ETHICO-POLITICAL GOVERNMENTALITY OF IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM:
THE CASE OF ETHIOPIA

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ABSTRACT

ETHICO-POLITICAL GOVERNMENTALITY OF IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM: THE CASE OF ETHIOPIA

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This dissertation deals with the construction of ethico-political paradigm for immigration and asylum policies in Ethiopia. Studies on governmentality have problematized the construction of ethico-political paradigm in modern day policy making as a means to create responsibilizing, collectivizing and socializing power (Rose, 1999). Ethico-political power aims to shift burden of states and other governmental bodies in welfare provision to individuals and communities especially on problematic issues such as immigration, crime, illness, and security control. This study unearths how discourses and practices of ethico-political paradigm are embedded and reproduced in global immigration and asylum policy propositions

regarding Ethiopia. The dissertation draws from governmentality studies literature to understand construction of ethico-political discourse and rationalities in global policy documents on immigration and asylum. Analysis covers 38 documents limited to annual reports of three organizations UNHCR, IOM, and European Commission published between 2000 and 2013 and 11 interviews conducted with international organizations' country offices, local NGOs and undocumented migrants residing in Addis Ababa. Based on content analysis of these documents, this dissertation answers these questions: How is ethico-political paradigm constructed in global policy propositions for Ethiopia? And what are the reflections of ethico-political paradigm in governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia? The findings of the research reveal that ethico-political paradigm reflects on Ethiopia at differing levels such as positioning the country as "safe third country" of the Global North, strengthening of control over immigrants, increasing dependence on individual and community as a part of neo-liberal policy making. In addition, propositions of a western governmentality paradigm in Ethiopian context creates certain "uncalculated effects" on governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia affecting the state, migrant communities, and individuals.

Keywords: Ethico-political Governmentality, Technologies of Self, Immigration and Asylum Policy, Ethiopia, Horn of Africa.

ÖZ

GÖÇ VE SIĞINMANIN ETİKO-POLİTİK YÖNETİMSELLİĞİ: ETİYOPYA ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez çalışması Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikalarına yönelik etiko-politik iktidarın inşasını ele almaktadır. Yönetimsellik çalışmaları, günümüz modern politika yapım süreçlerinde etiko-politik iktidarı sorumluluk yükleyen, kolektif, toplumsallaştıran bir iktidar tipi olarak ele almaktadır. Etiko-politik iktidar, devletin ve diğer yönetimsel organların vatandaşlara refah sağlama sorumluluğunun, özellikle sorunlu addedilen göç, suç, hastalık ve güvenlik gibi alanlarda bireye ve toplumsal gruplara yüklenmesini hedeflemektedir. Bu çalışma etiko-politik iktidarın diskur ve pratiklerinin göç ve sığınma rejiminin Etiyopya'ya yönelik politika önerilerinde yeniden üretiliş biçimlerini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışmada, küresel göç ve sığınma politikalarına dair raporlarda

etiko-politik iktidarın inşasını anlamak için yönetimsellik çalışmaları literatüründen faydalanılmaktadır. Çalışmanın içerik analizi, Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteciler Yüksek Komiserliği, Uluslararası Göç Örgütü ve Avrupa Komisyonu'nun göç ve sığınma konularında 2000 ve 2013 yılları arasında yayınladığı 38 yıllık raporu kapsamaktadır. Bu raporların yanı sıra çalışmada Etiyopya, Addis Ababa şehrinde yaşayan göçmenler, uluslararası organizasyonların ülke ofisleri ve bir yerel organizasyonla gerçekleştirilen toplam 11 mülakat da analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmada kapsanan rapor ve mülakatların içerik analizi yoluyla şu araştırma sorularının cevaplanması amaçlanmıştır: Etiyopya'ya yönelik küresel politika önerilerinde etiko-politik iktidar nasıl inşa edilmiştir? Etiko-politik paradigmanın Etiyopya'da göç ve sığınma politikalarının yönetimselliği üzerindeki yansımaları nelerdir? Çalışmanın bulguları, etiko-politik iktidarın Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikalarını farklı düzeylerde etkilediğini ortaya koymaktadır. Etiyopya'ya, Küresel Kuzey'in Güney'deki "güvenli bölgesi" rolünün biçilmesi, neo-liberal politika önerilerinin bir yansıması olarak göçmenler ve göçmen toplulukları üzerinde artan kontrol ve gözetim, bu yansımaların farklı örnekleridir. Ayrıca, Batılı bir yönetimsellik tezinin politika önerileri, Etiyopya'da göç ve sığınmanın yönetimselliği konusunda devlete, göçmen gruplara ve göçmen bireylerin yaşantılarına etki eden bir kısım "öngörülemeyen sonuçlar" ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Etiko-politik Yönetimsellik, Kendilik Teknolojileri, Göç ve Sığınma Politikaları, Etiyopya, Afrika Boynuzu.

To mom and dad

To our migrant roots

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My Ph.D. adventure was alike most of the others it had seen bad days and good days. I lost my beloved ones and I carried their longings with me throughout the process. During the years life around me has changed, I changed. However, my friends' genuine support around me stayed still and firm. I want to thank my beautiful friends Habibe Özdal, Gülay Mutlu and Melike Eğilmezler-Boylan, who not only lived through all Ph.D. process with me but also been my closest supports during my hard times. I also would like to thank my friends Betül Balkan-Ekşi and Nevin Arvas for their critical readings of my dissertation and discussing my arguments at large. Their contribution and encouragement are precious.

Every scientific query starts with a basic drive 'wonder.' This study started with me and my husband's curiosity for alternative lives in other countries. Ethiopia welcomed us. This study is an appreciation for 3 beautiful years I spent in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. I appreciate Ethiopia's unique coffee and welcoming people (*ameseginalehu*!). I would like to thank my friends from Turkey, the US, the UK, El Salvador, Mauritius, Eritrea, India, Sweden, Denmark, Luxemburg and numerous

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfDB	African Development Bank
AI	Amnesty International
ARRA	Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
EAMR	East African Migration Route
EC	European Commission
EIA	Ethiopian Investment Agency
EMN	European Migration Network
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
CEMSAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
COMESA	Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa
CSI	Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency
GFMD	Global Forum on Migration and Development
HSDP	Health Sector Development Programme
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
ICRMW	United Nations International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFIs	International Financial Institutions

IGAD	International Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRO	International Refugee Organization
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
MIDA	Migration and Development in Africa
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization for African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
RMMS	Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat
RPPs	Regional Protection Programs
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
UN	United Nations Development Program
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHCR ExCom	UNHCR Executive Committee
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNRWA	The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
WHO	World Health Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As one starts to dig issue of immigrants and refugees in the Horn of Africa[1], it is impossible to refrain from political dynamics and realities of the region. In my first weeks in Ethiopia, rather than a sociologist, I had an optimistic vision of a tourist moved into a new geography. I was so sure about what I was going to study, my schedule was set and I was ready to mingle into society with my huge sociological enthusiasm. I enrolled into an Amharic language class and started to make lists of academics, government offices, international organizations and NGOs that I would conduct to further my research. My first telephone calls (around 20 calls) either to university, international organizations or NGOs was totally unresponsive. My first lesson was to learn that you should be present to solve an issue in Ethiopia, making calls was never enough. Then I jumped into a contract taxi bargaining with the driver for some minutes for the price (since they do not have taxi meters) and started to visit people and places in my contact list. The list is long and contacts were locking at some point. I visited government office responsible for immigrants and refugees in Ethiopia, Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) for five times with varying letters of references and explaining my research purpose. ARRA was the major organization and others required its permission to talk to me. ARRA refused to provide permission for my research. That is when I realized I ought to go off-road if I wanted to reach untold stories of migrants in a highly controlled society.

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[1] Horn of Africa is the geographical region that covers the following countries: Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibuti, and Somali.

When I told people about my research topic, most friends raise an eyebrow saying: "Studying immigrants and refugees in Ethiopia? Very dangerous…" Of course, that did not deter me. When I started to get in touch with organizations in Addis Ababa, I first realized that authorities approach me with suspicion as if I am intending to reveal and judge their unearthed policies rather than providing some background information for my dissertation. After a while, you get used to this attitude whether it is directed to you from international NGO, local government or from UNHCR and try to continue to search what you can reach.

I continued to search for contacts to reach life stories of migrants that I was surely interested to hear. Since it was so hidden and untold from governmental aspects, probably they had something to share. I was referred to Somali migrant community in Addis Ababa via a Somali friend that I knew from Turkey. He was so kind to link me to head of Ethiopian Somali Community in Addis Ababa. I started to visit Somali neighborhood in weekly basis volunteering to teach children and adults basic English.

This was an informal community school formed by educated migrants themselves to help others. Although their teachers welcomed my volunteering activities at school, they also warned me about how to pursue my research in a community, which is under strict surveillance of the host government. One of my friends at the school confirmed me later; their schools and volunteers who are in contact to them are also under strict control of the government. I did not pay quite attention to what he meant until he told me that even the guy who was present at my first introduction to teachers of the school for the first time, was a Somali agent who is working in the name of Ethiopian government.

Considering these dynamics, in one hand, studying immigration and asylum, as one of the fragile and political topics in today's world was not the easiest thing. But after I spent 3 years Ethiopia, I realized that I exchanged some of my touristic optimism with

more of a sociological realism in time. Talking to some organizations and spending time with immigrants themselves brought me a more concrete picture of realities of their lives leaving my liberal idealism behind.

Most migrants approached me as a "Turkish / Muslim sister" and tried to help me in my research. Some others asked me questions about why I was not wearing hijab as all Somali women (even little girls) in the neighborhood do. For women, being an educated woman was a virtue and they confirmed that they admired that in their talks; however, I think they still considered me more of a Westerner than a fellow Muslim woman from Turkey.

They studied different topics at the school but the major concern of study was learning English to pass language exams to apply for asylum to third countries. I met people who failed this exam many times but still continued to try their chances since they had no other choice. I met clever boys and girls who did not have a chance to enroll official schools in the country. Most of the time, in speaking classes, I asked them about their future projections. One little boy around 10 years old told us in the class that he wanted to be a gynecologist. This made elder ones giggle. I asked him "Do you know what a gynecologist is?" He made a serious expression: "Yes, I want to be a woman's doctor." First, I did not understand fully why this little boy wanted to be a gynecologist; however, when I talked to other young women in the class later I realized most of them wanted to be gynecologist because they witnessed many women suffer since they had no one to consult when they have gynecological problems. Our conversations and their experiences of community, livelihood in Ethiopia and gender issues are shared in the following parts of this dissertation.

Figure 1. Political Map of Ethiopia

Source: Nations Online Project

1.1 The main thesis

African[2] countries hold a significant position in immigration and asylum issues in the world hosting more than 17,228,396 millions of documented immigrants and refugees (UNDP, 2013). However, they are relatively underrepresented when current literature on immigration and asylum issues is considered. Ferguson (2006) examines problematization of Africa in world politics and claims that although the huge continent is composed of numerous cultures, states, languages which create an extensive heterogeneity, West approaches to Africa in a totalistic manner. This approach characterizes Africa (especially sub-Saharan, black Africa) "by reference to a series of lacks, failures, problems, and crises" (Ferguson, 2006, p.270). Ferguson (2006) contends that definitive characteristic of Africa with "failure" by laying behind what they "supposed to do" indeed refers that African countries' failure to adopt worldwide capitalist restructuring (p.280).

Similarly Mamdani (1996) rightfully points out that the common approach to Africa fall in the binary contradiction of weather "eroticizing" Africa, separating its realities from global dynamics, or "banalizing" it without appreciating distinctive genuine characteristics of structural dynamics of the continent. African poverty, social issues and reasons for immigration are described as in a banal way. Their problems are defamiliarized and separated from their structural dynamics and common socio-economic problems in different parts of the world. African migrants' poverty becomes a poverty just belonging to them while their illegality is a particular characteristic they inherit from their geography. African migrant as "the agency" dissolve from the scene, we only see him/her as victim or perpetrator of certain problems. This inhuman approach results in differing policy propositions for the problems of this part of the world.

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[2] Unless otherwise stated Africa refers to Sub-Saharan Africa throughout the dissertation.

Ethiopia is not immune from this general perspective towards Africa. In the literature, Ethiopia mostly takes place within the larger map of Africa or in the Horn of Africa. Especially international reports approach the country via its links, ties and shared problems with the rest of the continent, rather than singling out the historical structural or sociological dynamics of the country. In this regard, definitive characteristics of the country in documents are poverty, inequality, degraded status of women, millions of forced migrants and undemocratic government. Surely Ethiopia shares certain similar problems with other African states, however, picturing Ethiopia merely via documented statistics and top-down policy programs would be totally misleading in understanding immigration and asylum issues in the country.

Ethiopia became the biggest host country in Africa as of 2015 hosting 720,000 as a result of ongoing conflicts in South Sudan and Somali. Apart from migrants who are provided official refugee statuses thousands reside in the country in prolonged situations as documented and undocumented migrants. Ethiopia also hosts 645,356 documented migrants from Somali, South Sudan and Eritrea (IOM, 2014b).[3] Although being in the position of the largest host in Africa, the country is underrepresented in immigration and asylum studies literature sharing a similar faith with the rest of the continent.

This study focuses on relatively another underrepresented aspect of immigration and asylum literature merging it with governmentality studies. This dissertation deals with the construction of ethico-political paradigm for immigration and asylum policies in Ethiopia. Studies on governmentality have problematized the construction of ethico-political paradigm in modern day policy making as a means to create responsibilizing, collectivizing and socializing power (Rose, 1999). Ethico-political power aims to shift

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[3] Numbers of undocumented migrants are not included. However, according to Somali Community and Jesuit Refugee Service estimates there were 160,000 undocumented Somalis residing in Addis Ababa and its surroundings in 2013(Source: Interview with head of Somali Community and Expert at Jesuit Refugee Service).

the burden of states in welfare provision to individuals and communities especially on problematic issues such as immigration, crime, illness, and security control.

Considering the relationship between mode of production and mode of power, neo-liberal governmentality entails ethico-political power as a part of its larger political economic and policy making strategy. While early liberal states are characterized by disciplinary or bio-political power, neo-liberal states requires the introduction of additional ethico-political tools into social policy making processes. This individualizing and socializing power determines the patterns of social policy making (Rose, 1999). Upon presumed transition from disciplinary society to control societies, it is assumed that ethico-political power is the modern power which shapes extent and effect of governmentality via technologies of power and technologies of self (Rose, 1999).

Governmentality theory proposes that ethico-political power has been effective in global policy making processes and social security systems especially after the 1980s as a part of the neo-liberal restructuring process. Governmentality studies literature highlights that changes in power economies in the West results in changes in policy-making discourse, strategy, processes, and practices. Apart from being a composite political rationality that arose out of multiple global transformations such as globalization, capitalism and changes in industrialism, ethico-political governmentality intrinsically carries technological dimensions in monitoring and controlling migration. Actual mechanism and technical aspects provide a technological aspect for governmentality of migration such as border structure, security forces' approach, pamphlets, statistics and policy reports as well as institutional capacities. These different aspects help to provide a concrete base for abstract political mentalities, which makes "problematic" aspects of migration "visible" (Inda, 2006, p.8).

Contemporary liberal democratic societies employ immigration and asylum policies mostly arbitrary and selective manner. Contrasting with the idea of liberal democracy and social justice, these policies are morally hard to defend (Straehle, 2007). As Straehle (2007) argues modern global immigration and asylum policies differentiate between "desirable" and "undesirable migrants" in a contradicting manner to "individual autonomy and equality of opportunity" (Straehle, 2007). Moreover, global immigration and asylum policies facilitate a huge network of policymaking and governmentality from global organizations to local governments that make application of policy easier. However, when we direct a macro gaze to policies, this arbitrary enactment of the immigration and asylum policies differ regionally and even country-to-country. There occur huge policy differences between the Western democracies and other parts of the world that have been ignored for years for the sake of certain global political, economic and social concerns. In this regard, immigration and asylum policies fall into contradiction with the very liberal principles of governmentality.

This study aims to unearth how discourses and practices of the ethico-political paradigm are embedded and reproduced in global immigration and asylum policy propositions regarding Ethiopia. This study draws from governmentality studies literature (detailed in Chapter 3) to understand the construction of ethico-political discourse and rationalities in international documents issuing Ethiopia.

1.2   Research Questions and Main Arguments

The analysis covers 38 documents limited to annual reports of three organizations namely UNHCR, IOM and European Commission and other related documents published by these organizations issuing specific topics. The documents published between 2000 and 2013 and 11 interviews conducted with international organizations' local offices, one local NGO, and undocumented migrants residing in Addis Ababa (detailed in Chapter 2).

The main research questions and arguments are developed as follows:

Governmentality theory proposes that ethico-political power has been effective in global policy making processes and social security systems in accordance with the rise of neo-liberalism. For instance, while we can observe tightened border policies and higher restrictions in asylum regimes in Europe, many African countries are encouraged for 'open border policies' and higher involvement of 'community action' regarding immigrant populations by the international organizations.

Research Question 1: How is ethico-political paradigm constructed in global policy propositions for Ethiopia?

Argument 1: Ethico-political power is constructed in global policy propositions for Ethiopian immigration and asylum issues via visible, technical, rational, and identity formative aspects.

Research Question 2: What are the reflections of ethico-political paradigm in governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia?

Argument 2: Ethico-political paradigm reflects on Ethiopia at differing levels such as positioning the country as "safe third country" of the global north, strengthening of control over immigrants, increasing dependence on individual and community as a part of neo-liberal policy making. These reflections create certain "uncalculated effects" on governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia affecting the state, migrant communities, and individuals.

To be able to merge theoretical concerns with these research questions, this study follows Mitchell Dean's analytics of governmentality method. This method creates certain steps to examine multi-sided and vague aspects of governmentality of immigration and asylum on a solid base. The major research questions are spread into sub-questions to facilitate content analysis and to reach meaningful results to meet the study's theoretical aspects (detailed in Chapter 2).

1.3 Promise of the Study

I aim to contribute to governmentality studies presenting alternative governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia that is both proposed by global propositions and affected by Ethiopia's structural dynamics. First, this study questions different steps of construction of ethico-political paradigm for Ethiopia via pre-defined characteristics of ethico-political power: popularizing and socializing, responsibilizing, exclusionary and dividing etc. (detailed in Chapter 2). Following analytics of governmentality method, the study provides an extensive examination of ethico-political power at work in global policy propositions for Ethiopia.

Second, the study is the first empirically based research on the construction of ethico-political paradigm for immigration and asylum policies in Ethiopia. The study also discloses the outcomes of ethico-political paradigm for immigration and asylum policies of Ethiopian state as well as lives of immigrants. First, totalizing perspective prevalent in the literature towards Africa and Ethiopia will be examined in documents. The study fills the gap in the literature on Ethiopia for the relevance of this common argument.

Last, the study will focus on problematizations of the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia, and migration patterns in the region and immigrants in documents. Issuing the region, the state and immigrants, as agents will enlighten the problematic aspects of ethico-political propositions for Ethiopia. Figuring out the effects of ethnocentric and divisive characteristics of ethico-political power in Ethiopian immigration and asylum regime will contribute to governmentality studies literature. Findings providing multiple aspects and effects of a certain mode of power upon certain migrant populations and the state are noteworthy.

