# AN ANALYSIS OF TURKISH MIGRATION AND ASYLUM POLICIES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY: LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION OF THE SYRIANS UNDER "TEMPORARY PROTECTION"

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

FARUK ÇAM

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

SEPTEMBER 2019

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Director (Acting)

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Ayata
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Asuman Göksel
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Başak Kale (METU, IR) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Asuman Göksel (METU, ADM) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Cenk Saraçoğlu (Ankara Uni., İLEF) _____

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Name, Last name : Faruk Çam

Signature :

# ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF TURKISH MIGRATION AND ASYLUM POLICIES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY: LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION OF THE SYRIANS UNDER "TEMPORARY PROTECTION"

Çam, Faruk

M.Sc., Department of Political Science and Public Administration
Supervisor : Assist. Prof. Dr. Asuman Göksel

September 2019, 105 pages

This thesis analyses Turkish migration and refugee policies within the framework of World Systems Theory, with a special focus on Syrian refugee crisis which was started in 2011. Republic of Turkey has experienced a massive influx of Syrian refugees in a short period of time. Republic of Turkey, having still been holding the geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention, does not recognize Syrian asylum seekers as refugees in the legal sense. Regardless of their legal status, Syrian refugees had to make their livelihood by interacting with labour market, central government and society. In this sense, international migrant and asylum policy making in Turkey has gained momentum recently, and new policies for Syrian refugees do not draw certain provisions for labour market, relations with government and fundamental rights. This situation causes Syrian refugees to be highly exploited by market forces. Although, literature about World System Theory is highly occupied with international migrants, this thesis shows that premises of World Systems Theory are applicable for refugee migration and integration. This thesis tries to examine the correlation between semiperipheral position of Turkey and its implications for further exploitation of Syrian refugees.

**Keywords:** World Systems Theory, Semiperiphery, Labor, Exploitation

# ÖZ

DÜNYA SİSTEMLERİ TEORİSİ ÇERÇEVESİNDE BİR TÜRK GÖÇ VE SIĞINMA POLİTİKALARI ANALİZİ: "GEÇİCİ KORUMA" ALTINDAKİ SURİYELİLER'İN İŞ PİYASASI ENTEGRASYONU

Çam, Faruk

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi
Tez Yöneticisi : Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Asuman Göksel

Eylül 2019, 105 sayfa

Bu tez, 2011'de başlayan Suriye mülteci krizine özellikle odaklanarak, Türk göç ve mülteci politikalarını Dünya Sistemleri Teorisi çerçevesinde analiz eder. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, kısa zamanda çok büyük bir göç dalgasını tecrübe etti. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, 1951 Cenevre Konvansiyonu'na coğrafi kısıtlamasını tutarak, Suriyeli sığınmacılara hukuksal anlamda mülteci statüsünü tanımamaktadır. Ancak hukuksal statülerine bakmaksızın, Suriyeli mülteciler iş piyasası, merkezi hükümet ve toplumla ilişki içine girerek geçimlerini sağlamak zorunda kalmışlardır. Bu kapsamda, Türkiye'de uluslararası göç ve mülteci politikaları üretimi son zamanlarda hız kazanmıştır, ancak yeni politikalar iş piyasası, hükümet ve temel haklara ilişkin açık bir çerçeve çizmemektedir. Bu durum Suriyeli mültecilerin piyasa aktörleri tarafından yüksek oranda sömürülmelerine sebep olmaktadır. Her ne kadar, Dünya Sistemleri Teorisi hakkındaki literatür genellikle uluslararası göçmen işçilerle ilgili olsa da, bu tez Dünya Sistemleri Teorisi öncüllerinin mülteci göçü ve entegrasyonu için de uygulanabilir olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu tez, Türkiye'nin yarı-çevresel pozisyonu ve bunun Suriyeli mültecilerin daha fazla sömürülmesinin çıkarımları arasındaki karşılıklı ilişkiyi incelemeye çalışmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Dünya Sistemleri Teorisi, Yarıçevre, Emek, Sömürü

To My Beloved Wife and Family whom they never stopped showing me their love…

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my deepest respect and gratitude to my advisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Asuman Göksel for her infinite support and guidance to me from the beginning and till the end.

Secondly, I would like to thank again my beloved wife, Tuğba, for her patience, affection and love that she showed me even in the worst times. I can not be more grateful to have her in my life, today and forever.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) for granting me scholarship via the 2210 Master's Thesis Scholarship Program during my graduate education.

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

> *The story of our struggle has finally become known. We lost our home, which means the familiarity of daily life. We lost our occupation, which means the confidence that we are of some use in this world. We lost our language, which means the naturalness of reactions, the simplicity of gestures, the unaffected expression of feelings. We left our relatives in the Polish ghettos and our best friends have been killed in concentration camps, and that means the rupture of our private lives.* (Arendt, 2017)

Hannah Arendt can be said to have perfectly articulated the situation of refugees by these words. She has written this article after her flight from Hitler's Germany. She was apparently quite accurate in describing the variety of pressures that a refugee had to undertake. As a matter of fact, this is more or less valid for all the refugees around the globe even today. What is most striking in these phrases are the expressions that indicate the risks of refugees' alienation and precarity within the host society. Being uprooted from their cultural and social background, refugees are required to struggle for their living in their disadvantaged position. Refugees are inherently a susceptible group due to their lack of social capital and lawfully recognized rights. Taking into consideration the fact that refugees often flee from war and forcibly migrated, psychological rehabilitation and social integration become even more difficult problems. Granting rights and active integration measures have been a highly debated issue, since refugees are at the core of the political discourse regarding integration and cheap labor.

Migration has become one of the most controversial debates of our time. The definition of migration primarily considers it as a form of human mobility from point A to point B. However, some scholars argue that this kind of perception is misleading and makes migration phenomenon problematic (Nail, 2015). The fixity of social points

presupposes these points as primary, and the mobility of migration as secondary. Bergson (2004) argues that it is already a form of motion that has drawn the line to which point A and point B was added afterwards. That is to say, motion is a continuous phenomenon and whole, the beginning and ending points added afterwards to define it naturally subsequent to and subset of the motion. The division of A and B always refers to the division `mobility`. Endless number of points can be added to the line, which is already continuing, and this has a political consequence. The immobile comprehension of mobility which perceives migration as a movement from point A to point B has an extensive and quantitative consequence: movements as a change of place, a translation. On the other hand, another consequence is intensive and qualitative: change in the whole, a transformation (Bergson et al., 2004; Nail, 2015).

Accordingly, today, international migration is extensively and intensively explained and discussed as a movement from country A to country B. This is a natural consequence of a world system that is organized as nation-states. However, human mobility, as it was highlighted above, is not a mere motion that has a starting and ending point. Rather, human mobility is a perpetual movement that continues, influences and is influenced by the environmental factors throughout its existence. Migration necessitates human agent to interact with other people, institutions, states, actors and various factors as long as it requires. Therefore, international migration is not only a change of place but also a change in the whole by its definition. If we differentiate human mobility, which is perpetually continuous, as migration and integration; we would mis-conceptualize the event itself and the its relation to the environmental factors.

International migration theories, which try to explain the root causes and reasons for international migration, focus on a number of rationales. The World Systems Theory explains international migration as a result of a world system which was organized as an interdependent unit of nation-states and the global inequality that was perpetuated by this organization (Massey et al., 1993). As a result of this system, people decide to migrate from periphery and semiperiphery to better paid countries, through which superior domains of the world system exploit lower domains in terms of cheap labor.

However, much it is asserted by scholars (Sjaastad, 1962) that people are voluntarily migrating internationally, it is widely accepted that migration has its peculiar economic, social and cultural costs which are paid by the migrants. However, in the case of refugee situations, it differs from regular migration, since people are not "voluntarily" migrating from one country to another. Refugees are considered to be those "who have to flee from a well-founded risk of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, membership of social or political group by state or other social groups in a country" (United Nations General Assembly, 1951). International refugee regime that regulates and ensures refugees' rights in the host countries is centered on the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The Convention underlines the non-refoulment principle that stipulates nation-states not to return refugees to the countries in which they possibly face persecution for several reasons. This core principle has long been challenged by the nation-states since it is primarily clashing with the national sovereignty. Because the entrance of a refugee from country A to country B, does not terminate the following impacts of the migration phenomenon. Therefore, states have long been developing a variety of methods to avoid these impacts and to minimize the number of incoming people by devising concepts like safe third countries, safe country of origins etc.

With the development of communication and transportation means, people have been encouraged to migrate internationally since migration costs have been decreased and mass media has vastly informed people about the opportunities in the core countries. As a result of globalization, world has never been such mobile that more than one billion people are migrants (Wolters, 2015). This situation has created a world system, which is more interdependent than ever before. However, there is no doubt that the Syrian Civil War has caused an unprecedented humanitarian crisis leading millions of people to seek asylum mostly in the neighboring countries. Turkey has been the country that hosts the most number of Syrian refugees among any others (UNHCR, n.d.-a). Since Turkey does not accept refugees coming from countries other than European states, Turkey does not legally recognize the Syrian refugees, which puts Turkey in a different situation. Turkey, which did not accept itself as a country of immigration, has long tried to manage international migrants and refugees with

policies either with limited scope or with those that mainly aim different social problems. Therefore, Syrian refugees with their number exceeding three million, compelled Turkey to enact its first law in 2013, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection. On the other hand, it can be pointed out that Turkey has failed to apply domestic policies that prevent further exploitation of refugee population within the country. The Law on Foreigners and International Protection, Law on International Labor Force, Temporary Protection Regulation which are among most important regulations for Syrian refugees have failed to prevent labor market exploitation or providing decent health and education services. It is also related to the fact that Turkey does not lift its reservation to the Geneva Convention's geographical limitation on refugee status determination and applying domestic policies that fail to prevent precariousness and further exploitation of refugees in Turkey. Because as a semiperipheral country, Turkey has the means to use its state apparatus for such policy measures for solving these problems, but Turkey's capacity to respond to the crisis is limited. It is important to note this, because Syrian refugees are not legally refugees, but they are "under temporary protection" and therefore they cannot enjoy the rights of the refugees. In addition to that, policy making in Turkey did not essentially embrace a separate approach for the international migrants and refugees through enacting particular laws. This study argues that Turkey's limited institutional and economic infrastructure undermine its capacity to respond Syrian refugees' situation in Turkey. Its limited institutional and economic infrastructure is predominantly related to its position as a semiperipheral country in the World System as Terlouw (2002) argues. In following chapters, the policy responses of core countries, namely Germany and Sweden, in a way to integrate refugees to the labor market and society will be compared to those of a semiperipheral country, namely Turkey.

It is important to highlight different experiences of the core and semiperiphery from the perspective of the World System Theory since exploring human migration as a movement from point A to point B, cannot per se help managing it and its consequences at the domestic level. As the Syrian refugee crisis with its challenges show that only comprehensive policies and resources to implement these policies can provide outputs that diminish exploitation.

Accordingly, the study is structured as follows. The Chapter 2 introduces a theoretical framework by explaining different migration theories that try to explain international migration and explains why the World Systems Theory, and its conceptualization of core, periphery and semiperiphery provide a more meaningful theoretical framework in this regard. The Chapter 3 investigates labor market integration measures in the core countries, where Germany's and Sweden's integration policies are studied. The Chapter 4 aims to demonstrate the development and characteristics of migrant and refugee policies in Turkey, which can be considered as a semiperipherial country, by paying special attention to the consequences of the recent Syrian refugee crisis. Finally, the Chapter 5 provides a discussion on the experiences of core and semiperiphery, by drawing conclusions from the analysis of the refugee and migration policies in Turkey from the perspective of the World Systems Theory.

# CHAPTER 2

## Theoretical Framework: World Systems Theory

International migration is a complex phenomenon caused by indefinite number of factors and drives. Mobility has become an integral part of our daily lives. As globalization has gained momentum and global cities has emerged, different parts of the world became more attractive than other geographies. Capitalist mode of production, broad spectrum of means of communication and transportation rendered human beings more capable of mobility and removed the borders of the markets.

The World Migration Report 2018, by International Organization for Migration, propones that migratory movements have geometrically grown by the time, since the means of communication has developed and people are, now, aware of opportunities available in remote places. Therefore, people may decide to improve their situation by migrating to better off places. However, it is evident that migration is a complex phenomenon that is far from being able to be explained through a limited set of reasons. Even though liberal migration theories postulate migration and migrant as a self-seeking entity, the complex web of social relationship in the global world necessitates further investigation and different approaches when it is required to explain population movements. Different models have been developed in order to explain similar social events and the role of mobility within a certain model. That is, several theories have been introduced to find an answer for reasons to international migration. Yet, they conceive significantly different frameworks and standing points . (Massey et al., 1993, p. 432).

Classical theories to explain migration, i.e. *migration theories*, have first focused on the economic aspects of the migration as an act of movement. Ravenstein (2006),who is claimed to be the first to conceptualize laws of migration, draws a specific interest on the push and pull factors and economic niche variables concerning migratory

movements. Afterwards, migration theory has shifted its focus to a different level, especially with the expansion of market, and neoclassical economics approach has rendered a dominant position in the migration literature. In addition to that, historical, structuralist, globalist and critical approaches have gained importance throughout time. The reason for the emergence of further theories for migration and that of a more comprehensive approach is that neoclassical approach was not considered to be sufficient in explaining migratory movements comprehensively. Since global market and social relations have gained an utterly complex feature, explaining migration only from the perspective of push and pull factors and postulating migration ultimately based on individualistic decision have led scholars to seek for other explanations rather than those provided by the neoclassical approach.

What the neoclassical and push and pull factors theory was lacking was that this theory was initially ahistorical. However, human action and interaction are dynamic on the base. Therefore, "a theory of everything" would be deficient at some point in a way to immobilize human mobility. Historicization implies a constant modification of theoretical concerns and emphases in the light of changing social realities, and commitment to a critical approach entails a view of research as one element in a broader project concerned with the elucidation of social and political conditions (Zolberg, 1989). Thus, it is possible to argue that more recent approaches try to consider migration differently than neoclassical approaches do. Migration, from a historical and structural perspective, is required to be perceived as a way of mobilizing cheap labour for capital, which eventually perpetuates uneven development by exploiting the resources of the poor countries to make the rich even richer (Castles & Kosack, 1973; Sassen, 1988). The historical-structuralist analysts criticize the neo-classical perspective because its assumption of free choice for individuals is unrealistic (Massey et al., 1993). Rather, inequalities in resources and power between different countries, combined with the entry policies of potential immigration countries, put great constraints on migrants' choices (Zolberg, 1989).

When this is the case, migration literature encompasses a number of migration theories. The neoclassical approach and historical-structuralists may be said to be

disparate theories in essence but, more recent approaches, as mentioned above, despite many differences due to different intellectual traditions and disciplinary backgrounds, share a number of common features as defined by Zolberg (1989): "(1) they are generally historical, not in the sense of dealing mostly with a more distant past, but rather in paying appropriate attention to the changing specificities of time and space; (2) they are generally structural rather than individualistic, focusing on the social forces that constrain individual action, with special emphasis on the dynamics of capitalism and of the state; (3) they are generally globalist, in that they see national entities as social formations as interactive units within an encompassing international social field, permeable to determination by transnational and international economic and political processes; and (4) they are generally critical, sharing to some degree a commitment to social science as a process of demystification and rectification, and in particular are concerned with the consequences of international migrations for the countries of origin and destination, as well as the migrants themselves (…) "

Therefore, by reviewing the links between history and theory of the past quarter century such approaches try to project what one might expect in the near future. After this brief introduction, this chapter is structured in two sub-sections. Section 2.1 shortly discusses the main concerns and approaches of the major migration theories, namely neoclassical economics, as macro and micro theories; the new economics of migration and dual labor market theory as classified by Massey et al (1993). Section 2.2 presents the World Systems Theory, which is principally concerned with structural propensities in which migration takes place, as an alternative approach to study migration. The World Systems Theory is to be examined in terms of a structuralist point of view that sees the world as the regions of core, semiperiphery and periphery. The relation and particular propensities of each region contribute to the world system's maintenance.

### 2.1. Theoretical Approaches to International Migration

As summarized by (Massey et al., 1993), the *Neoclassical Economics as Macro Theory* proposes that migration occurs because of the different levels of supply and demand between the labor markets of the emigration and immigration countries. High

amount of wages and economic welfare that immigration country presents are main pull factors for the migrants. *Pull* factors are shortly described as reasons that are *expected to* or *present* in the country of arrival towards which migrants are urged to start their journey. Pull factors can be wage rates, welcoming society structure, employment opportunities etc. However, *push* factors can be explained as the factors which compel potential migrants to leave their country and start their journey towards more promising areas. Push factors can be summarized as political unrest, economic crisis, natural disaster or social expulsion of the potential migrant in his/her country of origin. In macro theory, push and pull factors are conceived at the macro level. International migration is presupposed to happen when there is a wage gap between country of origin and target country. Migrants are thought to be migrating from low-wage country to high-wage country. Consequently, "the supply of labor decreases and wages rise in the capital-poor country, while the supply of labor increases and wages fall in the capital-rich country, leading to an international wage differential that reflects only the costs of international movement, pecuniary and psychic" (Massey et al., 1993).

However, according to Massey et al. (1993, p. 434-436), *Neoclassical Economics as Micro Theory* considers migration as a more individualistic choice. Individual rational actors are expected to make a cost-benefit calculation before making the decision for migration. Micro theory emphasizes the bigger authority given to the individual actor compared to the other theories approach to the individual. International movement takes place not only for the difference between wages and employment gap between countries, but also it should be taken into consideration that individual actors calculate their expected earnings in the destination country. Therefore, micro theory gives more emphasis on the individual decisions and presupposition of rational behavior of migrants. Hence, international migration is expected to continue not until the equalization of employment rates, but until the equalization of expected earnings. Therefore, governments have impact on international migration if only they have impact on the expected net gain difference between countries, not on the employment rates as macro theory suggests.

By challenging the premises of neoclassical theory (Massey et al., 1993, p. 436), the *New Economics of Migration* argues that migration decisions are taken neither individually nor according to major market variables. Instead, migration decision is made by larger groups of related people, such as the households and families, who tend to maximize their income or minimize their expenses. For example, in an agrarian society, if the crop is not good enough or unemployment risks are considered to be high, then households or families may decide to migrate to a better off place which presents both migrant and his/her family better opportunities.

However, this theory stands different from aforementioned migration theories via giving less emphasis on rational choice. According to Massey et al (Massey et al., 1993, p. 440), *Dual Labor Market Theory* puts emphasis on the intrinsic labor demands of modern industrial societies rather than decisions of individuals. Hence, pull factors in the developed countries play more important role than push factors in the emigration country. That is to say that a better look at features of developed societies is required. Firstly, it is noted that industrial societies have a structural inflation which results from the gradual rise in the wages amongst all the members of the society. Therefore, cheap labor requires someone else than the members of the current society. Secondly, motivational problems arise when least promising and prestigious works requires labor. Over time, individuals are carried to higher levels of the society and bottom level jobs becomes simply for those whose employment is reduced solemnly to earning money. In addition to that economic dualism is an intrinsic part of the industrial societies and capitalist market is basically divided into two as capital-intensive and labor intensive (Massey et al., 1993, p. 442). While former refers to the sector in which people take part in high skilled job activities and has relatively stable position in the market, the latter is mostly associated with unskilled jobs and unstable labor positions. Lastly, it is equally important to take the demography of labor supply in the industrialized societies into consideration. Since birth rate and young population decreases in industrialized societies, labor market may create demand for labor in such areas. To summarize, *Dual Market Theory* asserts that international migration is caused by labor demand in industrial societies and this demand is created through not by the wage difference between countries but the intrinsic structural drives that

renders/gives the market a dual nature. As a result of this and reasons counted above, secondary market is required to be satisfied through foreign labor (Massey et al., 1993, p. 440-444).

### 2.2. The World Systems Theory

Under the influence of the Wallerstein's work (1977) many scholars have commenced to look for the origins and reasons of the international migration not within the national borders of a certain society but within the structure of world market that has developed and expanded since the 16th century. This expansion is considered to be a result of "penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies", which leads people to migrate abroad. This is defined by (Massey et al., 1993, p. 444) as "driven by a desire for higher profits and greater wealth, owners and managers of capitalist firms enter poor countries on the periphery of the world economy in search of land, raw materials, labor, and new consumer markets".

Thence, world is envisaged as a system comprised of a core/center and periphery. Core countries are capitalist and industrialized countries who seek for land, raw materials, labor and new consumer markets (Massey et al., 1993). And periphery countries are defined as relatively poor and newly industrialized or least industrialized countries. In fact, some scholars, such as Wallerstein (Wallerstein, 1976a), add a third classification to core-periphery division, namely the concept of semi periphery, which are defined as countries in between core and periphery. East-West, North-South division can be considered as the primary outlook of world systems theory. It is evident that core and periphery division demonstrates an unequal relation amongst world nations. However, this global inequality is not the reason for labelling countries as core and periphery. Rather, it is the natural outcome of such distinction and this distinction requires the chasm between core and periphery to be enlarged. It is well understood also that in a world characterized by widely varying conditions, international borders serve to maintain global inequality. (Arghiri, 1972) has observed that international borders prevent labor from commanding the same price everywhere. From a very different theoretical perspective, (Carruthers & Vining, 1982) have proposed a conceptualization of states as dispensers of widely varying bundles of collective goods

(Zolberg, 1989, p. 406). For the World Systems Theory, "labor migration was one of the main ways in which links of domination were forged between the core economies of capitalism and its underdeveloped periphery" (Castles, De Haas, & Miller, 2013, p. 23).

The World Systems Theory, thereof, presents international migration as the natural result of political and economic relations between core and periphery countries. The search for land, raw material, labor and new markets by core countries and ideological and material links that are established during the intensive economic and political relations has created a world system that necessitates international migration. In addition to that, global cities play an important role since they host immense amount of capital and welfare, thus appeal labor from periphery countries. All of these subjects yield to important results and origins of international migration that international migration is the consequence of capitalist economic system and partition of world as core and periphery. What is more, international flow of labor creates an international flow of capital and goods, but in the opposite direction. This schema more or less explains what world system theory tries to describe by labor and new consumer concepts. Lastly, international migration ultimately has little to do with wage rates or employment differentials between countries, it follows from the dynamics of market creation and the structure of the global economy (Massey et al., 1993).

To conclude, World Systems Theory emerges from the phenomenon of a structural necessity: cheap labor. Cheap labor is created through core and periphery division and this division creates more cheap labor. Although World Systems Theory focuses on labor migrants as its fundamental object, it is also possible to refer to refugees to be studied within this framework. As the core igniters of World Systems Theory, labor, land and new consumers or market search also yield to refugees as another object. Thus, the model has the potential to provide analytical value for studying refugees and high skilled personnel mobility as well, since both refugee movement and highly skilled migration often lead to family reunion and community formation. Overall, all these types of population movement are considered to be the symptoms of modernization and globalization (Castles et al., 2016).

### 2.3. Understanding Core, Periphery and Semiperiphery

World systems' analysis should be analyzed and understood from a critical perspective to dominant capitalist world market system. World systems analysis is not a theory about the social world, or about a part of it, but "it is a protest against the ways in which social scientific inquiry that was structured for all of us at its inception in the middle of nineteenth century" (Blau and Wallerstein, 2000, p. 129). As Wallerstein himself put it very clearly, world systems analysis protests social scientists and policy makers to look at social problems from a different perspective, which is significantly critical of the mainstream practices.

