

Migration, Spatial Complexity and Syrians in Labour Market in Turkey

Göç, Mekansal Kompleksite ve Türkiye’de Emek Piyasasında Suriyeliler

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Abstract

While the rapid migration towards Turkey since 2011 has led to a lack of surveillance and their relative invisibility, their movements and activities within the borders of Turkey have resulted in the displacement beyond the absolute control and determinability of central planning. That has led to the choice of places relatively at the initiative of Syrians in terms of the sectoral distribution of migrant labour and their decisions to settle down in different areas within Turkey. During this migration process which is not based on linear dynamics, Syrians seem to conduct their location analysis, in terms of where to settle down within Turkey, on different determinants. In fact, this process which is substantially dynamic, fluid and multi-actored for both Turkey and the Syrians in Turkey, is multi-layered based upon the factors such as developments in Syria, their time durations in Turkey or even due to some international legal determinants. All the components that determine the process have a relational integrity that is nonlinear but extremely dynamic. At this point, while Syrians participating in the production process in the place create a complex structure together with the dynamics generated by the space, a new systematic of organization also emerges.

Questioning the ‘asymmetric balance’ produced by this multi-actored and multi-layered process in space, this study aims at analysing the intersections between the socio-economic conditions of the space and the qualifications of Syrian labour force who want to produce themselves through their labour in their spatial movements, by examining macro-economic factors and Syrians’ strategies within the destinations’ macro-economic dynamics. Data was collected by using in-depth interviews with thirty-six participants in four separate spatial locations (namely Konak, Bornova, Bergama, Torbalı districts of Izmir) in order to produce answers to the main problem of this research and to achieve its main goal.

Keywords: Migration, Syrian Migration, Migrant Labour Force, Labour Market, Space, Spatial Complexity.

Öz

Türkiye’ye 2011’den bu yana yaşana hızlı göç, göçe katılan Suriyelilere ilişkin takipsizliği ve görünmezliği görelilik olarak üretirken göçmelerin Türkiye içindeki hareketleri ve eylemlilikleri merkezi planlamanın mutlak kontrolünün ve belirleyiciliğinin dışına taşması sonucunu doğurmuştur. Bu durum Suriyeli emeğinin sektörlere dağılımında ve Türkiye içindeki farklı mekânlara ilişkin göç kararlarında, yer seçiminin görelilik olarak kendi inisiyatiflerinde gerçekleşmesini beraberinde getirmiştir. Doğrusal dinamiklere dayanmayan bu göç sürecinde Suriyeliler, Türkiye’deki yer seçimlerinde konum analizlerini farklı belirleyiciler üzerinden yapmışlardır. Aslında hem Türkiye için hem de Türkiye’ye gelen Suriyeliler için son derece akışkan, dinamik ve çok aktörlü olan bu süreç, gerek Suriye’de yaşanan gelişmeler gerek Türkiye’de geçirilen süre gerekse göçe katılanlar ve dönenler üzerinden ve belki de uluslararası hukuksal belirlenimler nedeniyle çok katmanlıdır. Süreci belirleyen tüm bileşenler, doğrusal olmayan ama son derece dinamik olan ilişkisel bir bütünlüğe sahiptir. Geleneksel noktada mekânda üretim sürecine katılan Suriyeliler, mekânın ürettiği/üretmekte olduğu dinamiklerle birlikte kompleks bir yapı oluştururken yeni bir örgütlenme sistematigi de ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Çok aktörlü ve çok katmanlı olan bu sürecin mekânda ürettiği asimetrik dengeyi sorgulayan bu çalışma, Suriyeli işgücünün mekânsal hareketlerinde, mekânın sosyo-ekonomik koşulları ile kendilerini emekleri üzerinden üretmek isteyen Suriyelilerin nitelikleri arasındaki kesişim noktalarını makro-ekonomik faktörler ve kendilerini varış noktasının makro-ekonomik dinamiklerine uyarlanma stratejileri üzerinden analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

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Çalışmanın temel problemine cevap üretebilmek ve temel amacını gerçekleştirmek amacıyla İzmir'e bağlı dört ayrı (Konak, Bornova, Bergama, Torbalı) mekânsal birimde toplamda otuzaltı katılımcı ile derinlemesine mülakat tekniği kullanılarak veriler toplanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Suriyeli Göçü, Göçmen Emek Gücü, Emek Piyasası, Mekânsal Kompleksite

An Introduction: Migration and Space

As one of the oldest phenomena in history, migration, which is perceived merely as a reflection of human mobility in place, is not a simple phenomenon but rather a highly complex phenomenon that has led to decisive developments in human history. Indeed, 'The Migration Period' which began in the second half of the 4th century and 'The 'Age of Discovery' since the 15th century are the important migration movements/events that have influenced today's world. Migration, which can generally be defined as "permanent or semi-permanent change of place" (Lee, 1969, p. 285), should be defined and analysed not in a point-oriented but in a route-oriented manner at this stage since many developments in historical process is accompanied by social changes (Tekeli, 2008). In the meantime, the determinants of the variables affecting the continuation of migration "in time and space" (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1998, p. 454) should also be taken into account.

Migration is a process determined by many dynamics such as social habitats that represents the destination, localities, exclusion or inclusions, feeling of belonging, cultural diversities and/or similarities, class differences and as ethnic differences and/or similarities (Vervotec, 2001). Because these dynamics, which determine the social interactions of the migrants, are realized 'in space' and 'through the space'. While social activities and interactions and space are interconnected, space is used to perform social interactions, and these interactions reproduce the space (Lefebvre, 2014). Migration, under these circumstances, is determined by the space at the destination point as well as by the network of relationships established/or to be established with the former immigrants and the natives. Migration is considered as a process of adapting to a new society and culture, especially if it is a transnational one, while immigrants form and maintain their migration decisions through multiple connections (Markley, 2011). In this case, while the migrants of the current century do not break their bonds with the space in departure point, they also look for a place to live together with the dynamics of the country and the city of destination. At this point, the relationship network, established between the migrants, locals and the former migrants, is a "social capital" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2016, p. 153) that is used in the search for jobs and housing. Moreover, the network of relationships established through attachments, ancestry and common (mainly ethnic) origin is much more decisive in this process. At the same time, if transnational migration takes place under the influence of coercion created by a state or other functioning, the network of relations, which was determined by social capital, can function even more effectively. This situation leads to the production of locality through social dynamics at the destination. Thus, as Massey's (1994, p. 162) own words "locality can become related to other localities and social processes through social relations and social processes". While the meaning that migrants attribute to space and the ways they relate themselves with space are connected to new localities, they are also not independent from the mechanism of macro factors (which shape their individual decisions). In other words, while the migrants move to a destination with their own localities that produce them, the social, economic and spatial positioning at the destination city depends both on the localities of the destination and on the mechanism of macro factors.

