essential historical, social and subjective contexts to be disregarded while being materialised with hegemony-based understanding.

Notwithstanding with essential benefit of incorporation of hegemony, Hearn (2004) highlights its restrictions on explaining what men think or how men behave in practical terms. While Connell (1987) states that hegemony does not mean cultural dominance or destruction of alternatives and other masculine identities, Howson (2009) identifies that on the same page Connell introduces a contradictory approach on hegemonic masculinity constructing asymmetry over femininities through

subordinate masculinities and femininities. Plummer (2004) agrees with the significance of an essential focus on hegemony while criticising the widespread application of hegemonic masculinity for overlooking the agency of individuals on expressing disagreement with and transforming the prevalent structures of hegemony.

Taking into account the encounters of socio-political, socioeconomic and cultural differences, all these critics reveal the inadequacy of hegemonic masculinity to provide a diverse understanding which could represent all. The following subsection will widen theoretical basis of this dissertation and will introduce subordinate masculinities which are constructed in relation to hegemonic masculinities.

2.2. SUBORDINATE MASCULINITIES

“Hegemonic masculinity’ is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women. The interplay between different forms of masculinity is an important part of how a patriarchal social order works.” (Connell, 1987: 183).

As emphasised by contemporary social research, it is impossible to find a masculine identity embracing all the socio-cultural settings, which conduce the discussion to masculinities in lieu of a solitary masculinity (Connell, 2000). Furthermore, Connell (2000) posits that traditional middle-class Western masculinity is inclined to suppress emotions and to gainsay any association with vulnerability. In contrast, gender has been constructed in allegedly distinct dynamics at other cultural and historical settings. To instantiate, in some cultures homosexual practices have been embraced as prevailing while gainsaid to be in opposition to true masculine identity in others (Connell, 2000). Wiegman (2002) elucidates feminism’s role in understanding the structural inequalities among men, and notably in emancipating the making of alternative masculinities possible. Prepotency of white, hegemonic masculinities globally leads to under-researching and contempt of subordinate masculinities (Hibbins and Pease, 2009). To diminish the leverage of hegemonic masculinity in academic research in general and masculinity studies in particular would be through employing subordinate masculinities as the central focus, which redounds to reverse the repercussions of unitary hegemonic masculine identity on suppressing the knowledge-development around unorthodox masculine identities in other cultures and historical eras (Hibbins and Pease, 2009).

As to the possibility around altering masculinities, Connell (1987) subscribes to the fact that masculinities ruling as hegemonic were replaced by different types in

line with transformation of socio-political and economic contexts at certain times in history. She further adds that:

“This did not eliminate other masculinities. What it did was marginalize them: and this created conditions for new versions of masculinity that rested on impulses or practices excluded from the increasingly rationalized and integrated world of business and bureaucracy. Such ‘wild’ masculinities emerged through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.” (Connell, 1987:131)

Taga (2004) explores the repercussions of globalisation to the construction of masculinities on world-wide context and how this redounded to disregard of non-Western masculinities in international academic research as an object of knowledge-development. Albeit acclaimed through cultural and traditional dynamics, Messerschmidt (2004) stresses hegemonic masculinity’s rigid interconnectedness with subordinate masculinities and feminine identities. Connell (1987), in effect, transfixes that this is not a unilateral relation, but effectuates to alterations of both sides. Still, it is avowedly embraced that hegemonic masculinity maintains a superior, dominating position in all historical and social dynamics (Beasley, 2008).

Inevitability of multiplicity of masculinities is reified along men’s distinct manners in the course of different class- and social-based divisions. Morgan (2004:172) puts forward this intersectionality in this simple praxis: ‘When I see a middle-class man, I do not see someone who is middle class and then someone who is a man, or vice versa. I see both at the same time.’ Edwards (2004) unifies all black, homosexual, working-class masculinities under the involute umbrella of subordinate masculinities, owing to the fact that in its entirety each and every one of them remains inferior to white, heterosexual, middle-class hegemonic masculinity throughout socio-political developments. Homosexual masculinities, in effect, can’t be derogated as less a masculine identity.

In *Masculinities*, Connell (1995:78) establishes the main features of subordinate masculinity focusing on homosexual men, following the avowed acknowledgement of ‘the dominance of heterosexual men and the subordination of homosexual men’. In *Gender and Power*, Connell (1987:186) puts also a strong emphasis on connection of homosexuality with subordinate masculinities as much as hegemonic masculinity’s guardianship of heterosexuality, which is narrated as follows: ‘The most important feature of contemporary hegemonic masculinity is that it is heterosexual, being closely connected to the institution of marriage; and a key form of subordinated masculinity is homosexual.’ The hierarchy between hegemonic

and subordinate masculinities are sustained by means of financial inequity and subordinate masculinities, Connell (1995) asserts in effect, are ranked as the lowest rank of being a man. Baring the relation between homosexuality and masculinity as to post-structuralism, Edwards (2004) adheres to homosexual masculine identity as alternatively progressivist endeavour to the firm basis of existing psychological and social sex and gender order. This allegedly conduces to nodus employing desires and unknown relations against themselves.

As to homosexuality's linkage with masculinity, Connell (2000) extrapolates that the best ethnographic research studies derived from as response to AIDS crisis, which led to the raise of activism around homosexuality in 1980s. In effect, it was gay liberation movement which conduce to acknowledgement of hierarchy among masculinities through avowedly recognising the acquaintances of homosexual men with heterosexual men bearing violence and prejudice (Connell, 1987). What is involute here is that non-hegemonic masculinities are constructed in relation to hegemonic masculinities but vice-versa does not apply, which in effect conduces to the parallel but unilaterally connected existence of masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Edwards (2004) excoriates Connell's portrayal of homosexual men in her study, *Masculinities*, for presenting contempt analysis due to limited number of homosexual men interviewed, redounding to the use of heterosexual lens to explore homosexual masculine identities. While differing on the firm basis of social exclusion/isolation, subordinate masculinities internalise some notable features of hegemonic masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell (2000) instantiates the resembling relation with class with the claim that participating in mostly European-based LGBT organisations highly depends on one's class with highly educated and affluent groups of men dominating. Studies baring the involute acquaintance of black masculinities with racism underlines deprivation of black men from power, control and dominance which hegemonic masculinity incorporates (Hibbins and Pease, 2009).

Although Connell (1995) builds the base for subordinate masculinities on gay masculinities and experiences of homosexual men's encounters with hegemonic masculinity, a wide range of research focused on black men's position as subordinate, mostly in relation to racist encounters in the Global North (Hibbins and Pease, 2009). Recalling the long tradition of racist discourse against black men and corresponding to Fanon's 'an animalized black man' (Bilgic, 2017:16), black masculinities constitute

a well-grounded example for subordinate masculinities. Mac anGhail (1996, cited in Morrell and Swart, 2004) looks at how discrimination against black students in the British schools led to them to be disbarred from the incorporation of hegemonic masculinity but to construct their masculine identities through subordinate masculinities. Hibbins and Pease (2009), analysing the North American context, posit that inability to access financial market and to earn a satisfactory income to sustain family wellbeing conduces black men not to develop hegemonic masculinity.

Masculinities constructed among ethnic minorities and refugee and migrant communities are tied together with homosexual masculinities under the umbrella of subordinate masculinities. Citing from Adler's terms of 'the masculine protest', Connell (1987:199) argues for protest masculinity to be considered as a form of subordinate masculinities bearing aggressiveness and hyper-masculinity and explains:

“[a]nxiety about weakness could lead to overcompensation in the direction of aggression and compulsiveness, which Adler dubbed, in a famous phrase, ‘the masculine protest’ (applicable to both sexes).”

Broude (1990:103) defines protest masculinity ‘an unconscious defensive maneuver’ which men practice in the cases of insecurity or conflict with their self-definition as males. Connell (1995) utilises the term, protest masculinities, to acclaim the regionally differing types of masculine identities among working-class masculinities on the account of poverty and unemployment bearing class struggles. In parallel, Walker (2006) posits that staying at the lowest rank of economic market led subordinated men to spotlight their masculinity in cultural dimension. In other words, protest masculinity arises with the desire to overcome lack of authority and security in economic and social spaces through overemphasising masculine characteristics in more secure areas such as sexual activity and family life. According to Poynting, Noble and Tabar (2009), protest masculinities adopt a claim to power in its entirety since it is established on the grounds of exclusion from power. Furthermore, protest masculinities look for reversing the fact that power is embraced as the main feature of only hegemonic masculinities especially in the Western cultures. Yet, it seems unlikely to achieve reversing the deprivation of institutional dominance and economically supportive resources (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Intersectional dynamics of masculinity and ethnicity in relation to class struggles elucidate the contradictory features of the socially subordinated. Kimmel (2005) interlinks the repercussions of globally acclaimed hegemonic masculinity to the emergence of far-reaching protest

masculine identity (e.g. developments with the emergence of Al Qaida in the Middle East).

Constructing the theoretical basis of masculinity studies in this section, this section showed that as gender is dynamic and fluid, masculinities are changing depending on the historical and social contexts (Browning, 2007; Connell, 1995). Setting that dominant form of masculinity in a given social and historical context, the following section shall look at the intersectional dynamics of migration and masculinities and discuss European masculinities as hegemonic masculinity and refugee masculinities as subordinate masculinities as ‘most of whom are subordinated and marginalised within the hierarchies of localised male dominance.’ (Hibbins and Pease, 2009:2). Due to these hierarchies among men and in the society, I will also emphasise that ‘some men are, in fact, oppressed by women of the prevailing race and class’ (Wiegman, 2002:35). Through emphasising the standpoint of refugee masculinities, I aim to decentralise hegemonic masculinity and assist in building more research on subordinate and protest masculinities.

2.3. INTERSECTIONS OF MIGRATION AND MASCULINITIES

Mallki (1995) argues that literature refers to refugees as non-historical and non-political subjects. Departing from Mallki’s claim, Griffiths (2015) asserts that refugees are understood to be genderless human beings. Men have been the main focus of migration research, but as genderless objects, disregarding gender-based experiences of men in migration processes (Hibbins and Pease, 2009). This has been widely argued in the literature in addition to political circles (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014). In a guideline paper titled Gender-Related Persecution within the context of Article 1A(2) of the 1951 Convention and/or its 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2002:2) acknowledges that

“[h]istorically, the refugee definition has been interpreted through a framework of male experiences, which has meant that many claims of women and of homosexuals have gone unrecognised.”

Due to acknowledgement of migration sphere as male practice, women and LGBT individuals were forced to receive extraordinary attention if any, and to prove that what they have gone through was harming enough from male perspective (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014). Women were considered to be only following the men in

the family but not as the main driver of migration process (Hibbins and Pease, 2009). Furthermore, for being secondary participants, women were ignored in the process of knowledge accumulation in regard to migration processes. Some information was still collected regarding women's experiences, only obtained through the interpretation of men's experiences as the reality of migration group, community or family (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014).

Attempting to break this culture, recent scholarly articles have demonstrated an increase on concentrating women and migration and aimed to commence portraying different, gender-based experiences of male and female and LGBT refugees. In effect, this has led to the emergence of the term *feminisation of refugee* (Palillo, 2018). To instantiate, Haggis and Schech (2009) conducts a Google research in 2008, which results in identification of 356,000 for women and migration in lieu of only 33 findings for men and migration, meaning that only women's migration experiences were considered from gender-based perspective. Hibbins and Pease (2009:5) claims that 'the pendulum has shifted so far' to overemphasise women's migration experiences that male experiences have started to be side-lined. In spite of widespread acknowledgement of men being the main focus of the migration research and of women placed as the second-level participants, many of the studies revolve around the portrayal of male refugees as oppressive, dogmatist and guilty (Griffiths, 2015).

The analysis of migration processes on the basis of gender, race, ethnicity, and class undergirds more interconnected and critical research (Pessar, 1999, cited in Hibbins and Pease, 2009). Griffiths (2015) notes that in spite of inadequacy of discussions around that, gender constitutes a notable praxis of refugee and asylum seeker identity. Throughout the process of achieving the refugee status, refugee men are either portrayed as threatening or get weakened. As to this contradiction in definition led to the appearance of involute and unknown area where refugee men are taken into (Griffiths, 2015). Palillo (2018) asserts that at the process of migration manifestation of masculine features redounds to sustaining hierarchy and power dynamics among men and with subordinate femininities. In effect, migration processes also are reckoned as a way of proving culturally set masculine features such as braveness, courage and capability, but not only as a success for leaving home. Palillo (2018) singles out this process as the moment of connecting with hegemonic masculinity. One of Palillo (2018)'s interviewee, Hakeem, narrates his migration journey as a success story. This establishes the evidence that Hakeem acclaims his

agency in choosing to flee the prison, cross the Libyan border and arrive to Italy, gainsaying with the argument around the vulnerability of refugees, including men (Palillo, 2018).

One of the oldest studies analysing the repercussions of migration on masculine identities, Baca Zinn's study dated 1982 demonstrates that in Northern America among Mexican diaspora community in spite of emerging more traditionalist masculinity this has continued to be reconstructed with altering class struggles and ethnicity-based inclusion or exclusion from the society (Connell, 2004). Aihwa Ong (1999 in Haggis and Schech, 2009) shows how white masculinities which constitute cultural-based norm in the destination countries were utilised as a measurement mechanism of masculinity depending on whether refugee men adopt or disregard it. The fine line between assimilation and divergence from the norm constitutes the level of integration to the local and regional culture and dynamics (Haggis and Schech, 2009). If hegemonic masculinity dominates as the norm in a socio-cultural setting, this explanation of Howson (2009:23), in its entirety, will be correct in the context of refugee men: 'it is the new culture's expression of normative masculinity and thus any sense of a taken-for-grantedness of the old masculinity is no longer enabled for these [refugee] men.' In line with Connell (1995)'s acclaiming of hegemonic masculinity, in the migration contexts hegemonic masculinity is identified referring to what men should aspire to be in lieu of what they actually are. Kurdish refugee men interviewed by Griffiths (2015) in Oxford describe how they felt that British people presume them to be misogynist, patriarchal and religious, which in effect conduces to inconsistencies and struggles between masculinity culturally acquired at home and what is expected of them in the destination country (Palillo, 2018).

Elucidating gender relations from a family-based perspective, Kandiyoti (1988:274) revolves around the strategies called 'patriarchal bargains' developed by women 'to maximize security and optimize life options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of oppression'. These bargains incorporate division of family labour, economic contribution to the family and authority and decision-making and changes perforce depending on one's class, ethnicity etc. Although Kandiyoti puts the terms forward to explain women's view of point, it would be highly applicable for men in certain circumstances such as migration. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2014) asserts the interchangeability of social attributions to being a woman and man in alignment with space and time, in which fastened social alterations through

forced migration would be a part. This line of argument is taken forward by Pease (2009) to study whether in the migration processes patriarchal bargains are transformed and whether patriarchy disappears in its entirety. He calls forth the reader to cognise migration as a process allegedly diminishing (or even extinguishing) patriarchal features of men. In parallel but less auspiciously, Donaldson and Howson (2009) recognises the repercussions of migration by give a chance to men to alter the dynamics of family relations and relations with their wives, daughters or other women in their lives. Still, this process has not been explored to clearly demonstrate the extent of change of masculinities and how successfully or unsuccessfully affected masculine practices (Donaldson and Howson, 2009).