To have a better understanding on how the world system is functioning, one should have to have a deeper look at social categories that the World Systems Theory stipulates. In this regard, explaining what is meant by "semiperiphery" is a major issue.

Semiperiphery can be understood as an extra category in addition to the categories of core and periphery. Semiperiphery is defined as a social stratum that has been utilized to explain how world system is functioning (Wallerstein, 1976a). Besides semiperiphery, periphery and core encompass the world system, and thus, facilitates the world economies to replenish whenever it requires.

Wallerstein (1976a) sees the world as a system of a capitalist market in which social categories, namely core, semiperiphery and periphery, within this system are not distributed homogeneously. Each and every social category has a specific feature by means of its social, cultural and economic aspects and these features are closely interlinked with the other social categories in a world system in order to ensure perpetual exploitation.

According to (K. Terlouw, 2002), in the *core* areas population is comprised of bourgeoisie, vast number of proletariat and small number of semi proletariat. For this reason, social tension arises between proletariat and bourgeoisie, since bourgeoisie constantly exploits proletariat within the system. While tension arises between two categories, some factors serve to compress aspires for clashes between these two

groups. This is mainly ensured with the help of welfare that is sourced by the exploitation of periphery and semiperiphery (K. Terlouw, 2002). Social conflict is pacified by redistribution of surplus that is extracted from periphery and semiperipheral areas. This process is encouraged highly by the established institutions in the core areas. As a result of long-lasting core-periphery relations, core countries have established a strong economy, which is related to former relations labor and raw material relations with peripheral countries. Having such relations with peripheral countries, core states developed legal, political and economic institutions to regulate and oversee the perpetuation of maintaining these relations, since these linkages are highly profitable to core countries. It was indicated by Terlouw (1993) that coreness can be characterized by six nominators: its part in the world trade, stability of trade relations, GDP per capita with regard to the rest of world, military power, number of embassies and diplomats sent and received. These indicators rely on a structured, well-established and complex institutional structure. In addition to these elements, it is also necessary to state that core countries heavily rest on high skilled and capital-intensive production. In addition to this, core countries politically found and administer the rules for ensuring global order (Klak, 2014). To summarize, strong institutionalized character, export power and prosperity are among the features of core countries. The US, Germany, Sweden and the UK can be considered among core states when these features are considered (Chase-Dunn, Kawano, & Brewer, 2000).

On the other hand, *peripheral* territories or countries are mainly comprised of semi semiproletariat, in addition to bourgeoisie and proletariat. Periphery is mainly constituted by semi proletarian people whose production and consumption are not fully commercialized, but they have additional income sources which refrains them comprehensively compatible with capitalist market (K. Terlouw, 2002). In addition to that, society's underdeveloped structure should also be mentioned to explain why societal clashes do not usually occur. In the peripheral countries, society lacks complex economic, political and cultural networks. That is to say they are not very well developed in terms of their social institutions since they are short of social clashes. Poverty constitutes a prevalent problem in the peripheral countries' economy. As parallel to World Systems Theory's principle that raw material is imported from the

peripheral countries, these countries have a strong primary product reliance. In addition to these, low skilled and labor-intensive economy is another distinctive feature of the peripheral countries (Klak, 2014).

Countries in the *semiperiphery* are suggested to have a more developed social structure. Thus, social conflicts may emerge often, and they are likely to become apparent in the public eye. Semiperipheral societies can be considered to be comprised of low level of bourgeoisie, proletariat and semiproletariat at the level of above average as it can be seen in the Figure 1 (Terlouw, 1993, p. 7). Taking into consideration that semiperipheral countries do have a developed social structure to give way to social conflict, complex social structure renders semiperiphery prone to social outbursts and be socially and politically unstable. This feature gives semiperiphery a fluid social structure. These social conflicts and tensions are not only generated by the inner social structural drives but also by the world system. It should be mentioned that world system causes a load of interaction over semiperipheral countries, and likely to experience conflicts thereof. Therefore, its intermediate position in the world system becomes an important cause for its dynamic nature. This dynamism also heavily depends on the complex social structure of the semiperiphery itself. With the strong state apparatus, semiperipheral countries often interfere with economic and social actors to restore its authority over them. However, the complex social structure and relatively less consolidated institutions create a window for escaping from these measures of the state apparatus. In addition to that, political and economic strength of the semiperiphery is relatively higher than peripheral countries, since hope for economic development and having a better position in the world system are predominant characteristics of the semiperiphery (Wallerstein, 1976a). In parallel to this character, service sector may expand as a result of large amount of cheap labor in the semiperipheral countries. It is acknowledged that drawing the borders of semiperipheral countries is not an easy job, since it is placed between the core and peripheral countries (Wallerstein, 1976a). Given the fact that semiperipheral countries have a dynamic nature as a result of its intermediate position and domestic drives, semiperipheral countries may apply policies to uphold themselves in the world system which may not be smooth as core countries do. Therefore, conflicts may arise in the

semiperipheral countries. Having been classified by many scholars (Chase-Dunn et al., 2000) Iraq, South Korea, Mexico and Turkey can be listed among semiperipheral countries.

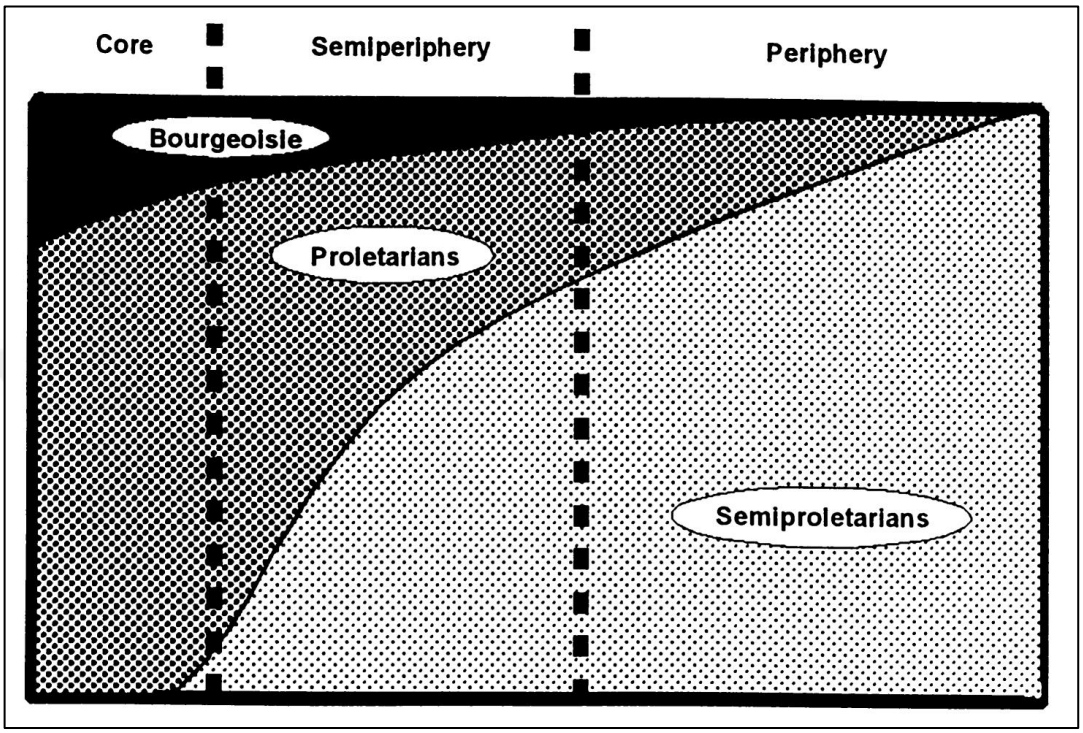


*Figure 1 Components of World System and Its Composition (Source: Terlouw, K., 2002)*

It was aforementioned that semiperiphery is an intermediate category besides core and periphery. As shown in Figure 1, a distinctive feature of semiperiphery at this framework is that they are majorly populated with semiproletariat and proletariat. Therefore, it is apparent and significant that social conflicts mainly arise from the fact that semiproletariat is urged to be transformed to proletariat. This, for sure, is coming with political and cultural backlashes. Semiproletariat, while they are being forced to give up their old way of life, generally uses the traditional ethnic divisions within a state to mobilize its participants.

From the World Systems Theory, one can deduce that the social structure of the semiperiphery is much more stressed by forces of the world system than both core and periphery. How this stress presents itself is not determined in a specific way. What gives semiperiphery a vibrant character is not only its internal structure but also the

intermediate position in the world system. It should be noted that while semiperipheral countries are not yet to be in the power to reshape the market itself, they are still in the position and have enough resources to influence it (C. P. Terlouw, 1993).

The semiperiphery maximizes the need and necessity for global development. Main drives for dynamism in different social categories according to the World Systems Theory is summarized in Figure 2.

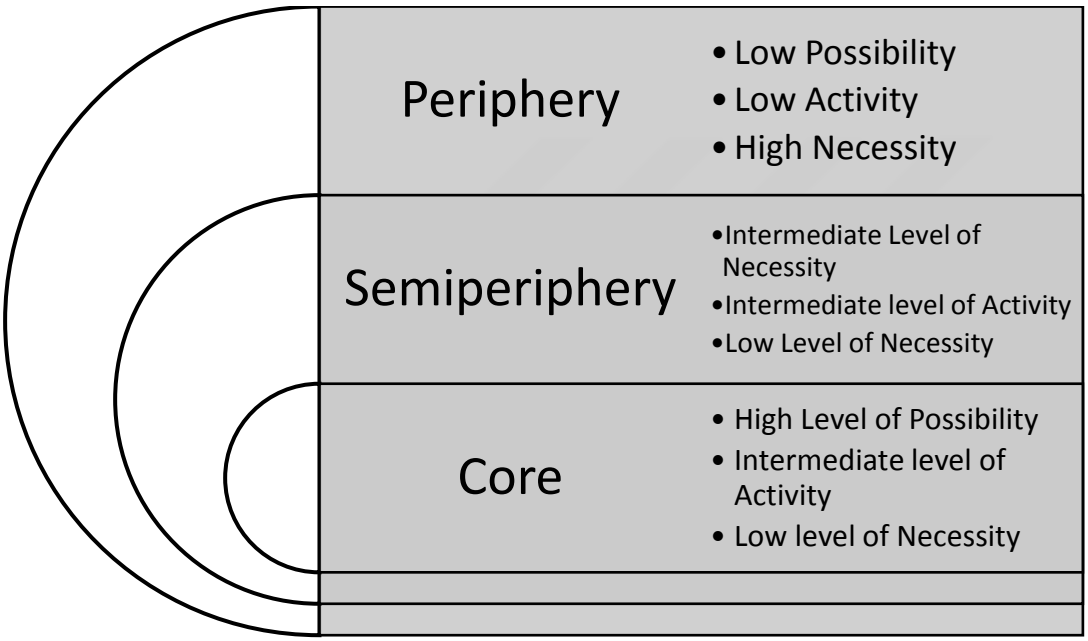


*Figure 2 Core, Semiperiphery and Periphery* (K. Terlouw, 2002)

It is also an important issue that certain categories of society are faced with different types of economic backlashes or obstacles. While it can be the rules and regulations and state's oppressive manner in the core, other categories can be listed as the lack of good government and skilled labor that stifle the market (Hopkins & Wallerstein, 1977).

Due to world system and inner factors of the social category itself, semiperiphery emerges as the most mobile, which makes it prone to host social changes. Economic crises and war are the most visible events that stem from the dynamic and mobile nature of semiperiphery (K. Terlouw, 2002). The potential that the world system generates in the semiperiphery can release itself in a destructive way or it can be used

to construct itself in a better position in the world system. What all these information and comprehensive explanations about semiperiphery lead us to construe it as a lively part of the world system. Other than any social categories, semiperiphery is conceived as the one and only social context for the capitalist market to expand and world system to reconstruct and transform itself, as it cannot be overlooked that world has been undergoing various world systems with different propensities.

### 2.3.1. Dynamic Role of the Semiperiphery in the World System

From the discussions in the previous section, it was evident that social conflicts arise from different social categories within the semiperiphery. However, these conflicts do not cause high volume tensions, since bourgeoisie and proletariat benefit from the exploitation of semiproletariat and periphery (K. Terlouw, 2002). On the other hand, the intermediate position of semiperiphery in the world system is another important factor that gives semiperiphery a dynamic nature.

Thence, the factors leading semiperipheral countries to have a dynamic character can be summarized as the fluid social structure and intermediate position in the world system. Former is fueled by internal factors and dynamics, while the latter is to be investigated within the framework of macro level factors. As it was already mentioned, semiperipheral countries have more complex social structures and dynamics compared to those of the periphery. These social institutions distinguish semiperiphery from not only periphery, but also from the core. Social institutions are more hardened in the core that leads core to be more adaptive to changes. It is quite understandable when one takes into consideration the fact that core states are majorly comprised of proletariat and bourgeoisie, which are the social categories that are chiefly determined by the commercialization of their both production and consumption. When the commercialization of production and consumption is ensured, they begin to benefit, at some parts, from the world system itself.

In addition to that, semiperiphery is also a dynamic category in the world system due to its intermediate position in it. This intermediate position in the world system gives semiperiphery the opportunity to improve its position to better. Even in times of

economic stagnation**,** semiperipheral countries can seize these times as a window of opportunity and create possibilities leading to a better position. Core has nowhere to go and periphery has no means to go. Henceforth, semiperiphery and its intermediate position at the macro level lay the foundations for dynamism (K. Terlouw, 2002). This intermediate position rationally necessitates a relative backwardness of semiperiphery compared to the core. Core states have consolidated their position and internal dynamics over time through a series of processes of exploitation. Therefore, core states have developed their means in terms of the use and production of technology etc. However, semiperipheral ones are holding the chance to inherit those developments in a way to nullify the obligation to achieve those development. Thus, relative backwardness will give a dynamism to semiperiphery.

In addition, core states due to their long-standing institutional construction and market, have no longer the ability to alter quickly what is already standing. Institutional sclerosis, as Terlouw coins the term, refrains core states from having a dynamic nature. Last but not least, semiperipheral states have strong state apparatuses, which lead them to improve their economic and cultural capacity and strengthen their place in the world system. Semiperipheral states are not as strong as the core countries, but unlike the core countries, semiperipheral states allow state apparatus to interfere market extensively to improve its position in the world system. Thus, bourgeoisie in the semiperipheral states perpetually need the continuation of state intervention. Rather than economic side of the intervention, social side come to existence together with a high volume of social tension. Yet, one should not be mistaken to deduct that this micro and macro level dynamism will bring world system a better and more organized construct. It is possible to foresee that world system will be more stabilized, yet semiperipheral countries will be further differentiated (Terlouw, 1993, pp. 87–102)

For further clarification, the World Systems Theory in general and world economy in particular need free markets where buyers and sellers are presumed to be immune from the state intervention. It is due to the fact that the ultimate goal of the capitalistic world economy is the accumulation of surplus value and maximize the profit. Naturally, market is comprised of various actors/institutions. The basic institutions are the

markets, multiple states, the households, the classes and the status groups (Wallerstein, 2013, p. 24). In order these institutions to favor markets, the status of markets should be totally free of regulations. However, as a great contrast to what capitalists regularly say that they favor free markets, capitalists rather favor partially free markets. Suppose there really existed a world market in which all the factors for production were totally free and market is comprised of a large number of buyers and sellers that are very well informed about the production processes. In such an excellent market, buyers could bargain the price that would not let producers to gain surplus from trade relations. Since there are other producers that are willing to sell their products and market is comprised of a very well-informed buyers, prices would be reasonable.

However, there is one way to prevent this. Now, it is self-evident that totally free markets do not allow world economy to fulfill its goal of surplus accumulation at the highest. Therefore, monopolies come to existence to ensure this goal. Yet, in the modern world system and world economy, it is not quite possible to create actual monopoly. But the institutional environment in the core and the semiperiphery allows state machinery to create quasi-monopolies (Wallerstein, 2013, pp. 25–26). Monopolies are significant determinants and examples regarding the relations between the state, the society and the market. These domains majorly affect the interrelation between state, society and the market. Monopolies, which are encouraged by the states are becoming a significant tool to mold society and the market itself.

Core-like states are standing at a point where their institutional change is way beyond being dynamic, since some scholars like Terlouw (1993) have already coined the term "institutional sclerosis". The forces of the marketplace reinforce the capitalist world economy, rather than undermine it. As Wallerstein (1976b, p. 232) suggests, "the absence of a central political mechanism for the world economy makes it very difficult to intrude counteracting forces to the maldistribution of rewards". Among the forces in a market, state is more likely to emerge as the major actor to ensure quasi monopolies. It is, for sure, because its right to impose sanctions on the other market actors.

According to (K. Terlouw, 2002), what is special to this cycle is that inherently some phases will be profitable while some are not. In times of lesser profitable times, market will have to provide sufficient customers for the supply. The most effective way to do this is to increase wages of wage laborers. On the other hand, this move will increase the costs for production and lead producers to gain lesser profits. Capitalist market would not really appraise this kind of policies. Therefore, there is need for cheap laborers in a market. Cheap laborers who will be content with their wages and opt for the jobs that will appease the hunger for higher profits because these laborers are proletarians, that is wage workers who have no alternative mean of support (Wallerstein, 2013, p. 32). This is a common phenomenon often witnessed in the core and semiperipheral states known as guest workers or migrant workers.

### 2.3.2. Development and the Semiperiphery

As already mentioned, semiperipheral development and the existence of semiperiphery is essential for capitalism to expand as a world market. This expansion and domination all over the globe are ensured through semiperiphery. The absence of organized or global resistance to exploitation of poor countries should be unlike what is normally expected from exploited people, those who are in the poorer countries are trying to upgrade their living which are already determined by their exploitators. Therefore, there is a need to investigate the inner dynamics which are leading to this situation. Otherwise, the social dynamics of semiperiphery would have been left unexplained, which can enable semi-proletariat to be exploited and yearn for being a core like social class at the same time.

To begin with, the issue of maintenance of exploitation and motivating it at the same time is primarily related with the idea of development. Development therefore standing here as a major variable. “Development is itself a social process. The understanding of development is realized through expansion of domestic market which is capable of sustaining itself, and transition from traditional to modern society are giving development a genuine social character” (Cardoso, 1969, p. 8). Semiperiphery, which has an intermediate position in the world system and has a fairly homogeneous structure in itself, is the best candidate to experience development as a social process.

As mentioned earlier, the sociological composition of semiperipheral society is comprised of large number of semiproletariat and proletariat. Bourgeoisie occupies a relatively higher number of share than the proletariat. Semiproletariat was distinguished from proletariat in terms of the variety of their income. Semiproletariat meant that those people who have various means of livelihood. With respect to proletariat, semiproletariat household enjoys more types of income than wages only.

This differentiation gives the semiperipheral country or society a more dynamic social structure. Because, the differentiation of income types will give its economy a lively character. Economy is inherently a social activity. Therefore, with no hesitation, social structure of the semiperiphery is primarily interrelated with the economic activity in its market.

In the traditional societies, transition from traditional to modern would be labelled as development. Inevitably, this transition would leave semiperipheral society's social structure as fragmented and multi layered, which refers to the dual structure of the semiperiphery. Structural dualism is evidently discernible pattern which is attributed to developing countries who are yet to be in the process of transition from traditional to modern society (Cardoso, 1969, p. 9). Developmental processes for intermediate positioned societies, is thus, prone to be exposed to the new variables entering into the system. These new variables are therefore becoming new fields for the domination of one social group, social force over another within a society. The dual nature should, thus, be attributed to this transitional structure, and should be accepted that this no rigid structure of semiperiphery will undergo a process that is characterized by this precarious nature. In economic terms level of economic development of a society can be determined by looking at the different variables that are actively involved in the market, such as relation of number of workers and capital. However, adopting a pure the economic perspective would not be enough to perceive the political and social aspects, since a comprehensive investigation would be necessitated in terms of the social forces that are exerting power for domination.

Globalization and world systems analysis are interlinked concepts in the sense that the former is facilitating the latter to create a world market. One of the main drives and propensity of globalization is discernible in a society when it modernizes its consumption patterns, education. This kind of social modernization corset always have to go hand in hand with development, if by development one means less dependency and growth of the market itself. Economic relations are social in the last instance. Therefore, modernization and development are not interchangeable terms. Due to the permeable nature of globalization and means of communication, societies are prone to be influenced by modes and social reforms rather than economic one. Why is it important? Because economically modern and self-sustaining market societies are categorized under the core states within the framework of world systems analysis. However, semiperipheral states are developing countries and they lay between the periphery and core states in the world systems analysis. However, by not having such a strong market and self-sustaining economy, semiperipheral states have institutional organizations, cultural modernity and means of communication. The result is therefore the structural dualist nature of the semiperiphery. Having a relative backwardness compared to core states, semiperipheral states do have the choice of importing new means of production, and with that new social patterns (Cardoso, 1969).

However, as Cardoso (1969) puts it, demonstration effect would lead to modernization of consumption patterns. The demonstration effect would mean approximating the social patterns and value orientations of peripheral or underdeveloped countries to core countries. What should be underlined is that since the semiperipheral countries are in a position to approximate the values and social patterns with the core states, this would self-evidently come together with an economic cost. Because such social transformations would need a financial cost. On the other hand, development and domestic market would require savings in order to increase investments, importing social patterns would may result in modernization, but backlash for development as well.

However, not all the semiperipheral states are there for using up all the saving in exchange of foreign values or for the sake of modernization. The semiperiphery can

be understood as a social category that can be placed between the core and periphery and it comprises of a wide variety of states. Besides small numbers of the core and some peripheral states, semiperiphery envisages a large number of states whose propensities vary in terms of their political and economic situation (C. P. Terlouw, 1993). Semiperipheral states compete each other to rise to core states. Therefore, they try to develop and upsurge their economic wellbeing even in times of economic crisis. Albeit, it is often asserted that semiperipheral states are considered to be benefitting from the economic downturns in the world market. As Wallerstein (1976a, p. 464) states, at the conjunctures of world economic downturn "semiperipheral countries can usually expand control of their home market at the expense of core producers, and expand their access to neighboring peripheral markets, again at the expense of core producers". The act against the sake of the core states is presented as an unfamiliar situation, hence it is widely accepted that semiperipheral countries have a specific role in between core and periphery. Core states can be considered as states in which economic activities with high technology, high profit, high-wage diversified production occurs, whereas the peripheral countries are those with low technology and low profitability of production. Thus, a difference exists among the developed and underdeveloped economies, not only of the stage or the state of the production system, but also of function or position within the international economic structure of production and distribution: some produce industrial goods; others, produce raw material. This requires "a definite structure of relations of domination to assure an international trade based on merchandise produced at unequal levels of technology and cost of labor force" (Cardoso, 1969, p. 18). It was assumed that the transfer of labor from sectors of low productivity into sectors of high productivity would broaden the market. With regard to the features of core and periphery, it can be implied that semiperipheral zones host more evenly diversified economic activities. The intermediate situation between core and periphery, semiperiphery has a distinctive feature and therefore semiperiphery can take advantage of the economic downturns in the world market.