At this point, it can be argued that a self-organized process has emerged. Because, since the relationality which is produced by actors in a multi-layered and multi-actored migration process is produced in a space by nonlinear processes, space itself is also determined by so

many variables. Therefore, a complex body of relationships come to the light. The common feature shared by this complex system is that it can produce a wide range of behaviours, including unexpected disorder, as a result of interactions between nonlinear dynamics and different time-space scopes and learning agents (Eser & Lecuna, 2017). This complex mechanism also applies to Syrian migration. Because, as a result of the conditions in Syria, Syrians who have migrated to Turkey at different times and almost as layers since 2011 produce themselves through the economic, social and cultural dynamics of the departure points within Turkey, while this situation is maintained in many relationality, including the destination in the context of both Syrians and Turkish residents.

Syrian Migration: “Is it a ‘Problem’ of Turkey?” or “Is it a ‘Problem’ in Turkey?”

As previously emphasized, migration, in its simplest form describes the movement from one settlement to another, involves a much more complex process; and is discussed through dynamics such as time and space, cause and effect makes it a difficult phenomenon to be analysed easily as it is thought. This situation likewise brings with it some difficulties in analysing the Syrian migration to Turkey in a way that marked the post-2010 period. It is clear that, due to the first wave of migration in April 2011 (hurriyet.com.tr, 2015) when the Syrian refugees passed the Turkish borders, the effects of this migration movement have been discussed and examined both in academia and in political arenas in terms of its economic, social, political and spatial aspects. It should be kept in mind that the phenomenon of migration, which is discussed today through Syrian migration and through Turkey, has some dynamics to determine the face of the 21st century. Indeed, according to the UN Refugee Organization by the end of 2016, while a total of 65.6 million people around the world were displaced, 22.5 million people were refugees. According to the same institution’s statistics, 40.3 million people were displaced within their own countries. In addition to those data, 2.8 million people are asylum seekers (Global Trends Forced, 2018). As of September 2019, there are 3.666.059 (multeciler.org, 2019) Syrians in Turkey who have ‘temporary protection’ status. It has been approximately ten years since the arrival of the first convoy of Syrians to enter the Turkey. While the process evolves from being a “victim” of war to a “guest” for Syrian migrants, it seems at this stage that it will turn into a permanent ‘resettlement’ in Turkey for a significant proportion of the Syrians. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that although millions of Syrians have entered Turkey due to the consequences of civil war, it is a known reality that thousands of them are ready and even force their conditions to move towards Europe.

In this respect, it should be kept in mind that while the Syrian migration as a phenomenon that is discussed and debated within the contexts of the projections for the future and sort of a threat to sterile areas (that are thought to have been created relatively within the borders of nation-states), it is not only “a ‘problem’ of Turkey”. But it should also be granted that “it is a ‘problem’ in Turkey”. In spite of those debates, it seems curtail to study/discuss/analyse this phenomenon from a micro/local dimension since there is a relationality in the field itself produced by the actors (Syrian labour force in this case). In this sense, when discussing the Syrian migration, the internal dynamics of the space itself should be examined together with the differences in transformations, tensions, flows and social processes that produced. Clearly, Turkey is not the ultimate destination for Syrian migration, which is produced by non-linear dynamics and involving the knowing subjects/agents (they are at the same time the “learning subjects/agents”). In a world of global inequality, Syrians who are aware of a variety of opportunities in a global scale through technology know that they can reproduce themselves by combining their localities with the localities of the destination points in different places around the world (particularly around the Europe). They seem even very keen to turn the dynamics of this non-linear process into new opportunities. In this sense, it is important to perceive Syrians not simply as “objects” in the process, but as “subjects” who

strive to shape the process. After all, this is at the basis of the loss of thousands of Syrian lives in the Aegean Sea while trying to pass the sea to Europe. In brief, they know that they can reproduce themselves in different places around the world, along with the dynamics of the destination places. As a matter of fact, immigrants living in many cities of the industrialized world have produced themselves through the relationality between their localities and space as it can easily be observed in many cities such as Paris, London, Vancouver.

Research Methodology and Findings

There is a great intersectionality that encompasses today's social facts and phenomena, including migration, and this intersectionality requires a search for a complex relationality in the analysis of the phenomenon. This brings with it a sociological perspective that focuses on the action, agency and all other actors who determine the process, without ignoring the subjects and the relationship between the subjects; a perspective that also does not exclude structural dynamics. Such a perspective eliminates reductionism as well as prevents some structural dynamics from being ignored by focusing only on subjects. Consequently, the adoption of this perspective provides a more integrative view of the phenomenon within an intersectionality. By doing so, it will be possible to take a clear picture of the ways in which the networks, which are decisive in everyday lives of the migrants, interact.

Focusing on the Syrian labour force, this research questions the positioning processes of migrant labour (within specified networks) in parallel with spatial economy along with all relational networks and strategies through urban dynamics. In this context, the focus is on the migration process, the socio-economic characteristics of space, and the relational networks between the city (space) and Syrian migrant labour. Therefore, it is necessary to concentrate on the rural and urban space together in order to capture this relationality through both Syrians, Turkish residents and the social, cultural and economic dynamics of the space,

The problematic of the research was discussed through the analysis of data collected from in-depth interviews carried out with Syrians living in four different districts of İzmir (namely Konak and Bornova as two more urbanised districts; and Bergama and Torbalı (Pamukyazı) as two more rural districts) between March 2019 and August 2019. After conducting a fieldwork in Konak and Bornova the findings opened a gate towards carrying out this study to be taken to other districts with the same problematic and themes in order to be able to examine different local dynamics. Thus, the fieldwork was expanded by including Bergama and Torbalı (Pamukyazı) and the in-depth interviews carried out there made it possible to deepen the research questions. Sixteen participants were interviewed in Konak and Bornova districts during the fieldwork of this research, while twenty participants were included in the study of Bergama and Torbalı (Pamukyazı). In the interviews conducted within the framework of themes created for the main purpose of the study, it is intended to reach the saturation point that will enable us to provide answers to the main research question. Interviews were terminated when it was considered that sufficient data was reached to analyse the problem of the study. The fieldwork was attended with our students who speak Kurdish and/or Arabic. Therefore, interviews were carried out directly with the participants themselves without the help of any other intermediary use.

