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STRATEGIZING TO SURVIVE IN LIMINAL LIFE: GHOST-LIKE AGENCY OF AFGHAN REFUGEES IN TURKEY

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A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
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Ankara

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To Kutsal

Esin and Gözde

and all Afghans who are longing for a home

Beni dem āzaye yek peykerend

Humans are the members of a whole

Ke der āferideneş ze yek guherend

Having in creation one essence and soul

Ço ozvi be derd avered rüzgar

When one suffers from pain

Diger ozvha ra nemanend qarar

The others would feel the same

To kez mihnete digeran bigami

When this is not the case

Neşayed ke namet nehend ādemi

Your name of 'human' cannot remain

Sadî-i Şîrâzî

Disclaimer: The views expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations.

All the names of the participants of this research have been changed for protection reasons. Similarly, none of the names of the cities and residential areas are mentioned. The names of the cities and residential areas are only mentioned as *big city (Shahre bozorg)* and *small city (Shahre kucek)* as used in Persian language, again for protection reasons.

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of
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by

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ABSTRACT

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This study focuses on the agency of Afghan refugees in the quest of survival in Turkey. The countries where the refugee regime is ambiguous due to reasons such as complex asylum policies and limitation to Geneva Convention, refugees end up in a challenging situation where they can neither go back, nor incorporate to the host society and nor move further to a third country. In such context, when refugee governance is further based on neoliberal approach, refugees find themselves being left to their own devices to find solutions for their survival through using their agency. With this perspective, this qualitative study aims to understand how the refugee agency is formulated and operationalized by asking: What sort of survival strategies do Afghan refugees develop under complex refugee regime in Turkey? How do the daily lives of Afghans look like in the government-assigned satellite cities? How do Afghan refugees explain vulnerabilities and survival needs?

Following making the analysis of the data collected from thirty-five in-depth, semi structured, and face-to-face interviews through the emerged themes, this study first found that following their flight, refugees find themselves in limbo where they are left to their own devices for survival. Second, with the aim of staying alive, refugees turn into ghosts through using their agencies, both by being visible and invisible. This agency however is partial because of the structural reasons. On the one hand, ghost-like nature deepens the already existing vulnerabilities as a result of risk-taking, and on the other, it works into the creation good relationships with the host community members in the satellite city. Whether visible or invisible, the ghost-like agency of Afghans has one ultimate goal: to be able to survive in Turkey.

Keywords: Liminality, Strategizing, Ghost-Like Agency, Vulnerability, Invisibility

ÖZET

EŞİKTE HAYATTA, HAYATTA KALMAK İÇİN STRATEJİ KURMAK:
TÜRKİYE'DEKİ AFGAN MÜLTECİLERİN HAYALETİMSİ İRADESİ

Eminoğlu, Can

Doktora, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Tahire Erman

Temmuz 2022

Bu tez, Türkiye'de hayatta kalma çabası içerisinde olan Afgan mültecilerin iradesi üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Cenevre Sözleşmesi'ne kısıtlama koyan ve mülteci rejimleri muğlak olan iltica ülkelerinde mülteciler kendilerini ne geri dönebildikleri, ne ev sahibi toplumun bir parçası olabildikleri ve ne de üçüncü bir ülkeye gidebildikleri bir durumda bulmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, mülteci yönetişimi de neoliberal yaklaşım temeli üzerine şekillendiğinde, mülteciler kendilerini yapısal sebeplerden dolayı iradeleriyle hayatta kalmak için kendi insiyatiflerini kullanmak durumunda kalmış bulmaktadırlar. Bu sebeple, nitel özellik taşıyan bu çalışma, mülteci iradesinin nasıl ortaya çıktığını ve bu kişiler tarafından nasıl işlevselleştirildiği hususunda şu soruları sorarak anlamaya çalışmaktadır: Afgan mülteciler Türkiye'deki mülteci rejimi altında ne tür hayatta kalma stratejilerini geliştirmektedir? Afganların yaşadığı ve göç otoriteleri tarafından belirlenen uydu kentlerde hayatları nasıl şekillenmektedir? Afganlar karşı karşıya kaldıkları zorlukları ve hayatta kalma ihtiyaçlarını nasıl tanımlamaktadırlar?

Otuz beş derinlemesine, yarı yapılandırılmış ve yüz yüze gerçekleştirilen mülakattan elde edilen verilerin, beliren temaların ışığında analiz edilmesi sonrasında bu çalışma, birinci olarak mültecilerin ülkelerini terk ettikten sonra, yapısal sebeplerden dolayı kendilerini belirsiz bir durumda tek başlarına bulduklarını ortaya çıkarmıştır. İkinci olarak, hayatta kalmak amacıyla, mülteciler kendi iradelerini kullanarak görünür ve görünmez olan bir 'hayalete' dönmektedir. Burada bahsedilen irade ise, yapısal sebeplerden dolayı sınırlı bir irade olarak tanımlanabilinir. Bir yandan hayaletimsi hal, alınmak zorunda kalınan risklerle beraber güncel durumda var olan zorulukları derinleştirirken diğer yandan da uydu kentteki ev sahibi topluluk üyeleri ile iyi ilişkiler kurulmasında rol oynamaktadır. Görünür veya görünmez olsun, Afganların hayaletimsi iradesinin en nihai amacı ise Türkiye'de hayatta kalabilmek olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eşiktelik, Strateji Kurma, Hayaletimsi İrade, Zorluklar, Görünmezlik

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[1]"Hiç dinlenmemek üzere yola çıkanlar asla yorulmazlar. Başarı 'başaracağım' diye başlayarak sonunda 'başardım' diyebilenindir."

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In our modern world where the national borders become more transcendent in the era of globalization, mobility of those who seek peace and safety is at peak due to conflict and violence. The refugee regime that has been established following the end of World War Two constitutes the legal basis of those who are on the move for seeking asylum. The 1951 Refugee Convention, which is also referred as the Geneva Convention, is the main body of the international law while states aim to respond to the refugee situations with the aim of refugee protection. While seeking asylum is a recognized a human right for those who fear persecution on account of reasons such as religion, political association or membership to a particular social group, movement triggered by economic motivations is separated from the concept of asylum and are regulated by domestic laws of the states (UNHCR, 2021a). In this context, international refugee regime is being maintained through the international refugee regulations as well as the cooperation between the international organizations. While states are the legitimate actors when it comes to determine who is a refugee and who is not, international cooperation on asylum provides solidarity between the governments and burden sharing. What needs to be highlighted here is that as a mechanism, asylum can be defined as a responsibility of states which provides protection those who had to flee their home countries. Even though in principle states have a mutual obligation of

abiding by this responsibility and fulfill its requirements through refugee protection, there are different approaches and applications of nation-states towards this obligation worldwide.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes asylum-seeking as one of the fundamental rights for those who are forced to leave their country of origin. (Kneebone, 2009). Once the fleeing persons arrive in the country of asylum, they are entitled to abide by the asylum laws of that state and relevant asylum procedures that are put in place by the national authorities, and with the support of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in some countries. In the asylum context, persons who seek asylum are considered with different legal concepts that define the status of the applicant of asylum. With this perspective, in the study of asylum, the concepts that define the status of the fleeing persons in the country of asylum is as necessary as to consider the meaning, causes and theories of forcible flight. As introduced above, 'The 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees' is the legal statue that puts forward legal definitions of the status of the persons that are involved in asylum-seeking processes (UNHCR, 2021a). The concept of *refugee* is the person whose asylum application is assessed and found credible within the scope of the 1951 Geneva Convention, which defines refugee status determination processes in line with political, social, and economic incidents in the country of origin. In this context, refugees are entitled to some rights such as the right to stay in the country on special terms, equal economic-social rights, and assistance of basic needs. Refugees also have the right to access to protection services, health care, and to work, in the same way citizens of the host country are entitled to. In addition, international laws also grant educational rights to refugees who want to stay in school and receive proper

education at the desired level. The concept of asylum-seeker on the other hand, refers to persons who are seeking protection in the country of asylum on account of the risk in the country of origin but without having received the refugee status defined in the 1951 Geneva Convention. Most of the cases, this category is used for people who have applied for a refugee status and are waiting for their decision (Çetin, 2011).

After the end of World War Two, international law and conventions have been put in place to urge the world states to provide protection to those who are forced to migrate due to persecution, violence, and war in the countries of origin. In other words, states have clear obligations when it comes to help those who flee from persecution. However, according to Castles, Haas, and Miller (2014), there is no mechanism of legal action in the international law when the states lack motivation to provide protection to the asylum-seekers and refugees. In such legal environment, all sovereign world states carry out their own migration policies in accordance with their political interests and the political decision-making priorities. When providing protection to asylum-seekers and refugees is perceived in way in which it does not promote the interests of the states, governments might choose to deprioritize refugee issues in favor of domestic policies. What is striking about the current global asylum context is that when the issues of asylum-seekers and refugees are deprioritized, there is no international legal mechanism to monitor and sanction any political decision that contradicts with refugee rights. As a result, asylum-seekers, and refugees face challenges worldwide, especially in counties where negative attitudes are widespread against to those who are forcibly displaced.

Currently, the number of the refugees and asylum seekers has increased as a result of the political conflicts and instability all over the world. Such fact led to an environment where states choose to carry out strict governance of migration policies resulting in restrictive and exclusive asylum and immigration policies. In the last decades, it can be argued that political rhetoric aiming to curb migrant flows and asylum applications intensified such negative approach at global level which also made the refugee governance stricter. It can be argued that with outbreak of the Syrian Refugee Crisis, the topic of immigration has become the top issue in most of the refugee receiving countries. Far-right parties in various countries continued gaining mass-support since the 2000s and this led to an antagonizing public opinion towards migrants and refugees. As images of migrants who fled their homeland irregularly because of fear of persecution spread in world media, far-right parties showed persons fleeing as a 'fundamental threat' to their societies. In the meantime, anti-migrant civil society organizations gained wide-spread popularity, especially in Europe, which paved the way for far-right policies as result of the anti-migrant rhetoric. Given that the world states are now opting for more restrictive and exclusive migration management, neoliberal governance of refugees has come to regulate asylum seekers and refugees in the countries of asylum. Ridgwell (2022) gives the United Kingdom as an example which signed an official memorandum with Rwanda in 2022 for the transfer of person who sought asylum in that country. As part of this deal, irregular migrants to be relocated to Rwanda during which their application will be taken into consideration. The UN Refugee Agency opposed this agreement and Assistant High Commissioner for Protection, Gillian Triggs said "persons cannot be traded like commodities and transferred abroad for processing." (UNHCR, 2022a).

Neoliberal governance of refugees aims self-responsibilization of asylum-seekers and refugees in the countries of asylum where they no longer receive direct assistance and support by the government authorities. Until the spread of the neo-liberal governance of refugees globally, many states used to allow asylum-seekers and refugees to stay in closed camps where they were provided social, economic and health services, often for free of charge. Security concerns of the governments can be another reason of keeping refugees in camps because of the fear that these person might be a 'security challenges' to the host society. Once the states did not want to shoulder more responsibility for those who fled their countries of origin for better life as maintaining camps are generally quite costly, refugees were stopped being accepted in camps and instead, they started being let go in urban setting with less government assistance in social and financial terms. By this way, liberal states did not only aim to minimize their responsibilities towards refugees but also tried to spread a discouraging message to the asylum-seekers to be, who are still in their countries of origin but have plans to flee in the foreseeable future (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016). For example, Denmark and Australia placed anti-migrant announcements and advertisements in newspapers in the countries where there are high number of asylum-seekers aiming to depart. As discussed in BBC (2015) and expressed also by Laughland (2014), these advertisements included headlines such as "No Way: You will not make Australia Home" and "Denmark has tightened the laws for refugees" which can demonstrate how states aim to curb the new movements. Asylum-seekers and refugees who become urban dwellers are mostly left alone to their own devices and expected to find strategies of survival by their own means which creates multiple vulnerabilities. Especially, when the countries of origin of the refugees face ongoing political, social, and economic conflicts, they cannot think to go back either. Therefore, as there is no

possibility of returning to the country of origin in dignity, refugees have no other choice but to stay in the country of asylum as urban refugees.

1.1. Main Concepts and Argument

This dissertation discusses the ways in which asylum-seekers and refugees survive under the neoliberal asylum policies and refugee regime in Turkey that is defined by the specific conditions of the 1951 Geneva Convention which puts limitation on local integration prospects through neutralization in Turkey. Therefore, liminality concept constitutes the theoretical framework of the thesis as it defines refugees and asylum-seekers as living in-between. Another concept, ghost-like agency, dwells upon refugees that are living liminal lives strategize to be visible and invisible like ghosts due to their social position or neo-political policies.

In Turkey, the majority of the refugees live in cities as urban refugees. There are very little number of refugees residing in camps. For example, in the Netherlands, refugees are kept in the camps where they receive support for a certain period of time (Van Heelsum, 2017). They are also offered free language and cultural orientation classes. In some of the refugee populated countries in Africa such as Kenya and South Africa, refugees also live in urban settings (Lindley, 2011; Belvedere, 2007). In Turkey, following registration, asylum-seekers and refugees are assigned to satellite towns where they live as urban dwellers but cannot leave without official permits which makes the Turkish case unique. Some scholars argue that this aims to sustain surveillance and also transfers some portion of the state's responsibility to asylum-seekers themselves by not maintaining camp settlements.

As refugees exist within a certain period of time in a limbo-like protracted situation following the experience of forced displacement and migration, in their effort for survival, they respond to it with their ghost-like agency, using their visibility and invisibility as a tool allowing them the conditions to stay alive. Ghost-like agency also helps to establish goodly relationships with the members of the host communities, mostly through the tool of visibility. Again, the visible side of the ghost again aims survival in the country of asylum.

As much as refugees aim survival, turning into a ghost comes with a price. As a result of the operationalization of the ghost-like agency through using their visibility and invisibility as a tool, asylum-seekers and refugees end up with informalities and are also exposed to challenges which create multiple vulnerabilities.

The argument of this thesis is that in the countries where there are no local integration prospects due to state limitation to Geneva Convention, asylum-seekers and refugees under international protection who could not return to their country of origin become ghost-like agents in a liminal setting. In other words, this thesis aims to employ concept of liminality while explaining the challenges of asylum-seekers and refugees in limbo in the country of asylum which does not recognize local integration of refugees and regulates neo-liberal governance of refugees. While such context helps refugees to establish relationship with members of the host community, it also creates vulnerabilities for refugees whose difficult stay becomes more exacerbated in the country of asylum.

1.2. Research Design and Questions

In this context, the research question of this thesis is designed as follows;

- What survival strategies do Afghans in Turkey develop when they are responsibilized in the neoliberal refugee governance as urban refugees taking care of their lives on the one hand, and on the other hand, as those expected to stay temporarily in Turkey under the geographical limitation criterion of the 1951 Geneva Convention? How do these strategies affect everyday lives of Afghan refugees living in satellite towns in Turkey?
- In their survival strategies, how do refugees produce their own definitions of formality and informality? Here, in the belief that they may differ, I aim to move beyond organizational definitions to bring refugees' own definitions of formality and informality.
- How do they define survival?
- How do they define their needs for survival?
- How do they define vulnerabilities?

The following sub-questions have been defined to further the research question above:

- What are the lived experiences of Afghan refugees in Turkey as a country of asylum?
- What are the contextual conditions - structural and policy-related- that make Afghan refugees seek to be visible and invisible in their survival strategies?

The working arguments of this thesis were determined in three basic subjects:

- Turkey restricts the mobility of refugees by assigning them to satellite towns, which produces a ghost-like agency as refugees try to maintain their lives by engaging in informal practices, being visible and invisible depending on the contextual conditions.
- Afghan asylum-seekers and refuges try to survive in the Turkish formal refugee regime by occasionally passing over its legal boundaries through using visibility and invisibility as a tool as they get involved with informal practices, both in the housing and job markets; it creates multiple vulnerabilities in their everyday lives. In other words, in their survival strategies, practices of informality and formality are embedded in the ghost-like agency of visibility and invisibility.
- In their making and remaking legal boundaries, they engage in both legal boundary crossing and boundary maintenance as part of their survival strategies, making themselves invisible from the state authorities when they cross over the boundary of legality, and making themselves visible in positive ways when they aim to receive financial gains and/or social support, recognition and protection.

To compliment the arguments, the following sub-arguments are formulated with a view to draw the boundaries of the study;

- In their aim to receive financial and social support and protection, Afghan refugees seek visibility such as by going to mosques, attending neighborhood events, sending their children to official religious courses or when they have the chance to have access to aid.

- They seek invisibility when they cross over legal boundaries such as when they travel to other cities to work without working permit, to go to other cities for visiting relatives, to go to a third country or when they sign rental contracts with a Turkish *kefil.*

1.3. Significance of the Study

Civil war and mass displacement of Afghans from Afghanistan have long been on the world agenda. Destabilization of Afghanistan started with the Soviet occupation of in 1979 and continued with the civil war in the 1990s. Ongoing wars deepened the economic and social problems in the country. Since the 1980s, Afghans are on the move for a better and safe life prospect. Fleeing Afghans are today spread all over the world. On their way to Europe, many Afghans move between long distances, and, on the way, they face various challenges. Even though many research have been conducted on Afghan refugees, given the continuity of the Afghan displacement until today, the challenges evolve in time, as global dynamics changed significantly between 1979 and 2022. With the increasing numbers of refugees globally, neoliberal governance of refugees and anti-refugee policies worldwide, Afghan refugees are likely to face different challenges and vulnerabilities today including in Turkey and because of the specificities of Turkish refugee regime and legislation. In addition to that, current flows within the global refugee support such as fewer refugee resettlement quotas of states and self-responsibilization of refugees also deepens these vulnerabilities. Afghans end up living in the countries of asylum for decades where they are caught up in a liminal process where they can neither go back to Afghanistan nor incorporate to the host society. Therefore, addressing this ongoing question will

have practical benefits for Afghan refugees and contribute to understanding of the refugee medium in Turkey and in other states with similar contexts.

As a concept, liminality has been defined in the literature as part of a transition process having a particular beginning and an end (Van Gennep et al., 1961; Turner, 1967). However, liminality in the case of Afghans in Turkey differs from its conventional definition. Afghans in Turkey keep their relationship both with their past and future throughout their ongoing liminal life. They send remittances back to Afghanistan and continue their networks both in third countries and in their country of origin in case they want to depart from the country of asylum. Therefore, segregation (past) and incorporation (future) processes are no longer distinct and impervious as defined but rather becomes active and concurrent parts, embedded in the liminal lives of Afghans in Turkey. The current study can shed light to understand how the conventional definition of liminality differs within the Turkish context and how it affects the lives of refugees.

Peculiarity of Turkey's neoliberal governance of migration leads to an ambiguous situation which has become a daily practice. Following arrival in Turkey, Afghan refugees and asylum-seekers are registered, given an ID number, and assigned to a 'satellite town' where they are entitled to fulfill signature duties. They also cannot leave the satellite town without obtaining a travel permit issued by the official asylum authorities on account of a compelling reason. According to the relevant law, refugees can also obtain work permits and join economic market in Turkey. Their rights to access to basic services such as education and health are also recognized. With this perspective, it can be said that Afghans are included and are visible within the official

state system. However, due to the reasons such as scepticism towards refugees, additional tax pressure to the employers and language barriers, Afghan refugees find it difficult to find formal jobs. To be able to survive, Afghans have to turn to informal ways of earning their living. By using their 'partial agency', they establish networks through which they travel informally to the outside of their satellite city, stay and work for a short period of time informally and return to their residential city, again informally. Even if they find jobs in the same satellite town, they have to work informally for the same reasons. In addition to work, children might find themselves out of school to support their family financially. In such medium, Afghans face challenges in accessing to formal structures and this context leads to an ambiguous situation where majority of Afghans have no other choice but to turn to informal sector for survival, with their 'partial agency'. When survival needs require them to leave the satellite city through informal means, their already vulnerable situation exacerbates due to the risks on the way such as fines and even deportation. In the long run, ambiguous situation as a practice emerges as a major theme in the lives of Afghans due to the lack of local integration and neutralization path given Turkey's limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention. Within the scope of Turkey's limitation to this international legal body which is the basis of refugee law, without obtaining residence permit or act of marriage, Afghan refugees can only remain in Turkey as 'conditional refugees' until being resettled to a third country. Without access to local integration and neutralization prospects, only some number of Afghans see a future for themselves and commit to live in Turkey not only economically but also socially.

In the thesis, the focus is on the ghost-like refugee agency. I seek to understand the agency of refugees by using the analytical lens of ghost-like agency and the survival strategies of

Afghan refugees in Turkey. I see the state's refugee policies as the structural forces that frame the limitations and potentials of the refugee agency. In my general interest in the everyday life experiences, I ask "how does it feel to be an Afghan refugee in Turkey?". I embed the experiences in the concept 'liminality' - a transitionary stage between the past (segregation) and the future (incorporation). In Turkey, liminality in the case of the Afghan refugees diverts from its conventional definition. As mentioned above, Afghans in Turkey keep their relationship both with their past and future: they are in close contact with their friends and family members in Afghanistan as they send remittances and keep their networks in case a relative or friend decides to depart to Turkey, or the Afghan refugee decides to go back to Afghanistan voluntarily or by force (deportation) by the state authorities. Afghans are also in contact with their network in the third countries in case they decide to depart in the future. So, they are not cut off from either the past or the future. Moreover, their liminal positions often gain permanency in Turkey as they have to wait for many years to be accepted to a third country. I call this 'permanent liminality.' In my attempt to understand the survival strategies of Afghan refugees under the conditions of liminality, I formulate their agency by its 'ghost-like' character, that is visible sometimes in some places and invisible other times in other places. Different from the practices in the labor market that makes informal workers 'ghosts,' that is invisible, in my research, it is Afghan refugees themselves who opt for becoming invisible as a surviving strategy responding to the surveillance of the Turkish agencies, which involves practices of informality, and I argue that the policies that bring them limitations in their mobility push them into informality, which may take irregular forms in some cases. On the other hand, they are visible in their satellite town, establishing relationships with their neighbors which enable them to form networks of support on the one hand and may lead to challenges in their relationships with the local residents on the other hand. In short, they try to become

invisible (ghost-like) in their response to the refugee policies of Turkish authorities that include surveillance (through satellite towns) and they become visible in their practices of producing relationships in the stores that they work, in the buildings they inhabit and the relations they establish with the local community members.

1.4. Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation consists of an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. The following chapters are as follows.

Chapter II provides a review of historical refugee regimes with a global perspective. Its title is "Refugee Regimes" and provides a discussion first on Geneva Convention and how it came into being and then the Turkish Refugee Regime and its specificities. Neoliberal governance and informality are also discussed within this scope.

Chapter III, with the title of "Theoretical Framework" is the current study's theoretical framework. I discuss the main concepts of the dissertation, namely, liminality and ghost-like agency. I review the literature on the concepts and show how they lay the ground for my own interpretation of the concepts. In the literature, the focus has mainly been on their disadvantageous conditions as a result of economic and social reasons. I however, in this dissertation focus on the agency of refugees, asking how they survive in their liminal lives in Turkey which is regulated by the Turkish state within the scope of Geneva Convention and domestic migration law. In the literature, liminality is defined as a temporary stage of being in-between the past and the future. But, as I will demonstrate using my research, liminal stage can be long-term

if not permanent in the case of the Afghan refugees in Turkey: defined formally as temporary by the law, which suggests liminality, may turn into a permanent status because of the policies and practices of both national and international authorities. Another main concept that I use in my dissertation is the concept of ghost-like agency of refugees. In the literature, the term ghost mostly used as the 'invisibile' move of migrants from one place to another. In my dissertation, I use the term to refer to being invisible and visible in different contexts for various reasons.

Chapter IV "Methodology," is the chapter in which I present my research techniques as well as the satellite town of Shahre Kucek as the site of my research.

Chapter V is titled "Responding to liminality: ghost-like agency for survival" focuses on the empirical findings of the present field research and discusses Afghan refugees' ghost-like agency in responding to the structural conditions shaped by the specific policies of the Turkish government.

Chapter VI is the conclusion chapter of this study. I summarize main findings and show my theoretical contributions to the discussion on refugee agency.

CHAPTER TWO

REFUGEE REGIMES

The intense population movements that took place all over the world as a result of increased human rights violations after the World War Two made the refugee law one of the most important agenda items of the United Nations system. In the post-World War Two period, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was formed based on the idea that every human being has fundamental, essential and inalienable rights, defined the right to asylum and formed an important basic structure of international refugee law. In paragraph 1 of Article 14 of the mentioned Declaration of 1948, the right to asylum is defined as "Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum from persecution in other countries". Since the UDHR is a United Nations General Assembly resolution, it constitutes persuasive authority for subsequent legal developments. Among the main documents related to refugee law in the international arena, the 1951 Convention Relating to the Legal Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Legal Status of Refugees are considered among important international documents (Getahun and Günay, 2020; Kır, 2017). Also known as Geneva Convention, this body of law mandates the United Nation Refugee Agency with the protection of those who flee their country of origin with the risk of persecution. In this sense, international refugee law is closely related to all states, especially Turkey, which is both a transit country and a destination country, in the current period of increased international mobility. In this process, governments express a positive opinion about accepting forcible displaced people who are involuntarily displaced for humanitarian or political reasons, but different policies may be put into

practice against the obligations arising from international law in this regard. Countries of asylum can meet some of the challenges they have come across with the increasing refugee population because of the displacement of large numbers of people for reasons such as war and conflict, with international aid and protection mechanisms.

What needs to be explained here is the use of 'regime' as a concept. In political science literature, the concept is frequently used while discussing international regimes, regime theory and refuge regimes. Even though there are various usage of the concept with different meanings, regime in political science literature refers to an institution bound by limits and subject to rules which are agreed by governments (Hosein, 2015). With this perspective, refugee regime(s) refers to the sum of the conventions, treaties, law, regulations, intergovernmental and civil society organizations which governments are part of and work together with (Keely, 2001). As mentioned above, the United Nations Refugee Agency and 1951 Geneva Convention are the basis of the current international refuge regime. Refugee Regime can thus be defined as a legal institution with a wide spectrum of governing matters that are related to asylum-seeking and refugees. Therefore, in this dissertation, instead of discussing the refugee laws which has a smaller scope, refugee regime as a concept is chosen. In my usage of the concept of 'regime' there is no similarity to the one used in political science literature. In other words, the concept 'regime' in the context of asylum seeking does not imply a negative connotation, and does not involve any association with an ideology, political approach, or a political theory. It only refers to the wide spectrum of institutions that govern the matter of asylum-seeking.

The first part of this chapter consists of two sections Refugee regimes: A historical review and The Turkish Refugee Regime. In the third and last part, liberal governance of refugees and informality will be explained as part of the context.

2.1. A Historical Review

Parallel to the modern state system that emerged with the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, the international refugee regime also developed and changed, reflecting international politics, law, economy, and ideological transformations (Barnett, 2002). Refugees and providing protection to refugees, who were yet to be a 'problem' in this early period, were seen as an expression of hospitality by states as a way to establish and strengthen their own authority. The priorities of the states were individual, and refugees were rarely a 'problem' in terms of relations between states (Hosein, 2015). Although this view, which started to change in the 19th century, did not yet make us feel the need to develop a common regime among states, the increasing number of refugees in line with the rising nationalist movements in Europe, the balance of power and the foreign policy goals of the states began to highlight security concerns, and refugeeism began to gain an international dimension with restrictive practices (Hathaway, 1991; Ateşok, 2018). As a result of the collapse of Tsarist Russia and the Russian Revolution, which is called one of the biggest wars in history, mass displacements dominated Europe in the twentieth century. During this period, there were one million people who had to flee from Russia and sought refuge in other countries, and it is also called as the 'refugee age' because of the increasing number of displaced people, the length of stay and the ever-increasing nation-state system (Barnett, 2002). At the end of the World War One, the nation-state system came to the fore which paved the way for the collapse

of the empires, and redrawn borders and new identities increased ethnic and religious tensions (ibid). Standardization of the mobility restrictions and passport applications of the nation-states started a new era for refugees, in which they could neither return to the countries they came from, nor stay in the countries they were in, depending on the legal regimes (Gallagher, 1989).

The first international refugee organization, High Commissioner for Refugees (HCR) was established in 1921 within the body of the League of Nations under the leadership of Fridtjof Nansen to solve the political and humanitarian crises that exceeded the capacities of the states. The institution, which was established to solve the Russian refugee crisis, approached the refugee issue temporarily and limitedly, but became an important step towards the development of an interstate refugee policy and regime by bringing international visibility to the refugee issue and bringing the problems to the international arena (Hosein, 2015; Barnett, 2002). HCR's basic approach defined refugee status by affiliation and origin, and its primary objective is voluntary return or resettlement. After the Russian asylum seekers, the definition of refugee between 1924-1928 was expanded, and included other displaced peoples within the framework of this concept (ibid.). In 1933, the Convention on the International Status of Refugees defined refugeeism in terms of statelessness and vulnerability, and an important step was taken regarding recognition and the international status of refugee (Jaeger, 2001). The organization, which lost its function due to the reluctance of countries to accept refugees, was criticized for its inability to manage refugee crises throughout the years that it operated. According to Barnett (2002), the management of refugee crises and the recognition of refugee status are within the jurisdiction of international organizations, but in the absence of coercive mechanisms, the functionality of the

system is related to the will of the countries. Otherwise, the system collapses and the recognition of refugee status and the fulfillment of the obligations of the states are not in question. Even though some attempts were made for the refugee crisis just before the World War Two resulted in the unwillingness of the countries to increase the refugee quotas, the only positive concrete output turned out to be the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR), which operated until 1947. The effort to establish the first comprehensive refugee regime under the League of Nations after the end of World War One underwent a major transformation with the World War Two and formed the foundations of the current refugee regime.

2.1.1. Emergence of Current Refugee Regime

The World War Two displaced millions of people and left them stateless, carried the process to a different crisis dimension, but it also laid the foundations of the international system and refugee regime that we know today. As the dimensions of this crisis began to emerge, plans began to provide assistance to those who were displaced by the war. As a result of the negotiations between the states, the treaty establishing the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNNRA) was signed in 1943 and when the war ended, there were 30 million displaced people, UNNRA repatriated 7 million of them with their home country (Hathaway, 1991; Peterson, 2015; Barnett, 2002). As a result of the tense political atmosphere of the period, high number of displaced people and other countries' reluctance to resettle, it became apparent that it would not be easy to manage migration, and UNNRA was discussed with the challenges in managing the crisis and supporting refugees (Getahun and Günay, 2020; Kır, 2017). When the International Refugee Organization (IRO) was founded in 1947,

it faced nearly one million refugees. Established under the supervision of the United States and Western European countries, the IRO was an intergovernmental organization established with the participation of a limited number of member states and brought a different dimension to the refugee crisis and became another important breaking point in the establishment of the international refugee regime in the post-war period and laid the foundations of the system we know today (Hosein, 2015). In the period when the post-war effects came into being and the economy started to revive, the IRO was active in raising global awareness and forming public opinion on the concept of refugees (ibid.). The IRO, whose main objective was resettlement, supported approximately one million refugees in this regard (Getahun and Günay, 2020; Kır, 2017; Ateşok, 2018).

During the post-war economic recovery, awareness to asylum-seeking and public awareness of refugees started to increase. The main difference of the IRO from its predecessors such as UNNRA is that it used the definition of refugee instead of displaced by war for the people it protects, and it is based on individuality instead of the categorical method used in the recognition of refugee status (Hosein, 2015). In addition, resettlement was at the forefront, rather than sole protection assistance, support and non-refoulment for refugees (Hathaway, 1991). Until 1951, millions of refugees were resettled primarily to the United States, Australia, Canada, and other European countries (Barnett, 2002).

2.1.2. The Agency for Refugee Protection: Formation of the UN Refugee Agency

With the increasing number of refugees during the Cold War period, activities to establish a new structure to function under the umbrella of the United Nations began. The resulting public awareness required it to include practices that could manage the international refugee regime, identify people at risk of being sent back, and provide legal protection. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1950 to assist millions of refugees after World War Two. Since then, seeking asylum continued to increase around the world, and UNHCR has been tasked with providing support in solving refugee problems in all continents. The main difference among the characteristics of the institution from its other predecessors is that it aims at identifying and protecting refugees who need special attention and international legal protection, whose repatriation would pose a danger to their lives, rather than war and large-scale displacements caused by war. Especially in the interwar period and after the World War Two, avoiding sending asylum-seekers and refugees back to their country of origin has been set as a principle which was also recognized by the international public opinion. This principle has become the basis of the Geneva Refugee Convention, which is one of the main sources of refugee law and embodied in the principle of non-refoulement of the convention[6]. As a principle, non-refoulment became an important principle in refugee protection.

It is the beginning of the twentieth century that displacement, which is as old as human history, became evident in the concept of asylum-seeking when multinational empires began to disintegrate as an international regime emerged. According to the view, which

considers the displaced persons as a tool for the formation of the nation-state and the new international system, and the international refugee regime as the legal and political mechanisms of the states against political and social challenges, refugees are an integral part of the international system rather than the result as the issues within the system.

2.1.3. Defining the regime: Geneva Convention and the mandate of UNHCR

Today, the most important task of UNHCR today is still to provide international protection by ensuring that refugees are not returned to countries from which they fled and that their fundamental rights are respected. The principle of non-refoulment continues to be the basis of UNHCR's mandate within the scope of refugee protection since its establishment. Primarily, international legal systems refer to the principle of non-refoulement in the matters of asylum seeking and relevant law and regulations accept Geneva Convention as one of the most fundamental sources of refugee law (Getahun and Günay, 2020; Keely, 2001). As a result, the "Convention Relating to the Legal Status of Refugees" (Geneva Convention) continues to be the main source of the international refugee regime since 1951, which regulates the refugee status and definition and determines the fundamental rights and obligations.

Relying on the Status of Refugees in Article 1A paragraph 2 of the 1951 Convention, a refugee is defined as:

> As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside

> the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UNHCR, 2021a).

This definition was accepted as an international norm and is the only legally binding international instrument that provides protection to refugees (Hosein, 2015; Keely, 2001). In this context, the convention that determines the minimum conditions for refugees and also determines the refugee status determination procedures and eligibility criteria for this status is important "*for its context that subsists with respect to the scope and nature of the burden-sharing principle in modern refugee law*." (Inder, 2017). In the 1951 Geneva Convention, it is stated that one of the duties of UNHCR is to observe the practices of countries regarding international conventions on the protection of refugees. The basic view of the preparation of the Refugee Convention is defined as the legal phenomenon of the Cold War between the two blocs. Against the Eastern Bloc, which objects to the comprehensive definition of refugees, the Western Bloc aimed to protect the stateless persons whom the Eastern Bloc refused to recognize. For instance, it is argued that Soviet Russia and Poland withdrew from the Refugee Convention studies due to ideological differences, and the effort to ensure the existence of a common refugee agreement came to an end, causing the process of creating a convention that addresses all humanitarian needs of refugees and protects human rights to hinder.

As citizens of the modern world, people have the right regardless of the society and state to which they belong as well as to flee where their lives are at risk. This right, which is defined in the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, requires the right of temporary residence, which cannot be turned down; and in case the rejection of the asylum application, the country of asylum cannot put the life of the asylum-

seeker in danger by deportation to the country of origin. In today's world where displacement numbers reached to highest after World War Two, non-refoulment keeps its significance under the refugee law. International refugee regime continues to safeguard asylum-seekers whose lives and freedoms are at risk by enforcing that they cannot be forced to return to their countries under any circumstances[2].