Nevertheless, not all states "scramble to shore" (Wallerstein, 1976a). Scrambling is pushing semiperipheral states themselves to take the part of the core states. With

regards to this, some states prefer not to shore. In order to scrambling and taking part in a never ending and dynamic competition among semiperipheral states, some do want to change the system forever. So, there will no longer be any reason to scramble to shore. As Wallerstein (1976a) proposes, one should approach semiperipheral states with "socialist" and "non-socialist states".

After World War II and Cold War, with the collapse of USSR, most semiperipheral countries began transforming and integrating into the world market. Therefore, non-socialist semiperipheral states are considered to be the semiperipheral states. To continue, semiperipheral states have the opportunity to take advantage from economic downturns. Contraction in the core state economies will raise the demand for the semiperipheral areas, which in turn will give more power or area to semiperiphery to act at the cost of core states. Therefore, semiperipheral areas will be able to turn their faces more towards peripheral areas. While this happens, a relative expansion in the semiperipheral economies can be expected. Therefore, the wages are the primary variable that is influenced by the core and semiperipheral relations. Wallerstein (1976a, p. 466) indicates that "within the existing framework of the capitalist world economy, a downturn is more or less advantageous to all semi-peripheral countries, but only a few are able to translate that advantage into a real shift in economic position (to that of a "core power") at any given moment in history."

So, what are the class features of the semiperipheral states? Before explaining the class features and social strata of semiperipheral states, it should be acknowledged that semiperipheral states vary considerably among them. However, semiperiphery can be said to include an indigenous bourgeoisie, which has close links with core states. The level of an indigenous bourgeoisie in semiperiphery vary, however, it is far less than any bourgeoisie in the core states (K. Terlouw, 2002). Social composition of the semiperiphery, therefore, is majorly comprised of a large number of working class. The working class can be examined under three sections. First one is the well-paid and highly skilled professionals; the second one is the less skilled ones but fully proletarianized workers; and the third section is the semiperoletarianized workers. Proletariat and semiproletariat are demarcated in terms of their differentiation of

income. Proletariat is the laborer whose only means of income is the wage, while semiproletariat is the laborer whose means of income is not only wage but also other means of income. Semiproletariat includes most migrant workers and bulk of the peasantry.

If these three sectors between core and "non-socialist" semi-peripheral countries are compared, one can note a series of contrasts. The professional sector is smaller in semi-peripheral countries but, in terms of real income, it is frequently better paid than persons in equivalent positions in core countries. The sector of fully proletarianized, less skilled workers is again smaller in semi-peripheral than in core countries and on the whole receives much less real income than its counterpart in core countries. Wallerstein (1976a, pp. 467–468) states with regards to the semi-proletarianized workers that "it is a myth to believe it had disappeared in core countries, but it is certainly far smaller than in semiperipheral countries, and probably receives more real income". In times of economic downturns, semiperipheral states have a fed appetite to take its part among core states. Therefore, nationalistic bourgeoisie and states take more protectionist measures to ensure stable economic growth and development. Economic nationalism is self-evidently proving this urge, as it can be observed from the OPEC's oil price manipulations (Wallerstein, 2013). Import substitution is another measure to provide economic development and ensure an aspired rate of economic growth. All the efforts to create monopoly-like measures can be explained only to raise the economic benefit and hurdle to be one of the core states. All these efforts refer to the two strata that comprise the bulk of the population in semiperiphery: semiproletariat and proletariat. Semiproletariat and proletariat are being distinguished in terms of their means/modes of income. It would not be correct to distinguish them in terms of their urban location. Yet, as Wallerstein (1976a) asserts there is a correlation in terms of proletariat's and semi proletariat's ethnic division. It is widely accepted that semiproletariat envisages a lower stratum of the society than proletariat.

What happens in times of economic contraction? Naturally, semiperipheral states will try to keep wage-labor differential at a high level with core states. In order to ensure this, it is projected two ways: first is to keep semiproletariat as "strike breakers" when

proletariat raise its voice for wage increase and the second is to transferring a certain amount of advantage to proletariat in exchange of proletariat's assistance to hold the proletariat in check. This check generally reciprocates for expropriating semi proletariat's some or all lands for resources (Wallerstein, 1976a, pp. 470–472).

To summarize, indigenous bourgeoisie and core states would always maintain their chain of profit since semiperipheral states decide to stay within the world system. Semiperipheral states are very instrumental in ensuring the continuation of this process, since they have a dynamic composition of working class and intermediate position in the world system, which gives resource for semiperipheral states to aspire to be in better off places than they are originally in. Also, the conflict with the semiperiphery is like a closed-box that no longer needs interference for continuation of this vicious circle. Because semiproletariat and semiproletariat are bound to each other in a reciprocal way that prevents each other to take part in an organized and unified political stratum. Ethic and economic factors are the major ones to prevent this unification. Thus, the clash between semiproletariat and proletariat is crucial for the exploitation.

## 2.4. Discussion

It was imbued in this chapter that semiperiphery can be construed as the living part of the world system and it contributes to keeping the world system alive. Because, world systems do not rise and fall as nations and societies do, rather, it is understood whether world system integration and connectivity rise and fall. The high potential for social clashes and its intermediate position to rise in the world system gives semiperiphery a dynamic position and attributes very vital role in the continuation of the system (Terlouw, 2002).

So, the striking question becomes why the continuation and the high level of connectivity in the world system matter so much? The answer for the modern world system is the hegemony. The hegemony is therefore ensured by the high level of connectivity among the core, periphery and semiperiphery. Dynamic role of the semiperiphery is providing the world system the necessary resilience and the fracture

in the semiperiphery provides the fractures that is necessary for the renewal in the world system. Therefore, the world system is maintaining its existence under aforementioned conditions, fueling itself with the exploitation of periphery and proletariat. Continuation of the system is inherently consolidating the hegemony that is produced by the core.

In this context, the role of the migrants but more importantly of the refugees in the core and semiperiphery for the continuation of the world system remains to be further investigated. In the following chapters, labour market integration of the refugees in the core countries namely in Sweden and Germany (Chapter 3) and that in the semiperiphery, namely in Turkey (Chapter 4) will be discussed.

# CHAPTER 3

## Labour Market Integration of Refugees in the "Core": The Cases of Germany and Sweden

Migration and human mobility influence three core areas of state power: economic, military, and diplomatic. The intervening variable between migration and state power is the policy: if states have the capacity to design and implement effective policies that "harness the power of migration", international migration flows can enhance, rather than detract from or compromise, state power (Adamson, 2006, p. 185). As Adamson puts forward the idea of "harnessing the power of migration" in terms of national security, the same applies to the economic area that is naturally influenced by migration of refugees. Asylum policies are, therefore, emerging as the most prominent tool to integrate refugees into society. Migration management concept, thence, has become a significant part of the asylum process. Migration management, rather than migration control, took the attention of nation-states, since it is mainly concerned with the integration of migrants, in general, with regard to the labor market and society, so that the host community can benefit most from refugees.

Refugees are granted rights when they meet certain criteria in a legal system. For example, one can get the right to citizenship according to their birthplace in a state, while in another state citizenship is not bound to the territorial boundaries of birthplace but to the family that the person is born in. Thence, the codification of laws and the means of codification are of utmost importance when it comes to the determination of criteria of rights. The United Nations defines long term migrants as persons "who move to a country other than residence for a period of at least a year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes their new country of usual residence" (Degler & Liebig, 2017, p. 20). Refugee rights are not exempt from this explanation, and even more bound to the term of recognition since they are by nature forced to enter in a legal system afterwards. That is to say that refugees have been standing as an example

to illustrate what they have undergone to have basic rights in the country of immigration.

The 1951 Geneva Convention is the primary international convention to determine the criteria for the refugee status. A refugee is defined in the 1951 Geneva Convention as the people "who flee from the well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, and nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (United Nations General Assembly, 1951). As a result of this, one cannot apply for refugee status in the signatory states unless he or she has a well-founded fear of persecution from the five reasons counted above. That naturally means that a refugee can only enjoy the rights entitled to refugees in the country of arrival when he or she is legally defined as a refugee.

Migration management, as it is a concept related to the measures after refugees' admission to the country in particular, mainly considers the rules and regulations for the realization better adaptation into the country. The understanding of benefit which was articulated here is an ultimately multifaceted phenomenon. Migration management aims not to prevent refugees to perform their act of movement, rather it is more of a term for facilitating this action of movement more orderly so that both of parties of the act of movement can undergo asylum seeking with the most benefit.

Migration management with its special focus on regulating migration and making the most use of it, requires an institutional framework. In this regard, the core states as defined by the World Systems Theory, have a relatively advantageous position compared to the semiperipheral and peripheral states. Core states with their developed institutionalized structure in politics, judiciary, civil society and economic organization can realize more efficient refugee integration. In addition to developed institutional structure of the core states, policies and norms are more stable than semiperipheral and peripheral states, since core states have a stable policy environment as a result of economic development and social cohesion (K. Terlouw, 2002). Having an already existing integration policy can be counted among the results of having a stable system of integration and institutionalized structure. This integration policy is

generally inherited from the country's history through integrating international laborers. Because most of the core countries have relied on foreign labor throughout their development process. Thus, this situation, in turn, created a multicultural environment which stipulates tolerance in public sphere and familiarity of foreign people integration in the society and bureaucracy. Therefore, in terms of refugee integration in developed countries, core states' feature as having a developed and complex institutional background has significant implications (C. P. Terlouw, 1993).

In addition to the institutional features, Wallerstein (1976a) defines core countries with their high profit, high technology, high wage and diversified production. These economic indicators for the core states not only contribute to their status in the world system, but also identify substantial features for the refugee integration mechanisms that are utilized by these states. Labor market integration is among the pillars of the refugees' integration into societies, and therefore host state's response capacity to refugees' potential needs for labor market integration and employment through the integration process is highly dependent on the countries' economic capacity and market structure. Core states, in Wallerstein's (1976a) definition, have a strong economic structure and welfare measures for the residents in the country. Given the features of core states, institutional development, stable social composition and economic welfare are primarily interrelated to refugees' integration into the core countries. To study these interactions between core country and refugees, it would be suitable to look into the Germany and Sweden's latest experience with refugee integration.

Germany and Sweden can be specifically selected to examine refugees' integration as they are among the top refugee receiving countries in Europe. In addition to that, these countries have also a special significance with regards to refugees' integration when it is considered that they are listed among the core countries in the current world system. Germany and Sweden are attributed with the characteristics of the core countries by some scholars (C. P. Terlouw, 1993; K. Terlouw, 2002; Wallerstein, 1976a). Therefore, this chapter aims to explore refugees' integration into the core countries

and the policy measures that are taken to achieve an effective integration, especially within the context of their labor market integration.

In addition, further remarks should be raised in terms of the integration of refugees as their number has grown drastically in recent years. The Arab Spring in the MENA region and the Syrian Civil War became the chief factors in producing refugees for the last decade. At least five million refugees had to flee their homes due to a well-founded fear of persecution. Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan are the top three countries that faced the burden of this recent refugee crisis. This mass influx of population movement deserves to be seen from the perspectives of both sides. From the Syrian people's side, it is a big humanitarian crisis considering the outcomes of the last eight years of clashes. Millions of people have been compelled to leave their homes and many of the refugees' families and friends have lost their lives. On the side of the host states, it has been a crisis since they were not expecting such a big influx of people in the short term.

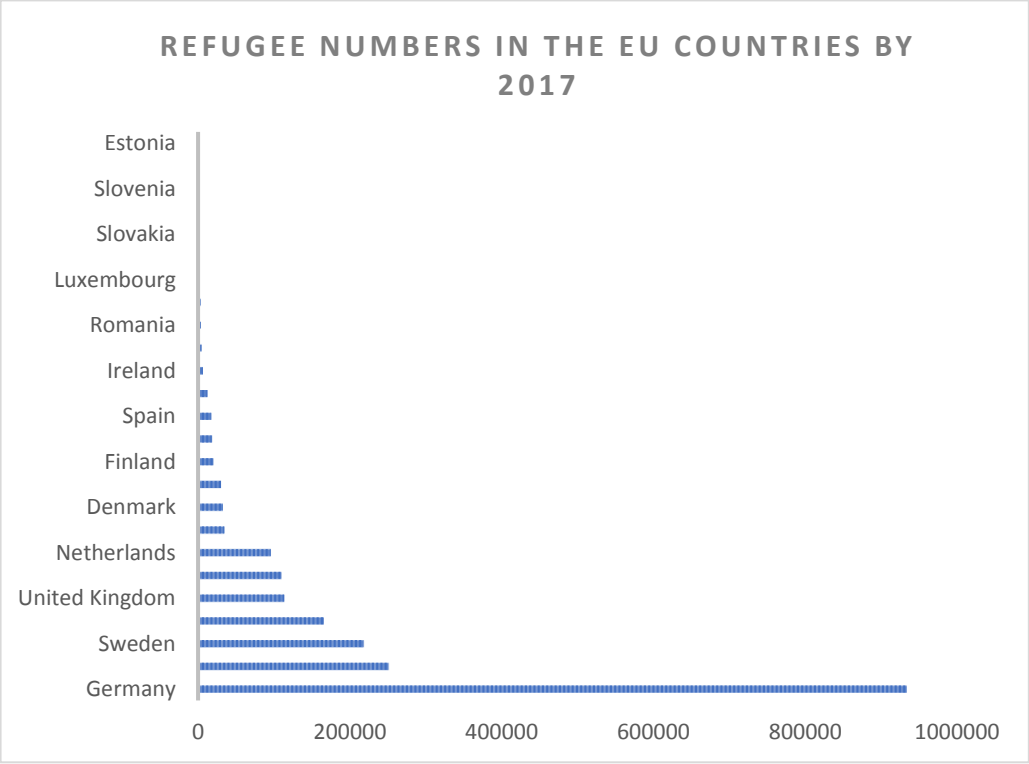


*Figure 3: Refugee Numbers in the EU Countries by 2017 (UNHCR. (n.d.))*

This is especially valid for the neighboring countries to Syria. Considering the fact that, by the end of 2013 around 500,000 Syrian population arrived in Turkey, this number went up around 3,5 million people right after two years. This dramatic increase in the population caused drastic changes in Turkey's policies and the Syrian population's characteristics as well. On the other hand, European countries also have received a fair number of refugees. As shown in Figure 3, Germany and Sweden are the main destinations for the refugees to seek asylum in Europe, as these countries are perceived to have well-established institutional structures and strong economies.

### 3.1. Refugees' Labor Market Integration: Germany

Like the many other European countries, Germany has received a massive refugee influx in 2014 and 2015 and is likely not to accept such numbers again. The main reason for this massive influx was undoubtedly the aggravation of the political situation in Syria. People found themselves on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, on their way to Europe with the hopes for better life. In 2015 and 2016, an estimated total of 1.2 million people arrived in Germany to seek asylum (Degler & Liebig, 2017, p. 11; UNHCR, 2019). This posed a significant problem for the German officials, since they were already aware of the fact that integration of refugees into society and labor market is a challenging and long process. Germany has already experienced a similar situtation after the collapse of East Bloc and Yugoslavia. It is therefore experienced that integration of refugees into labor market at an optimum level lasts around fifteen years, which is the time when labor and family migrants would reach at an equal level in terms of employability (Bevelander, 2016).

Indeed, not all the asylum seekers would eventually gain the refugee status. But according a report (Degler & Liebig, 2017), for some countries of origin, recognition rates in 2016 were high with 98% for Syrians, 92% for Eritreans and 70% for Iraqis. On the other hand, rates were relatively lower in the case of Afghans and Iranians (56% and 51%) compared to the total recognition rate of 62%. Therefore, Germany's most effective integration measure, Integration Courses, were undergone a set of changes (Aumüller, 2016). The biggest change in this respect, was opening the

integration courses not only for the refugees but also for the asylum seekers from certain countries whose country recognition rates were higher respectively.

Integration Courses are the main policy instrument that Germany has long benefitted for the integration of guest workers and Integration Courses include German culture education and language education which are among the biggest problems standing before the integration. First in 2015 the course load of Integration Course was increased and secondly in 2016 the scope of the courses has been expanded to the asylum seekers. I believe, the rationale behind this policy change was that refugees, unlike guest workers or other immigrants, needs a longer period of time in terms of employability and labor market integration. As it can be clearly seen from Figure 4, to reach an optimum employability rate for refugees, a roughly 20 year is needed.

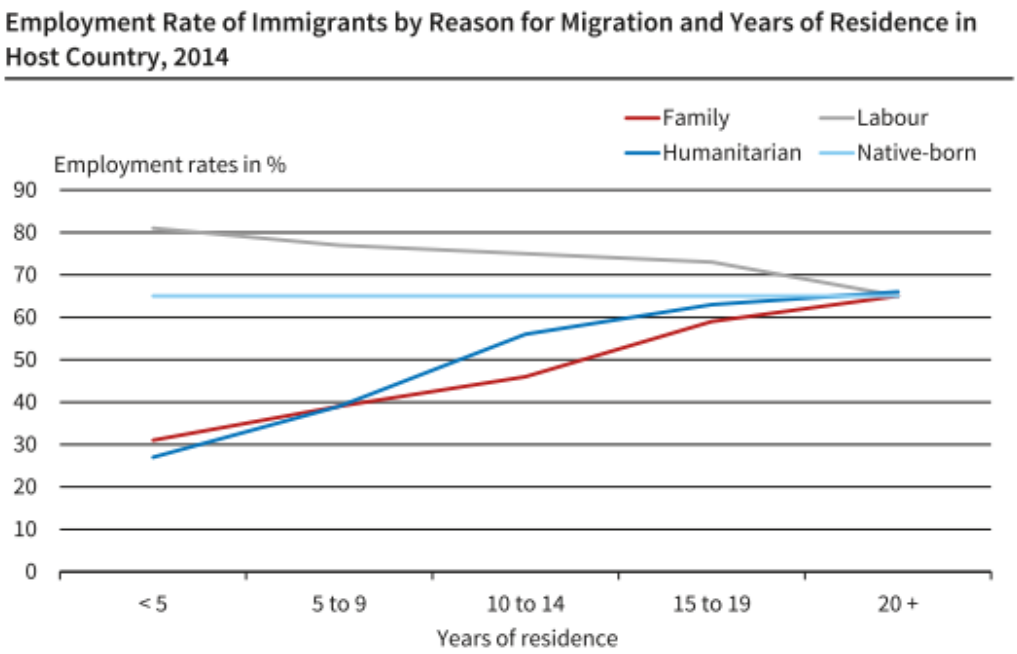


*Figure 3 Employment Rates by Years of Residence*[1]

[1] Degler, E., Liebig, T., & Senner, A. S. (2017). Integrating refugees into the labour market - Where does Germany stand? *CESifo DICE Report*. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264251236-en

Therefore, I argue that early intervention was taken into consideration more seriously so that the asylum seekers from high probability of refugee status recognition were included into Integration Courses.

In the German system, not all the immigrants are defined as refugees. As a part of the 1951 Geneva Convention, migrants fleeing from persecution for certain reasons shall not be forced to go back to the country where there is a well-founded risk of persecution, by force of the non-refoulment principle. In the German case, first arrivals in the country with the intent of being recognized as a refugee are registered as prospective asylum seekers. In this regard, it can be stated that there is a two layered asylum recognition process. After the initial recognition of asylum candidates, those who qualify for asylum seeking should complete their processes for being recognized as a refugee. If one is not recognized as refugee after all and is still having a well-founded persecution in the case of *refoulment*, those people are recognized as the "subsidiary protection", which is also another means of international protection articulated in the 1951 Geneva Convention (United Nations General Assembly, 1951). Apart from this, those who do not qualify for refugee status and do not have a well-founded fear of persecution either, are deported. For various reasons, some denied-asylum seekers might not be deported, and these people are given the status of "toleration" (Benton et al., 2014). In Figure 5, summarized categories can be seen in terms of the legal status of the immigrants in Germany. The refugee recognition process starts with the title of immigrant. Therefore, subsequent statuses are given according to the upper statuses in the table. Green color connotes that the decision was positive, and red color connotes that the decision as negative. So, if an immigrant applies for asylum, he or she directly becomes an asylum candidate. If the asylum request is approved, he or she becomes asylum seeker, and if not approved he or she is given the toleration status. The significance of this classification is because it makes difference when it comes to identify people who are authorized to use integration measures. Germany has allowed asylum seekers from the countries with high probability of refugee recognition to take integration courses, which include culture education and language learning.

Refugees, unlike labor migrants, have a lower percent of employability in their early years of arrival and in order to increase the benefits, early intervention plays a vital role. Therefore, allowing some asylum seekers to take integration courses is an instrument to minimize the negative impacts of refugees both to society and the labor market especially.

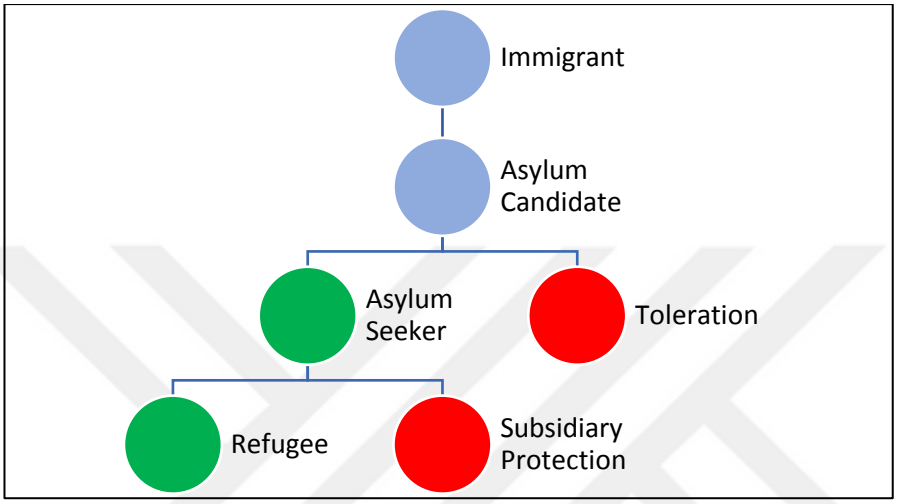


*Figure 5 Asylum Procedures in Germany*[2]

The attendance and the sustainability of the system are ensured by incentives and sanctions. For example, if tolerated persons are registered to vocational and educational trainings, the three years to stay in the country is ensured. Apart from that, two more year is given if that person finds a job after three years of vocational and educational training (Degler & Liebig, 2017). This 3+2-year rule is both beneficial for employers and employees. Because, from the side of employer, the employment of tolerated persons becomes very difficult since the already stay of tolerated persons in the country is precarious. Therefore, the plus two years can be considered as an important incentive for employers to hire tolerated people. On the other hand, asylum seekers and refugees are required to stay in the same federal state in order to receive social assistance. What is more, each federal state was authorized to restrict the movement within their territory. The importance of the restriction was mainly about

[2] Benton, M., Sumption, M., Alsvik, K., Fratzke, S., Kuptsch, C., & Papademetriou, D. G. (2014). *Aiming higher: Policies to get immigrants into middle-skilled work in Europe*. MPI.

restricting secondary migrations within the Germany, so that the financial burden can be shared equally among other states.