In-depth interviews, in this study, were conducted through the following themes:

- a) Fluidity: Migration Process, Spatial Positioning and Rational Choice
- b) Spatial Complexity: Access to the Labour Market, Socio-spatial and Socio-Economic Dynamics
- c) Space: Syrian Labour Force and Complexity

Fluidity: Migration Process, Spatial Positioning and Rational Choice

Although it is often emphasized that the mobilization of people on a global scale is intense in today's world, it is clear that it does not apply to all social segments by simply looking at the Mediterranean Sea that -possibly- has become the world's largest 'immigrant cemetery'. Today's "border"less mobility seems more to apply to 'mobile-professionals', to 'hyper-mobile executive elites' (Kunz, 2016) and to -defined as- "privileged" people. The absence of borders, in other words, the fluidity on a global scale applies more to them. However, thousands of people who are able to look at the world through a window which is provided to them by "expanded relativity" (Buffoni, 2010), and question their conditions and circumstances and perhaps become the subject of the process due to the chaos created in the geography in which they live in want to move to "white" geographies as if they object to being declared as the "blacks" of the world. It is clear that these people are shouting out that they are 'subjects', and declaring with their actions in the migration process that they themselves take the initiative. It seems possible to put similar explanations forward for the Syrians living in Turkey. Because although their position/situation is discussed on its very fragile basis through the concepts such as transiency-permanence, employment, adaptation to the city and society (Yiğit, Kart & Demiriz, 2019) they seem to establish a basis for reproducing themselves in a very fluid manner both during their migration process to Turkey and during their mobilizations within Turkey.

It was primarily the devastating effects of the war that caused spatial fluidity of Syrians, especially in terms of departure point (Syria) and the desire to exit the destructive vortex created by the war was a priority for the migrants. This is a state of personal agency which was produced entirely by a reflex to survive. However, although Syrians as the actors of the process participated migration as the "victims" at the beginning (regarding the dynamics of the departure point) it is possible, at this stage, to say that the process has -relatively- evolved towards the inclusion of some rational factors in their mobilities within Turkey. Because while the initial goal was to get pass the borders of Turkey, their mobilities within the country started to become relatively rational after once they settled. It is possible to trace this situation in the statements of some participants:

"We are seven brothers. We started to live together with our families in Kilis. The conditions were difficult there. My brothers started searching for some places that we could go with our own efforts. We decided to come to Torbalı after receiving some information about this place from our acquaintances." (Participant 21)⁴

"... We are here because of the war. It has been eight years... We came here because our relatives were here... We can go nowhere after here, because, we get used to living here." (P1)⁵

"We firstly arrived to Batman, because of the war. We moved to Izmir later on, since Batman was small and was no job opportunities. We are here for three years... We moved here because there are job opportunities, and living here is cheaper... Nice here, there are jobs available. My husband is comfortable with his work." (P3)⁶

"Because of the war, we migrated to Istanbul and lived there for five months. We moved to Izmir ten months ago in order to apply to temporary identity card. We moved here for the identity card application but still living here since it is comfortable and the living is cheaper here and also, we have no other place to go to... Yes, I feel myself comfortable here in Izmir and therefore not thinking for now to move somewhere else." (P6)⁷

⁴ Male, Age 44, Married with four children, Arab origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic and Turkish, From Aleppo (Syria)

⁵ Female, Age 36, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Aleppo (Syria)

⁶ Female, Age 28, Married with three children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Qamishli (Syria)

⁷ Male, Age 41, Married with four children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, and Arabic, From Afrin (Syria)

Statements of the participants show that they got into an extremely rational decisions-makings related to where to settle within Turkey after their first arrival which means that they were the subjects of the process. Especially in the border cities where they first began to live, some of them, who realized that they could not create different opportunities for themselves, tried to create the dynamics of reproducing themselves under the current conditions rather than accepting their fate and took actions by taking a second migration decision (this time) within Turkey. It was come to the light that the survival strategies of Syrians (after they started a new life in Turkey) are combined with rational decision-making mechanisms and operated on a sustainable life expectation (Yiğit, Kart & Demiriz, 2019). Built on an extremely fragile ground, the rationality of the migrants is shaped by the social, cultural and economic dynamics of the local, as well as by ethnic and cultural sense of belongings and different experiences. Syrians seem consistently to produce this rational network in such issues as finding housing and employment and as articulating to the spatial pattern.

“I live in Turkey for six years. Firstly, came to Izmir and stayed here for one year before moving to İstanbul. Lived in Istanbul for four years and moved back to Izmir. We came here with the help of our friends. He phoned me telling that he found a house here for us. They helped us a lot. ... I am happy to settle in here since neighbours are nice people and are supporting us in every way.” (P11)⁸

“I live here in Kadifekale. My husband’s family moved here first and we joined them later. It is nice to live here.” (P15)⁹

“My husbands’ relatives were living here. We lived in Kilis for two years before moving here. My husband’s relatives were already started a new life here and had jobs, so they called us here too. And we decided to come and live close to them.” (P33)¹⁰

“My siblings and my mother were living here. We first move to Kilis from Syria and settled down there. But later on, they (brothers) said that they have found jobs in Torbalı to work in agriculture. They established a regular life here and settled down well. So, we joined them by moving to Torbalı.” (P30)¹¹

“Came directly to Izmir six years ago because of the war back in Syria... Since there were some relatives who already living here, we preferred to come to live with them.” (P7)¹²

Despite all the disadvantages created by an uncertain legal status since their entries into Turkey, it is not simply a coincidence that Syrians, who have produced resistance mechanisms through certain strategies, settled in Kadifekale district of Konak (in Izmir). Kadifekale is a place that has experienced an intensive immigration from Mardin, both Arab and Kurdish ethnicity, during the internal migration process in Turkey. Syrian Kurdish and Syrian Arabs moved and settled in the same district (Yiğit, Kart & Demiriz, 2019). It is observed that the new immigrants of Kadifekale have chosen this place as a destination point where they can reach cheap housing easily, not be alienated ethnically and culturally, and can communicate with others around them by using the same language (Kurdish and/or Arabic). In fact, a part of the Syrians was able to be very planned not only in their immigration mobility within Turkey, but also when they decided to leave Syria in terms of both in determining their migration routes and in crossing the border (Aydoğdu, 2019).