There are 145 countries that are party to the 1951 Geneva Convention, and with the geographical limitation and time limitation of the Convention, Congo, Monaco, Madagascar, Hungary, and Turkey have provided the signatory countries to deal with the uncertainty about the refugee issues that may arise in the future with an indefinite number of refugees (Kır, 2017; Glynn, 2012). The countries were granted the right to endorse limitation article as a result of the conflict with the dominant opinion of the French Delegation during the preparatory work of the Convention on the imposition of geographical limitation on persons fleeing their home countries. Palestinian, Korean, Hindu, and Chinese refugees, who had to flee their countries since the beginning of the Cold War, could not benefit from the rights in the Convention due to the aforementioned time limit (Fitzpatrick, 1996).

[2] The Refugee Convention, 1951 – UNHCR, Article 33 : As citizens of the world, people have the right regardless of the society and state to which they belong. This right, which is defined as the principle of non-refoulement in the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, requires the right of temporary residence, which cannot be refused, in case the rejection of the asylum request by the state threatens the life of the foreigner. This right is recognized in refugee law today as asylum-seekers whose lives and freedoms are threatened cannot be forced to return to their countries under any circumstances. https://www.unhcr.org/4ca34be29.pdf

2.1.4. International Refugee Regime: Challenges

In the context of government structures that are based on the political values of the West, the definition of refugee in the 1951 Geneva Convention faced challenges when it comes to responding increasing number of refugees in the world, since it used to cover a very small part of the total number of refugees, and international organizations had to start offer solutions to the growing refugee crises in different parts of the world such as in Africa and Latin America. With the 'Additional Protocol' agreed in 1967, geographical and time limitations were removed and a refugee definition covering all refugees in the world was reached.

UNHCR is mandated with the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol with an overarching task of protecting those who had to flee their countries. States that have signed the Convention are expected to cooperate with UNHCR in ensuring that refugee rights as defined in the Convention are respected and protected.

These rights are listed as follows:

- "The right not to be sent back to a place where there is a threat of persecution or persecution (principle of non-refoulement)
- The right not to be discriminated against in the provision of protection;
- The right of individuals fleeing persecution not to be penalized for illegally entering or staying in the country of asylum, as they cannot be expected to leave their own country and enter other countries through normal (legal) ways;

- The right not to be deported, except in exceptional circumstances specifically stated to protect national security or public order;
- The right to acceptable, minimum living conditions and other rights that fall within it: freedom of movement, the right to education, the right to an income-generating job or self-employment, access to public assistance and healthcare, the ability to buy and sell property, and the right to travel and identity papers.
- States that have signed the Convention are also expected to reduce legal and administrative barriers to naturalization, facilitate refugees' naturalization and effectively support the reunification of refugees with their families." (UNHCR, 2017)

UNHCR was established with the mandate of providing international protection to refugees, in cooperation with states, international organizations and non-governmental organizations, to follow international agreements and practices with the aim of providing a solution to the issue. The UN Refugee Agency also encourages measures to improve the conditions for seeking asylum. Since its early establishment, it prioritizes issues on refugee rights and safeguards the rights of persons who are to undergo refugee status determination. UNHCR also carries out global advocacy in order not to limit states' international responsibility towards refugees and encourages states to provide protection to people who had flee their home.

An important transformation in the international refugee regime has been achieved following the Tunisian government's request for assistance from the UNHCR for asylum-seekers from Algeria in 1957 and the crises in the other world countries facing conflict and unrest. As the Eurocentric regime approach becomes global, it also

represents the rise of UNHCR to a global central position in refugee policies as a result of this agency's expertise, experience and know-how. The effects of the Cold War beyond Europe and the new states established after the independence struggles of the new states increased the displacement and global refugees. Throughout the unrest and clashes in the 1960s, refugees from Congo, Bangladesh, Mozambique, Vietnam, and China sought refuge in neighboring countries such as India, Thailand, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Tanzania, and Zambia. It can be said that even though refugee camps as part of international refugee regime did not exist at the time, the countries that allowed refugees' access into their territories lacked sufficient economic resources or political will to establish camps, and that in this early period, each country tried to cope with the crises with its own temporary solutions. As the refugee numbers have been increasing and the context and conditions of becoming a refugee gets more complex, the differences between refugee and immigrant have also become increasingly blurred. Since the sovereign states can decide on the ways of recognition of refugee status in relation to Geneva Convention, there is a broad interpretation of the refugee definition globally. With the decision of the United Nations General Assembly, UNHCR's jurisdiction has been updated to cover non-contract refugees and mass migration movements, but the definition of refugee has not been changed (Goodwin-Gill, 1989). At the regional level, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Refugee Convention included the definition of the Geneva Convention and later expanded the definition to include those fleeing violence en masse such as civil war. This definition would later be adopted by Latin American countries in the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees in 1984. These expanded definitions are an important step in expanding the possibilities for refugee protection. In this context, the definition of the Geneva Convention stays as the main global norm and main source of international law.

In this context, the number of refugees in Africa alone in 1972 was more than a million. The need for African countries, which had difficulties in coping with the refugee crisis with their limited resources, was financial and technical rather than diplomatic and legal support. While the vast majority of countries of asylum allocated land for refugee communities to settle in so that they could be self-sufficient and adapt to society, UNHCR was running support programs for refugees in these areas. For example, between 1960 and 1980, a hundred rural settlements were established in Africa with the support of UNHCR (Hathaway, 1991). Due to the millions of East Bengalis who took refuge in India in 1971, the country applied to the UNHCR to coordinate aid and manage the crisis. UNHCR undertook the responsibility of coordinating international humanitarian aid for the refugees in the camps in the region; however, India insisted on establishing closed camps for refugees and announced that refugees caught outside the camps will be sent to their countries. After the resolution of the political crisis, the Indian government insisted that the camps be evacuated, and the returns had to be made under the supervision of the UNHCR (ibid.).

The developing international refugee regime, with its social and economic concerns and context, also affected the change of refugee geography and resettlement. In particular, the international economic crisis in the 1970's reduced the demand for labor in developed countries, and the restrictions on refugee and immigrant acceptance practices continued to increase. Throughout this period, different approaches towards asylum-seeking had an impact on refugee admission. For example, during the Cold War, Western countries did not have a specific approach when it comes to admitting refugees from underdeveloped and/or developing countries. While Western European countries, perceiving refugees as immigrants and allowed them easy admission, their

admission conditions stayed complex, and each state's legal asylum policies deferred in relation to the Geneva Convention.

2.1.5. Question of sovereignty: the nation-state's role in asylum

Each state has an absolute sovereign power over its own territory, the borders of which are drawn according to national legislations and international law. Therefore, as a legal approach, states might not accept a foreigner who comes to its country with a request for asylum as an asylum-seeker. However, this authority may be limited by international norms. Especially, organizations and regulations established after the World War Two are only part of this context. The most important international regulation, which is of a universal nature, is the 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of Refugees. While the changing refugee context, increasing numbers and length of stay enhanced UNHCR's authority, it is observed that the interest of other international and regional organizations on the subject has augmented in this period in order to respond to the nature of the refugee definition and challenges. While nation-states might take restrictive measures on asylum and immigration, with UNHCR's expertise, states are expected cooperate with international organizations to be able to respond to refugee situations in accordance with international law and reinforce the capacity of their asylum system.

Immigrants and refugees are entitled to freedom of movement under international law and national legislation and is provided to held freedom and personal integrity, including the right to leave and return to their country of origin, to seek asylum, not to be deported, and to enter another country. They are also under the equal protection of

the law which includes access to courts and tribunals, remedies, as well as procedural rights such as non-refoulment, which includes non-refoulement to a country where life or freedom may be in danger; rights of residence, asylum-seeking; family rights, including reunification and special protection for children; employment rights such as the right to work, fair working conditions and security. However, these groups are particularly vulnerable to rights violations; to illustrate, in national state regulations, while a citizen enjoys rights and legal rights in her/his own state, an asylum-seeker and refugee may face limits or those who are subject to discrimination as a refugee-immigrant woman or because of their religious belief or ethnicity. The national principle of equal treatment with citizens was fiercely resisted, as if it denied foreigners a degree of protection of life and property compatible with the standards of justice recognized by international law. While these doctrines have often been denounced for their vagueness in legislation, the core ideas - the recognition of fundamental rights and the provision of effective remedies in the event of violations - have been supported in arbitration awards rather than state courts. Even where exceptions are made for non-citizens, international legal standards attempt to regulate the exercise of state powers. Regarding the phenomenon of migration, some suggest that exclusion is justified through the definition of community and there is a distinguishable perception of 'us versus them' (Zuljevic, 2017). According to the perspective, while this situation creates a cost for the host country from the individualist perspective, it becomes a valid reason for ending the support given to refugees before. The position of nation-states regarding their duty to help those who have had to flee their homes reveals that there are certain obligations through the principle of humanitarianism (ibid.). On the other hand, the government will not affect and limit or even temporarily terminate its duties, depending on whether it declares that other important interests should be considered.

As a result, there are some countries which consistently adopt exclusionary actions against refugees and still maintain the image of a humanitarian country. Migration governance makes a systematic reference to migrants' policies on human rights and sometimes uses human discourse to justify its restrictive policies for this purpose (Aydınlı, 2015). States, with their preferred immigration regimes, decide how the discretionary power of migration will be handled in the preferred context (UNHCR, 2017). While Manap-Kırmızıgül (2008) analyzes the objective and subjective aspects of social exclusion in the context of asylum, she highlights that asylum-seekers are particularly vulnerable as a result of being excluded from their basic human rights. Asylum-seekers and refugees are subject to indicators of social exclusion, such as lack of participation in employment, education, and social networks. Manap-Kırmızıgül (2008) states that from the perspective of social exclusion, any form of society at any given moment does not provide a universal definition. The first dimension of the concept, which is considered in two dimensions, is the objective aspects including freedom of movement, residence permit and access to housing, access to the job market, access to education services, and access to health services. The second is the subjective aspects, which include relationship and belonging to the natives (Aydınlı, 2015).

On the other hand, it is emphasized that the state offers rights to the person who is legally defined through residence and citizenship (Yıldız, 2012). The author states that in order to understand what makes a person a foreigner, it is necessary to trace what their rights and entitlements are and the origin and nature of the concept of citizenship. While explaining that citizenship is defined in three main areas as legal status, activity, and identity, but as the inclusive politics of the sovereign, it also implicitly refers to

those who are outside the system, namely non-citizens. Citizenship as a community membership is both inclusive and exclusionary, bringing an understanding of the privilege of citizens over "non-citizens" who are considered foreigners (Manap-Kırmızıgül, 2008). Yıldız (2012) evaluated asylum-seekers and refugees as non-citizens who are excluded from citizenship rituals and political membership practices that are reproduced spatially by the nation, within this theoretical context. The boundary between "citizens" and "non-citizens" arises as a result of existing norms, obligations and legal duties. However, "non-citizen" asylum-seekers and refugees might be more vulnerable than a normal person in a society due to the exclusionary and restrictive policies of the state.

Zuljevic (2017) further emphasizes that the dependence of the implementation of rights on the legal system in nation-states becomes problematic when discussed in the context of human rights and their global reach, since these rights also depend on the nation-states that enforce them. Rights are ordered and prioritized differently depending on the person who appeals to them. According to the author, in such a case, citizens' rights take precedence over refugee rights. Although a human rights regime exists, the hierarchical rights system points to weaknesses of the system that become more visible in certain contexts. Citizens in the nation-state have social, political, and economic rights. It highlights a universal structure with the existence of international organizations and various international conventions. However, this has led to the definition of a structure that can only be avoided in some cases, such as national security concern (Fitzpatrick, 1996). It is emphasized though that long-term perception of refugees as a ‘problem’ is dangerous, as in situations such as migration, dehumanization can destroy a moral duty to help those in need. According to Zuljevic

(2017), dehumanization processes do not only affect certain individuals or a defined group, as they can develop in strength and encompass the general perception of refugees, which will ultimately have serious human rights consequences. When it comes to forced migration, what states should do may create uncertainty in principle. For liberal democratic states, whose interests should be prioritized and whether a state's actions should be fair-democratic are debatable (Goodwin-Gill, 1989).

2.1.6. Different Approaches: Refugee Regime Practices Around the World

While granting asylum was popular in the 1960s and 1970s as it was seen as a humanitarian event at first, it has changed form over the years due to securitization, surveillance, economic reasons, and neoliberal approaches. Today's global asylum context includes the inability to leave the city/settlement during the asylum process (surveillance), the difficulty of family reunification, the fact that refugees are seen as a 'security challenge', the use of deportation as an easy-going tool, the perception of it as a pressure to the economy and the tightening of the refugee regimes of the countries or their laws over time. Even though most of the states are parties to international legal bodies such as Geneva Convention, as reflected from the discussion from the literature above, it is striking that some states might choose to avoid fulfilling their responsibilities accordingly. For example, the European Union is trying to curb the movement by keeping refugees in countries like Morocco and Libya, and the United States is building a wall along its border with Mexico to keep the Latin American asylum-seekers away. By trying to improve the economy of the migrant sending countries, states also aim to avoid its responsibilities by trying to reduce the wave of immigration and trying to end the source of the migration, as in the example

of Latin America. Following the arrival, refugees are subject to rules and the laws of the country of asylum which are often related to issues such as security, surveillance, and integration. For instance, while refugees in Turkey live in satellite towns, in the Netherlands, it is obligatory to stay in the camps where cultural-language courses are offered for cultural integration during the asylum process.

There are different refugee regime practices in different countries of the world. In some countries refugee status determination is carried out by UNHCR while in some other countries by national migration authorities. In Turkey, refugee status determination was transferred from UNHCR to Turkish Migration Management in 2018 as a result of the official decision of Turkey (UNHCR, 2022b). After the historical review and development discussion, it is important to discuss the examples from the world's major immigration/asylum countries. It can be argued that one of the reasons of Turkey's limitation to Geneva Convention is security oriented especially because it perceives mass migration movements with a security perspective. In this context, for example, the desire to create a safe zone for refugees from Iraq in the 1990's and the current satellite city practices are an indication that the refugee issue is approached from a security perspective, and that this causes challenges in the lives of refugees within the framework of this law and understanding.

As opposed to the increasing violence and conflicts in the world which continue to intensify the importance of asylum, some countries choose to limit the migration into their territories for different reasons. It can be argued that after the World War Two, today's industrialized western countries' labor needs first increased the needs of immigration, but after the oil crisis in the 1970s, the shrinkage of the world economy

and the decreasing demand for labor began to decrease the tendency to receive immigration in these countries. The idea that immigrants and refugees create social, political and security 'problems' in immigration countries has also continued increase due to the anti-immigration rhetoric worldwide. This approach resulted in measures such as limiting the open-door policies and preventing migration, which led to the continuation of international migration with securitization and externalization policies in some of the destination countries. For example, as a common migration policy, the European Union grants the citizens of the member states the right of free movement within the borders of the Union. On the other hand, as a result of the discussions pertaining to securitization approach, cultural identity and economic stability, there are security concerns and restrictive policies towards those who are coming from outside of the EU. Another example can be the Netherlands which was one of the European countries exposed to mass immigration after the Yugoslavian civil war. According to official data, it was among the top ten countries hosting the highest number of refugees in Europe at the time (UNHCR, 1997). The Netherlands started to accept refugees in 1992, and in 1994, amendments and legal arrangements were made to the Foreigners Law on temporary protection. New regulations were introduced with the Temporary Arrangement for the displaced people fleeing from Yugoslavia. In the context of international migration policies in the Netherlands, the main reason why its implementations differed from other countries is the fact that the gradual integration system is in effect, in other words, those who were placed under temporary protection were given more rights gradually on a yearly basis and their integration into the system aimed to be ensured accordingly. It is seen that the Temporary Protection *Policy-F status* and the *TROO* (Tijdelijke Regeling Opvang Ontheemden) policy in the Netherlands gained legal ground as of 1994. Persons included in the scope of *TROO*

are not granted rights such as the right to family reunification, the right to work or education, identity document issuance and monthly financial aids. Refugees under this policy have been provided with basic health needs and access to these services. It also meets basic health needs with health insurance, which is one of the basic rights. However, the Netherlands did not immediately grant the right to receive education and work permits to persons protected under the *TROO* policy, and the access to gradual education services and the labor market for those with *F Status* and temporary residence permit was gradually regulated (Topcu and Özbek, 2021). While the Netherlands has a relatively restrictive policy in immigration policies in general, this situation has started to change since 2013 and a more moderate approach has been adopted. While the compulsory asylum process is being evaluated in the Netherlands, it is forbidden to leave the camps and cultural-language courses before successful completion for the mentioned state's integration purposes.

Similar to some of the EU member states, Denmark perceived the immigrants as temporary and formulated policies with such approach. In addition to a multicultural discourse, Denmark has the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants, and Integration, which is responsible for issues related to foreigners, immigrants and refugees and administrative affairs. However, the fact that the citizenship test applied to foreigners who were not born in Denmark with a security approach is known as difficult, and the restrictions on the rights related to marriage and family reunification have also made it difficult for immigrants to marry from their home country. On the other hand, municipalities have the initiative to support mother tongue education and provide teachers with the fees received from parents and enable mother tongue education as an elective course. In addition, foreigners who have not yet been naturalized or have not

applied for citizenship and who have a residence permit have the right to vote in local elections, as well as the right to benefit from education, health services, and the right to join trade unions and non-governmental organizations or form associations. After 2001, family reunification was redefined for various reasons, bringing a 24-year age limit for foreigners to marry a non-Danish person. As mentioned above, immigrants who have resided in Denmark for three years are entitled to vote in local elections, even if they do not hold Danish citizenship. In order to vote in the general elections, it is necessary to be a Danish citizen. The integration policy of the Danish state, in particular, has the goal of preventing immigrants from being isolated and ghettoized, and thus from being marginalized. However, in order for this to happen, legal arrangements must be made to prevent immigrants from being socio-economically backward due to ethnic origin (Özmen, 2010). This context points to Denmark's security concerns and the state's interpretation of migration issue within the scope of 'securitization' discourse.

It is the logic of establishing the bond of citizenship, which is generally valid in many countries, through blood or place of birth. However, as an alternative, Sweden's approach can be mentioned. In Sweden, there is the logic of accepting the people living in Sweden as Swedes. This approach, in which being Swedish is defined as being a part of the welfare state, is considered through immigrants and their integration into the welfare regime. This inclusive picture can be achieved through the country's unique immigration programme, which includes the regular migrants in the welfare system from the first day. Another positive element in the Swedish example is the approach to multiculturalism; Sweden has long included immigrants in the general system, as can be seen in the teaching of mother tongue in public schools and the

allocation of funds to minority associations. With the new legal regulations made in 2016, the Swedish Asylum Procedure has been developed and has become more compatible with the European Union acquis, which tends to restrict immigration. Syrian Refugee Crisis which caused a refugee influx to Sweden changed the migration discourse in that country and discussions of security started to shape the country's asylum policies. Refugees were restricted in the residence and work permit process for only three years after their status was determined, and family reunification of these persons was also restricted. This situation seems to ensure the integration of immigrants into the welfare system by reducing the number of those who come irregularly and arranging the residence and work permit together, but the work permit is limited to a maximum of three years (Atasü-Topcuoğlu, 2019).

2.2. The Turkish Refugee Regime

The protection of the rights of refugees, who try to establish a new and safe life within the borders of a different country by escaping from war and conflicts, is among the important agenda items of international policy. The states that are parties to the international regulations on asylum have regulated this issue mostly with domestic law and regulations. International regulations on human rights and refugees are expected to positively affect the national regulations made by states regarding asylum-seekers.

While international refugee law is closely related to all states, including Turkey, which is both a transit and destination country in terms of population movements, governments seem to be willing to accept people who are involuntarily displaced for humanitarian reasons or political courtesy. However, some governments might be

trying to develop different asylum policies in which the obligations arising from international law are not met. From the point of view of the countries of asylum, the displacement of large number of people due to reasons such as armed conflicts and war brings a challenge, while small number of population movements are seen as 'possible response' with the support of international aid and protection mechanisms.

2.2.1. Historical background of asylum in Turkey

As a subject that has always been on the agenda of the Turkish refugee regime, migration phenomenon dates back to the 1800's when people from Balkan and Crimea region were forcefully displaced as a result of ethno-religious violence and took shelter in Anatolia. It is seen that the mass population movements in the late Ottoman Empire era gained momentum in the dissolution process and the movements resulted in Ottoman protection (Ergüven and Özturanlı, 2013). After the independence attempts within the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1848, Hungarians and Poles took refuge in the lands of the Ottoman Empire, while the refugee movement also included the Circassians and Tatars fleeing the Crimea, and the population movement of Russians, Greeks and Armenians due to the Russian Revolution (Yıldız, 2012).

These migration movements have continued in the period of the present Turkish Republic since 1923. As the national regulation, the state's aim to accept mobilities suitable for strengthening the national identity of the country has followed a process in line with the nation-state approach of the Republic of Turkey (Manap-Kırmızıgül, 2008).

The change experienced since the beginning of the 20th century shaped Turkey's international migration policies. In the first half of the 20th century, the mobility of communities determined the nature of migration and migration flows over nation-building. In the middle of the 20th century, the gains brought by the migration movements were at the forefront. Labor migration to Europe was also important for Turkey to reduce unemployment and receive remittances. While the 1980s were marked by the rather dynamic mobility of immigrants from different national, ethnic, and religious backgrounds, from the 1980s and the early 1990s on, immigration context remained rather static. Towards the 2000s, both immigration and immigration-related issues gained prominence in public policy (İçduygu and Aksel, 2013).

2.2.2. Asylum context in the early republic era

The international migration movements in the early republican period witnessed the flight of some populations to outside Turkey and the arrival of the Turkish population living in the Balkans into Turkey. According to Yıldız (2012), the idea of creating a Turkish nation-state and the concepts of citizenship and nationality, which determine the definition of 'being Turkish', influenced the official policies of the new republic. As an important national regulation for this period, it was emphasized that the Ministry of Interior was responsible for determining the immigrants and refugees coming to the country with the Law of Settlement in 1926.

Through the enactment of the Law of Settlement and Law No. 2510 adopted in June 1934, the scope of the legal migration body was expanded as part of official legislation on immigration and asylum. The Law of Settlement, which is of great importance in

terms of Turkish asylum policies, accepted as the first general regulatory document on asylum in the history of the Republic of Turkey and featured the characteristics of the period in terms of both the definition of immigrants and refugees. Expansion of the scope also allowed conditions determined for the better regulation of asylum and migration movements. According to this law, it is stated that Turkey's refugee assessment is based on having a Turkish descent and the conditions of being of Turkish descent and belonging to Turkish culture are sought for immigrant and refugee status (Manap-Kırmızıgül, 2008; Goularas and Sunata, 2015).

Language and religious identity have been the two main determinants of legal settlement in the country to preserve national unity and identity. The acceptance of Bosnians, Circassians and Tatars can be evaluated within this frame as they arrived in Turkey with this consideration of being highly adaptable immigrants (Kirişçi, 1996). The law defined persons who came from abroad to settle in Turkey were called "emigrant", and those who did not intend to settle in Turkey but took shelter temporarily due to an obligation were called "refugees" (Manap-Kırmızıgül, 2008; Yıldız, 2012). İçduygu and Aksel (2013) emphasized that some groups, such as Gagauz Turks and Azeri Turks, did not apply which points to a different assessment system for immigrants. This legal body which worked as a tool for the official migrant and refugee determination policies of the republic accepted that persons speaking Turkish language were the 'carriers' of national unity and identity (İçduygu and Sert, 2015). It can be argued that there is a peculiarity and ambiguity in this legal framework. Admission conditions were not regulated according to a rule or norm as the admission of immigrants and refugees was dependent on the acceptance decision of the Ministry of Interior and the Council of Ministers. According to Article 7 of the Law, the arrival

of immigrants and refugees who are not of Turkish descent and who are not familiar with Turkish culture in places was to be determined by the government.

2.2.3. Turkey and the Geneva Convention: 1950s and onwards

İçduygu (2000) defines the period between the 1950's and 1970's as the internationalization of humanitarian issues due to regulations and legal arrangements and the consequences of the First and Second World Wars. As a national regulation, Turkish authorities in the field of asylum ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention, and the immigration system in this period was based on labor migration, especially to Western Europe. The statement that expresses "everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum in other countries under persecution" in Article 14 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights determines the point of view of the documents guiding the international refugee regime (UN, 1948). One of the most important documents regarding the legal status of refugees is the Geneva Convention, which entered into force in 1954. This Convention sets out the definition of refugee, refugee rights and obligations, and states' responsibilities towards refugees, as well as international law on refugees.

The 1951 Convention aims to provide refugees with international protection, to assist them in their new secure life and to alleviate the consequences of leaving their country. The purpose of the 1951 Convention is thus not to regulate migration movements. Immigrants can leave their country voluntarily in accordance with personal choices and continue to enjoy the protection of their government if they want return to their home country. Asylum-seekers, on the other hand, can leave their country for the

reasons defined in the 1951 Convention and cannot return to their country unless there is an internationally acknowledged permanent peace treaty or a change of government, which will eliminate their reason for fleeing. The convention has limitations in terms of date and geography (Manap-Kırmızıgül, 2008; UNHCR, 2021b). In addition, the Convention defines the rights of refugees such as freedom of religion and movement, the right to work, education and travel, and their obligations to the host state. The principle of non-refoulement has become a prerequisite for international refugee law to prevent the forced deportation of refugees to their country of origin where they might face a serious risk.

The Protocol on the Legal Status of Refugees dated 1967 repealed the time limitation covering "immigration movements during and after World War Two" but the complex issue which was on how to define refugee status in accordance with where asylum-seekers were coming from was left to the initiative to the states (ibid.). In other words, the decision of setting the geographical boundaries of giving a refugee status was left to the discretion of the countries and is maintained as a geographical restriction (UNHCR, 2021a). This given initiative enabled Turkey to maintain its geographical limitation towards refugees and asylum seekers in Law No. 2510. Turkey approved and ratified the 1951 Convention Relating to the Legal Status of Refugees with Law No. 359 on 29 August 1961, and the 1967 Protocol Additional to the 1951 Convention with the Council of Ministers Decision No. 6/10266 published in the Official Gazette dated 5 August 1968. It has become a party to the Geneva Convention on the Legal Status of the Additional Protocol dated 1967, with geographical limitation. Tarhanlı (2004) mentions that during the preparatory work for the Convention, rather than the desire to prevent immigrants from becoming refugees in Turkey, a comment of

reservation was requested from Turkey, out of concern that those who gained refugee status in Turkey would later go to the West and contribute to the current situation of irregular migration. According to Kır (2017), Turkey's exercise of its right in terms of geographical limitation should be evaluated within its own political and geographical context given that the country is exposed to high number of asylum-seekers and irregular migrants. Turkey has been facing significant migration flows throughout the history due to its geographical, strategic, cultural, and political position. The country has mostly been a transit country in terms of migration movements but until recently, more asylum-seekers aim to reach specifically to Turkey, for its increasing economic power and stability. These factors make Turkey to resort to additional mechanisms such as geographical limitation to respond to the migration flows coming mostly from its Eastern border.

2.2.4. Mass movements after the 1980s: Turkey as a country of asylum

Turkey, which was in the position of receiving and sending migrants until the 1980s, also emerged as a transit country with the fast global developments. At the same time, starting from the late 1980s and the early 1990's, Turkey received mass immigration, from Iraq, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, showing that Turkey was in the forefront of the international refugee regime (İçduygu and Yükseker, 2012). In the 1990s, these mass movements required the national law to be amended with a view to provide better and more comprehensive international protection, guided by the Geneva Convention.

The Iran-Iraq War in 1988, aggression of the Todor Jivkov regime against ethnic Turks and Muslims in Bulgaria in 1989, the First Gulf War in 1991 and the war in Bosnia in

1992 were the incidents that caused hundreds of thousands of migrants to arrive because of Turkey's stable condition and its geographical proximity. This situation was partially resolved by legislating Regulation on Asylum in 1994, which included the procedures and principles to be applied to individual foreigners who sought asylum in Turkey or requested a residence permit from Turkey in order to apply for visa from diplomatic missions of other countries to go to third countries. İçduygu (2000) explains that there are three reasons of these migration movements. Firstly, the hope of a better life, security, and protection from persecution due to the political turmoil and uncertainties in the countries of asylum; secondly, due to Turkey's significant geopolitical location, it offers a suitable transit zone for those who want to reach the western and northern countries; lastly, the European Union, which implements very restrictive admission procedures that increase migration flows towards the surrounding regions such as Turkey (İçduygu, 2000). According to Manap-Kırmızıgül (2008), the 1991 refugee influx experience defined Turkey's general policy regarding conventional refugees and left an impact that lasted until the 2000s.

2.2.5. 1990s-2000s: Legal developments and the role of EU acquis

It can be suggested that the 1990s define a period when Turkey intensified its legal efforts in the field of migration and asylum. Following experiences of 1991 refugee influx, Turkey defined its refugee policy with a security-focus and aimed to deal with refugee flows by establishing safe zones and supporting refugee resettlement to third countries. Refugees were allowed to stay in the country conditionally; until resettlement to third countries. As resettlement programs have generally been small, this meant for many to stay in Turkey permanently. Low resettlement rates compared

to the number of applicants also resulted in asylum-seekers being stranded in the country. Because of the multiple challenges, some asylum-seekers resorted to irregular departure. The gradual increase in the number of apprehended irregular migrants is one of the signs of uncertainty in the Turkish asylum system, where the geographical limitation that restricts asylum seekers' recognition as refugees from non-European countries is still in effect. Due to Turkey's geographical limitation on the migrants coming from its eastern borders and the surveillance of the Turkish authorities, it is difficult to decide whether a person is an asylum-seeker or an irregular migrant, where both terms are blurred in the Turkish immigration system (ibid.).

However, the main legal changes in this matter became visible in the 2000s. On the one hand Turkey maintained its position as a transit country, on the other hand, it determined the migration policies in the international sense, especially in accordance with the EU legislation. As part of the debates on full membership to the EU, the issue of international migration, especially Turkey's refugee regime, and the necessity of cooperation between Turkey and the EU on human smuggling and trafficking and asylum issues often came to the fore (Ergüven and Özturanlı, 2013). In the 2000s, one of the important steps in Turkey's international migration regime was its membership to the International Organization for Migration (IOM).

In particular, membership cooperation on the prevention of irregular immigration and human trafficking, the entry into force of the National Action Plan that brought comprehensive changes in asylum and immigration, the creation of a comprehensive and long-term asylum policy, the signing of Readmission Agreements with different states, the efforts to prevent of irregular immigration and migrant smuggling, national

and international new measures and the removal of the geographical reservation of the Geneva Convention can be named as the important developments of the period (İçduygu and Aksel, 2013).

The National Action Plan in 2005 was one of the most important documents for the harmonization of Turkey's asylum and migration legislation and system with the European Union acquis (Yıldız, 2012). This plan brought about various changes in Turkey's asylum approach and practice. Within the scope of the plan, there were legal regulations that need to be put into effect in order to harmonize Turkey's asylum and migration legislation and system with the EU acquis, investments required to complete the administrative structure and physical infrastructure, and measures to be taken (ibid.). Among the changes brought by the plan to the existing asylum policy, there were issues such as integration, institutionalization, legislative change, preparation of a long-term asylum policy, removal of the geographical reservation, and determination of the necessary organizations and institutions that will carry out these changes (Güner, 2007). In the National Action Plan, the removal of the geographical restriction was left conditional for not encouraging further refugee movements and receiving the support of the EU for burden-sharing in a spirit of international solidarity. In this period, one of the most frequently discussed issues, both nationally and internationally, was on Temporary Protection.

2.2.6. The 2010s: A new era of asylum-seeking: Temporary protection

Temporary protection as a regulation or tool aims to provide protection, without through individual status determination processes, to persons fleeing en masse due to

violence or conflict. Temporary protection can be provided only when there is a global emergency. This application was developed by the European states in order to protect refugees fleeing the conflicts in the Former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. The context caused by Turkey's geographical limitation further increased the importance of the issue of temporary protection. Persons with temporary protection status are allowed to enter and leave the borders and their humanitarian needs are aimed to be met by the hosting states through providing protection temporarily and their security is ensured. If temporary protection is provided to these people who are not legally defined as asylum-seekers or refugees, the right of these people to seek asylum or to apply for asylum in a third country also disappears. Having gained significant experience in migration process until 2010, a temporary protection system has been established by Turkey for Syrians fleeing the conflict in their home country within the framework of the open border policy, non-refoulement, and humanitarian aid. Within the scope of this legal context, Turkey, as a country which hosts the largest number of refguees worldwide, plays an active role in meeting the needs of millions of Syrians who are in need of protection due to the ongoing internal conflict in Syria since March 2011.

Following the start of Syrian influx in Turkey, the country aimed to enact a comprehensive legal framework with a view to provide a strong response to this serious humanitarian crisis. With his aim, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) was enacted by the Turkish Parliament in April 4, 2013. Within the framework of international protection, refugee, conditional refugee, and secondary protection statuses are established. Through this law, regular immigration, which refers to the legal entry of foreigners into Turkey, their stay and exit from Turkey, and irregular migration and international protection, which often refer to the irregular entry

of foreigners into Turkey, their stay, exit from Turkey in Turkey are specified. The law continued recognizing the geographical limitation with the provision of the article through a condition of the recognition of refugee status. With the granting of the conditional refugee status, the possibility of stay of the persons in need of international protection in Turkey until they are resettled in a third country has been achieved. This might mean an indirect recognition of the status of refugee, but not legally.

In 2013, with the enactment of new law, the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) was established under the Ministry of Interior. Article 103 of the Law No. 6458 regulates the establishment of the Directorate. The said Law was published in the Official Gazette dated 11/04/2013 and numbered 28615 and the General Directorate of Migration Management was established legally. In 2014, one year after the law was enacted, the Directorate General of Migration Management started its activities. This Directorate has been given the task of implementing policies and strategies in the field of migration, ensuring coordination between institutions and organizations related to these issues, foreigners' entry to and stay in Turkey, their departure from Turkey and their deportation, international protection, temporary protection and the protection of victims of human trafficking. In 2021, the legal status of the Directorate was changed, and the institution was reinstated as a presidency under the name of 'Presidency of Migration Management' (PMM) with the aim of extending the capacity and activities.

2.2.7. Surveillance and control: Turkey's satellite town system

Turkey also limits the movement of registered asylum-seekers and refugees by assigning them in satellite towns where exits are subject to permits by migration authorities. This system also includes Syrians under Temporary Protection. In Turkey, following registration, the temporary protection or international protection applicants are being directed to satellite cities, which are selected by the Ministry of Interior. Asylum-seekers live in these officially assigned cities in accordance with the open residence principle where they are required to go to the migration offices, monthly or bi-monthly, in the city that they are settled, to sign regularly that they are in the city. According to the regulation, these applicants can not leave their satellite cities without permission. Travel permits to be able to go out of the satellite cities can only be issued for a certain period of time depending on compelling reasons such as medical treatment in a bigger city, necessary family visit or higher education participation. Similarly, asylum-seekers and refugees could not change their satellite city, again unless there is a reason to justify the need. Asylum-seekers in Turkey face challanges for being unable to leave their satellite towns. Especially when there is little economic and social support in the satellite city, being unable to move to another city deepens the challenges faced by refugees. Satellite city regulation is an indication between foreign policy and domestic policy, with which protection is provided but at the same time domestic concerns are met by keeping foreigners in a fixed city (Goularas and Sunata, 2015). In other words, the obligation of residence in a fixed city that is assigned by the state means that asylum-seekers and refugees are controlled through a surveillance mechanism which aims to prevent the further mobility of the forcibly displaced and keeping the possibility of taking an action when it is needed such as closing registration

of a satellite town when the number of refugees increases significantly. This approach can be interpreted as a message given to two different groups: first, it tells the forcibly displaced that their addresses are registered by the authorities and second, it tells to the citizens that the movement is under the control by the state.