Before starting to explain how the labor market related state institutions work, a short summary about the recent policies that were made in terms of refugees and labor market can be given. In 2014, waiting time for asylum seekers to enter labor market reduced from nine months to three months. Because, "longer times of inactivity not only has negative impact on the chances to get employment in future but also negatively influence refugees psychologically" (Degler & Liebig, 2017, p. 43). An important impact of longer time for entering labor market makes asylum seekers more prone to become illegally employed and be forced to work under more exploitative conditions.

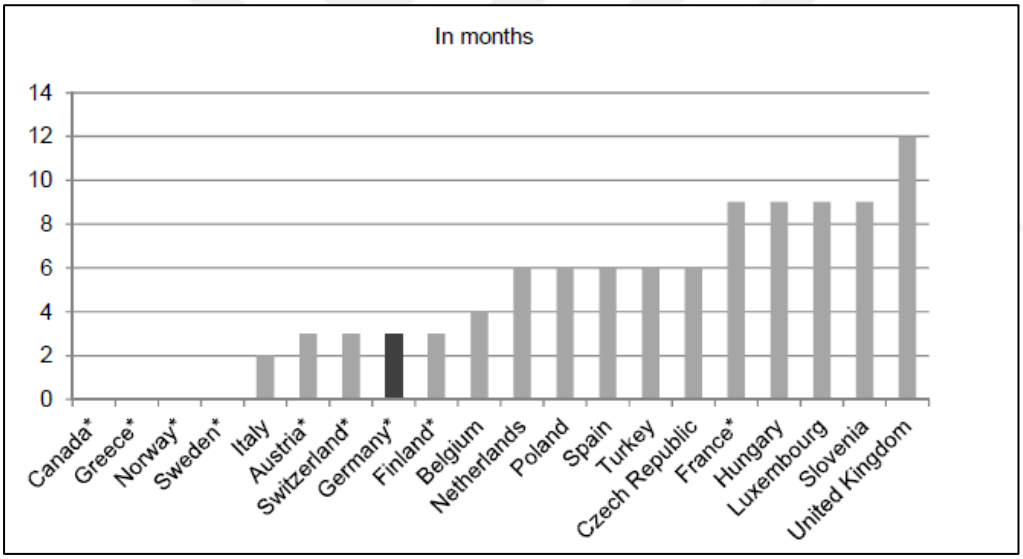


*Figure 6: Most favorable waiting periods for labor market access for asylum seekers in selected OECD countries, around 2016* (Degler & Liebig, 2017, p. 43)

In 2016, labor market testing procedures were partly suspended in order to facilitate a faster transition to labor market (Aumüller, 2016) .Because in 2016, the average duration of an asylum procedure was around seven months in Germany, two months of increase than 2015. That is to say, massive influx required new policies that enable actors to respond quicker. In addition, in 2016, Germany's main integration instrument, the Integration Courses, was further developed in its content by in a way to include civic orientation in addition to the language course. This was facilitated by

the Integration Act, which also introduced the Integration Measures that sought to create 100.000 low-threshold work opportunities to give asylum seekers and refugees an introduction of German working lifestyle and working habits (Kadkoy, 2017).

The Federal Employment Agency (Bundesagentur für Arbeit)[3] is a general responsible agency for employment. In the federal states "Jobcenter"s were responsible for the refugees' entrance to labor market. Their registrations, social benefits and Integration Course allocation are made through these institutions. The aforementioned policy changes are primarily related with these institutions, since the 100.000 low threshold jobs, integration courses and waiting times for entering labor market are being followed by these institutions (Aumüller, 2016)

It is also by these institutions to oversee the employment of the refugees and asylum seekers. In Germany, asylum seekers cannot be self-employed (Degler & Liebig, 2017, p. 44). This is important because all the refugees and hundreds of thousands of people can only be wage laborers or trainees with low wage. As the OECD report states (2017, p. 45) the Federal Employment Agency in 2016, approved around 85.000 out of 102.000 requests for employment permits for asylum seekers. Most decisions were made for positions in the hospitality sector (%28), and for cleaning and gardening jobs (%14).

The German case of refugees' labor market integration and the integration in general has shown us that market and society are highly interrelated in the framework of integration. Several studies (Bevelander, 2016; Ruist, 2015) have demonstrated that early entrance of refugees to the labor market has significantly increasing their chances for better integration. Besides, it is also noteworthy that Germany has adapted labor migrant integration measures for refugees. This can be interpreted as a holistic approach of Germany towards refugees and international labor migrants. Another interpretation can be made as that Germany has inherited its integration measures. That is a natural outcome of already having an integration policy. As a result of this, German

[3] https://www.arbeitsagentur.de/en/welcome

case has taught us that refugees' labor market entries are regulated according to the already existing integration policy.

### 3.2. Refugees' Labor Market Integration: Sweden

As the massive refugee influx towards Europe, which has predominantly sprung from Syria due to the Arab Spring, is now significantly affecting European countries the numbers of asylum seeker present in these countries are at their highest levels. What makes this influx more complicated is that people come from another continent and from different language and cultural backgrounds, and this makes social coexistence even more difficult. Therefore, the cost of integration becomes even more visible. Sweden is one good example to observe this social cost. As Nordic countries are famous for their social welfare system to its citizens, the redistribution of welfare to refugees is in the sight of Swedish population since refugees generally have lower employment rates and higher benefit use rates than other immigrants (Ruist, 2015, p. 567).

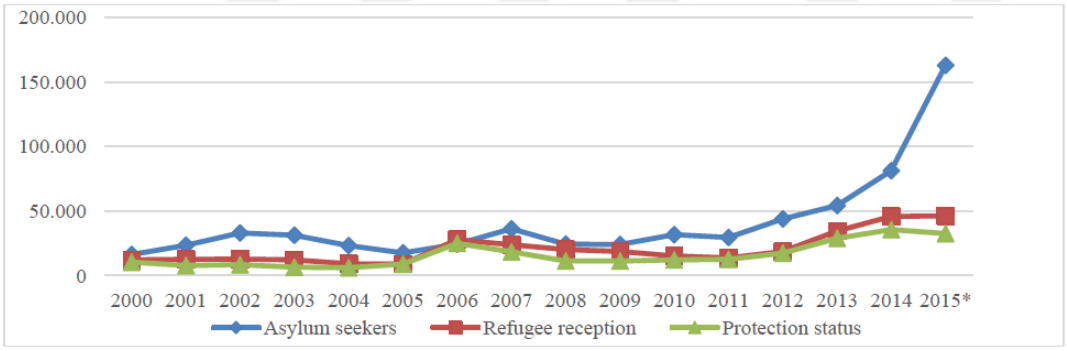


*Figure 7 Asylum Seekers, Persons Granted Protection Status, and Persons Eligible for Introduction Programs, 2000-2015 (Source: Bevelander and Emilsson (2016).*

Before starting to explain the costs of refugee integration, it would be meaningful to look at the integration measures taken by Sweden. In Figure 7, asylum seekers, persons granted protection status and persons eligible for introduction programs are shown. While Sweden has considerably stable refugee inflow, this situation was to change by the impacts of Syrian Civil War started in 2011. Consistent with the increase in the incoming refugee population, recognition rates have noticeably risen, in parallel to the change in the refugee population's demographics. While recognition rates were 24%

between 2000 and 2004, it has become 71% between 2010 and 2014. Furthermore, Syrian refugees have comprised the most populous group among asylum seekers by almost 32%. This dramatic increase in the number of asylum seekers was mainly related to the escalation in the political situation in Syria. This escalation can be said to have created policy challenges for the refugee receiving countries. Being among those countries that underwent a policy challenge can be deemed to have an advantageous position when the country in question has a well-established institutionalized structure and strong economy. Refugees that arrive in Sweden are able to access labor market legally, since the legal framework about the labor market access were granted to those recognized as asylum seekers. In order to legally access labor market, it would be enough to have a proper identification and asylum application (Bevelander & Emilsson, 2016). Additionally, for those who are granted international protection are allowed to enjoy permanent residence permit and full inclusion in the welfare state. Undoubtedly, these rights are highly relevant to the core state's response capacity. Sweden, with its advanced institutional framework, strong economy and comprehensive welfare service are able to provide such opportunities to its refugee population.

Apart from the legal framework, Sweden intensively implements policies to further integrate its refugee population. Introduction program, Swedish language course, skills assessment and its validation, state-sponsored employment and access to education among these policy measures (Bevelander & Emilsson, 2016). Sweden has a comprehensive integration policy since 1975, when the parliament passed a law based on multiculturalism. With the intention of providing the same living standards to migrants as the native population, Sweden has been extensively using introduction programs for ensuring satisfactory integration. Over the time, introduction program has been subjected to several amendments, and the latest modification was made in 2014 with the intention to include family members of refugees into the introduction program (Emilsson, 2015). Introduction program basically includes the language training, civic orientation and labor market assessment both for refugees and their family members. The last amendment took the program's responsibility from municipalities and gave it to employment services, so that a labor market-oriented

program can be maintained. Prior to the latest amendment, the program included refugees' families who have been in Sweden for a maximum two years, and the last change in the law extended this period to six years to address more people.

In the case of refugees, reciprocal relation between the host community and immigrants are considered more from the perspective of cost and benefits. As far as I am concerned, considering the fact that being an asylum seeker is a humanitarian concept by its definition, establishing an integration program for asylum seekers and refugees would be inevitably a topic of conflict between moral duties and welfare distribution. As it is aforementioned, Sweden is a state which employs a comprehensive welfare service. Furthermore, its introduction program was modified by incentives for further integration to labor market by maintaining the social assistance even in the case when the beneficiary starts working. Additionally, introduction guides were provided for giving the opportunity of informal education and face-to-face consultation for labor market (Bevelander & Emilsson, 2016).

The introduction program has common features with Germany's integration courses in terms of providing civic orientation. Language education is a different point from the method utilized in Germany since Swedish language education is free of charge and Sweden implements a policy of paying for early completion of the language course to incentivize learning Swedish language. Lastly, skills assessment and state funded employment are two other policies for better integration of refugees. Skills assessment can be understood as assessment of foreign credentials and validation of prior knowledge and training for better address for the concerned population in terms of labor market needs.

Furthermore, to ensure higher employability, Sweden subsidizes certain amount of costs of the employment and up to 80% of the employer's employment cost might be supported by the government (Bevelander & Emilsson, 2016). All of these measures can only be possible if the country of arrival is considered within the core states in world system. Because these measures require a strong economic power and institutional background to combat possible problems. Yet, all of these incentives and

multiculturalist environment may have its own limitations as Sweden may have started to consider Syria's some parts safe, even the political instability and the flames of the war still not been extinguished in the region (Swedish Migration Agency, 2019). Figure 8, taken from the Ruist's article (2015, p. 574) which mainly aims to find out fiscal costs of refugees in the Swedish society, illustrates the fiscal aspects related to public sector redistribution to refugees in the year 2007. As it is evident in the table, refugees make only the 3,4% of public revenues and 5,6% of the public costs. The net variation between these two numbers is only the 1% of the Swedish gross domestic product.

| | Total Population (Billion Kronor) | Refugees' contribution (Billion Kronor) | Refugees' share of total value (%) | Refugees' average share of total average (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Public Revenues** | 1.473,30 | 49,4 | **3,4** | 66 |
| Direct Taxes, individuals | 536,8 | 16,2 | 3 | 59 |
| Payroll taxes | 391,5 | 15,3 | 3,9 | 76 |
| Consumption Taxes | 398,6 | 15,9 | 4 | 78 |
| Direct Taxes, Corporations | 106,6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 39,8 | 2 | 5,1 | 100 |
| **Public Costs** | 1.473,30 | 81,9 | **5,6** | 109 |
| Social Assistance | 7,8 | 4,3 | **55,4** | 1.087 |
| Pensions | 286,7 | 3,3 | 1,2 | 23 |
| Other Individual Transfers | 195,4 | 18,8 | 9,6 | 189 |
| Hospital and Elderly Care | 240,6 | 9,1 | 3,8 | 74 |
| Disability Care | 37,2 | 2,1 | 5,7 | 112 |
| Schooling and Child Care | 158 | 4,9 | 3,1 | 60 |
| Crime and Justice | 30,6 | 7,7 | 25,3 | 496 |
| Language training for immigrants | 1,5 | 0,8 | 50 | 980 |
| Integration Policy | 4,1 | 2,1 | 50 | 980 |
| Labor Market Policy | 16,7 | 3,5 | 20,7 | 406 |
| Other | 494,8 | 25,3 | 5,1 | 100 |
| **Net Result** | 0 | -32,5 | | |

*Figure 8 Economic Statistics of Refugees in Sweden (Source: Ruist, 2015)*

When all the budget items in the table are taken into consideration, direct taxes from the corporations from the revenues section and social assistance and other items from the public costs sector, it will be seen that these items have a special meaning. To

illustrate, direct taxes from corporations are regarded as zero, since there is not a majority of refugee population who has started their own job. In addition, social assistance is a public cost contributed by refugees only at the early stages of their arrival. This fact can be seen in the Figure 9 below. In addition to that, Ruist (2015) states that the item of "other" is referring to the costs such as infrastructure, defense and public administration and therefore are allocated to refugee group according to their population size. However, it is also stated that the numbers are not very well influenced by the arrival of refugees.

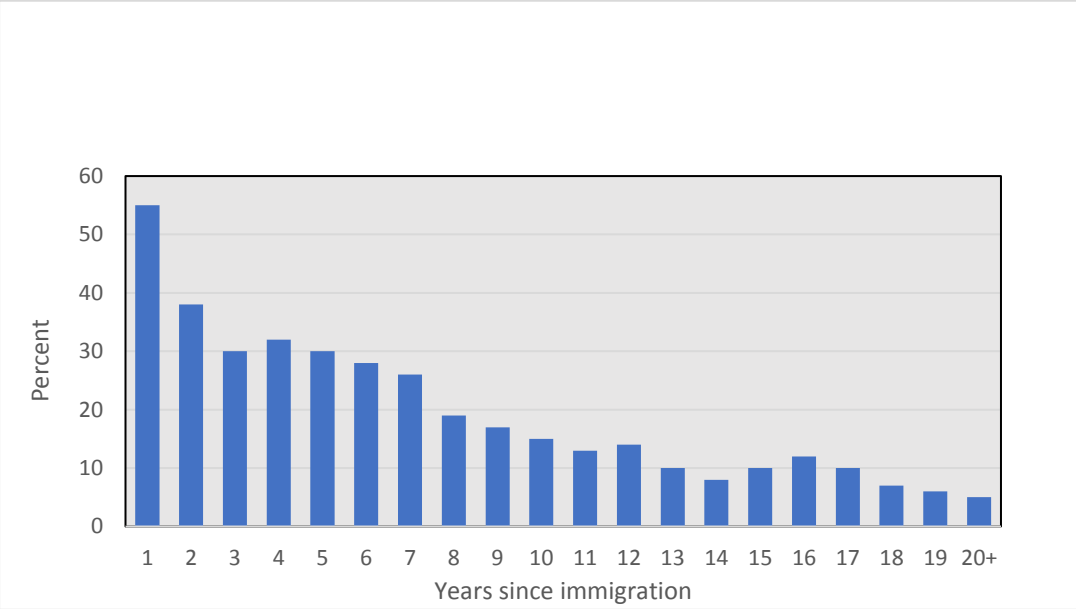


*Figure 9 Percentage of Refugees aged 18-64 receiving Social Assistance in Sweden (Source: Ruist, 2015)*

Refugees' fiscal cost to the Swedish society is less than 1% (0,2%) (Ruist, 2015, p. 578) and furthermore these numbers are excluding the private sector. That is to say that refugee population and its cost to a country of arrival is very minimal even in a comprehensive welfare state. Thus, as the last remarks on the Swedish case, one can mention that shaping policies to reduce the redistribution to the refugee population appears to be a wise option to focus on policies that seek to increase the employment rates of refugees, since their cost to society, in fact, fairly as not high as it is expected. A number of studies (Bevelander, 2016; Degler, Liebig, & Senner, 2017; Ruist, 2015) has shown that refugees start at a lower employment rate compared to family reunification and economic migrants. Then, the employment gap of the refugees start

to diminish and even closes over time. The period for the adaptation to the new country poses as the biggest obstacle for employment. Subsequently, a number of countries have developed integration policies aiming at refugees that are designed to enhance their labor market integration. Like in Germany, in Sweden, refugees are provided with language courses and two years of introduction assistance which includes general knowledge about Swedish society in addition to language courses (Bevelander, 2016, p. 3).

Another worthwhile information about the refugees' labor market integration with regards to the economic position of refugees during their first five years of arrival is that higher education after secondary education did not increase their chances of employability (Hartog & Zorlu, 2009). Even though refugees are slower in terms of employability, they will be better employed if appropriate policies are implied in terms of entrance into the society.

To conclude, it can be stated that labor market integration of refugees is both not expensive and profitable for the country of arrival as it is examined in the case of Sweden, which is considered as a core country from the perspective of the World Systems Theory. Low employability rates of the refugees can be proponed as a negative side, however some studies (Cortes, 2004) show that with increased time in the country, refugees eventually perform as well as or even better than economic migrants. This minimal cost of the refugees cannot be easily explained by the relatively lesser number of refugees compared to the Middle Eastern refugee hosting societies. The data shows that the population of Sweden in 2015, which is the time when the article demonstrated minimal cost of refugees, is 9.7 million (EuroStat, 2019), and the total number of people in concern, *i.e. refugees and asylum seekers*, makes 357.000 people (UNHCR, 2019). Therefore, when it is compared to most refugee hosting country, Turkey, it will be seen that the numbers are not inconsequential. While Sweden hosts refugees correspond to 3,6% of its total population, the ratio in Turkey is 4,7%.

### 3.3. Discussion

International perceptions on refugees can be said to have changed due to social, economic and political change over time. Even though the concept of international protection and humanitarian migration is not a new phenomenon, the articulation and systematization of these concept in the interstate arena have developed after the World War II. World has produced more than ever refugees with the end of the war and many states have required an institutionalized approach towards the refugee.

I argue that states have implemented policies that further integrate asylum seekers and refugees into their labor market. The Syrian crisis has caused more than a million of refugees to seek asylum in European countries. In addition to that, the political instability in Syria has further escalated. Migration control and migration management are two key concepts in migration studies. While former tells that refugees and migrants should be kept away from borders, the latter mainly endeavors to find better solutions for the most beneficial way for making most from the refugees.

Responses to the latest event in the Middle East and North Africa Regions, the European and neighboring countries have been exposed to massive waves of human migration. Section 3.1 and Section 3.2 illustrate that those states which are considered to be core states within the classification of World Systems Theory have had considerable advantage compared to the semiperipheral and peripheral states. Germany and Sweden example have shown that a well-established institutional framework enabled these countries to manage these migration waves in a more efficient and more organized manner. Their already existing social culture to live in a multicultural environment and their consolidated and cooperative institutional backgrounds are salient features in ensuring refugees decent conditions and best measures to avoid labor exploitation. Furthermore, having a powerful economy also gave the chance to these countries to provide crucial incentives to make these integration policies work, in both social and economic fields.

It is possible to observe from the German and Swedish cases that refugees start at a lower employment rate compared to family reunification and economic migrants. Core states, in this case, have used their institutional and economic resources to overcome

this problem. They have instrumentalized integration courses, language courses, subsidizing employment for the benefit of employers, and traineeships. I argue that due to their disadvantaged position, refugees have started with limited employment and integration, however, with the help of efficient policies they can perform very well.

To conclude, it can be said that labor market integration of refugees is not expensive, and it is even profitable for the country of arrival in the core states. Refugees' low employability rate can be construed as a negative side, however it is demonstrated that refugees make up for the employment deficit by the time. (Cortes, 2004). Sweden's experience is parallel to the European Union's decision regarding the standardization of reception of asylum seekers. The European Union resolution (European Union, 2013) Article 15 compels the European States to ensure labor market entrance to asylum seeker applicants not later than nine months from the date when the application for international protection was lodged. The nine months period is meaningful since the Swedish case explicitly shows that if early labor market entrance is ensured, humanitarian international migrants do as well as, even better than economic migrants.

Compared to the core countries, it is possible to argue that most of the refugees in the world has been hosted by semiperipheral countries (McAuliffe & Ruh, 2018). The integration of these people into labor market becomes as the primary purpose, since integration measures relies heavily on labor market integration. Because unlike the situation of Sweden, semiperipheral states cannot provide such comprehensive welfare services to these people. Also, considering the fact that the cost of these people is marginal and even compensated by their benefit, it becomes even more important to provide proper documentation and legal infrastructure to enable them into labor market. However, the labor market integration of refugees in the semiperipherial countries display a different outlook, as already foreseen by the World Systems Theory by defining their role in the sustainability of capitalism at a global scale. Thus, the next chapter will discuss the case of Turkey, from this perspective.

# CHAPTER 4

## Labour Market Integration of Refugees in the "Semiperiphery": The Case of Turkey

Turkey's experience in the case of migration and refugee movements has been influenced by various factors throughout the history. Among them, the most influential factor can be claimed to be Turkey's geographical location as a bridge between Asia and the Europe. It has not yet been a century since the Republic of Turkey was founded, but the Republic has continued to undergo a series of migration related challenges.

As Wallerstein (1976) states, semiperipheral countries partially act as the core countries for peripheral zones and act as peripheral countries for the core zones. It is possible to claim that Turkey has demonstrated a similar characteristic within the context of in international migration in line with Wallerstein's expression. As a result of its geographical location and intermediate position in the world system as a semiperiphery country, Turkey has not considered itself as a country of arrival, up until the last decade. Throughout the history, Turkey has been influenced by the political instability induced migration waves into its country within its proximity and emigration waves to the core countries. This in fact consistent with the World Systems Theory's principle, since it articulates that international migration occurs as a result of global capitalist market formation and division of labor which moves labor forces from labor abundant countries to labor scarce countries, in exchange of movement of goods from core countries to peripheral countries.

Furthermore, founded on the remnants of an empire, Turkey has inherited a complex social structure with complex social relations. Both inner and macro level determinants provided Turkey a dynamic structure. Considering the fact that Turkey has inherited a complex social structure and relatively less developed institutional framework in legal, political, economic and social fields puts Turkey in a semiperipheral position as argued

by some scholars (Chase-Dunn et al., 2000). Even with the conceptualization of (C. P. Terlouw, 1993), Turkey specifically can be considered as a political semiperiphery, as a reflection of the reasons delineated above.

Turkey can still be claimed not to have consolidated its institutional structure, considering the military coups and human rights violations in its history, which have a demolishing effect on the organizational structure of the country and forces a re-structuring afterwards. Coupled with the aspirations for economic development, Turkey has been trying to restore and consolidate its institutional structure by taking western and core countries as an example. Having a more than fifty years history of endeavors to be a member of the EU should be considered within this perspective. At the same time, deficiencies in the rule of law, human rights violations, lack of policy implementations and law enforcement should be perceived as a lack of institutional organization and lack of policy implementation. Yet, Turkey can be distinguished from the peripheral countries with its strong state apparatus and relatively complex social structure and institutional capacity.

Having examined the core countries' refugee integration measures, it would be meaningful to look into semiperipheral state's responses to the refugee influx. Core states had their own institutional economic resources to cope with the unexpected refugee population. But in the case of a lesser institutionalized semiperipheral country, it is a bigger challenge both for refugees and states. In the case of Turkey, such responses will first be examined in the context of the migration policies before the 2000s to find out its implications for the current refugee crisis management. Secondly, substantial migration and refugee related laws and regulations, mostly enacted in the 2000s, will be presented. In the last section, the chapter tries to explore the current experiences of Syrian refugees in the labor market of Turkey and their relation to the institutional and legal practices.