Rational decision-making mechanisms that produce migration mobility between regions and cities can operate on the basis of Syrian immigrants' own social networks, the characteristics of those networks and the opportunities that they provide/would provide for

⁸ Male, Age 35, Married with three children, Kurdish origin, cannot read and write, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish (beginners' level), From Aleppo (Syria)

⁹ Female, Age 21, Married with one child, Arabic origin, Secondary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic only, From Aleppo (Syria)

¹⁰ Female, Age 29, Married with three children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish and Arabic, From Aleppo (Syria)

¹¹ Female, Age 34, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish and Arabic, From Afrin (Syria)

¹² Male, Age 28, Single, Kurdish origin, High school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Al Hasakah (Syria)

them. It is clear that, in addition to the spatial mobility that is shaped by the solidarity networks of relatives, acquaintances and friends, the economic opportunities offered by the city to immigrants also affect this rational process. Another fact that should not be overlooked at this point is the proletarianization of Syrian labour. Leaving behind all their wealth and properties during the war and chaos, the Syrians had to come out of nothing but with their labours and to become a part of the labour market in Turkey. In order to retain this situation, the experiences which are reflected in the statements of the participants, can be traced:

“We came here only wearing clothes on our backs. There was no other way for us but to work. A friend we met at the first camp found out that there is a lot of work opportunities to be done in Izmir. He told us too.” (P17)¹³

“We left all our belongings behind us since our only intention was to survive and escape the war.” (P18)¹⁴

“We left Syria without thinking anything else. I first started working in agricultural works. Later, I have started working in different jobs in the city. But decided to return back to agricultural works because the employers I have worked with in the city were not kind towards us.” (P19)¹⁵

It can be seen and concluded from the statements of the most of the participants that the geographical mobility of Syrians within Turkey is now can be described and conceptualised as a “labour mobility”. Because the Syrians in Turkey who have become dispossessed (Marx, 1978), and socialized their labour in Turkey (within which the economy is articulated to global dynamics) base their spatial mobilizations through their own decisions. On the other hand, they seem to evaluate different possible destination points within Turkey by basing their decisions on the process of the ability to supply their labour. Tekeli (1975) states that, in a social system in the process started with industrial societies, people’s own decisions are one of the main determining factors in their spatial distribution. By referring to Morrison (1970) he adds that the migration determines the spatial distribution of labour force and hence becomes one of the most effective mechanisms in spatial formation’s adaptation to new conditions. Consequently, migrants take into account the destination’s employment conditions, socio-economic potentials, capacity of industrial investment, morphological structure and the cultural dynamics (Yiğit, Kart & Demiriz, 2019). As a matter of fact, Syrians who now became a part of the labour market in Turkey are also mobilized as labour force, and do not act coincidentally but strategically by taking spatial formation into account. This situation reflected on their statements as below:

“We had, at the beginning, settled in Gaziantep. Moved to Izmir since some of our relatives were living here. We are living here for seven years. ... Izmir is a nice city and life is not expensive here. There are also many job opportunities.” (P10)¹⁶

“We migrated to Mersin, at the beginning, but moved to Izmir three years ago. Because there were not many jobs available there for us. There are many employment opportunities here in Izmir compared to Mersin. It is a nice city too.” (P4)¹⁷

“We had some friends who migrated to Bergama. After talking to them I learned that it was much easier to find a job here in Bergama.” (P32)¹⁸

“We live here for two years. While living in a refugee camp, I heard that there were more jobs available in Izmir and decided to move here. We had to find a job and work for living.” (P34)¹⁹

¹³ Male, Age 38, Married with four children, Arabic origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Afrin (Syria)

¹⁴ Male, Age 41, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Afrin (Syria)

¹⁵ Male, Age 48, Married with seven children, Arabic origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Aleppo (Syria)

¹⁶ Male, Age 33, Married with three children, Turkoman origin, Secondary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic and Turkish, From Aleppo (Syria)

¹⁷ Female, Age 33, Married with three children, Arabic origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic only, From Aleppo (Syria)

¹⁸ Male, Age 38, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Qamishli (Syria)

¹⁹ Male, Age 38, Married with four children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Al Hasakah (Syria)

“I moved here one year ago ... I have firstly moved to Hatay from Syria and lived there for four months, later moved to Izmir in order to find a job here. In addition, living here is easier because everything is cheaper. With the help of God, I face no problem living here. Most importantly, we can find jobs here.” (P5)²⁰

“I work at a shoe shop in Işıkent. I have a job that is a good thing but transportation expenses are high for me.” (P28)²¹

“There are many constructions here, so lots of cleaning jobs. Me and some of my acquaintances working as cleaners in these newly constructed houses.” (P36)²²

In the labour market, migrants encounter and engage with different dynamics in the spaces of labour market. It is clear that “city as a space of and ground for encounters” (Gültekin, 2019, p. 170) is a space of “complexity” as it is. Because during this process, urban space is reproduced as a combination of new relationship patterns and socialities within the process of interactions between the actors and everyday life. In this situation, it can be argued that there is a mechanism in the city, as a space of all the actors’ encounters (including the migrants), which has an unpredictable path (Eser & Lecuna, 2017) and can be characterized by nonlinear dynamic dependencies among the all components of the process. Because, non-linear dynamics have the potential, in other words “complexity” (Eser & Lecuna, 2017), to reveal a variety of dynamic behaviours, including unpredictable irregular behaviours at different time periods and depending on the interaction of learning agents.

Spatial Complexity: Access to the Labour Market, Socio-Spatial and Socio-Economic Dynamics

According to Lefebvre (2014), who indicates that every society and every mode of production produces its own space, there is a dynamic aspect of space that makes it possible to analyse physical, intellectual and social fields. Space as an important tool especially in the reproduction of social production relations is interconnected with social activities and interactions. Therefore, while space is used for social interactions, these interactions also produce the space (Lefebvre, 2010). Space, used in everyday life, is a social space and is part of the economic, political and social processes. In this sense, complex spatial systems at the city level are produced by many variables (Eser & Lecuna, 2017) which have a high level of interdependence between various elements, are managed by nonlinear processes, and have a significant spatial structure. As such, a complex system should generally be understood as an evolving process rather than a system in a “steady state”. Such a process involves the interrelationships of many actors with limited knowledge of others’ beliefs, preferences and opportunities. The process as a whole evolves from feedbacks from surroundings (Eser & Lecuna, 2017). For this reason, the socio-economic and socio-spatial organization strategies which are developed by the actors and the relationship networks produced by this organization, are important. Because the space that always points to reproduction and a sociality (Harvey, 2010) is not fixed and stable, but rather dynamic. Within these relationship networks, one interiorizes the other and incorporates in. At this point, the activities of the actors (within the advantages and disadvantages created by the space) also create its own autonomous areas while forcing space to be transformed. It is important to take into account that these autonomous areas are also have the potential to create new producings.