2.2.8. Collaboration in refugee protection: UNHCR in Turkey

Working with the official institutions, UNHCR has long contributed to the strengthening of Turkey's institutional asylum structure and administrative capacity in migration. Particularly, the organization participated in the preparation processes of the LFIP and the regulations regarding the LFIP and tried to develop cooperation between civil society and state institutions. After the establishment of PMM, these activities continued. In addition, UNHCR sustained its support to PMM, including the registration of international protection applications of persons, and their transfer to certain provinces following the registration until 2018. In other words, before September 2018, UNHCR received international protection applications from non-European applicants, except Syrians, and issued a referral letter to the persons whose applications were received and referred them to the relevant provincial directorates of migration administration[3] for registration with Turkish Authorities. Applicants who are registered with the provincial immigration administration could stay in Turkey regularly and access to services. As of September 10, 2018, UNHCR suspended registration activities as Turkey announced that persons seeking international

[3] (PDMMs-Provincial directorates of migration management)

protection should apply to the relevant migration administration directorates of the government.

When UNHCR started its operation in 1960 in Turkey, the country was not receiving high number of migrants. Over time, UNHCR's offices spread all around Turkey and became one of the biggest operations in the word as the country hosts the highest number of refugees in the world as of 2022. In cooperation with Turkey, UNHCR's operation covers refugee protection, advocacy and supporting efforts to strengthen the Turkish asylum system in accordance with relevant international agreements and working to provide durable solutions for refugees. This effort also includes helping refugees access to rights and services during their stay in Turkey, information counseling, and legal counseling. In addition, with the support of its partners in the field, assistance for people with medical needs is being provided and house visits for protection and financial support assessment are also being conducted. In addition, UNHCR supports the mechanisms of the countries which have resettlement programmes. Calling for global support to refugees is also done by UNHCR with the aim of enabling states to take further steps for international solidarity and responsibility sharing which is clearly affirmed by the United Nations General Assembly through the framwwork of the Global Compact on Refugees in 2018.

2.3. Neoliberal Governance of Refugees

The global refugee system established after the World War Two still provides the legal basis of the world states' asylum policies. In time, refugee governance evolved to operate with a more neoliberal approach which is applied differently in various country

contexts. In order to provide a thorough context in relation to global refugee regime and Turkey's refugee regime, the section below will discuss the emergence of neoliberalism as a concept and its reflection upon global refugee governance. The discussion will include development of neoliberalism in the world and in Turkey and how this concept made an impact on the refugee governance globally.

2.3.1. Neoliberalism: The concept

Neoliberalism is widely used to fundamentally describe the free market economy, and it is an economic perspective that shapes policies such as free markets, privatization, reduction of price regulation, downsizing of the state, social services, and flexible labor markets (Harvey, 2007; Steger and Roy, 2010). It is often associated with the laissez-faire economy, a policy that envisages a minimal amount of state intervention in the economic problems of individuals and society. Neoliberalism does not only refer to economic affairs but also includes the political rationality in which the state forms alliances with the private sector. Criticism of the use of free markets and decreased state assistance in areas such as health, education and immigration are based on the idea that these areas should be treated as vital public services that should not be subject to profit motivation by nature.

A neoliberal policy on a wide scale, both in the Western world and in the so-called third world countries in the post-1989 period, has increased challenges both in wealth and income. This has created a situation in which low-skilled workers in flexible labor markets became poorer, with a relatively lower rate of increase in wages relative to rising inflation (Cahill et al., 2018). The European Union, which is an important

example of reducing state intervention in the economy, faced economic challanges in the first quarter of the 21st century. In this context, Germany, the largest economic power in the region, still benefits from this freedom, while other smaller-scale member states hold the European Union responsible for the economic challanges associated with neoliberal policies. Neoliberalism, which has a significant effect around the world, has caused important transformations in the scope of economy, politics and thought. Neoliberalism was transformed and adopted in the new states that emerged after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and especially with the Thatcher's and Reagan's policies in Britain and the United States, in welfare states such as New Zealand and Sweden, in South Africa and China due to the global economic and political conditions (Kırbaş, 2017).

Even though neoliberalism is well defined in the literature, its application might vary from one country to another. Peck, Theodore, and Brenner (2009) in their concept of 'actually existing neoliberalism,' point out that more moderate and harmonious forms of neoliberal policies are encountered in traditionally social democratic states such as Germany, Canada, New Zealand, the Netherlands, France, and Italy. Social services are still intact in most of these countries together with available state support in various sectors. In Latin America, on the other and, reflection of neoliberal policies differs from the European region altogether. For example, while observing neoliberal practices in Pinochet era of Chile, Thatcherism and Reaganism as methods of high-level neoliberalism were among the decisive pioneering politics and projects. Unlike Europe, official support was less existent in Latin American countries as the politicians opted for a more reduced state service. After the economic crisis of the early the 1980s, neoliberal restructuring programs were expanded in the global South through the

efforts of the multilateral institutions to support states' capital markets. This unbalanced but harmonious reorganization of worldwide policy agendas lasted until the mid-1980s, and neoliberalism became the dominant political and ideological form of capitalist globalization (ibid.).

Since the beginning of the 20th century, devastating events such as the Great Depression and the First and Second World War played an important role as they led to high level of loss in power and prestige lost in the global political realm. As a result of high unemployment and drastic poverty caused by the 1929 Economic Depression, which affected the world as a whole, it was suggested that the classical liberalism fell short in solving economic problems. Such argument was also presented as plausible due to the massive scale of the 1929 Depression. The idea that “the market would eventually reach full employment level without state intervention” was rejected and a new economic Keynesian understanding was put forward. This understanding, which foresees the active intervention of the state in the economy, the "Social Welfare State", which aims to create employment and the redistribution of wealth gained popularity until the 1970s. However, the economic crises that started to be experienced throughout the 1970s were associated with the existing interventionist role of the state which eventually brought the end of the Keynesian approach. Neoliberalism, which has complex and controversial effects on ordinary citizens, has had a detrimental effect on the welfare of the poor and the vulnerable in many countries, especially women, children, minorities, disabled people and migrants, as it supports the reduction of social spending in state expenditures.

2.3.2. Asylum-seeking in a global neoliberal setting

As neo-liberal currents became popular after the 1980s, the number of different perspectives and suggestions on theories involving disadvantaged groups (women, persons with disabilities, immigrants, unemployed, elderly) in society has increased. Differing from classical liberalism and Taylorist or Fordist production model, neoliberal policies reduced social state practices, limited state intervention with a less regulated free market. With this perspective, these practices let down of the most vulnerable and the most disadvantaged by limiting the powers of the central government and putting the executive boards into operation while narrowing down the social support interventions. In this context, the concept of "governance" gained such an importance with its analytical features such as implementation of local decision making, efficiency of decisions, public cooperation, and participatory democracy in states where the ordinary people are in need of urgent support and care. Among these groups, asylum-seekers and refugees can be named as persons who are more vulnerable due to the limited support and assistance while searching for a safer life.

The period from the last decade of the 20th century until today is described as a period that functions as a 'wall task' against refugees in the context of neoliberal border policies in the world and especially in some of the EU countries (Öztürk, 2014). Similar to its application in politics and economy, neoliberal approach towards migration minimizes the state expenditure and assistance to those who are on the move. As a result, asylum-seekers and refugees are exposed to a more challenging situation in the countries of asylum as the national authorities provide limited budget and support services. It is even suggested that some countries use neoliberal tools to deter

the arrival of migrants (Triandafyllidou and Dimitriadi, 2014). However, given that most of the Western countries are perceived as a safe haven by those who flee their homes, these countries continue be points of destination despite the increased level of strict immigration policies. These policies might be restrictive not only for immigrants, but also for refugees who currently live in the countries of residence without a residence permit. Especially in some of the EU countries, a secular approach is adopted which ignores the freedoms and rights of individuals who continue their lives as unauthorized or permitted refugees for the continuation of the welfare level in the EU (Öztürk, 2014). As a result of these policies, refugees end up in challenging situations and are often reflected as 'economic burden' by anti-migrant groups. The challenging situation of these individuals in the context of secularization, economic concerns and surveillance is seen in some of the EU official practices and policies. In other words, associating refugees with unemployment, security concerns and economic challenges are presented as justification of pragmatic neoliberal policies. As a result of such unfortunate approach, less assistance is provided to refugees which prevents them from establishing a life and in the end leaves them with their own fate.

Even though major migration countries adopt neoliberal tools of refugee governance in the present day, their scope of implementation might differ from one state to another due to reasons such as domestic conditions, economic context, and political rhetoric. In some country contexts, NGOs are more engaged in refugee settlement programs instead of the state offices while in another country contexts, economic and security measures engage states into the processes more than expected in a neoliberal environment. For example, even though Canada's immigration policy has a positive attitude in terms of rights such as working opportunities and flexible conditions, it is

seen that it turns into a limiting attitude when it encounters large population masses driven by political and socio-economic migration. Every year, a certain proportion of migrant population is included in the scoring system, especially due to the working conditions in the country. However, minorities with immigrant status in the country are not allowed to work in certain workplaces and occupational groups that demand very high security assurance responsibility. Even though the integration policy is realized through family reunification, the economic production potential is still in the foreground (Koçak and Gündüz, 2016; Şimşek, 2018). The immigration policy that is getting stricter in the United States also displays a limiting attitude when confronted with large masses of population driven by political and socio-economic migration. Generally, the immigration approach of the United States was known to be a neoliberal one by aiming to attract newcomers for the benefit of the American economy with strong security measures. The immigration visa program of the United States' immigration system is defined as the green card lottery and is often evaluated within the framework of national economy, sovereignty, and security. Lately, the United States aimed to stop irregular entries and employment of asylum-seekers and refugees through using neoliberal immigration policies, but despite this deterrence and legal sanctions, the number of arrivals increased for the search of better life conditions (ibid). In detail, approach of the United States towards the asylum-seekers has transformed over the course of the years. Levin (2021) discusses that together with the initiative of building a wall along the Mexican Border which is the election promise of the former president Donald J. Trump, the United States started to separate the children from the families at the border who lodged asylum application. The asylum processes started to take longer, and the reception conditions became more complex. It can be suggested that this approach aimed to contribute to the 'Make America Great

Again' promise of Trump who aimed to prioritize American citizens for employment and state benefits, again with a neoliberal outlook. In other words, Trump's neoliberal approach aims to prevent newcomer asylum-seekers as the services are mostly offered for the benefit of the American citizens over the others. Here, it can be said that the policy of Trump prioritizes only the citizens by taking the rights of refugees for granted. This does not only contradict with the American values and legal commitments but also with the American legislation on asylum. In addition to economic factors, security also goes hand in hand with the American approach to migration. Oprysko, Kumar and Toosi (2020) explain that the travel ban on the countries including Libya, Somali, Sudan, and Yemen in 2017 show that security concerns are a part of Trump's migration approach when it comes to monitor who arrives to the American soil despite the heavy criticism against the content of the ban.

Neoliberal governance of refugees in Europe is also controversial for some scholars. Even though available state services are much higher compared to other countries, lately, many European countries redefined their asylum regulation in accordance with their security and economic concerns. For instance, processing time of the asylum applications started to take longer and using deportation as a tool is now more common. Most of the time, for some of the EU states, integration, security, and surveillance go beyond of their economic concerns. For example, due to security concerns, Greek authorities use deadly pushbacks as a frequent tool of deterrence. In the Netherlands, asylum claimants are kept in camps until the asylum process is finalized. During the period, the applicants also receive 'cultural orientation trainings' which aim to teach the native language and culture for better integration prospects if their applications are to be found credible at the end (Ghorashi, de Boer, and ten

Holder, 2017). The camps also keep the asylum-seekers in a closed camp setting where the surveillance is aimed to be made easier by the law enforcement forces. Denmark on the other hand, adopted stricter measures with security and economic concerns despite the well-established welfare state tradition (Hercowitz-Amir, Raijman, and Davidov, 2017). As discussed in Deutsche Welle (2021), in 2021, the Prime Minister declared her wish to accept zero asylum application as state target and plan to deport Syrians with the perception that 'Damascus and its region is now safe for returns' despite the ongoing armed conflict in Syria. The same country also legislated a contested law in 2016 allowing the authorities to confiscate valuables from refugees whose amount is more than 10.000 Danish Kroner (approx. 1.500 US Dollar). In the United Kingdom, NGOs are more integrated into the refugee settlement programs with neoliberal outlook (Wren, 2007). However, the Home Office is also active on surveillance with national security prospects. Similar to the United States, Norway faces high asylum application rates despite challenging immigration admission requirements. Immigration policy is close to the American model and has a limiting attitude but falls short to decrease the number of the overall applications. The Portuguese model is similar to the British model; it respects the different cultural identities of immigrants. The point where it differs from the British model is that it includes "positive discrimination" as a policy in order to achieve socio-economic integration. Italy has a wide legal mechanism on immigrants, but the policies that aim integration need further update. While the system supports the regularizing of undocumented migrants and the preservation of their cultural identity, integration system and mechanisms of accessing to available state services should be reinforced for the benefit of the migrant groups.

The restructuring of the state through neoliberal reforms in Turkey have been made to the second generation and has been called structural reforms. While first generation reforms took place as privatization after the 1980s, downsizing of the state, opening up to foreign deregulation, second generation reforms after 1998 found a practice as a discourse of democratization including strengthening civil society, ensuring global competition, governance and localization. Turkish asylum regime is also affected and shaped by these neoliberal waves since the 1980s. In Turkish case, asylum management have been aiming to downsize the state economically while surveilling the asylum-seekers and refugees closely. Refugees are responsible for their own economic wellbeing and aid delivery is mostly organized through local and international NGOs spread around the country. Some state institutions also provide support to the vulnerable refugees in accordance with their needs. Similar to some of the countries explained in the previous paragraph, Turkey also defines its neoliberal migration management outlook in accordance with the socio-political context. As migration is often associated with security and public order, the relevant laws require asylum-seekers and refugees to register in satellite towns which are designated by the governmental authorities. By this way, they are closely monitored and unable to leave without official travel permits. Satellite town residence and movement regulations also create an environment for cheap labor as these cities are small scale ones and employment opportunities are scarce (Salah et al., 2019). Economically unstable asylum-seekers and refugees often have no other choice but to work as cheap labor just to survive. Turkish asylum regime and its relationship with neoliberal perspective will be discussed thoroughly in the next chapter.

2.3.3. Neoliberal Way of Refugee Governance

The concept of governance that came to the fore in the context of neoliberal reforms, refers to a system of horizontal networks, unlike vertical hierarchical management in classical management theories. It involves the participation and interaction of different actors in decision making processes in the realization of public policies. Governance theory, conceptualized through three dimensions, is considered as a structural, political and administrative dimension. In the structural dimension that regulates the distribution of power and authority, stakeholders such as local governments and non-governmental organizations are involved, a network of relationships and interactions involving all stakeholders in the managerial dimension, and the participation of these actors in decision making and policy making processes are emphasized. Globally, nation-states are one of the actors of migration, but actors such as non-governmental organizations contribute to the understanding of participatory democracy by increasing interaction with different networks.

Within the scope of neoliberal theories, it is emphasized that the governance approach increased its presence in policy production and social security processes with the increasing influence of ethico-political power after the 1980s. Ethico-political power became known as a tool of neoliberal governance after the 1970s, when the idea of self-government was embedded in welfare policies since highly bureaucratic and interventionist welfare state until the 1970s criticized by dependency. Ethico-political power, especially with their discourse that goes beyond policy programs, is seen in the implementation of institutional argumentation by diverging from the perception of the welfare state. With the localization of governmentality's control power and discipline

by replacing the pioneering control mechanisms of governing bodies with ethical policy and responsibility after the 1970s, it is seen that neoliberal organizations paired responsibility and self-control with the role of being ideal members in society and placed them at the basis of their political programs. In this context, it has promised to increase human capital and professional knowledge in a twofold way with increasing quality of life by supporting the responsibility of the community, the state and the society.

It can be said that the relationship between ethico-political power and neoliberal governance has emerged in the mode of production and the policy production processes of power. In the search of new ethical and political tools of neoliberal currents, social policy making processes emphasize power on sociality while individualizing power through ethico-political power. Neoliberalism, which tries to re-establish sociality in the field of social policies, also emphasizes individual responsibility. In the context of sense of community, participatory, self-developing, responsible, and healthy individuals are idealized for social well-being (Karal, 2019). Neoliberal governance and ethico-political power bring out the control society. While the security society depends on the protection of the human body, neoliberalism implements open mechanisms in production processes with perpetual training in society of control. In the neoliberal system, all segments of the society are no longer targeted, and those who need help can be addressed by making self-sufficient individuals through policy mechanisms. Welfare policies, education and health provisions and immigration and asylum policies that emerged in this process have become internationally recognized. In addition, the responsibilities of this

transformation to social groups become one of the main actors of the governance literature (ibid.).

In the era of globalization, dilemmas about international migration movements have initiated a new process that forces all countries in the destination, transit or emigration location to cooperate with different actors, particularly with international organizations. In this context, it requires the application of different and multidimensional management styles due to the dynamic nature of migration challenges. Within the scope of migration governance concept, the mindset of multidimensional practices and actors involved is evaluated as part of the multilevel governance approach. The concept used to describe the relations between public actors at different levels of government and other non-government actors was used to explain the structural policy of the European Community and the developments that emerged after its establishment in 1988 (Bache, 2008). In this context, multi-level governance involves sharing different levels of apparent and implicit policy making authority, responsibility, development, and implementation (Charbit, 2011). Multi-level governance includes the cooperation and interaction between the public and the profit or non-profit private sector and targets people on the forms of their relationships (ibid). The expectation in multi-level governance is the increased interaction and dependence between the political authority and actors. Especially within the scope of international migration governance, it is necessary to establish cooperation and solidarity on a global scale. As mentioned before, it is essential that international migration governance is maintained in cooperation with different actors, as well as international institutions. As mentioned earlier, it is essential that international migration governance is maintained in cooperation with different actors, as well as international

institutions. Within the scope of international migration governance, structures such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and International Organization for Migration come under the coordination of official migration governance (Kahraman and Tanıyıcı, 2018).

When international migration management is analyzed, we encounter formal and traditional migration governance and informal migration governance. The main tasks of international organizations such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) contribute to migration governance in the world (Betts, 2011). Considering the formal and informal multilateral structures, it can be said that the most effective organizations working actively in migration governance are the United Nations organizations. Official migration governance is significantly contributed by the UN system. For example, activities related to the protection of refugees are carried out by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) within the UN. Similarly, activities related to labor migration are being undertaken by the International Labour Organization (ILO) within the UN. Official migration governance is also contributed by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). IOM coordinates activities in areas such as migration and development, migration regulation and forced migration. Betts (2011) defined IOM as "an international organization that can be understood as part of informal governance insofar as it provides a range of migration-related projects and services on behalf of its donor states". Additionally, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is one of the primary sources of official migration governance, and there are many United Nation affiliated structures that carry out official migration activities. (ibid.).

On the other hand, informal migration governance emerges with independent initiatives, international regulations, and interregional cooperation. To give an example to these independent initiatives; institutions such as International Migration Global Commission, High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development and Global Forum on International Migration and Development, Bern Initiative can be named as independent migration initiatives. In addition, in international regulations, the International Migration Policy Program and the Global Migration Group are the leading ones. As an example of interregional cooperation, formations such as Asia-Europe Dialogue, North American Countries Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Europe, Latin America and Caribbean Summit can be shown. Simultaneously in multilevel migration governance, migration is a complex and multi-layered phenomenon constructed by geopolitical, socio-economic aspects and political realities of source countries and target countries. The shape and intensity of migration is important in the development of policies and strategies in migration management, in conjunction with the management of migration movements requires a multilateral approach, covering a wide range of areas from health to ecology, economy to education. Migration governance makes a systematic reference to migrants' policies on human rights and sometimes uses human discourse to justify its restrictive policies for this purpose. States with their preferred immigration regimes, decide how the discretionary power of migration will be handled in the preferred context. The global governance of international migration requires different collaborations, partnerships, and multi-dimensional actors. This process, also defined as the new immigration policy, has revealed itself not only in the rise of actors engaged in immigration in recent years, but also in how they have framed international migration (Walters, 2010). There are strategies to depoliticize migration, where it appears to be a technical issue

to manage. In this context, global policies that can manage the process well can be beneficial for all. States that respect democratic and human rights can lead to a medium of co-existence where citizens, immigrants and refugees can live peacefully in the same society regardless of their differences. In country contexts where immigrants and refugees are perceived as second-class citizens as a result of scepticism, states should take responsibility and necessary action to prevent any kind of discrimination. Authorities should use inclusive legal action to respect and encourage asylum-seekers, refugees and immigrants to enjoy their human rights. It is thus crucial that they are provided with legal entitlements which can help them see themselves as part of the society in the countries they reside in.

In this context, resettlement is an important neoliberal tool that aims international solidarity and 'burden sharing' among the world states. It primarily aims to help those who fled their homes due to conflict and armed clashes find safety with legal entitlements. Resettlement can be defined as "the transfer of refugees from one country of asylum-seeking protection due to conflict, war or persecution to another state that agrees to accept them and ultimately provides a permanent settlement" (UNHCR, 2021c). As a functional tool, resettlement allows refugees to move from the country of asylum to a third country where they can enjoy rights in a safe and equal manner. Most of the resettlement states provide legal and physical protection for refugees in their territory, including regulations such as access to civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights enjoyed by their citizens. Refugees are often resettled to a country where society, language and culture are completely different and new to them. To achieve effective admission and integration, which is important for refugees and receiving states, governments and non-governmental institutions provide services such as

cultural orientation, language and vocational training, and programs that promote access to education and employment. Until the mid-1990s, resettlement policies included two main approaches in current social policy. The first included equal access to general government provision and the second included community self-help support. After 2000s, it became the focus of settlement policies to distribute asylum seekers to cluster areas, to coordinate social support and to offer an accommodation option; unlike previous distribution policies based on a single nationality, refugees from all countries were based on distribution.

2.3.4. Governance: Individual and the State

In the neo-liberal approach, there is an individualized demand for responsibility and self-management, where individuals are seen as self-directed and autonomous (Liebenberg, Ungar, and Ikeda, 2015). When this process is viewed from an institutional point of view, it also increases the tendency to make the individual more responsible, and to make the state less responsible. It is argued that authoritarian policies centralize the power of the state in neoliberal theory by managing the risk through individuals. Responsibility is understood by the autonomous individual as self-directed risk. This has led to the development of systems that evaluate, manage, and monitor citizens, especially those who are at risk (ibid). Governance extends from self-governing to managing others and is often used to analyze the areas of neoliberal government. According to Foucault, governance is with interventional forms of governance, which works with the idea that the government should not manage too much from a distance (Baptista, 2018). Throughout this view, governance is encouraged by self-control and autonomy; that is, it is expected to occur through the

processes of governance through those that are governed rather than governed by them. Other features of governance include triggering self-wishes, the formation of subjectivities and trans-nationalization of governance (ibid).

The neoliberal economy affecting international refugee policies has transformed the migration phenomenon and caused suspension of systems that support migrants with administrative changes. In addition, with the influence of the nation-states emerging after the Cold War period, Europe has become the center of immigration mobility (Ünlüer, 2015). Since the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, international migration has been on the agenda of the European Union (EU) and its member countries. The upheavals in 2011, defined as the Arab Spring, led to significant population movements in the Mediterranean, resulting in new migration trends that are highly complex and heterogeneous (European Commission, 2011). The dimension of international migration that cannot be controlled by the EU and the measures to be taken for the control of the EU borders have been discussed on different platforms. Along with these changes, immigration governance has brought increasing administrative reforms, faced with strict entrance, and exit controls, aggravated penalties and serious economic deductions. This is an indication of a more insecure position of refugees, as they faced deportation because of the low refugee status recognition rates. Protection in the neoliberal refugee system is left to the responsibility of the individual to prove their refugee status to the state. Furthermore, a consequence of neoliberal refugee system is alienation characterized in the policies as "access to the region, legal components of alienation, sustainability of refugee status and the identification process" (ibid.). In this context, neoliberal migration governance is related to whether the state specifically authorizes international institutions and

whether these actors impose significant financial and political restrictions on their activities (Loescher, 1994). Groups with cultural and social differences, which Castles and Miller (1998) linked with the 'problem' of living together, experience outside their territory where they were born as a result of economic, social and political transformations. On the other hand, boundaries can also refer to geographic areas, political or religious perspectives, professional categories, and linguistic or cultural traditions. The boundaries that are structurally transcended by migration can define the concept of separation rather than integration. As a result of migration, demographic, economic and social structures may change to bring a new cultural diversity that challenges their identities. The changing perception of refugees by NGOs or the state in the media, indifference or stigmatization of the local population strengthens the sense of alienation in the society, as well as the neoliberal migration governance by states. As transitional residents of the city in general, asylum-seekers live with feelings of indifference and alienation, often without a sense of belonging. Marginalization and social segregation might occur together with alienation in the new life order that emerged with migration. In other words, after displacement, as a result of anti-migrant approach, social segregation might come into being. This situation makes it important to carry the society towards integration rather than assimilation (Akıncı, Nergiz, and Gedik, 2015).

In the making of neoliberal migration policies, content of asylum regimes also gained remarkable attention as the cause of migration are not solely economic or social. Due to the increasing number of refugee arrivals from war-torn countries to Europe, primarily in Greece, Germany, and England, different assessment mechanisms and vital legal pathways have come into the forefront of the political discussions. As a

candidate state of European Union, Turkey has also been working together with the above-mentioned European countries to put its relevant laws and regulations in line with EU refugee system especially after the 1980s (Ünlüer, 2015). International cooperation and humanitarian concerns were also among the driving forces of the Turkish legislators. The Foreign and International Protection Law of 2014, which regulates the protection of refugees, shows the emergence of "policies for the externalization of refugees" in Turkey. In this context, conditions of Syrian and Afghan refugees hold quite an importance to the fact that they are the two largest refugee groups not only in Turkey but also in the world quantitatively and because of the ongoing conflict in these countries. Turkey's active role in migration management adopted the control of the irregular migration in Turkey by becoming a part of the international externalization framework through the externalization of responsibility (ibid).

Research on migration in the mid-1980s and the 1990s highlights the issue of globalization and its impact on the state's migration control capacity which coincided with the rise of neo-liberal ideology (Menz, 2011). The concept of deportation is brought to the agenda in terms of neoliberalism, democracy, and human rights. Preventing individuals from entering through a border and ensuring the return are two basic issues under immigration control (Gibney and Hansen, 2003). The presence of undocumented asylum-seekers in the shadows is related to the deportation situation, which prevents them from entering the public domain with the laws introduced by the state. They do not have the right to benefit from social security as long as they do not participate in the workforce formally. There is a restriction on their movements carried out by the law enforcement officers through surveillance and deportation and entry

bans (Pujol, 2015). Using deportation as a tool is also perceived as an easy method for sending the asylum-seekers back to their country of origin with the aim of decreasing the pressure. Neoliberalism on Turkey's case has an important place in efforts of treating and shaping society as a homogeneous structure for refugees. Asylum-seekers and refugees, to which Europe has been closely paying attention, become the target of the security, secularization and 'economic burden' debates created by neoliberalism itself, while most of the European countries regard them as important aspect under the control of policies involving strict measures against asylum-seeking. This context appears to include various special preventive measures against refugees like deportation and strict asylum policies that are indications of the ambiguity and contested nature of neoliberalism's understanding of utilitarianism. This situation reflects that the security and surveillance mechanisms together with 'economic burden' perception of societies play important roles when it comes to shaping the migration governance of the countries which leads to different interpretation of neoliberal outlook in different parts of the world.

2.3.5. Global dynamics of governance

The global restructuring of capitalism and the transformation of welfare states appear to affect the phenomenon of nation-states, immigrants, and citizenship. Elements such as production, consumption, and circulation that have left their mark on capitalism are rapidly globalized in today's techno-cultural world. Economic and world systems theories came to the fore at macro and micro levels in contemporary international migration studies. In world systems theory, Wallerstein (1974) explains international migration through the expansion of world markets (Castells, 1998; Sassen, 1988). In

addition, while Petras (1981) associated international migration with the dependence between periphery and core as a result of the circulation of capital, labor and goods; it is also explained as a result of the displacements developed as a result of capitalist reforms by Sassen and Portes (1987).

Kaynar and Ak (2016) discuss that the new position of the globalization and international migration relationship on several points. The first one is that the globalization process intensifies the possibilities of migration of people. The second most important assumption that arises when examining the relationship between globalization and international migration is that the position of the nation-state towards this relationship has evolved. While almost every country has become a migrant-receiving country, the descriptive terms about migration become inadequate and terms such as transnational areas have emerged. It has become difficult to imagine that migration is the phenomenon of a world where only nation-states are the main actors in a period when immigration types such as “student immigration” and “temporary or permanent immigration” or “legal or irregular immigration” appear (ibid.). Thirdly, the relationship between globalization and international migration is the point of international migration to be handled as a global governance issue, hence not limited to the main actor position of nation-states (İçduygu, Erder, and Gençkaya, 2014).

As a result of “Syrian Refugee Crisis” and “European Refugee Crisis”, the challenge of global refugee management mechanisms encountered in the world, as well as the challenge of asylum institutions located in Europe; it also encountered the challenge of systems built on mechanisms of interdependence between states in the Global North and major refugee host states in the Global South (Arar, 2017). Arar argued that largely

refugee host states, mostly Syrians, were able to renegotiate the value of their hosting capacities. Defining it as the new major compromise, Arar emphasized the increasing value of hosting refugees in Jordan and determined how Jordanian government officials were strategically capitalized from the influx of refugees in Europe. In this context, the sovereignty in the study of Arar, which defined as a state's right to demand legitimate authority over its externally recognized internal affairs and its final control within its own territory, is seen in danger in the great compromise. It assesses how and to what extent sovereignty can control the limits of a state, the state's authority over international institutions that want to influence governance at the national level (ibid.).

Kahraman and Tanıyıcı (2018) discussed the governance and implementation dimension of immigration policy in Turkey with the interaction among government organizations and civil society actors in the policy decisions. In their work, they advocate from the perspective of multi-level governance approach, in which the management of the migration crisis needs to be brought closer and associated with the governance process in terms of its multiple structure imposed on the concept of management. Multi-level governance approaches focus the forms of relationships between the relevant actors. In addition to the increasing interaction and dependency between governmental and non-governmental organizations, it is emphasized that immigration networks have important contributions such as reducing risks and reducing migration costs. For this reason, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and volunteer-informal sectors cooperate with non-governmental organizations, which help establish regional networks within the governance approach. Generally, actors in Multilevel Migration Governance are state (public institutions and organizations), non-government local and national actors (non-governmental

organizations), international actors (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the European Union) and local administrations.

According to Kahraman and Tanıyıcı (2018) in the creation of a cooperation network in Turkey on migration governance and coordination between relevant actors of civil society, its ability to run strongly in the culture, political culture, participation, democracy, economic development and so on. Unlike the management approach of the 20th century, governance consists of horizontal networks of hierarchical management and the roles of different actors in decision-making processes, formation, and execution of public policies (ibid). Accordingly, nation-states are important in global governance, but non-governmental organizations also have a role that reinforces the understanding of participatory democracy. Governance emphasizes the participation of non-governmental organizations and other non-governmental actors in all stages of management. Thus, actors taking part in the process gain opportunities to develop their own resources and goals in a long-term cooperation. In this respect, the concept of governance, which states that the administration is not a one-sided action style, is also important in the migration crisis. However, due to the relationship of governance, especially in non-governmental organizations and policy-making processes, multi-level governance also explains the increasing interaction and interdependence between governments and non-governmental organizations, local governments, international organizations. Since there is no comprehensive, multilateral, and systematic mechanism regulating the flow of migrants on a global scale, national and international cooperation on migration needs to be carried out more and at multi-level.

In her work on the creation of ethico-political power for Ethiopian migration and asylum policies, Karal (2019) examined the ways in which the disadvantages and practices of ethico-political power were reproduced in the policy proposals of Ethiopia for the migration and asylum regime. In modern policy making processes, she talks about the characteristics of this type of power such as responsibility, collective and socializing. The harmonization of neoliberalism with governance policies and the role of social welfare in production is considered as an indicator of ethical-political power in policy making. Also, in the context of ethico-political power, it is argued that the state imposes responsibility on citizens to provide social and individual well-being on immigration, crime, disease, and security. In the study, the 38 annual reports published by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Organization for Migration and the European Commission on migration and asylum issues between 2000 and 2013 were examined and interviews were conducted with immigrants. In this context, it is revealed that the ethico-political power affects Ethiopian migration and asylum policies at different levels. It locates society, community, and self-responsibility into the focus of policy-making processes to moderate populations. Increased control and surveillance over immigrants and immigrant communities, especially as a reflection of neoliberal policy recommendations, are different examples of these reflections. Karal emphasizes that the policy suggestions in governance theories reveal some unpredictable consequences affecting the state, immigrant groups and immigrants on the governance of migration and asylum in Ethiopia. Observation of border management across societies, “bio-control and point systems”, protection protocols, migration conferences, construction of sub-regional economic communities are some instances of complex governmentality of immigration across countries. Governmentality of immigration in

Ethiopia is discussed as a governmental regime composed of visible, technical, rational and identity formative aspects (ibid.).

2.4. Informality

One can suggest that informality is often encountered in refugee situations where the context is ambiguous economically, socially, and economically. Migrants who face difficulties in the countries of asylum might find themselves in conditions where they are forced to get involved with informalities to stay alive. Despite the states try to regulate the asylum space in accordance with relevant bodies of law and refugee regime, informalities are not hard to find in daily life. From housing to employment, refugees cross into the boundaries of informality which often cause risk, vulnerability, and exploitation. With this purpose, the following part of this chapter will provide a discussion on informality and how the concept is intertwined with refugee context.

2.4.1. Emergence of the concept: Informality in the economy

One can suggest that informality is one of the most debated topics of not only contemporary studies of economy but also sociology and political science. For the first time in the literature, informality is discussed in an economic context in the Kenya Report of the International Labour Organization prepared by Keith Hart in 1973 (ILO, 1972). Within this scope, informality was firstly used in the discussion of job market, employment, and economic development in less developed countries. It was suggested that the economic problems of such countries were not directly related to unemployment but instead to employment with insufficient income (ibid). Informality

was defined at the opposite end of formality and indicated that this way of employment created livelihoods with the aim of survival in a situation where formal sector fell short of creating jobs and access to mainstream markets. Scholars who engaged in the first round of discussions on informality debated that the positive achievements in the economic development would eventually balance the equilibrium in favor of formality however in the course of time, informality expanded globally in a different form at a massive scale. Since the 1980s, with the advancement of global trade and production, informality started being a reality in most of the countries regardless of the scope of economic development.

Adoption of neoliberal policies worldwide with less state intervention in political economy has also amplified the spread of informality. This expansion has led to a change in its initial definition of what informality really is as the term started being perceived as a negative structural factor of the poor, underdeveloped and in some cases developing countries as a result of the socio-economic implications as well as outcomes (Tokman, 2007). Despite it is challenging to provide an exact definition, informality can be explained as all types of employment activities lacking formal qualities such as state regulations as these are not registered with official authorities and related government databases (Anyigba et al., 2020). Informality means relatively low wages, insecurity and working in unsuitable conditions on a flexible working basis in society. Due to its complex nature and multi-layered existence in different sectors, informal economy has also come to be called as `underground sector`, `unseen employment`, `black economy`, `shadow economy` and `secret employment`. In the informal economy where there is not state regulation, economic activities could not be taxed which creates remarkable revenues for the authorities. This also puts the

unregistered workers in danger as they lack legal and economic protection tools such as insurance and worker rights. In addition, some scholars discuss that informality is also supportive of formal economy and helps economy to grow by using unregistered and cheap labor force. Without seeking qualified workforce and avoiding official registration, utilization of low-skilled labor plays into the expansion of the various sectors (Elgin, 2020). International Labour Organization describes informal economy as the accumulation of low-income jobs lacking social security and other safety nets and labor market with inhumane working environment where there is no legal regulation and official control (Hussmanns , 2004). According to EU official figures, percentage of available informal sector among the member states varies from with less than 35% of GDP in Bulgaria to more than 8% of GDP in Luxembourg (Williams, 2013). Similarly, IMF calculates average informal economy of Europe close to 25% of GDP, Middle East and Northern Africa more than 20% and Latin America and the Caribbean for about 40% of GDP (OECD, 2019). According to the same report's estimate, average figure of informal economy existing among the OECD countries makes up 16% of the overall GDP (ibid).