1.4   Plan of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 provides methodological framework of this study. The methodology used in this dissertation carries characteristics of both interpretive and genealogical approaches. Epistemological concerns are combined with the analytics of governmentality as a method helpful in analysis of power in governmentality studies. The first part of the Chapter gives details on preferred methodological approaches, definitive characteristics of ethico-political power, operationalization of analytics of government method in the study of immigration and asylum. Different steps of Mitchell Dean's analytics of government method are defined and combined with the theoretical concepts of the study. Sub-research questions are derived as a composition of ethico-political power, major research questions and steps of analytics of government. Chapter 2 also justified the case selection and provided a research design detailing timing of the research, data collection, and content analysis. The Chapter ends with a brief on setting and limitations of the study.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical framework of this study. The Chapter provides a detailed literature review on theoretical concepts and common themes in governmentality studies. This part draws from theoretical discussions of Michel Foucault, Mitchell Dean, Gilles Deleuze, Nicolas Rose, and Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri on governmentality, ethico-political power, security and control societies. Chapter 3 introduces governmentality and differing modes of power in historical genealogical context with a reference to differing modes of production. Power economies and type of social power are pictured in their historical context bringing this discussion until neo-liberal welfare regimes and ethico-political power. The chapter ends with a discussion on the relevance of ethico-political power for a study of immigration and asylum.

Chapter 4 is titled "Globalization, Nation-state, and Anti-Citizenship Technologies." This chapter provides a background on the rise of globalization, restructuring of capitalism and effects of these changes on immigration and asylum in the world and in Africa. The Chapter is composed of two parts. The first part of the Chapter discusses how macro dynamics such as the restructuring of neo-liberalism, decolonization, and transformation of nation-states affected the worldwide circulation of immigrants in the world. The nation state's transforming role facilitates global economy's activities in the local as well as international migration of people across territories. This part also details that African migration patterns are closely affected by global transformation of capital and integration efforts into the global economy that created certain complications for African state-society relations, democratization and industrialization efforts.

The second part of chapter 4 discusses linkages between advanced liberalism and the rise of securitization of immigration and asylum with a reference to Xavier Inda's concept of "anti-citizenship technologies." This part presents a discussion on the rise of responsibilization in neo-liberal policymaking as a background discussion for the ethico-political paradigm. The second part claims that the rise of responsibilization and social control over immigrants is closely related to the transformation of liberal welfare regimes.

Chapter 5 is titled "Ethico-political Governmentality of Global Immigration and Asylum." This chapter provides a general background and a solid base for this study's specific case study on ethico-politics of immigration and asylum policies in Ethiopia.

Chapter 5 also aims to reveal macro level analysis of data regarding governmentality of immigration and asylum.

This chapter starts with a brief history of the development of immigration and asylum policies in the world. Following historical background, this chapter includes a

definition of related concepts such as refugee, migrants, and asylum seeker and provides a contextual discussion on the development of these concepts. This discussion also situates diverse categorization of immigrants into human rights and humanitarian rights debate. This chapter argues that legal and social categorizations of immigrants are not only legal but also ideological, and context dependent.

This part also issues exclusionary, categorizing, and ethnocentric aspects of post-social / ethico-political governmentality. Differing problematizations of immigration, asylum and different actors in policy-making gives details on discriminatory characteristics of ethico-politics. Chapter 5 also issues securitization of migration as a technology of government. The promotion of the society and self in liberal responsibilization paradigm in modern immigration and asylum policies is analyzed via analytics of government method in the Chapter.

Chapter 6 is titled "Ethico-political Governmentality of Immigration and Asylum in Ethiopia." This chapter aims to unearth how ethico-political power is constructed in global policy propositions for Ethiopia. Chapter 6 also discusses reflections of ethico-political paradigm in governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia. The Chapter reveals findings of the content analysis of documents and interviews.

This chapter is composed of two main parts. The first part gives a background on Ethiopia's significant position in the Horn of Africa, briefing Ethiopia's socio-economic history, current profile and country's ties with global neo-liberal economy. The first part also details Ethiopia's current immigration and refugee legislation as well as differing roles of international organizations in the country. The second part of the Chapter issues construction of ethico-political paradigm in global policy propositions for Ethiopia. Problematizations of Africa, Ethiopia, and immigrants, and Ethiopian immigration and asylum control as a composite regime are issued applying analytics of governmentality method. The Chapter ends with a discussion of findings

such as reflections of the exclusionary character of ethico-political propositions on Ethiopian states' governance of immigration and vague statuses of migrants.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter aims to provide a methodological map of the study. The methodology of this research provides a combined application of the epistemological concerns and notes on methods of operationalization of the major arguments of the study. In this regard, first, study's methodological approaches will be presented. Second, 'analytics of government' as the specific methodology in studying governmentality will be discussed pointing out how stages of this method corresponds digging research questions and arguments. Research design will detail justification for the case selection, data design and technical aspects of content analysis and limitations of the study.

2.1 Methodological Approach

Developing abstract conclusions upon general policy making processes would be hypothetical to some extent, it is still significant and self-evident to understand the "complex interconnection with multiplicity of historical processes" as a methodological preference (Foucault, 1999, p.75). Departing from this paradigm, this study is built upon *interpretivist* and *genealogical approaches* to social sciences. Interpretive sociology aims to uncover meanings and present a descriptive analysis of the perceptions of actors (Neuman, 2000). Interpretive sociology deals more with analytical descriptions more than critique of the certain processes. That is why collaboration of interpretive approach with genealogy and analytics of governmentality would be helpful to analyze "how" certain regimes of government

operationalize their diverse type of power, which is transforming, subjectifying or internalizing.

This study benefits from genealogical approach especially in questioning institutionalization of power and in its analytical framework. Foucault follows genealogical methodology in analyzing power. The target of this methodology is not merely to reach a 'value neural' stance. However, aim is to refrain from general normative stances that promote hierarchical and irreversible "states of domination" (Dean, 1999, pp.35-36). Within the line of this theory he places more emphasis on material conditions of discourse to analyze the dispersion of power and construction of it via diverse strategies. He defines these conditions as institutions, political events, economic processes, tactics, discourse and so on. Genealogy employs historical analysis and discourse analysis as research techniques focusing on the impact of power on discourse formation. Furthermore, this methodology also puts more emphasis on figuring out the processes of operationalization of power, more than questioning the reasons. As Foucault states, "genealogy, is the tactics through which subjected knowledges are taken in to play" (Rose, 1999; Best & Kellner, 1991). Thus, genealogy seeks to foreground, the material context of subject construction, to draw out the political consequences of this process.

Genealogy and Objectifying Practices

For Foucault, history of power presents a history of 'objectifying practices' over individuals. Explaining his objective as "to create a history of different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" Foucault defines three modes of objectification (Foucault, 1984, p.7). In this schema, first mode is "dividing subjectivities", whereas second mode is "scientific classification" and the third mode is defines as "subjectification" (Foucault, 1984, pp. 7-11).

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All three modes of objectification of individuals can be observed in social history of societies. Moreover, these three modes, which divide, measure and subjectify can also be observed in constitution of rules, norms or policies.

First, via dividing practices, normal, expected, efficient members and 'others' are defined. In tandem with this preliminary discursive limitation, second, expertise and scientific generalizations are introduced into classification. This process in which knowledge is taken into play produces statistics and expertise to create a control mechanism for population. While defining extent and capacity, expertise can produce generalizable outcomes for population. Third, subjectification creates self-formation and responsible individuals who can control themselves. Creation of individuals as self-manageable subjects helps systems of government diffuse their power to micro-locales. While individuals control themselves in sake of following idealized path defined by dividing practices and expertise, their contribution to wellbeing of system is encouraged continuously.

Nicolas Rose and Mitchell Dean proposed concept of ethico-political power as a follow up Foucault's differing modes of power that are prevalent in different societal types. Ethico-political power is popularizing and responsibilizing power that has been effective in different levels of policy making in neo-liberal states. Ethico-political power situates society, community and self-responsibility into center of policy making to moderate populations.

Considering these methodological base, this study issues construction of ethico-political paradigm in global policy propositions for Ethiopia following analytics of governmentality method. Problematizations of Africa, Ethiopia, and immigrants, and Ethiopian immigration and asylum control as an assembled regime will be evaluated throughout the following chapters.

This research intends to discuss these research questions: How is ethico-political paradigm constructed in global policy propositions for Ethiopia? What are the reflections of ethico-political paradigm in governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia?

Table 1. Major Characteristics of Ethico-political Power

Ethico-political Power
Popularizing and socializing power
Emphasis on responsibility and Self-government
Ethico-political continuous control of the self (Remoralizing individuals for continuous self-control)
Multiplicity of government
Entrepreneurialism (Individuals are continuous producers-Investment in human capital to return on investment (monetary, psychic)
Individuals and organizations as competitors
Calculated management of life
Individual risk taking
Post-social (or advanced liberal) rationalities and technologies of government
Technologies of exclusion via dividing practices
Selective focus on individual and community

Source: This table is prepared out of Nicholas Rose, Mitchell Dean, and Jonath Xavier Inda's discussions on the issue. Some categories are defined in Inda's (2006) study. Chapter 3 includes a detailed discussion on genealogy of power and ethico-political power.

Dean (1999) contributes to Foucault's discussions, providing a research method for the operationalization of the governmentality and application of genealogy. He provides a detailed description of a research technique specific to governmentality studies titled "analytics of government." Analytics of government, which is widely used in governmentality studies literature, will be the major research technique in this study.

2.1.1 *Analytics of Government in Study of Immigration and Asylum Policy*

In the light of previously discussed theoretical "technologies of self" paradigm, this research initiates to apply a technique specific to governmentality studies titled "analytics of government." Analytics of government deals with "the conditions under which regimes of practices come into being, are maintained and transformed" (Dean, 1999, p.21).[4] Dean (1999) describes the characteristics of regimes of practices before introducing "analytics of government":

> In contemporary liberal-democratic societies, there are regimes of practices of punishing, of curing, of relieving poverty, of treating mental illness, and maintaining mental health and so on. These regimes involve and link up particular institutions so that we can talk of a 'criminal justice system'. A 'health system', a 'social welfare system' and so on (Dean, 1999, p.21).

Dean (1999) argues that systematic and stable correlation of visibilities, mentalities, technologies and agencies presents "regime of practice." In this regard, analytics governmentality of these regimes of practices aims to define:

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[4]Analytics of a particular regime of practices, at a minimum, seeks to identify the emergence of that regime, examine the multiple sources of the elements that constitute it, and follow the diverse processes and relations by which these elements are assembled into relatively stable forms of organization and institutional practice. It examines how such a regime gives rise to and depends upon particular forms of knowledge and how, as a consequence of this, it becomes the target of various programs of reform and change (Dean, 1999, p.21).

Emergence of that regime, examine the multiple sources of the elements that constitute it, and follow the diverse processes and relations by which these elements are assembled into relatively stable forms of organization and institutional practice (Dean, 1999, p.21).

Focusing on the leading research patterns in governmentality studies, Dean details diverse preliminary steps of analytics of government. These stages are as follows: *The identification of problematizations, the priority given to how questions, practices of government as assemblages or regimes, the extraction of the utopian element of government, the circumspection about the role of values, the avoidance of global or radical positions*. Analyzing the practices of government as assemblages or regimes includes the following steps: *the examination of fields of visibility of government, the concern for the technical aspect of government, the approach to government as rational and thoughtful activity, attention to the formation of identities.*

Table 2. Different Steps of Dean's Analytics of Government Method

The identification of problematizations

The priority given to 'how' questions

Practices of government as assemblages or regimes

• *The examination of fields of visibility of government* • *The concern for the technical aspect of government* • *The approach to government as rational and thoughtful activity* • *Attention to the formation of identities*

The extraction of the utopian element of government

The circumspection about the role of values

The avoidance of global or radical positions

Analytics of government method is proposed by Dean to reconsider relatively complex issues regarding examination of governmentality of a certain conduct. Issues of norms and values, rationality, technical aspects and formation of identities are put into different levels of analysis to provide a more detailed study of how regimes function, reason or rule? Among these different steps of analyzing any governmental conduct, this study tries to reveal normative and ethico-political positions, technologies and identities proposed by today's immigration and asylum regime.

2.1.1.1 The identification of problematizations

Identification of problematizations made by particular regimes lies at the core of technique of analytics of government. A certain group's conduct is problematized via particular technique, analysis and expertise. Moreover, this problematization is not merely ideological but governmental as a part of strategic choice and expertise (Dean, 1999, p.28). In this regard, researcher questions taken-for-granted categories which are defined and operationalized as the major point of departure in many policy making processes.

Problematizations are based on particular regimes of practices of government "with particular techniques, language, grids of analysis and evaluation, forms of knowledge and exercise" (Dean, 1999, p.28). Different techniques, and practices of government can be activated to evaluate conduct of certain populations whose actions are problematized.

This study discusses how modern immigration and asylum policies problematize Africa, Ethiopia, different migration types and immigrants themselves? This study contends that immigration is presented in global documents as a social problem of individual instead of a social issue related to diverse social and economic dynamics in the world. The study also claims that modern liberal governmentality of immigration and asylum problematizes immigration and immigrants separating them from social processes, global economic policies, and regional dynamics. In this regard, study focuses on

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problematizations of different types of immigrants, different geographies and representation of migration patterns in Ethiopia and Africa.

2.1.1.2 Priority given to how questions

Second, in addition to questioning of problematizations, *how questions* are prominent in analyzing the processes in which diverse regimes of practices develop and function. The analytics of government focuses on the processes, tactics, institutions, actors and policy discourse as assemblages of governmentality. Hence, as a methodological standpoint, it aims to unearth the latent patterns, networks, and interconnections between these assemblages as constituents of governmentality. While doing so, analytics of government spotlights the processes how these assemblages are formed and how they function. For instance, Greenhalgh (2008) studied "how regimes reason" via exploring China's one child policy. In this regard, her study provides a reverse genealogical reading of the effects of the one child policy in China's future via examining "how and via which assemblages this specific policy evolved?"

2.1.1.3 Practices of government as assemblages or regimes

The *practices of government as assemblages or regimes* refer to certain assemblages according to whom societies conduct education, punishment, development goals etc. (Dean, 1999). An analytics of government aims to reveal common characteristics of assemblages of the practices of government to understand if these characteristics compose a single regime of truth. In this regard, analytics of government helps us to unearth the logic of certain governmental practices.

Following analytics of government, this study approaches government of immigration and asylum policy as an assemblage or regime. This approach found its resonance in many studies that refer to governance of immigration and asylum as "immigration regime" or "refugee regime". The study will refer this regime as a composite set of

policies, practices and principles according to which immigration and asylum is conducted globally.

Dean points out following steps to examine practices of government as regimes or assemblages: *the examination of fields of visibility of government, the concern for the technical aspect of government, the approach to government as rational and thoughtful activity, attention to the formation of identities.* Immigration and asylum policies and related organs reveal a certain assemblage that carries visible, technical, rational and identity formative aspects. Departing from these discussions, the study focuses on global propositions presented in documents regarding immigration and asylum regime in Ethiopia. The study questions how these propositions assign certain responsibilities to political apparatus, communities, economic actors and individuals? Moreover, the study also tries to unearth the kinds of assemblages that are formed as a result of the unified reason and aims that are idealized in policy propositions.

2.1.1.3.1 The fields of visibility of government

The analytics of government also aims to examine *the fields of visibility of government*. Governmentality has a spatial and visible dimension. This spatial and visible means provide governmentality power to reason, legitimize and conceal. For instance, certain societal patterns on population, health, and economic growth can be followed from diagrams and statistics that are the outcomes of major governmental expertise. At the same time, these visible aspects of governmentality can conceal some patterns in the society as the result of same visibility. Dean (1999) gives the example of differentiation of diverse urban spaces as the spaces of visibility or the high-risk spaces that are inspectable and risky (p.31).

The visible aspects of governmentality of the immigration and asylum policies in the forms of statistics, reports and data that provide governance of immigration certain expertise and legitimization in its actions. This specific step will facilitate examining visible and spectacular aspects of governmentality, whereas opening a space for

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questioning invisible or concealed aspects of control and governance. For instance, while immigration and asylum data in different countries mostly focus on documented immigrants or refugees, people who are out of documentation are not counted in systems of control. Via visible aspects of government of immigration and asylum policy, certain organizations, agents and policy makers can base their actions and reasoning to significant knowledge and research. This study examines, how governance of immigration and asylum propound certain issues and data while conceiving others to reach certain policy targets. In this regard, study discusses application and evaluation of statistics and graphs in documents. In addition, the study intends to understand the spatial /visible /concealed aspects of governance of immigrants and individuals in Ethiopia.

2.1.1.3.2 Concern for technical aspect of government

Analytics of government method carries a *concern for technical aspect of government*. If we consider government as a regime that tries to reach certain ends, proposing certain values and technical means should be an important part of this regime. Questioning technical aspect of government also opens a path to extent analysis of governmentality beyond discourse or rhetoric of authority and rule. Moreover, this analysis points out the means of which government benefits in realizing authority.

In this sense, governmentality employs certain technical means to reach certain ends that are generally known as technologies of government. For instance, to control the punishment system, criminal system utilizes laws, surveillance systems, time schedules, economic plans, services and even certain morals on the limits of punishment. Even the discourse of legitimization can be counted among the technical aspects of governmentality whose effects surely extent beyond discursive domain.

This study aims to highlight *technical aspects of governmentality of immigrants*. While focusing on immigration and asylum policies to understand governance of the policies, it is significant to analyze technical means of government. In this sense, this study

applies questions such as "by what means, mechanisms, procedures, instruments, tactics, techniques, technologies and vocabularies" (Dean, 1999) the authority is obtained over governed populations or among organizations. In analyzing immigration and asylum regime, examination of technical elements are expected to support discursive findings of the study. Usage of liberal technologies of governance, application of means to control migrants and divisive characteristics of control are issues as a part of technologies of governmentality of migration in the study.

2.1.1.3.3 Government as a rational and thoughtful activity

Analytics of government method approaches *government as a rational and thoughtful activity*. In the literature different studies ask the following questions to reveal features of government's activity: "what forms of thought, knowledge, expertise, strategies, means of calculation, or rationality are employed in practices of governing?" (Dean, 1999, p.31).

Dean (1999) details these questions as follows:

> How does thought seek to transform these practices? How do these practices of governing give rise to specific forms of truth? How does thought seek to render particular issues, domains and problems governable? … One of the features of government, even at its most brutal, is that authorities and agencies must ask questions of themselves, must employ plans, forms of knowledge and know-how, and must adopt visions and objectives of what they seek to achieve. (pp.31-32).

Dean (1999) also argues that thought is limited to time and space which can be analyzed via a graph, a set of regulations, a text. In this regard, analytics of government tries to find out this latent relationship between thought and governmentality. Following this line of thought, authorities and agencies' plans, strategy papers, know-how transfers, vision and objectives statements become valuable in revealing government's inherent character as a thoughtful activity.

In such a study focusing on governmentality of immigration and asylum policies, it is important to monitor authorities and agencies' plans, know-how transfer methods, visions and objectives. This set of means strengthen policy analysis aspect of this study and helps us to understand how certain governmental assemblages decide particular issues and problems governable and other not. Since adaptation of plans, visions, and programs is one of the implications of government's logic as a rational and thoughtful activity, study's analysis on organizational plans and programs will be one of its major contributions. In this regard, traces of liberal / post-social rationalities will be sought in policy propositions throughout the study.

2.1.1.3.4 Formation of identities

Analytics of government gives a significant place to *formation of identities* as an intrinsic part of governmentality. This method requires the following question: "what forms of person, self and identity are tried to be formed by different practices of government?" or "what sorts of transformation do these practices foresee for individuals and environment?" Out of identity formation process, governmentality forms certain subjectivities:

Regimes of government do not determine forms of subjectivity. They elicit, promote, facilitate, foster and attribute various capacities, qualities, and statuses to particular agents. They are successful to the extent that these agents come to experience themselves through such capacities (e.g. of rational decision-making), qualities (e.g. having sexuality) and statuses (e.g. as being an active citizen) (Dean, 1999, p.32).