### 4.1. Migration Policies in Turkey Before the 2000s

Migration policies, just like other kind of policies, can be better grasped when the policy makers' stance on migration is well understood. Therefore, Turkey's stance on

international migration and international refugee regime should be explained in the first place. However, a century old the Republic of Turkey historically has taken different stances toward migration. As it has become self-evident after the massive influx of Syrian refugees, Turkey did not consider itself as a country of immigration. Rather, Turkey, historically, has been defined as a country of emigration or transit. Therefore, when one starts to examine Turkey's migration and refugee policies before the 2000s, a special emphasis on the Syrian refugee movement which was accelerated from 2011 and onwards should be made. Some scholars (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013) have examined Turkey's migration policies under four distinct categories. These categories mainly examine the two-way immigration circulation in the early years of the Republic, emigration boom since the 1950s, emergence of new migration patterns in the 1980s, and new forms of migration governance since the 2000s. Turkish labor migration towards European countries, liberalization wave throughout the political history of Turkey and the EU accession process have played a predominant role for this categorization. In addition, the migration boom after the 1950s was another characteristic of Turkish migration and integration policies before the 2000s.

In history, bilateral agreements were signed between the European states in order to facilitate guest worker programs and international labor migrants. These programs specifically aimed to import workers from labor abundant countries to labor scarce countries to support economic development in the European countries. International labor migration programs subsequently aimed to address the needs of labor exporting countries, in terms of remittances and upskilling migrant worker population in their return to country of origin. Because, at the beginning the idea was to send nationals to various European countries and receive them back as a trained labor migrant, in a way to also contribute to Turkey's development. Thus, policies were implemented accordingly. In addition, the Law No. 2510 on Settlement (1934), Law No. 5683 on Residence and Travel for Aliens in Turkey (1950), the Passport Law No. 5682 (1950) and Turkish Citizenship Law No. 403 (1981) served as main regulations for organizing international migrants in Turkey and these regulations were neither encompassing regulations nor having the perspective of a nation-building process. It is an important

perspective since those who do not qualify for the Turkish culture or descent were regarded as illegal migrants in terms of their immigration and settlement.

To give a broader perspective, it is possible to mention the historical background to international migration and refugee policies. Founded on the remnants of Ottoman Empire, after long years of battles, population of the Republic of Turkey which encompassed various ethnic backgrounds, was facing with challenges. Significant loss of population and decline in agriculture and commerce were influencing newly established state's responses to the inherited social problems (Kale, 2005) .In addition, the idea of nation-building aiming to unify society and politics was penetrating into states all over the world. Turkey was not immune from these changes and trends and, in turn, employed policies with this regard, on which its reflections can be observed by the conceptualization of Turkish descent and culture that is a presupposition for reaching integration mechanisms. Immigration and asylum problem and the possible resolutions were taken into consideration in this framework. The population exchange between Turkish people in Greece and Greek people in Turkey and Turkish migration from Bulgaria were driven by the desires to compose a society that contains an ethnically homogenous society (Içduygu, Toktas, & Ali Soner, 2008). Despite the fact that Turkish society and its demography have been affected by the dramatic impacts of the World War I, planned policies were instrumental to contribute to an ethnically uniform society. As a result of this, the Lausanne Convention of January 1923 specified the conditions for the compulsory population exchange between Turkey and Greece, which affected about 1.5 million people with substantial long-term consequences (Kale, 2005, p. 193). The policy measures to ensure social engineering for leaving behind the remnants of the Empire were not limited to the Lausanne Agreement's population exchange scheme as İçduygu (2008) comments. Immigration and settlement policies endorsed a new definition of Turkishness different from its former conceptualization. That is to say that in the Greek-Turkish population exchange religion played an important role, whereas latter immigration and settlement policies extensively relied on Turkish descent and culture.

In this context, the first official document to regulate voluntary immigration was enacted in 1926 with the Law of Settlement, No:885. This law can be considered as a pioneer to its latter successors. The law has compelled those who wanted to be admitted to the Republic of Turkey having Turkish culture. Indeed, this explanation was far vague for comprehension, and thence, the Memorandum of Settlement (1926) was published for elaborating the Turkish ethnic culture for further implementation (Ülker, 2003). This memorandum was roughly defining the ethnic groups like Pomaks, Bosnians, and Tatars as having Turkish ethnic culture and thus as those who can be admitted to Turkey. With the termination of the World War I, many national borders and with the population within have changed and many states have undergone a nation-building process. The Republic of Turkey, as one of them, took extensive measures in this regard. The 1923 agreement with Greece which is about the population exchange between two countries, was driven by not economic reasons but by social and ideologic reasons (Özsu, 2011). In addition to maintaining agreements under this perspective, policy implementation within the borders and regulations regarding foreigners including their acceptance into country in the first place, were influenced by this stance.

Following the Law of Settlement in 1926, as a quick response to migratory movements happening in the post war period, another regulation was made in 1934. Law on Settlement, numbered 2510, was enacted in 1st August 1934[4]. This law was not making any fundamental changes to its predecessor, however, adding the clause of being a Turkish descent and having Turkish culture for the eligible and welcomed immigrants to Turkey. This policy brought a novel approach in terms of its applicability to Turkish ethnic belonging and Turkish language. Both laws played an instrumental and substantial role in creating an ethnically homogeneous society after the World War I. After the late 19th century and onwards, the Ottoman Empire followed various policies in order to gain power against its opponents and cease its downturn.

[4] TBMM. Law of Settlement, Pub. L. No. 2510 (1934). Retrieved from http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/2733.pdf

After the Law on Settlement in 1934, nothing much was made in terms of policy measures until the ratification of the Geneva Convention (1951). Nevertheless, it would be wrong to ignore migratory movements that continued from Balkans to Turkey in the meantime. The 1951 Geneva Convention has defined the term *refugee* as those who flee from persecution caused by the incidents happening in Europe. Despite the fact that this geographical limitation was lifted by many parties to the Convention, Turkey still holds this limitation together with Monaco, and Turkey is still obliged to legally recognize refugees from Eastern Europe. More than half a million of people has immigrated from Eastern Europe to Turkey under these terms.

After the enactment of the 1926 and 1934 regulations for immigration and settlement, Turkey accepted the 1951 Geneva Convention in a short while and ratified it in 1961 (Barkın, 2014). Ever since, the Convention has been constituting the ground principles and the major executive framework for asylum policies in Turkey. Yet, Turkey has not stopped being an asylum destination for refugees. Even though Turkey has not revoked its decision about the geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention, Turkey has hosted millions of refugees coming from Bulgaria, Caucasus, Iran, and Iraq. People from Bulgaria and Caucasus fleeing from Soviet pressure in 1989 have settled in Turkey. This group can be deemed to be luckier than other nationals in terms of applied legal framework to them. The revolution in Iran and the 1991 Gulf War have led millions of people move towards Turkish borders and be settled temporarily (İçduygu & Keyman, 2000).

Still, the term "temporarily" should be taken into consideration as a nominal indicator. It has been clarified that Turkey does not accept refugees coming from other than European countries due to its geographical limitation to the Convention. Therefore, these people were, in principle, accepted temporarily until the time when they were settled into another countries. Turkey, therefore, has become a transit country. This process was supervised and executed by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), since Turkey did not have the adequate institutional and legal infrastructure back then. Indeed, the refugee status determination and resettlement processes were taking so long, and these people are required to stay in Turkey

"temporarily" for long durations. Inevitably, these people were subjected to be integrated into labor market illegally, and into society.

This controversy was mainly because of the 1951 Geneva Convention itself, and Turkey did not adopt sufficient policy measures to handle these problems. The geographical limitation held by Turkey and the *non-refoulment* principle stipulated by the Convention oblige an asylum seeker and refugee limbo in Turkey. This contradiction was leading to evolution of a two-tiered asylum policy (Kirisci, 1991): while first one was to maintain the concern of geographical limitation, the other one was not to return people fleeing from persecution.

Lastly, the By-law on Asylum adopted in 1994 defined the conditions and procedures of applying for seeking asylum in Turkey. It can be asserted that this By-law was more or less an elucidation of the 1951 Geneva Convention. Yet, Turkey still keeps its geographical limitation to the Convention. It did and still is receiving criticism but considering the efforts to render Turkey as a buffer zone between Western countries and the Middle East, Turkey is determined to keep the limitation as its leverage on European countries (Okyay & Zaragoza-Cristiani, 2016). However, this contradiction is based on its semiperipheral status in the world system by being an intermediary position between periphery and core states. In addition to that, Turkey still tries to keep its position in the geographical limitation issue, due to having its own position and strengths against the core countries' decision-making. Having constituted a major agenda within the context of Turkey's EU accession process, Turkey has been declaring its determination for substantial assurances for potential refugee influx from the non-European countries. Due to its position between the core and periphery countries, Turkey has been shaping its policies accordingly.

### 4.2. Migration Policies in Turkey in the 2000s

The new millennial has brought about changes in many fields in Turkey. The 2001 economic crisis and the rise of a new political party, Justice and Development Party (AKP), in Turkey have had a significant impact on determining the course of policies in the following years. A new approach which turns its face to the Western world and

the EU, which is led by the AKP, can be observed on policies and legislative reforms. Indeed, this can be asserted only for the early times of the AKP, but it is also important to note that asylum and migration policies were strongly related to relationships with Western countries and European Union regardless of quality of the relationship. That is to say, whether good or bad relations with these countries or actors, Turkey has taken into consideration their role and agency in making policies in these fields. In terms of migration and refugee policies, Turkey was required to lift its geographical limitation to refugees coming from the non-European countries. However, having a longstanding skeptical relation with the European Union, Turkey was not so eager to lift its geographical limitation, considering the political instabilities in the region, which may lead Turkey a refugee receiving country. Establishment of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) in 2013 was an important step to cast out a military outlook in managing migration, since migration and refugee incidents have long been dealt by Directorate General of Security (DGS) of the Ministry of Interior. Dealing with the migration management through the DGS was inevitably causing these matters to be handled from a security perspective. Therefore, an efficient migration management could not be realized since migration control was the main purpose. The establishment of the DGMM and transfer of migration issues from the DGS to the DGMM was one of the main policy outputs made in this regard, which has been carrying the footprints of a liberal understanding under the influence of endeavors for entering the European Union as it is visible in the Action Plan on Asylum and Migration in 2005.

There is no doubt that the Law on Foreigner and International Protection (LFIP) Nr. 6458 dated 2013 was a landmark in the history of migration and refugee policies in Turkey. As an alternative legal status to "refugee" for the people coming from outside of Europe, the notion of "temporary protection" and the establishment of the DGMM were introduced by the LFIP in 2013. The LFIP was the first comprehensive legal framework to regulate migration and refugees in Turkey. It is very important to evaluate this act by taking the Syrian civil war and consequent refugee crisis into consideration. Syrian refugee crisis was full of potential challenges for Turkey and for other neighboring countries and therefore an efficient policy was required to be taken.

The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey the Article 16 clearly states that foreigners' fundamental rights and liberties can only be restricted by laws compatible to the provisions of international law. Therefore, migration management of millions of foreigners surely required a restriction of fundamental rights and liberties, which must only be done by law[5] according to the Turkish Constitution.

To give a more comprehensive perspective, migration management in developed countries and in the EU in particular, has been practiced under three core fields which are politic, economic and social fields (Abadan-Unat, 1976). Economic integration was carrying the most emphasis here, since it was highly related to other integration fields by being directly related to the household. As a result, the European countries have mostly restricted the mobility of migrants and refugees within the country (Bevelander, 2016; Degler & Liebig, 2017). The German experience has shown us that all the refugees that reside within the country are required to settle, live and work within the city in which they are registered. This policy prevented unequal burden sharing among cities and federal units of Germany. What is more, potential advantages in terms of labor force would be able to be distributed according to the needs of the market which includes placing refugees into the cities according to their professional skills in agriculture, industry or service sector. This restriction was fairly aimed to prevent the unequal distribution of migrants within the country of arrival in an effect to ensure a planned economic development all over the country. Similar to the German practice, Turkey restricted Syrian refugees' right to travel within the country with the LFIP and related legislation. In addition to that, Syrian refugees who have built their lives, with the help of weak governmental oversight in their early times in Turkey, in cities other than their official residents, are being forced to return to their official city of residence by the government (Deutsche Welle Türkçe, 2019). However, in Turkey restricting the right to move and family reunification which are fundamental human

[5] The term "law", in this paragraph, is used as a particular legal term which takes into consideration of "hierarchy of norms". Hierarchy of norms is a notion which refers to the idea that in a legal system there will be a vertical ordering of legal acts, with those in the lower rungs of the hierarchy being subject to legal acts of a higher status (Craig & De Búrca, 2011, p. 105). Here, the term "law" was used as a legal act which is one step below the Constitution, above regulatios.

rights can only be made by law[6], as it is stipulated in the Constitution. Because of these regulations, a Syrian person under temporary protection is placed to a city by the DGMM, and expected to settle, find a job and live a life within this city. Their leave from this city is under the control of the DGMM and if they cannot get a permission from the DGMM, they are not legally allowed to leave the city. To summarize, the potential of Syrian refugee crisis and a lack of legislative framework in Turkey, has compelled Turkey to take new policy measures which take market needs and European experience into consideration. With this motivation, Turkey managed to enact its first comprehensive law to manage migration and by doing so, it can be said that Turkey has taken into account the needs of the market and development strategies as these motivations are visible in a number of policy outputs, such as the Regulation of Active Labor Force, Temporary Protection Regulation, Law on International Labor Force, as will be examined in the following sections.

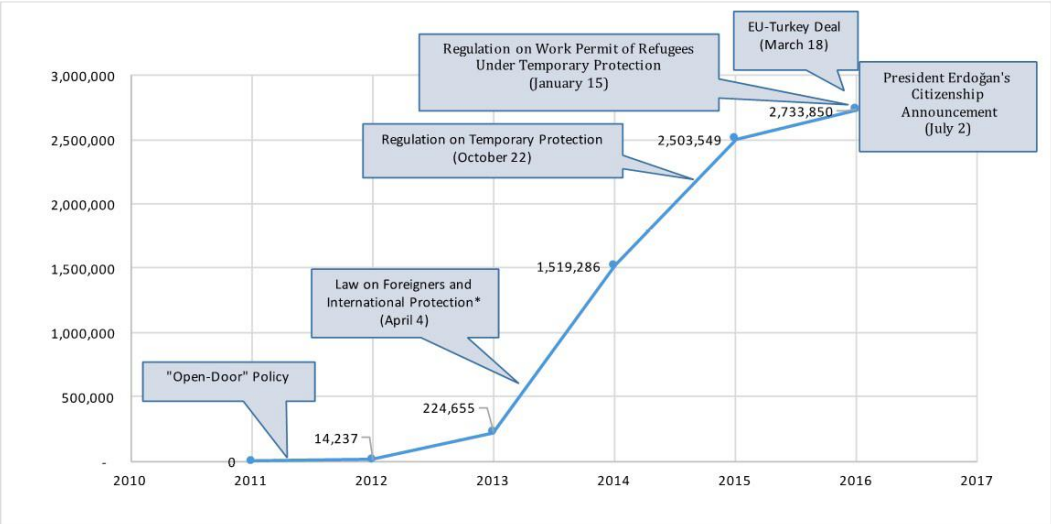


*Figure 40 Turkey's Policy Implementations as response to Syrian Refugees (Source: İçduygu, and Millet, 2016)*

### 4.2.1. The Law on Foreigners and International Protection

The major policy outcome in the context of Syrian refugee influx was enacting the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) in 2013. By this codification, the DGMM was established and certain rights of foreigners in Turkey have been

[6] The term was particularly used, in order to refer legal notion which should be considered one under constitution according to hierarchy of norms in Turkish Legal System.

restricted. As a fundamental right, right to travel has been restricted within the same country by this regulation by the Article 33[7]. However, it is also essential to note that, LFIP should not be considered as a single law which regulates and includes the recent Syrian refugee crisis. Rather, the law envisages several topics regarding foreigners' relation to the Republic of Turkey. Visa regime, residence permits, passport acts, harmonization are also covered by the law. The law covers several issues relating to foreigners in Turkey and the DGMM has multiple roles in regulating foreigners' issues in Turkey other than Syrian refugees in Turkey[8].

The LFIP re-articulates the principle of nonrefoulment. Article 4 clearly states that a person cannot be returned to a place where he or she would be exposed to inhumane or degrading treatment because of his or her race, religion, nationality or membership of a particular social of political group. Nonrefoulment principle constitutes one of main pillars of international protection. States are given the responsibility of safeguarding people under persecution. Therefore, nonrefoulment principle is explicitly prohibiting states to return people under persecution or under the threat of persecution to where they are likely to be treated inhumane or degrading way. The LFIP has placed this principle at the heart of codification. The LFIP is comprised of five parts. First part consists purpose, scope, definitions and nonrefoulment principle. Second part is a chapter in which foreigners' actions are regulated in general. These are namely entrance, visa, document checks, implementation of international protection claims, entry bans, visa exemption, residence permit, residence permit types, stateless persons, and deportation. Part three, on the other hand, puts the provisions for international protection. The LFIP indicates three types of international protection, which are namely refugee status, conditional refugee status and secondary protection status. Procedures for international protection are thoroughly indicated. Part four states the common provisions regarding foreigners and international protection. Lastly, part five draws the framework for the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM), including the provisions of its establishment, duties and mandate.

[7] TBMM. Temporary Protection Regulation, Pub. L. No. 2014/6883 (2014). Turkey.
[8] TBMM. Law on Foreigners and International Protection, Pub. L. No. 6458 (2013). Turkey. Retrieved from http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.6458.pdf

Migration policies before the 2000s, or at least the policies relating to the foreigners, were separately regulating these topics under different laws. In this regard the LFIP, has an important feature to gather many of the provisions under a single act. It has therefore become a lot easier to systematically deal with interrelated topics. Long term residence permit gives foreigner the same rights as citizens, excluding certain rights which are inherently connected to citizenship. As it is indicated in another article that people under international protection are provided with a residence permit to stay in the country but under the condition that their residence permit cannot be transformed into or construed as long-term residence permit. The law systematically indicated that people under the international protection are not welcome to have nearly as the same rights as citizens. Therefore, it can be argued that these policies further exacerbate precarious position of the concerned population and cause higher level of exploitation by various means (Belanger & Saraçoğlu, 2019).

### 4.2.2. The Temporary Protection Regulation

Another important point from the LFIP is that Syrian refugees are given the status of "temporary protection" by this law. Frankly, the law does not explicitly categorize Syrian citizens under the Temporary Protection, but the given definition of the status articulates that Temporary Protection can be provided to those people coming to the borders of Turkey in masses. So, if a mass influx of refugees arrives at borders of Turkey, the Republic of Turkey can grant them a Temporary Protection status. Temporary Protection status is regulated with the Article 91 in the LFIP. As, the Temporary Protection status was not regulated in the LFIP in detail, Temporary Protection Regulation was enacted in 2014 to define its framework comprehensively. At this point, it is noteworthy to underline the fact that Temporary Protection is not listed under the international protection mechanisms by the LFIP, rather it was designed as a national method for complying with international refugee law principles as it is understood from the organization of the law itself. It is noteworthy to underline that this conceptualization can be regarded as Turkey has closed its policy mechanisms for possible international mechanisms. It is because Turkey has long been struggling with the external political pressure in this regard. The issue of geographical limitation

to the 1951 Geneva Convention has been an issue for Turkey in the international arena in terms of still keeping the limitation. As a result of this, the Republic of Turkey has chosen not to give Syrian population in its country an international protection status, but a status which can be recognized nationwide. Considering the fact that Turkey has still been keeping the geographical limitation to refugees from the non-European countries in order to avoid being a refugee receiving country due to its geographical position, keeping the large number of refugees apart from international protection mechanisms provides a wide scope for taking policy measures.

The Temporary Protection Regulation allows people under temporary protection in general and Syrian refugees in particular to access health, education and labor market. By doing so, Syrian refugees were granted the basic principles of international protection and refugee law; and the issue was accordingly isolated from an external intervention. Providing health care services to Syrian refugees has provided them the opportunity to fulfil medical needs. In addition to that, people under the Temporary Protection are exempt from paying patient participation fee, which is a medical expense that is expected to be covered by the patient itself. Education is also a vital element for Syrians under Temporary Protection for integrating them into Turkish society and getting them familiar with the Turkish language and culture. On the other hand, Syrians are under the obligation of residing in the city in which the DGMM places them and informing officials about their occupational, residential and civic matters without delay. Otherwise, they are likely to encounter administrative sanctions. They are attributed to a city where they are expected to reside and work, otherwise they will be deprived of the services that they are provided. Although, they can be registered to another city by application, these placements are made by the DGMM which aims to distribute Syrian refugees around Turkey. Therefore, the majority of the population are forced to stay in the city to which they are assigned in the first place.

Since April 2011, Syrians make 3,613,644 people in Turkey by the 13th of June, 2019 (Directorate General of Migration Management, n.d.) . The number has risen dramatically in years as the political situation escalated in Syria. The LFIP was enacted

in 2013 as a response to the latest developments in this field and pressure from the European Union. Therefore, Turkey has tried to manage massive influx of Syrian refugees without a proper institution and codification until 2013. The number of Syrians in Turkey was around 293,000 when the LFIP was enacted; it was over one million when the Temporary Protection Regulation was enacted; and it was over 2.7 million in 2016 (UNHCR, n.d.-a) when the Law on International Labor Force was enacted. The numbers play an important role to show the process in this regard. Because aforementioned laws mostly covering the Syrian refugees in Turkey, are at utmost importance for the Syrian residents in Turkey. They are the major laws and regulations to influence their relation to labor market, society and politics.