Today, informality is regarded as a concept which dwells upon poverty and precarious self-employment as an inevitable economic reality. Globalization, market activities and political policies determine conditions such as inequality, socio-spatial segregation, and governance problems (Kudva, 2009). Disadvantaged groups in society such as the poor, women, children, immigrants, and unskilled labour are some of the most negatively affected ones by these structural changes. These groups, who are among the passive actors of the globalization process, have to work in unprotected and uncontrolled conditions, long and heavy working hours with low wages during the

informal employment process that reproduces poverty (ibid.). Informality defined for different actors, social and organizational structure and networks, settlement and economic activities has been used in different segments of urban life. Twigg and Mosel (2018) have described in their report which is examining unofficial groups structured for disaster activity and structures outside of formal and formal disaster regulations that these areas in terms of legality and formal legitimacy are "planning systems and structures, housing construction and human settlement, economy, employment and livelihoods, forms of organization or association, management, regulatory systems, types of information and practices, planning and use of urban space and services and transportation" (Twigg and Mosel, 2018). The blurry boundary and relationship between unofficial practices and official ones, which are not covered by existing legislation or official regulations, are often described as complementary or akin (Brown, McGranahan, and Dodman, 2014; Porter et al., 2011; Roy, 2005).

2.4.2. Informality in the city

In the context of informality, this ambivalent structure differentiates the formal and informal structure of urban in all areas and especially metropolitan cities experience this complexity with migration. In other words, with the liberal economic development model after the 1950s, labor market relations have triggered employment of unskilled workers in various industries in the cities. Such economic environment led to a massive migration flows from rural to urban areas to take up available jobs in the market creating informality in housing. In time, city settlements ended up with informal structures that were located on various parts of urban areas. Most of the time, these houses are unregulated by the state and lack official title deeds given that the very

construction of these settlements are not within the codes and legal regulation (Roy et al., 2003). According to Hall and Pfeiffer (2000), it is important to pay attention to increasing and even swollen populations of cities. They report that this urbanization type, which they conceptualize as "informal hypergrowth cities", has developed as a global structure and developed world cities are dominated by the developing world through migration. For this reason, their administration becomes difficult, and the responsibility of poverty is left to the individuals, and they learn their ways of helping within the community, group, neighborhood and city, causing the governance processes of the state to be ambiguous.

Van Kempen (1994) states that, “the increasing social polarization changes the characteristics of social stratification, on the one hand, there are high-income professional managers, regular employees in the formal sector, and on the other hand, unregistered workers in temporary and low-income temporary jobs. Thus, while middle income groups disappear in cities, polarization is gradually growing”. As a result, the intertwining of new poverty and informality in the city as processes that feed each other, the continuing population flow from rural areas to the cities, job losses, access to social services (education, health, social care, etc.) are making it more difficult and increasing the new urban poverty and making it more visible (ibid). Urban informality, once associated with poor squatter settlements, is now seen as a generalized mode of metropolitan urbanization (Roy, 2005). Simon Haysom (2013) stated in his report that he found the political and operational difficulties caused by the movement of displaced individuals in the city and the displacement, and that these individuals faced a lack of urban development in informal areas, limited services, and employment opportunities. According to Haysom, the displaced population

participating in the sphere of the urban poor means being away from the camp population for other urban residents by participating in economic activities under the responsibility of the host state, purchasing urban housing and land, and taking advantage of urban opportunities and services. In addition, as the displaced population without political rights, the unwillingness of administrators to invest in infrastructure in neighborhoods with high immigrant density contributes to the inequalities. While access to services and tenure security are affected, particularly under refugee-hostile contexts, the displaced population faces barriers while accessing to clean and safe environments and education and health services (ibid).

Our ways of making sense of cities within and across economic, spatial, and political domains at global level are changing within the context of informality. Urban informality is perceived as a problematic, unregulated, and unplanned reality (AlSayyad, 2004). The sort of informality experienced in today's cities expresses a concept in which widespread poverty and precarious self-employment are considered as an economic activity. In addition to being an interdisciplinary concept, it generally deals with urban informality as a sphere where certain groups secure livelihoods or property on the one hand, and on the other hand as an outcome of the lack of legal status.

As mentioned in previous paragraphs of this chapter, neoliberalism imposes widespread poverty and precarious working conditions on cities. According to Kudva (2009) increased challenges as a feature of urban informality as a form of shelter and service provision where slums are a defining feature. Studies on informality examine the production of labor markets, employment, or communal neighborhood areas. As a

result, "the informality policy and the processes by which residents claim their rights are designed either in relation to work or in relation to housing". Although the daily experience of informality systematically disrupts this distinction, workplaces are embedded in living spaces at both household and neighborhood levels. In her study, Kudva (2009) briefly examined the space production in Delhi and Ahmedabad, two major cities of India, and examined the labor, employment, and housing networks within the living spaces of the informal, working in the informal sector, particularly those who are poor and forced to live in informal settings and she commented on those forced to live in irregular neighborhoods. She reported that in both cities, inhabited areas of informality are slowly being pushed into the periphery, exemplifying the production of deeply segregated localities under different structural conditions. On the other hand, she described metaphorical centers as helping to create abstractly organized spaces for the elites whose labor produced most of the city, and as informal economic clusters of low-income settlements, mixed housing, and industrial uses in the two cities. According to Kudva (2009);

> mutually constitutive political and spatial practices of informality thus shape deepening urban segregation and growth: from the initial move of -rural to urban-migrants to steadily growing city slums and their subsequent expulsion to create a thickened ring of poverty at the urban periphery (Kudva, 2009, p. 1622).

Accordingly, she emphasized that the spatial practices of informality, from where people move to or where they have to live, in industrial structuring, produce the living spaces of the informal city (ibid). Kudva adds that such spatial practices generate intensive local knowledge and shape informality politics by creating areas of resistance.

2.4.3. Informality as translegality: Undocumented immigrants and refugees

Urbanism is often linked with movement flows, dynamic settlements, and intertwined relationships of formal and informal character (Yiftachel, 2009). As introduced above, urban informality defines a norm and organizational system that emerges after liberal policies supported by globalization. The concept, discussed in different disciplines, addresses the unforeseen difficulties that arise in the context of labor market, housing, and social activities in the conjuncture of the past and today. In their work on the mechanism of translegality as a fundamental part of urban informality, Shin and Park (2017) conceptualize local actors as an 'urban informality regime', referring to actors playing a critical role in promoting urban informality by helping undocumented migrants stay in a receiving community. Defining illegality as a process in which changing legality increases the complexity of the interaction between immigrants and legal regulations, the researchers emphasize the changing attitudes of indigenous actors (immigration service and local authorities) over time.

Urban informality is not only for poor countries and informal markets, but also for the daily lives of those living in regulated places. The presence of immigrants in the city without legal regulations has a relationship with urban informality than those whose legal assets are recognized by the state. Nation-state as a sovereign actor has the ability to introduce territorial regulations in urban sphere however dynamic refugee and immigrant movement can act well to challenges this imposed authority (Gill, 2010). According to Shin and Park (2017), the activities of transnational immigrants in the regulated place discussion have revealed different life experiences compared to institutional ones. The settlements of unregistered migrants that produce urban

informality outside of state regulations have manifested themselves in the official institutions and the market, as well as in informal support networks and the informal economy. To achieve this within the regulated place, they have tried to use unofficial procedures, avoided being involved in visible activities, by "being less irregular". It can be said that the integration of immigrants who do not have documents is increasingly provided through other means. In this way, they strive to secure their lives and achieve a stable socioeconomic status by avoiding being less irregular and political (ibid.). On the other hand, it can be highlighted that increasing urban segregation and growth is driven by political and spatial informality practices in urban spaces. Immigrants moving to slums, then their expulsion creates a circle of poverty concentrated around the city as a spatial classification. While this is due to state practices, informal migrants are bound to experience inadequacy for class, ethnic, religion-based continuous struggles for change as a result of such reality. In the absence of long-term plans to improve the physical infrastructure of the predominantly refugee neighborhoods, urban informality that enables them to find housing options is also thought to cause long-term vulnerability for refugees (Fawaz, 2016). The cost of this crisis is unevenly distributed, informal residents react quickly to this crisis, but bear the burden of pressures on the city (ibid).

Besides the complex role of the state in the urban informality which is initiated by migrant flows, informality actively drives, and the state uses informality as a tool of both accumulation and authority (Darling, 2016). Additionally, it is a new form of struggle against the regional regulations of the nation-state (Roy, 2009). Refugees and immigrants have to constantly follow the structural updates in the urban legalization process in the host country and get to know the legal system of this country, thus they

have more access to work, housing and social activities by having the knowledge of the regulations of the state. Immigrants, who create their own strategies for their needs such as security, shelter, and economic gain, determine ethnic organizations and collective activities that will contribute to this and live in their areas. In this regard, there are three scales of analysis of the relationship between immigration, informality and exclusion: nation-state, city and informal settlement (Bastia, 2015). In the study, Bastia examined how the relationship between immigration and informality is used by transnational migrants, elected leaders (who are internal migrants) and grassroots organizations in ethnic origin and informal settlement. In this context, official representatives of informal settlements reported that they continue to gain legitimacy on the basis of ethnicity and the role played by social networks in accessing to jobs and housing, ethnicity coincides with immigration status and reveal ethnic divisions in the context of informality.

Urban informality is produced together with refugees and asylum-seekers and locals, and the state of the host society and these actors try to respond for an inclusive environment and national policies. Even though rural to urban migration dates back to decades ago, acknowledgement of refugees within the group of these in-city migrants is a current approach. Some of reports on urban refugees until the 2000s highlighted the need to provide shelter to those who fled their homes in camp settlements, rather than in urban areas due to the idea of providing more effective protection and support services (UNHCR, 1997; UNHCR, 2012). Only after the early 2000s, organizations started to change this approach and supported to cover refugees also living in the cities (Marfleet, 2006). It can be suggested that, as a result of the unprecedented increase of the number of those who seek refuge around the world, the need to include urban

refugees into the area of coverage is supported. Given the fact that urban space offers -mostly informal- livelihood opportunities to asylum-seekers and refugees, their existence in these areas is perceived to be expected. However, urban refugees are often subjected to marginalization due to lack of proper documents including residence and work permits. Getting involved with informal employment activities for survival also make them more prone to ending up in trouble with law enforcement forces. Due to being part of informal economy as low-skilled labor, some states might also choose to tolerate their informal involvements in the urban space (Darling, 2016). In the case of urban refugees, tacit acceptance thus goes hand in hand with frequent surveillance and control by the government authorities as experienced in Nairobi, Dar-es Salaam and Johannesburg (Lindley, 2011; Sommers, 2001; Belvedere, 2007). As much as governments tolerate the informal involvements, they do not hold back when it comes to reiterate their authority and legitimacy. Informality in housing sector from the part of refugees has also a similar pattern. Structural constraints such as difficulty of contract completion, mandatory domicile registration and deposit formalities also reproduce informalities in the urban sphere. For instance, in Beirut, housing market for refugees is heavily regulated by the political parties, social networks of ethnic and religious orientation as well as social institutions which all revolves around informalities (Fawaz, 2016). In Lebanon, following Syrian refugee crisis, informalities have been deepened due to high number of refugee influx in a medium of housing scarcity. Lack of Lebanese state's effective protection mechanisms in housing, like other much-needed services are also intertwined with the informal structures. Similarly in Kenya, housing and employment opportunities are solely based on informal transaction (Campbell, 2006). Despite it is not permitted to leave the camp settlements, refugees are left to their own devices which compels them to resort to informal

networks to survive in Kenya where they sought refuge. Housing is also based on informal relations given that residence outside of camps are defined as ‘irregular’. Kenyan Government is well aware of refugee lives outside camp for employment including the well-known refugee neighborhoods in Nairobi however lack of desire to involvement in refugee matters empowers the span of all types of informalities (ibid). According to informality literature, contrary to its difficulties, informal structures and mechanisms can provide efficient support in times of natural disasters. After the flood situation in India and hurricane incident in southern Louisiana in 2005, informal relationships helped for a speedy recovery and necessary response nets for the most vulnerable one in need (Ehrenfeucht and Nelson, 2011).

Parker (2020) highlights the importance of the distinction in the policy context in his study of the discursive nature of belonging by refugees and asylum-seekers in the United Kingdom. In terms of these two statuses, which do not have similar social and legal rights, refugees are the promoted group in the government's policies on integration. Parker stated that this approach missed integration experiences in the asylum-seeker category and that integration is a controversial concept. In the United Kingdom, the Immigration and Asylum Act of 1999, the Sangatte refugee camp and the thought that some of the people were under unfair pressure created a challenging environment as a politicized policy, causing some asylum-seekers to leave the country, deportation and indefinite detention and deter new futures (ibid). The National Asylum Support Service (NASS), formed by the 1999 Act, aimed to coordinate accommodation and financial support for asylum seekers, and moved away from access to general welfare benefits and shelter to a separate welfare system only for asylum seekers. Parker emphasizes that this system has been criticized for its outcomes

such as distributing refugees to areas of deprivation and social exclusion, imposing restrictions on financial support, and increasing poverty due to the abolition of the right to work. Parker has demonstrated that belonging and individuality are integrated with immigration and depend on the right to participate in civil society and the economic life of the country. In this context, it can be said that rights and citizenship are the basis of belonging, and as refugees or asylum-seekers have the chance to actively fulfill their responsibilities and exhibit their intention to contribute to the economy and society, their level of belonging increases (ibid).

Similarly, immigrants might rely on the local community's help to build social networks and integrate in the overall socio-economic system. In this context, citizens and the state contribute to the national migration regulation and collaborate to maximize socio-economic gains of all groups. Local actors mediate geopolitical dynamics and national migration regulation in a specific local context (Innes et al., 2007). Actors work independently, but also cooperate and interact with each other's socio-economic processes and compensate for the limits of maximization. The public sector regulates informal roles but might also promotes informality. Hereby, the state, as an informal entity, does not only have limits in terms of regulatory capacity, but might also actively develop urban informality as a management strategy to effectively meet people's needs to expand the methods of authority and accumulation within an urban infrastructure (ibid). In this sense, urban informality is produced and closely related to official structures and legal norms which are permitted by the logic of urban informality. Local governments have close contacts with immigrants while guiding immigration policies. The private sector includes individual lawyers, homeowners, hospitals, education agencies, local businesses. Businesses do not separate irregular

immigrants from those who are regular for financial purposes, while working on the legal challenges of immigrants, they also have philanthropic motivations (Romaniszyn, 1996). In this context AlSayyad (2004) states that,

> ... informality may arise not from immigrants settling on urban borders, but by state practices. Here, the creation of informality allows the separation and control of a subject ethnic group. ... informality as a status is the nature of a political regime or can be determined by the form of a state (AlSayyad, 2004, p.22).

Migration mobility might cause exclusion in the society due to the differences experienced in the host society with whom migrants live together (Koca, 2019). This situation can be observed when the individual cannot perform the preferred practices and cannot participate in the socialization process (Koca, 2019).

Urban Informality is important as it is generally seen in all of the buildings outlined so far in the city. It can be said that urban-refugee settlement and resettlement laws, formal and informal status, activities, and rights of forced migrants are structured within a specific location, not because the status categories defining forced migration are often variable (Darling, 2016). Rather than the fact that immigration status is often variable, this, namely the redundancy of the classification within the asylum, suggests a nature that requires change in order to fix and limit positions. In this context, informality refers to the production and negotiation of both policing and politicization. As emphasized in studies on the concept of governance, forced immigration policing is also related to information and interpretation practices (ibid). Therefore, urban refugees and asylum-seekers are between the 'gray space' metaphor and legality and irregularity (Yiftachel, 2009). Urban informality politics can therefore enable a reassessment of how urban forced migration is designed (ibid). According to the

Global Refugee Work Rights Report, the global refugee population faces many obstacles in trying to access safe and legal employment, and policy makers should be encouraged to realize their right to work in policy and practice by establishing a legal framework that supports refugees' right to work (Asylum Access, 2014). In the report, the lack of local laws protecting refugees' rights to paid employment or self-employment, the inability to speak the local language, the prevention of cultural assimilation, and xenophobia, which cause discrimination in law and practice, are defined as the reasons preventing refugees from accessing to safe and lawful employment (ibid). Additionally, refugee regime can also lead to such obstacles as Turkey puts geographical limitation on 1951 Geneva Convention and does not recognize local integration prospects through recognizing refugees coming from its eastern borders as only 'conditional'. The emergence of the need for the state to implement national borders together with the increasing demand and mobility led to an effort to expand the access level of the state into the lives of refugee and asylum-seekers (especially undocumented immigrants) (Nicholls, 2015). The direct role of the state in this politicized effort was first to remove the resources needed to survive and then, to identify and expel those who were fighting in challenging environments. Thus, significantly improved the government's ability to detect, detain and expel unauthorized immigrants from these countries.

Urban informality has been extended beyond spatial concern in specific regions where refugees and asylum-seekers are alone in their effort of survival. The informality in these practices is actually seen as related to the legality, legitimacy and authority of urban relations between the state authorities and refugees. With the change in relations, the lives of refugees and asylum-seekers are shaped and often integrated with their

uncertain legal status and prejudice, questioning the basis of state legitimacy on the basis of urban practices such as authority, influence and negotiation. The state's awareness of the informalities in cities especially in the job market make refugees put extra effort to stay alive despite the other challenges caused by being in a limbo situation in the country of asylum. In this regard, in different country contexts, challenges include difficulty of accessing to asylum processes and employment, low wages, complex paperwork and bureaucratic obstacles such as difficulty in accessing jobs and permits. In other words, such factors do not leave refugees other choice but to seek informal jobs for their survival. Regarding urban informality, an explanation emerges from the negotiations of the claims of sovereignty that took part in the attempt to manage urban through formal and informal distinctions. The gradual and tactical practices of urban informality, such as the organization of migrants in insecure shelters, informal market, identity, employment, and deportation prevention, raise criticisms of citizenship categories that may not be politically registered acts (ibid).

2.5. Conclusion

Due to Turkey's limitation to 1951 Geneva Convention, Turkey only entitles conditional refugee status to the non- European fleeing persons who are coming from eastern borders of the country including Afghanistan. Therefore, refugees and asylum-seekers from Afghanistan can only stay in Turkey until being resettled to a third country such as the United States, Canada and some European countries which have resettlement programs in cooperation with the UN Refugee Agency. As a result of the above-mentioned limitation of Turkey, Afghans have to reside in the satellite city which is assigned by Turkish Migration Management Authorities and their mobility is

restricted. Since employment opportunities are limited and obtaining a work permit is difficult, Afghan refugees and asylum-seekers primarily face economic and social challenges under the formal refugee regime of Turkey. What is more in this context is that migration governance which is based on neoliberal policies is making Afghans responsible for their own survival. This environment leads to a life-in-limbo situation where Afghans find it difficult to reincorporate into the host society after having left their country of origin. As a result of this context, refugees end up with informal ways of being. In the end, the problems caused by these structural reasons create multiple vulnerabilities and deepen the already existing ones.

Among the arguments of this thesis, it is claimed that liminality is related with the ambiguous legal refugee framework in Turkey. From this point of view, it can be emphasized that this is stemmed from the limitation imposed by Turkey's legal framework, and therefore this chapter firstly provided the legal framework context, both internationally and in Turkey. As mentioned, along with several other reasons, one of the reasons why refugees remain on the threshold (liminality) is considered to be the features and ambiguities arising from the Turkish refugee regime. The ambiguities such as the restriction of movement of asylum-seekers and refugees outside of the the satellite towns, difficulties in accessing to work as a result of structural reasons despite permitted in the law, and the absence of local integration prospects through neutralization due to the geographical limit to the Geneva Convention can be defined as some examples of state of being caught up in limbo. Self-responsabilization of refugees through neoliberal way refugee governance and the informalities as part of this context are also included in this chapter further.

As discussed in the previous chapter, in the literature, there is a gap when it comes to understand transnational lives of Afghan refugees and their survival mechanisms in the countries of asylum which are challenged with current immigration policies. Even though there are many research made in the political science, migration and refugee studies literature on Afghan asylum seekers-and refugees who are on the move, the mainly adopted theoretical frameworks include theories of gender, diaspora, lives in camp settlements, identity and belonging (Muller, 2008; Kronenfeld, 2008; Singh, 2010). Much of the research conducted in Turkey also evolved around these theoretical discussions with a specific focus on Syrians. For the research areas which do not fall within the boundaries of above-mentioned perspectives, it would be quite helpful to conduct a research with a different theoretical scope. Approaching the issue with different theoretical perceptions would thus be of help in better understanding the topic. With this perspective, the following chapter dwells on how to theorize the survival strategies of Afghan refugees under the constraints brought by the refugee regime and governance, both international and Turkish.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I build this thesis on two main ideas, namely, the liminal lives and ghost-like presence of refugees in the Turkish context. I aim to explore the survival strategies of Afghan refugees as they encounter challenges by both the neoliberal asylum policies in general and the specific limitation brought by the Turkish refugee regime shaped by the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. In the sections that follow, I first review the literature on refugees, then I move to review the literature on the concept of liminality, and then I discuss the concept of ghost-like lives of refugees, looking at the literature and formulating my own understanding of the concept. The following sections are about the agency of refugees regarding their ghost-like existence in their liminal lives.

Trying to understand the 'life-in-limbo' of refugees has social, political, and economic aspects and requires a multi-disciplinary theoretical outlook. Throughout the asylum processes, refugees establish social relations, become entitled to specific laws and regulations and feel the need to use a limited sort of agency to survive. This specifically refers to a wide-range context such as social status of refugees, asylum policies of countries where the asylum application is made, and coping mechanisms formed in accordance with the available services and rights recognized by the country of asylum.

Therefore, this chapter provides a thorough academic discussion and literature review on the theoretical concepts from different disciplines including anthropology, sociology and political science which can help to lay down the theoretical basis of this present thesis. With this aim, *liminality* will be covered as one of the main concepts. Liminality in refugeehood and especially its effects on the social aspect of the refugees who left their country of origin but yet to incorporate to the host society are to be explored further. Concepts of *agency, visibility,* and *invisibility* in relation to the 'ghost' existence of the refugees under the complex asylum regulations will then be discussed to shed light on the coping strategies in their ambiguous and liminal lives.

3.1. Liminality

3.1.1. Liminality as a concept

The concept of liminality which provides a theoretical basis for this thesis has been debated in different disciplines of social sciences with different perspectives in various contexts. From psychology to political science, law to anthropology, scholars tried to bring an understanding to their subject matter by utilizing this theory. Although liminality is a concept that has its roots mainly in anthropology, for the purpose of this research, it is necessary to discuss its development so as to build a connection to understand it in the refugee studies context. Given the scope and the purpose of this thesis, refugee studies literature on liminality will then be discussed with a special focus on asylum-seekers and refugees on the move.

To begin with, in Merriam-Webster Online English Dictionary (Merriam-Webster, 2022a), the word *liminal* is defined as 'relating to, or being an intermediate state, phase, or condition being in-between, transitional.' In the same dictionary, the contemporary word, it is explained that liminal is derived from the Latin word *limen* meaning 'threshold' (ibid.). Initially as a concept of anthropology, liminality was first coined by a German-French ethnographer Arnold van Gennep while defining social status transition of individuals in a given society. In his book, *Rites of passage*, Van Gennep et al. (1961) states that human societies employ ceremonial rites to highlight period of transitions of one's social status in life. Rites mark changes in an individual's social status especially during significant life period transitions such as 'birth, childhood, puberty, engagement, marriage and funeral' (Van Gennep et al., 1961). In his explanation, rites of passage have three distinct phases: segregation, liminal (threshold) and incorporation (reaggregation) stage. The first phase is the withdrawal from the previous status, the second phase (liminal) is incomplete transition from one status onto the next and the last phase is the reintroduction to the social structure with a new demeanor.

In the segregation phase of the three staged structure of Van Gennep, individuals attempt to leave their initial social structure by leaving their status behind. Throughout this process, transition is almost like a detachment from the current status which is initiated through ceremonial actions and rituals. In the second stage, which Van Gennep et al. (1961) calls the liminal phase, social status transition has been initiated but the process is yet to be finalized. Given that the process is still ongoing and incomplete, liminal stage of transition reflects an ambiguous situation or being in betwixt and between where the individuals stand in the middle in terms of social status.

In the third and the last phase, the rite is completed and one's reintroduction to the society with the new social status is achieved (ibid.).

Another prominent anthropologist, Victor Turner departed from Van Gennep's concept and broadened the concept of liminality with a wider perspective in attempting to understand the experience of liminal process and the reaction made against it by the members of the societies of the contemporary world. His approach of defining the concept is highly celebrated and shown as a reference point as he contributed to liminality in a unique way. In doing so, he focused heavily on the liminal stage of Van Gennep's rites of passage and did not reflect upon much on segregation or the reincorporation stages because of the scope of his research. In Turner's explanation (1967), liminality refers to the process of transition from one domain, status, or stage of life to another. Liminality is a process which has spatial and temporal dimensions. As a space of transition, it is located in the middle of the whole process between separation from the initial entity and incorporation with a new status into the new social group. The subject of these dimensions can be individuals as well as groups. Turner (1967) defines the transition process as difficult and challenging therefore explained it as something violent and humiliating. Despite the tough nature, it is still a temporary process which ends after one's reincorporation into the new social structure with a new social standing. While building upon the concept, Turner further tries to explain the role of the individual in the liminal stage of rites of passage. Similar to Van Gennep, he attributes a state of ambiguity to the liminal process in terms of relationship between the individuals and social structure. Given the challenging nature of the process, he defines that persons who undergo a transformation turn into invisible beings in structural terms, despite the physical existence remains intact in space. In the

quest of transition, the liminal individuals turn ‘invisible’ as they neither belong to their previous society they left nor completely and successfully reincorporate to the new social structure with the new status. Not surprisingly, this ‘caught-in-the middle’ situation also impacts the sense of belonging which has a direct impact to the relationship with the new social group. Being in ‘betwixt and between’ detaches the individuals from the social structure that they are physically in, without having a proper sense of attachment or belonging to their previous society or the current one. In this stage, there is no structural quality or characteristic either that would help liminal individuals to provide any kind of benefit. In the end, liminal process runs like a vicious circle, preventing the individuals to get out of this stream and enforcing a never-ending state of limbo.

In one of his other works*, Liminality and Communitas*, Turner (1969) looks at the ambiguous nature of the status transformation both in small scale tribes and in modern societies. Refugees are also included in this discussion by the author. Turner suggests that liminal experiences can almost lead to a trapped-like situation on the liminal boundary for various periods of time. The longer time the process takes, the more violent and humiliating it can become for the liminal individual throughout the process. As any given social structure plays a vital role in the extension of the state of ambiguity and liminal process, Turner (1969) classifies two social groups where human interaction is realized in social realm; one being the society and the other is what he calls *communitas*. While Turner refers to societies as social constructs which are well-structured hierarchical entities, he employs the Latin word, *communitas* meaning *community* to define people in liminal situation in which the individuals make-up of the anti-structure of the society and share a common sphere as a group. In

other words, it can be said that the society refers to a hierarchical social entity in which the liminal person aims to join while the *communitas* represent the entity which is made up with the liminal persons themselves, experiencing liminality together;

> The first is of society as a structured, differentiated, and often hierarchical system of politico legal- economic positions with many types of evaluation, separating men [sic] in terms of "more" or "less." The second, which emerges recognizably in the liminal period, is of society as an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated comitatus, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders (Turner, 1969, p. 96).

In Turner's explanation, communitas are composed of three different groups of people with distinct social identities. Each entity has its own specific motivation and features which, in a way, place them at the opposite pole of society. The three communitas are classified as *spontaneous*, *ideological, and normative.* Among this classification, liminal individuals -including refugees- who are in the ambiguous process by being in a 'between and betwixt' situation in a counter-culture context fall under the spontaneous communitas. Having failed to incorporate into the new social group due to difference of cultural norms and traits leaves the members of this community who are self-acting in a feeling of common experience and in an 'area of common living' where they find themselves almost segregated and, in a way, excluded (Turner, 1969).

3.1.2. Liminality in refugeehood

One can suggest that human mobility is on the rise due to economic, social, and political reasons in our globalized world (Koser and Wilkinson, 2007; Castles et al., 2014; Hatton and Williamson, 2008). Displaced persons on the move who could not return to their country of origin because of various risks such as persecution and

ongoing armed conflict try to survive in host countries by seeking asylum or having to live undercover with the aim of departing to third countries where the life is expected to be better and safer there. While on the move, according to Triandafyllidou (2015), refugees might sustain multifaceted and multi stranded life cycles in which they attempt to withdraw from their home community and try to reincorporate to a new society. In their attempt of withdrawal, there might be structural challenges that prevent them from becoming a new member of the host community i.e law, language barriers and xenophobia (Benhabib, 2002). The ‘refugee’ thus could end up remaining in an ambiguous state in the host community existing within both country of origin and asylum but belonging to neither. In the literature, some scholars discuss this ambiguous situation of refugees who are between and betwixt with the concept of liminality. Therefore, the concept is also being engaged to the literature of refugee studies.

Apart from legal understanding, refugees can be defined as persons who are in the state of transition, or in a liminal path, after having left their homeland but still unable to become a member of the host society that they are residing (Harrell-Bond and Voutira, 1992). Refugees live in a stage of liminal process which takes place after the 'rite of separation' from refugees’ initial status and prior to a 'rite of incorporation’ to their new status (Hynes, 2006). This refers to departure from the initial society with the ordinary social status and being caught up without the status transformation upon arrival in the new society. Being ‘neither here nor there’ challenges asylum-seekers in forming an identity and prevents them to sustain a normal life ‘as they have left their country of origin but are yet to be accepted in the new country of asylum.’ (ibid.)

3.1.3. Liminality and state

There are several explanations as to why refugees are caught up in an ambiguous situation without achieving incorporation with a new social identity. While some of the discussions point out that the root cause of this reality is socio-political, some others highlight that structural reasons play a more significant role. Liisa Malkki (1995) approaches the issue from the angle of the existence of nation-states. She argues that refugees hold a liminal position due to the national character of the world states. The national order is generally based on the national laws that are formed and sustained by the equal citizens of the state. She highlights that the arrival of the refugees is perceived as a subversion to the national order and citizens feel themselves challenged with the 'fear' which entails that the state that they live in, might face a potential danger and instability. Given that the citizens of the nation-state have the legitimacy of responding to the unsatisfying policies with possible means such as voting, they have the power to shape the decision-making processes and policies related to migration. Therefore, in the countries of asylum, refugees might find themselves rather limited and contained from the social boundaries by the members of the host communities, especially if there is a discontentment against the migration context. Such exclusive medium might lead to an environment where refugees are deliberately and systematically left to their own devices with a very little room for their rights. In her research on refugees of Hutu ethnicity in Tanzania, Malkki discusses that 'displacement and deterritorialization' are the basis of life of refugees when there is a lack of welcoming social environment (Malkki, 1995). Uprooted refugees can thus be defined as liminal individuals in their attempt to reach a better life who are coming across life experiences with full of difficult reflections in their journey. Refugees,

under the surveillance of the host government authorities which is a tool of control of the nation-state itself, become transnational persons who are caught up in a clear state of limbo without proper attachment neither to their home society nor to the host society in their countries of asylum (ibid.).

The temporal liminal life created by the nation-states does not necessarily have to have a defined time period. It is not known when the liminal process would come to an end as it depends on the nature of asylum laws, regulations and the legal structures of each country. Nation-states are therefore main actors in creation, sustaining and the end of the liminal lives of refugees. Withdrawing from the structure that contains suspended daily life from government rules and norms is a feature of liminality (Bardan, 2016). Refugees who are “betwixt and between” in the midst of two lives, lead a life that war or violence predicts, and they want to experience ‘normal’ again. In the study, Bardan states that sometimes the period of liminality for resettled refugees ends upon their arrival in host countries which means that the liminal span started by the nation-state again ends with the resettlement to a third country where refugees are given the opportunity to apply citizenship in another nation-state. Liminality, which is defined as ‘the new normal’ for refugees, might become a reality for refugees in the countries of asylum. Refugees 'live in a humanitarian intervention policy' by waiting for a light at the end of the tunnel with a desire of political and social recognition. The anonymous identities of each refuge continue to exist in an area where laws are designed to classify them as the ‘other’ or ‘non-citizen’ while no equal freedom is promised by the state where the asylum application is lodged (ibid.).

3.1.4. Liminality and gendered experiences

It can be suggested that for so many years, migration has been perceived as a male-dominant action. Since the early 2000s, more scholars specialized in migration started to bring up the gender outlook given that the number of female migrants including asylum-seekers and refugees all over the world makes up almost the half of the total population on the move (Migration Data Portal, 2021). In addition to the rising attention among the scholars, international organizations such as UNHCR and IOM also started to highlight the importance of gender mainstreaming while working with asylum-seekers, refugees, and migrants. Bringing in the gender perspective allows room for analytical understanding of the role of relationship between males and females on the forced-migratory practices and processes. As the liminal stage is a prominent part of this process, gendered experiences can thus provide an important contribution within this scope. Given that the migration policies around the world started to be more restrictive together with a negative rhetoric against those who have to flee their countries, gendered experiences throughout the liminal stage in the countries of asylum provide significant information on the lives of refugees.

Understanding gender in liminal lives of asylum-seekers and refugees is vital because it has two-tiers: those who are fleeing their homes tend to bring up their own gender roles and structures with them while the host society also has its own. In gender studies, there are two complete opposite explanations on the effect of migratory process on gender roles for those who reside in the country of asylum. While some explain that migration has an emancipatory power for refugee women as they might have the ability to re-negotiate their roles within the household, some others are more skeptical to this

idea by saying that challenging asylum situations make it difficult to balance gender inequalities by favoring disadvantaging women (Boserup, 1970; Szczepanikova, 2005; Willis and Yeoh, 2000). Despite such difference, the latter explanation is accepted by some scholars to be more accurate given that the time spent under asylum is increasing each year with higher number of refugees according to official figures while available social support is in sharp decline globally (UNHCR, 2020). In some country contexts where gender equality goes hand in hand with asylum policies such as in Nordic countries including Denmark and Sweden, female asylees have the potential to equalize the unbalanced gender structure in their families with necessary state support, encouragement, and assistance (Joubert et al., 2020). However, if the host state has ambiguious laws, regulations, and support programmes in favor of women empowerment and gender balance, divide in the gender inequality might remain intact. Lack of available official support especially in the field of gender-based Violence (GBV) makes it harder for female refugees to sustain an equal life with dignity. All types of challenges faced by asylum-seekers in countries where liminal stages are evident because of structural reasons, might be deepened if the gender inequalities are also widespread and when there is no specific institution to come up with preventive measures to address these problems.

Research of Lara Schroeter (2019) on the coping strategies of refugee women found that Turkey creates a liminal life span for those who sought asylum. In their liminal lives, refugee women in Turkey suffered from social challenges based on gender. The author further found that through their effort, refugee women showed acts of resilience through managing the liminality that they experienced. Refugee women used strategies to manage the liminality by continuing their education, entering informal workforce,

and establishing social connection with their family and acquaintances. Another research which focused on the gender relations of Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees found out that long duration of stay in Turkey creates a liminal process for Afghans. Research of Maryam Ozlatimoghaddam (2012) shows that in their liminal lives, Afghan men and women renegotiate their relationship depending on the economic and social roles following arrival in Turkey. Similar to this study, research of Shafiqa Labib (2016) demonstrates that Afghan women have vulnerabilities as a result of their conditional status, economic problems and temporariness of their life in Turkey preventing them to build a new life or design a future.