As Dean (1999) discusses, regimes of government do not put forward mandatory options that subjectify individuals. However, it prescribes rational and practical ways of living that is hard to resist. Moreover, requirements of a certain regime of governmentality turn into people's rational choice and moral responsibilities instead of governmental body's practice and strategy over a certain group of individuals. In this regard analytics of government can ask questions as follows to reveal how does

government form specific identities: "How is someone who depends on social security relief from a public authority made to identify as an active job seeker? How are we all to become good citizens?"

This study will pay particular attention to formation of identities by immigration and asylum policies as a governmental regime. As detailed in previous parts of the study, governmental regimes do not enforce individuals to live a certain way of life. However, these regimes foster certain characteristics, capacities and statuses that are necessary to accomplish certain ends. For instance, modern day life couching programs propose self-care and responsibility as a part of responsible citizenship and rational-decision. In our study, immigration and asylum policies' particular attention on capabilities, assets and activities for immigrations' life qualities are another instance to this matter. Via fostering certain way of life, governmental practices decides what forms of person, self and identity is ideal for better policy aims. This study aims to reveal policies' specific focus on identity formation regarding immigrants. Idealized capacities, qualities and statuses for Ethiopian state and immigrants in global documents will be questioned and analyzed to figure out the identity formative aspects of ethico-political governmentality.

2.1.1.4 The extraction of the utopian element of government

Government intrinsically idealizes a certain way of conduct, reformulation of individuals' lives and applying certain forms of knowledge to achieve predefined, desired ends. Government accepts following certain policies, programs, or a certain way of life not only necessary for a "better world" but also rational. An analytics of government aims to reveal this utopian element of any type of government.

> Every theory or programme of government presupposes an end of this kind- a type of person, community, organization, society or even world which is to be achieved. Notions of an enterprise culture, an entrepreneurial government, an active society, an active or enterprising g citizen, and informed consumer, are so many examples of this (Dean, 1999, p.33).

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Similarly elements of welfare-state models, liberal economic initiations, adjustment of different social aid programs according to post-industrial economic dynamics are different reflections of "ideal way of life" which are proposed by utopian character of governmentality. Analytics of government seeks to enlighten this element and discusses alternative ways of conduct for different agencies. In line with this utopian aspect of governmentality, migration and asylum policies adjust post-industrial liberal way of life. Governmental regimes not only propose a certain forms of knowledge, plans, strategies but also these regimes presuppose this models as "rational and necessary." This study tries to identify how certain policies; programs present a certain person, community, organization, or society inevitable and rational.

Departing from these discussions, the study evaluates the utopian element of the governmentality of immigration and asylum via questioning the idealized types of immigrant, community, or population in line with the post-industrial / liberal principles of government. Moreover, the study questions the idealized self, idealized way of life for migrants as indicated in documents.

2.1.1.5 The circumspection about the role of values

Previously discussed characteristics of government, as a rational, thoughtful and utopian activity cannot be understood without inspection of government's value positions. As different methodological paradigms prefer to give values a position which can foster change, equity, social justice, national efficacy, or value neutral positions, analytics of government prefers to observe "how values function?"

Analytics of government approach values "as components of the rhetorical practice of government and as a part of different forms of governmental and political reason" (Dean, 1999, p.34). The rhetoric and political reason of government are means of government facilitating its functions and proposition of certain ends. In this regard, analytics of government approaches values with the following questions: "How values function in various governmental rationalities, what consequences they have in forms of

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political argument, how they get attached to different techniques?" (Dean, 1999, p.34). International organizations' assigning certain values themselves, states and individuals will be dealt in the following chapters of this study.

2.1.1.6 The avoidance of global or radical positions

According to analytics of government method, individual's liberty does not occur outside of power relations. This is a position that points out multiple networks of power in analyzing governmentality. Analytics of government unearths the possibilities of capacities and kinds of freedoms that different subjects of government can reach. However, while doing so, this method, and refrains from taking general normative positions that intrinsically carry "hierarchical and irreversible states of domination" (Dean, 1999, p.35). In this discussion, the significant role of the methodology of analytics of government is detailed as follows:

> Analytics of government thus serve moral forces in that it makes it possible for us to consider how we have come to conduct ourselves and others, and hence the possibility of thinking and acting new ways. Some of these ways might thus concern how particular forms of the relations between liberty and domination are being transformed….Thus it might be more appropriate to call outcome of analytics of government as 'exemplary criticism… rather than foundational critique and prescription" (Dean, 1999, pp.37-38).

In line with this perspective, this study will intentionally refrain from taking any global or radical positions as a part of its methodological preference. Although providing an exemplary criticism instead of crude critique, analytics of government opens alternative ways of discussion on diverse coping mechanisms of individuals before governmental strategies. The discussion medium, which is facilitated by the analytics of government, helps us to questions different possibilities of thinking and acting without assigning itself global positions for change, better or domination.

2.2 Case Selection and Research Design

Ethiopia is the top country hosting refugees and people who are in refugee like situations[5] in Africa. According to UNHCR 2015 estimates refugee numbers in Ethiopia will raise to 720,000 as a results of ongoing conflicts in South Sudan and Somali. Ethiopia also hosts 645,356 documented migrants from Somali, South Sudan and Eritrea (IOM, 2014b).[6] The country is one of the major allies of the West and one of the biggest receivers of international donation regarding immigration and asylum in the continent. In political terms, Ethiopia puts itself forward as a Western partner in politics, investments, and counter radical Islamist terrorism. Although, Ethiopian economy is mostly state-led and companies partially privatized, Ethiopia is a member of African Development Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) as well as hosting the capital of African Union (AU).

I, as the principle researcher, lived in Ethiopia between September 2012 and August 2015. Being a resident in Ethiopia for three years, learning certain aspects of Ethiopian language, culture and traditions gave me unique opportunity to observe my research setting closely. I could visit local organizations working with immigrants and refugees, and conduct interviews in person with undocumented migrants. I also volunteered for six months in an informal Somali migrant school teaching Basic English to children as well as adults. Visiting Somali neighborhood, sharing stories with them and observing their practices also gave me a vivid perspective in approaching immigration and asylum issues.

Considering all these determinants, Ethiopia is a significant example to observe reflections of global governmentality of immigration and asylum policies at a local

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[5] People who are in refugee like situations are defined by UNHCR as refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), returnees (refugees and IDPs), stateless persons, and others of concern to UNHCR.

[6] Numbers of undocumented migrants are not included. However, according to Somali Community and Jesuit Refugee Service estimates there are 160,000 undocumented Somalis residing in Addis Ababa and its surroundings (Source: Interview with head of Somali Community and Expert at Jesuit Refugee Service).

context. Focus on Ethiopia presents an ideal case for questioning application of global immigration and asylum policies at regional level. Regarding generalization of research findings, this type of cases provides alternatives for falsification of the general acceptances in diverse studies carrying characteristics of "critical reflexivity" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, pp.227-228). We can depict that if the different models of practices in immigration and asylum policy can be observed in Ethiopia as the closest ally of the West in the Horn of Africa, it is possible to encounter more arbitrary models and conflicting applications of the global policy in diverse parts of Africa. [7]

2.2.1 Timing of the Research

Protracted situation of international migration, undocumented migrants and refugees led international community to seek alternative ways to humanitarian aid. The major idea was to integrate humanitarian approach into a developmentalism approach which targeted root causes of immigration and asylum instead of providing emergency aid to humanitarian crises (Forced Migration Online, 2014). This approach brought feasibility for migrant receiving countries while enforcing ideal ways of welcoming both for host countries and ideal ways of livelihood for immigrants and refugees. Although this approach was first introduced around the late 1980s, it did not find resonance in policy making until late 1990s. Although, withdrawal of welfare state ideal and its substitution with neo-liberal policy making dates back to 1979, collaborations among different organizations and presentation of unified policy actions on the issue are reached around 2000s. Collaborative works between different parties of policy making even came later in 2000s.

Documents covered in this study are limited to documents published after 2000s. One reason of this time limitation is that rising interest in collective studies on migration

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[7] For details of similar methodological reasoning in case study research see Flyvbjerg, B. Five Misunderstandings about case-study research, Qualitative Inquary, volume 12, Number 2. April 2006. Pp.219-245.

policy that enabled researchers to observe comprehensiveness, change and comparability of immigration and asylum policies. This interest resulted in numerous studies on migration policy and compilation of databases on the issue after 2000s (DEMIG Project Paper 16, 2014). Second significant reason of this limitation is that international cooperation on migration was not approved by many states until 2003.

The international cooperation on migration can be traced back to 1994. Although different bodies of the United Nations dealt with migration issues separately, first comprehensive agenda on international migration came out in The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo in 1994 (IOM, 2013a). Second Committee of the General Assembly followed this initiative. Different UN conferences addressed significance of collaboration on the issue: the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), the fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), the UN Millennium Declaration (2000), the 2001 Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance), and the World Summit Outcome (2005). However, many due to reluctance of member states did not accept these documents until early 2000s (IOM, 2013). The UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (ICRMW) was adopted in 1990. This document entered into force in 2003. "As of 3 May 2013, only 46 States were party to the Convention, none of which were high-income destination countries" (IOM, 2013, p.23). Considering these policy developments in 2000s, this study focuses on highlighting policy discourse that carry characteristics of such neo-liberal idealism as well as ethico-political governance of immigration and asylum after the year 2000.

2.2.2 Content Analysis

To analyze diverse aspects of governmentality in immigration and asylum policies, I will apply a qualitative content analysis. Content analysis will be used as a method

that helps to analyze "the relationship of social practice to power, and hegemonic projects at the societal level" (Fairclough, 1992). While studying on the macro pace of this study, qualitative content/ discourse analysis will be applied approaching "language as an integral component within ways of doing things" appreciating language's role in problematizing certain aspects of social and political life and defining how to address these aspects (Dean, 1999, p.64). Content analysis is significant especially for three types of researches: a) the research of the large amount of texts, b) when historical documents are needed to be reviewed or study is conducted "at a distance" c) content analysis can reveal latent patterns and messages which are hard to see without analysis (Neuman, 2000, p.293).

This study is based on theoretical arguments on the issue. Since point of departure is theoretical "directed content analysis" is applied throughout the study. Codes of the content analysis are defined before and during data analysis. Unforeseen codes also appeared during readings of the documents. These are also discussed among the findings.

In some parts of the study "summative content analysis" is also applied to understand frequency of certain research keywords in selected documents. This technique is mainly used to "identify and quantify certain words and content in the text with the purpose of understanding the contextual usage of words or content (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p.1283).

Content analysis allows researchers to figure out latent themes and relationships in the acquired data. These themes can be unearthed, defined and used in better understanding of the theories. Issues, which could not be foreseen, can be perceived via qualitative content analysis' aggregate of processes such as conceptual coding and categorizing which alleviate understanding of the complex relationships between different themes and issues. While interview opens an interpretive path to provide answers to what questions, content analysis also seeks answers for why and how' questions detailing the relationships between themes.

2.2.2.1 Data Design for the Content Analysis

Databases are mostly organized via selective processes and they are not an "'objective' or 'neutral' collection of information" (DEMIG Project Paper 16, 2014). Considering this fact and time and resource constraints this study also limits itself with certain organization's databases that are assumed to cover an excessive range of documents to provide more comprehensive results.

To reach meaningful results I put certain limitations on my data collection efforts. These limitations are on choices on selection of data, time-span and coverage of particular topics. These choices are also guided by my study's theoretical concepts and research questions. It should be noted that these research preferences does not simply reflect my personal or arbitrary choices; however, they are compiled depending on conceptual guidance of the study.

Selection of databases and limitation of documents required an extensive literature review of international reports on immigration and asylum. The study started with a systematic review of OECD's Continuous Reporting System on Migration, UNHCR's annual reports on state of refugees and asylum seekers, IOM's annual reports on international migration that are published between the 2000 and 2013. Later on, I made a selective reading of legislative acts, legal documents, policy reports and policy recommendations to decide extension of this study. Further sources included examination of different immigration and asylum policy databases on the following criteria: 1) Database should include immigration and asylum policies between 2000 and 2013. 2) The policies included in database should not be limited to one country, region or a particular type of migration, but they should cover global policies along with policies regarding Ethiopia and Africa.

Considering these limitations, I decided to focus on UNHCR and International Organization of Migration (IOM).

These two major organizations publish international data on legal, political, executive and practical aspects of immigration and asylum policy. The major agencies conducting long term planning regarding immigrants and refugees is ARRA, UNHCR and IOM in Ethiopia. These three organize project based seasonal or annual partnerships with other international and local organizations on diverse issues. Via project based agreements organizations facilitate different services provided for immigrants, asylum seekers, and refugees.

Throughout the data collection process, I also found out that European Commission's proposals was quite important designing visa regimes, border policies and immigrants' and asylum seekers rights globally. European Commission is the executive body of European Union responsible for legislation of policies and agreements. Since Europe was one of the main destinations of the African immigrants, I included European Commission's annual reports to have a glimpse of what kind of proposals are prominent in European immigration and asylum discourse regarding immigration and asylum issues in the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia.

As a result of my preliminary research on the issue, I decided to limit my content analysis with 38 annual/global reports published between 2000 and 2013 by the following three organizations: UNHCR, IOM and European Commission. These reports were reflective of organization's policy reports and policy recommendations as well as carrying certain references to legal bases of the decisions. The study also covered relevant reports published by these organizations on specific topics such as strategy towards the Horn of Africa, regional consultative processes in Africa, self-reliance and community focus in projects. These topics were included in the content analysis due to their relevance to research topic.

Except UNHCR report, others were published in changing year's bases. EU Commission's report started to be published in 2009. UNHCR report is published

annually and IOM report is published in 2-3 years base. While I analyzed whole reports of IOM and European Commission, I limited UNHCR global reports with the Horn of Africa parts due to thousands of pages length of annual reports.[8]

Table 3. Organizations and Report Types

Organization	*Document Type*	*Parts Covered*	*Page*	*Years*
UNHCR	Global Report	Horn of Africa	637	2000 and 2013
IOM	World Migration Report	All report	2,288	2000 and 2013 (2 years base)
European Commission	Annual Report on Immigration and Asylum	All report	80	2009 and 2013
Other Related Reports	EU Parliament	Reports on specific topics	665 (total pgs.)	2000 and 2014
	EU Commission			
	IGAD, AU, &IOM			
	IOM			
	UNHCR			
	UNHCR Executive Committee			

UNHCR is globally assigned as the major body on regulation and management of refugees in the world. Similarly IOM is globally assigned as one of the international parties of monitoring and implementing immigration policies. Considering contextual limitations on reaching organizations such as UNHCR and IOM in gathering in depth information on policy making processes, data published by the organization will be researched as significant sources. These resources do not only reflect UNHCR and IOM policy as single organizations, but also they can be analyzed as instruments of

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[8] Please see Appendix A for full list of reports covered in content analysis.

international immigration and asylum regime. While immigration and asylum regime has been developing a certain type of social and political power, it has slowly but surely built institutions and policies to operationalize this governing power on the field. In this regard, especially IOM and UNHCR reports and related documents carry significance for being binding for international parties of immigrant and refugee law.

As part of complementary resources, throughout this research, I also referred annual reports and legal documents published by numerous organizations: World Bank, African Union, European Commission, EU Commission Mission to Africa, and OECD. The aim of this selective examination was to provide data highlighting different political, economic and statistical aspects of this research. Additional reports are selected via databases in accordance to this study's thematic focus on the following concepts such as self-governance, self-reliance, responsibilization and capacity building etc. This thematic focus on databases provided a more realistic perspective on this study's theoretical concerns that are issued apart from annual reports.

I benefited from numerous reports, evaluation of policy papers and research papers published by multiple databases such as RefWorld, Forced Migration On-line, Global Migration Group, Migration Policy Center and International Center for Migration Policy Development. These databases provided me current discussions on the issue and evaluation of different policies by NGOs. Differing from others, these databases do not merely publish articles depending on current discussions on the issue; however, they devote particular volumes to evaluation, examination, and suggestions on policies. These databases also give specific place to selective publications of legal, executive documents and international instruments. While facilitating this research via selective assistance of different databases, I aimed to provide diversity of resources on the topic.

2.2.3 Interview

11 semi-structured interviews are conducted with 3 international organizations, 1 local organization and 7 undocumented Somali migrants.[9] Interview sample covered local organizations collaborating with international organizations on immigration and asylum issues. A qualitative analysis of the perceptions of local assemblages (institutions, actors and discourses) of the governmentality of the immigration and asylum policy is another resource of the analysis. In this regard, interview questions included different categories that are summarized as follows:

a)   Existing international and local laws and their implementations

b)   International institutes and organizations' programs /policy/ projects/ protection and assistance practices

c)   Immigrants' status (migration stories, life histories, socio-economic status, gender, age, education etc.).

d)   Treatment of immigrants and refugees / immigration admissions/ inclusion procedures /welfare provisions.

Apart from these issues, interview questions also trace implications of theoretical concerns of this study.

2.2.4 The Setting and Limitations

Documents analyzed in this part mainly represent the Western perspective on ideal implementation of immigration and asylum policies in the Horn of Africa, and Ethiopia. In this regard, analysis mainly draws conclusions from proposals of international immigration and asylum discourse on Ethiopia and Africa in general. The major reason for such a limitation was a result of the study's method that aimed a macro analysis of international documents on immigration and asylum regime. This

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[9] Details on interviews can be found in Appendix B, C, D.

macro level governmentality analysis created a certain gap between what is proposed in documents and what is practiced at reality.

In this regard, rather than providing an examination of country's precise immigration and asylum system, this study claims to give a macro and interpretive examination of the reflections of ethico-political paradigm in Ethiopia's immigration and asylum regime. The conclusions on Ethiopia are generally descriptive sourcing from interviews, my personal observations and conducts with undocumented immigrants in during my three years stay in Addis Ababa. However, choosing a relatively underrepresented country for analysis of a Western paradigm provides alternative conclusions that are largely missing in the current literature.

Second reason of this limitation on Ethiopian side was Ethiopia's ARRA's reluctance in provision of interviews, documents and data for outside researchers. I personally contacted ARRA five times providing reference letters both from METU and Turkish Embassy to show legitimacy of my studies, however, the organization refused to provide any help. When I visited UNHCR to conduct an interview with the organization, I was asked ARRA's permission. Without this permission it became impossible to collect views from UNHCR and IOM as well. Moreover, I was informed by UNHCR that if I talk to undocumented migrants or refugees without Ethiopian state's permission I would get into a big trouble. So I talked to people mostly not in a proper research setting but via their informed consent to share their ideas on the issue. I met most of undocumented immigrants while volunteering for informal Somali school in Somali neighborhood. I informed them about my research and some were willing to help even I told them about my permission issues. They repeatedly said they felt close and friendly because "I was from Turkey". Most wanted their protracted situation and problems to be heard. However, every time, I had to make sure that their names will be anonymous due to their continuous fear of getting expelled from Ethiopia.

Apart from permission restrictions, local statistics and data are quite lacking in Ethiopia regarding immigration and asylum policies. Ethiopian Statistical Institute's website is limited to demographic data and does not include any information on immigrants and refugees. I recruited most numbers via interviews from Jesuit Refugee Service and Somali Community in Ethiopia. However, these are limited to estimations rather than statistical facts.