Griffiths (2015) posits that gender shapes men's migration experiences in a wide range of ways, meaning that gender-based intellect defines the way men live through the migration processes. In the context of forced migration, men are usually forced to experience status deprivation, and thus to question and reconstruct their identities and lived experiences (Palillo, 2018). Prepotency culturally attributed to men, in most cases, is extinguished as a result of confinement through detention, as which basically effectuates to lack of control over their lives and thus, to passivity and financial inabilities (Browning, 2007). As Griffiths (2015) notes in the case of the UK, these circumstances engender men regarding themselves as not being the man that they aspire to be. In some cases, the reason of this situation is connected to asylum system which men recognise to marginalise them and restrict their options to realise their masculine potential by keeping them dependent as children rather than adult men. To instantiate, one of Palillo (2018)'s interviewees reveals how he lost authority obtained by being the oldest male child at home through asylum seeking process in the destination country. Luke (1997, cited in Hibbins and Pease, 2009) discusses the ways Asian migrant men in Australia constructs their own masculine identities without adopting prepotent masculine features.

The requirement to (financially) provide for one's family as men is restricted by means of many cultural, pedagogic, and systematic obstacles in the asylum process (Hibbins and Pease, 2009). This is perceived insulting by men for restricting them from realising their masculine abilities (Palillo, 2018). Most of refugee men interviewed by Griffiths (2015) note that they had been earning an income since their childhood and the interviewer with her feminine identity would not grasp the extent of shame associated with being unemployed in their case. Turner (2004) studies Burundian

refugee in a camp in Tanzania, where UNHCR actively manages and provides for the refugees. Turner narrates that, refugee men commence defining UNHCR as 'better husband' than themselves for deprived of the provider role and transferred it to an organisation (Turner, 2004:9). On the other hand, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2014) takes the provider role from men to UNHCR to mean that gender relations had not been questioned and thus, patriarchal authority of men over women had been maintained. In another case that Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2014) instantiates, a similar system engenders status deprivation of old men and transfers the authority to the hands of young men as leaders through finitely changing the dynamics of patriarchal system. In an opposite case to Turner (2004)'s study, Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2014) observes the Sahrawi community, in which by courtesy of programs aiming gender equality and women's empowerment, a group of elderly Sahrawi women obtains higher ranking and gets respected more, than both old and young men in the community. Another culture-based obligation forced to men is marriage which needs to be realised immediately after starting to earn an income and completing some other obligations such as education or military service. Griffiths (2015) interviewed Kurdish men seeking asylum in the UK, who identify being unmarried is an exiguity and compare themselves with and grow jealousy over their younger brothers or acquaintances who have already got married.

At the intersectional confrontations of gender and forced migration lies the vulnerability of women and children on the run whereas men were disregarded in the literature for not being vulnerable enough (Browning, 2007). In the political realm, a genuine refugee is portrayed as a/n endangered, oppressed victim, which creates a gendered vulnerability understanding in the Western eyes and formulates a disregard for gender-based violence refugee necessitating men's migration journey such as torture, obligatory military service, sexual violence etc. Even so, when men try to escape these situations showing agency, these would be utilised to make a case around invulnerability of refugee who are strong enough to face the above-mentioned situations (Palillo, 2018). However, this picture does not represent many of what refugee men go through and experience. Masculinities established to associate men with violence and belligerence engender incompatible with passive features unified with being a genuine refugee and produce bogus, opportunist male refugees (Browning, 2007). To instantiate, engaged in the sexual harassment matters which took place in 2016 New Year celebration in Germany, refugee men were taking up with being liars, being manly enough to desire white, European women (Palillo, 2018). One

of Eastern African asylum seeker men interviewed by Griffiths (2015) in Oxford narrates his story of being rejected, for asylum by the Home Office, and for accommodation support by civil society organisations with the foundation that he is a man and is strong to face hardships.

Societal and political manner revolves around the idea that refugee men marry and have a child to use to prove their vulnerability to the system; however, Qasmiyeh and Qasmiyeh (2010) demonstrate that most men are not inclined to get married before their refugee status is approved due to the fear of uncertainties preventing a successful family life. Griffiths (2015) narrates the story of one of his interviewees who was found guilty, by the Home Office, of having a child only to continue his stay in the UK and was deported for not having sufficient connection to his family as he had a baby after arriving to the UK. Aside from this specific case, the identification of men having not enough connection to his family has been frequently observed in the case of the UK (Griffiths, 2015).

Gender binaries are also maintained at the realm of migration as men are recognised to be engaging in conflict while women and children escape from it (Allsopp, 2017). In parallel, in her study analysing the intersectional dynamics of masculinity, femininity and nationalism, Cynthia Enloe (2004) extrapolates the public knowledge around the binary that all the women are targets while men are combative, which is set up to enhance the violence at the times of war. In this regard, by means of victimising women are set to be the genuine refugees as they fall victim to the wars and violence (Turner, 2000). In effect, fleeing the war and violence is embodied to point to these men's incompetence as men in moral sense and to demonstrate they are too weak to be men. Allsopp (2017) underlines the significance of point of view in the discussions around European refugee crisis when traditional militarised masculinities were employed against the weak but rebellious young men. Keskinen (2018) avowedly asserts that the debates around terrorism and gender-based violence in Europe continuing in the last 15 years were associated with the threat of minacious, patriarchal Muslim men. In order to avoid sustaining these views against refugee men arriving from the Middle Eastern and North African countries, Allsopp (2017) advocates for the acknowledgement of intersectional dynamics of the refugee flow towards Europe and for the prominent effects of ceasing to subscribe to victimising and militarising men in separate instances but to acknowledge that they can be vulnerable but agents at the same time.

Looking at migration controls at the Australian context, Browning (2007) posits that protest masculinity was constructed to be justification for imprisoning of undeserving refugees as refugees perform reify protest masculinity to stand against the imprisonment. Refugee men, in its entirety, are the pre-eminent target in the surveillance areas and the state comprehends men crossing the borders as threats to authority (Browning, 2007). Yet, Toch (1998) defines the spaces where protest masculinity espoused at the intersections of bravery, audacity and prepotency.

One of the very-few studies fractionating protest masculinity in the context of migration and opposing to the mainstream supposition that refugee/migrant men are more violent and sexist than local men, Poynting, Noble and Tabar (1998) narrate their interviews with Lebanese migrant adolescence living in Australia that protest masculinity is tied together with ethnic origin which constitutes the basis of ethnicity-based discrimination, and this type of masculinity evolves against the discrimination faced at the daily encounters with the local population. These boys present the reasoning behind their behaviour as defence, which is structured through a group as a collective solidarity entity and sustained by ensuring the protection of group members. At the same time, this supports the maintenance of gender binaries and redounds to the particular stereotypes to be formulated as defence mechanism against racism, which for Connell (2004) conduces to the forming of male honour. The very-first encounters with the group's protest masculinity is the name of the group in Arabic: *shi be faz'i* (SBF, translated as *something to fear*) (Poynting, Noble and Tabar, 1999:65). While physical labour and strength are appreciated among the members of the group, office-based jobs and emotional labour are disregarded as for representing unmanly ways. They also run counter to the sentiments and description of Lebanese migrants as unintelligent. To instantiate, one of their interviewees, George, narrates the astonishment which his starting to study engineering among the public and how uncomfortable but amused he felt at the same time for changing the image of Lebanese migrants being intelligent enough (Poynting, Noble and Tabar, 1999). Messner (1997) looks at the gender-based repercussions of protest masculinity and demonstrates how Mexican migrant men aim to strengthen authority over women as they are unable to do so over other men and indeed, face class-based discrimination. Morrell and Swart (2004) suggests the construction of black men as multidimensional social subjects and the relation between black men and the state with the ethnic considerations. To instantiate, they employ the emergence of subordinate and protest masculinities among

black children in the UK schooling system, where they construct a defensive mechanism against hegemonic masculinity of white, British children (Morrell and Swart, 2004).

2.4. DEBATES AROUND MASCULINITY AND MIGRATION IN THE EU CONTEXT

Connell (2005) connects the increase and universalisation of gender literature to gender embodying a universal identity. Masculinities in connection with globalisation and especially with globalisation's impact over local masculine identities have started to have a wide coverage in the literature from late 1990s onwards by bringing forward the debates around men's employment and sexuality (Kimmel, Connell and Hearn, 2005; Connell, 2005). In this regard, Connell (2004) posits that the literature considers both local and global aspect of gender order and emphasises the effects of globalisation on male bodies and masculinities.

Notwithstanding collectively established by cultural settings, masculinities are sustained by institutions (Connell, 2000). State and state-like institutions are not frequently linked as a mechanism shaping the gender relations by feminist theorists; however, Connell (1987) asserts that gender is incorporated into each and every institution. Yet, '[t]he state arms men and disarms women' and maintains the continuity of this division on a hegemonic, heteronormative basis (Connell, 1987:126). In another study Connell (2000) reprehends literature on women and development for disregarding gender, as the research in this area portrays the institutions operating on transnational basis to be gender neutral. However, the reality proves the opposite and in effect, defective attitudes and policies exert unequal influence on men and women, which supports the assertion of liberal feminists around how state and state-like institutions preserve male dominance. The emergence of new extents of social relations in the global context is claimed to establish fresh look at gender relations. Yet, transnational institutions and international state-like institutions such as the United Nations and the EU build their own gender regimes and masculinity constructs (Connell, 2005).

Local gender orders interact with gender orders of other localities as well as of global context. Neoliberal institutions such as the EU claims to be gender neutral while neoliberal identity, as endorsed by Connell (2005), is set to represent masculinity politics through sustaining state's prominent control and shaping on gender order.

State structures fabricate gender relations in a variety of ways, which constructs masculinities through gender-based policies. Moreover, as frequently emphasised in the literature (Connell, 2005; Connell, 2003), the majority of mainstream policies are put in place by men and for the benefit of men. Novikova et al (2004:141) summarises:

“the momentum of an enlarging European Union (EU) and of a broadening NATO alliance is pushing forward crucial changes of emphasis in dominant relations of power associated with issues of gender in both Eastern and Western parts of Europe—changes that generate oppressive and hegemonic forms of masculinities. Indeed, we will argue that the very project of creating and re-creating the idea and the practice of “Europe” is itself central to this process.”

One of the most prominent features of spatiotemporal knowledge development is structured through gender. Lugones (2008) asserts that, racism decomposition is taken into consideration together with patriarchal order in the historical developments and the latter was introduced to the colonies starting from the fifteenth century onwards. Colonisation of gender proves the universal identity of gender binaries around the prepotency of men and fragility of women but places it on the Europe-focused context (Rodriguez, 2018). Basing on Stoller’s (2002, cited in Keskinen, 2018) claim that control over sexuality and reproduction formed a large part of colonial mentality, Keskinen (2018) claims that gender and sexuality was not only a product of colonial and racist encounters but also constituted the basis of them at the same time. Rodriguez (2018) posits that gender played a fundamental role in the play of racism and global capitalism, shaping the coloniality of asylum and migration policies. Depending on that, binary among being men and women constituted the main feature of modern heterosexual societies. Euro-centric point of view defines non-European men of colour to be the other, animal-like, violent human being and non-European women of colour to be inferior, victim of sexual exploitation and violence of brown, non-European men. Moreover, Keskinen (2018) asserts that portraying brown men as rapists of white women was for the purpose of keeping racist hierarchies alive and sustaining the colonial policies under the image of migration policies.

Novikova et al (2004) apprehends the dynamics of masculinities in the original European Union members and the Middle and Eastern European states which started to become members in later stages through enlargement policies. While conducting social analysis in European scale, the realities of the new member states are usually overlooked but the realities of Northern, Western and Southern states were presented as the indiscrete reality of the whole Union. Novikova et al (2004) finds the

notional concealment over the masculine practices and racism in Europe-based academic and political debates, considering that racism is still widespread in Europe. Race-based debates focusing on Europe commences from who the real European is and who is not, which conduces to questioning who is better, superior men with the incorporation of migration and refugee men into the debate (Novikova et al, 2004).

Ingvars and Giaslon (2018) attract attention to patriarchal bargain encapsulated into migration policies and claim that the host community has a pride in the foreigners' successful assimilation into the destination country. Revolving around the aftermath of 2015 into the refugee influx, Bilgic (2017:10) discusses the masculinity of European Union by looking at the power relations aiming to shape and transform the Euro-Mediterranean region and posits that the masculine image of the EU is observed in the migration control and management practices through the usage of 'citizen-warrior' and 'liberal-rational' masculine figures as border guards which were reconstructed by engendering the citizens.

2.5. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have looked into masculinity studies in relation to migration studies. Analysing masculinities, I have derived from Connell's published academic studies and chosen to focus on hegemonic and subordinate masculinities which will define the identities that refugee men are forced to develop in the countries that they are fleeing from, and in the host countries, respectively. I have demonstrated that the research on men and masculinities pays particular attention to multiplicity of masculinities owing to increasing attention on the relations among gender, race and class in different cultural and spatial contexts (Connell, 1995). Moreover, as gender and gender roles, masculinities are constructed and continuously re-constructed in relation to social and historical developments and refugee men are forced to continuously bargain with changing socio-cultural and historical contexts (Palillo, 2018; Griffiths, 2015).

Additionally, I have elaborated on the restrictions of masculinity studies in relation to migration studies. Migration processes indirectly contributes to the diversification and emergence of new types of masculinities by means of spatial and socio-political context changes. Considering the scope of humanitarian border management to be defined mainly by migration literature and policies, I have tried to demonstrate the lack of engagement of migration literature and policies with gender,

and masculinity studies specifically. This will be used as the basis for the discussions in the next chapter which will point to the limitations of humanitarian border management dealing with refugees, refugee men specifically, as gendered individuals with gender-based vulnerabilities and advantages, and practices.