What needs to be added here is that most of the time, gender lens primarily focuses on women and men by falling short of covering the other contemporary components of what gender really entails (Palmary et al., 2010). Such disproportionate coverage exists among the scholarly research on migration as well. UN rights experts frequently bring up this very topic to the attention of the public as lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersex and gender diverse (LGBTI) asylum-seekers and refugees are also among the components of the gender identity. According to UNHCR's former Assistant High Commissioner for Protection, Volker Türk, LGBTI communities around the world are increasingly targeted because of their gender identity due to which asylum procedures need to be operated by the world countries as a major element of GBV protection awareness (UNHCR, 2019). In line with what Türk underlined, members of the LGBTI community as liminal individuals oftentimes become more exposed to discrimination and hatred throughout the long asylum processes in the countries of asylum. When the contexts of the countries of asylum lack safety nets aiming to protect LGBTI individuals against any potential harm, the situation gets even more challenging.

Furthermore, the longer the life-in-limbo becomes, the more difficult it gets for the LGBTI refugees to survive. Therefore, not only for better protection environment but also for more concrete scholarly research, a fully inclusive gender outlook should be adopted.

Gender perspective helps to understand the global refugee context in a more analytical way as well. For example, Elaheh Rostami-Povey (2007a) suggests that following dispersion, Afghan refugee women outside their country of origin try to challenge the patriarchal norms that segregate women in society. Even though the opportunities are scarce, perception that county contexts of Iran and Pakistan have more to offer compared to Afghanistan in terms of rights, Afghan women aim to find a way to challenge the 'masculine domains' that play into the unbalanced gender equality. By this way, they use being in 'exile' for their benefit and improve their status vis a vis their male relatives within their large family. Similar to Rostami-Povey, Nelofar Pazira's (2003) research on Afghan women refugees reflects that they are able to transform their status not only within their household but also in the Afghan community. While some living in Iran were able contribute to the family budget by working as domestic workers, some others living in Pakistan participated freely to the many available courses with different content (Rostami-Povey, 2007b) . With such possibility, Afghan refugee women have undergone a change and transformed their 'unequal stance' both in their family structure and among their community vis a vis men. The conclusion of these research points out that any type of relative freedom works in favor of the gender equality of Afghan refugee women in the countries where they sought asylum. Research on some lesbian refugees in Turkey however reached out to a different conclusion. Due to the long duration of their liminal lives in Turkey,

some lesbian refugees tend to tailor their asylum claims before the authorities which have the potential to refer their cases for resettlement (Sarı, 2019). In other words, the 'perceived' and 'widely acknowledged' LGBTI profiles in the eyes of migration authorities leave no choice but to make the lesbian refugees conform to these frameworks to be able to get out of the liminal cycle. The reason is to accelerate the process of being resettled. In the end, this causes vulnerabilities as these women could not freely experience their gender, as they feel obliged to portray an identity which is again defined by the mainstream beliefs of the society itself.

3.1.5. Liminality and identity and belonging

Another explanation of the reason why refugees sustain liminal lives is related to identity and belonging. Social approach of the host population where refugees live among has also effects on the liminal character of the refugee lives. It is suggested that individuals who are caught up in liminality are excluded from the daily life or treated as invisible because of the negative social perception (Rapport and Overring, 2000). Liminal persons are treated as 'unclean and polluting' and perceived as 'dangerous' until incorporation to the host society is fully achieved with a new social standing. As much as the negative perception towards the asylum-seekers and refugees in their liminal life in the country of asylum, their relationship to their home country also creates difficulties for them. Kunz (1973) adds that refugees feel the pressure of having left their country of origin while they are seeking protection in the countries of asylum. Due to such pressure, refugees feel the need to redefine their ties with their home countries as much as their personal relationships. The distressed experience as a result of the pressure creates a liminal stage in which refugees feel themselves in an

ambiguous state. What makes the liminal life difficult for the refugees is its exile-like feeling and the longer the liminal period takes, the more depressing it becomes (Kunz, 1973). The negative social perceptions and/or legislation also make the process more difficult and challenging for the refugees. Refugees as 'others' might face challenges due to the scepticism of the members of the host communities. It is because of several reasons such as the stereotypes that see refugees as a 'burden' to economic wellbeing and security of the society. On the other hand, the role of belonging in sustaining liminal refugee lives depends also on the age of those who are on the move for seeking asylum. Kaukko and Wernesjö (2017) examined the belonging and participation to society of unaccompanied children on the move through Turner's concept of liminality. They emphasized that children have little familiar elements with their past or perceived future. Accordingly, for unaccompanied children, liminality becomes evident through structures that make the difference between reality and liminal visible (such as spatial separation of living units from the rest of society) (Kaukko and Wernesjö, 2017). The visible liminality is an indication that the action areas are restricted, and individuals are the objects of decision-making processes of the countries where they seek asylum. Moving beyond, liminality can also lead to different sort of experiences, for instance leading to creative strategies (ibid.). It is emphasized that the sense of belonging, which the authors see as the basis for participation, is mainly influenced by liminality and temporality of the situation, not solely by the feeling of pressure arising from having left their country of origin. Their conclusions about belonging overlap with Boyden's study (2001) who stresses that the sense of belonging after the crisis can be difficult to achieve in a temporary group. (ibid.) Boyden (2001) argues that groups that experience temporariness as a result of unrest or crisis will have difficulty in establishing a sense of belonging. In this context, it is emphasized that the displaced

are the most isolated and discriminated group socially, economically, and politically, and that these groups are disadvantaged in terms of social inclusion as the displacement grows in the global scale. Similar to the discussion made in the previous heading, sense of belonging is also embedded to gendered experiences of refugees in their liminal lives. Being in limbo in the country of asylum can make it difficult to develop sense of belonging in relation to gender identities (Giametta, 2019; Shuman and Bohmer, 2014). In his study, Wimark (2019) suggests that despite the acknowledged freedom in Sweden, LGBTI refugees face obstacles while creating the sense of belonging and homemaking due to structural and social constraints. This includes denial of LGBTI refugee access into family accommodation to act in line with heteronormative expectations of the communities. Being unable to construct the idea of 'home' as a result of social and structural reasons works into the continuation of the liminal stage where the queer refugees feel left out and apart.

3.1.6. Liminality and space

Liminal lives of refugees have a spatial dimension as well. Space, as an exclusive feature, has a transformative effect of identity formation throughout the liminal experience. Processes of spatial socialization, liminal experiences and belonging in the country of asylum go hand in hand in the lives of those who seek asylum. Spatial liminality helps people feel the sense of belonging, which is the product of social activities and practices (Osazee, 2011). By examining how to get the sense of belonging in this context, Osazee argues that symbolic links between people and places can help to evoke a sense of security in areas where there is uncertainty and liminality. In order to determine the individual experiences within the scope of liminality, the

concepts of place and belonging should thus be discussed as these are interrelated. It has been emphasized that social experiences in a specific place can increase the sense of liminality for individuals seeking asylum. Osazee's study revealed that long asylum procedures trigger daily frustrations and social isolation and limit social interactions while affecting the common restraint experience for the refugees in the research (ibid.). It is further reflected that asylum seekers occupy a liminal place in the immigration period and remain invisible to the dominant public spaces of mainstream structural integration. Asylum-seekers are known for the asylum procedure, which distinguishes them from other official immigrants by simply removing them from formal integration. Invisibility of asylum seekers in public spaces often leads to reliance on activities in the private spheres of informal social networks, where they can apply some control. (ibid.)

3.1.7. Conclusion

To sum up, liminality is defined as a temporary stage of being in-betwixt and between in the literature. Refugees and asylum-seekers are often caught up in this process of limbo due to various reasons such as legal asylum context and social situation in the country of asylum. This period refers to long process in which refugees feel alone in a difficult situation as the future aspect of the life is ambiguous. The concept of liminality is thus a useful tool to understand the refugee life in limbo and how it creates and/or exacerbates the vulnerabilities of the refugees in the countries of origin, making it difficult to build a 'home' where people seek international protection to live in safety with dignity. It is important to understand the life of refugees because each day, more refugees end up displaced in country contexts where they face challenges preventing

them to incorporate to the local communities. The current global rhetoric denouncing the asylum-seekers in a time when the number of the refugees all over the world reached to the highest after World War Two also necessitates us to shed light onto this very topic.

In this thesis, I argue that different than the mainstream definition, liminal process can last quite a longer-term, if not permanent, in the case of Afghan refugees and asylum-seekers during their stay in Turkey due to the legal framework and neoliberal migration governance of the country. Linked to this argument, another main concept that I use in my dissertation is the concept of ghost-like refugees. I engage the concept of 'ghost-like refugees' to my overarching argument by suggesting that refugees become ghost-like individuals in their liminal lives during which they use visibility and invisibility as a means of survival. Next part of this chapter will thus discuss the ghost-like agency of the refugees in depth.

3.2. Refugee Agency

Persons who are forced to migrate are sometimes described as a 'challenge' which 'needs to be addressed' by the government institutions. Instead of accusing the persons who are searching for a safer life, what is needed is to bring an alternative and humanitarian outlook by 'de-problematizing' the intentionally produced 'problem'. Changing perception could indeed provide possibilities for us to notice people in front of us who struggle with the things we do not, cannot or fail to see. Trying to understand migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers with this outlook can help to analyze their real situation. Regardless of their legal status, it is needed to be understood that people

who had to flee their homes are human beings aiming to stay alive wherever they are despite all types of challenges that they face in the country of asylum. Due to various challenges, refugees have to find ways to make ends meet. Turning into a ghost is an outcome of this process as refugees do not have any other choice but to turn visible and invisible for their survival through using their agency which is of limited feature. The following part will discuss how refugees use their partial agency while being ghost-like individuals for survival.

3.2.1. Celebrating or criticizing agency?

The fluid interchange between the state of existence and inexistence of refugees is realized through their agency in the country of asylum, depending on the context, time, motivation, and situation. In the lives of those who seek asylum, the issue of agency is complex and difficult to enjoy with full ability. In social and cultural studies, agency means one's own capacity to act and being the sole authority of the personal experiences in life (Ortner, 2006; Stones, 2005). However, in the literature of immigration and refugee studies, the concept of agency is mostly discussed in relation to the constraints of the structure. The position of the 'temporary person' in the regular and irregular immigrant and refugee forms occur in areas that are marginalized and constrained by both physical, legal, and geographic boundaries that make up the state structure. Immigrants and refugees in these structures imposed non-existent areas, who are generally exempt from legal definitions, use their agency to live an invisible life. These regions are specified as follows:

> space of nonexistence ... because it divides the legal and the illegal, the legitimate and the illegitimate, the overt and the clandestine. Legality is spatialized in that

> those who do not exist legally are imagined to be "outside," in an underground, or not there ... This space excludes people, limits rights, restricts services, and erases personhood. The space of nonexistence is largely a space of subjugation (Coutin, 2003, p. 34).

Structure plays a vital role in defining capabilities of agency of the free individuals significantly (Giddens, 1979). Even though free agents might have the potential to contest and try to redefine their ability to act despite the constraints, structure as the major factor still defines how and to what degree an individual can perform her/his agency in any given situation. This means that structure limits the maneuver possibility of personal actions by giving very little room to individuals for capacity to take action in accordance with their own interests. Putting forward an argument by suggesting that individuals can use contextual opportunities to freely bypass the enforced rules of the structure might not be plausible (McAnulla, 2002). Despite structure does not apply full dominance over agency, the mutual relationship between the two puts structure to a higher level in the hierarchy. This approach then leads us to the following question: If it is important to analyze the role of agency in relation to the structural constraints in any given immigration context, how can one define the agency of refugees and asylum-seekers? The answer points to a limited and rather constrained personal actions. To be more specific, structure makes the migrant individuals perform their action and experiences in a limited way. Agency of asylum-seekers and refugees is not utilized as a matter of choice but instead a tool to benefit from the structure as a means of survival. (May, 2020; Bradley et al., 2019). Likewise, this agency is not performed in full ability, but rather in a limited and partial way, again for the constraints put forward by the structure itself. With this perspective, refugee agency can well be named as the 'agency in despair' floating on the space solely craving to exist (Fiddian-Qasmieh, 2016). Insisting to perform agency is thus a matter of existence in a new land

and developing mechanisms for coping as much as the structure allows is the only way to survive. This, at the same time provides a legal framework which marks the official conditions and limitations that have repercussions in case of a possible violation. Since states as legal entities are sovereign bodies to legislate and enforce any type of asylum-law, migrants do not have any other choice but to abide by the laws regulating asylum environment in the country. In a way, the legal framework is a codified set, indicating the limits of the migrants' agency as well as the use of their capacity in the public sphere. Even though those who are migrating have authority over their actions and capability to follow for what they think serves best for their interest, the states might enforce constraints without necessarily having to give much room for free action. In addition, lack of an inclusive asylum system, negative attitudes towards refugees and strict migration policies can impose more pressure on the shoulders of the refugees, putting extra constraints on the already limited agency of the refugees. As a result, inability of shaping and controlling one's own life in fully capacity due to the existence of various constraints limits the agency migrants, throughout their lives in the country of asylum.

It needs to be stressed that, as much as the economic and social structure play a role in putting on constraints on agency, legal background of the states has an undeniable significance. Classification of 'legal structure' necessitates to define its opposite field for a thorough analysis of the condition:

> "Defining at the same time what is illegal shows what is legal, determining who is excluded also sets out the criteria for inclusion, and limits cannot exist unless there is something to be divided (Coutin, 2003, p. 11).

For instance, Hilton (2011) suggests that informal economy is frequently encountered in some border regions where people who are seen as foreigners within a region are located. This situation actually shows that there has been involuntary legitimation of the state. Even though 'illegality' is seen as 'instability', it is about the necessity of migrants living in these regions to fill the hidden productivity that supports the economy through their limited agency. More specifically, undocumented immigrants deprived of legal rights were excluded in the state by restrictions on movement and identity, and rejected in the host state, leading to a 'double exclusion' (ibid). Hilton's study explored the position of the temporary person. The 'porous bodies' exist in an ambiguous world and these locations create physical, legal and geographical boundaries. This has led to an increasing number of areas where exceptional situations prevail, and a border consciousness arises. These marginalized and liminal spaces reveal the people who exist within them, and also reveal the people who exist outside the border, meaning that there is a distinction between those who are visible and invisible through their partial agencies with regards to how they are located vis a vis the border. (ibid.).

To sum up, it can be said that refugee agency has a unique character in the asylum context. While in the literature agency is defined as the capacity of the individual act in a complete manner, agency of refugees refers to a more partial and restricted personal authority which is heavily bound by the structural reasons. In this sense, refugees seek what is best for them by using their agency which is of limited character. This unique feature of agency also defines the ghost-like character of the refugee who seeks to turn visible and invisible for her/his benefit which will be defined in the chapter below.

3.2.2. Ghost-like agency

(i) The concept of ghost in the literature

Hauntology, spirits and ghosts are relatively new concepts which are mostly embedded in social and cultural studies. One of the most referred scholars who study visibility, specters and reality in his pieces is none other than the famous French scholar, Jacques Derrida. In *Living on: Border Lines,* Derrida (1979) studies this topic by attempting to make a thorough exploration on the reality beyond the visible world. For him, there is a world beyond our vision and if the main motivation is to find out what lies beyond the reality, then we need to trace the 'ghosts' between visible and invisible, tangible and intangible and sound and silence. Later in another book, *Specters of Marx,* Derrida (2006) states that a specter (similar to ghost) can actually have an everlasting vision with the quality of being seen and unseen in accordance with its initial aim. The specter's visibility and invisibility serve for its overall interest. Similar to Derrida, Nicholas Mirzoeff (2002) also highlights that it is crucial to study ghost image as he thinks what is virtual is a parcel of reality. He argues that ghosts make paranormal normal by making what is invisible visible.

The concept of ghost is also referred as a sociological haunting, to describe the situation of informal refugees in transience and need (Gordon, 2008). "Ghosts characteristically depend on the events, things and places that produced them" and irregular immigrants are actually attached to their past by their spatial and temporal exclusion from the city (ibid.). The author further emphasizes our need to define the force that arises and/or acts in situations where we recognize the lack of it and cannot

ignore it. When irregular refugees are visible among the public, they do exist physically and are perceived vis a vis economic, social, and political realities. In the case of their absence, the non-existents can become a dramatic being due to their absence, and their absence can have a powerful effect on social relationships. Such absence might cause conflicts and vulnerabilities due to the very reason of their invisibility and this situation can be deepened by all sorts of exclusions ignoring their being.

Sağır (2014) links the concept of repressed return with Jacques Derrida's idea of hauntology in which he describes ghosts as well as ghosts in a philosophical context. Hauntology, as a concept in Derrida's “Specters of Marx: The State of Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International” was introduced by Karl Marx and Frederic Engels as " the specter of communism is haunting Europe". Linking the existence of the apparently non-existent and the existence of clearly absence to the image of post-colonial Europe by examining the contemporary manifestations of colonialism, the author stated that it maintains an active life of marginalization, and civilization by the inferior other and civilized superior (ibid.). He tries to find a way to talk to our ghosts, especially through hauntology. Deconstruction is a way to understand these ghosts while at the same time keeping a critical distance from the main narratives of Europe and European self-identification.

In the migration studies literature, conceptualization of ‘ghost’ in relation to the conditions of refugees and asylum-seekers is hard to find. Most of these studies and reports refer to those who are on the move with the aim of migrating as ghosts. However, this definition does not go to a level in which ‘the ghost’ is conceptualized.

Rather, asylum-seekers or irregular migrants are called as ‘ghosts’ during their journey to the destination country or in their stay in a country without legal documents.

The word of ghost has different meanings and definitions in various dictionaries. According to Merriam Webster Dictionary (2022b), a ghost is a soul lacking a body, appears to the living beings in a bodily likeness or a faint trace with shadowy fashion. In another dictionary, ghost is defined as the soul of the dead, imaginary spirit in the form of vague, transparent, or shadow, walking among or haunting the living creatures (Dictionary, 2022). Different than the dictionary meaning and explanations of other scholars, in my definition of the ghost, I do not take the meaning which refers to ghosts as the unbodied spirit which becomes visible to its acquaintances or partial existence between life and death. Below, I present my own conceptualization of ghost in the context of refugees.

(ii) Theorizing ghost-like agency

For the purpose of this thesis, I define the concept of ghost to describe the social condition of a social figure. This figure is not a protagonist of any fictional novel or story. It is neither a character from a horror, a symbolic theme of a myth or a heroic image of a historical epic. On the contrary, my definition of ghost takes refugees and asylum-seekers at the core who are visible in the public realm formally as asylum applicants or asylum status holders and invisible in times of crossing into informalities for their survival. The ghost refugee uses her/his agency which is limited by the structure to the best ability of her or his as there is no other choice but to create solutions for survival. Ghost-like agency can thus be defined and accepted as an

agency but a version which is heavily surveilled and constrained. The concept of ghost and its partial agency here appear as a strategic tool for understanding the situation arising throughout the asylum procedures and how this condition leads refugees to find themselves on the edge of a contested reality.

Where there is a reference to ghosts, there is an additional reference to emotions correlated with being scary, horrendous, and spooky (Kurt, 2020). I, however, use a different approach when it comes to bridging the concept of ghost with the conditions and agency of persons seeking asylum. While discussing refugees as ghosts in this research, the concept will be operationalized only with the aim of understanding the motives that lead refugees to utilize the tools of (in)visibility in the country of asylum for survival aims. As the perceived haunting nature of the ghosts does not fall within the scope of this research, this component will be disregarded. In addition to the spooky nature which is generally perceived as one of the well-known characteristics of ghosts, they are also often well-associated with being invisible rather than visible especially in the literature and audio-visual culture (Liktor, 2016; Tuğran, 2019; Yağcı, 2019). Such belief has become mainstream with most of the audio-visual products in the pop culture as well which creates a global ghost image in our imagination with its invisible qualities. For example, the ghost character in the worldwide-famous cartoon 'Casper the Friendly Ghost' is often remembered by many with its translucent feature. Emily Thomas argues that Casper the Ghost made majority of the global audience believe that a ghost is a spiritual object, defined and reflected as something which lacks physical quality and visibility:

> …our [Casper] ghost is completely invisible and incorporeal. So, we can imagine Casper wandering around in his haunted castle, floating up stairs or passing

> through walls as he pleases. Just as ghosts are not like a shaft of light neither are they akin to gasses or massless particles. I think that Casper is different to physical objects, and that he is more akin to spiritual ones (Thomas, 2009, p. 57-58).

In some other famous movies, ghosts are similarly presented mostly in invisible form in addition to their haunting images. Despite this general belief, I define a *ghost* as a figure which can equally be visible and invisible in any given time and space without highlighting one quality over the other. My main aim here is to be able to understand the survival strategies of refugees and asylum-seekers as ghosts, both in visible and invisible form, through their partial agency who strive to stay alive with formal and informal engagements in their lives defined as temporary. In the following section, I focus on discussions of visibility and invisibility in the literature. My aim is to highlight visibility and invisibility as part of ghost-like agency in the liminal state of refugees.

3.2.3. Being visible and invisible

Ghost-like agency of the refugees and asylum-seekers materializes in the form of turning visible and invisible. However, in the literature of refugee and asylum studies, topic of visibility and invisibility are the concepts which have yet to be discussed thoroughly. Most of the discussions approach the issue with physical visibility or invisibility of refugees rather than their utilization of these as a tool through activation of their agency. As a result of the limited number of discussions in the literature, it is important to understand refugees' use of their visibility and invisibility with their partial agency, precisely for the scope of this thesis. This can also help to provide an analytical perspective to reflect upon the current asylum context globally.

To begin with, Frantz Fanon (1965) explained being visible and invisible as a tool in the social realm with hierarchy and power relations as part of the colonial debate. According to this, visibility is attributed to being powerful and invisibility to being powerless. In Fanon's understanding, colonization was one of the great examples of power possession and with their power, colonizers were the visible entity while the colonized suffered from being invisible because of lacking enough power (Gordon et al, 1996). The relationship between the colonized and the colonizer had a direct effect on where to break the resistance and when to use the 'disciplinary acts' and surveillance through visibility and invisibility (ibid). The rule and political agenda of those who have the power of governing were shaped by taking into consideration of the state of being visible and invisible. It is important to emphasize that in this approach of visibility and invisibility, invisibility is associated with lack of power, and not the choice of the colonized. Interestingly, the colonized could manipulate their invisibility for their own benefit or interest. In other words, those who are rendered invisible may use the dynamics of being visible and invisible to their own advantage. For example, the author gives the example of Algerian women's utilization of their visibility at the time of Algerian War against France. Fanon mentioned that as part of a resistance strategy, some Algerian women from the opposition stopped wearing headscarf to bypass surveillance and stay away of any type of risk (ibid). This usage of visibility through removing the headscarf is actually a way of turning invisible by using their agency which is constrained by the ruler to prevent any suspicion from the part of the French.

It can be argued that the politics of seeking asylum can be explained similar to that of Fanon's intellectual explanation of colonial power relations. Migrants who lack

documentation are forced to turn invisible given that they have no other choice but to live in hiding to avoid any consequences (Chavez, 1992). This hiding aims to limit the visibility that might endanger the stay of migrants in the country by pushing them to live in shadows. In the end, undocumented migrants who often aim to have better live conditions are 'invisibilized' and become subjected to dehumanization for being forced to limit their visibility just because the system does not want to include them without preconditions (ibid). This in a way can be interpreted as the continuation of the established system by the institutions which hold power by 'invisibilizing' those who lack enough power for seeking safety and better living conditions with a critical approach. Additionally, power relations have a capitalistic economic side which enforces colonized to be exploited and employed without social security network. While this way of economic activity helps the capitalist profit more, it means exploitation for the colonized as the work s/he does is not well-paid and has full of risks. In migration context, undocumented migrants often strategize their visibility and invisibility to realize their needs and also to avoid any type of surveillance by the authorities (Villegas, 2010). This strategic move is almost the only solution to stay in the country without facing risks.

In some host countries, refugees are encountered with suspicion, scrutiny and surveillence. The structure limits their visibility and the ways in which refugees establish their new lives easily and freely given that they might be perceived as 'the other' in the host society. Such approach might exclude refugees from being a part of the host country and depending on the situation, enforces them to turn invisible for their own benefit. In other words, refugees might become 'unseen' as they experience 'structural invisibility' in the territory of the host societies. Similar to Turner's

conceptualization explained in the beginning of this chapter, Malkki (1995) suggests that liminal state turns refugees to invisible individuals who are left to their own devices by the national institutions because of structural reasons. Refugees, in the eyes of the national authorities of the countries of asylum are persons who do not have legal belonging to the state through citizenship (ibid.). Therefore, in the structural hierarchy, refugees are defined separately from the citizens of the country of asylum which eventually turns them invisible in their liminal life as the opportunities might not be available in an equal manner for the former group when it is compared with the latter.

Liminality, which has both a temporal dimension and a spatial dimension, contributes to the study of migration both in terms of time, place, and action. This becomes more significant in the lives of ghost-like refugees. It can be said that such phenomenon does not only replace spatial relationships and the notion of agency but also reshapes and restructures them. When these motives of refugees and irregular migrants are examined, ambiguity or silence is often encountered. For example, this situation can be seen as one of the consequences triggered by both traumatic events and the unpredictability and uncertainty frequently encountered in host countries. The attitudes of social workers and asylum authorities involved in ambiguous immigration and refugee issues, the contradictions of policies and governments surround the relations of societies through negative attitudes. In this context, the human tragedies of immigrants who come across situations such as low wages and discrimination make them invisible in a different form. On the one hand, the immigrant is trying to keep the values and culture of her/his origin alive, and on the other hand s/he tries to adapt to the values of the society s/he is in. This liminal situation, which often creates conflict, can lead to the formation of hybrid identities or de-identification, and this might trigger

a sense of not belonging (Yazgan, 2016). This can also be interpreted as a 'ghostlike' identity of the refugees which comes into being as a result of the complex structural realities of the host country.

Due to the limited scope of the conceptualization of refugee visibility, it is needed to define how this study engages with visibility of refugees given that visibility points to different meanings in asylum context. Within the scope of this thesis, I define visibility as the conditions where asylum-seekers and refugees are visible. In other words, this visibility is a stage of physical visibility with which refugees aim to receive benefit. I further define visibility in two different perspectives; one is positive visibility and the other is negative visibility. To be more specific, I define positive visibility as those who become a part of the host society's codes and norms without falling outside. On the other hand, negative visibility refers to refugees' acts defined as irregular engagements by Turkish authorities. It is important to lay out this definition clearly given that refugees' visibility determines the living conditions and coping strategies in the country of asylum, which is Turkey for this specifc study.

3.2.4. Conclusion

Conceptualizing refugees as ghost-like agents is an important approach in the sense that choosing to be visible and invisible depending on the condition allows us to see the full picture in relation to the 'grey' areas which are disregarded by the structure itself. The concept of ghost at this point is quite instrumental because ghosts, by definition, are able to be present anywhere and everywhere, regardless of the obstacles or physical drawbacks. This state of being visible and invisible is operated through a

type of agency which is limited by the outside factors. The partial agency is operated by turning invisible where the agent is not allowed to be present and turning visible where it is beneficial to do so. This does not only provide a comparative outlook upon the structural context of any given entity where the ghosts are wandering around but also reveals what is intended to be kept secret, obvious, ignored or rejected by the authorities. With this perspective, in addition to arguing that refugees and asylum-seekers are living as ghosts, I also argue that turning into 'ghosts' is a force-majeure situation for refugees and asylum-seekers, due to various structural reasons. In this regard, it is quite interesting to see that state as an actor plays a role on the creation of the 'ghost identity' of the refugees and at the same time it leaves them no other room but to be visible and invisible for survival in accordance with the refugee regime and framework. Ghosts therefore remain in the margins; they both exist and possess inexistence; they are in daylight and under the shadow and both inside and outside of the structures. With their physical identity, they are the part of the reality, and their invisibility reflects the secret and unknown reality. Ghosts represent the seen and the unseen, the exiting and non-existent in a specific context. They have the potential both to reflect and overshadow the reality equally by making imagination and dreaming possible. By pushing the margins of what is known and unknown, ghosts open a new space in the ordinary public sphere that is visible to everyone. With this perspective, the ghost refugee exists in a dual space, intersecting and extending the boundaries of reality and perceived 'non-existence' in a feeling of desperation. However, this fluid state also comes with a price as risks are often embedded to being visible and invisible for the ghost-like agent.

This chapter aimed to develop a theoretical framework for the present study. I first introduced the concept of liminality and discussed the concept in the field of migration and asylum. I then discussed the 'agency' of the refugees and how this agency is used in the creation of ghost-like individuals in the context of survival in the country of asylum where there are various structural constraints. Lastly, visible and indivisible condition of the ghostlike agent is presented with the definition of positive and negative visibility. In the rest of the thesis, I engage with ghost-like agency; first I explore the concept in the field research conducted with Afghan refugees in Turkey then followed by a discussion based on the responses of the participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I provide detailed information on my research techniques and also explain the context of the satellite town of Shahre Kucek as the site of my research. I first identified the main theoretical ideas in the literature on how refugeehood is experienced, neoliberal refugee governance maintained, coming up with liminality, informality and also agency. I then proceeded with conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews and identified themes that emerged from the experience of the respondents, such as risk-taking, trust-creation, sense of temporariness, acceptance and ending up with vulnerability and desperation. The topics that will be covered in this chapter are research method and design, the research field in Shahre Kucek, significance and the purpose of the study, satellite town's migration context, population and sample of the research and scope and limitation of the research.

4.1. Defining research topic and formulating theoretical framework

In addition to migration being one of the hot topics of the current context, I have been following the academic debates on migration and asylum affairs for a long time due to personal interest. Within the scope of my master's degree programme in Aarhus University, Denmark, I chose refugee studies as the area of personal specialization. Choosing immigration as the topic of my master's thesis which covered the nexus of

gender and immigration by conducting research on Turkish migrants in Copenhagen helped me increase my knowledge on the literature. Carrying out a field research also helped me improve my academic sensibility in relation to the lives of refugees and the challenges they face.

My personal interest enables me to follow up issues of migration on a daily basis. With this perspective, I closely follow up the national and international media outlets and the developments of migration on local and state level to keep myself updated. Throughout the COVID-19 period, I also had the chance to participate various academic discussions online on the topics covering the challenges, coping mechanisms and issues pertaining to refugees' survival. My academic experiences supported me to understand more on the condition of refugees in a protracted situation who are left in a limbo for long years due to various reasons including legal and policy related challenges. In other words, I came to develop an aim to understand how the lives of refugees are affected a result of long years of displacement in a country of asylum where there are challenges to reincorporate to the host society. I wanted to understand how refugees formulate strategies while responding to the risks and challenges they face in their lives in the country of asylum.

While formulating my purpose, I did not put myself in a normative position as I wanted to look at the lives of refugees directly, rather than focusing on reports or policy documents through content analysis in order to be able to see the unique human aspect in refugee lives. After engaging with academic readings on refugee lives in the countries of asylum where there are structural drawbacks for refugee incorporation, I have noticed that the concept of liminality might provide an analytical tool to

understand the difficulties that refugees face in the countries of asylum where refugee situation is protracted as a result of long years of displacement and complex legal asylum context such as complex immigration policies. In many of the media pieces I read, I further noticed that refugees turned invisible for their secure stay in Turkey. I came across many media stories where asylum-seekers and refugees had to travel in the back of buses and work informally outside of the satellite cities where they were officially registered and not permitted to leave unless having a travel document. Media also covered refugees who were mainly working in workshops in various cities where the job itself was also informal. In a way, I came to realize that this living condition made refugees turn into 'ghosts' in an informal setting only to be able to survive in Turkey. The personal refugee stories which were heavily engaged with invisibility further encouraged me to look at how refugees become ghosts and turn invisible in their aim to stay alive. Given that a ghost is also visible depending on the time and context, I also wanted to include refugee visibility to my study. The analytical approach which aimed to understand the usage of refugee invisibility and visibility for survival required me to link the concept of liminality with the creation of ghost refugee. As a result, theoretical framework of this study emerged around the concepts of liminality, refugee agency that is shaped via turning visible and invisible.

Once the framework was formulated, I decided to conduct a field study on Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees in Turkey not only because of the complex refugee regime as a result of Turkey's limitation to Geneva Convention but also complex asylum policies and long years of Afghan displacement which altogether play into the creation of a liminal stage. Another reason why I decided to conduct research on Afghans is that Syrian refugees in Turkey are being included in many academic

research compared to Afghans. By choosing Afghans, I aimed to contribute to the academic literature which might attract further interest and recognition in relation to survival strategies of the ghost-like refugees. The theoretical framework as a chapter was drafted before going to the field. The in-depth and semi structured questions for the interviews were formulated in light of the theoretical framework.

Going on to the field to conduct the research was quite an enriching process for this research. Although the interviews took place following drafting the main discussion of the theoretical framework, fieldwork helped me revise the interview questions, as I continued making contributions to the discussions in the theoretical framework chapter, such as the role of agency in creation of the visible and invisible side of the ghost-like agency. In a way, I kept a mutual relationship between theory and practice. This process which was fed by the fieldwork itself was beneficial for improving the theoretical framework. Through the data collection, new themes such as acceptance, trust, risk taking, vulnerability and temporariness were identified and added to the concepts defined in the original theoretical framework.

4.2. Designing research method

In this study, qualitative research method is employed. Qualitative research is used when the aim is to understand the belief, thought, behavior and customs which are materialized in a specific context and time. (Bhattacharya, 2017). It focuses on the social phenomena with the aim of making sense of what these socially constructed bodies are and what meanings individuals give to them (Patten and Newhart, 2018). What is significant is that, while conducting qualitative research, the researcher tries

to understand the phenomenon without aiming to change what it is or without attributing different meanings to it (Maxwell, 1996). Instead of working with larger samples on the way to making generalizations, through the utilization of qualitative method, researchers focus on smaller samples which allows to reach more extensive and detailed data (Marshall, 1996). Similarly, unlike quantitative research method that requires collection of numerical data to make analysis with mathematical calculations in a conducted study, qualitative method does not look for numerical data, as the main purpose is to bring a more thorough approach with a view to make in-depth sense of the research topic. This allows the researcher to understand the researched topic in a more analytical way with multiple perspectives (ibid).

The current research aims to shed light on survival strategies of the forcibly displaced Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees and their survival strategies in the legal asylum context of Turkey. It is needed to highlight that the subject matter brings some challenges given that people who had to flee their homes are exposed to violence and experience different levels of trauma following displacement. (Gu, 2019) In this context, it can be further stated that the relationship between forced displacement and efforts to stay alive while getting into informalities, facing risks, and ending up in vulnerabilities requires an empathetic outlook. Therefore, qualitative method is used in this research as this method is a well-designed tool while understanding the multi-dimensional and often complex relationships of those who had to leave their homes as a result of violence and conflict as well as their lives in the country of asylum. For data collection, face-to-face, in-depth interviews were conducted with Afghans who are registered in the satellite town of Shahre Kucek. Face-to-face interviews can help to collect data that reveal their experiences given that this method allows to establish a

relationship with the respondent, which is based on trust, with which answers that reflect the meanings they attribute to events in their daily lives (Denzin and Lincoln, 2018). With a view to find most of the respondents to make interviews, snowballing method was used.

Before going to the field to start the interviews, a set of questions was prepared. The interview questions were designed in a semi-structured framework which allowed flexibility of discussion of new ideas, and also exploration of various themes. This method also gave the researcher the opportunity to cover the topics which were not discussed through the listed set of questions. The interview questions were grouped into topics including the experience of living in Shahre Kucek, employment, housing, neighbors, community relationship and social recognition, social activities in the satellite town, receiving aid, definition of 'survival needs' and ending up with vulnerabilities. The participants were informed about the consent in the beginning of the interview and reminded that that all the information shared will be kept confidential within the scope of the present research.