Another restriction for research was continuous security problems in Ethiopia. Especially Somali neighborhood is considered as one of the least secure neighborhoods in Addis Ababa. Many times, I was warned by international friends not to wonder in Somali neighborhood alone. In years I learned some of this perspective was prejudice, however, it still included some real life threats. I did not encounter any personal troubles in there. However, I had to stop my voluntary teaching at Somali School due to a security situation in the neighborhood. In October 2013, two Al-Shabaab associates blew themselves up while making bombs in the very neighborhood that I was visiting. Moreover, Turkish presence in Somalia also started to be threatened meanwhile. That international situation spread a common fear among Turkish populations especially living in Somalia and Ethiopia where Al-Shabaab threatened openly time to time. Due to changing security balances in the country, I had to limit my research with certain neighborhoods in the city.

Considering these limitations this study aims to present problematic and critical aspects of global ethico-political governmentality of immigration and asylum spotting a specific country. In this sense, main aim of this research was analyzing how international documents construct an ethico-political governmentality in their plans for third countries? Moreover the study also aimed to present a relatively descriptive and interpretive analysis of the reflections of ethico-political paradigm in immigration and asylum policies in Ethiopia. Documents analyzed in this part are mainly represents Western perspective on ideal implementation of immigration and asylum policies in

the Horn of Africa, and Ethiopia. In this regard, analysis mainly draws conclusions from proposals of international immigration and asylum discourse on Ethiopia and Africa in general.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Construction of ethico-political power in policy-making mechanisms is related to different modes of power evolved throughout the diverse governmental types. A genealogy of power in its ties to differing socio-economic developments is significant to understand the place of ethico-political power in neo-liberal system. Ethico-political power is not merely a discursive and ideological concept, however, it has certain technical and institutional aspects arose out of historical social and economic stages. Genealogical methodology of this study centers on the analysis of mechanisms of power in control society and their relation to policy-making processes. Since, modern policy making processes are linked with neo-liberal system's political economic dynamics, authority and power, control and surveillance at global and local level, it is necessary to discuss neo-liberal governmentality at large.

This chapter provides a detailed discussion and literature review on theoretical concepts and common themes in governmentality studies. The concepts of governmentality, disciplinary power, bio-power, ethico-politics of power will be covered in their relationship with diverse societal types such as society of law, society of security and society of control. Providing linkages between power, society and economy, this chapter will present a continuum from early disciplinary mechanisms to modern ethico-politics of power. Leaving a more extensive discussion on relevance of the transformative mechanisms of neo-liberal governmentality (such as globalization, capitalism and surveillance) and policy making to Chapter 4, this part provides an introduction to neo-liberal governmentality and its relation to ethico-political power.

To provide a theoretical introduction to this relationship, works of Michel Foucault, Mitchell Dean, Gilles Deleuze, Nicolas Rose, and Hardt and Negri will be consulted.

As a part of genealogical methodology, rise of neo-liberal governmentality and ethico-politics of power will be discussed within the network of production processes and social relations in brief. In this regard, studies dealing with political economic dynamics of neo-liberalism will be referred to provide a multi-level and analytic examination of the neo-liberal governmentality.

3.1 Governmentality

Foucault developed his analysis on governmentality basically around the state power, societal types and relevant types of control. However, the term governmentality gained significance in studies that targeted understanding the operationalization of power in today's societies in general and policy-making processes in specific. Related notions such as power and governmentality are instrumentalized to examine the question "How power is functionalized and transferred among diverse social actors?" As much as analysis of types of power, forms and processes through which power is operationalized gained significance in the social science literature. In this regard, term "governance" appeared "as a catch all term to point any strategy, tactic, process, procedure or program for controlling, regulating, shaping, mastering or exercising authority over others in a nation, organization or locality" (Rose, 1999, p.15).

As detailed in Foucault's work and in subsequent studies, governmentality is more than art of governing the state. Beyond being a methodological tool to uncover the epistemology of thought behind human action, governmentality is also a theory of power with which the mode of thought and its institutions can be analyzed. Foucault (2007) defines operationalization of governmentality as a methodology to unearth "mode of subjectivities" that govern humans who are made subjects (p.98). As Foucault details government it is first "the right disposition of things that one arranges

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so as to lead them to a suitable end" (Foucault, 2007, p.98). In Foucaldian theory, government is defined with a 'purpose' and plan that are activated to reach a certain end. That is why governmentality is mainly defined as "the conduct of conduct". As a result, a study of governmentality of certain social processes, decisions or policies promises for an analysis and a critique of these processes via providing a genealogy of their conduct. In this regard, "how these processes are made into being" is the major problematique of any governmentality study.

Second, governmentality is also a system and ensemble which is composed of institutions, procedures, analyses and so on. This ensemble, however, not just an abstract, discursive system, plan or strategy but it is a medium that enables functioning of different and complex types of power in society. Foucault (2007) details this second feature of governmentality as follows:

> Ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge, and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument (p.108-109).

As Foucault argues, solid characteristic of governmentality embodied in institutions and organizations organizes and operationalizes power that targets population. Targeting human conduct, governmentality approaches human conduct as "something that can be regulated, controlled, shaped and turned to specific ends" (Dean, 1999, p.11). Despite governmental power aims to control, shape in directing specific ends, it conceals the elements of morality and ethics. When individuals start to question and problematize their own actions, governmental rationality permeates to micro levels. In this regard, the notion of self-government is an inseparable part of governmentality (Dean, 1999).

Governmental power relations accept apparatuses of security and control as major technical tools for population control. Overall, Foucault argues that complex power relations, who designate (and designated by) political economy as major form of knowledge, are present in all types of societies. In this sense, mobilization or control of society is not totally separate from political economic dynamics dominant in every society. In other words control and political economy enhances one another. Dean (1999) exemplifies the relationship between governmentality and other forms of power as follows:

> Governmentality implies certain relationship of government to other forms of power, in particular sovereignty and discipline… The expansion and intensification of regimes of discipline in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—in schools, hospitals, workhouses, manufactories, armies and so on— is roughly correlative with the development of the bureaucratic and the administrative apparatus of the state (p.19).

Foucault directs attention to diverse control mechanisms via drawing the links between self-government and governmentality of the state. In his essay on Governmentality, Foucault starts his discussion of relationship between art of governing the state and governmentality of population underlining the links between one's self-government and governing the state. He observes that from early forms of state to our neo-liberal times, governing self, family and population were intrinsic parts of the art of government. In this regard, Foucault defines (in Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991) three fundamental types of government all of which related to a precise science or discipline. These are one's *self-government* related to morality, *art of government of family* in relation to economy and lastly *governing the state* as a part of politics. Here, Foucault underlines presumed continuity between different types of government that implies failure in one means failure in the other stages of governing. For Foucault, from early police states, throughout middle Ages, to modern times, governmentality was considered in a holistic pedagogical formation. For Foucault, the major reason behind this holistic and pedagogical conceptualization of governance

was to introduce economy into the governmentality of state from micro to macro levels (Foucault in Burchell et al., 1991, p.92)

Since earlier times to 15th century's territorial states onwards 'morals' and 'economy' were major components of the art of government. As Foucault details, this formula proposed "wise government of the family for the common welfare of all centering on the principle of "mutatis mutantis" (Foucault in Burchell et al., 1991, p.92). This formula directly refers to a mutual win-win perspective. Individual's wellbeing (thus control) is significant for the whole since, it refers to stable government of population at large. On the other hand, art of governing population should possess tools and technology to control individual for the sake of whole population.

> To govern a state will therefore mean to apply economy, to set up an economy at the level of the entire state, which means exercising towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and behavior of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his good (Foucault in Burchell et. al., 1991, p.92).

Following population control aspect of governmental power, Foucault details prominent types of power in Western societies. For Foucault (2007) different types of governmental powers created their own set of knowledges also being influenced by prevalent forms of knowledge of their own time:

> Tendency, the line of force, that for a long time and throughout the West, has constantly led towards the pre-eminence over all other types of power— sovereignty, discipline, and so on— of the type of power that can call "government" and which has led to the development of a series of specific governmental apparatuses on the one hand, on the other, to the development of a series of knowledges (saviors). (p.108-109).

In this regard, corresponding to economic model of mode of production in Marxist theory, Foucault categorizes mode of power economy and mode of subjectivities. In line with historical materialist thought, Foucault provides a detailed schema of relations between transformation of political economy and power economies in

tandem. Foucault contributes discussion underlining pedagogical and subjectifying character of power economies. For him, every power economy (present form of governmental power) creates its own technical instruments for societal and political economic control. These instruments do not only control from a distance but also creates new forms of knowledges for self-governmentality of micro-locales.

3.2 From Disciplinary Power to Ethico-politics of Power

To enlighten linkages between different societal transformations, and changing character of power in time, perceiving the genealogy of mode of production and forms of relations of production is noteworthy. Relations between history of control and economic reorganization of production processes are remarkable. A genealogy of social historical transformations of power offers an inclusive picture of evolution of subjectifying, controlling practices over population and individuals. Transformation of control mechanisms pave the way for our discussion of today's socializing, individualizing and responsibilizing neo-liberal practices.

Following preliminary discussion on linkages between power, economy and governmentality, Foucault details three forms of economies of power in the West: state of justice, administrative state and governmental state. First, *the state of justice* refers to territorial feudal regimes matching to "society of laws". Second, *the administrative state* of national territorial states of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, equivalent of a "society of regulation and discipline". Last form of power economy is *the governmental state*, corresponding to a society "controlled by apparatuses of security" (Foucault, 1979, p.21). These power economies should be considered as 'ideal types' in Weberian sense to perceive their role better. Otherwise, limiting power regime, societal type and definite control types into a certain time period would be hypothetical. Distinguished character of governmental power enables presence of diverse and complex types of power in different regimes. Considering difficulty of

demarcating power to certain society, this study perceives schema of transformation of power as an ideal type to enable wider discussions.

Table 4. Power Economies and Social Power

Form of Power Economy	Time Period	Regime Type	Society	Power
State of Justice	Before 1600s	Vassalage and Feudal regimes	Society of laws	Sovereign Power
Administrative State	During 1600s- 1700s	National territorial regimes	Society of discipline	Disciplinary Power
Governmental State	After 1800s- present	Liberal regimes	Society of security (normalization)	Bio-power
Neo-liberal Governmentality	1980-present	Neo-liberal welfare regimes	Society of control	Ethico-political power

*Table is composed by the author out of the discussions of Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze on power economies and control. This table is based on ideal types of power although a total distinction between types is not possible.

3.2.1 State of Justice and Sovereign Power

In this brief schema, which is formulized around diverse descriptions of power, feudal regimes of Middle Ages correspond to 'state of justice'. Dominant form of power in feudal regimes is sovereign power. Sovereign in feudal regimes stabilize and maintains his power via promotion of justice and laws. The justice and laws in feudal regimes are directly established by attaining divine authority to rulers. In this regard,

kinship and rights gained by birth are prominent in state of justice. Economic system that is controlled by lords of serfdom system mainly depends on agriculture. Polanyi (2001) summarizes the core of feudal society as follows:

> Land, the pivotal element in the feudal order, was the basis of the military, judicial, administrative, and political system; its status and function were determined by legal and customary rules. (p.69)

Production in feudalism is not a continuous activity dissimilar to industrial periods. On the contrary production is limited to certain areas. For Thomson (1939) this system in which "rules of property and law laid down by a Parliament of property-owners and lawyers" created 'class robbery' (p.218). System of land ownership, enclosure movements, property rights form a profit system for bourgeois that is encouraged by laws.

State of justice, in this regard, is a type of sovereign justice that enhances benefits of supporters of sovereign power while enslaving population to the system of laws. In state of justice, economic control was perpetuated by land allocation, serfdom and tax system. Major form of knowledge was law book according to which obedience to the rulers was guaranteed. Foucault (1977) argues that sovereign power was prevailed in society of laws by condemning individuals. Public torture or persecutions were the major tools applied by authorities to create docile subjects. In this regard, ceremonial persecution of individual body was the major form of discipline in state of justice.

3.2.2 Administrative State and Disciplinary Power

The Western state went through new reorganization of production processes as a result of developments such as dissolution of feudalism, rise of colonialism and mercantilism. Following new social relations between authorities and society by dissolution of feudalism, new forms of power and control arose. Foucault defines these new stages as "administrative state" corresponding to national territorial states of

17th and 18th centuries. The administrative state refers to states which center on new bilateral international political economic relations and intensified control mechanisms.

Government's interference into economy in the 15th Century diluted protectionist structure of medieval centers and opened way for a mercantilist era. As a result of golden ages of colonialism, prominence of agriculture is weakened by overseas interstate trade and manufacturing. Commercial Revolution in the West called for political changes facilitating formation of the centralized state. Centralizing states and commercial changes loosened significance of Mediterranean while increasing interest to Atlantic coast (Polanyi, 2001). Polanyi (2001) claims that these developments went in tandem with hybrid power dynamics in external and internal politics:

> In external politics, the setting up of sovereign power was the need of the day; accordingly, mercantilist statecraft involved the marshaling of the resources of the whole national territory to the purposes of power in foreign affairs. In internal politics, unification of the countries fragmented by feudal and municipal particularism was the necessary by-product of such an endeavor … Finally the administrative technique underlying the economic policy of the central government was supplied by the extension of the traditional municipal system to the larger territory of the state. (p.65)

Polanyi (2001) asserts that in mercantilist era, social relations controlled the economic system more than ever. Relative liberation of markets created internal economies of the governments.

> As a rule, the economic system was absorbed in the social system, and whatever principle of behavior predominated in the economy, the presence of the market pattern was found to be compatible with it (Polanyi, 2001, p.68).

Socio-economic relations and market patterns went hand in hand in administrative state. While international overseas relations entailed sovereign power to be present, creation of regional markets downgraded previous significance of local markets. This transformation period carried characteristics of sovereign power and society of laws as well as administrative state and society of discipline. Changes in socio-economic

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relations immediately found their resonance in newly appearing market relations. The vice versa was also true: Whatsoever patterns prevail in the market found new forms of social relations in the society. At the same time, these social relations came along with more complex control mechanisms that satisfied market relations. The invisible principle of mutual gain became more apparent than it has hitherto been.

The administrative state also encompasses the rise of factory in the second half of eighteenth century that came along with transformed production techniques, social relations and control mechanisms. The disciplines applied in these periods were different from vassalage that dwelled more on labor products and fidelity between rulers and their subjects more than individual (Foucault, 1977, p.137). In seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "disciplines become general formulas of domination" which aim expertise of each individual over their own body (Foucault, 1977, p.137). Contrary to disciplinary techniques of earlier societies, administrative state formulated new mechanism of relations that direct people to be obedient.

> If economic exploitation separates the force and the product of labor, let us say that disciplinary coercion establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination (Foucault, 1977, p.138).

New economic reorganization of production processes required local mechanism of nation-states during rise of globalization and capitalism. Especially Fordist production processes intensified separation between individual and labor while enhancing disciplinary power over individuals. The disciplinary power aiming at controlling and aligning production processes applied enclosure, partitioning, and ranking between functioning parts of same mechanism (Foucault, 1977). Hence, production was taken to designated spaces while every worker encouraged raising their aptitude while working accordingly with functional set of rules and regulations.

3.2.3 Governmental State and Bio-politics

Considering previously mentioned dynamics, governmental state is a result of convergence of two prominent developments in 19th century: industrial and agricultural revolutions, and rise and multiplicity of human sciences (Ransom, 1997). In 19th century, as a result of issues such as epidemics, fertility and death, protecting life via adaptation of policies became necessary. In the 19th century, circumstances, which formed human society, became one of the major issues in scientific researches. Malthus, Ricardo, Adam Smith, Darwin and Townsend's studies emphasized "natural" foundations of human beings while claiming diverse solutions for population, survival and poverty in their own areas.

At the same time, industrial and agricultural revolutions required sustenance of labor force while controlling population in tandem. In times of capitalism and globalization, protection of population became vital for states. As Foucault details "one of the chief ways for states could increase their power and influence in a hostile international environment was to promote the health, morals, fecundity, and attitudes of their population" (Ransom, 1997, p.62). In this regard, knowledge-power relation between developing sciences such as demography, psychiatry, chemistry, criminology and their application in state policies became more than apparent in governmental state.

Major form of power in governmental state is "bio-politics." Bio-power affected social body of population using late 18th century developments in science. Going beyond disciplinary power which mainly targeted individual, bio-power devised tools, management techniques, and protective policies targeting population as a whole. While in disciplinary society crime attributed to individuals and deserved punishment accordingly with the intensity of crime, society of security or normalization chose to accept crime as a social malaise that needs rehabilitation. In this regard, psychiatric (or scientific) intervention was introduced into every level of social organization.

Attaining significance to social science in population control hampered social organization's production of 'evil' or 'malfunctioning' members.

Until 1800s establishment of a self-regulating free market was hampered by governmental interventions in the West. The major reason was the devastating effects of Industrial Revolution on societies. The Reform Bill of 1832 and the Poor Law Amendment of 1834 are generally regarded as the beginning dates of modern capitalism. These laws closed way to allowance system and landlords' significance in the economy (Polanyi, 2001, p.80). However, without a labor market rise of capitalism was painstaking. In addition rising power of middle classes fastened introduction of free market into economy. As Polanyi (2001) claims that "industrial capitalism as a social system cannot be said to have existed" before 1834 when a competitive labor market was established in England (p.83). Moreover, rise of market system formed the social history of nineteenth century (Polanyi, 2001, p.83).

In the nineteenth century, economic system could only flourish in a relevant societal type that was market society. Nineteenth century society witnessed unification of isolated markets into a market economy that gave a start to self-regulating market. Polanyi (2001) argues that stepping into a market economy was not a mere result of "natural outcome of the spreading markets" or "inherent tendency of markets" (p.57). However, this evolution was an outcome of "highly artificial stimulants" directed social body that was necessitated by the machine (p.57).

In relation to links between societal type and economy, Polanyi (2001) argues that social relations implanted in economic system. He details this relationship as follows:

> Ultimately, that is why the control of the economic system by the market is of overwhelming consequence to the whole organization of society: it means no less than the running of society as an adjunct to the market. Instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the

economic system. …This is the meaning of the familiar assertion that a market economy can function only in a market society. (p.57).

Polanyi (2001) asserts that general principles of social behavior deployed and organized production and distribution processes. Economic system was ensured and controlled by social patterns that depended on "custom and law, magic and religion" which ultimately protected the economic system (Polanyi, 2001, p.55). According to Polanyi (2001) lasting of social behavior was more significant than the idea of gain. Since individuals believed that social patterns were at the core of survival of economic system, individual was to comply with the rules of behavior.

Until the end of the 18th Century, absolute power of an enlightened despot was seemed unshakable while transition to democracy was not at the horizon. Alike, a shift from regulated market to self-regulating market represented a critical change in structure of the society. Separation of political and economic realms was reached as a prerequisite of this transformation from regulated market to relatively self –regulated market (Polanyi, 2001, p.71). This separation formed political economy as the major knowledge of governmental state.

Polanyi (2001) claims that nineteenth century society was an exception in terms of its separate economic system in the society" which is "isolated, and imputed to a distinctive economic motive" (p.71).

> A market economy can exist only in a market society. … A market economy must comprise all elements of industry, including labor, land, and money. … But labor and land are no other than the human beings themselves of which every society consists and the natural surroundings in which it exists. To include them in the market mechanism means to subordinate the substance of society itself to the laws of the market (Polanyi, 2001, p.71).