Urban space, where social relations are produced and also a place in which migrants interact and encounter with others, reproduce social, cultural and economic capitals of both migrants and the locals; their different ethnic and cultural sense of attachments; their

²⁰ Male, Age 35, Married with three children, Arabic origin, Cannot read or write, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Aleppo (Syria)

²¹ Male, Age 37, Married with four children, Arabic origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic and Turkish, From Aleppo (Syria)

²² Female, Age 45, Married with six children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Aleppo (Syria)

experiences and power relations within a social order of an interaction environment (Yiğit, Kart & Demiriz, 2019). Especially for migrants, the “association” with the social, economic, cultural and spatial structure at the destination point functions as a rational experience process. Therefore, this “association” processes and networks require strategically bringing new initiatives in order to hold on in this new place. This “association” process also appears in the economic, social, cultural and spatial production of daily life.

The multi-dimensional, “fluid, changeable and fragile” (Gardiner, 2016, p. 20-21) character of everyday life is decisive on Syrian labour force’s “association” processes with the dynamics of the destination point. Syrians’ efforts to exist in the labour market are affected by neo-liberal production mode as much as the facts such as the interaction and social communication patterns at the destination points; economic, social and cultural capitals owned by both migrants and local actors; current socio-cultural and economic structure of the place in which those actors are articulated into. Therefore, based on the argument that “the universal rests within the private one” (Ünsaldı, 2019, p. 32), it is possible to argue that the market-based rationality of capital is one of the directly determining factors in the relational formation; it is even possible to say that it is the main determinant. At this point, migrant labour becomes functional for the employer who wants to maximize profits by attaining cheap labour on a flexible and unsecured basis. Migrants, on the other hand, also strive to take the most rational decisions for themselves. Therefore, they benefit from the knowledge/experiences of other actors and decides accordingly in terms of how to produce strategies within the “field” determined by neo-liberal dynamics.

Neo-liberal dynamics that produce the “habitus” (Bourdieu, 2006a, p. 21) of those who live in Turkey and relatively have the potential to supply work or produce opportunities also play a decisive role in the actions of actors in the “field” (Bourdieu, 2006b, p. 341). As the neo-liberal reason approaches migrant labour on the base of market rationality, it develops its strategy through informal, precarious, unsecure, unregistered and low-wage labour. The experiences of the participants are reflected in their statements when they are asked to describe their employment conditions:

“I do not have insurance at work and paid less than others. But had to accept the job.” (P12)²³

“No insurance...Low wage...” (P16)²⁴

“It is a low-waged work but I accept it since I have to work to breed my children. We are starved if I do not work here.” (P31)²⁵

“You are obliged to accept their conditions... They pay low-wages, but I accepted that. Because I have no other option.” (P27)²⁶

The inclusion of informal, unsecured, precarious and largely unqualified migrant labour in informal sectors in accordance with flexible employment also leads to uncertainty regarding the local labour force with relative employment opportunities. This situation provides employer with the opportunity to choose from a large pool of labour force under conditions that shaped by the market economy. While the conditions produced by the process create disadvantages also for the local labour force, migrants’ “uncertain legal status” multiplies their disadvantageousness. Thus, Syrian workers, who are less resistant to flexible processes and conditions (which are caused by precariousness) enters the labour market by offering their labour cheaper in order to survive -even if they do not want to do it-. In addition, labour market’s

²³ Male, Age 46, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Cannot read or write, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Aleppo (Syria)

²⁴ Male, Age 23, Single, Arabic origin, Secondary school education, not attending any course, Speaks English, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Aleppo (Syria)

²⁵ Male, Age 35, Married with three children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Aleppo (Syria)

²⁶ Age 41, Married with four children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish and Arabic, From Afrin (Syria)

flexible and precarious ground deepens the competition conditions among (both qualified and unqualified) employees. At this point, in terms of accessibility to cheap labour, the migrant labour plays a functional role in generating the profit and productivity conditions of the capital (as employers and companies).

In terms of capital, it is the most rational decision to prefer labour force with the highest skill level and the lowest cost. While the employers, intent to evaluate the current conditions and make the most rational decision for themselves, this rationality leads to the use of migrant labour as a cheap labour. In other words, migration functions as a tool that enables capital to access to cheap labour (Yiğit, Kart & Demiriz, 2019). It is noteworthy that the Syrians who have been employed in the labour market under these conditions, transfer their qualifications (Gültekin, 2019) and professional knowledge to Turkish labour market. In addition, form of the relationship between migrant labour and employer, which is reflected in the type of employment, salary system as well as social relations; which at the same time involves “exclusion” and “otherization”, seems relatively to evolve to another level in favour of migrants over time. In time, the employment relations between the employer, who becomes surer about migrant’s characteristics within the labour market, and the migrant has rebuilt itself. While this dynamic process is clearly visible in the field, it is also reflected in Syrian participants’ statements:

“I found a job in shoe sector; I was working in same sector before leaving Syria too. What they pay me is not different than the salary of other workers. Our salaries were different previously (comparing with eight years ago, when first started the job here). We were accepting lower salaries in order to survive. But now, our working conditions are same with all others.” (P9)²⁷

“I work at same sector (shoe making) since I first arrived at Izmir. I did the same job before coming to Turkey ... There are no different payments between the employees now. Because my employer got to know me and my work better. So now, we don’t even talk about what the payment will be.” (P8)²⁸

“I work in construction sector. This is my job; I have always worked in this sector ... There is difference in our payments with other (Turkish) labourers, they are paid more... But I find work much easier now, since they got to know me better.” (P2)²⁹

“My relatives were working here in agriculture. Therefore, I came here too after finding out that. I had no difficulty and problem working here since I was at the same work back in Syria.” (P24)³⁰

Although the Syrian labourers formed the cheap labour force and this was effective in their articulation to the labour market, the migrants, who supplied their labour on the basis of their departing point’s qualifications, gained relative advantages in the labour market. Participants state that now they are paid similar wages with Turkish workers in the same labour market. However, during the fieldwork, it was observed that the entrance of Syrian labourers in certain sectors brought about the questioning of the wages of Turkish labourers working in the same sector. During our informal talks with Turkish workers, they claimed that although there was no reduction in their wages, this new situation has eliminated their bargaining power with the employer and weakened their fighting power to negotiate a raise. It is clear that the deepening of conditions of a worker’s competition with another worker has a highly functional role in ensuring the conditions of the employer’s profits and productivity.

Focusing on the narratives of Syrians, it is seen that their spatial fluidity and social, economic and spatial positioning strategies are closely related to the resources, facilities and limitations generated by urban space (Izmir) and they develop applicable policies through them.