THIRD CHAPTER: THE EU'S HUMANITARIAN BORDER

MANAGEMENT: PRACTICES AND REPERCUSSIONS

Only in 2015 more than a million refugees have crossed the European border to seek safety and a better, stable life that they have been dreaming to get back since a conflict destroyed it back in their lands where they used to call home according to the UNHCR (2015a) figures. Approximately 4,000 could not even make it to the European lands but drawn in the middle of the sea. It has been noted as the highest number of people reaching Europe only in a year, which led 2015 to be marked as 'the year of Europe's refugee crisis' and moved the issue to the top of European agenda. Refugee influx towards Europe has fastened the fraught endeavours to halt the number of deaths on the road from rising, at the same time with undergirding the avowedly moral and political panic atmosphere due to increasing number of foreign bodies in European lands (Rodriguez, 2018). As of 2015 with a notable increase in the number of refugees arriving Europe humanitarian organisations, civil society organisations and individuals have extended their work pitching towards covering at least basic needs of refugees (Pallister-Wilkins, 2017). Along these lines the transition from state-focused border management which prioritise the safeguarding of state borders and structure to people-oriented one which undergirds the saving of human lives was enabled. However, humanitarian border management has been structured long before the year of refugee crisis and were operational. Still, the attempts to call it a humanitarianism has been materialised more than ever due to the number of refugees at its highest.

Three quarters of people crossing the sea in 2015 have been escaping from Syria, Afghanistan or Iraq (UNHCR, 2015a). In fact, this resulted from deteriorating situation in the Middle East. In fact, this situation has altered the most popular refugee crossing from Libya to Turkey, which was 'an even deadlier crossing' according to the UNHCR (2015a) as the summer of 2015 proved it. In April 20, 2015 a ship carry-

ing approximately 800 people were drawn in the Mediterranean Sea close to the Italian border and among all only 27 were saved (Guardian, 2015a). In fact, in the immediate aftermath of saving, some of the survivors were seized due to suspicions over them being smugglers. UNHCR (2015b) called for strengthening of search-and-rescue (SAR) operations ‘to prevent future such tragedies’ while the European Commission (EC, 2015a) called the Interior and Foreign Ministers of all the EU countries for a meeting in a short noticed met immediately to announce ‘*Ten point action plan on migration*’ on the same day as the death of hundreds of people. Although in the press release the goal of the meeting was presented as working towards preventing human trafficking, saving lives and contributing to the efforts of first arrival countries, the majority of the ten points included actions such as destruction of smugglers’ ships, taking fingerprints of all arrivals, establishment of a return mechanism for illegal ones (EC, 2015b).

The responses to this specific event shortly prove Debono (2019:55)’s claim that ‘the European Union’s external border regime in the Mediterranean is the classic ‘humanitarian border’’. In order to explain this further, in this chapter I will firstly look into literature on humanitarian border management and the evolution of practices interlinked with humanitarianism focusing on the European Union and after touching based on humanitarian border management’s understanding and engagement with gender, I will demonstrate how vulnerability of refugees are utilised to prove the necessity for humanitarian border and compassion towards refugees.

3.1 BIRTH OF HUMANITARIAN BORDERS

Considering that humanitarianism is structured around a ‘commitment to alleviating the suffering and protecting the lives of civilians caught up in conflict or crisis’, the association of humanitarianism with border work does not seem conventional at first encounter (Donini, 2010:1). The practice of border management largely focuses on managing the irregularity of migration flows and on keeping the refugees outside of the national borders. Humanitarianism aspires to preserve lasting pieces of humanity, to assist the suffering bodies and minds with a core purpose of doing so, for the sake of humanity. The principle defining the work ethic of humanitarian aid organisations is the term vulnerability (Ticktin, 2016). Humanitarianism strives to support people living in the regions affected by natural or man-made crisis and due mostly to financial restrictions they choose the most

vulnerable –meaning the ones who need assistance more and cannot survive without it – to provide assistance for among many others affected by the crisis. Therefore, the two concepts do not link up together easily. In fact, in the context of humanitarian border management the vulnerability of affected people has extensively been used to increase the funding to humanitarian organisations mostly in the developed countries where most of the funding comes from (Palillo, 2018).

Humanitarian border management has been operationalised only in the last twenty years and manipulatively employed by European institutions and officials to legitimise the strengthening of migration and border policies (Cuttita, 2018). Walters (2011:138) argued for the ‘birth of humanitarian border’ in the article published in 2011. He claimed that humanitarian borders materialised when refugee border crossings turned into either physical or mental struggle to stay alive instead of dying in the middle of nowhere in the Mediterranean or in the US-Mexico border. The critic of bordering practices imposed by policy makers and the involvement of humanitarian organisations led to the emergence of humanitarian border management. Walters (2011) assured from the emergence of the term that humanitarianism should not be considered only as a pursuit of humanitarian, non-governmental organisations or a moral value aiming to decrease the suffering of the people, but ‘as a complex domain possessing specific forms of governmental reason’ (Walters, 2011:143). In this complexity the involvement of all the actors are to be regarded, from civilians who hope to help the conflict-affected refugees, to governments who aim to govern who are inside the boundaries of national territories. Humanitarian border management, in this sense, turns into a struggle or interdependence among these actors where it is mostly the political considerations that define the limits of humanitarianism but only rarely vice versa (Walters, 2011). This also refers to either intentional or unintentional involvement of humanitarian organisations into the political considerations associated with humanitarian border management.

Walters (2011) talks about three characteristics of humanitarian borders. First of all, humanitarian borders are not universal but rather emerges ‘only in certain places under quite specific circumstances’ (Walters, 2011:146) as in the Mediterranean route to the EU territories. The second characteristic considers a connection between humanitarianism and securitisation. Walters (2011:147) asserts that ‘first there is securitization and then humanitarianization’. In other words, hardening legal border crossings creates the need for the emergence of humanitarian borders and for

humanitarian borders at these borders. And lastly, Walters (2011) asserts that humanitarian borders are not rigid but geographically shifts based on refugee routes. Pallister-Wilkins (2017:84) elucidates the literature of humanitarian border management into two subdivisions. According to Pallister-Wilkins (2017), the first one discusses the actions and methods that border practitioners concerned with securitisation of borders follow while the second relates to the motivations of actors involved in humanitarian border management to protect individuals from taking dangerous journeys and to reduce suffering. In parallel, Cuttita (2018) distinguishes between two conflicting but rough calculations of humanitarian border management policies and practices: the first is concerned with aggravating the policies and practices to prevent people from reaching to the European territories, which is presented on the surface as to preventing deaths at the sea through sustaining survival in other third countries and the second calculation works towards increasing the capacity of search-and-rescue (SAR) operations to facilitate the survival of refugee lives by reaching Europe. However, circumstances leading to the application of one of these calculations are vague, which allows political interests to exert vast influence on the decision-making.

In the EU context, the concept of humanitarian border management has entered the picture in official documents, policies and studies as early as 2004. In one of the very-first instances defined under the humanitarian border management framework in 2004, the German ship named *Cap Anamur*, one of the earliest humanitarian-intentioned SAR ships starting to operate in 1979, saved the lives of 37 refugees from drowning at the Mediterranean Sea and accompanied them to the nearest European land, to Sicily in Italy (UNHCR, 2004). Cuttita (2018) demonstrates the conflicting political responses to this event, which revolved around the prevention of refugees to take dangerous journey by supporting third countries to accommodate refugees in North Africa through provision of financial assistance (Cuttita, 2018). However, the event was taken to the public eye through expressing of ‘its utmost concern about the human tragedies that take place in the Mediterranean’ and calling ‘upon all States to intensify their cooperation in preventing further loss of life’ (Council of the European Union, 2004; see also Cuttita, 2018). In the same year in 2004 a ship sank, killing a number of refugees before making it to the coast in Lampedusa. The official response to the incident included a statement of solidarity and sharing sorrow with the ones affected by this ‘terrible tragedy’, which proved the

necessity for an official establishment called Task Force Mediterranean (TFM) to 'prevent such human tragedies from happening again' (EU Commission, 2013; Vaughan-Williams, 2015). Following this tragedy, the Italian government took the steps to start a search and rescue (SAR) mission named as the Mare Nostrum Operation to achieve cessation of deaths at sea in similar ways in the future (Panebianco, 2016).

SAR operations are one of the very-essential courses of action in the hand of the European governments which are most affected by refugee influxes and supported by the other governments mostly financially and by humanitarian organisations which offer capacity and expert staff in humanitarian aid and protection. Humanitarian organisations are invited or allowed by the governments to be part of the SAR operations or works independently as it is in the case of *Medicines Sans Frontiers* (MSF, in English: Doctors without Borders) which is a humanitarian organisation with medical expertise and avoid receiving funding from the governments but raise funding by donations, through which they believe of not being impacted by political considerations of funding governments. For humanitarian organisations, the aim of SAR operations is to mediate between illegality and anguish of refugees with an avowed concentration on saving life and decreasing suffering (Pallister-Wilkins, 2015).

Smugglers are being portrayed as the main enemy collectively by the humanitarian border management actors while deaths at sea have been demonstrated embodying the necessity to sustain the idea of and practices associated humanitarian border management (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2017; Cuttita, 2018). In effect, the sense of humanitarian emergency has been established as response to wrong doings of smugglers and with the aim of protecting vulnerable human beings from smugglers themselves. In other words, refugees are turned into subjects which are carried from a place to another in the journey that they have partially chosen by smugglers that they have paid to, overlooking their agency on choosing to leave their home during the conflict and to resisting to be killed, to want to travel to Europe, to pay to the smuggler and to want to build a life in Europe. This led to the portrayal of refugees 'as the victims of a context of exploitation originating from outside of Europe' and of humanitarian border practices as the saviour of these groups of subjects (Cuttita, 2018:788).

Due to its geographical position at a closer point from North Africa, Italy has in fact been one of the main European countries where refugees landed, together with Greece. Therefore, it was forced to respond to 'play a leading role in the management

of EU operations on the ground' (Panebianco, 2016:3). The most significant response in Italy was put forward with the launch of Mare Nostrum Operation by the Italian Coast Guard in 2013 (Koller, 2017). The goals of the Operation were defined as to relieve the suffering of refugees and asylum seekers travelling the dangerous routes at the Mediterranean and to restrain unlawful acts of smugglers and other transgressors (Panebianco, 2016). In spite of humanitarian-focused portrayal of the mission, the Italian Navy was in charge of providing the first-hand support and of allowing several humanitarian non-governmental organisations (NGO) to back them by providing basic needs of the rescued refugees and asylum seekers. In fact, in the Italian Navy's website where the Operation is described as 'military and humanitarian operation', the list of deployed staff and materials is composed mainly of approximately 1,000 military staff such as police officers, coast guards, Red Cross military branch staff, and military materials such as corvettes, helicopters, radar, identification systems.²

Following the deaths of approximately 800 refugees in the Mediterranean Sea in April 20 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the EU countries gathered for a special meeting held only a few days after the incident in April 23, 2015 (Cuttita, 2015). According to the statement published as the result, the EU countries agreed that what they were facing was 'a tragedy' and their near-future aims would be 'to prevent further loss of life at sea and to tackle the root cause of the human emergency that we face' (EC, 2015). On April 29, 2015 the European Parliament (EP) published *the Resolution on the latest tragedies in the Mediterranean and EU migration and asylum policies* (EP, 2015). The Resolution did not differ from any of the EU's previous strategy but was put forward to strengthen it even more to keep refugees outside of the EU borders 'to avoid other people perishing at sea' (EP, 2015:2). It demanded for reinforcement of financial and physical capabilities of the SAR operations; moreover, for increase in the number of them. It reminded the European countries of the option on provision of temporary protection to newly arriving refugees in the meantime that the ties with safe third countries, such as Turkey and Libya, were strengthened, with the purpose of avoiding to assess the asylum claims all together and to leave in a limbo till they go back to where they come from, only for their safety. However, the Resolution did not mention of any sufferings that refugees were actually going through or any ways to improve their living conditions since most were living in the streets in

² The information is retrieved from the Italian Navy, Marina Militare's website via <http://www.marina.difesa.it/EN/operations/Pagine/MareNostrum.aspx> on 02.02.2020.

the absence of adequate camps. It was quite obvious that the numbers were threatening for the EU countries; however, they have chosen to start war on smugglers to prevent more people from arriving while forgetting to provide some actual support to the ones who achieved crossing the Mediterranean by showing agency but ended up as vulnerable as they haven't ever thought to find themselves.

Starting to draft in the immediate afterwards of the special meeting, the European Commission also introduced the European Agenda on Migration in May 2015, which 'intended to address immediate challenges and equip the EU with the tools to better manage migration in the medium and long term in the areas of irregular migration, borders, asylum and legal migration' (EC, 2015c). In the Introduction section of the Agenda, it is said that 'to try to halt the human misery created by those who exploit migrants, we need to use the EU's global role and wide range of tools to address the root causes of migration.' (EC, 2015d:2). Promoting the necessity for a collaborative approach for refugee response 'to the human tragedy in the whole of the Mediterranean', the Agenda included third countries as one of the actors to be included (EC, 2015d:2-3). Under the section called 'Saving lives at sea' there was no mention of people who put their lives at risk to cross the Mediterranean, or any support to be provided to them to ameliorate the conditions of camps or unofficial settlements where they receive in inhuman treatment but of increasing funding towards SAR operations through which mainly military items and personnel are deployed with the purpose of saving lives by stopping people from taking journey in the first place rather than extending legal ways enabling people to do so. The only positive thing about the Agenda was related to sharing the responsibility by offering resettlement and relocation for those who already arrived in the European territories. Considering that Germany shouldered the majority of the responsibility on responding, Merkel was the main advocate on other European countries enjoining the response not only by financial contribution but also resettling some of the refugees (Toygur and Benvenuti, 2016). However, in spite of all Merkel's efforts, the resilience of the Eastern European countries has paid off and as close as by the end of 2015 many countries including Austria, Sweden closed their borders (Toygur and Benvenuti, 2016). In fact, according to the progress report published in October 2019, only approximately 34,000 are relocated from Greece or Italy to other European countries and only 63,000 people were resettled (EC, 2019:1) while around 150,000 people have arrived to the Europe in total and two thousands of them were sent back to Turkey (UNHCR, 2020).

Through ensuring that the situation is a humanitarian emergency, the need for increasing humanitarian (or military) presence was assured in the Mediterranean. The European Agenda on Migration clearly stated the necessity for increasing budget for Operation Triton and Poseidon (EC, 2015d:3). To sustain the legacy of the Operation Mare Nostrum, in June 2015 Operation Sophia was launched with the Council decision 2015/972 with the deployment of warships, submarines, plan, helicopters to the Mediterranean Sea with the aim ‘to produce “humanitarian” blockage of migrants and refugees in transit countries’ (Council of the European Union, 2015; Garelli and Tazzioli, 2017:689). In spite of widening legal ways to enable people to seek refuge and protection in the European countries, the EU’s humanitarian border management was materialised in the attempts to prevent refugees from risking their lives and prolonging suffering in third countries. This was a legal cover for the prevention of illegality, in fact, since the European countries would be obliged to deal with asylum cases of refugees legally as soon as they reach the European lands. Therefore, the EU strategy focused on leaving refugees ‘in a place of abjection - either in Libya or in some other neighboring country’ (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2017:690).