Governmental state was also scene to boost of capitalism. In this regard, production processes cannot be separated from efficient mode of power of the age. The rise of bio-power was a requirement for the rise of the market economy and development of

capitalism. The capitalist enlargement "would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes"(Foucault, 1978, p.141). While adjusting control over individual and population, anatomo and bio-politics provided necessary knowledge and environment for capitalist restructuring of economy. These two aspects of governmental power also enhanced social hierarchy, domination and hegemony in the society (Foucault, 1978). Unjust insertion of population into production processes, surveillance of these processes, differing and hierarchical distribution of profit heightened capitalism's effects and control over population. Contrary to society of discipline, governmental state created a society of security and normalization whose major target is not punishment over body but regulating and controlling life. Pint-sizing the effects of menaces such as epidemics, migration, crime, poverty and over-population on life and economy, ultimate aim of life planning was "normalization" of population.

Topal (2007) argues that governmental state is symbolized with the disciplinary society as well as a society of security. Although Foucault relates disciplinary society to regimes of territorial nation-states, he also admits that disciplinary apparatuses of society prevail in all types of power economies (Topal, 2007). Considering governmental state's correspondence to *society of security*, governmental state is also includes disciplinary mechanisms as two previous forms of power economies in the West. The society of security can be defined as "a social organization that can be located between the society of discipline in Foucault's sense and what Deleuze calls society of control" (Topal, 2007, p.75).

As detailed by Rose (1999) what Foucault proposed while distinguishing different power economies was not a chronology between different exercises of power but it was much more a triangle of sovereignty –discipline-governmentality (p.23). In 19th century's normalization societies, life was not only under control of discipline. Rose

(1999) argues that, life in these societies was affected by "the interplay between the technologies of discipline focused on the individual body and the technologies of bio-politics, which acted on those bodies en masse" (p.23).

Moreover, Foucault presumes a *discontinuity* instead of *continuity* between forms of government. In this regard, target of governmentality (population) is stable while new technologies and techniques are introduced into subjectification processes of individuals. Dean (1999) argues that modern governmentality does not abolish sovereignty – discipline- government from the scene, however, it reorganizes them to improve population to be more efficient and effective. In this regard, it would not be surprising to observe elements of these diverse power economies in neo-liberal governmentality as well.

3.2.4 Neo-liberal Governmentality, Technologies of Self and Ethico-Politics of Power

The globalization of capital and boost of capitalism developed in parallel to the emergence of neo-liberalism. Especially after the effects of Fordist production processes and labor management in 1950s, several economic crises followed in 1960s. As Clarke (2001) argues, "the growing over-accumulation and uneven development of capital" fastened crises (p. 85). Global capital accumulation, which started with internationalization of trade, configured spatially. In the 1970s, capital accumulation shifted from high-income to low income countries whereas in the 1980s the world witnessed "recentralization of capital" in high income countries (Arrighi, 1994, p.1). Reorganization of production and exchange increased mobility of capital geographically (Sassen, 1990).

As a result of diverse motives in production and exchange including Fordist mass production, flexible specialization of labor, formalization and informalization of

economy, Fordist-Keynesian "regime of accumulation" resulted changes in the "mode of operation of capitalism" (Jessop, 1990; Tickell, Sheppard, Peck, & Barnes, 1992; Castells and Benton 1989 as cited in Arrighi, 1994, p.2). This significant change in mode of operation of the production processes resulted in changes in diverse spheres that are called Fordist –Keynesian regime in general.

Fordist-Keynesian regime is perceived as a significant pace of capitalist development. This regime also embodied in increases in "productivity and mass consumption" (Arrighi, 1994, p.2). Transformation of production, consumption, and accumulation dynamics along with fastened mobility of capital, necessitated new societal patterns and corresponding policies. Standardization and homogenization of markets are followed by welfare strategies in the post-World War II era (Dyer-Witheford & Gruneau, 1993, p. 83). Arrighi (1994) details changes in strategies of accumulation, production relations, geographical mobility of capital and "mode of regulation" in policy making as follows:

> For this potential to be realized, adequate governmental policies and actions, social institutions, norms and habits of behavior (the mode of regulation) were required. "Keynesianism" is described as the mode of regulation that enabled the emergent Fordist regime fully to realize its potential. (Arrighi, 1994, p.2).

While Fordist-Keynesianism corresponded to the 1970s market societies, in the 1980s political economic transformation entailed a shift to finance capitalism and neo-liberal governmentality. Harvey (1989) details the consequences of the shift from Fordist-Keynesianism to finance capitalism as follows:

> There had, of course, always been delicate balance between financial and state powers under capitalism, but the breakdown of Fordism-Keynesianism evidently meant a shift towards the empowerment of finance capital visa-a-vie the nation state (p.145).

Although the market rationality has always been effective in reshaping the social relations or vice versa, neo-liberal system allows manipulation of individuals and

society more than ever. Since technologies, means and social relations provide a more fruitful atmosphere for this manipulation, neo-liberal technologies become more successful in proposing choice, involvement and responsibility as a part of free will of individuals. In this regard, "investments in human capital are the activities that influence future monetary and psychic income by increasing the resources of people" (Becker, as cited in Dean, 1999, p.57). Among many forms of liberalism: classical liberalism, welfare liberalism, neo-liberalism and so on, Gordon (1991) defines significance of neo-liberalism over its relation to individual and society as follows:

> Rather than the subject who rationally calculates its interests as an economic actor, the choices of the subject are capable of being modified by its environment. *Homo economicus* here meets behaviorism to the extent that modifications in behaviour follow from remodeling the environment according to this market rationality.

The state is no more characterized merely by territoriality but by volume and density of its population in the 19th century (Foucault, 1977, p.21). In this regard, power started to administer bodies via "calculated management of life" which is contrary to sovereign power which supported "power of death" (Foucault, 1978). In this sense, risk management became an indispensible part of governmental state. Although disciplinary mechanisms sway in different state types or power economies, governmental state and society of security are symbolized with popularizing and socializing power of liberal governmentality (Rose, 1999, p.188).

Diverting from earlier forms, society corresponding to neo-liberal governmentality and ethico-political power is *control society*. Deleuze (1992) presents modern intensive forms of control along with an analysis of economic reorganization of production processes. In Deleuze's comparison between society of security and society of control, he argues that society of security depends on enclosure of human body. On the contrary, neo-liberalism applies open mechanisms to insert human into production processes. That is why society of control is symbolized with "perpetual

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training" alongside "continuous control." While production was limited to certain spaces in disciplinary society, in control society it is defined with "corporations" which intensifies links between diverse types of production processes. In this regard, neo-liberal governmental state also perpetuates production.

Deleuze (1992) argues that family, school or factory becomes modulations of the same corporation. Hence, in control societies governing mentality is one major characteristic contrary to disciplinary societies where controlling and limiting the body was at stake. Rose (1999) sums up the differences between society of security/ disciplinary society and control societies as follows:

> In disciplinary societies it was a matter of procession from one disciplinary institution to another—school, barracks, factory…- each seeking to *mould* conduct by inscribing enduring corporeal and behavioral competences, and persisting practices of self- scrutiny and self-constraint into the soul. Control society is one of the constant and never ending *modulation* where the modulation occurs within the flows and transactions between the forces and capacities of the human subject and the practices in which he or she participates (p.234).

Disciplinary normalizing apparatuses' roles change in society of control. These apparatuses are more "intensified and generalized" in the society of control (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 23-24). As Hardt and Negri (2001) details in society of control life becomes an "object of biopolitical administration"(p.23-24).

> The paradox of power that, while it unifies and envelops within itself every element of social life.., at that very moment reveals a new context, a new milieu of maximum plurality and uncontainable singularization—a milieu of the event. (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p.25).

Governmentality was thought as government of individuals in its earlier forms whereas it turns into 'government through processes' in its later paces. Dean (1999) calls this processes as "governmentalization of the state" after what was described as "*estatisation* of society" earlier by Foucault (p.73). Trespassing previously perceived

clear-cut division between public and private spheres, governmentality operationalizes within multiplicities of authorities, programs, and targets. Whilst society internalizes bureaucracy, control, laws, economic regulations, at the same time the state permeates into private sphere becoming more governmentalized considering inherent multiplicities of governing.

3.2.4.1 Technologies of Self and Ethico- Politics of Power

To examine apparatuses of governmental power the role of knowledge as a prominent component of governmentality should be underlined. Knowledge's relationship to governmental power is twofold: First, knowledge is one of the tools of governmental power. Governmental authorities facilitate speculation and control of population via knowledge. Second, knowledge is also an outcome of the prevalent form of governmental power in society. Governmental power maintains a certain type of discourse that creates its own knowledge. The knowledge, which is strengthened and encouraged by authority, creates certain effects in social relations. Foucault defines effects of a certain discourse as "truth games". Knowledge is constructed and conducted over population via certain processes and means. Collection of these processes and apparatuses are called "truth games". Truth games are characterized by diverse technologies of power.

Four technologies are defined by Foucault to distinguish meaning and significance of truth games better. First, "technologies of production" corresponds to manipulation of things. Second, "sign systems" via which individuals and population assign meanings to things. Third, 'technologies of power' which exercise power on individuals and facilitate authorities' control over population. Relations between individuals are also determined by "technologies of power." Fourth, "technologies of self" via which individuals control and regulate them. Foucault (1988) presumes an innate relationship between technologies of power and technologies of self. This interconnection between

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technologies of power and technologies of self is governmentality. Governmental techniques change the stimulation between technologies of power and technologies of self, first governs relations between individuals while the latter designs patterns for individuals' self-control.

Since the 17th century onwards, power over life has been developed in two major forms: *anatomo-politics of the human body* and *bio-politics of the population* (Foucault, 1978, p.21). First form of discipline deploys disciplining, optimization, docility, efficient and economic controls of the body as a machine. Diverse processes of power keep *anatomo-politics* functioning. Second form of discipline, bio-politics, focuses on the species body. Bio-politics regulates demographic processes, health, and life expectancy aiming to regulate life (Foucault, 1978). Ethico-political power is a new form of organization of self-regulatory mechanisms of power in collaboration with the bio-politics of population.

The Social

The relationship between technologies of self and ethico-political power is based on rise of the idea of 'social' in liberalism. Danzelot (1988, 1991) proposed that 'social' is an advantaged space where liberal government conducted its "self-review and self-renewal" in twentieth century. Dean (1999) explains the social as "a form of liberal government in that it seeks to work through a mass voluntary commitment to bettering the quality of family life" (p.53). First, liberal governmental intrusions are highly dependent on involvement of family members. Liberal system requires active commitment and participation of family members in its endeavors for the well being of the whole society. Norms on health, hygiene, education, or crime control established upon commitment of members of the society to the social ideal of well-being. Second, the idea of "social citizenship" has risen as an answer to liberal ways of

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governing which normalized inequality (as cited in Dean, 1999). As Procacci (as cited in Dean, 1999, p.54) states:

> The problem is how to diffuse the potential for conflict due to inequality and poverty in a society founded on civil and political inequality. … As a result of such tensions, a new field of policies, institutions, and scientific disciplines-the social- was promoted.

The social was proposed as a remedy for handicaps of liberal system. Diffuse of risk and responsibilities on social problems to the society as a whole intended to ease the burden of neo-liberal governmentality especially after the 1980s. "Politico-moral uncertainties" (Procacci as cited in Dean, p.54) of the system were alleviated via assertion of the social as a buffer zone between governments and the society.

The rise of social is also in correlation to liberal rationality. Questioning the roots of rationalities of governmentality in welfare states, Foucault (1988) points out two sources: First, the idea of city citizen inherited from the Greek police, second, the idea of pastoral power sourced from Christianity. Foucault (1988) claims that the major dilemma in rationalities of welfare states arose out of the antithetical nature of these two forms of power:

> Here the contrast is between a legal and political subject with rights and obligations, encapsulated in notions of the citizen, and the living individual who is the target of pastoral power, a being who is both obedient and needful (Foucault as cited in Dean, 1999, p.76).

The new game of power entitled "ethico-political power" emerges corresponding to neo-liberal governmental state. Depending on aforementioned contradictions, rise of 'ethico-political power' as a remedy to menaces of welfare state makes more sense. This new understanding of power reformulates and redefines the subjects to be governed and creates new linkages and idealized relationships between the individuals and governors. This new approach to power "puts new questions into play about the kinds of people we are, the kinds of problems we face, the kinds of relations of truth

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and power through which we are governed and through which we should govern ourselves" (Rose, 1999, p.188). As a lively extension of disciplinary power and bio-power in 20th century, ethico-politics' reference to "community" and social is more significant. Rose (1999) gives a brief description of ethico-politics as follows:

> If discipline *individualizes and normalizes*, and bio-power *collectivicizes and socializes*, ethico-politics concerns itself with the *self-techniques necessary for responsible self –government* and the *relations between one's obligation to oneself and one's obligation to others* (p.188).

Table 5. Power Diagram
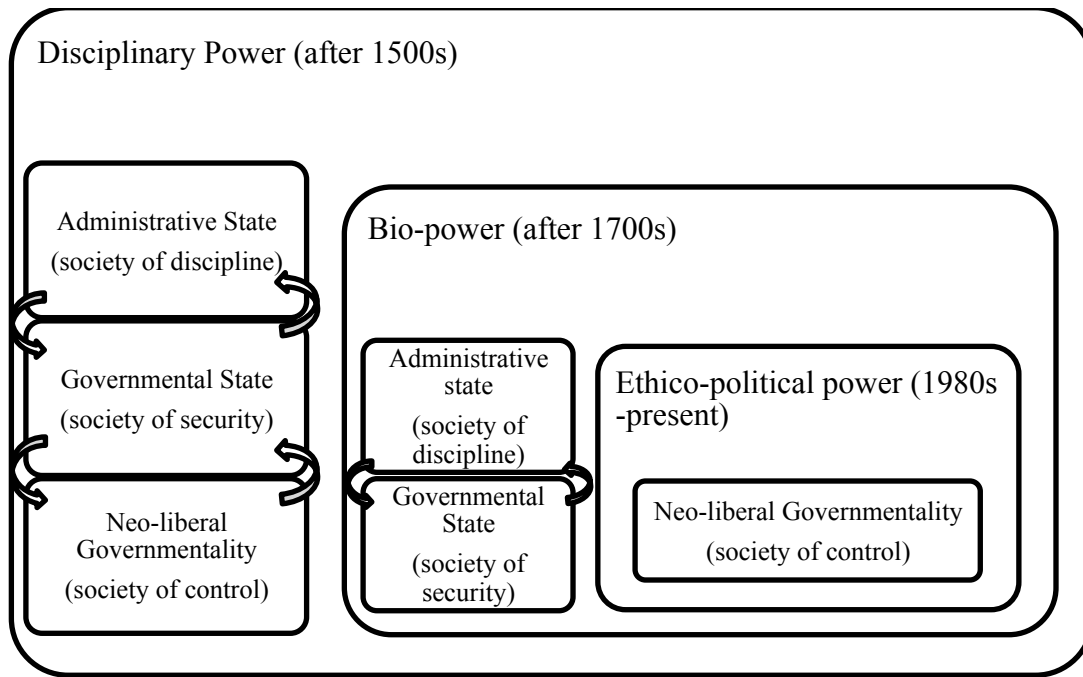
*Table is drawn by the author departing from the previous discussions on power.

In this win-win game, interestingly, neo-liberal policy targets society both individual and community levels. Neo-liberal policy emphasized and promoted the revival of "traditional agencies of moral authority—church, school, public figures- whose teachings and preaching would denounce bad or inferior forms of life conduct"

(Rose, 1999, p.185). The dilemma lies in a logical lock for Rose (1999) that these communal ties are the ones that had been demolished to a certain extent by the welfare regimes before. Rose (1999) details that:

> …demands for the revival of the traditional agencies of moral authority threaten the very basis of the economic development of the West since the 1960s: the commercialization of lifestyle and the demands of the free market which had vested so much in the unstoppable enhancement of the commodification of sex, pleasure, leisure and desire. A strategy of moral reform which relies upon the reintroduction of responsibility in problematic sectors – youth, the poor, and so forth- through attempts to impose and inculcate external and binding moral codes grounded by reference to tradition or theology seems bound to fail in its attempts to re-invent the past (p.185).

First, ethico-politics places a very arguable understanding of ethics into the center of individual responsibility. In this sense, modern liberal individual should perform within a certain mentality of ethics to value it. Second, this form of power emphasizes the role of community in social existence of individual. Although, collective responsibility and liberal individual seems contradictory, ethico-politics promotes reunion as a necessity for responsible members of society.

> Notions of morality and ethics generally rest on an idea of self-government. … Thus the notion of government extends to cover the way in which an individual questions his or her own conduct (or problematizes it) so that he or she may be better able to govern it. In other words government encompasses not only how we exercise authority over others, or how we govern abstract entities such as states and populations, but how we govern ourselves (Dean, 1999, p.12).

In this regard, technologies of self are not limited to one's control of himself/ herself but also it comprises problematization /speculation of the possible ways of control. Governmentality does not merely propose self-control and self-help for the sake of all, but also it demarcates the limits and extent of this control. Deliberate or not, governmental techniques intrude individual's relationship to her/his self, others and the world. From a Marxist viewpoint, this intrusion can be complimentary to mode of production's intervention to *lifeworlds* of individuals. While mode of production is

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inseparable from alienating mechanisms regarding individual's relation to her/his labor, others and self, mode of power economy is intermingled with techniques that reformulates multiple hierarchical power relations between the self and society.

> Government is crucially concerned to modify a certain space marked out by entities such as the individual, its self-hood or personage, or the personality , character, capacities, levels of self-esteem and motivation the individual processes. Government concerns not only practices of government but also practices of the self. (Rose, 1999, p.12).

Social mechanisms, which had been enslaved by neo-liberal seek of economic individual, are now recalled in sake of reviving a modern form of social security. Although seeming as a divergence from the neo-liberal project, this understanding frees governmental bodies from taking 'extra burden' in providing social security to diverse segments of society. In this regard, neo-liberal systems release themselves from targeting whole society and diluting their limited 'energy' for all. Instead, these mechanisms help neo-liberal systems to address certain populations 'to be helped' and some others 'to help themselves'.

3.3 Significance of Governmentality for Analysis of Global Policy-making

Governmentality studies have long been limited to sociology, social psychology, anthropology whereas finding Foucault's imprints in studies on global policy making was relatively hard (Walters, 2012). In the past decade numerous interdisciplinary studies have been published on following areas attaining value to governmentality studies and genealogical methodology: Studies on population management, division and distribution (M. Dean, 1999) security technologies (Bigo, 2002; Huysmans, 2006; Salter, 2007), transformations of development regimes, neo-liberal aid programs, humanitarianism and policy making (Abrahamsen, 2004; J. Best, 2007; Greenhalgh, 2008; Mitchell, 1988; Zanotti, 2005), global governance and bio-politics of the world population (Bashford, 2006; Jaeger, 2010). As Selby (2007) argues governmentality

provides an ontological and epistemological critique of certain international realities including policy making processes. Moreover, genealogical methodology provides answers on generalizable roots of modern day politics which goes beyond case studies or field research (Ferguson, 1990).

Poor, single parent, unemployed, homeless are not coincidental categorizations in welfare regimes. Similarly, categorizations of migrants or refugees are not simply ideological categories. These are governmental categories that are "necessary to the processes of the distribution of welfare benefits and other social services in liberal democracies" (Dean, 1999, p. 65). Approaching these hierarchical categorizations merely as ideological components of diverse forms of knowledge would be misleading. In this regard, analysis of "operations of regimes of practices" such as regimes of welfare and assistance lies at the core of study of governmentality. In this regard, our analysis shifts from examination the relationship between ideology and structure, into evaluation of operations of regimes (Dean, 1999). Evaluation of operations of regimes entails a genealogy of how these regimes that create diverse knowledges. Moreover, it also requires an *analytics of governmentality* to examine concrete aspects of such as policies, institutions, and programs.