### 4.2.3. The Law on International Labor Force

The Law on International Labor Force (LILF) (2016) was enacted in 2016 to deal with increasing number of immigrants in Turkey. The law's preamble[9] explicitly acknowledges that Turkey should be considered as a country of arrival, apart from being a country of origin and transit. This acknowledgement is important because only after this comprehension, substantial permanent regulations can be made. If not, regulations regarding the fundamental rights and obligations are not made for long term solutions, but for the short-term solutions as it was the case for Turkish descent and Turkish culture conceptualization in the Law of Settlement in 1934. However, as Turkey started considering itself as a country of immigration, an independent law included Syrian refugees' labor market integration, for long term solutions. Likewise, the law dedicates itself for a more organized international labor force regulation and combat with undocumented employment; and accepts former law's (Law on Foreigners' Work Permit, Law No: 4817[10]) deficiencies. The LILF indicates that the actions and procedures of foreigners who are exempt from obtaining work permits should be organized according to this law. Moreover, the LFIP has granted Syrians the status of the Temporary Protection which is a status that recognizes its holders a work permit exemption and work permit applications. The conditions for work permit

[9] TBMM. (2016). Preamble of Law on Internatinal Labor Force. Retrieved July 23, 2019, from https://mevzuat.tbmm.gov.tr/mevzuat/faces/kanunmaddeleri?pkanunlarno=201934&pkanunnumarasi=6735

[10] TBMM. Law on Foreigners' Work Permit, Pub. L. No. 4817 (2003). Turkey. Retrieved from https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.4817.pdf

applications and exemption were elaborated in the Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners under Temporary Protection.[11] LFIF articulates in its Article 17 that Temporary Protection holders are exempted from obtaining work permits and these people can apply for the exemption after six months from the date of issuing the Temporary Protection ID card. So, it is self-evident that labor market regulations of people under Temporary Protection are regulated by the Law on International Labor Force. At this point this question is very essential: Are people under the temporary protection considered as a part of international labor force? I believe that drawing a framework is of utmost importance. First of all, Turkey does not include Syrian refugees into its international protection framework, due to the geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention. Not including them into international protection framework cannot only be explained by the geographical limitation. Because the LFIP has demonstrated three types of international protection means which include refugees coming from the non-European countries by the conditional refugee status. Syrian refugees, with their arrival in masses, are registered under the temporary protection which is not recognized as an international protection means. What is more, Syrian refugees' labor market regulations and work permit issues are not regulated by a particular independent law that occupies humanitarian concerns, but by the Law on International Labor Force. It is therefore significant to demonstrate policy makers' approach to Syrian refugees' labor market integration which prioritize cost and benefit relations rather than humanitarian and rights-based approach. The LILF demonstrates in the Article 13 that work permit exemption applications are made to the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services. As a result of this, work permit exemption, like the work permit itself, is applied and obtained, if approved. Work permit exemption was provided to people under Temporary Protection by the LILF in 2016. At the same time, thanks to this law work permits granted its holders a residence permit[12]. It can be inferred that this policy has strengthened the link between work permits and residence permit, which can lead to a necessity which people are obliged to maintain working, as long as they would like to stay within the country. The situation of Syrian refugees

11 Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners Under Temporary Protection, Pub. L. No. 2016/8375 (2016). Turkey. Retrieved from http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/3.5.20168375.pdf

12 TBMM. (2016). Preamble of Law on Internatinal Labor Force. Retrieved July 23, 2019, from https://mevzuat.tbmm.gov.tr/mevzuat/faces/kanunmaddeleri?pkanunlarno=201934&pkanunnumarasi=6735

is unique, on the contrary, in Germany, Turkish guest workers' residence permit and work permits relation were interrelated to each other very closely that it causes Turkish workers to keep working in their jobs no matter what. Eventually the relation between work permit and residence caused a high level of exploitation (Wallraff, 2017). As a result, Turkish guest workers in Germany needed to keep their jobs, however much difficult their jobs were. Therefore, work permit exemptions for people under Temporary Protection with its resemblance to work permit application, can tell us that in order to gain the right to work in Turkey, authorities should come to a conclusion of what is at best interest for living and working. In the following paragraphs, it is explained that the work permit exemption applications are evaluated according to the international labor policies.

The Law on Foreigners and International Protection, the Regulation on Temporary Protection, the Law on International Labor Force are among the important laws that Syrian refugees' and in order to benefit from health and education services provided by Ministry of Health and Ministry of National Education. Refugees are, therefore, destined to make their livelihood within the city to which they are placed. All things considered; they have six months to apply for work permit exemption which enables them to work within Turkey. It should be highlighted that Syrian refugees would still require to make their livelihood apart from accessing health and education-like basic rights. Because, Turkey is not a country which can provide wide variety of opportunities that allow refugees to get by, unlike Sweden. The economic situation and the market conditions were not very welcoming since refugees started to arrive at Turkey due to political and economic problems. So, it is important to note that, informal employment in Turkey is already 33,97 %[13] excluding Syrian refugees (Social Security Institution, n.d.), which means that 33,97% (i.e. one third) of the employed was not registered to Social Security Institution in order to avoid tax, social security payments and extra bureaucratic workload. There is no doubt that Syrian refugees are destined to work under difficult conditions, since their legal status does

[13] Social Security Institution. (n.d.). Unregistered Employment in Turkey. Retrieved June 20, 2019, from http://www.sgk.gov.tr/wps/portal/sgk/tr/calisan/kayitdisi_istihdam/kayitdisi_istihdam_oranlari/kayitdisi_istihdam_orani

not encourage them to be employed in high skilled jobs in Turkey. And Informal employment is an expected result of a strict market and difficult competition conditions. Syrian refugees, considering their high volume of bureaucratic obstacles, such as work permit exemption applications and likelihood of various reasons of mobility, emerged as a vulnerable group which has the high probability of illegal and undocumented employment. The Syrian refugees' vulnerability for illegal employment and high level of livelihood has the risk of being resulted in exploitation of this group as an army of cheap labor (BMigration, 2017). Some scholars have already indicated their exploitation in their researches (Bélanger & Saracoglu, 2018; Yıldız & Uzgören, 2016). It is stated by (Yıldız & Uzgören, 2016) that a Syrian refugee started to work in a construction, and later the employer had to fire the employee since the employer was afraid of getting fined by employing illegal worker. Then the Syrian employee has started to work in another construction site and then another one as well. Three of the construction employers fired him eventually and none of them paid Syrian employee for the work he has performed in the meantime.

### 4.2.4. The Regulation on Active Labor Force

It is also important to mention the Regulation on Active Labor Force (RALF)[14], enacted by Turkish Employment Agency (İşkur) in 2013. The RALF (2013) primarily aimed to increase employment and labor market integration. These activities included traineeships and education on certain employment sectors. Basically, this regulation has given service providers the possibility to organize courses, on the condition with the promise of employment with at least fifty per cent. This means that, if a service provider organizes a job-related course, and this course is facilitated and supported by the Turkish Employment Agency; trainees are guaranteed with fifty per cent employment opportunity. In turn, service providers were given an incentive of being exempted from the payment of certain job-related expenses. Regardless of this, Syrian refugees which make the bulk of foreign population in Turkey, are subject to a quota of ten percent. This means that Syrian refugees can make at most ten per cent of the staff in an enterprise. These has, indeed, implications. This measure resembles the job

[14] Turkish Employment Agency. Regulation on Active Labor Force (2013). Retrieved from http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/Metin.Aspx?MevzuatKod=7.5.17197&MevzuatIliski=0&sourceXmlSearch=

centers in Germany, however participation to the courses in Turkey are not compulsory and the 10% threshold for the staff employment for Syrian refugees is impeding the efficiency for participating these trainings. The importance of this situation is that considering the fact that Syrian school age children do not attend the school (Bircan & Sunata, 2015) to work and provide livelihood, it is a very small possibility that Syrian refugees actually participate into the trainings organized by Turkish Employment Agency. In addition to that, as the LILF stipulates, Syrian refugees in Turkey can only apply for the work permit exemption document after six months from their application to Temporary Protection. In the meantime, these people integrate into labor market, but informally. As a result, 3D jobs (dirty, difficult, dangerous) were handled by Syrian refugees. As it is mentioned in a report (Degler et al., 2017), uncertain future of Syrian refugees influences their chance for employment. Employer are reluctant to hire refugees or asylum seekers as their stay in the country may be subject to change, as there is a chance of deportation. In Turkey, the regulation is also very disputable in this framework. Work permit exemptions are issued on a yearly basis. This means that a work permit exemption holder can only be allowed to work for a year. After a year, they should re-apply for the exemption and start the procedure again. This is a huge challenge for the employer as there is always a possibility of not renewing the work permit exemption. This, in turn, creates precarity for both the employer and the employee. Another important point which the RALF has indicated is that all the expenses offered by the regulation (reimbursing compulsory expenses, course expenses, trainer fees etc.) can be funded by the international organizations. Therefore, this introduces a multi-layered and multi-actor structure which constantly influences the market and policies.

Turkey has already been implementing and proceeding with a multilateral migration management, as the number of the international NGOs and other states actively taking part in migration management in Turkey shows. Second major addressee of the Syrian crisis, the European Union has close contacts with Turkey in this case. Turkey has signed a readmission agreement with Turkey on the 16 December 2013. In the wake of newly emerging crisis and among the slogans of potential defeat of the regime forces in Syria by Turkish political actors, Turkey has signed an agreement with the European

Union to readmit people illegally entered into Europe through its borders. It is a long political debate indeed, however, it can be said to assert that main rationale behind the signing of the agreement was visa liberalization promise by the European Union to the Turkish citizens. After that, with the tragic deaths of Syrian refugees in the Mediterranean Sea, world has responded to these incidents finally. On 15 October 2015, Turkey and European Union have declared a joint action plan. This action plan was basically founded on three main pillars which comprise of addressing root causes of displacement, supporting Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey and strengthening irregular migration flows into Europe. To ensure these main pillars, the European Union has mainly pledged to provide financial support. With several meetings between Turkey and the European Union, three billion euro has been acknowledged to be granted to the non-governmental organizations, which are actively participating migration management. I argue that this agreement was used as an instrument to keep Syrian refugees within the Turkey. That is, I believe a reflection of a desire that core countries would like to keep large number of refugees within semiperipheral countries, since the influx may cost to core countries.

As a result of all the policies implemented and the burden sharing mechanisms followed by the international community, a complex map of actors which includes numerous organizations in a vast geography has emerged. The uncertain situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey and lack of state-based support from the Turkish government have driven refugees to be one of the most vulnerable and exploitable group in Turkey.

### 4.3. An Outlook of Syrian Refugees in the Turkish Labor Market

This chapter mainly aims to look at the labor market integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey. As a result of the level of integration, this section will provide an outlook of Syrian refugees in Turkish labor market. Integration measures require a comprehensive institutional infrastructure and necessary resources. It was investigated in the previous chapter that how core states approach to the integration problem within their countries. However, in the case of Turkey, it is hard to talk about a proper integration policy, let alone the integration measure itself. Given that integration

measures are inherently secondary to entrance into the country, Syrian refugees' entrance policy was non-existent in the beginning. The open border policy was turned into open door policy, and then Turkey has started to build a wall throughout its border with Syria, when Turkish society started to face near-future challenges (Deutsche Welle Türkçe, 2017). So, being inspired by Erdoğan (2015), it is possible to argue that one cannot consider "no policy" as a policy in this regard. Therefore, these integration measures taken by the government can be considered as pseudo-integration, as İçduygu and Millet (İçduygu & Millet, 2016) argue.

Syrian refugees in the Turkish labor market were destined to illegally exist from the beginning of their arrival (April 2011) until the time the Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners Under Temporary Protection was legislated (January 2016). For almost five years, Syrian refugees were compelled to work illegally in the labor market as the refugees' problem of employment was not solved. In the meantime, Syrian population in the country rose up to 2.8 million people, as the official numbers tell us[15]. To be precise, all of the legislations introduced above and the establishment of Directorate General of Migration Management are partly as a result of Turkey's endeavor to be a member state of the EU. The Action Plan on Asylum and Migration between Turkey and the EU emerged in 2005, which is a date a lot earlier than the Syrian Civil War. The Plan foresees an institutional organization and legal reforms regarding migrants and asylum seekers. So, Turkey's semiperipheral hopes to get a superior status in the world system can be construed to have played substantial role in this.

To give brief information about the Turkish labor market in 2016, it would be noteworthy to tell that informal employment was around 33% and the sectors with most informal employment were agriculture, construction and service sector. Furthermore, when the informally working Syrians are added up to this number, real informal employment rate of the Turkish labor market would be around 35%. (Kaygısız, 2017). Because, estimates show that more than 600,000 Syrian refugees work illegally. Even though refugees' right to work was defined legally,

[15] Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü. (n.d.). Göç İsatistikleri. Retrieved September 5, 2019, from https://www.goc.gov.tr/gecici-koruma5638#

impracticability of using this right lead further exploitation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Back then, they were forced to work illegally in the lack of any legal arrangements but now, they are forced to work illegally despite their right to work legally. Obtaining work permit both for refugees and for employers, is not very easy since they have to bear a lot of burden. First, the Syrian refugee has to get his or her temporary protection ID card. Then, six months after the date of providing Temporary Protection, they can apply for the permit and if accepted, the permit can be granted for the period of one year at most, with possible extension. The applications are to be made by the employer and the application fee must be paid. Presuming all the procedures are successfully completed, it must be ensured that the number of Syrians working in an enterprise does not exceed ten per cent of total number of employees, since the regulation puts a quota on Syrian workers.

All of these impracticable policy measures lead Syrian refugees to continue working illegally. Furthermore, the numbers confirm the impracticability of Syrian refugees' work permit regulation. The General Directorate of International Labor Force states that only 20,966 Syrian refugees have obtained work permit by 2017, which is a very inconsequential number considering that Turkey hosts more than 3,5 million refugees and more than half of it, is at the working age. It is a clear indication that Syrian refugees have been employed illegally. As a result of this, refugees become more vulnerable to exploitation even when they are compared to their counterparts in the informal sector who have Turkish citizenship. It is prevalent that Syrian refugees claim that they get lower wages than their coworkers even though they do the same work, and there are several studies to report this phenomenon (Erdoğan, 2015; Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015; İçduygu & Millet, 2016; Kaygısız, 2017; MUTLU et al., 2018; Şenses, 2016). In addition to getting lower wages, it is reported that refugees may not even be getting paid for the works they have done. The same problem exists for overtime employment. They are on average employed for 12 hours a day and getting no extra payments for the overtime work, since legally normal work load is eight hours a day. As they are working illegally, they cannot apply for the judicial authorities to fix this injustice. If the work permit regulation was designed well enough to solve this problem, their possibility of tremendous exploitation would be managed by legal

authorities. In the core countries, subsidized employment was introduced as a measure to prevent illegal employment. However, as semiperipheral country, Turkey does not have sufficient levels of economic development to subsidize such economic burden for its refugee population and incentivize employers. As (Yıldız & Uzgören, 2016) explores, even with the help of a Turkish citizen somebody tried to employ the Syrian worker legally, they could not become successful since they were unable to have necessary information clearly for obtaining work permit. The unconsolidated institutional infrastructure of Turkey has caused such victimizations.

Another important point to note is that occupational health and safety educations should be provided to Syrian refugees. Therefore, they are expected to gain enough skills to better avoid occupational hazard. However, as a result of not been integrated into society and culture, language barrier still stands as a biggest obstacle for Syrian refugees and these education and trainings are instructed in Turkish only (Kaygısız, 2017). As a result of this, 60% of the international workers deaths belong to Syrians. It would, thus, be naïve to expect fruitful outcomes or believe in the efficiency of these trainings. On the other hand, if these people were introduced comprehensive language courses, all of these measures would mean much more. Furthermore, it was indicated in an ILO workshop[16] that although payment of salaries in person is not allowed in Turkey, Syrian workers and entrepreneurs are having difficulties in opening bank accounts. This is inevitably influencing the payment of salaries. Finally, it would be meaningful to note that to right to own property is not granted to Syrians, it stands as an obstacle for Syrians to develop their economic activities.

To conclude, Turkish labor market integration measures for Syrian refugees widely differentiate from the cases of Sweden and Germany. Being a semiperipheral country, it is possible to observe Turkey's limitations in managing Syrian refugee crisis. Not having a proper integration policy and necessary institutional infrastructure, lack of

[16] ILO. (2016). Suriyeli İşçi, İşveren Ve Girişimcilerin İşgücü Piyasasinda Karşilaştiklari Sorunlar Ve Çözüm Önerileri Çaliştayi Genel Değerlendirme - 13 Haziran 2016. Retrieved September 5, 2019, from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---europe/---ro-geneva/---ilo-ankara/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_533055.pdf

employment capacity and economic resources to subsidize employment for higher employment rates have caused Syrian workers to be employed in the illegal labor market. As a result of this, Syrian refugees have been exploited heavily, including men, women and children altogether. Exploitation of labor has many aspects, but it is visible in the Turkish case that being a semiperipheral country has its own limitations in managing migration and as a result of this, exploitation of refugees is prevalent in Turkish labor market. As it was very well articulated in a field report (Leghtas, 2017), refugees are granted some rights but they are not getting any of them.

# CHAPTER 5

# CONCLUSION

Literature on international migration and refugee studies is crawling with this opening sentence: The history of migration is as old as the history of human being. Although this assertion generalizes the human mobility (since there has been a wide variety of mobility types) and mainstreams the root causes of human mobility, it still refers to a fact that human mobility is a very old phenomenon. Therefore, I believe that it is a must to approach this phenomenon as a historical matter. Only this can lead us to have a better understanding and investigation on international migration and refugee studies. Historical approaches inherently need to take into consideration a number of factors that have been influencing the phenomenon.

Accordingly, international migration is a social phenomenon which has been fed by a number of drives in multiple domains. International migration theories, which dedicate to explain and understand this phenomenon, are present and have various reference points. Liberal theories, like micro and macro theories, assert that international migration occurs as a result of a rational choice due to the current situation when the migration decision is given. Roughly, these theories assert that people migrate if they see a chance to increase their livelihood, wealth or living standards. In addition, they seek opportunities which outweigh the costs of migration since international migration requires undertaking the costs like travelling, maintenance, language learning. If the scope of migration flow is accepted as the market-wide, neoclassical theory can be observed to approach it through macro theory. Because there are differences between the markets of the immigration and emigration countries. This difference is basically based on the wage differences between these kinds of countries (Massey et al., 1993). On the other hand, if the theory takes individuals as its unit of analysis, neoclassical theory is applied as micro theory (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999; Sjaastad, 1962). Both of these theories are liberal theories and ahistorical approaches to the phenomenon of

migration because these theories assert that people migrate as a result of a cost benefit evaluation. Similar to macro theory, micro theory argues that people migrate because there is a higher chance of earning more in the country of arrival than the country of origin. So, people are considered to choose to migrate to a place where they can earn more and live in prosperity, at least in more prosperity than in their own countries. This decision is considered to be a rational one and individuals are assumed to evaluate the advantages and benefits of migration and its costs. They are considered to see their chances for maximizing the benefit and minimizing the cost.

Yet, micro and macro theories are ahistorical and therefore, they are overlooking the various possible factors that they might have significant impact on giving the migration decision. Before this decision stage, it is equally important to assess and investigate factors which prepare the conditions for leading to give migration decision. Therefore, I frankly believe that ahistorical approaches which exclude the factors which are previous to the migration decision are insufficient to provide a comprehensive view for explaining international migration or the migration phenomenon itself.

To be clear, it is possible to refer to the Marx's concept of primitive accumulation. Before giving a reference to primitive accumulation, I believe I should mention a passage by Adam Smith: "The accumulation of stock must, in the nature of things, be previous to the division of labour" (Smith, 2003). This is an assertion that before people establish a division of labour, or being separated as bourgeoisie, rich, rulers, proletariat or peasants; there should be a stock of product upon which the division of labour can be agreed. Marx's concept of primitive accumulation is to say that before people are divided into bourgeoisie or proletariat there must be a primitive accumulation, in other words at an uncertain point of history, an uncertain power has figured some people as bourgeoisie and some people as proletariat. This obfuscation helps this division not to be blamed, since its responsibility is not certain. As a natural result of this, stronger people of history hold their accumulation of power and direct it to maintain the subordination of the weaker ones. Thus, a perpetual order can be achieved to maintain the superiority and inferiority. Marx identifies this process as

stipulating pre-capitalistic conditions for capitalistic production. In other words, Marx points out that this is a historical obfuscation of political economists for the expulsion and violence required for perpetuating class structure. Nail (Nail, 2015, p. 21) asserts that Marx's thesis is that the condition of social expansion of capitalism is the prior expulsion of people from their land and from their juridical status under customary law. Although he explains extensively primitive accumulation in his book (Marx, 1977, pt. VIII) at chapter eight, it would be appropriate to note that primitive accumulation as a notion is an integral and necessary part for capitalist mode of production. Because, this mode of production necessitates people to be organized under a division of labour and this division is moulded by an "*ahistorical*" point in the time, which by definition obfuscates the accumulation by the time. As a result of this, relations between bourgeoisie and proletariat are destined to maintain these relations. I believe, it is important to note Marx's ideas about primitive accumulation with regard to international migration and international refugee regime for two reasons. Firstly, Marx points out that primitive accumulation has a material history which means that it is the precapitalistic condition for capitalist mode of production. And in particular, Marx identifies this process with the expulsion of peasants and indigenous peoples from their lands by expulsion or colonialization (Nail, 2015). Secondly, primitive accumulation is a notion, unlike Smith (2003) and liberal economists assert, that can be predated to a historical point which can be construed as a sort of beginning point for the market. On the contrary, primitive accumulation is a notion which is independent from historical periodization and primarily related to the conditions which procure capitalist mode of production (Perelman, 2000).

I believe, it is noteworthy to make a connection between the international migration theories and the theory of primitive accumulation in a way to establish a close connection with historical evaluation. Because, international migration and refugee movements are highly related and intertwined with labour market integration in the last instance. Therefore, one should look into the migration phenomenon with an approach which includes both historicist and capitalistic lens. It would be too naïve to explain millions of people's movement solely by their rational choice or search for higher wages. Eventually, I would like to assert that micro and macro theories for

explaining international migration would be insufficient and have the potential of obfuscation of exploring genuine reasons and factors for international migration.

Thus, World Systems Theory should be considered as a novel and competent approach to answer and explain the migration phenomenon from various aspects in various domains like land, raw materials, labour, material links, ideological links and global cities (Massey et al., 1993). Firstly, this approach can be considered as having a historical approach since the theory itself does not stipulate a single system throughout the history of humankind. Rather, the world system and the market forces are considered to be organized in an interdependent way. Therefore, this would inevitably lead reciprocity, where all the nation-states or groups in power have been connected to each other in a way and the way in which they are connected to each other may be subject to change as the system requires a change. It would therefore be appropriate to make resemblance to the notion of primitive accumulation, as both approaches do not necessarily mean fixed constructs.

Considering the fact that there is an enormous literature on the World Systems Theory regarding its way of work and components, roughly, core and periphery countries are main pillars in this contemplation. Core countries are considered to be constantly exploiting the peripheral countries in raw material and laborers since they are in the superior position with their higher technology, owning the means of production and cultural hegemony. Periphery countries are those with limited resources to develop non-complex state and society relations. Semiperiphery is a third category apart from core and periphery; and it can be imagined as a bridge between these two categories. Semiperipheral countries should be distinguished from core and peripheral countries as this category has distinctive features. Semiperiphery, unlike periphery, has a complex social structure. Social strata within the community influencing the state by various means. NGOs, voluntary organizations, developed state apparatus which get engaged in the societal matters can be summarized as these various means. As a consequence, we can see a community which state and society relations are interpenetrating. Following the previous feature, semiperiphery, unlike core, is a lesser developed category compared to core states. Therefore, semiperipheral states are

mostly eager to be motivated for development. Furthermore, semiperipheral countries cannot effectively take action on the problems due to its lack of institutional and economic resources. This feature is an important one, because for development the semiperipheral states need to take action. By taking these actions, they use various components of its society and state apparatus by operationalizing necessary policies. As mentioned before, it is an important feature since peripheral countries are lagging behind the semiperipheral countries as they lack taking necessary actions.

Surely, with the concept of development, a capitalist mode of production and accumulation of surplus within a country is meant. Therefore, preparing pre-capitalistic conditions for capitalist development plays an instrumental role here. As Marx said, expulsion of peasants or indigenous people for cheap labour would be very supplementary for the capitalist advancement (Nail, 2015). Use of international migrants and imported cheap labour by various means (guest workers in the Federal Republic of Germany and France etc.) are appropriate examples to show these actions taken for capitalist advancement in the semiperipheral countries. Because semiperipheral countries are able to transit from traditional to modern society (Cardoso, 1969).