Through all the military equipment deployed, the Operation Sophia, continuing the legacy of Mare Nostrum, aimed at ceasing illegal, harmful acts of smugglers who were helping refugees out to pass through illegal routes to the EU countries. As the subjects of criminal acts of smugglers, refugees were characterised as nonagentic or innocent or ignorant subjects cheated by the smugglers by a better life (Garelli and Tazzioli, 2017). In fact, this was not true in real terms as I observed from colleagues and friends personally as well. In the summer of 2015 when I have working for an international humanitarian organisation in southeast Turkey, the majority of my friends have been trying both legal and illegal ways - one the one hand, applying to the authorities to seek asylum in one of the European countries while on the other hand, working to save money to pay smugglers in case the legal application did not go through. During the summer of 2015 at least four of my Syrian friends paid the smugglers to take the dangerous route to Greece for either rejected from taking the legal route or bored of waiting while some many of them were not willing to do so considering the risk.

Compared to the other humanitarian actors, especially governments, humanitarian organisations are observed to be much less fraught about illegality. This has been clearly extrapolated in Pallister-Wilkins (2015)’s study incorporating

remarks from the representatives of MSF, who clearly posited that the focus of SAR operations had been saving lives, without questioning or engaging with illegality of any human being. In the case of Mare Nostrum Operation, Panebianco (2016) reveals the so-called humanitarian-focused bargain between Save the Children, which is a worldwide known non-governmental organisation (NGO) with a specific focus on relieving the suffering of conflict-affected children and deployed humanitarian professionals and brought forth humanitarian aid to provide legal, cultural and basic needs support to the children and adolescences rescued as the result of the Mare Nostrum Operation, and the Italian government which invited and allowed the NGO to intrude for the bare purpose of saving lives and providing humanitarian support. However, mostly in compliance with the states' rules and strategies, this has facilitated humanitarian organisations to embark on border management practices and allowed organisations such as MSF, which employ humanitarian motives to propose an alternative to the mainstream system and practices, to secure a place in international system earmarked for the governments (Pallister-Wilkins, 2017).

Pallister-Wilkins (2017) asserts that death-dealing border management has established the demand for humanitarian intervention to diminish the destructiveness of securitised border policy and practices. Although Pallister-Wilkins (2017) argues for the change that humanitarian focus brings to border management through enabling a transition of concerns from security to saving lives, the majority of scholars asserts that 'such a separation (between security and humanitarianism) is seldom possible in practice' (Ticktin, 2006:36). In fact, several scholars go as far as to claim that security and humanitarianism are different phases of the same coin (Ticktin, 2005). In fact, it would sound more understandable if put that humanitarian border management came hand in hand with the increasing securitisation of migration, following the 9/11 events (Walters, 2011; Vaughan-Williams, 2015).

While securitisation of migration has been widely explored in the literature, humanitarian border management is an emerging research area, demonstrating improvement and increase in the number of papers only in the recent couple of years (Vaughan-Williams, 2015; Walter, 2011). To define 'crisis of humanitarian critique' Vaughan-Williams (2015:3) posits that humanitarianism does not produce an alternative to securitisation of migration anymore but the former has built a collaboration with the latter for the purpose of saving lives on the surface. In effect, Vaughan-Williams (2015:18) calls humanitarianism and securitisation as 'twinned

elements'. In the EU context, humanitarian border management has been established in a fine line between humanitarianism and securitisation (Vaughan-Williams, 2015). In both the political and social realms, the refugee is both threatening and vulnerable at the same time and in response to that, the EU ensures 'reinforced border surveillance' in order to 'protect the lives of migrants' (EU Commission 2013b:16). Moreover, humanitarian frame resulted in transferring the responsibility of protection to third countries before refugees even reach Europe, which Vaughan-Williams (2015:24) compares to 'colonial logics of striating space to control subjects overseas'.

3.2. HUMANITARIANISM AND GENDER

Humanitarian border management policy and practices are full of pitiful objectification of refugees taking dangerous journeys. Although I have separated this section to stand on its own, there is not enough to put under the category of humanitarianism together with gender, especially in relation to men. Although in paper it is recognised that displacement affects women, men and children in different aspects in different stages from fleeing to resettlement, as Holloway et al (2019:7) asserts, 'humanitarian policy and practice has taken gender to mean women, who are then understood as uniformly vulnerable and even problematically grouped with children.' There were efforts on integrating gender into humanitarianism, with conferences organised and policies written; however, lack of emphasis on transforming practices through gender lenses has restricted the focus to women and children, without questioning intersections. For instance, think of a woman and a man: the first one is a Syrian Arab woman who grew up in a wealthy family and had some resources to flee the conflict as well as connections and the second one is a Syrian Kurdish man who grew up in a poor family and does not have any resources but a burden to care for his extended family as the only man and is forced to join the Kurdish forces fighting in the conflict due to social norms to defend his town and community. Who is more vulnerable or who has a better case to seek asylum in a European country? First, humanitarians will prioritise the single woman due to the prejudice that it is always women who is vulnerable and a single man does not need to be protected but can take care of himself and the same applies in the asylum process: a single man running from joining the war is not vulnerable as a woman.

Reflecting the mainstream concept of vulnerability only in association with illness and victimhood and turning a blind eye to the gender-based vulnerabilities of

men resulting from expectations in association with hegemonic masculinity, Article 21 of the *Directive 2013/33 laying down standards for the reception of applicants for international protection (recast)* (Council of the European Union, 2013) defines vulnerable persons as:

“minors, unaccompanied minors, disabled people, elderly people, pregnant women, single parents with minor children, victims of human trafficking, persons with serious illnesses, persons with mental disorders and persons who have been subjected to torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence, such as victims of female genital mutilation” (Council of the European Union, 2013).

Although Welfens (2019) finds it comprehensive enough in comparison to the EU’s external migration policies, I claim that it sustains a mainstream approach to gender-based vulnerabilities resulting from lack of analysis around men’s gender-based vulnerabilities. In addition, the EU Agenda on Migration which came into force in late 2015 does not mention of any gender-specific vulnerabilities, except for paying attention to children (EC, 2015d). In terms of defining vulnerability, the Agenda attributes it to ‘people (who) cannot stay safely in their own countries’ (EC, 2015d:4) and ‘vulnerable groups, such as children’ (EC, 2015d:12) without even one mention of women or men or gender. This could easily be interpreted as the reflection of humanitarianism which justifies not paying attention to gender when it is an emergency situation. Welfens (2019) demonstrates that the EU’s lack of engagement with gender-based needs of protection is maintained in the majority of laws and policies although it is partially covered through the EU’s Common European Asylum System (CEAS). In the report analysing the functioning of hotspots, the EC still restricts the state of vulnerability with those of ‘unaccompanied minors, human trafficking victims, shipwreck victims, single women, victims of violence etc.’ (EC, 2017:6).

In an effort to ameliorate CEAS, provisions were added to guarantee equal treatment of both women and men applying for asylum in addition to reforming Article 24 to incorporate ‘gender-based harm to the definition of victims of torture and violence’ (Welfens, 2019:8; see also EC, 2016). Following the sexual harassment incidents of 2016 New Year’s Eve which I will analyse in the following chapter, the European Parliament (EP, 2016a) publishes a briefing *Gender aspects of migration and asylum in the EU: An overview* where it is claimed that gender-related aspect of the recent migration movements was ‘beginning to come under spotlight’ (EP,

2016a:1). In spite of the fact that it mentions of the majority of arrivals being male refugees in 2015, it is overwhelmingly focused on women. Overall, the word “men” is mentioned 15 times, mainly in relation or opposition to women while only in one sentence it acknowledged that ‘the resulting loss of self-esteem (as the result of the disruption of gender roles) among men can lead to an increase in domestic violence against women and children.’ (EP, 2016a:3). Furthermore, the briefing defines gender-based persecution only in relation to women by claim that it ‘result(s) from gender-discriminatory laws in a person’s home country or from culturally accepted forms of violence against women’ (EP, 2016:2). In a report published by the Committee on Women’s Rights and Gender Equality of the EP (2016b) in regards to implementation of the EU Directive 2011/36/EU governing migration from a gender perspective, men’s gender-based vulnerabilities are acknowledged as follows:

“Socialisation of gender also affects men as they are socialised into understanding that their role is to provide for the family, and that to be exploited is showing weakness and is a failure to fulfil their role as ‘provider’.” (EP, 2016b:11)

All in all, this analyses of policies and reports demonstrate that humanitarian migration and border management policy and practices persist focus on women and children as gendered subjects while disregarding to engage with men. On the one hand, this results in disregard of men’s gender-based vulnerabilities except in extreme cases such as rape; on the other hand, it results of disregard of the ways displacement affect men psychologically and socially. To instantiate, Holloway et al (2019:11) assert that, ‘[r]efugee men may experience severe identity crises as experiences such as flight, failure to protect their loved ones, trauma, encampment, destitution and loss of social status disempower them.’ In several instances such as the one mentioned by Allsopp (2017) who demonstrates that unable to maintain authority in an environment restricting their actions refugee men in Italy commit self-harm as a resistance strategy; however, in majority of the cases, the actions of men affect the others, especially the closest family members. According to Holloway et al (2019:18), ‘men’s inability to live up to provider and protector roles as women’s economic activities increase has been identified as a primary driver of intimate-partner violence’. In her study looking into masculinity constructs of Syrian refugee men who arrived in Netherlands, Krabbe (2017) analyses what it meant to be a man in Syria vs. what means to be a refugee man in Netherlands and demonstrates that in various cases men feel restricted due to inability to sustain the provider role, feel ashamed for getting financial support from

the authorities and feels feminised for not being able to control his children or wife with the pressure of rules and regulations around that. One of the interviewees mentions of cases where men can overprotect their wives by not allowing them to leave the houses even for language courses (Krabbe, 2017).

3.3. VULNERABILITY AND COMPASSION IN 2015 REFUGEE INFLUX

At the times of sustaining control over borders, an exception to the prevailing systems are created, which Ticktin (2005:348) calls ‘logic of exceptionalism’ which fabricate and turn border crossing individuals into ‘non-rights-bearing, apolitical, nonagentive victims’, which I believe, aims to ease the separation between deserving and undeserving bodies to be provided with the protection of prosperous European states and individuals. In fact, all humanitarian border management actors contribute to the establishment of ‘asymmetric relationship’ between the one being saved and the saviour through maintaining a decision-making authority on whom to save or who is more deserving to be saved (Cuttita, 2018:795). In other words, the decision making authority turns it into a game between ‘inclusion and exclusion’ or between ‘acceptance and rejection’ (Cuttita, 2018:795). Walters (2011) claims that humanitarianism still brings about a critique to current border management system with its (so-called) focus on human life. However, this focus on the survival of human beings leads to ‘bare life’ (Rozakou, 2012) or ‘a limited version of what it means to be human’ (Ticktin, 2006:34). In addition, it forces refugees to exist in a fine line between being biologically alive and a life where human beings exist in political and social life (Rozakou, 2012). As Cuttita (2018) demonstrates specifically in the European context humanitarian border management conduces to the production of passive and dependent image of refugees through presupposing the support given to refugees as compassion rather a legal requirement without building any association with human rights. Although in humanitarian work this is portrayed with the exiguity of financial and immaterial means, Walters (2011) rather links this attitude to the liberal mindset which normalises the inequalities between the people in need and the people who are helping people in need. This leads, in its own way, to the full-scale involvement politics into humanitarian work. Moreover, we can even claim that ‘humanitarianism interlinks hierarchy and inequality with it and ‘founded on the inequality and hierarchical ordering of human lives’ (Rozakou, 2012:564). In fact, humanitarianism ‘strengthens the asymmetry between including and included subjects’ (Cuttita,

2018:784) and ‘creates and privileges non-rights-bearing, apolitical, nonagentive victims’ (Ticktin 2005:350).

The political landscape has been established around the principle of vulnerability imitating the language of humanitarian aid organisations and has avowedly extrapolated that not all refugees who reached Europe are vulnerable enough or need protection of European states. A significant example to this claim comes from the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, who in one of his speeches around the topic, assured the public that two hundred thousand Syrian refugees have been chosen from the most vulnerable of all such as the disabled, female and child refugees (Palillo, 2018). Humanitarian border management is not governed by the idea that every human is rights-bearing individuals, but rather too focused on sustaining for minimum/bare life. This grasp ‘creates and privileges non-rights-bearing, apolitical, nonagentive victims’ (Ticktin, 2005:350). As demonstrated in the statement of the UK official above, Cuttita (2018) asserts that refugees themselves are informally forced to perform vulnerability and suffering in order to access the rights and recognition which otherwise would not be reachable for them as long as they appear to sustain their bare life (see also Ticktin, 2006). Moreover, the acceptance of this performance highly depends on the relevant authorities’ interpretation of the cases which they have the authority to decide (Cuttita, 2018).

Harrell-Bond (1986 cited in Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al, 2014) argues that it is humanitarian work of aid organisations and policy makers that turns refugees and conflict-affected populations into passive and nonagentive human beings by establishing dependency on humanitarian assistance and support while they do not start the journey as it is. Negotiations over intersectional dynamics of dwelling in a refugee body meets in vulnerability. Palillo (2018) uncovers the objectification of a refugee through sincerity acquainted with images of suffering refugee bodies to convince the European eye as nonthreatening. In the concrete gender-based negotiation of vulnerability emanated through wars and conflicts have grown involute (Allsopp, 2017). Whereas it is challenging to forthrightly materialise the vulnerability of women against of men in displacement settings, intersectional dynamics of vulnerability conduce to question around how women, men, LGBT individuals engage with these settings and how it arises and affects distinct vulnerabilities that each has. To instantiate, Afghan and Albanian asylum seekers that Allsopp (2017) met for her study undergird the reason behind fleeing their countries as expectations/requirements

to join national militaries as young men or as their families' reckoning from them to protect the family honour (possibly by killing someone from the family to do so). Discussing the refugee crisis in Europe on the axis of emotions, Bilgic (2017) argues that compassion and compassion towards those who are waiting for our help are brought out by political actors, pro-migration NGOs and international organisations in an emotional language. In this context, it would be useful to briefly examine the support provided by humanitarian organisations to the widespread use of vulnerability in Europe.