One of the major arguments of this study depends on Dean's (1999) discussion on 'illiberality of liberal government'. Dean (1999) argues that liberal government presupposes "certain types of free subject in the operation of particular programmes of conduct" (p.132). Second, liberalism's categories such as "sane" "insane," "healthy" 'sick' create domination either individual's internal psyche or individual and his/her environment. Starting from early liberal thinkers, liberalism presupposes that liberty and governmentality can only perform to mature human beings (Dean, 1999). In this regard, despotic presumptions, categorization and interference to individual's life are innate and inseparable characteristics of liberal systems. Dean (1999) discusses despotic features of liberal systems as follows:

Similarly, a liberal approach to education must assume that most children will be capable of being trained in those habits that will lead them to the state of maturity and reason. One could argue that in these cases the forms of despotism required are relatively benign in that they take the form of cultural development, training and instruction. …there is the possibility of justification for authoritarian types of rule. This is particularly the case for unimproved nations, like, Africa, or those with knowledge but which are degenerate and static, like China, lacking any possibility of self-improvement. Thus 'their almost only hope for making any steps in advance depends on the chances of a good despot' (p.133).

Linkages between colonial rule and liberalism's principles of "liberal subject" also justify the proposition of self-governing, mature, liberal subject in post-colonial societies. In this regard, while some have already reached to 'liberal subject' level and able to participate in politics, make decisions and take political responsibility, others are subject to "disciplinary, bio-political and even sovereign interventions" (Dean, p.134). Liberal rationality does not only decide 'the inferior' or 'superior' but also regulates the means, strategies and programs which enhances the capacity of those who do not have the required characteristics.

Theoretically speaking, ethico-political power is an intrinsic part of neo-liberal policy making processes. Via promotion of self-governmentality and the "idea of social" in diverse policy programs of welfare system, ethico-politics became more than obvious especially after the 1980s. Presence of ethico-political power is not limited to discursive aspect of policy programs; yet, it is also existent in practices, institutional rationalities in line with state's withdrawal from welfare state ideal.

Lemke (2001) defines two advantages of Foucault's concept of governmentality in opening space for an extensive discussion while developing a strong critique of neo-liberalism. First, taken for granted separation of public and private as spheres of state and society in neo-liberal approach becomes more than boundaries of government in governmentality studies. On the contrary, Foucault's theoretical paradigm helps us to approach these limits as "instrument and effect" of exercise of governmentality

(Lemke, 2001, p.201). In this sense, states' or any governing organization's role does not diminish with these limitations.

Governmentality helps governing bodies penetrate more sharply into society whereas protecting these organizations' control role as well. Second, governmentality perspective let us perceive power and exercise of governing in a "continuum, which extends from political government right through to forms of self-regulation, namely 'technologies of the self'" (Foucault, 1988 as cited in Lemke, 2001, p.201). Hence, sharp distinction between "the governor" and "the governed" becomes fuzzier contrary to general perception. However, governmentality discussion does not find these diluting limits between the governor and the governed emancipatory. Contrariwise, this form of self-regulation is a technology of government targeting the very selves of individuals.

Lemke (2001) argues that these techniques facilitate control mission of government "without being responsible for them" (p.201). Lemke (2001) details this strategy as follows:

> The strategy of rendering individual subjects 'responsible'(and also collectives, such as families, associations, etc.) entails shifting the responsibility for social risks such as illness, unemployment, poverty, etc., and for life in society into the domain for which the individual is responsible and transforming it into a problem of 'self-care' (p.201).

Decline of welfare state ideal is coincided to changes in liberal government (Dean, 1999). States' or neo-liberal organizations' withdrawal from the scene regarding social problems, which had been under their responsibility before, endorses self-motivated agents as individually responsible citizens. In line with Lemke's (2001) analysis on technologies of self, Cruikshank's study on empowerment in Community Action Programs (CAPs) in the US since the 1960s is a significant critique of the neo-liberal rationalities of governmentality. Cruikshank (1999) argues that "democratic

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citizenship is less a solution to political problems than a strategy of government." For her, individual subjects are transformed into citizens via technologies of citizenship, discourses, programs, and other tactics aimed at making individuals politically active and capable of self-government" (p.2).

In another study on one child policy in China, Greenhalgh (2008) defines "Projects to govern human life are not concentrated in the state but instead involve a triad of governing authorities: state bureaucracies, professional (knowledge-based) disciplines, and self-governing individuals. Over time, power over life has gradually shifted from the state to these other domains" (p.7). Moreover, studying public policy is significant to understand "operations of modern power, the localization of global processes, and the formation of modern subjects" (Shore and Wright 1997, Wedel et al. 2005 as cited in Greenhalgh 2008).

In a more specific discussion on reflection of these mechanisms in social security systems, Rose (1999) argues that insurance and personal social services have been implemented by the policy makers as different technologies of government since 1950s. In this regard, personal responsibility and autonomy would be protected without creating dependency to the states directly. In his analysis, Rose (1999) claims that social security systems went hand in hand with neo-liberal understanding of social security. The latter would be provided by the help of individual initiatives that emphasized the role of different social mechanisms in survival.

In his analyses on the crime control strategies after the 1970s, Garland (1996) defines this new proposal to spreading responsibility beyond state agencies as "responsibilization strategy." Responsibilization endorses active involvement of non-state actors into crime control programs not to exhaust state's sources on the matter. Responsibilization also necessitates 'stimulating new forms of behavior' (Riley and Mayhew 1980 as cited in Garland 1996, p.452) as a part of developing communal

consciousness to protect social fabric. Thus, any unwanted result can directly attached to irresponsible individual, while governing bodies continue to protect their no falsifiable character.

To sum up, in its modern form, governmentality does not dilute its power of control with replacing discipline and sovereignty with a new form of power (Dean, 1999). On the contrary, ethico-politics and responsibilization extend leading and controlling roles of governing bodies to micro locales. Via placing responsibility and self-control into the heart of being an ideal member of society, ethico-politics found its place in policy programs of neo-liberal organizations especially after the 1970s.

3.3.1 *Relevance of Ethico-political Power to Immigration and Asylum*

Ethico-political power has certain aspects such as responsibilization, socializing and making outcomes collective that have certain reflections on immigration and asylum policies. Modern immigration and policy making processes take diverse geographies, states and immigrants themselves into play via responsibilizing, idealizing and forming certain identities to reach best policy ends. While defining differing social realties that are relevant to immigration and asylum, international organizations assign values to diverse actors such as states, organizations and immigrants themselves as 'taken for granted' categories. These labeling creates "deserving and undeserving migrants," "responsible states," in a continuous ethical positioning of different actors of international immigration and asylum regime.

Ethico-political power functions upon post-social rationalities that have a selective focus on individual and community. In the issue of migration, migrants are continuously surveilled, and they are categorized according to their possible contributions to the third countries. Their statuses are vaguely defined and redefined during the processes that dilute their access to their international rights. Ethico-political power's application of technologies of exclusion differentiates between

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citizens and others as well as differentiating the migrants within their groups as "skilled-unskilled," "docile-criminal" etc.

Apart from its technologies, ethico-political power also possesses certain visibilities such as numbers, statistics and legal humanitarian aid. These visibilities idealize the role of international actor and organizations in immigration and asylum policies. On the other hand, huge numbers of migrants whose statuses are vaguely defined do not receive any aid or support for survival. In this regard, ethico-political power conceals certain aspects of migration systems whereas polishing and idealizing the visible aspects.

Ethico-political governmentality of immigration and asylum also proposes new identities for host regions, states and migrants themselves. These "idealized" identity formation targets different actors in immigration and asylum regime. In this utopic formula, migrants are either valued or devalued in accordance with their idealized identities. They are motivated continuously to be a part of self-responsibilization, self-governmentality paradigm. Overall, via certain technologies of self and technologies of government, ethico-politics creates immigration and asylum policy-making system in today's world.

The following chapter gives the relationship between power economies, globalization and capitalism. The chapter aims to construct latent links between certain global socio-economic determinants on rise of ethico-political power in immigration and asylum policies. Ethico-political power defines, speculates and manages immigrants and refugees in a neo-liberal understanding of ethics. This post-social governmental power creates a worldwide grid where certain geographical regions (such as Horn of Africa and Ethiopia) as "safe third countries" whereas the rest is associated with strengthening of immigration control. In this regard, connections between globalization, capitalism and immigration and asylum are worth discussing to uncover

the global structural dynamics on reflections of immigration and asylum policies of Ethiopia. This perspective also helps to map Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa into global policy-making processes.

CHAPTER 4

GLOBALIZATION, NATION-STATE AND ANTI-CITIZENSHIP TECHNOLOGIES

The estimated global migrant stock in the world is 232 million in 2013, and it is rising (UN, 2013). As detailed in the UN data, in 1990, 40 million migrants were living in more developed countries than their countries of origin. This number increased to 82 million in 2013. These migrants also represent 10.8 per cent of population in these relatively developed regions (UN, 2013). In addition, only 10.2 million of this migrant population holds refugee status while 45.2 million are forcefully displaced people (UNHCR, 2011a). In 2013, more than half of the world migrants were living mainly in 10 developed countries. On the other hand, still most of world's migrants still reside in their regions of origin especially in Africa (IOM, 2003a; UNHCR, 2011a).

The figures highlight that global changes in immigration and asylum policies are also outcomes of patterns such as globalization, restructuring of capitalism in the world, and transformations of the sovereign states and understanding of citizenship (UNHCR, 2011a). Democratization movements and restructuring of states in Africa after decolonization, the Cold War era and dissolution of former Soviet Union and its allies, neo-liberal economic restructuring in diverse geographies as well as civil wars in different parts of the world can be counted among the general milestones of changing migration patterns in the world. Global developments along with the local dynamics of the states facilitated the worldwide circulation of capital, trade, services and movement of people.

Considering earlier discussion, in this chapter, I intend to approach neo-liberal governmentality and ethico-political power discussions from a macro perspective.

This chapter is composed of two parts. First part details effects of neo-liberal restructuring of global economy on nation-states and understanding of citizenship. This part also gives a brief on effects of these global transformations on African nation states and general immigration patterns in Africa. This part claims that neo-liberal economic restructuring of world economy fostered migration, however, it also set dividing practices between immigrants and citizens via "anti-citizenship technologies." Dividing technologies of citizenship legitimated discourse of "deserving" and "undeserving" immigrants. Second part, presents a discussion on rise responsibilization in neo-liberal policymaking as a background discussion for ethico-political paradigm. The second part claims that rise of responsibilization and social control over populations is closely related to transformation of liberal welfare regimes. Overall this chapter aims to answer the following research question: How did global restructuring of neo-liberalism and transformation of welfare regimes affect nation-states, migration and citizenship?

5.1 *Globalization, Capitalism and Nation-state*

Major transformation of Western state and reorganization of production occurred between 16th and 18th centuries. Contrary to feudal structure's stable production mechanisms, mercantilist era and rise of colonialism resulted in international overseas relations of production. Significance of agriculture rendered its importance to interstate trade and overseas manufacturing. Moreover rise of regional markets relatively decreased significance of local markets opening way for extended relations of production. Until the end of middle ages, market's role was not prominent in economic system while other institutional dynamics continued. Especially after the 16th century, markets gained variety and significance. Despite market's rising prominence for governments, idea of 'free market economy' was missing (Polanyi, 2001, p.55). An increasingly strict separation of local trade from long distance trade was the reaction of urban life to the menaces of mobile capital to disintegrate the institutions of the town.

Polanyi (2001) argues that medieval town protected itself from integration into an uncontrollable market of long-distance trade by controlling local market (p.65). The territorial states of the medieval era interfered into these obstacles opening way to "nationalization of the market" and "internal commerce" (Polanyi, 2001, p.65).

> Deliberate action of the state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries foisted the mercantile system on the fiercely protectionist towns and principalities. Mercantilism destroyed the outworn particularism of local and intermunicipal trading by breaking down the barriers separating these two types of noncompetitive commerce and thus clearing the way for a national market which increasingly ignored the distinction between town and countryside as well as that between the various towns and provinces (Polanyi, 2001, p.65).

Governments' interference into economy and deployment of priorities, which were prevalent economy in earlier centuries, valued certain types of social relations whereas degrading others. For instance, local market trade was not considered as 'organized trade' that was excluded from main economic centers. As Polanyi (2001) reasons "internal trade in Western Europe was actually created by the intervention of the state" (p. 63). In this regard, urban civilization was shaped around local and long distance trade in medieval cities.

In the second half of the 18th century Western economies met with factories as game changers in economic organization of sovereign states. After separation of labor and product became a central feature in Western economies, different control mechanisms followed to provide necessary social relations of production. Creation of competitive labor market in mid 19th century as a result of globalization opened way for rise of capitalism. As Polanyi (2001) argues, social history of 19th century was mainly designed by rise of market system. Separate markets unified in a market economy and started a self –regulating market in 19th century (p.83). Self-regulation of markets came along with globalization of capital and rise of capitalism.

In the 1920s capitalist development in imperialist countries started to give signals of crises. Hardt and Negri (2000) detail the disorder in capitalist development at this stage as follows:

> The growth and the concentration of industrial production, which the war had pushed to an extreme, continued at a rapid pace in the dominant capitalist countries, and the spread of Taylorism allowed for increasingly high levels of productivity. This rational organization labor, however, did not lead to the rational organization of markets, but instead only increased their anarchy (p. 240).

Tremendous economic crises in 1930s were outcome of strict wage regimes in Fordist production, "capitalist overinvestment and proletarian under consumption in the dominant capitalist countries" (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 241). The economic crises forced some states to take measures to control downsizing economies. While these measures increased state control in European countries over economy and fed nationalist ideologies, the US came out of economic crises as the major power against other colonial powers of the time. In the US, state encouraged high wages, high consumption and competition that were supported by Taylorism, Fordism and Keynesianism. As the bases of modern welfare state, the US developed a tripod system composed of "Taylorism to control reorganization of labor, Fordism in the wage regime and Keynesianism in the macroeconomic regulation of society" (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p.242).

> It was not a welfare state that was the product of economic and social policies that mixed public assistance and imperialist incentives, as had been the as in Europe, but rather one that invested social relations in their entirety, imposing a regime of discipline accompanied by greater participation in the process of accumulation. It was a capitalism that wanted to be transparent, regulated by a state that exercised liberal planning (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 242).

The significance of industrialization in world markets proposed Taylorism as the major production regime and Fordism as the ideal wage regime. Different countries that responded development and modernization with industrialism accepted this proposal. In this sense, disciplinary society is presumed as prerequisite of the

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disciplinary production regime. Rigid reasoning behind age's production regime shaped the mindset behind globalization. Due to global disciplinary principles in world market, globalization appeared not merely as intensified flow of labor, capital and wealth between center and periphery, but also as a disciplinary ideology that made this system possible.

Fordist production processes and differentiation of labor succeed relative developments in 1950s. Fordist production system enhanced mass production depending on assembly line system. In this system, production was mostly limited to certain spaces and dependent on huge numbers of workers. Production model and markets were mainly "homogeneous" (Dyer-Witheford & Gruneau, 1993). However same developments resulted in severe economic crises in 1960s.

Globalization is associated with post-industrialism or post-Fordism. Flexibilization of labor and enhanced internationalization of market are pointed out as core features of globalization in general. Roche (2003) summarizes these prominent characteristics of globalization with a reference to changing status of labor economy and market:

> Globalization refers to the rapid development of a multinational structure and role in large corporations and of genuinely global level of capital movement, production, organization and marketing. Flexibilization refers to the introduction of computerization and automation into goods production and distribution and into financial and information services for producers and consumers. This is at the heart of the currently much deviated shift from industrial to post-industrial or post-Fordist capitalism. Capital equipment and labor are having to become more flexible and skilled, capable of rapid adjustment to changing and segmented markets (Roche, 2003, p.222).

First, globalization dissociated economy from its national ties to a certain extent and made national markets open to global fluctuations. Although, Bretton Woods System tried to protect national economies from such fluctuations via adjustment of trade barriers, tariffs and additional measures, national economies were rapidly shaken by new international dynamics in 1960s. Second, huge differences occurred between Fordist mass production system and post-Fordist flexible specialization of labor

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systems. Arrighi (1994) argues that Fordist-Keynesian regime is enmeshed with "productivity and mass consumption" (p.2). Flexible post-Fordist economies required 'trained labor' instead of previous mass production mentality and further control mechanisms on production processes. On the other hand, specialization of labor created risk of mass unemployment.

5.1.1 Transformation of Role of Nation-States

In considering asylum policies of the Western states, Gibney (as cited in Milner, 2009) argues that "how much any state—or to be more specific, any government—can do for refugees will be determined largely by the possibilities afforded by its domestics political environment, and that environment will be shaped by a changing array of social, institutional and economic forces, both domestic and international in origin"(p.5). As a result, states' immigration and asylum policy-making processes are affected directly by domestic and global dynamics in tandem.

Although a facial decline in role of nation-states became apparent with rise of globalization in economy, nation-states' role did not decline but changed. This change in sovereignty and nation-state's role against corporations and transnational organizations facilitated capitalist restructuring in the periphery. Nation-states eased control over labor power and migrants while they also assisted local needs of capitalist restructuring, building roads, factories, housing, residences etc. As Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1994) argues "the world is still very much divided politically into nation-states that are unequal in their power and that serve differentially as base areas of international capital" (p.30).

Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc argued that nation states and global economic political dynamics should be approached as internally related parts of the same phenomenon. For them applying similar analyses to these dynamics would be more efficient rather than two different levels of analysis (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton

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Blanc, 1994). They details this interim relationships between global capital economy and nation states as follows:

> A global perspective must explicate the role and dynamic tensions generated by global capitalist hegemony, the hegemonic forces within each of the competing core capitalist states, the hegemonic constructions generated by dominant forces within peripheral states, and the active agency of the world's people as they live lives stretched across national borders (Basch et al., 1994, p.15)

Although, their role has transformed in accordance with the global economic restructuring, the nation-states are quite powerful in determining immigration and asylum policies as well. As Veney (as cited in Milner, 2009) highlights, "even in the poor countries the state is more than able to exercise sovereignty by deciding who to let in, who to keep out, how to threat those who are let in, and who to kick out when they are no longer wanted" (p.5). In this regard, sovereignty is still one of the prominent determining factors in immigration and asylum.

Milner (2009) argues, "states play a central role in the formulation and implementation of particular asylum policies (p.5). These actions in turn are motivated by the interests and priorities of states". States' changing roles with reference to global economy does not totally support the idea that state's role on their individual is decreasing. As Topal (2007) claims:

> Nation states have developed new perspectives suitable for the new global order, although they still insist on the jurisdictions where their traditional authority lies, such as controlling individual's entry into and exit from national territories (p. 50).

In line with this discussion, the nation state's transforming role facilitates global economy's activities in the local as well as international migration of people across territories. Nation states control and provide diverse structural contributions to capitalism, via enhancing social class differences, providing structural dynamics and control which capitalism needs in local. Likewise, nation states controls free

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movement of people in line with global economic expectations of capitalism depending on local and domestic principles of sovereignty.

There is a close connection between changing roles of the nation states, globalization, and the rise of capitalism. Concepts such as race, ethnicity and nationalism historically followed the rise of colonialism and capitalism in different parts of the world. As a part of localization and institutionalization of capitalism, different locales are taken into play. In this formula, differences of locales from each other were pointed out whereas ethnic groups and nationalities are categorized in their relation to capital centers sometimes in accordance with value for work force.