The North–South division; core, semiperiphery and periphery classification; a global market as a result of globalisation and development of communication and transportation are considered as genuine indicators for a presence of a world system, as they should be considered under the material links domain which is indicated by Massey (1993).

After having a brief information about the World Systems Theory, it would be appropriate to mention refugees and the international refugee regime. Because, what is essential in the case of refugees is that the World Systems Theory should be taken into consideration, even though there is limited research on refugees and World Systems Theory in the framework of refugees' activity in labour markets and their exploitation. Indeed, there is a vast literature on the exploitation of international

migrants, considering the guest workers in the Federal Republic of Germany, in France, indenture workers in the US and the foreign labourers in the UK.

International refugee regime is primarily dependent on the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees. Its core principles, like non-refoulment, are considered as customary international law, which makes it binding for all states, regardless of having ratified the convention or not. The 1951 Geneva Convention was prepared as a response to large number of refugees emerged as a result of the World War II. As Wyman (1998) states, more than ten million people were forced to flee due to the war itself. So as to provide international protection to those who flee from persecution due to their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social or political group, the 1951 Geneva Convention was adopted. The core principle of the Convention was, and still is, the non-refoulment principle. Other than the Convention, the Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognizes the right to seek asylum in other countries as a result of fleeing from persecution. However, the right to seek asylum and obtaining refugee status in a foreign country are versatile and powerful rights. It is self-evident that the conflicts which arise among nation-states do not easily extinguish; and eventually the perpetual conflicts extend refugees' duration of stay and this naturally urge refugees to blend into the host community. Thus, primary problem emerges against the core principle of the Convention: sovereignty and security concerns. Unlike accepting goods, capital and services, the mobility of people has its own consequences to the host society. These concerns are significantly political and legal, and this situation compels nation-states to take action and adopt a stance. Because it is widely accepted that international migration is good for market forces since it remedies the problem of cheap labour and facilitates information and know-how transfer. However, keeping in mind that mobility of people is far greater issue than mobility of capital or goods, it is also sensible to anticipate the (in)sufficient conditions in granting legal and political rights to outsiders. While benefitting from foreign labour and social capital in the domestic market and on the other hand trying to balance political opposition from locals in the framework of political and security concerns, Hollifield (2006, p. 885) calls this situation "liberal paradox". States are in-between these two aspirations.

I believe this is important to note because in the refugee situation states will have a similar paradox. While they are required to accept these people into their countries, there will be an inevitable political opposition in the domestic political atmosphere due to economic, security or welfare aspects. As Saraçoğlu (2018) asserts, the same paradox can be portrayed in the framework of market concerns for the refugees as well. That is, refugees are at some point may be regarded as an integral and important part of the market and as a result of this, there could be a paradox in granting them political and legal rights. It can be asserted that this paradox is prevalent in semiperipheral countries. As explained in earlier chapters, while core countries are effectively taking measures for integration of refugees, semiperipheral countries are struggling to keep the balance between rights of the concerned population and resources of the state. In addition to internal features of core and semiperipheral countries, having an intermediate position in the world, semiperipheral states can be claimed to have further been exposed to massive refugee movements (McAuliffe & Ruh, 2018).

After a certain period of time after the arrival of refugees at the host communities, these people need to enter into labour market to make their livelihood. In most of the cases especially with regards to the semiperipherial countries, social benefits are not enough for making their livelihood since there is a wide variety of host countries in terms of their capacity for providing welfare to refugees, in terms of growing domestic political debate on refugees within the host community, and in terms of the lack of a needs based approach which causes a precarious situation to these people already.

The Syrian Civil War, since 2011, has caused massive influx of refugees to mostly the neighbouring countries. There is a small portion of Syrian refugees in the geographically distant countries; but Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan received more than five million refugees which make almost ninety percent of the total Syrian refugee population in the world (UNHCR, n.d.-b). Turkey is historically considered as a country of emigration or a transit country (Kale, 2005). Unlike Germany or the US, as an emigration country, Turkey, sought to decrease unemployment, it received

remittances and more educated and trained workers who spent certain time by working in a developing country (Abadan-Unat, 1974). Therefore, as a sending country, exposing to such a large number of people migrating from Syria in a very short period of time was a shock for Turkey's legal and institutional structure, although from the early times of the establishment of the Republic, Turkey has faced a number of migration incidents. In this context, the Balkan migration, Turkish-Greek population exchange, migration from Caucasus were important events that influenced Turkey and its legal framework. The Law on Settlement, carrying nation-state building considerations, was the initial response for such migration events. As a result of this, being Turkish descents and carrying Turkish culture were stipulated for efficient integration measures. Because, Turkish and Muslim population in Greece and Greek population in Turkey were exchanged with the argument to homogenize the population. Thus, Turkey did not consider itself as a country of arrival historically. To the extent that Turkish community and Turkey was not appetizing immigrants to start a new life in Turkey, only forced migration could be tolerated. This is an important point because in the case of Syrian refugees, Germany has responded differently compared to Turkey. Germany has been considering itself as a country of immigration since large number of people were invited as guest workers historically, which later would become one of the chief factors for industrial development of Germany. Therefore, integration and immigration response mechanisms were already active in the German case. Germany is the second biggest country in Europe to host Syrian refugees after Turkey and after 2014 and 2015, there was a massive migration influx into Germany as the political situation in Syria has further escalated. Therefore, Germany has activated its former integration mechanism which were historically designed for guest workers. Job centres have provided vocational and educational training to Syrian refugees and integration courses were given to Syrian refugees. This could seem as a normal procedure at first glance but, first of all these opportunities would be given to officially recognized refugees and secondly these measures were designed for guest workers to be easily adapted into the labour market and society. In order to give a quick response, Germany has determined higher rated countries of origin for refugee status determination and these people were provided with integration courses which comprised of cultural and language education.

But in Turkey even an appropriate foreigners' law was missing. The Syrian Civil war commenced in 2011 and the comprehensive foreigners' law was introduced in 2013 first time in the country's history. The Directorate General of Migration Management, which is the official Immigration Office in Turkey, was established by this law and started to function with not more than ten staff (Kadkoy, 2017). In addition to that, it would not be fair to assume a well-organized action agenda on Syrian refugees in Turkey. In this regard, lack of institutional structure and human resources have fallen short to produce necessary policies in labour market, health, education, settlement and security issues. Therefore, it can be claimed that very high rate of Syrian undocumented employment in the Turkish labour market is a result of late policy response by Turkey. In addition to that, one of the reasons why there was a late comprehensive policy response by Turkey is that Syrians were believed to return to their country soon. As Turkey historically did not consider itself a country of immigration, it was not also a country of integration. The Law on Foreigners and International Protection was the first major law to deal with foreigners' interactions in general and concerned people and refugees in particular. With this law, Syrians has received a Temporary Protection status, which is a one of a kind legal status, similar to refugee status but not granting international protection mechanisms. As Turkey still keeps the geographical limitation to the 1951 Geneva Convention, Turkey cannot grant refugee status to those coming from non-European countries. Therefore, Turkey wanted to find a temporary solution to Syrian community. But unfortunately, this status escalated precariousness and stay of these people within Turkey. The Law on Foreigners and International Protection emerges as a response to Turkey's historical requirement for regulating foreigners' interactions with state, citizens and foreigners as well. Because, the Law on Foreigners and International Protection is a comprehensive law that regulates foreigners' legal status and procedures from all aspects and all categories.

Apart from the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, the Law on International Labour Force is an essential legislation for the Syrian refugees under temporary protection. Because, according to this law those who hold temporary

protection status can have work permit exemption and work permits, therefore are able to work within the country. Considering the fact that this status and exemption was provided five years after the civil war broke out, Syrian refugees were destined to work in the informal labour market. As it was understood from the preambular clauses of the law, the Law on International Labour Force was enacted to have a strategic regime for the international labour migrants. As a result of this perspective, certain jobs and professionals were required special permissions from the related ministry. Apart from these, it is equally meaningful that Syrian refugees and their labour market activities were regulated under this law.

Finally, I would like to mention the Regulation on Active Labour Force, which enables Syrian refugees to take vocational education and training which were facilitated by the Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR). The importance of these educations and trainings is that it is an effective method for foreigners to better adapt to the domestic labour market and gather professional skills. However, it can be claimed that this is a weak policy measure, since these trainings do not guarantee future employment and there is a limit for Syrian population in an enterprise. In addition, during the education and training period, these people still have to make their livelihood, since these trainings are not paid.

With all things considered, Syrian refugees have taken part mostly in seasonal employment, in the construction, agriculture, and textile sectors in a way to reflect the semiperipherial characteristics of Turkish economy. On the other hand, some of the Syrian entrepreneurs have started their own jobs. Syrian enterprises made nine percent of all foreign joint capital enterprises in Turkey in January, 2019 (Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı, 2019b). The same study demonstrates that this is almost five percent of the total foreign joint capital. It is self-evident that Syrian refugee migration to Turkey has had its economic implications with both positive and negative sides. Syrian refugees who were granted access to health and education costed Turkey quite a lot. Even though there is not a comprehensive bill for the expenditures on Syrian refugees, the government officials state that Turkey has spent more than thirty billion US Dollars for the refugees (Sputnik Türkiye, 2017). On the other hand, Syrian

population in Turkey have been contributing to the Turkish economy since their arrival (Kaygısız, 2017; Omar Kadkoy, n.d.; Özpınar, Başıhoş, & Kulaksız, 2015; Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı, 2019b, 2019a). In addition to direct contribution to Turkish economy, the expenditures for more than three million Syrian refugees which were mostly funded by central and local authorities and international organizations have led to increase in demand in the Syrian refugee-intensive regions and therefore, has led to an increase in production and employment (Duruel, 2017; Erdoğan, 2015). The impacts of this situation can be seen in the increase in the statistics for export to Syria, which clearly demonstrates that in the Northeast provinces in Turkey, the export numbers have increased up to twenty percent (Özpınar et al., 2015).

In addition to the increase in indirect and capital investment by Syrian refugees, it is also important to state Syrian refugees are mostly in the informal labour market. Due to its latent nature, there is not any concrete data on Syrian refugees in the informal labour market, but there are several studies (Bélanger & Saracoglu, 2018; Kaygısız, 2017; Leghtas, 2017) which explore precarious working conditions in the informal market and the massive exploitation. As a result of lack of information about the legal and administrative labour market regulations, and insufficient awareness about their rights and duties, Syrian refugees seem to accept being employed in informal labour market (Memişoğlu, 2019). Even when they were "lucky" to find employment informally, it was indicated that majority of the Syrian employees earn less than the minimum wage (Korkmaz, 2018, p. 69). Finding employment in the informal labour market with lesser wages than Turkish laborers has also implications on Turkish workers. Some scholars (Balkan & Tumen, 2016; Ceritoglu, Yunculer, Torun, & Tumen, 2017) have pointed out that informal employment of Syrian refugees resulted in Turkish laborers to seek employment in formal labour market since Syrian refugees hold the employment cost advantage. As a result of this, Syrian refugee influx into labour market is argued to lead to decrease in informal labour market participation of Turkish labourers (Binatlı & Esen, 2016). Therefore, being employed in the informal labour market made Syrian refugees more vulnerable to exploitation.

Kaygısız (2017) has demonstrated that, Syrian refugees under temporary protection regime have been exploited by working longer hours, earning lower wages, being subjected to discrimination in Turkey. It is also very widespread that Syrian refugees under temporary protection do not get their wages without been given any reason. Employers for sure are highly encouraged by and taking advantage of precarious legal situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. By being unaware of their legal rights and means to defend their interests, these people are highly exploited by employers. Kaygısız (2017) found out that ninety-three percent of Syrian refugees state that there is wage difference between Syrian refugee workers and Turkish workers and this difference ranges from forty percent to a hundred percent. Apart from wages, refugees lack promotions, overtime wages and fringe benefits. In addition to earnings, Syrian refugees are working daily 12.5 hours on average, which is sixty five percent longer than legal average working hour in Turkey (7.5 hours). Syrian refugees work almost six days in a week, but they are almost never paid for the overtime. What is more, Syrians state that they are discriminated against Turkish workers, as being employed for more difficult jobs. Even in the same corporation, employers give less desirable and difficult jobs to Syrian refugees. Lastly, it is also important to note that occupational accidents cause permanent disabilities and deaths. Lack of occupational education and security measures cause refugees to be exposed to occupational accidents. Sixty one percent of migrant worker deaths belong to Syrians (Kaygısız, 2017, pp. 16–18).

Considering the uncertain and ineffective legal status of Syrian refugees, their high level of exploitation in the labour market, the political discourse against their presence and possible rights to live in Turkey, escalating political situation in Turkey and complex structure of migration management in Turkey that involve international organizations, interest groups and the market forces itself perpetuate constant exploitation of these people and exacerbate their living standards.

Their usefulness in restoring economic export from Turkey to Syria (Özpınar et al., 2015), contribution to Turkish economy by providing capital investments (Türkiye Ekonomi Politikaları Araştırma Vakfı, 2019b), supplying cheap labour to Turkish

labour market (Lordoğlu & Aslan, 2016) and the capital that they have brought to Turkey when they fled from Syria that corresponds to twelve million Turkish Liras (Sağıroğlu, 2016) are acknowledged. While their economic contribution to Turkey is self-evident, it is a good question to ask why there are such poor policies to provide a decent life to these people. It is noteworthy to discuss that semiperipheral countries limitation may be the reason of the level of exploitation, since the situation is a lot different in the core countries.

As (Bélanger & Saracoglu, 2018) assert, these policies that lead further exploitation of Syrian refugees are in line with the capital owners and expectations of the market. As Marx coined the term primitive accumulation, Syrian refugees can be said to have left all they have behind, and therefore they do not have anything but their labour to sell. Primitive accumulation process is a perpetual procedure that repeats to help capitalism expand its scope. The World Systems Theory explains international migration as a result of global inequality and the interrelations between the core, semiperiphery and periphery. However, Turkey has never been a country of immigration from its establishment, which indirectly claims that Turkey has met its cheap labour need through its urbanization process (Gürel, 2011). This process provided massive migration from rural areas to cities, enabling and supplying the labour force for the capitalist development. As a semiperipheral country, Turkey did not have a large foreign worker population within its working class. However, by the time of the arrival of Syrian refugees, 32,01% of Turkish population was between the age of 0-19. At the same range the proportion of Syrian population is 45,75% which means that in the near future, these people will be main components of the working class in Turkey (Duruel, 2017). At this point, ineffective labour market regulations, strict supervision of foreign employment, deterrent penalties for the violation of fundamental rights of Syrian population, not granting the right to property or to give a chance to make their livelihood in a decent manner help the employers and the labour market receive masses of cheap labour. Because all of the exploitation aspects, be it lower wages or higher working hours, are exactly the same with what happened to the Turkish guest workers in Germany, which had played a significant role in the German economy to become an economically developed and industrialized country today (Wallraff, 2017).

Turkish domestic policies which regulate Syrian refugees' stay in Turkey are not separate legal frameworks which commonly integrate labour migrants and refugees, or refugee-like people. The international burden-sharing hub in Turkey is so complex that more than hundred organizations are extensively working on the integration of Syrian population into the labour market and to the Turkish society.[17] Skills assessment, vocational and educational trainings are organised according to the needs of the market and these people are prepared for the needs of the market. Because, it has been obvious that Turkey as a semiperipheral country has neither institutional nor economic resources to manage the crisis by itself.

All of these motives and policies are complying with the principles of the World Systems Theory since international and domestic policies implemented in Turkey for the Syrian refugees cause to increase their precarious situation and lead to more exploitation. It is for sure that policies made for the Syrian refugees in Turkey are far from solving essential problems of these people. Instead of providing durable solutions, such as granting more coherent legal statuses and enacting regulations to make Syrian refugees as a political pole for defending their rights, Turkish authorities enacted laws that could only lead to increase global and regional inequality. By definition, temporary protection does not offer a perpetual solution and a guarantee for the Syrian refugees, but rather puts them in a limbo situation (Batalla & Tolay, 2018). In this framework, migration management is really about regulating the world system relationship and maintaining inequality. Only when the main goal becomes reducing inequality, will migration management become successful (Castles, 2004).

This study examined, irrespective of the goal of decreasing inequality, that a country's position within the global system employed a determinant factor in managing migration. This study tried to introduce the World System Theory into the discussion of migration management in general and labour market integration of the refugees in particular and practices in the core and semiperipheral country for those aims. When

[17] Sivil Toplumla İlişkiler Genel Müdürlüğü. (2019). Yabancı STK'lara İlişkin İstatistikler. Retrieved August 21, 2019, from https://www.siviltoplum.gov.tr/yabanci-stklara-iliskin-istatistikler

it is looked into the policies in core states, it can be asserted that these countries are applying more institutionalised policies that reflect the characteristics of being a core country. Because, refugees are vulnerable groups of people in the first place, since they had to flee from their homes and their economic, social and political statuses are no longer available to provide them a protection. In the case of semiperipheral countries, it is observed that uncertain rights and policies are not an effective mechanism to provide protection to the vulnerable group, unlike the case in the core countries. This is, again, highly related to the factors that puts Turkey in a semiperipheral position.

To conclude, this study tried to explain that refugees' integration to the society and the labor market and their management within the countries of arrival are predominantly related to the relevant policies. Since these policies can be investigated as a reflection of the World Systems Theory, it can be asserted that the World Systems Theory can be considered to be highly instrumental in explaining and giving meaning to the particular phenomenon of refugees' labor exploitation.

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# APPENDICES

## A: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

2011 yılında başlayan Suriye göçünün sekizinci yılını doldurmaya başlarken yazılan bu tez, aslında Suriyelilerin Türkiye'de ne kadar zor koşullarda çalışmaya başlayınca, mültecilerin Avrupa'ya giderken denizlerde boğulup ölmeleri sonunda, bunların nedenlerine ilişkin bir sorgulama yapmak için yazıldı. 2011 yılının nisan ayında Türkiye'ye gelen ilk kafile ile birlikte, Türkiye yıllarca sürecek olan göç dalgasına sınırlarını açtı. Başlarda açık olan bu sınırlar, sonrasında açık kapılara dönüştü. Suriyeli mültecilerin ülke içerisindeki görüntüleri artık pek çok açıdan zorlu ve rahatsız edici bir hal almaya başladı.

Bu kapsamda ilk olarak yapılması gereken şey aslında bu göçün nedenlerine ilişkin olarak bir incelemeye girişilmesiydi. Bu kapsamda uluslararası göç teorilerine kısa bir bakış atmak gerekir. Çünkü uluslararası göç dahil ettiği pek çok dinamikle birlikte çok karmaşık bir yapıya sahiptir. Hareket ve göç günlük hayatımızın bir parçası olmuştur. İletişim ve ulaşım araçlarının gelişmesi ile birlikte göçün maliyetinin azalması, diğer yerlerdeki insanlara ilişkin bilgimizin genişlemesi ile insanların artık göç etmek için katlanması gereken külfet büyük oranda azalmıştır. Buradan hareketle, klasik teoriler ilk olarak göçün ekonomik yönlerine odaklanmıştır. Bu alanda ilk diyebileceğimiz Ravenstein , itici ve çekici faktörlere dikkat çekmiştir. İtici faktörler göçmenlerin göç ettikleri ülkeden, yani kaynak ülkeden, ayrılmalarına sebep olan, bir bakıma insanları göçe teşvik eden sebeplerdir. Geçim sıkıntısı, ekonomik gelişmemişlik, kuraklık ya da çok çeşitli sosyal sebepler itici faktörler arasında sayılabilirler. Bununla beraber gidilecek ülkenin sahip olduğu ekstra özellikler, ya da vadettikleri, kişiler için çekici faktörler olmaktadır. Gidilecek ülkenin gelişmiş olması ve maaşların aynı işe göre daha fazla olması gibi etmenler bu çekici faktörler arasında sayılabilirler.

Ravenstein'ın temellerini attığı itici ve çekici faktörlerin yanı sıra Klasik Teoriler diye adlandırılan Makro ve Mikro teori de ekonomik açıdan uluslararası göçün meydana

geliş şeklini açıklamaya çalışır. Makro teori genel hatları itibariyle uluslararası göçün ülkeler arasındaki gelişmişlik farkından hareketle, piyasalarındaki ücret farklılıklarını esas alır. Yanı insanların göç etmelerinin sebebi iki piyasa arasındaki aynı işe verilen ücretlerin farklı olmasıdır. Bu yüzden insanların göç etmesi piyasa farklılıklarından kaynaklanır. Ancak Mikro Teori olarak adlandırılan teori ise piyasalar nezdinden çok göç kararının kişisel olarak yapılacak bir kâr zarar analizinden sonra yapılabileceğini savunur. Sonuç olarak göç etmenin bir maliyeti olacaktır ve bu maliyet umulan faydadan daha az ise kişiler göç etmektedirler. Bu iki teorinin yani sıra İkili Piyasa Teorisi ve Yeni Göç Ekonomisi Kuramları da göç olgusunu açıklamaya çalışırlar.

Ancak bütün bu kuramların bir ortak yanından bahsedilebilirler. Bu kuramlar genel olarak tarihsel olmayan bir perspektife sahiptirler. Yani, kişilerin göç etme kararlarını vermelerinde, o kararları o anda bulunan şartlara göre alınan rasyonel kararların etkili olduklarını savunurlar. O anki piyasanın durumu, göçmen işçilere verilen maaşların farklılığı ya da sahip olunan sosyal ve kültürel bağların göç maliyetine olan etkileri üzerine kuramlarını inşa ederler. Ancak ne yazık ki bütün bu aşamaya gelinceye kadar olan gelişmelerin de insanların göç etmelerinin üzerinde etkisi vardır. Bu etkiyi araştırmak için de tarihsel ve yapısal bir bakış açısına sahip olunması gerekir. Bu kapsamda Dünya Sistemleri Teorisi bizlere kapsamlı bir perspektif sunmaktadır. Wallerstein'ın çalışmaları üzerine bina edilen Dünya Sistemleri Teorisi, uluslararası göçü ülkeler arasında değil de bir dünya sistemi içerisinde cereyan ettiği üzerine tezini inşa eder. Bu tezini oluştururken de dünyanın aslında merkez, çevre ve yarıçevre adı verilen ve birbirine bağlı olan yapılardan oluştuğunu belirtir. Merkez diye tabir edilen kısımlar dünya sisteminde çevre ve yarı çevreyi sömüren, sahip olduğu burjuvazi sınıfının da sistem içerisindeki proletaryayı sömürdüğü ve bu sayede dünya sistemin devamlılığından en fazla faydalanan kısım olarak tarif edilmişlerdir. Bununla birlikte çevre denen yapılar ise merkezden uzakta olup ekonomik ve kurumsal olarak gelişmelerini tamamlayamadıkları için gelişmemiş olan yapılardır. Merkez tarafından sömürülmektedirler. Toprak, ham madde, işçi ve yeni piyasaların arayışı ile merkez, çevre ve yarıçevre arasında kurulan yoğun ekonomik ve sosyal ilişkiler sonucunda bir dünya sistemi oluşmuştur. Bu çerçevede de göç olayı meydana gelmektedir. Küresel olarak var olagelmiş olan bu eşitsizlik sonucunda insanlar göç etmektedirler. Az

önceki teorilerin de bahsetmiş olduğu gibi göç olayı, göç kararının verilirken yapılan rasyonel bir karar alma sürecinden çok, insanların belirli bir yapı içerisinde almış oldukları kararları ve bu kararların yapı ile karşılıklı ilişkilerinden alındığını belirten bir teoridir Dünya Sistemleri Teorisi.