Allsopp (2017:173) posits that, as 'the potential terrorist trope serves the interests of the securitisation lobby, the father trope serves to construct a more humanitarian agenda.' While anti-refugee groups have relied on the high number of young men arriving to the EU lands, humanitarian organisations have used the images of fathers to draw political attention to the vulnerability of male refugees through which fundraising was maintained as well (Allsopp, 2017). Griffiths (2015) states that as it is harder to prove the vulnerability of a single male refugee in front of the public eye, refugee men have presented together with their children to turn them into vulnerable objects by feminizing image as possible. As Ticktin (2005:362) demonstrates, in asylum seeking process the decision makers' 'priorities were women and homosexuals'. This proves that limited emphasis of migration policies and scholars on gender related persecution and suffering maintains the status quo around the equality of gender with women. Based on that, in order to be given asylum in the European countries, male refugees need to prove that they are forced to develop subordinate masculinities through a case which should include identifying as gay, being raped due to the social exclusion and anything closer to the tragedy (Ticktin, 2005). Not having engaged enough with masculinity studies, migration policy and practitioners ignore the possibility of vulnerability of a refugee man, for instance who do not want to fight in a war, or to protect his family as the only male etc. In fact, this treatment creates:

"both gender and racial hierarchies, conceiving, for instance, of Third World women as helpless while men are criminalized; it excludes other types of violence, suffering, and injustice as well as other types of agentive individuals such as economic migrants or political refugees; and it frames sexual violence as apolitical." (Ticktin, 2005:367).

By means of concentration on romanticising the vulnerability of refugee bodies, the political landscape shaping humanitarian border management has

undergirded social responses to sustain the mixtures of emotions, including pity and compassion, towards refugees (Sajjir and Aouragh, 2019). It has been posited that hospitable culture of solidarity diagonally feeds into and underprops the representation of refugee through vulnerability (Elwakil, 2017), which sets the structural basis of selective permeability of compassion towards poorly-defined objects, with refugee body being a notable illustration. To instantiate, whereas the photos of the young Kurdish refugee boy, Alan Kurdi, drowned in the sea essaying to reach Europe prompted a frantic disconcertment springing solidarity with refugees, not a similar, but even opposite reaction was received in the cases of groups of refugees, mostly men, drowning in the sea.

This uncovers the essential separation regarding with or for whom to unite and show solidarity –as to the rate of threat each unknown body embodies. Sajjir and Aouragh (2019:553) posits that the photos themselves had been over-circulated as a means ‘to awaken a sense of compassion toward the oppressed and, with other contextual factors, motivate solidarity (as in the case of Alan Kurdi)’ and to prompt the mutual support. In this case it has, over and above that, supported progression from passive commentary to engaged participation (Sajjir and Aouragh, 2019). In conformity with Eerdmans (2016), the reaction to the Alan Kurdi case concentrated on the portrayal of empathy and the image of drowned child has been deployed to exculpate the requisite for hegemonic masculinity to shield for the vulnerable and innocent refugee groups such as children as Alan. Exploring the adherence towards artwork mostly stolen from the Global South to be presented in the Global North in comparison to the hatred towards refugees who come from the same lands as the artworks, Azoulay (2016) extrapolates affirmative stance towards refugee influx to maintain a connection or historical continuation to the colonial relations.

Arendt (1973) apprehends the difference between empathy and solidarity as morals. Some photographs do not awaken compassion, but most do not concede to solidarity to prevent what’s happening from happening, owing to the fact that only a few are played with to concentrate on feeding leniency to civil consciousness (Sajjir and Aouragh, 2019). In its entirety, it leads to the sustaining of solidarity in the extent of deviancy (Arendt, 1973). To incorporate gender into the debates around solidarity, Connell (1987) posits the naturalising portrayal of hegemonic masculinity over chivalry, which corresponds to the comprehension of solidarity movement with refugees in Europe. Chouliaraki (2013)’s analysis of hegemonic masculinity as to

narcissism could also be applied to contemporary solidarity mores. Yet, this definition reflects self-oriented as one of the very prominent features of hegemonic masculinity:

“the publics of solidarity, too, are today called to enact solidarity as an individualistic project of contingent values and consumerist activism—ironic solidarity being precisely a solidarity that, in recognizing the limits of its own legitimacy and efficacy, avoids politics and rewards the self.” (Chouliaraki, 2013:2 in Sajjir and Aougragh, 2019:554)

The political and public response to the so-called humanitarian crisis of 2015 in the European countries have replicated humanitarian practices focusing on sustaining ‘bare, naked or minimal humanity’ of refugees arriving (Malkki, 1996:390). Repercussion of hegemonic masculinity in the European context has developed in a similar manner in relation to refugee arrivals starting from 2015 and been complemented by the image of refugees vulnerable and in need of assistance which is constructed by the implications of humanitarian border management. Opponents of hegemonic masculinity in relation to the sustaining of solidarity culture have bolstered the idea as cover of protecting the vulnerable refugees. Individuals introducing themselves as pro-refugee have been observed to establish communication with refugees using derogatory modes of expression, and to apologize on behalf of “their own people” for every little thing that refugees went through to maintain a solidary approach (Elwakil, 2017).

Ingvars and Gislason (2018) elucidate the appearances of distinct forms of masculinities incorporated in individuals who are part of solidarity-with-refugees groups at the encounters with police officers and Golden Dawn members who attempt to cease the existence of any solidarity movements. The re-construction of morality-based masculinity has been set to depend on respect for human rights and the right to live with dignity in particular, resistance to consumerism and neo-liberal hierarchies, solidarity with the ones who are in weaker positions and need being protected. In addition, stand towards refugees is interlinked with the resistance towards state violence and the violence to protect people from the others’ violence was usually justified while the practitioners of the other violence, namely Nazis, fascists and police officers, were reckoned and introduced as non-humankind. In their study dealing with leftist men who participate in pro-refugee solidarity movements in Copenhagen, Denmark, Christensen (2011 cited in Ingvars and Gislason, 2018) demonstrates hyper-masculine behaviours that these men perform in the encounters with police and anti-refugee groups. Ingvars and Gislason (2018) draw a parallel between the attitudes in

Denmark and the ones happening among solidarity groups in Athens and posits that both hyper-masculine identities are established as a mixture of their own economic and physical vulnerabilities. Young male heroes among the leftist groups are reckoned to be powerful with their weaknesses. On the other hand, the vulnerable state of refugees gives an opportunity to some of these men to embody a positive role focused on protecting and compassion.

Ingvars and Gislason (2018) posit that placing the role of nursing in where it used to exist and gender-based performances focusing on protest culture conduce to birth of local hegemonic masculinities. It was women who were not presented at the covers of solidarity movements but stayed invisible although they were largely part of the solidarity movements together with leftist men. Yet, Ingvars and Gislason (2018) reveal from their observations in the field that men sustain verbal authority and even elder women who are culturally respected are being interrupted by men while young women are always the last to speak, which lead many young women to embark upon their sexuality to gain importance. In effect, as gender-based roles have been sustained, women manage cleaning and childcare responsibilities in solidarity spaces while men rarely took over only when women are not around or out of the indispensability.

In the political realm in Germany there were distinct voices heard over the refugee crisis of 2015; however, one suppressed all mostly unexpectedly: the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who at the same time was ‘the leader of a conservative party traditionally hostile to immigration’ (Hann, 2015:1). As Toygur and Benvenuti (2016) demonstrate, she called for a European-wide support for the refugees arriving and has pioneered the preparation of the European Agenda on Migration while at the same time the majority of Eastern European countries has been in opposition to any plans or policies relating to response to refugee influx. In late 2015 she was even called “Mama Merkel” by the refugees themselves for the compassion and open door policy she defended (Guardian, 2015b). As Schramm (2019) discusses, in early September Merkel agreed with the Austrian leader, Werner Faymann to allow refugees to cross into Germany and Austria, vocally criticising other EU countries for not taking their fair share in the response.

In her 2016 New Year’s speech to the nation a great majority of which was dedicated to the refugee influxes Europe has been facing especially in the summer of 2015, the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, demanded citizens to demonstrate unity on support refugees who could be ‘tomorrow’s opportunity’ (DW, 2015i). She

called for solidarity to “to help them and to take in those who seek refuge with us” (DW, 2015i in 0:50-59 minutes). Highlighting the financial and social benefits that refugees can bring to Germany, she declared that the majority of refugees arrived would not be returned but be integrated in line with German values and traditions. In fact, Merkel mainly acted upon and called other to do so ‘shared humanity’ and ‘moral responsibility’ during 2015 (Toygur and Benvenuti, 2016:5) while at the same time she was fighting against the far-right opposition which in only a few instances during 2015 demonstrated its activities, including several attacks on refugee shelters and surveys demonstrating that the majority of the Germans are not persuaded of any economic benefits that refugees may bring (DW, 2015b; DW, 2015c).

In the article called “*EU 2015: Crises, nothing but crises*” (DW, 2015f) published on the English-website of Deutsche Welle, which is the state-owned news outlet in Germany, there were a lot of criticism over Merkel’s liberal, open-door approach to the refugee crisis and mentions of the concerns among the public over the numbers of refugees arriving, without any sex disaggregation mentioned with concern. The article mainly focused on wrong decisions that Merkel took during 2015 in opposition of the majority, including other EU countries to the EU officials; therefore, left the refugee influx to be Germany’s problem. In another article published in the last day of 2015 titled as “*Case-by-case reviews return for all refugees to Germany*” (DW, 2015g), hardening of the asylum-seeking procedures are explained with the reason introduced as security concerns such as fake documentation. In his annual message addressed to the country leaders and decision makers such as UN leaders, the Pope Francis asked for the welcome culture to be sustained in the legal sense as well by pledging human rights and integration opportunities (DW, 2015h).

In one of the articles dating back to September 2015 published on the English website of Yle, which is the national broadcaster in Finland, it is pointed out that the Finnish Prime Minister is willing to host refugees arriving to Finland even in his unused house and promises to provide enough spaces nationally to accommodate all the people coming in, in spite of the restrictions around housing in Finland (Yle, 2015a). In the article dating to October 2015, the satisfaction of landlords and hotel owners are demonstrated as the government rents their spaces for refugees’ use. The owners express satisfaction simply because in winter the spaces were usually empty and they were not earning much and now with the rent coming from the government they say, the reception of refugees served their interests (Yle, 2015b). Another article

dated August 2015 points to hardships and risks for persecution that at least a third of refugees faced in the countries that they are fleeing from and the need for mental health support among the refugees arrived to the Finland as well as inabilities of the state to provide support to all of the ones in need due to the rising numbers (Yle, 2015c).

In May 2015 Germany passes a law outlining the ways to integrate refugees to the society and economy, which sets the demands for refugees to pay back to Germany mainly by joining the workforce. A motto (“support and demand”) was set, as Hamann and Karakayali (2016) claim, in order to disclaim the populist arguments around refugees being a burden. Presented with a young African refugee receiving vocational training, the article covered announcement of Deutsche Bank which asserted that refugees were Germany’s luck/chance to strengthen its economy while its own population is ageing (DW, 2015d). Additionally, the statistics presented by economic expert were quoted to demonstrate all the benefits that refugees will offer to the hosting countries (Hann, 2015).

Hamann and Karakayali (2016) demonstrates that the number of volunteers who signed up to help refugees increased from 0,72 in 2009 to 10,9 in 2015 of the total population in Germany mainly as the result of rising portrayal of the refugees in the media channels and of the positive attitude of the German government. The study also asserts that the suffering in the Mediterranean and the presentation of it affected many of the volunteers to reorient to active involvement for the cause of refugees. The article dating back to 24 December 2015 were commenced with the story of a young man who were running from persecution in his home country, Gambia and met a bunch of volunteers gathered through social media channels under the name of “Friends of the refugees” to operate in response to refugee influx in Bulgaria (DW, 2015e). Kasperek and Speer (2015) allude to the instance that in September 2015 organised over social media in response to the closing of the borders by the Eastern European countries, around 150 Austrians drove to the Budapest train station to facilitate the transportation of some of the refugees further to Vienna.

The hashtag #refugeeswelcome have gone widespread on Twitter mainly starting from August 2015, which is defined as ‘digital political engagement’ by Barisione, Michailidou and Airoidi (2017:2). The sport fans waved the flags reading Refugees Welcome as a collaborative effort during several matches in Germany and a football club hosted refugees in the stadium for a match (Quartz, 2015). Several

fundraising campaigns were organised and resulted in accumulation of millions of euros to support refugees in all over Europe (Hann, 2015).

3.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have looked into humanitarian border management policy and practices, starting from the emergence of humanitarian borders, humanitarianism's limited engagement with gender and its overemphasis over vulnerability of refugees, which lead to increasing compassion among the European public and policymakers during 2015, the year of migration in the EU. I have also analysed its implementation in the aftermath of 2015's large refugee influx as this dissertation is concerned with. I have demonstrated several public and political responses from the EU countries which revolved around supporting vulnerable refugees in need of protection and basic needs prior to 2015. These discussions will set the basis of harsh transformation of debates from compassion towards moral panic in the aftermath of the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations.

FOURTH CHAPTER: CROSS-BORDER MASCULINITIES

In the words of Rodriguez (2018:24), '[a]fter the summer of migration in 2015, Europe turned to an autumn of racism.' The year of 2015 marked a turning point with the number of refugees reaching its peak with approximately one million refugees as well as the number of deaths in the sea (Eurostat, 2016). The majority was fleeing the conflict zones including Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. Moreover, as Eurostat figures³ reveal, 954,090 (72%) of 1,322,845 refugees arriving and seeking asylum in Europe were men. However, this was not given significance till the sexual harassment incidents of the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations while the public and policy makers seemed to be in agreement on victimising the individuals fleeing desperately for safety as I have demonstrated in the previous chapter. Came into force in late 2015 following the emergence of crisis stipulations, the EU Agenda on Migration did not speak even briefly of any gender-specific vulnerabilities (EC, 2015c). In fact, coinciding to the aftermath of the sexual harassment incidents, it was only in March 2016 when the European Parliament (2016a:1) finally underlined that '[o]ne aspect of this massive movement of people that is beginning to come under the spotlight is its gender dimension' in the briefing titled as *Gender aspects of migration and asylum in the EU: an overview*. The only concrete acknowledgement related to gender-based identity of refugee men was in a sentence pointing out to possible worsening of violence in domestic sphere, which said: 'the resulting loss of self-esteem among men can lead to an increase in domestic violence against women and children.' (EP, 2016a:3).

The German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, is the chair of a conservative political party, the Christian Democratic Union, which was 'traditionally hostile to immigration' (Hann, 2015). However, in 2015 Merkel became the main advocate of admitting refugees and vocalised both economic and social added values that refugees

³ Data was retrieved from Eurostat database (<https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do>) on 02.11.2019.

can bring especially to Germany from an economic standpoint (Bielawska, 2019). Although there were various quietened voices calling against welcome-culture, Merkel succeeded to keep them unheard up to a point till the sexual harassment incidents taken place during the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations in Cologne. The incidents sparked immediate emergence of proposals to restrict refugee movements to the German land and to admit only a limited number and group of refugees based on qualifications (Bielawska, 2019). Merkel herself did a U-turn, from 31 December 2015 in her New Year's speech when she called for solidarity to "to help them and to take in those who seek refuge with us" (DW, 2015i in 0:50-59 minutes) to 8 January 2016 when she started to question whether some groups of people living in Germany accommodate hostile attitudes towards women (Bundesregierung, 2016). Additionally, as a measure to punish the harassers Merkel expressed her support for the proposal enabling swift deportation of migrants accused of crimes in Germany (DW, 2016c). It also resulted in a swift attitude change among the public from welcome culture to moral panic, proving the 'fragility of Europe's Willkommenskultur' not only in Germany but in other European countries as well (Hann, 2015:1). The immediate reaction was expressed through social media and through protests mainly organised by the anti-migrant groups in Cologne and other German cities as well as in other major European cities such as Amsterdam, Netherlands; Birmingham, the UK; and Calais, France (DW, 2016d; VoA News, 2016). While there were around 1,000 attacks to refugee settlements in 2015 only in Germany, this has tripled, reaching to 3,500 attacks overall in 2016 and resulting in almost ten incidents per day (DW, 2016e; DW, 2017).