²⁷ Male, Age 30, Married with two children, Kurdish origin, Highschool education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Al Hasakah (Syria)

²⁸ Male, Age 34, Married with three children, Arabic origin, Secondary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic and Turkish, From Aleppo (Syria)

²⁹ Male, Age 35, Married with five children, Arabic origin, Cannot read or write, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Raqqa (Syria)

³⁰ Male, Age 31, Married with four children, Kurdish origin, Cannot read or write, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Afrin (Syria)

Hence, the “class and cultural backgrounds” (Gültekin, 2019, p. 167) of Syrian labourers (who are trying to be involved in labour market employment), the productive aspect of urban space, socio-spatial and socio-economic structures (Izmir in this case) needs to be considered by intertwining. The fact that the Syrian Kurdish and Arabs migrated to Izmir through collective references to its leading production orientations in certain sectors -such as shoe manufacturing and agricultural production- and also settled in Kadifekale district, where Kurds and Arabs with Turkish nationality are the main components, illustrates this situation. Syrians also have access to cheap housing in this district through references produced by their collective attachments/identities. When analysed through patriarchy, it is also seen that these belongings have an effect on women's experiences here. Women's lives are largely restricted through the perception of ‘privacy’. Collective identities/belongings enable woman to live and even work in a foreign city's more “protected”, “specific” and “known” areas where women can also socialize with other women who speak the same language. These factors reflected on some Syrian women's statements as follows:

“I work from home...Designed one of the rooms for this (hairdressing) ... I have customers from near quarters.” (P14)³¹

“I have baby who needs me. Therefore, cannot go working outside the home. My husband also does not allow me to work outside. Therefore, I work at home doing hairdressing in order to earn money.” (P13)³²

Especially in professions such as hairdressing kind of jobs are important for women who have low spatial mobilizations but also have security and privacy concerns. For Syrian women in agricultural works, both privacy and the anxiety of being a foreigner are reflected in their decisions to work with their spouse or relatives.

“I was doing the same job back in Syria ... I did not get into a paid job when we first came here, since there were some (financial) helps. But helps started to decrease. So, I began to work with my husband in agricultural jobs.” (P20)³³

“I have found out that my female relatives were working at the farms here. I talked to them when I needed a job. I go and work at agriculture with them. We support each other in every way.” (P25)³⁴

In the process of Syrian migration, it is noted that all actors in general, and women in particular, reproduce their own subjectivity and are resilient to swerving in the process. In that sense, they strive to create “relative constancy” for themselves in the area of multiple-dynamics without being stuck in the dichotomy of “impermanence” and “permanence” in the “two-pronged uncertainty” created by both the departure point (Syria) and the destination point (Turkey).

Of course, the Syrians alone are not the only determinants of the process. There are many actors who are directly or indirectly involved in the production of the process, and the process should be analysed through the relationality of these multiple actors. One reality that should not be ignored, however, is that the Syrians are decisive rather than objectified in the process. Obviously, they are not those who “feel themselves derived everywhere ... that is, someone who is already in space but at the same time not in space” (Bauman, 2000, p. 101) on the contrary, they are the subjects/actors of the process and they are right in the middle of the space. It is possible to understand that migrants should not be considered as “derived” or “out

³¹ Female, Age 33, Married with three children, Arabic origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic only, From Aleppo (Syria)

³² Female, Age 36, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Aleppo (Syria)

³³ Female, Age 42, Married with four children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish and Arabic, From Aleppo (Syria)

³⁴ Female, Age 38, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Qamishli (Syria)

of place” as Bauman argues since they are one of the main topics of discussions both in Turkey and in the world. Indeed, we can now see that the Syrian migration is decisive in political preferences in many European countries today.

It is clear that beyond a one-sided analysis subordinating any actor, focusing on mutual forms of interaction with multiple actors will allow an integrated understanding of the migration process and migrant’s spatial mobility. Migrant fluidity is determined by “factors related to the place before migration, factors related to the place to be migrated, barriers related to migration and personal factors” (Lee, 1969, p. 50), together with the relationship networks of migrants and the differing characteristics of cities. As a matter of fact, Syrian migrants’ collective capital functions effectively in the process of their articulations to the labour market. Their cultural background pushes immigrants to move within a defined social network (Kaya, 2017) while the same social networks play a functional role in the process of taking a share of urban economic opportunities (in other words, having a job). This situation has been reflected in the narratives of participants as follows:

“That is what I was doing back in Syria. Some friends asked me to come here. I found this job with their helps.” (P23)³⁵

“We found this job with the help of Syrian acquaintances. ... They said that we could come here to find jobs. When we arrived here, my husband started to go working with them.” (P29)³⁶

“My relatives had come here after crossing the Turkish border. I joined them here. ... I got a job through relatives ... We go to home-cleaning together.” (P26)³⁷

“Our friends who came here before us had started working in the agriculture. I found this job thanks to them. Then my children also started working here.” (P35)³⁸

Syrians as the main actors of the process determine their rational positioning strategies by basing them on their traditional social networks as well as the resources, opportunities and limitations that urban space already provides. In an environment of disadvantageousness and uncertainty, the ‘trust’, which is fuelled by a sense of collective belonging and regulated the relationships, drives migrants to produce vital and applicable policies and to develop some strategies. However, it is not only collective belonging that determines these policies and strategies (that are formed due to this rational positioning) but it is also directly linked to the resources, employment areas and many other local dynamics that space produces.

From Lefebvre’s (2013, p. 78) argument that “people finance their private lives by renting their time and labour”, it is possible to say that Syrians (at this point) are not simply the objects of the process but rather agents and even the planners of the process on a micro-scale. However, different actors who influence this planning process and transform the things during the process are constantly involved in this flow. As a matter of fact, the employment conditions of the destination and even the subjective attitude of the employer in the employment process can be an actor that determines the progress of this process. In this case, the structural features of the destination (relationally) together with other actors constitute another topic of discussion.

Space, Syrian Labour Force in Turkey and Complexity

The working conditions within the informal sector shaped by the market mechanism are relatively similar for all people, regardless of whether they are immigrants or natives. In fact, this situation, shaped by the market economy, literally means the misery of everyday life. However, the mechanism that deeply distinguishes everyday lives of the natives and the

³⁵ Female, Age 23, Married with two children, Arabic origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic, Kurdish and Turkish, From Aleppo (Syria)

³⁶ Female, Age 32, Married with two children, Kurdish origin, Secondary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish, From Aleppo (Syria)

³⁷ Female, Age 53, Married with eight children, Arabic origin, Cannot read or write, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic only, From Aleppo (Syria)

³⁸ Male, Age 44, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Aleppo (Syria)

migrants is the political and economic areas determined by the production relations, which involve the processes of ‘production and reproduction of social relations’ (Lefebvre, 2014). Syrians who are ‘guests’ in political area evaluate the space from a different perspective than those of the native ones, and they consider their everyday lives from the same perspective. To be exemplified in its simplest form, since they have achieved relatively an improvement in their conditions (Vergin, 2000) compared to their departure point, migrants define their recent status with the effect of the uncertainty of being a ‘guest’. However, the market mechanism that shapes everyday life according to its own expectations rearranges the space and creates a social space that suitable for it. And, the employers who are ready to internalize the habitus of this area are always present.