> The development of capitalism although it occurred on a global landscape, both contributed to and strengthened a division of the world into nation states and colonies. Concepts of both nation and race, honed and developed within the context of the expansion of Europe and the development of colonialism, developed as ways to speak about (1) the imagining of the national identity of the colonizer in relationship to the racially differentiated colonial population (Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies 1982) and (2) the positioning of different sectors of the work force within the colonizing state (Basch et al., 1994, p.38).

As detailed above, nationalist and ethnic categorization of local communities dissociated them from the colonizers. Moreover, this categorization also contributed different social class positions in newly globalizing economies. While some ethnic groups among different nation states are degraded, others have flourished according to their ties with economic centers. As a result, states developed immigration and emigration as different control tools over their populations.

> Emigration eventually came to be viewed by these colonial governments as a safety valve for the populations that their economic policies and practices could not support… Later colonial government policies even more explicitly favored emigration: colonial administrators both welcomed recruiters from foreign countries- for example, from the US owned oil refinery in Aruba- and approached other governments to recruit their workers (Basch et al., 1994, p.61).

As discussed by Basch, Glick Shiller and Szanton Blanc (1994), rise of nation state, colonialism and capitalism interconnected to each other in a global economic flow.

This relationship can be considered as the major drive behind migration flows in different parts of the world. Immigration is proposed as the easiest available solution to malaises of global capitalism which can be observed in forms of excessive production, cartels, monopoly, unemployment, excessive population growth in economic centers etc. Moreover, migration as an outcome of capitalist regulations also advised by developing states as a remedy to these global economic problems since colonial times.

5.1.2 Global Restructuring, Nation-state and Immigration in Africa

African migration movements cannot be fully comprehended without evaluating the effects of globalization, center-periphery dynamics and neo-liberal restructuring programs on post-colonial African states. Today, numerous African states encounter big populations, labor deficit in professional skills, huge unemployment levels that characterize in-state, inter-state, intra-regional and international migration in the continent. Distinct forms of labor migration, undocumented migration or asylum are present in African states:

> Labor migration from western and central Africa to other locations within the region as well as the countries of OECD and oil-rich countries of the Middle East; refugee flows within eastern and increasingly in western Africa; labor migration from eastern and southern African countries to southern Africa, and cross border clandestine migration of seasonal workers and nomads in West and East Africa (Adepoju, 2009).

Roots of these complex migration merge with effects of global restructuring of economy on Africa. Post-colonial African states' economic and political transformations were enmeshed with rise of globalization and capitalism. Decolonization movements in different parts of the world and decentralization of capital had a transformative impact on globalization of migration. In the new global political economy decolonization and rearrangement of world economic market in new hierarchical links between competitive states was noteworthy. This new world market

linked periphery to diverse centers the most powerful of which was the US (Hardt and Negri, 2000).

According to Wallerstein (1979) the world economy and restructuring of the world powers based on colonialism until the 20th century affected migration movements in the world. However in the post-colonial era, corporate capitalism and neo-colonialism became the major dynamics of the world's capital circulations. Departing from Wallerstein's thesis, Morawska (as cited in King, 2013) extrapolates the following argument on migration flows:

> …the colonial imprint on these international population flows remains strong because of pre-existing colonial-era ties between past colonial powers and their former colonies, creating transport and communication infrastructures, administrative links, and linguistic and cultural commonalities (p.18).

The world powers' center-periphery relations with their former colonies affect migration flows as well as the circulation of resources, labor and capital in the world. According to Wallerstein's thesis, the industrialized centers meet their resource needs via production, investment and restructuring in third world countries. In addition to this circulation from center to periphery, the periphery provides resources, goods and labor force to be recruited to the center's diverse employment sectors. This macro perspective pictures the lasting circulation and demand between different geographies that serve as a hub for migrants.

> The development of an international division of labor and the integration of the world by transnational corporations that develop worldwide systems of production, distribution, and marketing affect both the flow of immigrants and the manner in which they come to understand who they are and what they are doing (Basch et al., 1994, p.12).

Differing movement of capital and labor affected African states closely. Decolonization and apartheid movements in Africa created different central state models, one party system in Africa. Searching a place in global economy was a necessity more than a choice for newly independent states of Africa. In the first

decades of independence African states mainly relied on foreign subsidies for a "takeoff" effect in their economies. This perspective resulted in numerous failed states. For instance, Somalia depended on Italian and British aid consisting of 31 per cent of the country's national budget (Marchal, 1996 as cited in Gundel, 2002). As Gundel details "from 1960 to 1970 the level of foreign aid per capita was one of the highest in sub-Saharan Africa" (p. 259). Somalia is one of the significant instances of the different effects of global economic restrictions on African states.

Adepoju (2009) claims that IMF and World Bank's structural adjustment programs (SAPs) created similar effects in African migration. For instance, restriction of local labor power in health sector due to globally imposed fiscal policies caused huge unemployment in health sector. Thousands of skilled employees are forced to leave South Africa, Bostwana, Uganda, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Kenya and many African countries to seek better opportunities in Europe or in the US. In this regard, some countries' investment in human resources after independence did not result in better opportunities for the countries, yet, caused huge brain drain (Adepoju, 2009).

Veney (2007) highlights role of global restructuring of economy in numerous conflicts in Africa after independence. She marks that one-product dependent economies' test with Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) resulted in complications in African social groups and state society relations. She gives Rwanda in 1990s as an example of a coffee dependent economy trying to adopt SAPs and democratization within a multicultural society of Hutus and Tutsis. As widely known, outcome was damaging for Rwanda.

Multiple dynamics affected labor and capital mobility, industrial production and control while profit-seeking corporations changed economy and politics in peripheral nation-states as well as core capitalist states. When the rules of global capitalism transformed, as much as decolonization, "decentering of the sites and flows of production" became another important mechanism that shaped the transformation of

world market (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 246). Especially in late 70s transnational corporations spread their economic and social activities in diverse parts of the world. Linking periphery to center, these transnational companies and corporations took a transformative role in newly independent countries' economies. Transnational corporations not only changed the mobilization of labor force but also encouraged usage of new technologies in production processes of these countries (Hardt and Negri, 2000). In this regard, many African countries initiated SAPs; accept international foreign direct investment and monetary loans from IMF and World Bank.

Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (1994) argue that industrial production flourished in periphery "where labor was cheap and politically repressive regimes "guaranteed" labor peace (p.25). In this regard, African states reliance on international loans create huge deficits in local production, labor power whereas resulted in complications for state society relations at large. Repressive regimes were supported as part of "win-win" perspective that caused millions to relocate in search of better life chances within and out of Africa.

5.1.3 *Deindustrialization, Immigrants and Anti-citizenship Technologies*

Another significant aspect of capitalism's relationship to immigration is capitalism's changing character, needs and expectations from national populations in terms of understanding of citizenship. As a result of rapid deindustrialization and limitations of work force recruitments, states' relationship with their populations have transformed. Not only work force has shrank since the 1980s but also states started to withdraw from their social duties towards people. For instance, while numerous peripheral countries industrialized and still continue to industrialize, the US and many core countries went into a phase that is called "deindustrialization". Deindustrialization slowly but surely resulted in new definitions for citizenship that are categorizing and discriminative between the ideal 'deserving citizens' and others.

To evaluate briefly, deindustrialization refers to period when economic investments' focus shifts from industrial production into finance and services sectors.

> Large loans made to third world countries by the international Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the international banking establishment led to an increasing level of debt service. While in 1980s these countries were the net recipients of capital at the level of 39.6 billion dollars, by 1986 the amount of capital that flowed into these countries through private investment and foreign aid was exceeded by a net outflow of 24 billion dollars (Knight 1989, p.32 as cited in Basch et al., 1994, p.25)

These loans, which are supposed to help local economies, created local unemployment, large migration to city centers and crises in local economies. Stress on local economy generally resulted in "intense capital penetration" and "increased pool of available labor as whole families often migrated to urban areas" (Basch et al., 1994, p.26). Especially metropolitan areas and urban centers replaced industrial employment with service sector and office employment (Basch et al., 1994). Dramatic changes in industrial employment mostly affected less skilled labor and immigrants in core capitalist states. Since finance and service sector necessitated particular skilled labor, people who did not acquire necessary skills lost their jobs.

Sassen (1990) claims that this period intensified undocumented and low paid jobs such as child labor, street vendors, or sweatshops. Most people whose skills do not meet changing needs of deindustrializing countries are drowning into low paid, undocumented and unsecure jobs. As widely known, these jobs are mostly demoralized by developed states as a part of undocumented workforce, on the other hand they are supported surreptitiously as a result of states' need for cheap labor force. Undocumented jobs triumphed while service sector and clerical employment arose as a result of deindustrialization.

Another problematic aspect in facial development of local economies in this period was the mobility of multinational companies and corporations in search of cheap labor and available resources in diverse geographies. In general, once labor expenses

amplified in a country and immigrants start to hunt for better standards, multinational companies tended to invest in different countries. Consequently, there occurred an internal relationship between immigration to industrial centers, large economic loans and labor power that created a "vicious circle" for immigrant workers (Rothstein and Blim 1992, as cited in Basch et al., 1994, p.26).

> The current conjuncture of global capitalism contributed to the insecurity of international migrants, because global economic dislocation, long-term economic retrenchment and recession and the restructuring of production, processes throughout the world have either reduced or unexpectedly altered demands for labor (Basch et al., 1994, p.26).

Sassen (1991) argues that another characteristic of migration movements is the demand-driven character of migration that directs immigration movements towards the highly industrialized countries. In global cities of the world such as New York and London, labor gets segmented into diverse categories of class, gender, race, and nationality as a result of a limited number of available migrants jobs (Samers as cited in King, 2013, p.10). The migrants compete for service sector jobs in particular, whereas the nationals occupy most of the finance sector jobs. According to Sassen (1991), in global cities, this division is more obvious where there are huge financial centers and producer services. In this regard, demand from the host cities for cheap labor dominates the other pull factors in today's migration movements.

This atmosphere increased vulnerability of immigrants in different parts of the world. Decades long transformation had a contentious effect on citizenship as well. States began to define "deserving" and "undeserving" populations for their social support. While states' support on citizens shrank, many migrants continued to rush to developed countries in degrading conditions that still represents one of the greatest dilemmas of today's liberal citizenship regimes.

5.1.3.1 Anti-Citizenship Technologies

In accordance with global transformations in restructuring of capitalism, state's position and rise of advanced liberal rationalities, the state's relationship with its population has changed drastically since the eighteenth century. During middle ages, population was important in terms of its contribution to state's power. Due to changing understanding of citizenship, population's significance for state has transformed. Nowadays not only population's size matter itself but also its efficiency and quality is counted in modern day state policies. Burchell (in Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991) details this changing relationship as follows:

> Population in the eighteenth century is identified increasingly as both a specific and relative reality. It is no longer conceived of as a set of elements and forces contributing to the state's greater wealth, strength and glory, or as the sum of useful individuals to be put to work in accordance with the regulatory decrees of the sovereign's rational will. Nor is it a simple collection of legal subjects. Least of all, perhaps, is it an ethical community of equal citizens (Burchell in Burchell, Gordon & Miller, 1991, p.126)

According to Burchell (1991), population is now more than a collection of legal subjects but a community of ethical and equal citizens. In this ethics and equality discourse citizens are destined to govern their lives in accordance with their citizenship duties. Unless they satisfy these expectations, they do not possess any rights to deserve state services. While states are withdrawing from welfare state ideals especially in the last four decades, these expectations from citizens have also changed.

Roche (2000) contends that national economies' changing relationship with global economy deeply affected state's definition of full citizenship. In this new formula, full contributors to economy started to enjoy utmost rights of their national citizenship as deserving members of society who can claim full social citizenship rights. While global economy's expectation from national and local economies transformed, states expectations from their citizens are also changed. This relationship between state and

citizens not only proposes proper relations between these two; however, it also defines states' approach to migrants, asylum seekers, undocumented workers etc. as 'others'.

Inda (2006) argues that certain mindsets and intellectual mechanisms organized "illegal migration as an object of government"(p.7). While illegal migration, or refugees are designed monitored and observed as governable subjects, system also conceals the ones that it cannot govern or control. For instance, undocumented migrants reflect that diverse face of the immigration and refugee regime. While they cannot be counted they cannot be controlled as well. In this regard, system decides for whom it can be responsible for, and the others who are left to their community's mercifulness. Certain groups in modern state fall outside of citizenship discourse and fit into what Inda (2006) prefers to call "anti-citizenship". Inda (2006) claims that securitizing and differentiating approach to migrants should be examined as a governmental technology of the modern state. He states that governmental strategies of modern state are a composite of inclusive and exclusive policies:

> …it is necessary to understand not just the inclusions of contemporary governmental technologies and political rationalities but also their exclusions – to grasp how post-social regimes have been actively involved in producing and naturalizing a highly racialized division between the prudent and the anti-prudent, the autonomous and the dependent, the citizen and the anti-citizen, and the ethical and the unethical (p.18).

As Inda (2006) evaluates, modern state governance intrinsically promotes discrimination between citizens and others. While providing certain rights to eligible, documented, qualified citizens certain rights based on ethnic, racial, or social class dynamics, states do not hesitate to put hurdles before "others." These groups either can be legal citizens living in a state but in undesired circumstances such as criminals, prostitutes, poor, unequal, or they can be undocumented migrants. In both situations states do not avoid putting hurdles before these groups. These hurdles can be in the form of poor laws that necessitates certain types of qualities or efforts to reach social services or they can be in form of migration or asylum criteria that provide passage

into a country. Via such examinations and categorizations, states constantly define prudency, ethicality and citizenship.

These systemic categorization, evaluation and selection are directly sourced from liberal understandings of equality. As is touched upon in different parts of this study Mitchel Dean and Nicolas Rose argue that we cannot think citizenship, immigration or individual rights without referring to liberal understanding of equality. With a reference to shepherd –flock analogy of Christian ethics, they recall Foucault's critics to liberal ethics. As all argue according to liberal ethics, a responsible shepherd should not hesitate to discipline and punish the deserving subjects while rewarding the rest. In this sense, everybody is equal as much as they comply with the rules of system. Unless they comply, they do not reserve to be taken care of.

> Within liberal forms of government, at least, there is a long history of people who, for one reason or another, are deemed not to possess or to display the attributes (e.g. autonomy, responsibility) required of the juridical and political subject of rights and who are therefore subjected to all sorts of disciplinary, bio-political and even sovereign interventions (Dean, 1999, p.134).

In line with these arguments Straehle (2007) argues that immigration have to be contextualized within "first order liberal principles". According to Straehle (2007), today's immigration regimes disrupt "the implementation of the liberal principle of individual autonomy and equality of opportunity" (p.8). These principles do pave a way to double approach to immigration and asylum seekers contrary to democratic equality principles of contemporary politics.

> Debates about social justice, citizenship and minority rights abound in political theory today, of course, but most of those contributing to these debates accept the regulations determining the make-up of the community in which principles of social justice ought to be conceived, or in which fair citizenship and minority rights should apply (Straehle, 2007, p.9).

The ethics based categorization of citizens is certainly proposes ethico-political governmentality of citizenship. Inda (2006) argues, "Welfare recipients are thus

basically constructed as non-prudential subjects existing outside the circuits of civility and responsible self-management" (p. 19). The state introduces ethico-political measures in form of policies to end dependency and to reach self-sufficiency. Inda (2006) details this precise strategy as follows:

> The idea of such post-social schemes is thus to govern the excluded in a way that prepares them to take upon themselves the responsibility for managing their own well-being and that of their kin. Should the project of ethical reconstruction fail, however, and it does fail, people are nevertheless cut off from aid and left to their own devices (p. 19).

The focus of modern "anti-citizenship" technologies on the advance of "self-government, self-monitoring, self-reliance, and self-actualization" is significant (Inda, 2006, p. 40). People who are not capable of providing self-survival should be defines as imprudent and separated from the rest in terms of space, social class or their benefiting from social services of the states such as education and health. States apply these programs of self-reliance or self-government as a part of a governmental strategy as detailed by Inda:

> These technologies, as I have noted, can be divided into two families: one, which we have called technologies of citizenship, endeavors to reanimate the independent capacities of unethical citizens and reintroduce them into networks of prudent self-management, while the other, dubbed anti-citizenship technologies, deems the ethical reconstitution of such citizens unlikely and therefore seeks to govern them through strategies of containment. The former family of technologies is best exemplified in the government of welfare, the latter in the management of delinquency and illegalities. (Inda, 2006, p. 46).

As said by Inda (2006), governmental bodies enforce different control techniques in form of self-government. Government of welfare in modern states is performed via citizenship technologies. Final aim of these citizenship technologies is to restore capacities of unethical citizens. These are the ones who are deemed as groups that are needed to be motivated to reach their ultimate self-government. These groups include poor, less educated or sometimes women. Via constructing ideals and images for these

groups, governmental bodies try to take them into game. In this sense, citizenship technologies do not give them fish but aims to teach them how to catch a fish.

Another aspect of anti-citizenship technologies target delinquents and illegals apart from 'dependent populations'. These groups are considered as unreliable members of the society who are supposed to be contained or controlled continuously. Since these groups undermined trust and conscience of the society they do not deserve to be trusted. Inda (2006) details, how certain responsibilization strategies target these groups as well:

> They sought to reactivate the autonomous capabilities of such anti-citizens in order to get them off welfare and reinsert them into circuits of responsible self-management. The most significant technology of citizenship was undoubtedly the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (the Welfare Act) (Schram as cited in Inda, 2006, p.48-49).

To conclude, anti-citizenship governmental technologies, not only differentiate between citizens and outsiders (such as migrants) but also these technics draws distinctions among citizens as well. Thus, evaluation of immigration and asylum policy should be examined as an extension of this categorizing, labeling and sometimes discriminative paradigm that does not merely affect migrants but also all 'undeserving' citizens.

5.2 Rise of Responsibilization in Neo-liberal Policy Making

In the twentieth century the Western state was characterized by welfare state that is supported by "complex social bureaucracy and care" (Rose, 1999). The welfare system was also supported by expertise and specialization that aimed to provide collective security via collective responsibility. Citizen was defined with social rights and needs that are guaranteed via "collective dependencies and solidarities" (Inda, 2006, p.10). Since the 1970s welfare state has been criticized for creating

"dependency, client mentality, delinquency, immorality" that needed treatment Rose (2000, p.157). The welfare state was also started to be considered highly bureaucratic and interventionist. Post-social /post-industrial state approach started to replace welfare state opening space for more control with less state intervention.

Building upon this background, ethico-political governmentality of global immigration and asylum will be detailed in Chapter 5. However, ethico-political paradigm is a result of evaluation of liberal welfare regimes. In this regard, this part presents a background discussion on rise of social and responsibility in neo-liberal policymaking. Transformation of understanding of social security and welfare into a self-responsibility paradigm is significant to comprehend why neo-liberal states place an ethical paradigm into policy making?