4.3. Site of the research: Satellite town of Shahre Kucek

The satellite town of Shahre Kucek[4] is selected as the research field for this study. According to Turkish Statistical Institute, Shahre Kucek is a small city located in central Anatolia with less than a million inhabitants (TÜİK, 2021). The city has

[4] Shahre Kucek means Small City in Persian language. Most of the respondents referred to their city of residence in Turkey when they are asked to describe their satellite town. For protection reasons, the name of this Anatolian city will not be mentioned; instead, to be referred as Shahre Kucek.

multiple neighboring cities one of which is a metropolitan city[5] (ibid). Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey indicates that the city's official boundaries are divided into more than 5 districts and has less than 15 municipalities (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2022). There are around 200 villages within the official boundaries of the city. Geographically, the city is located among a mountainous terrain while a fertile plain also exists where there is not much elevation. Shahre Kucek has a cold semi-arid climate. The city centre has been founded across the fertile plain, distant to the mountains located within the city boundaries. The city's economy is based on middle-scale industries as well as agriculture given that vast majority of lands are fertile for farming. Because of the city's elevation, Shahre Kucek has cold winters with snow and dry summers with hot weather. The industrial production is mostly based on steel, packed food, and cement. Wheat, sugar beet and sunflower seed are among the mostly planted agricultural products. Animal husbandry is also common economic activity, small cattle being the primary type of livestock raising (ibid).

[5] Similar to referring to their city of residence as *Shahre Kucek*, small city, most of the respondents referred to this metropolitan city as *Shahre Bozorg* which means big city. For the same reasons, this city will be referred as *Shahre Bozorg* in this thesis.

Figure 1. A snapshot from one of the central neighborhoods in Shahre Kucek.

Shahre Kucek is a dynamic city which can be considered as a setting where thousands of asylum-seekers and refugees lead their lives. As migration and space have an interconnected relationship, people on the move make an impact on cities and migratory practices can lead to transformative effect on space in economic, social, and political terms (Rosenblum and Tichenor, 2018). Hosting the largest refugee population in the world, Turkey's cities, including Shahre Kucek are also impacted by migratory flows and currently, there are migrants registered in almost all of its provinces.

Figure 2. A newly constructed building stands side-by-side an old one in Shahre Kucek.

It can be suggested that once Syrians started to flee to Turkey after 2011, they generally chose their area of residence in Turkey in accordance with various factors such as the proximity, economic activity, and having a network such as acquaintances and relatives. As there was no strict regulation in the first years of arrival, Syrians were able to settle in the cities where they wish to reside. For example, in the border cities neighboring Syria, Syrians live in specific neighborhoods where they generally constitute a majority as the number of Syrians living in those cities are relatively high. Most of the shops in these neighborhoods have Arabic signboards and economic interactions are mostly made by Syrians there. The spoken language in these neighborhoods are mostly Arabic and local dwellers often name these areas such as *Little Aleppo* or *Little Damascus*. In some of the metropolitan cities in Turkey, there are similar neighborhoods as well. However, due to the discussions that occur time to time, Turkish government has recently decided to regulate the number of migrants residing in any neighborhood of a Turkish city. As reported in "İstanbul dahil" (2022),

Deputy Minister of Interior and the Spokesperson of the Minister, İsmail Çataklı announced the government's decision which rules that the number of migrants could not exceed one fourth of the overall population of a neighborhood. Following this decision, registration of asylum-seekers have been suspended in 16 Turkish cities some of which are metropolitan cities with population more than a million of inhabitants. In addition to this legislation, there are also official snap inspections conducted at local level. Time to time, municipalities in various cities also try to regulate the migrant populated neighborhoods by making snap controls to ask work permits and banning Arabic signboards. This action does not only aim to regulate the visibility within the neighborhood in accordance with relevant laws and regulations but also sends a message to the local communities implying that authorities are aware and competent when it comes to administrating issued related to migration.

Apart from Syrians, even though their number is low, there are also Africans, Iraqis, and Bosnians constituting a majority in the neighborhoods that they reside in different cities of Turkey. These migrants are not composed of solely refugee population; among them, there are high number persons who have residence permits and even neutralized ones through marriage or real estate purchase. When it comes to registered Afghans, the number of neighborhoods where they constitute a majority overall Turkey is hard to find. This is also related to the legal context given that Afghans falls under international protection which does not allow refugees- including Afghans to settle in a city of preference -unless there is a compelling reason. With this perspective, it can be argued that the context of Shahre Kucek is quite interesting. There is neither a neighborhood nor a street in Shahre Kucek where any of the migrant community can constitute a majority as the member of these communities spread around the city. It is

quite rare to hear Arabic or Persian on the streets, unlike some of the Southern Eastern cities where Arabic can easily be heard in public. Thus, refugees are not visible in terms of their residence in Shahre Kucek. However, it is also needed to be added here that state gives a sign from the very moment of entrance in the city that Shahre Kucek is a satellite town where there is a community which is needed to be surveilled. At the entrance and the exit of the city, there are real checkpoints as well as cardboard gendarmerie cars placed on the side of the way to give the sign that the road is controlled by the law-enforcement forces. With this perspective, it can be expressed that being completely invisible is also challenging and difficult in this context.

Figure 3. A checkpoint at the entrance and a snap cupboard of a gendarmerie car at the exit of Shahre Kucek.

The top three refugee communities have been consisted of Iraqis, Afghans and Syrians. Similar to other city contexts, refugees inhabit in houses which are old, poorly insulated and often lack central heating system. Interviews show that, most of the participants also complain about poor isolation and humidity problems in their houses.

Additionally, there are for about five to ten shops which is run by migrants. According to some participants who visit regularly, these might be owned by Turkish citizens and run by migrants because of their work permit challenges. Due to the tense situation regarding refugees in mid-2021 because of 'Altındağ incidents' in Ankara where a large protest has been initiated against Syrians, I could not discuss the ownership of these shops with its workers. However, it can be said that at least two of these shops were being run as bakeries. With the aim of avoiding any problems, these shops did not choose to hang Arabic or Persian signboards. Instead, they chose to hang Turkish signboards as well as flags and posters on their store window. One participant explained this situation as 'a sign of showing solidarity with locals' while another said, "it is an approach of respect".

4.4. Significance and the purpose of the study

Afghan displacement has long been on the world's agenda and Afghans are one of the largest refugee communities globally. Since the 1970s, Afghans have been fleeing their homes due to war and conflict based on religious and ethnic dispute (Monsutti, 2007). Because of Turkey's strategic location which bridges Asian continent to Europe, irregular migrant flows often use Turkey with the aim of reaching third countries, especially in Europe. The migrant flow from Asia to Turkey mostly includes nationals of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

Among the irregular migrant flows aiming to reach Europe, Afghans often make up the majority. For forty years, Afghans have either used Turkey as transit route or sought asylum in the country. Following arrival in Turkey, some of the migrants

choose to get registered in Turkey for reasons such as dangers on the way, finding safety in Turkey and aiming to be resettled to a third country through official means. It should be noted that Turkey's Asylum Authority, Presidency of Migration Management does not share migrant data frequently due to unknown reasons. According to the available data, the latest detailed report published by PMM was in 2016. In addition to PMM, UNHCR and government officials' statements are generally being taken into consideration when it comes to follow up the most recent migrant numbers. With this perspective, there are more than 115,000 Afghans under international protection either as status holders or asylum-seekers as reported by the latest figures (UNHCR, 2021b). Sevinç et al. (2021) mentions that in 2021, after Afghanistan's fall under Taliban rule through full occupation, Presidency of Turkey announced that the number of registered and unregistered Afghans was 300.000.

The current laws and regulations stipulate that, once Afghans are registered in Turkey, they are sent to a satellite town chosen by migration authorities. The satellite town of Shahre Kucek is one of the satellite towns where Afghan refugees are sent for registration and at present time, there is an Afghan community residing in that city. As stated by local press, there are currently around 10,000 registered asylum-seekers and refugees which is taken from the government's civil registry record that is based on domicile registration[6]. The records show that Iraqis make up the largest community while Afghans are the second and Syrians make the third largest migrant community in Shahre Kucek.

[6] Domicile registration refers to *Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi (ADNKS)* in Turkish.

There are several reasons for choosing Shahre Kucek as the site for the present research. Firstly, in most of the conducted research on refugees in Turkey, metropolitan cities have been selected as research field. Secondly, due to the relative high number of Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees in a small city like Shahre Kucek, it is thought that conducting a research might provide fruitful insight on the lives of Afghans in this city. The third reason of selecting this city is one of the Shahre Kucek's neighboring cities. This neighboring city is a metropolitan city with a population of inhabitants between 2 million to 5 million inhabitants. It is thus thought that selecting Shahre Kucek might help to reach significant findings especially on how survival strategies are formed in the nexus between living in a small city and travelling to a big city for work to stay alive. In other words, this study aims to shed light on the complexity of Turkish legal asylum regime and how it creates challenges in the lives of asylum-seekers and refugees in a small satellite town like Shahre Kucek.

Lastly, it can be said that the number of the conducted studies on asylum-seekers and refugees in Shahre Kucek is quite limited. There is only one article which is published in Turkish and its focus is based on the host community with a view to understand the level of integration. The present study will be a resource that will reflect the experiences of Afghans and help to understand the current context in Shahre Kucek.

4.5. On the Field: Conducting in-Depth Interviews and Making Observations

The population of the present research is the Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees who were officially registered in Shahre Kucek. Interviews have been conducted with Afghans from July to September 2021 in different neighborhoods of Shahre Kucek. In

total, 46 interviews took place, 35 of them have been included as part of this research. Among the total of 35 respondents, there were 26 males and 9 females. The interviews started with an Afghan refugee who was a university student in Shahre Kucek. Interviews have mostly been organized through snowballing method, through contacting other Afghans with the recommendation of the previous participants. When the similar instances started to appear repeatedly after interviewing 35 respondents in three months, it is decided that the data collected as part of the research has reached to a saturation point.

Two interpreters have been a part of this research, one being male and the other being a female. As a male researcher, it was challenging to interview women refugees in the beginning. With the help of the female interpreter, including refugee women into the study have become easier. Respondents of this research mentioned that they were motivated to join this study 'as the main topic of this dissertation was on Afghans rather than Syrians'. For most of them, choosing the topic of Afghan refugees rather than Syrians was a good reason to take part in the research as there was a common belief among the Afghans that main focus was on Syrians on many matters in Turkey and this study provided visibility to Afghans. Taking part in this research also provided a visibility to the Afghans in Shahre Kucek.

The rapport was maintained with the support of my Afghan friends, who helped me with the interpretation during the interviews. Being accompanied by Afghans motivated the respondents to take part in the research and helped them feel comfortable throughout the interviews. Presenting myself as a university student also created synergies between me and Afghans as they liked the idea of a student who is curious

about the lives of Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees in Turkey. Rapport was also reinforced with the initial chat in the beginning of the interviews about the life in general. Being careful about not to start with the interview questions right away helped to maintain the human touch and contributed to the rapport building.

During my visits, I got around in the city, took notes and had the opportunity to chat with local shopkeepers, majority of whom talked negatively about asylum-seekers and refugees in the satellite of Shahre Kucek. When specifically asked, 'economic reasons' was the mostly given answer for not desiring to host migrants. Accusing Syrians for having left their home country instead of defending it was also very common. Some shopkeepers mentioned that migrants cause social 'tensions' in Turkey. Among the shopkeepers, only two of them confirmed that they hired Syrians in the past. When they were specifically asked whether the employment was legal or not, their answers pointed to informal employment with the excuse of 'economic difficulties' and 'expensive paperwork'.

4.6. Scope and limitation of the research

Setting limits and boundaries for any given research is fundamental to reach analytical findings. For the present research, the legal status of the participants set the limit for the research. In other words, only registered asylum-seekers and refugees from Afghanistan are included as participants given that Turkey is a transit country, and the number of unregistered migrants is also quite high. By using such limitation, it is aimed to understand the survival strategies of the registered Afghans who have the obligation of staying in the satellite town of Shahre Kucek as unregistered migrants are not within

the scope of such an obligation. This includes the newly arrived Afghans who fled Afghanistan in August and September 2021 due to the fall of internationally recognized government as a result of Taliban's occupation of the country. Therefore, the scope of the study focuses on officially registered Afghans either holding asylum-seeker or refugee status. This aimed to understand the impact of liminal life in Turkey, survival strategies and future prospects. In terms of time period spent in the country of asylum, a time limit of 10 years has been decided. Despite such a time limit, none of the participants of this research has spent more than 10 years in Turkey.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESPONDING TO LIMINALITY: GHOST-LIKE AGENCY FOR SURVIVAL

Zendegi, icade tādol beyne negah daşten ve reha kerden.
Life is a balance between holding on [the state of being visible] *and letting go* [the state of being invisible].
(A Persian verse, attributed to Rumi)

In this part of the thesis, the empirical data collected on the field will be presented and analyzed to make of the experiences of Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees in *Shahre Kucek*. As discussed in the previous chapters, this dissertation aims to understand how Afghan refugees in Turkey strategize to survive under the conditions created by the Turkish refugee regime. Therefore, the focus will be on the visibility and invisibility given that the major term used to reveal the experiences of refugees as they are forced into the realm of informality in everyday life which is embedded in ghost-like agency.

Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees are involved in informalities to survive in the satellite town (Murphy et al., 2013; Buz, et al., 2020; Göç Araştırmaları Derneği, 2021). To be more specific, Afghans are intertwined with informal practices while finding shelter, benefiting from available services such as health care and most

importantly, accessing to the job market. Involving in informalities can be described as a situation which is 'forced' rather than a voluntary action as this is done solely for survival and there are not much other choices from the part of Afghans to overcome this difficult situation. In order to pass through the difficulties of finding a job or a house to stay in, they mostly make use of their personal or familial networks. The close ties as part of a greater network in Turkey are generally established only between Afghans while local Turks contribute to it only in small numbers. Ethnic ties, religious identities and regional belonging to Afghanistan play a role of the operationalization of the ties among Afghans in Turkey. Networking, as part of facilitating the difficult survival conditions in Turkey is significant for Afghans because this is an easy, reliable, free and a well-known method to sustain lives in the country of asylum even though this has to be done mostly through informal means. The desired nature of network utilization does not come with a perceived burden given that this is the 'main method to use'. Also, most of the Afghans know that in one way or another, they will need the support of their networks therefore they do not hesitate to use their ties to find solutions. This said, this thesis focuses on the practices of informality and formality in survival. In their quest for survival, Afghans utilize the tool of invisibility in quite a tactical, flexible, and spontaneous way. Each action takes place in a temporal space which is embedded to risks, obscurity and fear of different sorts. Turning into a ghost is thus an art of staying alive. 'Being around' or wearing the cloak of invisibility as ghosts is the main strategy for Afghans. Even though invisibility is the most common way of avoiding any sort of challenge while engaging with informalities, visibility is also in part put into use depending on the condition, medium and necessity. While establishing communication with the locals to generate empathy, to build social bonds,

to receive aid and sometimes to make a distinction from the 'other' refugee communities, Afghans choose to be visible.

Throughout this chapter, I will illustrate acceptance, trust making, risk taking, desperation and temporariness. The first section illustrates the meanings attributed to liminal life (5.1) while the sections that follow aim to shed light onto strategizing for survival in liminal life (5.2) where invisibility (5.2.1) and visibility (5.2.2) are discussed at large. Story of ending up in the satellite town (5.2.1.1), access to the job market (5.2.1.2) and access to housing (5.2.1.3) and situation at the public sphere (5.2.1.4) with a focus on the experiences of Afghan refugees and asylum-seekers are analyzed in relation to being invisible. Experiences utilizing being visible which are related to claiming the Afghan refugee status (5.2.2) and visibility in public sphere (5.2.2.1) will also be discussed in depth. The last section (5.3.) presents the conclusion of this chapter.

5.1. Meanings attributed to liminal life

For Afghans, displacement is a bitter yet a well-known concept because of various conflicts that have been going on in Afghanistan for more than forty years. As discussed in Chapter 2, fleeing their country of origin to other countries on account of war, conflict and persecution puts its nationals in a limbo where they could neither get back to their home country nor to move forward to a third country to start a new life due to economic and legal reasons. As Talwasa suggests (2020), millions of Afghans are currently living in countries of asylum like Turkey with the aim of going to a destination country in Europe for better life. However, during this period of waiting,

Afghans could not incorporate into the host society because of legal, social, and economic reasons and they face difficulties from mobility to employment and from accessing to available services to shelter. According to one of the respondents, this leads to a motivation aiming to leave Turkey in the soonest time possible: "*Who wants to stay here? We are waiting the right time to depart to Germany. Currently, my family is waiting my sister and her husband to join us (in Turkey). Once they arrive, we will go (to Germany)." (Masud, male, 36)*

To be more specific, this stage of waiting in the country of asylum is nothing but a liminal stage, in which refugees have to live in legal boundaries that put forward number of limitations to their rights. Such condition also creates frustration and hopelessness (Chan and Loveridge, 1987). This case is no different in Turkey. As Kutlu mentions (2002), this context in a way turns Turkey to a waiting room for the conditional refugees who face continuous challenges with very little means to respond to them. Even though some Afghans arrive directly in Turkey from Afghanistan without living in any other country, some number of Afghans like Gul Mohammad start to experience this liminal stage even before their arrival to Turkey as their liminal past had already started right after their displacement to the neighboring countries of Afghanistan, especially Pakistan and Iran. For such cases, arrival in Turkey is only the continuation of the liminal life started years ago:

> Turkey is just another story like Iran. Together with my two other brothers, we have been working for four years here to save enough money to go to Europe. Everything is extremely expensive, and it feels like our departure is getting postponed each year. We got stuck here (Gul Mohammad, male, 33).

Following their arrival, departure to the desired third country from Turkey is difficult due to economic reasons and lack of necessary permits for departure. In this protracted situation, Afghans strive to find ways in which they survive in Turkey, plan for their future departure and at the same time sustain the relationship with the family members back in Afghanistan. As mentioned, this creates distress among Afghans who give different meanings to their stay while interpreting their liminal lives in Turkey. Using religion is the first method utilized for interpretation: *"Did I ask this life in a foreign country? This is the destiny of us. There is no way to change it. God wants us to go through all of these." (Ghulam, 44, male)* Another respondent gave a similar answer when it comes to using religion to give a meaning to the life in the country of asylum:

> I am a believer; I pray to God every day. I cannot question God's will. All of the Muslims go through difficulties. The important point is to accept His will and be a good believer. Of course, I wish I was in a better situation where I did not face the troubles that I experience in Turkey but like I said, this is God's will (Ahmad, male, late 50's).

Apart from using religion as a tool of giving meaning, some Afghans think that their liminal lives are the result of being not cared or assisted sincerely by anyone. Respondents like Seyed believe that Afghans are the people that no one wants to support because of the troubles associated with their country through the years.

> Brutal war and fighting. This is all what Afghanistan reminisces for years. Unfortunately, the world had enough of the fight going in Afghanistan and they think 'this is not our business anymore, we can't change this situation (Seyed, male, 42).

'Weak' image of Afghans is also mentioned as the incoming asylum-seekers or refugees that are migrating *en masse* or lacking a friendly and sincere country/nation that dares to support Afghans in the name of humanity: *"There are millions of (Afghan)*

refugees in the world. We have nothing. Everyone sees us as a problem. No one cares about problematic people." (Farid, male, 39). On the same topic, another respondent, Yousef made a similar point:

> If there is a problem in Europe, all the European people come together and support one another regardless of the country. We are suffering and there is not one country to embrace our problem like theirs and sincerely help us (Yousef, male, 39).

Many of the respondents attributed negative meanings to their liminal lives in Turkey. Afghans who were of Pashtun and Hazara ethnicities[7] were central to negative attributions. One exception to this finding comes from Afghans who are of Uzbek ethnicity. When I ask about their life in limbo, vast majority of the Afghans of Uzbek origin mentioned that they were satisfied with their lives in Turkey despite the challenges embedded to their daily lives. As one respondent explains, the life in Turkey is not a liminal one as his family aims to stay in Turkey without any plan to depart for any other country: "*Uzbeks are here to stay. Language, traditions, and our religion are the same. Economy is better in America and Europe but as long as I have a bread to eat, I will not leave." (Sarwer, male, 22)*

As can be seen from the quote of Sarwer, the major aspect that leads to an exit from limbo is sharing a common ethnic and religious identity. When specifically asked, being of the same sect of Hanefi Islam, similarities between the Uzbek and Turkish language as well as having a Turkic identity have been listed as reasons for such

[7] As a multiethnic society, Afghanistan is composed of different ethnic groups including Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, and Turkmen. While majority of Pashtuns, Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmens are of Sunni Islam religion, Hazaras are Shia Muslims.

approach. Being able to learn Turkish easily as the language is similar to Uzbek also helps to overcome challenges in the satellite town and speaking the same language with the local people also works to build inter-communal ties with the local Turks.

5.2. Strategizing for survival in liminal life

In the post-displacement period, refugee interaction with the host society holds quite an importance as everything in place is new for the newcomers in the new country setting. Those who had to flee their homes due to several reasons including war and conflict seek ways to adapt to the new conditions in the country of asylum. In the countries where the reception mechanisms of asylum-seekers are well-established and refugees are taken care and supported by mechanisms in which the newly arrived individuals are provided with assistance, shelter, and available services such as access to healthcare and education, the environment tends to be more inclusive and cohesive (Curry et al., 2017). In such countries, the liminal period is relatively short as refugees are gradually encouraged to become members of the host society through legal, social and economic incentives. Such states alleviate ways for the survival of refugees and at the same time provide necessary tools to be employed in their new life where they will eventually expect to reincorporate to the host society (Green et al., 2009; Valli et al., 2019). However, in the countries where migration laws are complex, reception is based solely on registration and support mechanisms are limited, refugees are often left to their own devices to find solutions for their needs. If accessing to some services of the newly arrived individuals is also limited, refugees experience a prolonged liminal stage where they face multiple challenges with limited chances of reincorporation. According to UNHCR (2021), such period creates a *protracted situation* in which

refugees come across with many difficulties for longer periods of time. For the ones who arrived in the country of asylum with vulnerabilities such as disability and serious medical condition, the protracted situation exacerbates the already-existing vulnerabilities. In my research, the situation of Afghans showed similar elements to the latter explanation. There are several reasons why Afghans are facing challenges in their extended liminal lives in Turkey. Firstly, given that there is no local integration prospect of refugees in Turkey through citizenship due to this country's limitation put on Geneva Convention, they are only allowed to stay in the country until they are resettled to a third country. Given that the number of refugees to be resettled is small due to the available resettlement quotas, many refugees in Turkey are in a life which is of extended liminal feature. Data proves the difficult resettlement situation as less than 1% of refugees are being resettled from Turkey yearly (The Spanish Commission for Refugees, 2020). Secondly, reception is mostly built on registration for legalizing residence in Turkey. After the completion of asylum registration procedures, refugees are left to their own devices in their satellite town which is officially assigned by the migration authorities in Turkey. Difficulty of obtaining a work permit, difficulty of leaving the satellite town and limited support mechanisms in a way force refugees to strategize for their own survival. In this effort, they utilize a very simple yet very logical method: 'existing' physically in situations which contributes to their own favor and 'becoming invisible' when there is a potential risk or harm. In other words, refugees employ the tool of being visible and invisible to find ways for staying alive in the country of asylum. In the sections below, I will explain how refugees use visibility and invisibility as a method to facilitate strategizing their survival in Turkey.

5.2.1. Seeking invisibility

According to my data collected in the field research, Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees aim to formulate two obvious strategies in their quest to survive in Turkey: turning visible and invisible as ghosts. Even though strategizing survival has two dimensions, seeking invisibility is the most utilized act of art as a result of the structural reasons explained above and in Chapter 2. From finding employment to finding a house and to visiting relatives outside of the satellite town, Afghans systematically use their ghost character. Below, I categorize areas where Afghans become invisible and discuss the reasons and the experiences as an outcome in depth.

5.2.1.1. Story of ending up in the satellite town

Many of the respondents expressed that until reaching to the satellite town, which is assigned by the Turkish Migration Authorities, they had to turn invisible to a certain extent. This act of invisibility is heavily embedded with risk taking which brings a high level of stress. Invisibility until registration with the authorities is almost inevitable given the fact that unregistered asylum-seekers might face deportation following arrival in Turkey. Turkish Penal Code and Law 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection (YUKK) stipulate that irregular entrance to Turkey is a criminal offence which has legal consequences such as deportation in collaboration with the Turkish judicial system, migration authorities and law enforcement forces. Therefore, Afghans aiming to claim asylum in Turkey aim to prioritize being officially registered to avoid any criminal offence and to access to available services such as education and health. In my research, the majority of the respondents who arrived in Turkey irregularly

mostly from the Eastern Border cities of Van and Ağrı, headed to Ankara to register after which they were assigned to their satellite town, Shahre Kucek. Afghans who were on the way for weeks and went through a difficult journey on foot until reaching to Turkey faced a different type of distress this time, until reaching in Ankara for registration. On the way, there was regular checks and at each possible occasion, there was a risk of deportation. To diminish any possible encounter with the law enforcement forces, Afghans travelled in the backside of the small to mid-size trucks, back of buses and smuggler-sponsored minibuses over-loaded with other asylum-seekers travelling in the most deserted routes. One respondent who travelled in the back of a bus along with some other Afghans explained that arrival in Turkey did not lead to a feel of relief, instead, it was full of misery and fear:

> It was a moment to win or to lose. All that distance which we left behind in Iran on foot was meaningless as we could be deported. While going [to Ankara] in the back of the bus, I was incredibly stressful and tense. I felt pain in my body for the whole following week (Ali, male, 40).

The fear of being encountered with the police on the way to Ankara for registration made Ali think that all the effort he put forward since the beginning of the journey from Afghanistan might be ruined. Financing the journey further and the hopes of living in Turkey to support his family left in Afghanistan depended on his safely arrival in Ankara. The pressure on him was so heavy that this resulted in physical pain in his body. This is quite natural as this is not only physically challenging having to travel in the back of the bus but also psychologically challenging to feel the risk of being stopped by the police in such a vulnerable condition. As covered by Turkish media frequently, travelling by turning invisible in the back of the busses is a formulation of ‘safe method’ to bypass any potential encounter with officials. With this perspective,

arrival in Ankara successfully for registration meant as the ultimate goal and until this stage, there was no room for relief. Similar to Ali's account, a respondent, Morad mentioned that his family was in the brink of deportation as the police stopped their bus on the way to registration:

> The smuggler put us in a van when we arrived in Turkey. Right before arrival in Ankara, police stopped our van, and we were taken to the police station. There, we begged them to apply the UN (meant claiming for asylum). Although the interpreter told us that we might be deported, we were luckily sent to registration office (Morad, male, 35).

The case of Morad depicts the situation on how the fear that was mentioned by Ali was real and tangible. The possibility of being stopped at a checkpoint between the eastern cities and Ankara is very likely as the route is more than 1100 kilometers, taking for about fifteen to twenty hours. Morad explained that his family was lucky for being referred to registration. Even though he did not know about what happened to the rest of the Afghans travelling on the same van, he thought that having his wife and two children with him helped them for being allowed to claim asylum. It seems that although he was not forced to turn invisible in person while travelling, according to Morad's account, the van itself was 'invisible' as it was arranged by a smuggler which was probably following a less taken route in order not to draw any outside attention. By this method, the 'invisible' van might also have aimed to avoid any possible checkpoints on the way, however this did not prevent their encounter with the law enforcement forces.

The registration structure has undergone a change in late 2018 as Ankara was no more a compulsory center for registration. As mentioned in Chapter 2, registration of asylum-seekers was being conducted in Ankara until September 2018. After this date,

asylum-seekers wishing to be registered in Turkey did not have to go to Ankara anymore as they could approach to the closest office of the migration authority whichever city that they were in. After approaching, the authorities generally assign a satellite town and provide a transfer document *(yönlendirme belgesi)* for the asylum-seekers to be able to reach to the town. However, this did not move away the fear of the Afghan asylum-seekers given that until arriving to the migration office, they might come across problems on the way. To avoid any problem, until being registered, Afghans try to be invisible by staying in a house or if they have to go out, they are ready all the time. According to Hadi's experience, his family was not given a *yönlendirme belgesi* as he was told orally to go Shahre Kucek. Until Hadi's family arrived in Shahre Kucek with the support of a driver upon payment, the family was quite distressed given that there was no official document of transfer to facilitate their journey. Due to their fear, they turned invisible and had to spend a week in the house of an acquaintance until their departure without going out at all. Similarly, following her application, again in Van, it took Fariba a week for the issuance of *yönlendirme belgesi* to be transferred to Shahre Kucek as she specifically requested this city to join her parents. She could not go to hospital during that one week as she feared that while her application was being processed, risking any encounter with the police might have endangered her stay. This put her health in danger, as she suffers from severe asthma and diabetes. It can be said that despite the registration system changed in 2018, the psychological pressure of encountering law enforcement forces and the stress of deportation felt by the Afghans remained the same. The continuous situation of risk thus motivates Afghans to turn invisible which help them avoid any possible problem.

According to the interviews, there are other ways of ending up in Shahre Kucek such as arrival in Turkey officially through issued visas. Although some of these did not lead to being invisible until arrival to the city, respondents expressed that they felt turning invisible as something compulsory once they started living in Shahre Kucek. As this is not within the scope of this thesis, these types of arrival will be briefly introduced. One type of such arrivals includes family unification reasons for the Afghans whose families arrived before or after them and got registered in Shahre Kucek. For example, Raziyeh, who was living officially in another satellite town, applied to be transferred to Shahre Kucek as her family came in Turkey 2 years after her arrival. Another type is the arrival in Turkey legally with a visitor visa but claiming asylum afterwards. Neda arrived in Turkey with a valid Turkish visitor visa and transferred to Shahre Kucek once she claimed asylum. Lastly, another type refers to voluntary transfer of satellite town. Sohrab and his family changed their satellite town as their previous town had harsh winter conditions which harmed the family's asthma suffering children. Similarly, Parwana had her satellite town transferred officially as she got married to an Afghan who was already registered there.

As can be seen from the responses, turning invisible is often an employed tool until arrival in the satellite town, Shahre Kucek. This is directly linked to being 'irregular' migrant which has legal consequences, one of which is deportation. Feeling the risk of being sent back to Afghanistan leaves no other choice but to utilize this tool until official registration is completed. On the other hand, the ones who were already registered or staying in Turkey with official documents did not have to undergo high level of stress until their arrival in the Shahre Kucek. They were able to approach migration authorities to process their application for the transfer of the satellite town.

Here, it needs to be added Shahre Kucek is a small city where there is no neighborhood with a high number of refugee population. It other words, the number of refugees in Shahre Kucek is low compared to other metropolitan cities and there are no neighborhoods where refugees are visible and constitute a majority. Therefore, Shahre Kucek is different than other refugee populated cities where refugee visibility is high and where refugees could to lead more flexible lives without having the need to join the life outside of their refugee community. Apart from a few shops, there are no refugee populated shopping spots where Afghans are populated and visible in large groups. Therefore, it can be suggested that Afghans are not visible in the daily life. However, it can be said that, due to their small number, asylum-seekers and refugees are more noticeable by the members of the host community and sometimes, when there is a risk, this situation enforces refugees to turn invisible as they could be recognized easily. In the section below, utilizing invisibility which is a well-utilized tool among Afghans is discussed.

5.2.1.2. Informality in access to jobs

Employment is one of the challenging components of the lives of Afghans in Turkey, if not the most, given that survival heavily depends on having a job. Almost all of the respondents indicated that it is challenging to find a job and keep it. Increasing prices in the country, expensive utility bills and having low income make it difficult for Afghans to afford food and housing. Most importantly, the small scale of Shahre Kucek forces the family members to go to bigger cities like Shahre Bozorg where there are 'more' job opportunities to earn a living. More than two thirds of the participants expressed that it is needed to travel outside Shahre Kucek by informal means by

turning invisible to be able to provide for themselves or their families. Without a doubt, this has to be done without being seen by any Turkish authority. Therefore, many Afghans travel between the Shahre Kucek and Shahre Bozorg or other neighboring cities mostly by being invisible, by taxis or by the car of their acquaintances. According to Yousef, Afghans, generally travel by taxi as the safest mode of transportation during which they are the 'unseen customers' through different means:

> It is easy and fast. Once you know a driver whom you can trust, you can go without problem. We know many taxi drivers here. When a friend is in need (to go to Shahre Bozorg) we help him and share drivers' names with them (Yousef, male, 39).

Although it is defined as an 'easy' method by Yousef above, the destination includes high risks and 'invisible' travelling goes hand in hand with different levels of exploitation. As taxi drivers know that Afghans cannot leave their satellite city, they often overcharge them. On the way, there are checkpoints by the law enforcement forces which give the driver the authority to charge extra for using less taken routes: "*Drivers charge us at least the double of the normal price to go to Shahre Bozorg. They know which route to take and which one not to take because of the checkpoints." (Navid, male, 45)*

During the travels, Afghans choose to wear cloths similar to the locals by avoiding wearing a traditional cap or scarf. Every now and then, they also had to travel with other Turkish passengers whom they know in order not to take attention from outside. This aims to contribute to their 'invisibility' in the car by travelling with local people as other passengers. From wearing standard clothes to traveling in an 'invisible' vehicle, Afghans turn invisible and risk their lives with the aim to going to a big city

to work for their survival: *"Sometimes, we try to find Turkish friends to travel with in the same car in order not to take attention. We also try to be careful about what we are wearing for not being distinguished by the locals." (Ghulam, male,44)*

Quite a number of respondents mentioned that travelling without official permit between Shahre Bozorg and the Shahre Kucek used to be easy in the past years as there were seldom checkpoints on the way. When asked, Karim and Ameer mentioned that rapid increase of the number of refugees in Turkey over the years both contributed to the spread of the scepticism among the locals and more check points on the inter-city roads. With more police checks, drivers of buses and minibuses also refrain from allowing refugees to their vehicles as there are legal consequences for them:

> I came to Turkey in 2014 and living here ever since. Back then we were a handful [of Afghans] here and no bus company was asking whether we had travel permit. Now, there are thousands, and it is impossible to take [a bus] to Shahre Bozorg." (Karim, male, 41).
> It used to be easier in the past when we could also travel by minibuses. No one was asking whether we had cards or not (satellite town residence). There were only intermittent checks right in the entrance of the *big city's* center. When driver knew that, they were informing us to get off at one bus stop before and take another bus going to city center in another route (Ameer male, 50).

Travelling as invisible customers and working informally bring a burden and create vulnerability which is briefly introduced above: risk of arrest and deportation. Even though such risk enforces inevitable consequences, Afghans' approach to invisible travelling and working differs. While vast majority of the respondents acknowledge the fact that this act of theirs comes along with serious consequences, they are ready to take it. Perceptions of Habib and Taha who are cousins and live in the same building depict how risks embedded to intercity travels are formed differently. Though both of them are well aware of the legal consequences that they might face in case of possible

encounter with the law-enforcement forces, Habib does not see it as a deterring factor as his family 'needs to eat and pay the rent'. On the other hand, Taha goes against his cousin's opinion as he thought Habib is 'careless' about the consequences and is 'unaware of the dangers attached to it'. During the interview, it was evident that Taha was stressed out for possible risk of deportation. On this controversial topic, another respondent, Navid made a very striking comment by comparing the life conditions between Afghanistan and Turkey. For him, this is only a small risk which can be taken easily:

> Murder is normal in Afghanistan, part of the daily life. There is no job, no food, no state. Do you think it is problematic for Afghans to go from one city to another in Turkey just because police may stop them? This is not even a proper danger. Worst case scenario: if they deport you, you can be smuggled back in. As simple as it is (Navid, male, 45).