This chapter sets discourse analysis of the case study which is sexual harassment incidents which took place during the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations in Cologne and other European cities, examining the public and political reactions constituting the foundations of a moral panic which harmonised agentic refugee men as the sources of threat to the European society. It reveals the consequences of migration policymakers' and scholars' lack of engagement with refugee men as gendered individuals and demonstrates that the identity construction of refugee men stays problematic and need scholarly and political attention, not only as supporters on women's fight for gender equality but also as gendered identities who could be both vulnerable and misogynists at the same time. I claim that there is a clash between what is expected of refugee men and what they really, which results from the fact that the majority of heterosexual, able-bodied refugee men used to develop hegemonic

masculinities in their home countries while in the migratory contexts they are forced to perform subordinate masculinities interlinked with automatic vulnerability which humanitarian border management associates with them as non-gendered individuals. Hence, this chapter also serves to reveal the incapacibilities of humanitarian border management to analyse gender specific experiences of male refugees due to overemphasising vulnerabilities of refugees arriving to Europe.

4.1. INTRODUCTION OF THE EVENT: SEXUAL HARASSMENT INCIDENTS IN THE 2016 NEW YEAR'S EVE CELEBRATIONS

On 31 December 2015 the German police registered approximately 1,250 complaints in regards to the incidents taken place during the celebrations of New Year's Eve in Cologne, majority of which being related to mass sexual abuse cases perpetrated by the so-called men *'of Arab or North African appearance, of Middle Eastern appearance, originating from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia'* against white, European women (Abdelmonem et al, 2016: paragraph 1, italic by me). Although in smaller scale, similar claims were heard from other major European cities that more European women experienced similar kinds of sexual harassment incidents (Rodriguez, 2018). The mainstream media did not initially give significance to the incidents; however, following the above-mentioned portrayal of the harassers, the incidents started to get a wide coverage in the media and emanated public reaction and protests only in a few days (Boulila and Carri, 2017). Although a festive environment is maintained all over Europe during these celebrations each year, the difference seems to be already-tense state that Europe has been experiencing due to the increasing number of refugees fleeing to Europe which reached its peak in 2015.

Several women described the incidents as being besieged by a group of men who constantly were harassing while distracting the surroundings through fireworks (Guardian, 2016b). One German woman speaking to the local newspaper *Kölner Express* narrated the events as follows: *'...by the group we met, which was made up only of foreign men ... I was groped everywhere. ... I think I was touched around 100 times over the 200 metres.'* (Guardian, 2016b: paragraph 18). A British woman who was in Cologne to celebrate New Year's Eve claimed in her interview with BBC (2016a: paragraph 17) that *'[t]hey were trying to hug us, kiss us. One man stole my friend's bag. Another tried to get us into his 'private taxi'.* A police officer speaking to BBC (2016a: paragraph 24) claimed that *'[t]hey were all asylum seekers, carrying*

copies of their residence certificates.’. There were claims around rape as well; however, the number is not clear while one outlet claims one woman raped and others increase the number. A German woman speaking to Euronews (2016) claimed that “I was groped between my legs. My friends were also fondled. My boyfriend tried to pull me away. There was quite a bit group of people. Maybe 30 or 40.” (see also, the Sun, 2016: paragraph 5-6). Some women also talked of fireworks used by man to distract people from harassments. Some men detained by the police claimed that they used fireworks for fun (Euronews, 2016). A woman speaking to Euronews (2016) wasn’t sexually assaulted but hurt by fireworks which burned her shoulder.

The authorities kept silent, especially in regard to the number of harassments until a German newspaper leaked an official information. However, the voices were loud and clear among the public and newspapers about the identity of the harassers: quite a large majority blamed newly arriving refugees whom they welcomed only a few months ago and were talking of economic advantages that especially male refugees could bring. The number of male refugees has not increased over a night from 31 December 2015 to 1 January 2016 but in the public eye and in the official’s responses, it actually did seem so as everyone was quite sure that the sexual harassment incidents were related to the refugee influx that Europe faced in the summer of 2015. The German police representative has gone that far to claim the existence of ‘a connection between the emergence of this phenomenon and the rapid migration in 2015’ (Newsweek, 2016: paragraph 5). The media and the responses from the public described the harassers as men from non-European background, ‘men of Arab background’ (Local, 2016: paragraph 1), ‘of Arab and north African origin’ (Guardian, 2016b: paragraph 1). The German police described the harassers as ‘a group of people who are predominantly North African or Arab in appearance’ (Express, 2016) and claimed that they ‘appeared to have come from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia and were on average in their mid-20s’ (Guardian, 2016b: paragraph 12). The national UK broadcaster, BBC (2016: paragraph 2), claimed that ‘[a]bout 1,000 drunk and aggressive young men were involved.’ Guardian (2016b: paragraph 4) questioned ‘[w]hether they were working as a single group or in separate gangs remains unclear.’

Moreover, on 5 January 2016 the German government and the German police claimed that the attacks were organised and the men with the above-mentioned appearances arrived at the celebrations with the sole purpose of sexually attacking European women (Guardian, 2016b). This claim was strengthened through rising

voices from different European cities where similar complaints of sexual harassments were registered such as Hamburg, Helsinki etc. More than a week after the Cologne events, the Finnish police published a press release on their website on 8 January 2016, which said that '[b]efore New Year's Eve, the police were informed that asylum seekers in Helsinki Metropolitan area may have had similar plans as the men who, according to recent media reports, gathered around the railway station in Cologne' and they took precautions to prevent that from happening while at the same calling for any women to report if they were still sexually harassed by any refugees or migrants (Police of Finland, 2016a). However, the way that this announcement of the Finnish police presented was quite the opposite. In another press release published on 12 January 2016 the Helsinki police chief asserted that a large number of Finnish women also were sexually assaulted in the autumn in a scale which Finland has not experienced before either and therefore, dealt as a new phenomenon, and more than dozens of refugee men were detained with the harassment charges (Police of Finland, 2016b; see also: Yahoo News, 2016; DW, 2016f; RT, 2016). A day later on 8 January 2016 claims were raised from Switzerland and Sweden as well but only in a small media outlet (News Corp Australia Network, 2016). However, Switzerland appeared in the mainstream media only with the arrest of one of the Cologne suspects in the country after he run there (Guardian, 2016c). Additionally, in Sweden there was no official announcement in regard to sexual harassment claimed to take place in 2016 New Year's Eve. Still, taking the opportunity of increasing focus on sexual harassment on 12 January 2016 the Swedish Prime Minister reminded the media of sexual abuse of several Swedish women by migrants in 2014's youth festival in Malmö, Sweden and accused the Swedish police for letting down the victims (France24, 2016).

A crisis table was set up by the German police in Cologne as the most immediate response. However, the Ministry of Interior accused the Cologne police for acting slow to take an action (BBC, 2016). In fact, upon being accused of allowing assaults to happen (probably by allowing refugee and migrant men to celebrate together with all), and of not sharing information with the public, one of the top-ranking police officials in Cologne resigned from his post (Washington Post, 2016a). The Cologne police claimed that they started investigations immediately; however, due to overcrowd and darkness, it was not effective as planned (The Local, 2016). By April 2016, approximately 150 suspects were identified by the German police who announced that almost 70% were refugees from Algeria and Morocco, with some

unregistered and minors (Telegraph, 2016). The latest news claimed that in July 2016 only four refugee men were convicted for charges associated with New Year's Eve sexual harassments (Washington Post, 2016b). Overall in Germany over the years to 2018 eighteen refugee men were charged for rape and 51 for sexual harassment and abuse (Spiegel, 2018). In Finland the national news outlet, Yle (2016a), reported in late February 2016 that the Finnish police put the investigations aside for not being able to identify any victims and harassers. There were no further news or announcements regarding persecution of any harassers during the year of 2016; however, the police published two press releases in January 2016, claiming that the number of cases where foreign nationals rape or sexually assault women were increasing and were dealt by the police immediately (Police of Finland, 2016c; 2016d).

4.2. EVOLUTION OF COMPASSION TOWARDS MORAL PANIC

Inquietude among the public has resulted in a growing moral panic, provoked by the immediate manipulation of the events by the right-wing, anti-refugee groups and avowed calling of male refugees as sexual harassers in the media channels and political debates (Abdelmonem et al, 2016). Populist social media was filled with the claims around negative repercussions of refugee influx towards Europe following the events (Rodriguez, 2018). In fact, it was also claimed afterwards that prior to the incidents the public had been warning about the possibility of sexual harassments, but the police had not taken this seriously. A research conducted by Pew Research Centre in 2016 reveals that the majority of Europeans believe the possibility of increase in terrorism with the arrival of refugees (Sajjir and Aouragh, 2019). Poushter (2016)'s analysis of the report demonstrates a correlation between the fear resulting from Islamophobia and the portrayal of Muslims as terrorist engendering from the rise of racism and right-wing populist politics.

The transformation from solidarity to moral panic was quick and harsh. Although since the summer of 2015 the increasing number of refugee men crossing to the EU was acknowledged in the official documentation and in the news, the Europeans suddenly released overnight that not all of these refugee men were developing subordinate masculinities and solely vulnerable but there were more to their masculine identities, which seemed to be forgotten earlier. I claim in this dissertation that this was caused by overemphasis of vulnerability and disregard over gender on dealing with refugees, reflecting the core stones of humanitarian border

management. In early January 2016, refugees started to be portrayed as a burden and a threat to social cohesion thanks to the manipulation in racist lines on the media and political realms through which the foundation for closing of the borders and deportations have also been established (Rodriguez, 2018). On the other hand, as stated by Rodriguez (2018), the statistics demonstrate how little burden Europe has in comparison to the neighbouring countries to the conflict zones, which proves that hyper-scrutiny of refugee movement and settlement in the territories of European Union does not emanate from an overwhelming situation, but from a moral panic associating the refugees with invaluable, animal-like Other.

Self-executing connection of refugees with criminal activities and portrayal as sexual threats constituted the basis of moral panic among the public, which was also reinforced through media stories as an uncontrollable fact in the aftermath of the events. Representations in the media channels used a discriminative language, which demonstrated how bigotry against refugees were linked with racism in effect. As Keskinen (2018) highlights, sexual harassment incidents were easily employed as the foundation of rising white authority crisis to prove the sexual and moral otherness of non-white, Muslim men. Elwakil (2017:42), in her study published in *Kohl Journal*, summarizes the widespread claims with the following sentence: ‘men from “Allah’s lands” were perpetrating these crimes as a form of expression of their “sexual misery”’. These events, on the one hand, proved the otherness of refugees as embodying different moral standards and on the other hand, transformed the public and policy response to refugee influxes from solidarity to moral panic with the increasing level emerged in anti-refugee sentiment (Eerdmans, 2016).

So-called European values were reminded of cement holding Europe together (Weber, 2016; *The Guardian*, 2007). The term has first appeared in response to expanding the EU membership to new countries which are not really considered to be European enough in comparison to the original members but reverted through debates and discussions over refugee influxes following the famous summer of 2015. Debates around European values have been frequently engendered the debates around refugee influx (Weber, 2016). Weber (2016:79) discusses this through the term ‘cultural nationalism’ and asserts the main theme of the debate to be the binary between the foreigner/other and the familiar/local (Rodriguez, 2018). On the one hand, this helps with establishing the borders of Europe by means of values, which leads to distinguish between the one who is sharing the values and the one who is not and therefore,

degrading the one who is not from you (Weber, 2016). Social posture over the refugee influx towards Europe has been affected by the dichotomy of political stance and depending on which a moral panic has been constructed (Keskinen, 2018). Notwithstanding with Keskinen (2018)'s point of view which blames the racist standpoint taking refugee influx in relation with security issues, Rodriguez (2018) points to birth of migration policies which were mainly adopted through discriminatory considerations in the colonial era. Particularly the radical right-wing groups use anti-refugee stance to strengthen and sustain racist concerns (Elwakil, 2017). Weber (2016) takes one step forward and posits that even the ones who criticize the right-wing point of view stand upon racism as long as keeping European values in the picture.

In the European context refugee masculinities are formulated under the category of subordinate masculinities and turns into a problematic concept when the adjective "vulnerable" is removed from the description of refugee men. The state of refugees, socially analysed through the lenses of vulnerability and indigence for any material and non-material support, changes shape towards threat and moral panic when it comes to refugee men showing agency and strength. In the ensuing part of this dissertation, I shall present the discourse analysis to the sexual harassments taken place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebration in four subcategories: in Germany, where the majority of public and political responses was put forward; in Finland, where the majority of responses, mainly interlinked with racism, appeared among the public; in the EU context, where the disregard of refugee men as gendered individuals was maintained and the response focused on how to protect refugee women mainly; and lastly, feminist critiques of the event, which will suggest that without picking a side, the EU and its members could have dealt with the events, focusing on gendered identities of refugee men.

Germany

The sexual harassment incidents had broad repercussions in Germany for being the place where the incidents took place. The incidents sparked immediate emergence of proposals to restrict refugee movements to the German land and to admit only a limited number and group of refugees based on qualifications (Bielawska, 2019). Once the main advocate of admitting more refugees, Merkel herself did a U-turn, from calling for solidarity to supporting the proposal enabling swift deportation

of migrants accused of crimes in Germany (DW, 2016c). On 12 January, the Chancellor Merkel asserted that the sexual harassment incidents proved the vulnerability of Europe in the refugee influx since Europe 'do(es) not have yet the order, the control that we would like to have' and sent a message to refugees, saying that the EU cannot succeed in integration if the refugees themselves are not keen to abide by the European values (Reuters, 2016).