At this point, Syrians and the prior settlements of the place along with space are the producers of the process. Therefore, according to Lefebvre (2014), who does not exclude the productive aspect of everyday social practices in “analysing what is relevant to space”, the discussions of space should also refer to the differentiated appearances of production, and in addition to that, the superstructure institutions such as culture, aesthetics and ideology should not be excluded. City is in fact “a space where everyday life takes place and is the reflection of society on place” (Lefebvre, 2010, p. 74). Syrians’ efforts to associate with and hold on to the social and urban space that is combined with local dynamics are appearing in the interaction processes in migrants’ everyday lives. In economic sense, the production infrastructure of the city regarding the labour market plays an important role in the preferences of the migrants. As a matter of fact, the participants convey their reasons for coming to Izmir in the following statements:

“We went to Şanlıurfa first because of the war. We, later, came to Izmir because I could not find a job there. We have been in Izmir for five years ... There are job opportunities here. It is also cheaper to live here ... Izmir is beautiful and there are lots of jobs. I love this city.” (P8)³⁹

“We came to Turkey after the war has started. We live here in Izmir for four years. We migrated to Hatay first and lived there not long. We came to Izmir in order to find a job. ... We are here because it is an inexpensive city. ... We face no problem, there are many jobs. We live here because we work here.” (P29)⁴⁰

“We had to work. I friend in refugee camp found out that there were many jobs around here. So, he told us too. ... Moved here to work and earn money. ... Having a job is important.” (P35)⁴¹

“We are farmers. Heard that there were agricultural works in Izmir. So, we came here after hearing that. ... We work in tomato farming where we cultivate tomato for the factories.” (P24)⁴²

Although the references that were based on collective belonging are important in their decisions, they do not focus solely on these resources; they try to find a relationship between their own subjectivities and the dynamics of the destination; they also seem to reviewing their conditions and circumstances. It is noteworthy that the Syrians, as the main actors of this process, in a strict sense, have a capacity to reproduce their destination space with their cultural, economic and social capital. It should be noted, however, that -as highlighted in the previous section- the influx of foreigners can destroy things that are valued, and this may mean the destruction of the comfortingly familiar way of life for the locals (Bauman, 2018). As a matter of fact, the inclusion of Syrians in the labour market has weakened the bargaining power of Turkish workers with employers, and there have been losses in their real wages. This indicates,

³⁹ Male, Age 34, Married with three children, Arabic origin, Secondary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic and Turkish, From Aleppo (Syria)

⁴⁰ Female, Age 32, Married with two children, Kurdish origin, Secondary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish, From Aleppo (Syria)

⁴¹ Male, Age 44, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Aleppo (Syria)

⁴² Male, Age 31, Married with four children, Kurdish origin, Cannot read or write, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners’ level), From Afrin (Syria)

in a sense, that the destination space has been economically reproduced, albeit in favour of the employer.

It is clear that the capital's, which is highly fluid in today's global world, effort to create mechanisms that will enable the production of labour force and the organization of space at the lowest cost intersects with the migrants' efforts to activate the dynamics that will provide the conditions for them to get into the urban economy at destination cities. While the conflict, as a consequence of the competing for the jobs in labour market, is generating some tensions between the Turkish labour and the Syrian labour, it also provides a ground for the exclusion (Peace, 2001) and stigma (Goffman, 2014) towards migrants over "being the Syrian" through reference to their political and cultural belongings. But Syrian migrants, with their uncertain legal status, try to minimize risks in an informal labour market determined by insecurity, precariousness and uncertainty. However, still continuing chaos as a result of war in Syria also leads them to try to (relatively) stabilize their conditions within Turkey. This situation also affects their future projections. The narratives of participants on this matter are very clear:

"I love it living here. There is no war. I like it even if I starve. ...I would go back to Syria if the war is over. Everything we have is left behind there, our relatives, our home ..." (P31)⁴³

"We at the beginning came here to escape from war. ... We are here for three years because Izmir is a very nice city. ... I have job here, and I used to live here now. War still continues back there." (P28)⁴⁴

"There seems that the war will continue for a while, therefore I do not think of going back. I want to become a truckdriver when I am given certificate of nationality. I do not have any plan to leave Turkey for now." (P7)⁴⁵

"Unfortunately, the war seems will never come to an end in Syria. Country does not become stabilised anyhow. I would love to go back to Syria, since, at least, I had a house back there. But it is destroyed at war. Hence, I have no other option but to continue living here." (P34)⁴⁶

It seems that the spatial reorganization of the labour force will become inevitable in terms of the dynamics of production and employment, since considering that some of the Syrians who wish to reproduce their own subjectivities at the destination point will live in Turkey for a period of time that is not to be considered as a short period and some of them will live in Turkey permanently. Some of those who wish to reproduce themselves within the space as subjects, will lead to spatially reshaping the urban fringes, to demographic transformation of urban settlements and to changes in the dynamics of central employment areas. As a matter of fact, in today's world, where mass media and information technologies are highly developed, for the Syrians living in Turkey who have the opportunity to follow the developments in Syria from different sources, their relationship/association with urban space and with locals is not simply an experience, but the process is also accompanied by emotions. The narratives of some participants better explain this situation:

"I see myself as a Turkish citizen. I will have my certificate in a short period of time. ... It is nice to live here in this country. ... It is a good place to live. ... At the end, I am married and have my family with me here, I have everything that matters to me are here with me." (P9)⁴⁷

"We are settled here for five years. It is nice here. ... I have a job and earn money. ... I get used to live here." (P32)⁴⁸

⁴³ Male, Age 35, Married with three children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Aleppo (Syria)

⁴⁴ Male, Age 37, Married with four children, Arabic origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Arabic and Turkish, From Aleppo (Syria)

⁴⁵ Male, Age 28, Single, Kurdish origin, High school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Al Hasakah (Syria)

⁴⁶ Male, Age 38, Married with four children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Al Hasakah (Syria)

⁴⁷ Male, Age 30, Married with two children, Kurdish origin, High school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Al Hasakah (Syria)

⁴⁸ Male, Age 38, Married with five children, Kurdish origin, Primary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (beginners' level), From Qamishli (Syria)

“I see myself as a Turkish citizen. Because my life is so comfortable here.” (P10)⁴⁹

The characteristics that make a city attractive for them were described mainly by using the descriptions of “comfort”, “cheapness” and “job opportunities”. While their expressions help us to reach the information about the ways in which they define the space it is also apparent that those are embodied in the opportunities provided by a city. At this point, while the new members of the city are becoming more visible in the space, this has, in a sense, the potential to reveal a “critical area” (Lefebvre, 2017, p. 20) in the space. Because, the Syrians who have settled on the edges of the city or in the slum areas of the town-centre are becoming visible throughout the whole city. The fact that, there is more encountering with more Syrians around the city; that they are settled in certain places/quarters and are effectively employed in some specific jobs may cause the weakening of the physical boundaries in some areas. Expressed through the physical dynamics of the city, this situation is not isolated from the economic and cultural ones.