Even though metropolitan cities such as Shahre Bozorg are perceived as places where there are more available jobs, most of these employments are informal and working conditions are quite dire. Just to be able find such jobs, Afghans had to get involved with more informalities firstly by travelling without permits and secondly staying as ghosts in the 'bigger cities' for days, weeks or even months when necessary. Given the fact that travelling is not quite easy, many refugees choose to stay in Shahre Bozorg in the houses of their acquaintances or in their workplaces. What is important is that refugees turn invisible the whole time during this informal effort. Being stranger to the new city environment, lacking enough network and of course, the risk of possible encounter with law enforcement forces compel them to stay indoors throughout their stay in Shahre Bozorg. Unfortunately, this brings further burden on them. In the places where they spend the night, they are asked to pay again abnormal prices due to their 'invisible nature' either by other Afghans or by Turkish acquaintances. From this point

of view, being a ghost becomes quite costly. Opposite to this cost, these places of stay in Shahre Bozorg lack necessary facilities such as proper heating, toilet, bathroom, and necessary sanitary conditions. In these 'ghost inn' houses which are found mostly through personal networks, there are generally for about five to ten people who stay together in one house. Among the stayers, there are Afghans who came to Turkey irregularly and try to reach Europe or individuals who are registered in Shahre Bozorg. These stayers do not necessarily have to know one another but most of them have one characteristic in common: being a ghost:

> Does it make sense to travel each day back and forth? Staying there (in Shahre Bozorg) for some time helps to earn and save money. I have an Afghan friend, resident in Shahre Bozorg, who has a house. There, Afghans who work (informally) spend the night. In one room, we stay 4 to 5 people and bathroom stinks (Seena, male, 38).
> My father's cousins live in Shahre Bozorg. Whenever I go to work (in Shahre Bozorg), I stay in their house. It is far away from the *sanayi sitesi* (workplace) but at least I have a place to stay when I am there (Khalil, male, 34).

Staying in the workplace in Shahre Bozorg is somewhat similar to the 'ghost inn' houses. After working for about twelve hours daily in the mechanic, carpentry or furniture workshops which require mostly physical power, some Afghans who do not have any place else to stay, spend the night in their workplace. Of course, this ghostly stay is negotiated with the employer before the start of the employment and the 'cost' of this stay is deducted out of the already minimized salary. The physical conditions of workplaces are generally worse than the 'ghost inns' as necessary sanitary conditions for a healthy person are almost inexistant. As explained by Nazar and Jamaleddin, in addition to the lack of a room to rest, these workshop facilities lack enough heating as well as shower and kitchen facilities leading to an inhumane

environment for Afghans who work long hours throughout the day. Therefore, the ghostly stay in the workshop is as difficult as in the 'ghost inns':

> Once the daily work finishes, others leave (and go to their homes), and I continue to stay. This is all about staying on a cupboard and waiting for the next day to arrive. There is a toilet (in the workshop) but no shower (Nazar, male, 35).
> At night, it becomes freezing (in the workshop) as the boss turns off the heating at night. There is no possibility to get out to buy anything either as it (the workshop) is far away, and I fear from the police (for a possible encounter). My boss charges one third of my salary due to my stay. (Jamaleddin, male, 40).

Even though none of the respondents worked as shepherds, some of them mentioned Afghan men working as shepherds in Shahre Kucek or other cities. During the interviews, some respondents mentioned that some of their friends, acquaintances or relatives registered in Shahre Kucek are employed as shepherds who stay in the farms without their family members accompanying them where they are working. When asked whether working as shepherds go hand in hand with invisibility, many mentioned about the 'opportunities' rather than the challenging sides of it. While two of the respondents had acquaintances working as shepherds in Shahre Kucek, one respondent had a relative working outside of their satellite town. For example, for Hikmat, working as shepherd has advantages as the salary is higher compared to other jobs but as the farms are far away from the city, meeting with the rest of the family can occur only once a month. For Sameem, many employers support Afghan refugees with *sigorta* (legal work permits and insurance) if they accept to work. He further mentioned that when the person works with work permit, there is also no need to turn invisible as work permit lifts the travel restriction for Afghans which eliminates the risk of informal travelling.

The strategy to work as informal worker for survival brings about invisibility both in Shahre Kucek or elsewhere. The informal nature of the work compels most of the Afghans to move as ghosts, this time specifically inside their workplace. It is necessary to add here that in Shahre Bozorg, the pressure is doubled due to informality both at times of travelling, working, and staying. In Shahre Kucek, invisibility is resulted from the risk of being caught for working without work permit as they do not have to stress out during the travelling in their official satellite town. When this risk is also known by the employer, adoption of the tool of turning into a ghost might also be sponsored by the employer. For example, working as a tailor in a workshop in a centerly located neighborhood in Shahre Kucek, Fahima mentioned that the workshop where she was working was being visited by quite a number of customers every day. Although she was satisfied with her employer who was often providing support for her family and children, when it comes to discretion, he was being 'direct and bossy'. To avoid the possibility of being caught due to employing an informal worker, Fahima's employer redecorated the tailor workshop with additional curtains to make sure of her invisibility: "*A small corner belongs to me (in the workshop). To prevent customers seeing me, my boss encircled my workstation with curtain. I come in the morning and go at night, without seeing anyone, apart from the boss." (Fahima, 44, female)*

In this quote from Fahima, not only did she mention about her working informally as a ghost, but also highlighted that her employer contributed to her invisibility to avoid any potential risk. In parallel with her experience, some other respondents mentioned about similar situations where their ghost employment is endorsed and willingly maintained by the employers. For example, Abdullah, who worked as a construction worker in Shahre Bozorg said that he and the construction foreman developed a

'whistle language'. Whenever the municipality engineers or municipal police were coming to the construction site to monitor the project, construction foreman was whistling three times to let know of the Afghans to rush into a 'safer area where they cannot be noticed'. When asked, Abdullah described this situation 'beneficial both for the Afghans and the employer' as having a job contributes to his family's economy.

Finally, 'amele pazarı'[8] in Shahre Kucek needs to be discussed regarding the access to informal employment of Afghans in Shahre Kucek. When there is no job opportunity found due to reasons pertaining to lack of network or in winter conditions, the members of refugee and asylum-seeker communities including Afghans go to the city centre where the main bazaar is located. There is a small corner close to the entrance of the city bazaar where refugees go early in the morning and start waiting where employers arrive to negotiate for daily employment. When asked, respondents who have been there at least once mentioned about a state of fear during waiting. As a result of being located at the center of the city and the high number of the passers-by, job-seeker Afghans feel the risk of being caught by the law enforcement forces (police or the municipality police) at the time of waiting or while negotiating with the employers for getting the informal job. Majority of the respondents said that they waited in separate groups not to take any attention and were ready to turn invisible by 'leaving immediately' if things escalate for any reason. A constant job-hunter at the *amele*

[8] *Amele pazarı* which literally means 'workers' bazaar' refers to an environment where employers negotiate with workers for daily work as a laborer.

pazarı, Milad who experienced such an incident expressed that whenever he started waiting there, he feelt his heart palpitated due to the possible risk embedded to it:

> Last month, I was waiting to find a work along with some other Afghans and Turks. We separated into three groups not to take attention. Due to our physical appearance (all ethnic Uzbeks), a passer-by approached to one of our friends and started blaming him for bad economic conditions. The incident quickly escalated and two policemen who were passing by noticed what was going on. I immediately started to run away into the bazaar and went back home. I later heard from my friend that police calmed that passerby and let the Afghans go as all of them had valid kimliks[9] (Milad, 29, male).

What Milad's quote clearly tells is that, when there is any challenge while accessing to informal jobs, Afghans choose to go away. As explained, adoption of the tool of invisibility was a common tool of personal choice among most of the participants not only to find work but also to keep it and avoid any risks embedded to it. Experiences quoted above show openly that getting involved with invisibilities while working aims solely to earn a living and avoid any problems in Turkey. Even though they acknowledged the risks embedded to this effort, they explained their eagerness to work as an ultimate goal for survival. On the other hand, some other participants highlighted the risks as unavoidable and criticized the rules for being forced to be invisible to access to work and stay alive in Turkey.

5.2.1.3. Informality in access to housing

Similar to employment, finding shelter is another challenging topic in the lives of Afghans in Shahre Kucek. Lack of enough number of houses for rent, expensive rent

[9] *Kimlik kartı* means identity card in Turkish. Most of the asylum-seekers and refugees use short version of ID card in their daily conversations, as *kimlik*.

prices and most importantly scepticism towards refugees make it quite difficult for Afghans to find shelter. Bureaucratic requirements also deepen the difficulty of finding shelter even though shelter is one of the humans' basic needs along with others including economic and physical security. When these factors come together, Afghans in a way, are forced to informality and invisibility in the sector of housing. In fact, challenges for finding shelter start right after the arrival in the satellite city of Shahre Kucek. According to laws and regulations, it is obligatory to present a valid residence card showing that the person aiming to rent the house is a resident in the country. When the issuance of the identity card takes time, Afghans have to turn invisible to rent a house. Some of the respondents like Masud mentioned that they had to be invisible to rent a house and faced challenges until receiving and ID card:

> For some reason, it took us longer than expected to receive our kimliks. While waiting, I wanted to rent a house; however, whomever I talked to, requested a kimlik. I had to receive help from my cousin's Turkish friends to rent my current apartment. We would have been left outside on the street if he (his cousin) did not help us (Masud, male, 36).

Kubra on the other hand, mentioned the dilemma about the waiting process and the need to find a shelter following arrival:

> How is this possible for a person who newly arrived in this city (Shahre Kucek) present kimlik for renting a house? They need to change this rule. I had to stay in the house of an Afghan friend in the beginning as there was no possibility to rent a house without receiving the kimlik (Kubra, female, early 50s).

Additionally, respondents often pointed to the deep-rooted challenges leading to informality when it comes to renting a house even after they obtained their ID cards. When Afghans approached the house owners or the real estate agents to rent a house, they were often requested extra demands including naming a Turkish citizen guarantor

(kefil) to secure a contract or to pay double deposit. Some respondents also expressed that they were forced to live as ghosts by renting a house informally without rental contract which also meant lacking legal rights during the time of stay in the house:

> (We have) No paper (rental contract) with our landlord. I asked (to have so), but he said that there is no need for it. Later, my older son heard from one of the neighbors that the house belonged to his brother in Germany and they did not want to pay extra money (tax to the government) for having his house rented (Sohrab,male, mid 50's).
> After my marriage, I wanted to rent a house close to my parents. The landowner told me that he could only give his apartment if I bring a Turkish kefil (guarantor). One of my Turkish friends from the construction (job site) accepted and talked with him (landowner). Only after that we were able to rent the house (Khalil, male, 34).

Most of the time, being a migrant forces Afghans to abide by what the house owners demand from them with the aim of finding a shelter and stay safe. These demands are not necessarily based on compelling reasons as exploitation might come into the picture in the housing sector as well. The demands also play into turning ghosts depending on the condition. Many of the locals know the fact that asylum-seekers and refugees are obliged to stay in Shahre Kucek without having the option to go to another city. Such knowledge leads to house owners' exaggerated demands from Afghans such as asking higher prices and avoiding issuing a contract. As a result of this exploitative condition, some had to rent houses with poor quality while some others had to rent houses far away from the centre of the city. In some cases, respondents explained that they did not have any other choice but to rent poor quality houses with astronomic prices in order not to be left outside. In such a condition, Afghans are invisible on account of being migrants and they might not know the mechanisms to receive support with the aim of ending the exploitation:

> Isolation is poor as the house is very old. There is also no heating system, and we are using coal only in the living room. When we asked to decrease the rent for this bad condition, the landlord asked me to leave the house (evacuation) (Ahmad, male, late 50's).
> There are cheaper houses in the city center than here (a distant neighborhood). Whomever I approached to told me unaffordable prices. It is only because I am an Afghan. They do not want us here. They want us to leave (Zainab, female, 42).

As reflected in the quotes above, contextual difficulties in accessing to housing make Afghans to resort to informalities to find a place stay and turn invisible. Despite having a shelter is one of the necessities for physical security of human beings, refugees face problems in this sector as well, similar to those in the sector of employment which are discussed in the previous part. One respondent, Farid even mentioned that he could not rent a house for his family since arrival in 2018 due to the high prices and 'houseowners who did not want to have migrant tenants'. As a result, Farid and his family lived with another Afghan family by turning invisible in one house where in total, 7 people lived. Even though Farid thought that living in a small house with high number of people was stressful and uncomfortable, he mentioned that he did not have any other choice but to turn invisible and stay there until finding a flat to move to. To avoid being noticed by the neighbors, Farid's family was coming and leaving like ghosts as they could not risk being left on the street. Informality and invisibility which came into being with the aim of finding shelter, can cause inhumane conditions, risking the health and well-being of the refugees like in the case of respondents above.

5.2.1.4. Invisibility in public sphere

For asylum-seekers and refugees, leading a life in public is crucial for activities like running errands, accessing to basic services such as health and education and building communication through the available networks. In a way, the life 'outside' of home

bears uncertainties but at the same time, it is necessary to get involved in daily activities to survive in the liminal life. While spending time outside, Afghans face challenges of different sorts which make them go invisible. Seena explained that scepticism towards the refugees caused them to end up in possible quarrel in random places such as on the street, in the bazaar or in front of a bakery. To avoid escalation, turning invisible by fleeing the scene is a common practice: "*I do not have to do anything myself. They choose me! When they find out that I am Afghan, some start talking. At that moment, only choice is to go away." (Seena, male,38)* When the tension rises, disappearing is the most utilized strategy among the Afghans. When specifically asked whether they choose to confront, one respondent told that *'I am not looking for trouble' (Ahmad, male, late 50's)* while the other said *'confrontation would only make things worse" (Taha, male, 37)*. Among the respondents, the number of persons who confronted with the accuser is quite low and leaving the medium to avoid any inconvenience again turns out to be the only solution following confrontation. Many respondents mentioned that high number of Syrians in Shahre Kucek and the economic conditions made Afghans face incidents in the street with the local people which have become more common in the recent years. Interestingly, Afghans employ this strategy of 'going away' not only when an incident happens but also when there is a tension nearby which is not related to them: "*One needs to be careful about what is going on around him. Whenever I sense a problem that is approaching, I leave." (Milad, male, 29)* Similar to Milad, Nazar mentions that he chooses to be silent and moves away whenever he senses a problem approaching: "*Keeping silent is helpful. Instead of facing a problem, ignore it and go to your way." (Nazar, male, 35)*

What is interesting is that although all of the respondents are legal residents in Turkey with valid ID cards, they do not know and use the mechanisms of complaint when they face a problem. Because of their sense of temporariness in the country, respondents tend to avoid lodging a complaint by ignoring the challenge and they move away. Even if confrontation takes place, leaving is the mostly utilized tool as a method of solution in the end. Therefore, being a regular resident is not an issue in this realm; instead, what matters is to stay away from any problem through invisibility that might prevent any risk during ambiguous stay in Turkey.

One of the other areas where this form of avoidance through the tool of invisibility is used is the neighborhoods where Afghans live in Shahre Kucek. During the interviews, more than a third of the respondents mentioned that they were happy with their neighbors who are generally sympathetic with refugees and often provide help in the form of food or friendly relationship. Interestingly, despite such reality, the answers given by them were of similar nature as those who were not content with their neighbors. In other words, Afghans who were happy with their neighbors and Afghans who experienced challenges with their neighbors tend to have similar traits of action in their neighborhood which can be classified as the following: 'not to disturb the neighbors' and to 'avoid any clash with neighbors'. With the aim of avoiding any potential risk, confrontation and problem, the majority of the respondents keep a low profile in their neighborhood. Keeping a low profile is often complemented with turning invisible. From coming in and going out from their house during their daily activities, their sense of avoidance seems to be the main drive on how to act in their daily life to prevent ending up in a potential confrontation with the neighbors: "*I smoke daily. At home, things become complicated as I fear about going outside at our balcony*

to smoke. Neighbors might see me smoking and complain about it." (Nafisa, female, 49). Zainab also refers to her neighbors who check her family's entry and exit to the building. To avoid any problem, she warned her daughters: "*Neighbors are so into checking who is coming home and leaving when. I warned my daughters about when to come home as being late might be something that would not be appreciated by our neighbors." (Zainab, female, 42)* Ameer takes a similar action as a precaution to avoid problems with his neighbors: "*They (the neighbors) are so ready to argue with us. In order not to end up with any problem, we are paying attention to our level of voice in the house all the time" (Ameer, male, 50).*

It is interesting that, although none of Nafisa's neighbors ever complained about her smoking in the balcony, she based her actions to prevent any potential problem that might happen. This solely aims to keep the troubles away by thinking the next step and correcting what might happen as a result of her daily actions, in this case, a simple action like smoking. Given that the neighbors of Zainab and Ameer are more sceptical towards migrants, they do the same calculation, as Nafisa. What these experiences show is that meticulous calculation of problem prevention is done to prevent any problem before it even comes into existance. This seems like securing the temporary stay of Afghans in Shahre Kucek. Interviews also showed that, compared to men, Afghan women spend more time in the house and in the neighborhood as male members of the household go out working more than refugee women to provide for the family. Given that the time spent at home and in the neighborhood is quite long, women often meticulously calculate their daily activity. Zainab mentioned that as her neighbors do not like noise, she never accepts guests in her house. Whenever she has to meet with her Afghan friends, they meet in the houses of others. Zainab further

explained that she pays utmost importance to keep the windows, the balcony, and the entrance of her house clean given that her neighbors pay extra attention as her family is a migrant. She said that her house needs to be clean 'as if no one is making it dirty'. The lives of the Afghans in the neighborhood thus heavily embedded with different forms of invisibility, just to stay safe in the country where they sought refuge.

Respondents whose neighbors were sceptical towards migrants expressed that their challenges in their building deepened in the time of Covid-19 pandemic. Spending most of the time at home especially during the curfews forced Afghans to maximize their caution in order to avoid any problem with their neighbors. Fariba mentioned that putting forward continuous effort not to disturb their neighbors was harder than being unable to go outside due to curfews. Similarly, Neda complained about being unable to invite her parents to her house to spend the weekends throughout the curfew as her neighbors would complain about the noise if they found out about the guests.

In addition to the invisibility that is willingly employed by Afghans, there is also a different type of invisibility of Afghans which comes into being due to bureaucratic reasons, automatically. According to Turkish laws and regulations, the precondition of accessing to available services is to present a valid ID, like in the other countries. This also includes asylum-seekers and refugees. Additionally, when Afghans go outside of their satellite town where they are registered, their ID cards do not work. When they do not have an ID card for reasons such as a continuing application or an applicant with an ID card that works only in the satellite town, Afghans face challenges in accessing to some available assistance depending on their personal needs. Such rules make Afghans automatically invisible. In other words, it can be said that when Afghans

lack a valid document or stay in another town other than the satellite town, being invisible occurs as an automatic reality, not as a tool that is utilized by the refugees, willingly. Gul Mohammad mentioned that while working in another city than his satellite town of Shahre Kucek, he faced a temporal challenge in accessing to medical services which was solved in the end:

> Falling down in the construction (workplace) caused a broken bone and I was taken to hospital. There, at first, I could not register given that my card belongs to 'Shahre Kucek' (his satellite town). We had to talk to doctors to receive treatment due to my condition. In the end, luckily, my leg is plastered, and I returned to my own city (Gul Mohammad, male 33).

Not different than Gul Mohammed's experience, Raziyeh faced challenges at first for the registration of her child to school because of the asylum application delay that she encountered following arrival in Turkey. Even though she aimed to have her daughter registered at school while her asylum registration application was being processed by the migration authorities, she faced challenges because of not having a valid ID card issued by Turkey. Following discussions with the school principal, she managed to register her child. Another Afghan refugee Seyed further told that until receiving his ID card, he could not send money to his family given that without a valid ID card, no financial transaction can be processed. What these responses show that when Afghans do not turn invisible themselves in public sphere for their own benefit, asylum regulations find structural reasons to play a role in their invisibility in one way or another. Due to structural reasons or personal choice, Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees become invisible in their liminal life in Turkey. Seeking visibility is the other side of coin, which is discussed below.

5.2.2. Seeking Visibility

People who have been forced to flee face many challenges in their lives. Seeking help and assistance is a way of negotiation to find solutions to their specific needs through available support programmes (Lester, 2005). In Shahre Kucek, liminal life conditions do not always play a role in Afghans' invisibility. There are areas where refugees feel the need to be visible so as to receive positive outcomes. To be more specific, Afghans who often strategize being invisible for their own good, also choose to become visible when they want to receive available support offered by official authorities including receiving aid and being resettled to a third country. Through this strategy, 'ghost' refugee continues to be a ghost by using her/her visibility this time. Putting forward an effort of resilience for survival through being active individuals works to decrease barriers with the host communities. (Castro and Murray, 2010). In the case of Afghans, resilience through visibility plays a role in their attempt of staying alive as much as being invisible. In the next part, I will discuss the times when Afghans choose to be visible as ghosts in Shahre Kucek.

5.2.2.1. Claiming Afghan refugee status

Being visible in the liminal life is a debateable issue for many Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees. For some, highlighting their origins brings benefits and further sympathy from the part of the local residents of Shahre Kucek. For others, it is more of a useless effort that might trigger more scepticism as they tried and 'failed' before.

According to the interviews, close to two third of the respondents use their visibility for their own good, their families or the people whom they live together. Respondents explained that in a country where there are high number of refugees, being an Afghan has the potential to generate sympathy depending on the context. In addition to being a vulnerable group, personal needs stemming from having arrived from afar, Afghanistan, also play a role in highlighting the nationality to make sure that the seriousness of their condition is understood. Therefore, separating themselves from others with the aim of receiving positive outcomes such as being qualified for aid and establishing friendly ties is commonly shared by Afghans. "*Turks are distant to Syrians but not to us. My neighbors know that I come from Afghanistan, and they help us a lot." (Parwana, female, 32)* Like Parwana, Hikmat also specifies his nationality for making an application to receive aid: "*I went to the office (NGO); told that I am an unemployed Afghan and in need of coal to provide heating in my house. They gave me bags of coal." (Hikmat, male, 56)*

As a single mother, Kubra also mentions her Afghan identity while requesting support due to her difficult condition:

> My husband is dead, and I have 3 children. I am telling *anjuman* offices (NGOs) that I walked all the way from Afghanistan which left significant deficiency in my legs. We have nothing here. They know my difficulties and help me each month (Kubra, female, early 50s).

Many of the respondents mentioned that locals in Shahre Kucek are somewhat aware of the challenges that Afghans faced due to Taliban violence in Afghanistan. This works as a motivation for generating support for Afghan refugees. Sympathetic neighbors support Afghans with food items, furniture and clothes given that these

items are not easy to afford especially for the crowded families. As Kubra mentioned above, having walked from Afghanistan to Turkey for weeks is enough for her family to be qualified for support. The difficulties that Afghans came across motivate some of them to highlight their status with the aim of having positive outcomes, especially through accessing to available services to meet their needs and receiving aid. This is a very humane approach for staying alive in a country that they are not familiar with.

Resettlement to a third country is another topic which motivates most of the Afghans to highlight their nationality. From time to time, rumors spread about possible resettlement opportunities among the community which make Afghans to reach out to organizations for submitting their personal resettlement requests. Interviews showed that, especially after Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in August 2021, rumors pointed to the possible resettlement opportunities for Afghans who could not return to Afghanistan anymore. There are also Afghans who have been interviewed for resettlement or have departed to third countries such as the United States, Canada and some EU member countries from Shahre Kucek which triggered further motivation among the refugee community. When asked, Seyed mentioned that he contacted UNHCR many times and said that as an Afghan, he wanted to move to the United States. Even though his case was still pending for interview at the time, he remained hopeful as one of his sisters was living there that can facilitate his departure. Similarly, Fariba expressed that some of her relatives have been resettled to Canada from Turkey. As this motivated her, she contacted UNHCR many times and continues her effort. When asked, she said that she specifically mentioned her nationality during the phone call not only because her relatives have been resettled there from Turkey but also, she

wanted to be included to any resettlement opportunity in the future which is to be given to those who fled Afghanistan as a result of Taliban violence.

Unlike Afghans who put forward efforts for visibility of their status, there are others who think that this is an inefficient method to receive support. Respondents who do not believe in highlighting their status have either tried and could not get any positive outcome or did not try at all due to reasons such as 'limited number of initiatives'. Some Afghans are thus mainly skeptical about the opportunities that might provide positive outcomes for them:

> I applied at the Embassy for going to Australia to join my family two years ago and still there is no reply. There are so many people (refugees) here. They need to understand us (Afghans), and provide solutions to our needs (Fahima, female, 44).

As can be seen from the statement of Fahima, her family has been waiting for two years without any news from her application. For her, highlighting her Afghan status did not matter given her experience so far. Taha's situation is no different than Fahima. For him, living in a small-scale city like Shahre Kucek limits the availability of aid organizations which could provide relief for him and his family: "*Living in a small city like this has so little opportunities. I heard that in big cities, there are many (aid) organizations. Here, there is limited support. There needs to be more." (Taha, male, 37)* What these responds show is that when Afghans are sceptical about the initiatives, they might refrain from highlighting their status as they no longer expect positive outcomes that would work in favor of them. Additionally, sceptical ideas towards refugees from the members of the host communities might also play a discouraging role for them to avoid highlighting their nationality.

5.2.2.2. Visibility in the public sphere

Visibility in public sphere follows a similar pattern as highlighting Afghan refugee status which is discussed above. The difference of using visibility in public than highlighting the refugee status is that the former type of visibility is utilized more frequently and at wider parts of the daily life than the latter one. In the neighborhood, in the mosque and while establishing relationships, Afghans tend to use the art of visibility significantly more. Most of the time, this aims to create a positive image of Afghans in Shahre Kucek, especially at times when scepticism towards refugees experiences a peak. Even though the number of respondents who use their visibility constitute a majority, there are also Afghan refugees and asylum-seekers who do not choose to be visible because of the similar reasons mentioned in the previous part.

As the location where Afghans spend most of their time in their neighborhood, turning visible generally takes place in the neighborhood. Many respondents said that they want to establish goodly relationships with their neighbors due to which they use visibility. Some of the respondents also aim to show that despite the rumors which portrait refugees as ‘problematic’ and ‘dangerous’, they are ‘normal like everyone’:

> Neighbors were distant when we first moved in our apartment [in Shahre Kucek]. In time, they saw that that we are normal like everyone. When we share our food with them, good relationships are formed. Now, things are well between us (Marzia, female, 54).

When the respondents are specifically asked, their motivation of visibility through helping their neighbors stem from ‘being a human being’ and to show that refugees are not bad people as some Turks believe so. A university student Sarwer told that in the first year of their arrival in their building, the neighbor who lives next door did not

show signs of sincerity to his family. When their neighbor heard that Sarwer was studying at the university, she was surprised and asked him whether he could help her children's' homework. For him, this worked as a leverage for her to accept his family as the neighbors started showing more intimate attitude after starting to help children with their homework: *"The children of our neighbor go to primary school. I often go them (to their house) to study math's together (with the children). We have a close relationship (with the family of the neighbor)." (Sarwer, male, 22)* Similarly, taking the neighbors' children to parks and carrying their bags contributes to the goodly image of Afghans in the neighborhood and establish goodly relationship of Parwana with her neighbors: "*When our neighbor broke her leg, I took their children to park along with mine. She liked my support. At the end of the day, we are the same." (Parwana, female, 32)* In fact, once the Turkish neighbors get to know more of Afghans in their building, in their street or in their neighborhood, also chances of seeing them as a neighbor (*komşu)* increase. For example, Ghulam helps his neighbors with this aim: "*Some of our neighbors from the building (apartment) are old. Whenever I saw them carrying bags from the market or bazaar, I help them carry until their house." (Ghulam, male, 44)* . Some other respondents mentioned that their Turkish neighbors come to their house and also invite Afghan families to their houses. In the time of COVID-19, despite house visits decreased significantly, the meetings 'continued taking place in open air' in the gardens of the apartments, or in the parks. Yousef mentioned that his mother has two close Turkish neighbors with whom she often goes to shopping and parks. The family of Karim also attended wedding ceremonies of the children of their mother's close Turkish neighbors. Marzia further told that together with her neighbor, they cook jams and prepare pickles. Habib's wife also joins cleaning activities together with their Turkish neighbors in their building including carpet washing. These findings

confirm the findings of a study which explains the situation of migrants in Turkey as 'segmented incorporation' stipulating that migrants use their limited opportunities to negotiate their existence among the host society (Danis, 2005). With a gender outlook, it can be said that women establish closer ties with the neighbors in their neighborhood, depending on the attitudes of the latter group towards their Afghan neighbors. Although women can establish closer relationships with the neighbors as the spend more time in the neighborhood, men also become a part of these ties established by the women as Karim mentioned. Here, it should be further noted that language skills play an important part in building closer relationship with the neighbors. Afghans of Uzbek ethnicity among the respondents again stand out when it comes to building closer relationship with their neighbors as their mother tongue, Uzbek is quite similar to Turkish which facilitate their development of Turkish skills in a shorter period of time compared to other ethnicities such as Hazaras and Pashtuns. The latter ethnicities also establish ties with their neighbors according to my data; however, given that Uzbeks learn Turkish faster than these groups, the former group accelerates this process more than the latter group.

In the context of being Afghan refugees and asylum-seekers in Shahre Kucek, religion is significant when it comes to engaging with local community through turning visible. From attending prayers in local mosques to sending their children to official religious courses, Afghans in Shahre Kucek turn visible on matters related to religion with the aim of creating a 'better' image of themselves. According to the data, refugee men go to the mosque prayers more than women. Majority of the respondents in my study was of Sunni sect of Islam, like the rest of the majority of local residents. Only Afghan Hazaras were of a different sect, Shiah faith. While most of the Sunni respondents

mentioned that they were attending religious prayers in the mosques in Shahre Kucek, despite the sectarian difference, some of Shiah Afghans also expressed that they also go to these mosques for prayers. In the mosques, Afghans get into interaction with other Turks, and establish relationships with them. With these established networks, Afghans continue taking part in religious activities such as attending Friday prayers and organizing *iftar* gatherings during Ramadan. The network also supports refugee children's attendance in prayers and official religious courses organized by the official mosque administration:

> Whenever I am not working, I go to mosque. It is obligatory. I also sent my son to the mosque's teaching school (Qur'an and religious courses) last summer. He now has many Turkish friends, and he has better Turkish (language skills) (Ali, male, 40).

Even though respondents mainly mentioned that they aim to join religious activities because of their personal belief, some of the answers pointed to creating a better image of Afghans in the eyes of local residents which can be one of the reasons of turning visible:

> With my father, we go (to the mosque) frequently. At Ramadan, we have iftar together (with the local residents). Turks see this and say 'look, Afghans are not like we thought to be'. We are also human being like them (Abdullah, male, 34).

Being a part of religious activities bring the Afghans with the local community closer. As Neda explained, when local community see that Afghans come to the neighborhood mosques to pray, they related with them whatever their opinion is towards the refugees: *"Turks and Afghans pray together. When they see Afghans praying (in the mosque), they appreciate it." (Neda)* In a way, this encounter challenges the scepticsim towards the refugees and works to create a positive outlook thanks to their visibility in in the

neighborhood. In a small-scale city like Shahre Kucek, once the relationships are formed, they are maintained on a regular basis thorough jointly participated religious activities similar to the experience of Abdullah and Ali. Additionally, Afghans also follow the developments of the mosque community closely. For example, Morad mentioned that he joins funeral prayers of the late mosque's community members as well as the neighborhood gatherings where 'condolences are being offered to give comfort to their families'. Despite their economic difficulties, Sohrab mentioned that Afghans who attend mosque prayers also contribute to the charity activities aiming to provide relief to survivors of natural disasters such as the Earthquake of Izmir in 2020 and Fire that took place in Southern Turkey in 2021. Through the activities where Afghans turn visible for 'creating better image', Afghans find a more eased environment in the neighborhood. Lastly, it should be also added that freedom of religion also plays a role for Afghans to take part of religious activities where they can easily turn visible as one respondent mentioned the following: "*Unlike in Afghanistan, going to mosques is voluntary here. It is nice when there is no pressure to attend prayers. You go even more motivated. (Hikmat, male, 56)*

Contrary to those who use their visibility in public, there also Afghans who either do not choose to be visible or avoid doing so with the aim of preventing any potential harm targeting them on account of being refugees. Here, similar motives explained in the previous section make Afghans not to turn visible such as scepticism towards refugees or seeing no benefit in these actions: "*People in our city do not like us and express their feelings with their attitudes. It is because we are refugees. How can being Afghan help me (provide benefit) in this situation"? (Hadi, male, 39)* In a different environment, Sarwer avoids telling his nationality given that he does not want to end

up with various sorts of questions: *There are negative(-ly opinionated) students at the university. Unless specifically asked, I do not tell them that I am an Afghan as I think that it is not possible to change their mind whatever I do. (Sarwer, male, 22).* Limiting visibility in the neighborhood is also employed by some respondents like Zainab who criticizes opinionated neighbors:

> We did nothing wrong to our neighbors. We sit in our homes just like they do. There is no reason for them to complain about us. When they behave like this, there is no other choice but to keep off. (Zainab, female,42).

5.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, empirical findings on the ghost-like agency of Afghans are presented and analyzed. The findings show that to stay alive in the country of asylum, Afghans use the tool of being visible and invisible as they are left to their own devices because of the structural reasons in Turkey. According to the responses, from the first moment of arrival, Afghans utilize this creative tool in the country of asylum. After registration, the life in the satellite town requires refugees to continue using the tool of being visible and invisible for finding a job, finding a house to stay, and also establishing relationships with the members of the local community. This creative method also comes along with consequences as Afghans face vulnerabilities and exploitation. In the next chapter, conclusion of the dissertation is presented.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This dissertation is about how asylum-seekers and refugees strategize in everyday life using ghost-agency built in the complex relationship between visibility and invisibility. It brings a new perspective on the agency of refugees by focusing on this complex relationship between visibility and invisibility for survival. I suggest to understand the agency of refugees by using the ghost-like agency and the study proposes a new analytical lens to understand the strategies of Afghan refugees who are vulnerable during their stay. In this Conclusion chapter, I will first summarize the situation as part of Turkey's limitation to Geneva Convention, neoliberal asylum policies and then continue with the liminal process that comes into being. I will then unfold the ghost-like refugee with her/his strategy of turning visible and invisible who tries to survive with her/his partial agency in this asylum context.

This dissertation argues that in countries where recognition of refugee status is conditional and temporary, for instance, due to limitation to Geneva Convention in Turkey and complex migration laws, asylum-seekers and refugees are forced to be ghosts by turning visible and invisible to survive in their liminal lives. In a way, throughout their struggles, refugees have no other choice but to seek employment in the informal sector, take risks, end up in vulnerabilities and have to negotiate with the

temporariness of their stay in the country of asylum. By taking Afghans in Shahre Kucek as a case study, this study specifically focuses on Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees and tries to understand how they strategize to survive in their daily life as ghosts.

The data collected sheds light on the ways Afghan refugees strategize both under Turkey's limitation put on Geneva Convention and the global neoliberal setting affecting the lives of refugees. What makes Turkey's case unique is that refugees are assigned to satellite towns where they could only travel with permits. When complex legal asylum context goes hand in hand with neoliberal policies, refugees who had to flee their home countries are in a way left to their own devices and end up in a protracted situation for long years. This leaves refugees in a liminal stage where they feel in a limbo like situation. As a result, they could neither incorporate to the host society nor think about a future to build new life with new identity. Under such condition, refugees do not have any other choice but to survive through creating new strategies by themselves. During their stay in a satellite town, Afghans strive to create economic opportunities for themselves, aim to access to basic services such as healthcare and try to survive within the complex asylum procedures. In the meantime, most of the refugees follow up the possibilities for resettlement to third countries. For some of them, resettlement is a solution to move away from the liminal life.