On 9 January 2016 the Chancellor's political party, Christian Democratic Union (CDU), published the Mainz Declaration, which aimed 'to reduce the number of people eligible to apply for asylum in Germany' (Bieslawska, 2019:150). One of the principal commitments in this ten-point declaration was aiming to enable accelerated deportation of individuals who commit crimes while waiting for their asylum claims to be finalized (DW, 2016g). The declaration was only available in German; therefore, I mainly depended on Google Translate to understand the content. Points 5, 6, 7 and 8 are spared to clarify the necessity of posing restrictions on the number of refugees to be admitted for the sole purpose of achieving integration of the ones in the German land while Point 9 dealt specifically with the sexual harassments in Cologne and the necessity and ways to maintain internal security. The Point 5 mentions that refugees should be given language and orientation courses and integrated to the German job market. For the orientation courses specifically, the necessity of communicating 'basic values such as the equal rights of men and women' was highlighted (CDU, 2016:7). In the Point 7 the appreciation to volunteers who supported the refugee protection and integration was mentioned, in addition to opening of additional work opportunities to employ both German citizens and refugees. The Point 9 criticised 'the disgusting attacks on New Year's Eve in Cologne and other cities' and committed for easier deportation of asylum seekers who commit this kind of crimes (CDU, 2016:9). Expectedly, the following Point 10 condemned the 'supporters of Islamist terrorism' and pledged restrictions to be imposed at the borders to prevent terrorists from arriving the European territories (CDU, 2016:9). The Declaration's sole engagement with masculine identity of refugee men was through the imposition of gender equality orientation courses to newly arriving refugees, based on European values which are believed to be superior and gender equal compared to the ones in refugees' home countries. Therefore, the inner reasons of sexual harassments and the techniques for solving the problems through integrating further actions (except deportation) were still invisible.

Additionally, debates around announcing Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia as safe third countries have started to appear in the German parliament in late January 2016 as the suspects of sexual harassment incidents were claimed to be asylum seekers who arrived from the above-mentioned countries (ECRE, 2016). In this way, legal restrictions were planned to harden the arrival of, and to ease the *refoulement* of Moroccan, Tunisian and Algerian nationals (Rodriguez, 2018). Although later than other European countries, Germany added Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria to the list of safe countries of origin on 18 January 2019, which have provided legal ground for easier deportation of the nationals of these countries (Local, 2019). In the same year the German government put a legislative package into place restricting family reunification before completing two years in the destination country (DW, 2016b).

Although were still awaiting to ratify the Istanbul Convention, ‘the reform (of the Criminal Code) was completed in a hurry’ in April 2016 to amend the criminal law relating to sexual offenses and to underline that any act from one or a group of men could be considered as sexual abuse if a woman’s consent is not obtained (Hörnle, 2017:1329; BBC, 2016). As Hörnle (2017) asserts, with the pressure of responding to the sexual assaults taken place in the New Year’s Eve celebrations in Cologne, the Parliament gave support wholly, except one member to the adoption of Amendment which added two new offenses which are sexual harassment and out of groups offenses. Hörnle (2017:1328) argued that especially the latter (offenses out of groups) was a reaction to the events. The Section 184j: Offenses out of Groups said:

“Who facilitates a criminal offense by participating in a group of persons which corners another person in order to commit a criminal offense against her, will be punished with imprisonment up to two years or a fine, if one of the members of the group commits an offense according to §§177 or 184i and if the offense is not punishable under another norm with higher punishment.” (Hörnle, 2017:1327-1328).

Although this part was criticised largely, it was still adopted with opposition from few parliamentarians. It was apparent in the immediate aftermath of the Cologne events that a group dynamic was considered to exist among refugee and migrant men, reflecting the race-based divisions of us vs. them. Bilgic (2017:4) addresses the scission between the European and non-European through the scission over hegemonic men and ‘abjected objects’. The masculine nature of the EU intercedes the management of irregular migratory influxes towards Europe, where emotions intercede. This phase shaped by emotional performances creates socially ‘abjected

objects'. Getting inspired from Tyler (2013, cited in Bilgic, 2017)'s social abjection concept, Bilgic (2017) asserts that states are established with a system ensuring control and governance of the population who is imagined harming the healthy body of the state. The division between two distinct poles are enduringly being re-established in ghettos, prisons, hospitals and detention centres. The hegemonic sustains its authority through fear and concern over being invaded by the other. In this case, the other, unknown men are imagined constructing groups for being the representative of a subordinate masculine group which is not familiar with gender equality understandings of the German (or European) men who construct hegemonic masculinity in this context.

In late 2016 the German Federal Centre for Health Education created a website (*Zanzu*)⁴ with an interface available in many languages to teach adult refugees about sexuality and rights and laws. It is also claimed in the mainstream media that in some German cities public warnings were placed in the pools and the local authorities started to organise sexual education classes to newly arriving male refugees with their own initiative (Washington Post, 2016c).

It also resulted in a swift attitude change among the public from welcome culture to moral panic, proving the 'fragility of Europe's Willkommenskultur' not only in Germany but in other European countries as well (Hann, 2015:1). The immediate reaction was expressed through social media and through protests mainly organized by the anti-migrant groups in Cologne and other German cities (DW, 2016d; VoA News, 2016). In his article titled as The rise of the AfD after Cologne poses a serious challenge for Merkel's policy on refugees published in late January 2016, Hoerner (2016) demonstrates the increasing public support to the far-right, anti-immigration political party, Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) in Germany in the immediate aftermath of the sexual harassment incidents. An opinion poll conducted in Germany in January 2016 revealed that the AfD reached the highest number of votes that it has ever reached (Hoerner, 2016). In effect, AfD increased its votes to 20% in the following local elections (Boulila and Carri, 2017). The most far-reaching reactions from civil society realms were produced by the supporters and members of the association called *Patriotische Europäer Gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes* (PEDIGA, in English: Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident)

⁴ The website is still operational, accessible through the following link:
<https://www.zanzu.de/en/>

established in 2014 (Diken, 2015). Weber (2016) reveals that the PEGIDA supporters maintain orientalist taboos around minacious sexuality understanding among Muslims and Muslim men's inclination towards violence. Using the claims that refugee female children are being forced to wear hijab and are frequently exposed to domestic violence, this stance reproduces Muslim women as victim of religion and culture and Muslim men as addict of violence. Thousands of PEGIDA supporters organised a protest in early January in support of victims of sexual harassments although the group did not originally care for women's rights. In fact, this explanation of one of the PEGIDA protestors demonstrate the racist linkages behind the group's take on the events: "in principle bad for the women, but good for us, because the people are being woken up," (NBC News, 2016). Additionally, the actions of far-right, anti-immigration groups went so far to physically harm refugees. While there were around 1,000 attacks to refugee settlements in 2015 only in Germany, this has tripled, reaching to 3,500 attacks overall in 2016 and resulting in almost ten incidents per day (DW, 2016e; DW, 2017; InfoMigrants, 2019).

Yet, Weber (2016) posits that with the sexual harassment incidents of 2016 the focus shifted from non-white, Muslim women to victimhood of white, European women for being exposed to primitive Islamic traditions carried by Muslim men to Europe. Rodriguez (2018) accuses the German media of avowedly exhibiting the stereotypes of vulnerable white women and rapist, non-white men in the immediate aftermath of the sexual harassment incidents. The German anti-feminist writer, Birgit Kelle, condemned the so-called inferior place of women in Muslim societies in her media appearances and asserted that this view was now transferred to the European society with the arrival of Muslim refugees (Guardian, 2016a). She put it certain that German men had never perpetrated sexual abuse and claiming so only aims to shift the focus from the reality of threatening refugee men (Weber, 2016).

Finland

New year celebrations in Finland took place in the centre of Helsinki with the participation of both refugees and local community. Following the wide coverage of sexual abuse incidents in Cologne, the claims were raised in Helsinki too, though in smaller scale. More than a week after the Cologne events, the Finnish police published a press release on their website on 8 January 2016, which said that '[b]efore New Year's Eve, the police were informed that asylum seekers in Helsinki Metropolitan

area may have had similar plans as the men who, according to recent media reports, gathered around the railway station in Cologne' and they took precautions to prevent that from happening while at the same calling for any women to report if they were still sexually harassed by any refugees or migrants (Police of Finland, 2016a). In another press release published on 12 January 2016 the Helsinki police chief asserted that a large number of Finnish women also were sexually assaulted in the autumn in a scale which Finland has not experienced before either and therefore, dealt as a new phenomenon, and more than a dozen of refugee men were detained with the harassment charges (Police of Finland, 2016b; see also: Yahoo News, 2016; DW, 2016f; RT, 2016).

Keskinen (2018) demonstrates in the case of Finland that official categorisation is not constituted over race, but colour-blind universalism underlies the state policies while daily lives and common activities are based on racial structure. The crisis fictionalised over the refugee influx vocalises concerns including how the newcomers will change composition of Finnish society and interrupt the usual structure of daily life. The most pressing concern was the majority of refugees being young Muslim men in 20s-30s. While the European community was discussing whether these men were genuine refugees or not, the New Year's Eve of 2016 has constituted a turning point on shaping these discussions and revealing the men's real image as "imageries of a dangerous foreign masculinity' through which bogus male refugees' outdated, racist sexualities were materialised (Palillo, 2018:29). The national news outlet, Yle (2016a), reported in late February 2016 that the Finnish police put the investigations aside for not being able to identify any victims and harassers. There were no further news or announcements regarding persecution of any harassers during the year of 2016; however, the police published two press releases in January 2016, claiming that the number of cases where foreign nationals rape or sexually assault women were increasing and were dealt by the police immediately (Police of Finland, 2016c; 2016d).

Keskinen (2018:10) analyses the reactions from the Finnish society using the term 'the crisis of white hegemony'. She states that reactions over the sexual abuse incidents aimed to point to the inadequacy of managing the EU's land borders and to underline the sexual otherness of arriving non-white Muslim men. In parallel with some of the reactions in Germany, police officers and Finnish men recognise sexual harassment as a new phenomenon in the Finnish society but emerge with the arrival of

the refugees. Keskinen (2018:10) refers to this sentence from the interview given to national and international media channels by one of the police officers in higher levels: “we have never seen this kind of sexual harassment in Finland on New Year’s Eve”. The recognition of sexual harassment as a new phenomenon in the European society has also been vocalized by the police and citizens in many of the other activities and occasions. On the other hand, the majority of male refugees arrested were released due to lack of evidence (Yle, 2016a).

Keskinen (2018:11-12) also talks about the reactions from several, prominent (feminist) women’s organizations and analyses them with the term ‘white border guard femininities’, which, using liberal understandings of gender equality, act as political subjects demanding gender equality inside white nationalist context. For the group the term gender equality is only used against demanding power in front of non-white and Muslim men. This demonstrates the racist motives behind these women constituted around the protection of white women from encounters with non-white men who are automatically not their equal but aim to sexually exploit white women representing their primitive cultures and traditions. For instance, in a Facebook group called “Close the border” the Finnish women post statements urging the deportation of violence addicts from their country and organize joint protests with the same purpose (Keskinen, 2018).

Rehula and Orpo (2016, cited in Keskinen, 2018) endorses the necessity of providing obligatory gender equality trainings to every refugee arriving to Europe in order to prevent future sexual harassment incidents from happening. Keskinen (2018) goes further to claim that the racism of white border guard femininities helps eradicating any conflicts with white men of their nation even on similar issues and help presenting women powerful and equal enough before the arrival of threatening male refugee figures. Yet, male counterparts of white border guard femininities exist as well as described as ‘white border guard masculinities’ by Keskinen (2018:6) and as in the case of an anti-refugee group called Soldiers of Odin, work towards protecting white, Finnish women from dangerous encounters with male refugees as well as protesting to gain attention and appreciation of their efforts (Independent, 2016).

EU response

There were further reactions from other EU countries as well, in addition to Germany and Finland from where the events received the most widespread response.

For instance, in her commentary published in Daily Mail, a widely-read UK newspaper, the anti-migrant, racist, so-called white feminist Katie Hopkins (2016) demonstrates the considerable majority among the European public who believes that the incidents in 2016 New Year's Eve are only a warning to bigger, approaching threat. Moreover, she claims that the sexual violence and harassment is a norm in the daily life of Middle Easterners and refugee men 'see us as white trash. And we are no longer safe. These migrants are a cultural time-bomb, brought up in a different era (...) - incompatible with modern life.' (Hopkins, 2016). Allsopp (2017) reveals the obligatory sexuality trainings provided to newly arriving refugees as part of the integration package in some of the European countries. Although some commentators criticise these trainings to serve the picturing of young male refugees as potential sex offenders, Allsopp (2017), looking at the bright side, posits that they might create an opportunity for refugee men's point of view to be heard and to act as a mechanism for dialog between the host community and refugees.

On 28 January 2016 the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly published the Resolution 2093 (2016) titled as *Recent attacks against women: the need for honest reporting and a comprehensive response*. Condemning the events and harassers, the Resolution underlined the obligation to stand against gender-based violence of women. (Council of Europe, 2016). It acknowledged the sexual harassment as an ongoing experience of women in the EU but also the nature of the specific event taken place in masses as a new facet of gender-based violence in Europe. Article 3 of the Resolution openly said that '[a]ccording to witness accounts, the majority of perpetrators of the recent attacks were allegedly of foreign origin. These attacks have triggered debates on reception and integration policies in Europe.' (Council of Europe, 2016:1). Apart from this mention, there was no engagement with refugee men and recommendations on solving and preventing these incidents from happening. It has become apparent that the EU was determined to avoid the problem and sustain the traditional migration policy which focuses on dealing with refugees in the territories of non-European countries. In the other words, the EU was determined to solve the problem around the inclination of refugee men towards sexual harassment by not allowing them into the European territories initially.

On 2 February 2016 the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) published an announcement of its survey results on violence against women conducted back in 2014, which started with the introduction to the sexual harassment

incidents in 2016 New Year's Eve in Cologne and acknowledged the necessity to analyse public and political outcry 'in context with respect to wider manifestations of sexual harassment and violence against women, the majority of which is carried out by EU citizens –including women's partners and other people they know.' (FRA, 2016:1). This reminder apparently aimed not to fuel social tension towards refugee influx, but to shift the focus away from refugee and migrant men and to acknowledge that gender-based violence against women existed in Europe even before the arrival of refugees in this large scale. Following the commitment to keep these kinds of individuals which are keen to sexually assault women away from the European territories in the above-mentioned Resolution, the FRA suggested that the problem of sexual harassment was firstly to be dealt within the real European citizens before getting all concerned with the wrongdoings of foreigners who can be got rid of easily with a simple deportation order.