Uluslararası göçün sonucunda, çevre ülkelerden merkez ülkelere ucuz iş gücü ve tersi yönde, yani merkez ülkelerden çevre ülkelere de işlenmiş ürün ve hizmet aktarılır. Bu sayede merkez ülkeler ucuz iş gücü sonucu üretmiş oldukları materyalleri hem satacak pazar oluşturmuş hem de bunları ucuza mal etmiş olacaklardır. Burada sistemli ve kapsamlı bir emek söz konusudur, bu sistemin devam edebilmesi için ülkeler arasındaki eşitsizliğin yer almış olması yeterlidir.

Merkez ve çevre dışındaki ülkeler dışında tarif edilen bir diğer kısım ise yarıçevredir. Yarıçevre Dünya Sistemleri Teorisinde merkez ve çevre arasında kalmış; merkeze göre çevre rolünü oynayabilen ve aynı şekilde de çevreye göre de merkez ülke olabilen bir kısımdır. Yüksek kar, yüksek teknoloji, yüksek ücretler ve farklı ürünler merkez ülkelerin özelliklerini; düşük kar, düşük teknoloji, düşük ücretler ve daha az çeşitli ürün üretimi de çevre ülkelerin özelliklerini oluştururken; yarıçevre ülkeleri bu özelliklerden bazılarına sahipken bazılarına sahip değillerdir. Ancak her ne kadar merkez ülkelerin sahip oldukları ekonomik güce sahip olmasalar da çevre ülkeler kadar kötü durumda değillerdir. Yarıçevre ülkeleri sosyal olarak çeşitli ve güçlü bir kompozisyona sahipken, çevre ülkeler daha zayıf bir toplum bağına sahiplerdir. Burada önem arz eden konulardan birisi de aslında yarıçevre ülkelerinin sahip olduğu ara konumdur. Bu konum bu ülkelerin yükselmelerine ve merkez ülke olma umutlarını beslemektedir. Bu sayede kapitalist sisteme daha fazla yatırım yapma ve sonucunda daha yüksek karlar elde ederek merkez ülke konumuna yükselerek, sistemin en yüksek faydayı elde eden kısmında olmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çevre ülkelerin bunları yapmaya ne yazık ki kapasiteleri yeterli değildir. Gerek toplumsal olarak, gerek kurumsal olarak, gerekse de iktisadi olarak bu amaçlarına ulaşacak bir potansiyelleri yoktur. Bu yüzden yarıçevre sahip olduğu konumdan ötürü sistemin en dinamik yapısını oluşturmaktadır. Merkez kadar olmasa da yeterli denebilecek ekonomik güç ve kurumsal alt yapıya sahiptirler.

Bu kapsamda, tezin inceleme alanı olarak Almanya'yı ve İsveç'i merkez ülkeler sınıfında değerlendirebiliriz. Bu iki ülke de ekonomik olarak gelişmiş ve kurumsal olarak altyapılarını tamamlayarak karşılaşmış oldukları toplumsal sorunlara çözüm üretme noktasında yeterli ve etkili çözümler üretebilmektedirler. Bununla birlikte pek çok yazarın da yaptığı gibi Türkiye yarıçevre olarak konumlandırılabilir. Henüz kurulması yüz yıl daha olmamasına karşın bu Türkiye ekonomik ve sosyal alanda pek çok kurumunun yerleşmesini tamamlamıştır, ancak gerekli tecrübe ve kurumsal yapıya tamamıyla ulaştığı söylenemez.

Tezin ilerleyen safhalarında ise Suriyeli mültecilerin iltica ederek gitmiş oldukları ülkelerde entegrasyonlarına ilişkin olarak izlenen politikaların merkez ve yarıçevre ülkelerindeki karşılaştırmaları yapılmıştır. Bu karşılaştırmanın önemi ise sistemin zaten atfetmiş olduğu özelliklerin, yine sistemin devamı için gerekli olan sonuçlara ulaştırıp ulaştırmadığıdır. Yani günün sonunda merkez, çevre ve yarıçevre ülkelerinin sebep olduğu bu sömürü sonucunda devamlılığının sağlanması açısında bir örüntünün olup olmadığına bakılmıştır.

Her ne kadar 2011 yılında başlamış olsa da Suriye krizi, Almanya için esas etkilerini 2015 yılında göstermeye başlamıştı. Suriye'nin komşusu konumundaki ülkelerin ilk göç dalgalarını göğüslemesi sonunda Avrupa ülkeleri bu sürecin başlarında nispeten daha az mülteci akını ile karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Fakat komşu ülkelerin genellikle çevre ve yarıçevre olmalarının da etkisiyle, yeterli entegrasyon politikasına ve ekonomik kaynağa ulaşamayan mülteciler düzenli ya da düzensiz göçle Avrupa'ya göç etmeye başlamışlardır. Almanya'nın esasında, misafir işçi kavramı ile tanışması yirminci yüzyılın ikinci yarısında başlamıştır. Halen daha etkiler devam eden bu işçilerin sayesinde Almanya'nın çok gelişmiş bir göç yönetim mekanizmaları ve kurumları oluşmuştur. İkinci Dünya Savaşının ardından ve Soğuk Savaşın bitişi ile de çok fazla mülteciye ev sahipliği yapmış olması ile birlikte Almanya'nın göç yönetimi konusunda kurumsal alt yapısını tamamlamış olduğu söylenebilir. İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında ortaya çıkan iş gücü ihtiyacını göçmen işçi ile kapatmak isteyen Almanya bu konuda nispeten başarılı olmuştur. Ekonomik gelişmişlik olarak dünyada ilk sıralarda gelen bu ülkenin gerek kurumsal alt yapısına, gerek ekonomik gücüne ve

gerekse de diplomatik etkinliğine bakarak bu ülkenin merkez ülkeler arasında yer aldığını söyleyebiliriz.

Almanya, Suriyeliler ülkelerine geldiğinde onları entegre etmek için yoğun bir şekilde sahip olduğu tecrübeden yararlanmıştır. Entegrasyon kursları, Almanya'nın şimdiye kadar ülkesinde yer alan bütün göçmenleri eğitmek, topluma entegre etmek ve dil öğretmek maksadıyla kurmuş olduğu köklü bir kurstur. Bu kurslar esasında ülkede kalacakları artık kesin olan mülteciler ve göçmen işçilerle onların aileleri için yoğun olarak kullanılmaktaydı. Entegrasyon kursları ile ilgili bilgi vermeden önce Almanya'nın mülteci politikalarına bakmamız faydalı olacaktır. Almanya'nın iki hatlı bir mülteci süreci yürüttüğünü söylesek yanılmış olmayız. Almanya'ya ilk gelen göçmenler iltica başvurularını yaptıkları zaman beklemeye alınırlar. Bu sürede sığınmacı adayı olarak ülkede bulunmalarına izin verilir. Bu süreç sonucunda iltica başvuruları kabul edilirse, sığınmacı statüsüne sahip olurlar. Ancak sığınmacı statüsüne sahip olduktan sonra mülteci statüsüne başvurmasına izin verilir. Sığınmacı statüsünü elde eden göçmenler mülteci statüsüne başvurularını tamamladıktan sonra, eğer başvuruları kabul edilirse mülteci statüsünü kazanırlar. Eğer mülteci statüsü kabul edilmezse bu kişiler ülkeden çıkarılırlar. Tabi ki bu çıkarma süreci çok kolay olmayabiliyor her zaman. Bu sebeple mülteci statüsü alamayan ancak aynı zamanda da ülkeden çıkarılamayan kişiler de tolerasyon statüsü kazanırlar. Bu kişilerin ülkede kalmasına izin verilir.

Bu statülerin kazanılması entegrasyon süreçlerinde sunulan imkanlara erişim noktasında çok büyük önem taşır. Yukarıda bahsettiğimiz gibi entegrasyon kursları Almanya'nın en önemli entegrasyon metotlarından biridir ve bu metot sadece mültecilere açık olan bir metottur. Almanya 2015 yılında yaşadığı bu şok dalgasından sonra yukarıda bahsedilen mülteci statüsü kazanma sürecinde birtakım aksaklıklar yaşadı. İki yıl gibi bir süreçte bir milyona yakın mültecinin ülkelerine gelmesi ile sığınmacı statüsü kazanma süresi ayları bulunca, ülkede hiçbir statüye sahip olmayan ve hiçbir hizmete de erişmeye bu yüzden hakkı olmayan yüksek nüfuslu bir topluluk oluştu. Bunu engellemek için mülteci statüsü sahibi olmayı gerektiren entegrasyon kurslarına erişim hakkı bazı ülkelerden gelen sığınmacılara sağlanmıştır. Bu sayede

bu kişilerin daha hızlı bir entegrasyon sürecinde dahil olmaları ve sonucunda iş bulma ve ülkede bir katma değer üretme ihtimallerinin artması sağlandı. Pek çok araştırma göstermiştir ki ülkeye gelen mültecilerin iş piyasasına erişimleri ne kadar gecikirse bu insanların ilerde istihdam edilme şansı da o kadar az oluyordu. Bunu gören Almanya, kaynak ülkelerinden mülteci statüsünün tanımlanması olasılığının yüksek olduğu ülkelerin iş piyasasına hemen erişimlerini sağlamak için sığınmacılara da bu kursları açmıştır. Dil problemi göçmenlik ya da yabancı bir ülkede bulunma söz konusu olduğunda en büyük problemdir. Pek çok araştırma da göstermiştir ki yabancı işçi istihdamının önündeki en büyük engel dil problemidir. Bunun aşılması için Almanya entegrasyon kurslarına yoğun bir kaynak ve mesai harcamıştır. Bununla birlikte tanımlama ve meslek belirleme de entegrasyon kursları ile paralel yürütülmüştür. Çünkü geldikleri ülkelerde sahip oldukları mesleki beceri ve yeterlilikler, bulundukları ülkelerde her zaman anılan karşılıklarını bulamamaktadırlar. Bu sebeple de meslek niteliklerinin belirlenmesi önemli bir husustur. Zira, aşırı-nitelik, yani bir kimsenin çalıştığı işin sahip olduğu niteliklerin kat be kat altında olması durumu, mülteci işçilerin karşılaşmış oldukları en büyük problemlerden biridir.

Almanya'nın yapmış olduğu diğer bir katkı da sığınma başvurusu yaptıkları andan itibaren iş konusunda danışma almaya hak kazanmalarıdır. Bu işlem Federal İstihdam Ofisleri tarafından gerçekleştirilmektedirler. Tolerasyon sağlanan mülteciler de meslek danışma almaya hak kazanmaktadırlar. Bütün bunlara ek olarak sığınmacılara sağlanan meslek koçları, gençler için staj imkanlarının sunulması, hukuki konularda farkındalığın artırılması ve bilgilendirmelerin yapılması, mülteciler ve sığınmacılar için hizmet noktalarının oluşturulması gibi hizmetleri sunulmuştur. Bütün bunlar mültecilerin ülkeye girdikten sonra kayıtlı bir biçimde sisteme dahil edilmesinin çabasıdır. Çünkü sisteme dahil edilme hak ve yükümlülükler sağlanarak mültecileri koruma altına alıp, enformel istihdam ve sömürüyü en aza indirmektedir. Bunula birlikte bu tarz mekanizmaların varlığı sisteme daha iyi bir entegrasyon sonucunda bulunulan ülkeye en üst seviyede fayda sağlanmasının da yolunu açmaktadır.

Almanya'nın yanında İsveç de merkez ülkelerden biri olarak sayılmalıdır. Ekonomik olarak bulunduğu seviye ile sahip olduğu kurumsal alt yapı, halkının sahip olduğu

refah seviyesi İsveç'i bir merkez ülke kategorisinde değerlendirmemize sebep olur. İsveç de 2014 yılından itibaren Suriye'deki politik durumun kötüleşmesinden sonra çok fazla mülteci başvurusu almıştır. 2000'li yıllarda yüzde yirmi dört olan iltica kabul oranı 2010 ve 2014 arasında yüzde yetmiş biri civarına yükselmiştir. Bu durum kendi ülkelerine yönelen yoğun iltica karşısında İsveç'i de birtakım önlemler almaya itmiştir. İsveç tarihsel olarak da bir refah devleti olarak bilinmesinin yanı sıra ülkesinde yer alan insanlara en yüksek imkanları sunmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu sebeple 1980'lerden itibaren aynı politikayı ırk ayrımı gözetmeden ülkesinde yer alan bütün insanlara sunmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu anlayışa paralel olarak da İsveç bünyesinde iltica edenler, eğer uygun bir kimlik göstermeleri halinde çalışma iznine sahip olacaklardır. Bu yasal çerçeve mültecilerin illegal olarak çalıştırılmasının önünden çok büyük engel teşkil etmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra eğer kişi uluslararası koruma altına alınmışsa, kalıcı ikamet izni ve refah devletinin imkanlarına tam bir katılım hakkı elde etmekteydi.

Esasında bu haklar gerçekten dünyanın pek çok yerinde bulunan mültecilerin sahip olamadıkları geniş bir çerçeveyi içeren haklardı. Bu sebeple İsveç'in merkez konuma sahip olmasına sebep olan güçlü ekonomisinin dezavantajlı konumda bulunan mültecilerle olan ilişkisini gözlemleyebilmekteyiz. Almanya'nın entegrasyon metotlarına benzer olarak İsveç de tanıtım programı adını verdiği bir programa sahipti. Bu programın genel içeriği İsveç kültürü, toplumun tanıtılması ve istihdam piyasasına erişiminin konusunda bir oryantasyon niteliğinde olmasıydı. Bütün ülkelerdeki mülteciler için geçerli olan dil problemi is zaten İsveç vatandaşı olmayan herkese açık olan İsveçce kurslarının varlığı sayesinde aşılıyordu. Bu kurslar sayesinde mülteciler kendilerine iş piyasasında ve sosyal hayatta yer bulmalarını sağlayacak olan gerekli dil becerisini geliştirme imkanına sahip oluyorlardı. Bununla beraber yeteneklerinin ölçülmesi ve bu hususta da en uygun işe yerleşme konusunda da bir değerlendirmeye tabi tutuluyorlardı.

Yukarıda saymış olduğum entegrasyon tedbirleri hali hazırda yer alan entegrasyon tedbirleridir ancak tanıtım programının mültecilerin ailelerine de açılması, bu programdan faydalanabilecekleri sürenin uzatılması , dil öğrenimi konusunda belli bir seviyeye erken geldiklerinde bir teşvik ücreti almaları ve iş piyasasına eriştiklerinde

de iş verenlerin ödemeleri gereken belli ücretlerin devlet katkısı ile karşılanması Suriye göçünün yoğunluğunun artıp, devletin bu konuda önlem alması ile olmuştur.

Merkez ülkelerinin ülkelerine aldıkları Suriyelileri en hızlı ve en etkili yollarla sistemlerine entegre etmeleri ortak bir çaba olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Şüphesiz bu entegrasyon araçlarının etkili ve hızlı şekilde kullanılmasında merkez ülkesi olmasından kaynaklı olarak finansal kaynaklara sahip olması, yeterli ve gerekli kurumsal alt yapıya sahip olunması çok mühim bir faktördür.

Bununla birlikte bir yarıçevre ülkesi olan Türkiye'de ise durum farklıdır. Şüphesiz ki Türkiye Suriye'ye olan yakınlığından dolayı dünya üzerinde hiçbir ülkenin sahip olmadığı kadar Suriyeliye ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Bu Türkiye için çok büyük kurumsal ve toplumsal bir şoktur. Bu sebepledir ki krizin başlamasından ve ülkeye gelen akınlara verilen ilk tepkilerin bir acil yardım ve afetle mücadele kurumu olan AFAD ile verilmesi manidardır. 2011 yılına geldiğimizde Türkiye göç ve göç yönetimi konusunda yeterli bir kurumsal kapasiteye sahip değildi. Her ne kadar kuruluşundan itibaren tehcir, mübadele gibi nüfus hareketlerine maruz kalsa da Türkiye kendisini hiçbir zaman bir göç ülkesi olarak nitelendirmemiştir. Zira İkinci Dünya Savaşının sonrasında da Almanya'ya verile misafir işçi göçü ile de bu anlayış yerini sağlamlaştırmıştır. Nitekim Türkiye'den Almanya'ya verilen işçi göçü yukarıda belirtildiği gibi bir yarıçevre ülkesinin merkez karşısında çevre ülkesi pozisyonuna bürünmesine örnek teşkil etmektedir. Bunların dışında ve en önemlisi, Türkiye'nin göç konusunda yeterli bir kurumsal ve hukuki altyapısının olmamasıdır. Türkiye'nin Suriyeli mülteciler konusunda 1951 Cenevre Konvansiyonunda yer alan coğrafi kısıtlamayı kaldırmaması sonucunda Suriyeli mülteciler hukuki olarak bir mülteci statüsü kazanamamışlardır ve halen daha kazanamamaktadırlar. İlk geldikleri 2011 yılından yaklaşık bir yıl süre içinde kendilerine ne uluslararası hukukta ne de milli hukukta yeri olan bir misafir statüsü verildi. Sonrasında da Geçici Korunma statüsü sağlanan Suriyeli mülteciler halen bu statü altındadır. Bu tez ise hukuki olarak statüsü ne olursa olsun Türkiye'deki Suriyelileri mülteci olarak isimlendirmektedir. 2013 yılında çıkarılan Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu, 2016 yılında çıkarılan Uluslararası İşgücü Kanunu, Geçici Koruma Yönetmeliği, Geçici Koruma Sağlanan

Yabancıların Çalışma İzinlerine Dair Yönetmelik bu konuda çıkarılmış ve önemli noktaları içeren hukuki çerçevelerdir. Ancak şunu da belirtmek gerekir ki, 2013 yılında çıkan Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu esasında Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne üyelik sürecinde göç ve iltica ile eylem planı çerçevesinde hali hazırda AB ile görüşmelerinin bir sonucu olarak değerlendirilmelidir. Ancak sonradan gelişen iç savaş ve mülteci krizi bu kanunun yapım aşamalarını hızlandırmış ve bu krize yönelik olarak da çözüm önerileri sunulmasını sağlamıştır. Sonuç olarak Türkiye'nin bu krizi başarılı bir şekilde yönetmek için gerekli olan kurumsal altyapısında ciddi eksiklikler olduğunu belirtmekte fayda olacaktır. Bunun en açık örneği, ülkeye ilk girdiği andan 2016 yılında çıkarılan kanun ve yönetmeliğe kadar Suriyelilerin çalışma izninin olmamasıdır. Sayılarının üç milyona yaklaştığı esnada, ülkeye girişlerinden yaklaşık olarak beş yıl sonra böyle bir iznin alınmasına imkân verilmesi, Suriyeli mültecilerin enformel sektörde istihdam edilmekten başka kendilerine bir şans verilmemesi olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bunun doğal bir sonucu olarak da yaklaşık olarak 600,000 Suriyelinin enformel olarak çalışmasına karşılık 20,966 Suriyeli mülteci resmi olarak istihdam edilmiştir. Dil konusu Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler için de büyük bir problemdir. Sosyal hayata ve çalışma hayatına entegrasyon konusunda dil konusu her zaman karşılarına bir sorun olarak çıkmaktadır. Ancak dil konusunda da Türkiye'de verilen politika tepkileri çok faydalı olmamıştır. Dış politikanın ve geçmiş tecrübelerin verdiği etkilerle Suriye krizinin geçici olacağı ve sonrasında bu insanların ülkelerine geri döneceklerini düşünen Türkiye, geldikleri ilk andan belirli bir süreye kadar ana dillerinde eğitim almalarına, Suriye müfredatı ile öğrenim görmelerine müsaade etmiştir. Türkiye'deki hayata paralel bir hayat yaşayan ancak yaşamlarının hiçbir zaman kesişmemesi sonuncunda dil öğrenmek bugün Suriyeli mülteciler için büyük bir sorun teşkil etmektedir. Zaten iş dünyasındaki dezavantajlı olan konumları, dil bilmemeleri yüzünden daha da kötüleşmektedirler. Kendi yeteneklerine uygun olan işleri seçememektedirler. İşverenler açısından da Suriyeli mülteci istihdam etmek hem belirsiz durumlarından hem de masraf maliyeti açısından çok cezbedici olmayınca bu insanların dezavantajlı durumları artarak devam etmektedir. Bütün bu koşullar da göz önüne alındığında Suriyeli mültecilerin iş piyasasında taşımış oldukları geçici koruma statüsü ve hukuk düzeni tarafından etkili bir şekilde koruma altında olmadıkları da eklendiğinde, yaşamış oldukları sıkıntıların en büyüğü hakkaniyetli ücret talep

edememeleridir. Aynı işi yaptıkları halde Türk işçilerden daha az maaş almaları çok yaygın bir durumdur. Bir araştırma göstermiştir ki yaklaşık olarak yüzde doksan üç oranında Suriyeli bu konuda şikayetçidir. Fazla çalıştıklarında mesai ücretlerini alamamaları, ne zaman olursa olsun çalıştıkları halde ücretlerini alamıyor olmaları, iş sağlığı ve güvenliği ekipmanlarına ve eğitimlerine erişemiyor olmaları Suriyelilerin en büyük sorunlarıdır. Bütün bu adaletsizliklerin ve hak ihlallerinin yetersiz kurumsallaşmama sonucunda ve hukuksal çerçevenin kendilerine mülteci statüsü ile birlikte en basit hakları sunmaması sonucunda bu insanlar ağır bir emek sömürüsüne maruz kalmaktadırlar.

Emek sömürüsü bütün dünyada farklı şekillerde olmaktadır. Bu tezin de zaten üstüne bina etmiş olduğu Dünya Sistemleri teorisi de zaten bu sömürünün varlığı üzerine kurulmuştur. Ancak Dünya Sistemleri Teorisinin mülteciler konusunda da aydınlatıcı olması yeni bir konudur. Sistemi oluşturan ülkelerin sahip olmuş oldukları özelliklerin bu emek sömürüsüne katkıda bulunması ve emek sömürüsünün merkez ve yarıçevre ülkelerinde bulunan aynı ülke mültecileri üzerinden tartışılması da önemli bir husustur. Bu tez açıkça göstermiştir ki Dünya Sistemleri Teorisi çerçevesinde er alan merkez, çevre ve yarıçevre ülkelerinin bu şekilde sınıflandırılmasına sebep olan özelliklerinin mülteciler üzerinden emek sömürüsüne yine aynı sistem üzerinden devam ettiğini açıklaması önemli bir olgudur. Bu tez, emek sömürüsünün mülteciler üzerinden nasıl Dünya Sistemler Teorisi analizi ile incelenebileceğini göstermesi açısından önemlidir.

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**YAZARIN /** AUTHOR

**Soyadı** / Surname : ÇAM
**Adı** / Name : FARUK
**Bölümü** / Department : Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü 7 Department of Political Science and Public Administration

**TEZİN ADI /** TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English) : AN ANALYSIS OF TURKISH MIGRATION AND ASYLUM POLICIES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY: LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION OF THE SYRIANS UNDER "TEMPORARY PROTECTION"

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