Challenges faced by refugees to move to a third country increase the years of stay in the country of asylum which deepen the liminality experienced by the asylum-seekers and refugees. In other words, the regulations and currently available quotas for immigration and resettlement make it difficult for the conditional refugees to move to

other countries. In addition, Turkey's asylum policies make it difficult for refugees to be employed and gain citizenship. As a result, refugees' incorporation into the host society remains limited thereby creating and reinforcing a protracted liminal stage which brings about an ambiguous situation in social, economic, and legal realms that lead to "ghostification" of the refugees in Turkey to stay alive. In some cases, this liminal stage continues for years where refugees try to survive throughout this 'continuing temporariness' with their 'continuing conditional' status.

A significant finding of this study shows that all the participants commonly share the experience of liminality in the country of asylum, where they aim to stay alive through the strategies that they formulate by turning visible and invisible. Future hopes of the participants mostly aimed to depart to a third country, mostly to a Western state, through resettlement opportunities or means of family reunification because of the limbo-like conditions of the country of asylum, which is Turkey for this specific research. This experience of liminality is differentiated by ethnicity which is built upon language and religious identities. Uzbeks generally aim to stay in Turkey as a result of language and religious similarities as these play an important role for refugee adaptation and incorporation to the host society. Compared to other ethnic groups came from Afghanistan such as Pashtuns and Hazaras, the results of this research show that Uzbeks have closer ties with the members of the host community and hopeful about their future in Turkey despite the difficulties that they face due to the structural reasons.

In addition to the complexity of the refugee regime that creates challenges for Afghans, international refugee context also in part plays a role in the creation of ghost-like

refugee. International asylum system has also challenges while addressing to the situation of Afghans because of peculiarity of international refugee law and high number of global displacement in the world as a result of war, conflict and violence. Mechanism of international solidarity on refugee issues also needs more attention for responding the needs of those who are forcibly displaced because of the increasing number of refugee situations worldwide, available migration quotas and growing funding demands for global humanitarian assistance.

My empirical study shows that liminality has a direct effect on the life prospects of refugees. Some respondents indicated that their liminal experience started even before arrival in their satellite city as they had to live some other countries following being forcible displaced from their country of origin. Therefore, it can be said that arrival in Turkey offers a more extended liminal process which continues as a state of temporary "between and betwixt' condition. What this entails is that refugees remain in the country of asylum for an unknown period of time until they depart to the third country. This context in a way turns Turkey to country of asylum with a long-term waiting period for the conditional refugees who face continuing challenges with their creative means to respond to them. As a result of their economic difficulties and challenges that come into being because of the current conditions including COVID-19 pandemic and available resettlement quotas, departure from Turkey become more difficult issue for refugees. Throughout their stay in Turkey, liminal boundaries become infinite, and refugees feel in ambiguity. This temporary and ambiguous liminal process is the basis of the lives of refugees in their satellite town. Findings of this research point that, in this challenging situation, interactions of refugees with the host society mostly aim for their survival. Because of the difficulties that come along, meanings attributed to the

liminal lives in the country of asylum are thus generally not optimistic. Asylum-seekers and refugees feel that they are in limbo-like situation and some of them use religion to interpret the situation that they are in. In addition to religion, the ongoing nature of the conflict that continues in Afghanistan since the late 1970s and the lack of help from other countries are also explained as the causes of the liminal lives of Afghans in exile who were forced to leave their home country to Turkey to seek peace and safety. When the feeling of difficulty of fleeing their home is added to the challenges faced in their lives in limbo in the country of asylum, the feeling of desperation is commonly shared by Afghans. The ambiguous nature of their 'temporary' stay thus plays a role in expanding the layers of liminality.

This research found that in their liminal lives, Afghan refugees face structural constraints stemming from legal reasons, making it challenging for Afghans to make a living and thinking about their futures to build a life. In Turkey, the very nature of the 'satellite town' that Afghans are assigned to further points to a spatial character that limits the movement of the members of the Afghan community. In other words, the liminal life is firstly defined spatially for the refugees in the satellite towns that they are assigned, and this has an effect on their life in limbo. Satellite town regulation stipulates that changing the city of residence is not possible unless there is a compelling reason such as medical needs and education. This system envisages asylum-seekers and refugees to reside where they are assigned to and look for employment only in the satellite town regardless of the availability of enough jobs. In this sense, this research confirms that Turkey's legal asylum infrastructure that starts with the assignment of satellite town is one of the main pillars of the (re) creation of liminal lives of Afghans.

In this study, agency is taken as a primary theoretical lens when it comes to understanding the ways in which these strategies of becoming visible and invisible are formed and enacted. In this challenging situation as a result of the context mentioned above, asylum-seekers and refugees aim to formulate solutions for staying alive. These solutions are employed through utilization of agency in a partial manner due to structural constraints as they need to stay in their city where they are officially assigned by the migration authorities. In this study, I introduce ghost-like agency as a tool of responding to this refugee context. Ghost-like agency can be defined as an agency which is created by refugees with the aim of by-passing the constraints of the state with the sole aim of survival. In this challenging situation, refugees turn into a ghost who meticulously formulate strategies for survival in the country of asylum. While turning into a ghost, the agency is used partially because surveillance mechanisms and scepticism towards refugees limit their agency and abilities. For example, the necessity to go the migration office every two weeks or each month to prove that the refugee is in the satellite town is a structural cause that puts a constraint to the agency of the refugee. The ghost refugee, through utilization of her/his partial agency, turns invisible and visible with the aim of survival in the country of asylum. Ghost-like refugee is the result of a force majeure situation which does not give any other reason for the person but to create solutions for her/his survival. In other words, the structural context leaves refugees to their own devices that leads to the creation of the ghost-like agency in the country of asylum. If this creative state of art is not operated, there would be consequences: if the authorities notice the person who challenges the structure, official mechanisms such as fine and deportation can be applied. On the other hand, the refugee, in her/his quest of using ghost-like agency, is almost in a continuous

possibility of being exposed to risks which can exacerbate already existing vulnerabilities while turning visible and invisible in the country of asylum.

In this present study, we see the complex relationship between visibility and invisibility in ghost like agency. The first strategy of the 'ghost' refugee for survival is seeking invisibility, which goes through different stages, from the arrival in the country to the everyday lives in satellite towns. From the first moment of arrival in the country of asylum until registration in the satellite town, participant asylum-seekers and refugees mentioned that they feel under stress and pressure of being found and deported back to their country of origin. The only possible response that can be given by them is to limit their visibility through using their agency depending on the condition and context until becoming official in the country of asylum. This is a very humane approach for risk aversion with the aim of eliminating and avoiding any sort of risk that might endanger their stay in Turkey. Until registration, asylum-seekers travel informally, stay mostly indoors, and avoid going outside to eliminate the risk of any encounter with the law enforcement forces. This attempt can be described as an effort of 'winning or losing' because if turning invisible is not employed, the risk of being found by authorities might increase and, police might deport the asylum-seekers who have yet to be registered. Turning invisible by staying indoors and limiting movement can thus be the only possible actions for refugees to avoid any problem until registration.

What is striking in the case of Afghans in this research is that they continue to employ the strategy of invisibility even after being registered and assigned to a satellite city which brings informality into the picture. The legal context of the country makes it

difficult for Afghans to find a regular job and incorporate into the society through neutralization. Although the law permits employment of refugees, because of additional tax requirements and long bureaucratic procedures, employers might not employ refugees. Scepticism also plays a role for not employing migrants. Low number of opportunities in a small satellite town also make the situation more difficult in terms of economic means for refugees to get by. These conditions thus leave no other choice but to (re)create solutions for survival by Afghans. Solutions often point to informal sector not only in the satellite town but also in the other larger neighboring cities for employment by being invisible. Among the respondents, seeking informal job opportunities was a common practice and mostly achieved through the help of other refugees and in part by the members of the host society, either in satellite towns or in the other larger neighboring cities. For instance, solely for survival, participants mentioned that they often had to turn invisible by travelling in a 'ghost taxi' which by-passes the possible security checkpoints on the way between their satellite city and other cities. At the workplace, which is often outside of the satellite town, utilizing invisibility had to continue as refugees are continuously ready to turn invisible any time by leaving the workplace in case any stranger might see them. This finding points to the fact that when refugees leave their satellite city for employment, the risks embedded to this action increase significantly. State of invisibility has to continue where refugees work and stay due to the informality until their return to the satellite town as the risk of being encountered with authorities is high.

In addition to the difficulties of the liminal life, ghost refugee's utilization of invisibility brings vulnerabilities. Feeling the need to turn invisible at times of difficulties such as while accessing to some services such as employment, shelter, and

health care, might make refugees face vulnerabilities in their liminal lives in the country of asylum. This state of 'invisible ghost' also in part challenges refugees while accessing to some services. For example, one participant mentioned that he faced a small challenge before receiving treatment when he was injured outside of his satellite town while working informally. From travelling informally to working informally, from keeping silent at home to be attentive at in the street, condition of refugees can be described as a state of vulnerability. Their invisibility reinforces this state of vulnerability in which refugees come across risks. On some occasions, some members of the local community contribute to the vulnerability of refugees through exploitation as it is known that asylum-seekers and refugees have limitations such as the need to stay in the satellite town and the travel restrictions. Restricted freedom of movement, risk of deportation, challenges while accessing to some services, and feeling the need to calculate their steps while establishing relationship with the locals are some other factors contributing to the continuation of the vulnerabilities of refugees. According to the findings of this study, as a result of the vulnerabilities that Afghans experience as ghosts, some Afghan refugees think about building a future in another third country.

The second strategy that asylum-seekers and refugees employ according to this study is being visible. Similar to turning invisible, the 'ghost' refugee becomes visible this time with the aim of easing the difficulties that are being faced in the liminal life in Turkey. Again, like the first strategy, turning visible is an intentional action, achieved through the partial agency of refugees with the ultimate aim of survival. With this strategy, refugees intend to create positive outcomes in local community. To be more specific, they aim to benefit from being visible in their liminal life such as establishing better relationship with the local people, receive aid and apply for resettlement

opportunities in a third country. Especially in their relationship with the local community, refugees formulate this strategy of visibility to create a positive image of themselves in the country of asylum. In parallel with the findings of the present study, it can be said that this strategy aims to better navigate their possibilities in Turkey for a more comfortable 'temporary stay'. In other words, as a result of the legal and social reasons explained above, incorporation of Afghans in Turkey can only be achieved partially through their efforts of creating a positive outlook through using their visibility. With this strategy, it can be said that creation of positive image is aimed to be operated to bring about a more constructive relationship with the members of the local community and also to play a role for preventing challenges in the satellite town. Thus, refugees strategize their survival with regards to being visible, eroding negative visibility and creating positive visibility in the eyes of the dwellers of the satellite town in favor of themselves. It can be said that positive visibility first aims to create a positive outlook with the aim of legitimizing and normalizing their existence in the eyes of the people of the satellite town. By this way, the refugees try to be a part of the host society and act in accordance with the social norms and codes. What is aimed more is that once they get engaged with the social codes and norms, they further aim to construct a positive image of themselves among the local community through which the social environment paves the way for legitimization of asylum-seekers and refugees in the social realm. Of course, for the part of this specific study, this legitimization is achieved to a certain extend and only points to a social meaning given that all of the respondents of this study are 'legitimate' residents in Turkey as they are already officially registered with the authorities. After achieving legitimization in the eyes of the locals through their positive visibility to a certain extend, refugees aim for benefits in their liminal lives in the country of asylum. When refugees help a neighbor

or offer condolences, they want to give the message that apart from being a refugee, they are also the members of the host society. Even though the study did not have a finding which points to refugees identifying themselves with the neighborhood and/or the city that they live in, refugees' actions with regards to creating positive visibility mostly point to the aim of preventing problems with their neighbors and the city dwellers. Of course, the rationale of this strategy can be explained as achieving survival in the country of asylum. This study's findings also show that other reason why refugees feel the need to create a positive visibility of themselves can be an act of response to the scepticism towards refugees, particularly because of the existence of high number refugees and increasing trend of scepticism towards refugees in the country of asylum. By this way, positive visibility of refugees intends to reverse the 'negative visibility' which refers to irregular acts and scepticism towards refugees.

If the question is how to explain the operationalization of the ghost refugee in everyday life, then the answer can be "normalization" of the process of turning into ghost through being visible and invisible. In other words, the degree of turning into 'ghost' through visibility and invisibility signifies a normalization process. Normalization of 'ghosting' can be defined as a smooth and ongoing process that utilizes the social codes and existing system by getting included to them with the aim of survival. To be more specific, Afghans integrate themselves into the social codes of the host community as anonymized individuals by turning visible and invisible and align their position in accordance with the strategy that they want to seek. Instead of inventing different possibilities, Afghans move within the already existing 'system' and become a part of it by adapting to it. It can be said that this is a practical and conscious strategy and a direct outcome of the social, economic, and legal context of the country. This

alignment is operated in the workplace where the job is informal, in the building where there are sceptical neighbors and also in the street where refugees face challenges depending on the context. In time, positioning their strategies in accordance with the social norms and within the already existing system becomes normalized as a natural part of their daily life. As one respondent mentioned, travelling by a ghost taxi is easy to find and with the support of locals and available refugee networks, Afghans get included to this sort of travelling. Operationalization of this approach becomes so much embedded to the daily life that there is almost no major suspension of this strategy throughout their stay.

Many respondents explained that they were willing to take these risks for their survival as they thought that the life in Afghanistan was more challenging for them. Being 'in and out' and 'here and there' situation of Afghans with their visibility and invisibility thus illustrates an 'illusionary picture' but at the same time reflects a very real reality as they move within the codes of the society easily. In other words, ghost like agency of Afghans depicts an illusionary picture from their real life. They are part of that real life; however, they are just 'nowhere to be found' at some specific point of time when they turn invisible. On the other hand, when they turn visible, they can work on building good relationships with their neighbors as visible persons. Surprisingly, the visible refugee might again turn invisible the next day in the workplace. This process can be defined as a 'standardized sequence' that operates through routinized practices with the ultimate goal of staying alive. This illusionary ghost identity is part of Afghans' normal life and tangible in every possible occasion. The illusionary Afghan is traceable from the informal job that s/he does to informal house that s/he resides. S/he is 'there' in the workshop or on the street but at the same time s/he is 'nowhere'

to be found. When they turn visible, they are in the neighborhood, in the mosque or in the park spending time with the members of the host community. When they turn invisible, they are partially present and partially absent. This skillful fluid state equips and enables Afghans to get lost in plain sight and at the same time helps them to be visible among the host community in daylight. For instance, depiction of one day of an Afghan who works informally outside Shahre Kucek can explain how turning invisible becomes a normalized process that can also be easily traced through the continuous practices: finding the "ghost" taxi to avoid any checkpoint on the way, wearing 'standard cloths similar to locals', travelling as an invisible customer and finding an informal employment. Throughout these informal processes, the Afghan refugee is nowhere to be found thanks to her/his creative strategy of invisibility. Interesting enough though, this 'invisibility' is illusionary as s/he exists physically in physical world. Despite the informal and invisible nature of the travel and work, s/he travels next to the other Turkish customer sitting in the same ghost taxi who does not have the concern of turning invisible only to provide for her/his family. From this perspective, it seems that the condition of sitting in the taxi and finding the informal jobs requires refugees to operate the normalization process no matter how challenging, and risky it is because it is a matter of staying alive. As one of the respondents expressed, "it is a matter of win or lose".

Religion also plays a role in creation of positive visibility. In this context, it can be said that having similar cultural and religious traits positively support social interaction and forming new relationships. Afghans also join the mosque communities to create a positive visibility by participating religious services and community activities.

Supporting Rostami-Povey (2003, 2007b), cultural and religious similarities help to create a more positive outlook in the eyes of the local community.

In the context of receiving aid and applying for resettlement to a third country, ghost refugee who turns visible with her/his refugee identity can be enough as its operationalization does not necessarily have to be 'positive'. Difficult journey from the country of origin and the vulnerabilities that the families have in the satellite town motivate them to use their visibility for benefiting from the available support including assistance, coal support and food items. In their satellite town, some local dwellers become more prone to help refugees thanks to this awareness created by the efforts of refugees themselves as well.

In the literature, it is discussed that asylum-seeking is a debated issue from the part of the members of the host communities and challenges that refugees face deepen the liminal layers of the daily life in the countries of asylum. Liminality is further discussed as a process which produces entities that are pushed outside of the society (Turner, 1967). In this case, Afghan asylum-seekers and refugees might be seen as 'outside entities' by the structure itself. Given that being sceptical towards refugees can prompt more distance between the receiving society and the refugees, some members from the latter group might tend to keep the interaction with the former for establishing good relationships, as also found by this present research. Different from the literature that often discusses the challenges of the refugees in host societies, this research illustrates the efforts of Afghan refugees as deliberate attempts to build good relations with the host society by using positive visibility. By aiming to create a positive visibility, Afghans establish relationships with the host community members

as part of a survival strategy and put an effort to maintain good relationships based on the positive visibility of Afghans.

Gendered experiences of the ghost refugee reflect a mutual pattern in the liminal life in the country of asylum. In the satellite town where the structural conditions apply both to women and men equally, the experiences pertaining to strategy formulation for survival are similar. When the aim is to stay alive in the country of asylum, ghost refugee's gender does not make a difference in her/his utilization of visibility or invisibility. What matters here is that the ghost refugee, either a woman or man, uses her/his agency, as much as the liminal life conditions in the country of asylum allow them. While turning invisible in the workplace or turning visible in the neighborhood, experiences of vulnerability, risk taking, and exploitation are similar and shared equally by both genders. Despite these common gendered experiences, one finding of this research shows that refugee men are in search of employment more than the refugee women making men move beyond the limits of the satellite town while refugee women spend more time in the neighborhood than the former. This can be interpreted in a way in which refugee men use more partial agency to turn invisible to work while refugee women turn more visible in the neighborhood while establishing relationships. The responses of participants however mostly point that strategizing to stay alive is prioritized regardless of the gender identity of the ghost refugee.

This study will make its contribution to the literature of asylum and also work to raise awareness among the readers about how the legal context in country of asylum creates challenges for refugees. The findings of this study can help to remove the challenges that refugees face and create a more effective environment that helps to eliminate risk

and vulnerabilities of refugees. Further studies need to be conducted in order to find about the conditions that create 'liminal lives' and what the consequences are for the refugees in their everyday lives. Especially, academia should explore the refugee agency and temporariness in the asylum context more while future research should focus on the refugee situations where the displacement is long, complex and protracted. These studies could help understand the multifaceted strategy formulation of asylum seekers and refugees in liminality. A gender perspective that would explore the experiences of refugee women in deeper ways would contribute to the theoretical framework of ghost-like agency. Moreover, exploring the agency of refugees in contexts that differentiate along the dimension of special cluster would provide contribution to this perspective.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX-A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Before starting the interview: Counselling on the study is given and consent of the interviewee is asked to conduct the interview as well as to take notes.

Age:

Gender:

Time spent in Turkey:

Time spent in satellite town:

THE EXPERIENCE OF LIVING IN SATELLITE TOWN

Q.1. Please let us hear about your history of coming in the satellite town.

Q.2 Please tell me about your life in the satellite town.

Probe: For you, what are the positive experiences of living in the satellite town?

What are the negative experiences of living in the satellite town?

Q.2A How do you think about the obligation of staying in the satellite town?

Q.2B How do you think about the obligation of staying in the satellite town?

JOBS

Q3. What do you do for living?

Probe: Do you have regular job? Do you have sigorta at your job? Is it ok for you to work without a work permit? How do you feel about the obligation of having a work permit? Have you applied? Do you have your own business? Is it okay to have a Turkish citizen as your work partner?

If the interviewee works in the satellite town: What do you do in order not to be seen?

Q4.Can we talk about your experience of finding a job?

Probe: How did you find that job, who did help you: friends, neighbors?

Q5. Do you go to an another town? If yes, how often?

Probe: For working purposes? Visiting relatives?

Q5A. Do you go to an another town to visit relatives?

Q5B. Do you go to other cities to visit relatives?

Q.6 How do you go to an another town, please tell us in details.

Probe: How do you manage to go to an another town given that you have to stay in the satellite town all the time as a refugee/asylum-seeker?

Do you get the support of Turkish people, for instance, do you ride in their car?

Q6A.Is it ok for you to get out of the satellite town for work? Why? Why not?

Q6B. If you go outside the satellite town for work reasons, do you try not to be seen? If yes, how do you manage it?

Probe: modes of transportation

Q.7. Do you fell stress while travelling to and from the satellite town for work purposes?

Have you faced problems until now? What happened then?

Question for the unemployed men/women refugees:

Q8. Do you stay inside your home most of the time or go out often? Why?

If goes out: do you socialize with your neighbors?

Q.9 How is your relationship with your Turkish neighbors?

Probe: Do your help them in any ways, such as carrying bags?

Do you feel the pressure to be careful about not making noise in your apartment? If yes, does it create stress for you?

Do you feel the need to be careful about your behavior inside the building, for example the time of coming and leaving?

Do you feel challenges with Turkish neighbors? If yes, please tell me more about it?

HOUSING

Q.10. How did you find this house?

Q.11.Did you need to show a Turkish kefil?

Q12. Do you have a housing contract??

Q13. How do you feel about living in your apartment?

Probe: Do you feel the pressure to be careful about not making noise not to disturb your neighbors in your apartment? If yes, does it create stress for you?

Do you pay attention to the times of arrival and leaving the building?

Does all this create stress for you?

Q.14. Do you feel the need to be careful about your behavior inside the building, for example the time of coming and leaving?

NEIGHBOURS

Q.15. Please tell me how do you feel about your neighbors?

Probe: Do you help them in any ways, such as carrying bags?

AFGHAN COMMUNITY IN SATELLITE TOWN- SOCIAL RECOGNITION

Q.16. What do you think about the Afghan community in the satellite town?

Probe: What are some of its advantages': for example: finding a job, finding housing? Do people in your Afghan community help you find a job? Did they help you find the house you live in?

How do you think Afghans should be supported in the satellite town?

What does locals think about the migrants?

Probe: How does the presence of migrants in the satellite town affect the approach of the locals towards you? Does it impact your life in general (positively)? Does it impact your life in general (negatively)? What do the local community think about

the shops run by migrants in the city? How is the relationship between the communities?

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES IN SATELLITE TOWN

Q.17. What do you think are the expectations of locals living in the satellite town from migrants?

Q.18. Are there things you do to create a good image of migrants in satellite town?

Q.19. How do you think your neighbors feel about this? (the activities that you do- for example: joining neighborly activities)

RECEIVING AID/ SUPPORT

Q.20. Do you get support? Please tell me about this experience.

Q.21. Do you emphasize about status?

Probe: Do you contact NGO's as an Afghan? Do you tell these organizations that you are an migrant? Is there neighbor support for the migrants?

THEIR DEFINITION OF 'SURVIVAL NEEDS'

Q.22 What do you understand when we say survival? What is survival for you?

Probe: How do you define survival, is it housing, shelter food or more than that? Do you going to cultural events, to see a movie, going to parks?

Q.23 What do you need in the satellite town to survive? Can you please give details?

Probe: Employment, shelter, living together with relatives, language skills, aid, education, cultural events, having a social life?

Q.24 Is the satellite town providing the conditions for your survival?

Probe: How does being a refugee/ asylum-seeker affect your survival needs? (Vis a vis being unable to travel freely between cities and being employed easily?)

What about job opportunities?

What about education?

What about health services in the satellite town to meet your needs?

Do you think that life is expensive in the satellite town to cover your basic needs?

Do you think the satellite town is too small to provide you cultural events?

Do you think the satellite town is too small to provide you training courses?

Do you think satellite town is too small to provide you language courses?

ENDING UP WITH VULNERABILITIES

Q.25 What are the difficulties you have in your life in the satellite town?

Q.26 What are your future expectations?

Are you planning to stay in the satellite town? Any opinion on being resettled? Any plans to return to Afghanistan?

APPENDIX-B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS IN PERSIAN

سوالات مصاحبه

قبل از شروع مصاحبه :مشاوره لازمی در مورد مطالعه پژوهشی داده می شود و از مصاحبه شونده برای انجام مصاحبه و همچنین یادداشت برداری رضایت گرفته میشود.

سن:

جنس:

مدت زمان اقامت در ترکیه:

مدت زمان اقامت در شهر کوچک:

تجربه زندگی در شهر کوچک

س ۱ :لطفن در مورد اینکه چگونه به شهر کوچک رسیدید و تاریخچه سفر تان به شهر کوچک به ما بگویید.

س ۲ :لطفن در مورد شرایط زندگی تان در شهر کوچک صحبت کنید.

کاوش بیشتر :تجارب مثبت زندگی در شهر کوچک کدام ها اند؟

تجارب منفی زندگی در شهر کوچک کدام ها اند؟

س ۲ الف :نظر شما در مورد اجباری بودن زندگی در شهر مشخص چیست؟

س ۲ ب :نظر شما در مورد اجباری زندگی کردن در شهر خود تا –شهر کوچک –چیست؟

کار و شرایط شغلی

س ۳ :برای امرار حیات و پرداخت مخارج چه کاری میکنید؟

کاوش :کار ثابت دارید؟ بیمه کاری دارید؟ راحتید که بدون مجوز کار به وظیفه ادامه میدهید؟ نظر شما در مورد اجباری بودن داشتن مجوز کار چیست؟ آیا برای مجوز کار درخواست کرده اید؟ آیا شغل و کسب کار خود تان را دارید؟ آیا مایل هستید شریک کار تان شهروند ترک باشد؟ در مورد باز کردن یک مغازه زیر نام یک شهروند ترک چه احساسی دارید –آیا این برای شما مشکلی دارد؟

اگر مصاحبه شونده در شهر کوچک کار میکند :برای پنهان ماندن از مقامات ترکی –هنگام کار بدون مجوز –چه تدابیر اتخاذ میکنید؟

س ۴ :لطفن در مورد تجارب تان برای کاریابی صحبت کنید؟

کاوش :چگونه شغل به دست میاورید –کسی به شما کمک کرد :مثلن دوست های تان یا همسایه ها؟

س ۵ :به شهر بزرگ سفر میکنید؟ اگر بلی :چند وقت/بار در ماه؟

کاوش :برای شغل زایی یا دید و بازدید اقارب؟

س ۵ الف :آیا به شهر بزرگ برای دیدن اقارب میروید؟

س ۵ ب :ایا به دیگر ولایات هم به دیدن اقارب سفر میکنید؟

س ۶ :به شهر بزرگ با چه وسیله سفر میکنید –لطفن توضیحات بیشتر بدهید.

کاوش :با توجه به اینکه شهر تان شهر کوچک است و منحیث مهاجر باید همیشه آنجا باشید -سفر تان به شهر بزرگ را چگونه انجام میدهید؟

به طور مثال –آیا از جانب فرد ترکی برای سفر با وسیله نقیله موتر شان کمک میشوید؟

س ۶ الف :آیا راحت هستید که برای شغل یابی و کار از شهر کوچک بیرون بروید؟ چرا راحت هستید؟ چرا راحت نیستید؟

س ۶ ب :اگر به خارج از شهر کوچک برای کار بروید –آیا کوشش میکنید که از چشم پولیس ترکیه پنهان بانید؟ اگر بلی –چگونه به این امر دست میابید و از چشم پولیس خود را پنهان نگهمیدارید؟

س ۷ :موقع سفر از شهر کوچک برای کار آیا به لحاظ روانی تحت فشار هستید؟

آیا تا به حال به مشکلی برخورده اید؟ چه اتفاق افتاد؟ لطفن توضیح بیشتر بدهید.

سوال برای مردان و زنان مهاجر/پناهنده بیکار:

س ۸ :آیا اکثر وقت خویش را در خانه سپری میکنید یا بیرون از خانه هم گاهی میروید؟ چرا خانه میمانید؟

اگر بیرون از خانه میروند :آیا با همسایه های تان معاشرت و گفتگو میکنید؟

س ۹ :روابط تان با همسایه های ترک تان چگونه است؟

کاوش :آیا در موردی با آنها همکاری میکنید –مثلن آیا در انتقال وسایل آنها را همکاری میکنید؟

آیا خود را تحت فشار احساس میکنید تا سر و صدای در داخل آپارتمان ایجاد نشود؟ اگر بلی :آیا این مورد شما را تحت فشار قرار میدهد؟

آیا فکر میکنید که شما از جانب همسایه ترک خویش مورد تبعیض قرار گرفته اید؟ اگر بلی :لطفن در این مورد معلومات بیشتر بدهید؟

مسکن خانه:

س ۱۰ :چگونه خانه پیدا میکنید؟

س ۱۱ :آیا لازم است که شما کفالت ترکی ارایه دهید؟

س ۱۲ :ایا شما قرار داد خانه دارید؟ اگر بلی :نام چه کسی در آن درج شده است؟

اگر در قرار داد نام شما درج نشده باشد ایا این برای شما مشکل است؟

س ۱۳ :چه احساسی از زندگی در داخل آپارتمان خود دارید؟

کاوش :آیا احساس فشار میکنید تا سر و صدای ایجاد نگردد و همسایه ترک شما اذیت نشود؟ اگر بلی :آیا این شما را تحت فشار روحی قرار میدهد؟

آیا در مورد زمان های خارج شدن و برگشتن به ساختمان آپارتمان تان دقت و توجه میکنید؟

آیا این مورد به شما استرس و فشار روانی میدهد؟

س ۱۴ :آیا احساس میکنید که باید مراقب رفتار خود در داخل ساختمان آپارتمان باشید؟ مثلن موقع داخل شدن و خارج شدن از ساختمان آپارتمان.

همسایه ها:

س ۱۵ :احساس تان را در مورد همسایه های ترک خویش به من بگویید؟

کاوش :آیا در موردی با آنها کمک میکیند مثلن انتقال وسایل شان؟

آیا برخورد آنها در مقابل شما که افغان هستید متفاوت است؟

آیا احساس میکنید که توسط همسایه ها ترک خویش مورد تبعیض قرار گرفته اید؟ اگر بلی :لطفن بیشتر توضیحات بدهید.

جامعه افغان ها در شهر کوچک –شناخت اجتماعی

س ۱۶ :در مورد جامعه افغان های مقیم شهر کوچک چه فکر میکنید؟

کاوش :مزایای داشتن جامعه افغانی چه است؟ به طور مثال :شغل یابی و یا یافتن خانه و مسکن؟ آیا اعضای جامعه افغانی در کاریابی کمکی به شما کرده اند؟ آیا آنها در یافتن خانه به شما کمکی کرده اند؟

به نظر شما افغان های چگونه در شهر کوچک زندگی کنند تا مورد حمایت مردم ترکیه در این شهر قرار بگیرند؟

فکر میکنید که مردم ترکیه در اینجا جامعه افغانی را تایید میکند؟

حضور افغان های در شهر کوچک چه تاثیری بر رویکرد ترکهای محلی نسبت به شما دارد؟ بصورت کلی آیا روی زندگی شما تاثیری مثبت دارد؟ بصورت عمومی روی زندگی شما تاثیر منفی دارد؟ مردم محلی در مورد مغازه ها دوکان ها که توسط افغان ها ایجاد شده است چه فکر میکنند؟ رابطه میان جامعه افغان و مردم محلی چگونه است؟

فعالیت های اجتماعی در شهر کوچک

س ۱۷ :در مورد انتظارات مردم ترکیه از شما در شهر کوچک چه فکر میکنید؟

س ۱۸ :چه کار ها و فعالیت های را شما ایجاد کرده اید که تصویر خوب از افغان ها در شهر کوچک ارایه دهید؟

س ۱۹ :فکر میکنید همسایه ترک شما در این مورد چه حسی دارد؟ مثلن فعالیت های شما دارید همانند اشتراک در فعالیت های محلی در محل زیست تان.

دریافت کمک/کمک مالی

س ۲۰ :آیا کمک بشر دوستانه دریافت میکنید؟ در این مورد لطفن از تجربه تان صحبت کنید؟

کاوش :آیا سعی میکنید به دلیل پناهنده بودن مهاجر بودن یا وضعیت پناهندگی تان توجه امداد گران را به خود جلب کنید؟ چگونه؟

س ۲۱ :آیا تاکید میکنید که افغان هستید و به کمک های بشردوستانه نیاز دارید؟ آیا فکر میکنید این کمک های به مهاجرین سوریه میرسد و شما به عنوان یک مهاجر افغان از همچو کمک ها محروم هستید؟

کاوش :آیا به موسسات غیر انتفاعی –ان جی او –ها منحیث یک افغان تماس گرفته و از مشکلات افغان های گزارش میدهید؟ آیا به این موسسات میگویید که شما یک مهاجر/پناهنده افغان هستید؟ آیا مهاجرین/پناهنده های بی بضاعت از جانب همسایه ها کمک میشوند؟ آیا شما به خاطریکه یک مهاجر/پناهنده افغان هستید و نه از سوریه از طرف همسایه های تان کمک و پشتیبانی ویژه میشوید؟

تعریف آنها ازنیاز های بقا

س ۲۲ :وقتی میگویم بقا/زنده ماندن برداشت شما از این واژه چیست؟ بقا/زنده ماندن برای شما چیست؟

کاوش :شما زنده ماندن را چگونه تعریف میکنید؟ یعنی داشتن خانه –سرپناه غذا و یا چیز های بیشتر از این ها؟

آیا شما به رویداد های اجتماعی دیدن فلم و یا پارک میروید؟

س ۲۳ :برای زنده ماندن/بقا در شهر کوچک به چه نیاز دارید؟ لطفن جزییات بیشتر ارایه کنید؟

کاوش :شغل –سرپناه –در کنار اقارت زندگی کردن –یادگیری لسان –کمک های بشردوستانه –حق تحصیل –دسترسی به رویداد های اجتماعی و داشتن زندگی اجتماعی فعال؟

س ۲۴ :آیا شهر کوچک شرایط زنده ماندن/بقا را به شما فراهم کرده است؟

کاوش :مهاجر/پناهنده بودن چه تاثیری روی نیاز های بقا شما دارد؟ عدم توانایی سفر آزادانه بین شهر های و اشتغال زایی سهل.

فرصت های شغلی؟

فرصت های تحصلی؟

آیا خدمات صحی در شهر کوچک نیازمندی ها شما را جوبگو است؟

آیا فکر میکنید که شهر کوچک نیازمندی های اساسی شما را پوشش میدهد؟

آیا فکر میکنید که شهر کوچک برای ارایه رویداد های اجتماعی خیلی کوچک است؟

آیا فکر میکنید که شهر کوچک برای ارایه دوره های آموزشی خیلی کوچک است؟

آیا فکر میکنید که شهر کوچک برای ارایه کورس های آموزش زبان خیلی کوچک است؟

خاتمه دادن به مجازات/آسیب پذیری های مجاز

س ۲۵ :مشکلات که شما در شهر کوچک دارید چه است؟

کاوش :آیا فکر میکنید که سفر میان شهر کوچک و شهر بزرگ خطر ساز است و میتواند برای شما بار منفی داشته باشد؟ آیا فکر میکنید که زندگی در آپارتمانیکه قرار داد اش به نام شهروند ترکی باشد برای شما مشکل زا خواهد بود؟

کاوش :بعد از اخذ اجازه و مشوره های لازم با پناهنده :

آیا فکر میکنید که کار در خارج از شهر کوچک برای خانواده شما خطر ساز باشد؟

آیا فکر میکنید که کار بدون داشتن بیمه کاری در شهر کوچک برای خانواده شما خطر ساز باشد؟

س ۲۶: انتظارات شما در آینده چه است؟

آیا برنامه بودن و ماندن در شهر کوچک را دارید؟ آیا برنامه ماندن در ترکیه را دارید؟ آیا در مورد اسکان مجدد معلومات دارید؟ آیا برنامه برگشت به افغانستان را دارید؟