Later in March 2016 the European Parliament published a briefing titled *Gender aspects of migration and asylum in the EU: An overview*, where the focus shift was aimed towards refugee women. It is claimed that gender-related aspect of the recent migration movements was 'beginning to come under spotlight' (EP, 2016a:1). In spite of the fact that it mentions of the majority of arrivals being male refugees in 2015, it is overwhelmingly focused on refugee women. Overall, the word "men" is mentioned 15 times, mainly in relation or opposition to women while only in one sentence it acknowledged that 'the resulting loss of self-esteem (as the result of the disruption of gender roles) among men can lead to an increase in domestic violence against women and children.' (EP, 2016a:3). Furthermore, the briefing defines gender-based persecution only in relation to women by claim that it 'result(s) from gender-discriminatory laws in a person's home country or from culturally accepted forms of violence against women' (EP, 2016a:2). In a report published by the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality of the EP in regard to implementation of the EU Directive 2011/36/EU governing migration from a gender perspective, men's gender-based vulnerabilities are acknowledged as follows:

"Socialisation of gender also affects men as they are socialised into understanding that their role is to provide for the family, and that to be exploited is showing weakness and is a failure to fulfil their role as 'provider'." (EP, 2016b:11)

Lastly on February 2016 the European Parliament (2016c) published a study titled as *Female refugees and asylum seekers: the issue of integration*, which aimed to

survey through the issues that refugee and asylum seeking women face in one of the EU countries that they are based and to demonstrate what the EU countries offer for the solution of these possible problems and challenges. Overall, the EU's reaction sustained the mainstream gender trope that equals gender with women and considers men as the agents to support women's equality without taking concrete steps for behaviour change. It was also noticeable that the EU wanted to shift the focus towards protecting refugee women instead of understanding and building integration packages for refugee men who were decided to be better deported and dealt with in safe third countries.

Feminist critics

Positing that '[w]omen may feel as oppressed by non-hegemonic masculinities, may even find the hegemonic pattern more familiar and manageable', Connell (1987:185) strives to explain the perception of threat towards refugee men. However, developing a feminist critique entails certain complexity in the European context due to the struggle around racism and Islamophobia. Yet, feed into the racist discourses, the most surprising reaction was put forward by several feminist groups which asserted that sexual harassment has been introduced to Europe only with the arrival of refugee men (Rodriguez, 2018; Keskinen, 2018). Al-Ali (2016:5) underlines 'the difficulty of addressing sexual violence and racism simultaneously'. Reactions on the incidents which took place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebration in Cologne prove this difficulty. In parallel, Weber (2016) questions the achievability of formulating sexual harassment without reproducing racist criticisms and without falling into the trap of racist discourses which retain the discrimination of Muslim, non-white minorities for not being modern Europeans. While acknowledging the existence of groups who avoid using discriminatory and racist language while speaking up about sexual harassment incidents on the one hand, Weber (2016) also asserts that even the opponents of the right-wing groups fall into the trap of racism and discrimination as long as they incorporate the questions around European values. In her precious book, Sara Ahmed (2016:151) highlights that 'histories of racism and sexism are littered with good intentions'.

One of the prominent feminist figures is the founder of the eminent German feminist magazine, EMMA, Alice Schwarzer, who has been acclaimed as 'German feminism's media figurehead since the 1970s' (Spiers, 2014:69). Part of the second-

wave feminist movement, Schwarzer has been criticised by many emerging, young feminist figures for her out-dated feminist, mostly elitist-oriented fights while she continues to maintain a large group of followers in Germany, especially among white, Islamophobic circles (Spiers, 2014). Following the sexual harassments in Cologne, Schwarzer ‘engaged in an animated public debate on cultural explanations for sexual violence’ and ‘connected these events directly to the discussion on immigration from Muslim-majority countries.’ (Lewicki and Shooman, 2019:10). She reprehended Germany’s migration policies for being too loose to allow ‘Gang-Bang-Party’ members to freely follow her misogynistic traditions (Boulila and Carri, 2017:288). She has sustained her position ‘as a vocal refugee sceptic’ (Boulila and Carri, 2017:288) and published a book specifically covering the sexual harassments in Cologne, titled as *The Shock: New Year’s Eve in Cologne* in May 2016. In the book, she claimed that the holy book of Islam gives Muslim men an assurance and full control over women’s bodies (Hübsch, 2016).

Feminist organisation focusing on Egypt specifically, Nazra for Feminist Studies, publishes a research paper titled *From Egypt to Germany: Reflections about Sexual Violence from a Feminist Perspective in light of the Cologne Attacks* on women’s day of 2016. The reason behind selecting the title of the paper is set around the similarity of the dilemma faced by the Western feminists with the one faced by the Egyptian feminists in the aftermath of sexual harassment and rape incidents in Tahrir Square⁵, which could benefit both groups of women on formulating a response. Overall standpoint of the report refers to the problem as gender-based hurdle and rejects the recognition of refugee men as vulnerable but advocates for their agency and liability to be judged. The most prominent point of Nazra’s paper is their attempt to centralise the agency of refugees as standard human beings while putting a response together (Elwakil, 2017). Nazra (2016) disaffirms the depiction of refugee men as vulnerable and demands a change towards recognition of agency with the following sentences:

“Confronting racism and orientalism by romanticizing the plight of Arab immigrants and refugees stems from a point of view which amounts to masked racism and orientalism, as if those men have lesser mental capacities and are

⁵ Affected by the Arab Spring, the Tahrir Square in the Egyptian capital was symbolised as the centre of the protests to overthrow the government in 2012-13. In the midst of public cooperation, women were both part of the revolution and a target of sexual harassments. The reports put forward that during the protests approximately 80 women were sexually harassed and assaulted every day, which was described as gang rape by Nazra (2013).

subject to lower ethical standards which relieve them of being held accountable like all other human beings.” (Nazra, 2016:6)

The paper underlines the importance of taking the starting point of discussions from the acknowledgement that the victims are women who experienced sexual harassment but also taking intersectional dynamics of race, ethnicity, and social classes of the victim and perpetrators into consideration (Elwakil, 2017). It also avowedly opposes automatic association of a group with victimhood only for undergoing discrimination frequently in their daily lives.

In their article titled *The ‘Taharrush’ Connection: Xenophobia, Islamophobia, and Sexual Violence in Germany and Beyond*, Angie Abdelmonem, Rahma Esther Bavelaar, N Elisa Wynne-Hughes, and Susana Galán (2016), using the framework of racism and Islamophobia, analyses the linkage of sexual harassment and violence with refugee and migrant groups, in particular refugees with Arab descent in the European context. In the written and visual media racist repercussions ‘project an image of Europe as distinct from, and superior to, the culture of the migrants and refugees now flooding its borders seeking asylum from conflicts and structural inequalities resulting from decades of western interventions in the Middle East and North Africa’ (Abdelmonem et al, 2016: paragraph 12). They criticize the employment of women’s rights by the right-wing political parties and their supports to foster the anti-refugee sentiments. The starting sentence of the conclusion section of the article summaries the contributors’ stance against Cologne sexual harassments: ‘[t]he Cologne sexual harassment and assaults can never be excused, regardless of the origins of their perpetrators.’ (Abdelmonem et al, 2016: paragraph 32).

Bearing the difficulty mentioned by Al-Ali (2016) and the need to be cautionary towards good intentions asserted by Ahmed (2016:151) in mind, two feminist critiques, Abdelmonem et al (2016)’s article and Nazra for Feminist Studies (2016)’s research paper, confronted the European-wide repercussions of the sexual harassments in the 2016 New Year’s Eve celebrations in Cologne and other European cities. While Abdelmonem et al (2016) and other scholars spotlight the perspective of refugee groups, scholars and organisations led by Nazra (2016) discuss the experiences of women who are victims of sexual harassment incidents. The commonality among the two points of view is that both scrutinise lived experiences incorporated with pain and suffering (Elwakil, 2017).

However, as Elwakil (2017) highlights, neither Abdelmonem et al (2016) nor Nazra (2016)'s stance is adequate enough to explain the incidents single-handedly, but both views should be brought together to formulate a comprehensive reaction. In contrast to the responses from the European policymakers and public as well as in contrast to the European feminists such as Alice Schwarzer, the prominence of these two approaches is that they chose to scrutinise refugee men's gendered and masculine identities and did so without getting drawn into the anti-refugee narrative, which in fact shaped the European-wide repercussions.

4.3. CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have set the discourse analysis of this dissertation's case study, sexual harassment incidents which took place during the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations in Cologne and in some other European cities. I have analysed its repercussions to demonstrate that the sexual harassment incidents in the 2016 New Year's Eve marked a transformation from vulnerability-based portrayal of refugee men to moral panic which claimed to be resulting from the threat of refugee men.

I have mainly analysed academic studies, newspaper articles and official briefings and announcements, depending on the nature of the responses in each setting. I have analysed the public responses using several academic studies and the newspaper articles. For the political responses, I have looked into official briefings and newspaper articles which included statements from the political authorities. Thirdly, as the events impacted the migration policies of the EU countries, I have examined the official responses of the EU using the briefings, official announcements, and studies that published by the EU institutions following the events and referred to the sexual harassment incidents taken place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations. I have demonstrated through this discourse analysis that the EU's reaction sustained the mainstream gender trope that equals gender with women and considers men as the agents to support women's equality without taking concrete steps for behaviour change. It was also noticeable that the EU wanted to shift the focus towards protecting refugee women instead of understanding and building integration packages for refugee men who were decided to be better deported and dealt with in safe third countries.

Lastly, I have analysed two major feminist critiques to the events using the scholarly articles in order to demonstrate what was missing from the above-mentioned official, political and public responses. Its repercussions in Germany, Finland and the

European Union policymakers and public proved incapability of the European Union engaging with refugee identities from a gender-based perspective while its repercussions among feminist circles demonstrated how gender could have incorporated into the official and public responses in the EU.



FIFTH CHAPTER: CONCLUSION

“I remember asking my husband how the men responsible could be “so dumb.” In reading through initial responses to this event, I discovered that Alice Schwarzer’s was more or less in line with mine: “I just couldn’t imagine how someone could be that dumb, hoping for hospitality and asylum, and then acting like that” ...” (McCarthy, 2016: paragraph 5)

This naïve inquiry was not unorthodox in effect, but was broadened with the interlinkages of racism, where moral panic emerged in the aftermath of the sexual harassment incidents taken place in the 2016 New Year’s Eve celebrations and (claimed to be) perpetrated by a group of brown-skinned, non-European men (Abdelmonem et al, 2016). The EU has chosen not to engage with gendered identities of refugee men and to take the easier route to solution through deportation of the harassers and through further strengthening of the borders. Refugee men continued to be categorised under subordinate masculinities as they were considered to be automatically transforming from hegemonic to subordinate masculine identities due to all the suffering that they go through on the dangerous, illegal routes towards Europe. In front of hegemonic European masculinities, they were considered to be representing the other, the unknown, with which the EU was unable to engage with thanks to racist motives hidden in the migration policies (Rodriguez, 2018; Bilgic, 2017).

European migration policies constituted the basis of humanitarian border management which has proved to sustain gender-blindness. As the pawn institutions of humanitarian border management, humanitarian organizations and the EU institutions persisted in emphasising vulnerability, which I believe, aims to ease the separation between deserving and undeserving bodies to be provided with the protection of prosperous European states and individuals Ticktin (2005:348). All in all, over a night refugee men proved to be invulnerable and in fact, left the EU into a vulnerable state, in the words of the German Chancellor Merkel, for ‘not hav(ing) yet the order, the control that we would like to have’ (Reuters, 2016).

Applying the theoretical framework of masculinity studies in association with migration studies and using the discourse analysis methodology, this dissertation looked into the methodological and practical limitations on defining and dealing with refugee men as gendered subjects in the European Union (EU). This dissertation aimed to answer how the incapability of humanitarian border management to engage with refugee men as gendered individuals led to moral panic among the European public and policymakers in the repercussions of the sexual harassment incidents taken place in the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations. It argued that by overemphasising vulnerability and ignoring gendered identities of refugee men, the EU's humanitarian border management led to a harsher transformation from compassion to moral panic among the public and the European policymakers and proved incapable of engaging with refugee identities from a gender-based perspective.

In the first chapter, I have analysed the relevant literature on masculinity studies in relation to migration studies that is constituted of three sub-chapters: hegemonic masculinity, subordinate masculinity and debates around masculinity and migration. The literature review set the groundwork for understanding hegemonic masculinities that refugee men are expected to develop, and subordinate masculinities that refugee men are forced to develop in the migratory context. I have indicated that research on men and masculinities pays particular attention to multiplicity of masculinities owing to increasing attention on the relations among gender, race and class in different cultural and spatial contexts (Connell, 1995). Moreover, as gender and gender roles, masculinities are constructed and continuously re-constructed in relation to social and historical developments and refugee men are forced to continuously bargain with changing socio-cultural and historical contexts (Palillo, 2018 Griffiths, 2015). Migration processes indirectly contributes to the diversification and emergence of new types of masculinities by means of spatial and socio-political context changes. I have also set that the lack of engagement between masculinity and migration studies, which leads to the restrictions on structuring humanitarian border management and its engagement with gender.

In the following chapter I have scrutinised the EU's humanitarian border management through looking into the literature on humanitarian border management and the evolution of practices, its understanding and engagement with gender. I have asserted that strategically political usage of vulnerability in portraying refugees proves the necessity of humanitarian borders and leads to the emergence of compassion

towards refugees. I have also analysed how humanitarian border management's overemphasis of refugees as vulnerable subjects in need of protection and basic needs led to disregard over gender-based identities of refugee men especially, which resulted from lack of engagement between masculinity and migration studies. Cognizing refugees as *vulnerable subjects*, humanitarian border management disregards gender specific experiences and vulnerabilities of refugees.

Finally, in the fourth chapter I have presented the discourse analysis of sexual harassment incidents which took place during the 2016 New Year's Eve celebrations in Cologne and in some other European cities and analysed its repercussions in Germany, Finland and the EU circles. I have analysed its repercussions to demonstrate that the sexual harassment incidents in the 2016 New Year's Eve marked a transformation from vulnerability-based portrayal of refugee men to moral panic which claimed to be resulting from the threat of refugee men. I have demonstrated that the EU's reaction sustained the mainstream gender trope that equals gender with women and considers men as the agents to support women's equality without taking concrete steps for behaviour change. It was also noticeable that the EU wanted to shift the focus towards protecting refugee women instead of understanding and building integration packages for refugee men who were decided to be better deported and dealt with in safe third countries. Lastly, I have analysed two major feminist critiques to the events using the scholarly articles in order to demonstrate what was missing from the above-mentioned official, political and public responses. Its repercussions in Germany, Finland and the European Union policymakers and public proved incapability of the European Union engaging with refugee identities from a gender-based perspective while its repercussions among feminist circles demonstrated how gender could have incorporated into the official and public responses in the EU.

Overall, I have argued in this dissertation that by overemphasising vulnerability and ignoring gendered identities of refugee men, the EU's humanitarian border management led to a harsher transformation from compassion to moral panic among the public and the European policymakers and proved incapable of engaging with refugee identities from a gender-based perspective. Following Allsopp's call for an intersectional approach to be posited in analysis of the European refugee crisis dynamics and reminding Al-Ali's (2016:5) concern over 'the difficulty of addressing sexual violence and racism simultaneously', I subscribe to that refugee men 'cannot

be cast as either victims or soldiers but should be seen as at once vulnerable and agentic' (Allsopp, 2017:165).



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