Conclusion

In order to minimize or eliminate the damages of war over their lives, the Syrians have begun to pass the Turkish border quickly and intensely due to the open-door policy of Turkey since April 2011. This process has brought with it many developments that need to be discussed. At this point, Turkey is home to more than three and a half million Syrians, according to official figures and around five million according to official statements, and is a country that shares its resources with the largest number of Syrian migrants (with differing legal status) in the world. While the Syrians who want to be blockaded within Turkey’s geography through the borders covered by international agreements are a “problem in Turkey”, but are not just a “problem of Turkey”. Because it is a well-known reality that some of the Syrians who migrated to Turkey want to use Turkey as a transit country to migrate to European countries in the first stage and some of those who migrated to European countries plan to move to North America. And there are even factual corresponding to this situation.

It should be noted here that this process, which is dynamic and multi-actored, is also a multi-layered process for Turkey. For the Syrian migrants, however, it inholds highly fluid, deregulated, multi-fragmental and unpredictable characteristics. All components that determine the process have a relational integrity that is nonlinear but highly dynamic. Because, in a multi-actored and multi-layered Syrian migration, the actors that influence the process are themselves also determined by this multiplicity. It is clear that this process, which is nourished by irregularity, uncertainty and fragmentation and is also extremely fluid, has a non-linear relational integrity in space. However, this process, in which the learning and participating subjects are the actors, can form a complex relationality with the inclusion of all other actors: while the productive aspect and the dynamics of space are also involved in the process both the space itself and the dynamics that produce it are transformed. In this way, a complex spatial system emerges with all its actors and all its agents. This system, which is extremely dynamic, has a continuously evolving structure. Again, this complex spatial system, driven by nonlinear processes, operates on an equilibrium that produces itself.

In other words, it is possible to talk about a state of “self-producing critical equilibrium”. However, this” self-producing equilibrium” creates a state of “asymmetric equilibrium”. Because at this point, Syrian migrants, who experience the disadvantageousness created by their uncertain legal status, enter both the space and the labour market by using their collective belonging and transferring their experiences (that they had back in Syria) to their destination cities in order to produce themselves as the subjects on a highly fragile and slippery ground.

⁴⁹ Male, Age 33, Married with three children, Turkoman origin, Secondary school education, not attending any course, Speaks Turkish and Arabic, From Aleppo (Syria)

Syrian migrants, who have already been proletarianized from the beginning of their entrance to Turkey, are becoming particularly low-paid flexible workers of the labour market. Those who, by a very rational decision-making, migrate to the cities where they can find jobs, become a part of the labour market, even if they criticise the situation since it seems a disadvantageous situation for themselves. This situation causes Turkish workers to fall further in their already low real wages, while weakening the already weak bargaining power. As a result, the employees' competition conditions with the others deepens; and the dynamics that increase the profits and efficiency of the capital/employer who considers the labour through market rationality, emerge.

At this point, to think that a critical balance organizes itself by completing each other in an indispensable way, and relatedly to cover up/ignore the conflicts between the different dynamics within the society, may lead to not being able to analyse the fact properly. In addition, it is also important to take into account the fact that analysing the migrant's rationality solely through their subjectivities would equally be deficient. Because rationality here is a symbolic rationality; in other words, it is an "symbolic reference point". On the other hand, doing the opposite of it requires an analysis of the rational reasons (that produce the actors) as independently of the structural dynamics (that produce their "fields" and "habitus"), which in this case it will also lead to a methodological error in the analysis of the fact. In fact, when the "self-organizing equilibrium" is determined within the dynamics of the market mechanism by the fundamental philosophy of the neo-liberal market economy, it emerges as a result of the construction of migrant labour as a "functional other", while the competition conditions are deepened. As such, this constructed labour force competition creates an association of the Syrian workers with the Turkish workers in an extremely fragile ground. As a consequence, it is inevitably reflected directly in their everyday interactions. The process has the potential to produce a profile of Syrians as tagged, otherised/marginalised and even stigmatized. Therefore, the association of the Syrians with the economic, spatial and social structures in addition to the reflex given by the locals to it, is not only a simple experience, but is reproduced and organized on this relational basis. In this process, Syrians make plans to reduce or eliminate uncertainty and risks related to them, while those who are the resident (in other words, those who think they are the real owners of the place) produce a future projection based on "fear" and "anxiety", thinking that the risks and uncertainties are increasing for them. At this point, the confusion created by uncertainties, fears and a sense of confidence for the future brownouts the field. Because, as Bauman points out, "When insecurity becomes permanent and is seen as such, future plans become temporary and changeable" (2011, p. 142). Because, the practices of neo-capitalist society have broken the consensus on "rationality". In this way, the fear inherent in ancient societies has been replaced instead of eradicated. In Lefebvre's words, "in the old days, in a world still dependent on nature, still largely doomed to famine, fear prevailed invisibly: fear of deprivation, fear of disease, fear of hidden powers, fear of women and children, fear of sexuality, fear not only of death but also of the dead" (2010, p. 56). In today's world, these fears have not been eliminated, but have only been replaced. They are covered by generalized rationality. "Old-style fears are replaced by horrors in the face of the threat of atomic war and threats of economic crisis. These include fear of being unemployed or fear for the future. It is no longer the fear of the horrors of nature, but it is now the fear produced by neo-capitalist rationalism. So, the fears produced by some little superstitions in the everyday life of the past have not disappeared but are over-determined" (Lefebvre, 2010, p. 56).

In this new process, which is not independent of neo-capitalist dynamics, space will be shaped by the relationality between the urban economy's size, boundaries, opportunities and its socio-cultural structure; and migrants' actions and activities of reducing uncertainties and risks;

and locals' fears and concerns. The most meaningful thing would be that this relational ground does not function on an asymmetric equilibrium.

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