5.2.1 Transformation of Liberal Welfare States

Industrial capitalism's transformation into late capitalism created diverse economic models and seek for difference in labor. As discussed earlier, industrial capitalism and globalization affected each other as well as affecting labor dynamics in different parts of the world. First, industrial centers welcomed different levels of skilled and so called unskilled labor to meet their economy's demands for restructuring. However, especially after the 1970s monopoly capitalism started to direct its interest in financialization in world economy. While metropolitan centers are more financialized, their labor demands transferred from relatively unskilled labor to skilled expertise on specific sectors. McGee (2005) explains these processes as follows:

> …corporate structures that had once relied on "vertical integration"— a multitiered hierarchy of management structures overseeing a relatively stable labor force—were increasingly flattened. Middle management positions were eliminated in waves of what came to be known in the early 1990s as "downsizing." (McGee, 2005, p.14)

With a reference to Max Weber's study on Protestantism in Europe and its role in emergence of "entrepreneurial capitalism" McGee (2005) claims that a new ethics was called to encounter today's capitalism (p.15). Since today's late capitalism necessitates new identities for individuals as well as new concepts for nationhood and citizenship, it also proposes new self for individuals. As McGee (2005) discusses, contemporary capitalism seeks for transformation in cultural, social and interpersonal structures.

> While "postmodernism" has been the umbrella term for the cultural formations of advanced capitalism, the proliferation of recent academic and scholarly books on the topic of "the self" suggests how contested identity, selfhood, or "subjectivity" has become. The self has been described variously as mutable, protean, autotelic and evolving, multiple, marginal, postmodern, narcissistic and minimal, hungry and empty, saturated and seeking, invented and enterprising, well-tempered, playing, and "decentered." (McGee, 2005, p.15).

In accordance with McGee's argument and this study's theoretical claims, diverse phases of liberal welfare regime corresponded to certain modes of governance and specific rationalities for governance of individuals, economy and state. Global restructuring of capitalism necessitated new identities for individuals, which are more open to subjectivity, mutation and selfhood. The late capitalism or post-capitalism in advanced liberal times promoted self-governance to replace welfare commitments of previous decades.

Table 6. Evolution of Liberal Welfare Regime

	Defining concepts	Administrative basis	Mode of governance	Principle of welfare
Poor Law era	Classical political economy and pauperism	Local/ decentralized	Utilitarian: illiberal coercion; stigma and manipulation'	Old' pastoral paternalism/ case-work
Welfare State era	Keynesianism and social citizenship	Centralized bureau-professional	Disciplinary: rules, incentives, and pecuniary sanctions	Dispensing/ adjudicating social rights
Workfare State era	Monetarism and consumerism	Contractualized-manegerialist	'Advanced' liberal: promoting self-governance	New civic paternalism/welfare-to-work

Source: (H. Dean, 2006).

Advanced capitalism /post-capitalism is a significant stage of mode of governance in transformation of liberal welfare regime. This mode of governance initiated a social security mechanism via promoting self-governance, social and collective responsibility. Monetarism and consumerism characterized the workfare state era, whereas investment on individual for social control and social security became inseparable parts of the system. Rose (as cited in Inda 2006) discusses post-social power and its promotion of multiplicity of government:

> Post-social rule, then, entails new modes of apportioning the work of government between the political apparatus, communities, economic actors, and private citizens. It seeks to govern not by means of society but through managing the choices of the citizen, constructed now as a being who aspires to be self-actualizing and self-fulfilling (Rose 1996a as cited in Inda, 2006, p.13).

Although, post-social power seems like diminishing the power of governmental bodies, it protects their power via enabling them to control multiple actors such as

"enterprises, organizations, communities, professionals, individuals" (Rose, 1996, p.56).

> …a detaching of the center from the various regulatory technologies that, over the twentieth century, it sought to assemble into a single functioning network, and the adoption instead of a form of government through shaping the powers and wills of autonomous entities: enterprises, organizations, communities, professionals, individuals (Rose 1996a: 56).

Inda (2006) details this shift of governmental responsibility from state to multiple actors as follows:

> Nonetheless, the ideal of the social state has generally given way to that of what could be called the post-social state. This new ideal is such that political government is no longer obligated to tackle all the ills of social and economic life. It is no longer required to plan, know, and direct from the center in order to address society's desire for health, security, and welfare. The responsibility for dealing with these problems is therefore largely displaced from the state to a multitude of specific actors: individuals, schools, communities, localities, hospitals, charities, and so on (p. 12).

Advanced capitalism responsibilizes individual in two ways: Putting responsibility on individuals for their own self-governance and holding them responsible for their families and people who needs care. When we recall modern elderly or childcare services, home based care systems for sick or disabled people, we see huge responsibility is put on shoulders of individual and communities. Since "social structures and individual identities are mutually constitutive" affecting each other, changes in social structures create and necessitate a change in individual identities (McGee, 2005, p. 13).

Identity formative character of post-social rule assigns specific, idealistic principles on woman. The woman's role is proposed to change along with the transforming ideals of neo-liberal welfare regimes. For instance, during financialization of economy and downsizing of work force, labor became more and more insecure. Women's increased participation into labor force created a more competitive work environment especially

after the 1970s. Although many as the "end of work" see this period McGee (2005) argues that for American society this period became the start of "endless work" (p. 15).

> …the idea of the belabored self asks us to reconsider the cultural preoccupation with the self in terms of labor. Not only is extensive and ongoing labor on the self required of working people under advanced capitalism, but the labor of caring for others and managing the details of domestic life collides head-on with the imperative that everyone—man, woman, and child—focus on inventing an autonomous or self-sufficient self. (McGee, 2005, p.16)

This relationship is also prevalent between economic structures and individual identities. An emphasis on women's changing role in social policy making is necessary at this point. When role of women in social policies especially in time of advanced capitalism is considered, it would not be unjust to say social policies created a gender-biased structure in governmentality of social life. Numerous policies promoted increasing responsibility for women not only in labor force, but also providing care services at home. McGee (2005) criticizes the position adhered to women as follows:

> The traditional ideal of the self-made man relied on the privileged positions afforded to men. Women had long been urged to support the "self invention" of sons, husbands, and brothers (McGee, 2005, p.13).

Especially when the women's participation in labor force created competition in labor, social policies started to promote women's different responsibilities. In this self-realization picture of women are assigned for bearing children, care for elderly and ill and support for self-realization of men. These necessary roles also stopped many women to realize their self-invention or success whereas taking burden of states in times of economic crises:

> …changing economic circumstances—declining real wages and increased uncertainty about employment stability and opportunities—created a context in which constant self-improvement is suggested as the only reliable insurance against economic insecurity (McGee, 2005, p.13).

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Inda (2006) argues that governmental organs monitors and controls these diverse mechanisms such as entities, organizations, institutions and individuals indirectly observing their performances and choices. While these bodies possess decision-making power, they are also hold responsible for their actions and choices.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter provided a background for further examination of construction of ethico-political paradigm in global immigration and asylum plans in Chapter 5. This part gave a brief on effects of global restructuring of capitalism and transformation of neo-liberal welfare states on role of nation states, immigrants, and citizenship. Degrading effects of neo-liberal restructuring of capitalism in general migration patterns in Africa is also presented.

This part contended that changing prerequisites of neo-liberal restructuring of capitalism effected migration patterns in the world in depth. While earlier industrial centers welcomed thousands of immigrants as labor power, post-industrial era differentiated dynamics of demanded labor power. Along with these changes, shift of global investors interest in diverse resources created a vicious circle for immigrants. Their labor power is required in new centers whereas when migration intensified labor power cheapened. Along with these dynamics, modern states approach immigrants via dividing practices that are defined as "anti-citizenship technologies" in the chapter. The chapter showed that nation-states' distinction between citizens and "others" contradicts with the understanding of "equality". However, the chapter is also presented that this dividing practices are extensions of liberal ethics of equality that defines itself via binary contradictions of "deserving" and "undeserving" people.

Intense neo-liberal policies had certain negative effects in African continents' conflicts, dependency issues, poverty and unemployment. SAPs degrading effects left thousand local producers and laborers unemployed while certain brain drain reduced educated professionals in under-developed African states. In this regard, this part

briefly presented that transformation of African national economies, nation-states and democratic structures as well as migration movements are closely related to global dynamics.

Neo-liberal welfare regimes' transformation found their resonance in different policy making processes in the world such as welfare policies, austerity policies, education and health provisions and immigration and asylum policies as well. These changes constructed an arguable ethical perspective via dividing practices, responsibilization and identity formation in different levels of policy making. This part also argued that neo-liberal welfare regime's transformation put certain responsibilities upon communities, social groups and especially on women. In this sense, this part also showed that responsibility paradigm carries engendering aspects.

CHAPTER 5

ETHICO-POLITICAL GOVERNMENTALITY OF GLOBAL IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM

Even decades after the first conventions and agreements on immigration and asylum policies, we still hear heartbreaking stories of migrants in different parts of the world. While immigration and asylum barriers arose, border policies strengthen and numerous types of surveillance systems are used, migrants risk their lives more in search of better life standards. Boats carrying hundreds sink in overseas travels, people lose their lives trying to cross-deserts, many risk themselves trying to sneak into border crossing trucks, thousands are taken into jails on borders of different countries… According to IOM yearly report, 2014 has been the deadliest year for irregular migrants 4,868 died and many risked their lives in search of better lives (IOM, 2014c). Agier (2011) describes current reality of some asylum seekers as follows:

> It is the reality of dozens of Sudanese exiles (27 according to the police, but over 150 according to human rights organizations) was killed by the Egyptian police in the center of Cairo on 30 December 2005, after having been deprived of their rights by the UN High Commission for Refugees, whose representative himself requested the Egyptian government to expel the Sudanese. It is that of the European frontiers made tighter by the hardening of security police after 2002-5: borders of many kinds, dotted with sophisticated control systems, high barriers (Ceuta, Melilla), waiting zones for traveller without visa (there are 100 of these at French sea ports and airports), or again administrative detention centers for foreigners and asylum seekers (30 or so in France in 2007) (p.3).

These stories are covered frequently in today's media and unfortunately they become normalized. However, this rise in immigrants who are risking themselves should also make us think more on structure of governmentality of immigration and asylum

policies that perform upon an ethico-political paradigm. Since its formal introduction to international relations after the World War II, immigration and asylum regime changed its tools, aim and scope significantly according to changes in the political, economic and social dynamics of migration. As a system of organization of policies and practices regarding immigrants, immigration and asylum regime declined itself as a regime of practice for humanitarianism. In this regard, it was introduced as 'humanitarian' and 'apolitical' regime that consists of protective set of policies and principles regarding immigrants. During the birth of international immigration and asylum laws, "statism and sovereignty shaped the concept of protection" (Barnett, 2001, p.252). However, "protection of peoples" before "protection of sovereigns" has become the definitive characteristics of immigration and asylum policies in the late 1970s reflecting the new idea of "international peace and security" (Reisman 1990 as cited in Barnett, 2001, p.254).

This change in discourse of immigration and asylum policies mainly was a reaction to the rising immigrant and refugee numbers in the world. Refugee population in the world has increased from a few million in the mid-1970s to some ten million by the late 1980s. This unexpected rise in refugees gave the first signals of "refugee fatigue" in the western host states (Barnett, 2001, p.255). By the year 1995 the number of refugees had reached around 20 million (Feller, 2001). In accordance with global dynamics, refugee protection and 'freedom of movement' arguments slowly but surely evolved into a "security-migration-development nexus" approach (Faist, Fauser & Kivisto eds, 2011). Relating out migration with insecurity and underdevelopment of resource countries, international organizations started to promote regional development programs as a part of durable solutions within the context of this paradigm shift. Programs supported immigrants and refugees' stay at least in their regions of origin, unless it is possible to resettle them back into their home country (Berhanu, 2000).

As discussed in earlier chapters, ethico-political power is an inseparable part of neo-liberal policy making. Neo-liberalism's promotion for self-government and its emphasis on idea of social in diverse welfare and policy making programs is a representation of ethico-political power in policy making. As argued in different chapters on diverse modes of governance and power in history, this chapter claims that ethico-political power is predominant in today's immigration and asylum policies. This chapter aims to discuss different visibilities of ethico-politics in immigration and asylum policy documents with a specific focus after 2000.

This chapter starts with a brief history of development of immigration and asylum policies in the world. The historical background precisely covers immigration policies after 1950s. Such a time division is necessary considering the major changes in immigration and asylum policies after World War II and later on during times of neo-liberal policy making. Following historical background, this chapter includes definition of related concepts such as refugee, migrants, and asylum seeker and provides a contextual discussion on development of these concepts. This discussion also situates diverse categorization of immigrants into human rights and humanitarian rights debate.

This chapter relies on content analysis of the documents detailed in Chapter 2. Following similar line and research methods with previous governmentality studies, this chapter also provides discussions on how immigration and asylum issued / constructed / problematized in development of immigration and asylum policies.

This chapter argues that legal and social categorizations of immigrants are not only legal but also ideological, and context dependent. That is why in diverse contexts, and time periods some categories overcome the usage of other categories. The application of these concepts occurs in a selective manner. As a part of this study's methodological stand, immigration and asylum will be defined as parts of a composite social paradigm. In this regard, vagueness between definitions of immigrant, refugee,

asylum seeker or IDP's and its reflection in policy-making processes are left vague intentionally. This approach claims that although human rights accessions and diverse definitions in law are prevalent, immigrants and refugees are intermingled in numerous aspects of policy making. For instance undocumented migrants, refugees who live outside of camps or economic migrants sometimes fall into both categories of immigrant and refugees which policies disregard intentionally. While conventions put 'well-found fear of persecution' as major criterion for being a refugee, how is it determined and how it could be justified is a bit of a political question. While this approaches eases hand of policymaking and limits passage of certain rights to limited groups, as a governmentality study, this study also present dilemmas that are reflected in policy documents.

In the same vein, this chapter focuses on immigration and asylum as presented in specified documents. In this regard, instead of limiting this research with a specific type of migration, this study tries to evaluate diverse types of migration as represented in documents. By the way, it will also question how distinctions between different types of immigration and migrants are handled in different documents.

6.1 *Development of Immigration and Asylum Policies in the World*

Worldwide since the World War II some 50 to 60 million people have left their homes or uprooted. Wars, conflicts, environmental degradation, economic and social problems still continue to be prominent causes of people's flight from their homes. In 1951 most of the refugees were European, however, today, most refugees are from Africa and Asia. (UNHCR Fact Sheet no.20, n.d.). Especially in the past, refugee movements were accepted as individual cases; on the other hand, today's movements are increasingly taking the form of mass exoduses. Eighty per cent of today's refugees are women and children.(UNHCR Fact Sheet no.20, n.d.) Today there are at least 17 million people in transit seeking some form of asylum-over 6 million in Asia, 4.2 million in Europe. As Whittaker details "The so called ones of anguish, from which

'persons of concern' have flooded, were Europe in the 1950s, Africa in the 1960s, Asia in the 1970s and 1980s and, once more, Europe, particularly since the 1990s" (2006, p. 1)

Immigration policy is one of the main determinants of global immigration movements. Different countries domestic plans, policy considerations, socio-economic factors and security perspectives as well as global political economic dynamics and common agreements in international law and politics shape global immigration and asylum policies. As argued in literature, a brief glance at history and development of global immigration and asylum policies shows that immigration and asylum policies are not directly resulted by immigrants' presence in a country (Milner, 2009). As discussed in Chapter 4 in detail, the strengthening of policies is also a result of the broader dynamics of globalization, sovereignty, and political economy of the nation states.

6.1.1 A Brief History of Immigration and Asylum Policies

Immigration and asylum policies in the world are referred in numerous studies as one of the major determinants of migration. Meyer (2004) claims that the latitude of global migration is mainly shaped by immigration control policies. Although, common discourse in policies tend to propose that intensive presence of immigrants results in restrictive policies, conversely, immigration control policies affect number of immigrants in a country more directly. In this regard, UN member states' approaches toward migration since the 1970s give a specific picture of strengthening of policies in the world: "In 1976, 7 percent of the 150 UN member-nations had policies to restrict immigration. Today, 40 percent of the UN's 193 member-nations have policies aimed at restricting immigration" (Meyer, 2004, p.3).

Restrictive immigration and asylum policies are not new phenomena. When we observe the recent history of immigration and asylum policies, Meyers (2004) claims

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that immigration policy in different countries show great similarity in the last century (p.173). States including Britain, the United States, Canada, Switzerland, France started to shape policies regulating migration since the late 16th century. One century later, Canada, Germany, The United States and some Australian states even come up with policies to restrict labor migration, which was mainly from China and Japan at the time. Especially at the beginning of 20th century, Australia and Canada created first Immigration Acts to control and restrict migration in migration to their territories (Meyers, 2004, p.174). The interconnection between foreign policy decisions and socio-economic and domestic structural factors are the major reasons for the similarities between different countries immigration policies (Meyers, 2004, p.173).

According to Meyers (2004) World War I and World War II had two-sided effects on migration policies: "Receiving countries limited permanent immigration and restricted former immigrants. On the other hand, the receiving countries expanded the recruitment of migrant labor " to substitute labor power lost in times of war (p.174). During World War I countries including Australia, Canada, Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands and the United states restricted migration severely. Although, immigration legislation was poor in numerous countries, between the two wars period, these countries (except Netherlands) also "stopped recruiting migrants" (Meyers, 2004, p.174).

Especially after 1945 Western countries mainly accepted immigrants and refugees from their former colonies (Meyers, 2004, p.174). Numerous states adopted policies ending discrimination against migrants of different ethnicities, races and countries. Although there were numerous efforts to control migration, labor migration continued to increase in the 1970s (Meyers, 2004, p.175). Immigration and asylum policies, which have been changing in years, severely strengthened and created a restriction trend towards immigrants in global immigration policies after the 1980s.

Since 1979 and particularly since 1985, the countries of destination attempted to halt illegal immigration and to reduce the number of immigrants granted asylum. The measures applied included stricter controls at the borders, penalties on employers of illegal immigrants, incarceration of illegal immigrants in camps and sometimes their deportation, as well as a reform of the asylum processing procedures (Meyers, 2004, p.224).

After the World War II period, and especially in 1960s, migration was considered as a tool that facilitated the restructuring of the nation-states. Immigrants from the East Asia, Africa, and Middle East were welcomed in numerous European countries as well as in the United States of America to meet the quest for labor in diversified industries. Many states made bilateral agreements with underdeveloped states to recruit labor force into their countries. However, images of the immigrants have drastically changed since 1960s especially in the West. Overall, it is generally presumed that immigration shifted into a 'securitization issue' from a 'humanitarian issue' as a result of diverse security concerns and developments including but not limited to events of 9/11, terrorism and national security concerns or intensified number of immigrants especially after the 1980s.

King (2009) argues "post-Fordism, space-time compression, and the embeddedness of migration and mobility in the forces of globalization and the New World Order have introduced new mobility forms where none existed before" (p.9). In this regard, increasing numbers of migrants is one of the outcomes of globalization and restructuring of capitalism that intensified the need for immigrants in different economic zones. According to UN data, the global population of international migrants is growing at about 1.6 per cent per year. Although the US continues to host most of the migrant populations in the world, Pakistan, Iran, and Syria host the most of the refugee populations which consists of more than one fifth of the total migrant population in the world (45.2 million).

Interestingly, many of the main countries of destination (Germany, India, the Russian Federation, Ukraine and the United Kingdom) are also among the top ten countries of

emigration. (IOM, 2010, p.116). On the other hand, net migration[10] in some European countries including Netherlands, Germany and United Kingdom has been decreasing in the last decade. This decrease in net migration in destination countries is explained as a result of economic crises of 2008, high residence prices and availability of cheaper life costs in the surrounding countries.

Kaya (2009) argues that "One should also keep in mind that "immigrant-bashing" is becoming a social sport at a time when *net migration* is close to becoming negative in several countries, including France, Germany, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands" (p. 20). The figures also present that strengthening of the immigration policies do not correlate with the net migration levels in many European states. In addition to that, contrary to general belief, according to data, most migrants in Europe come from other European Union countries (UNHCR, 2011a).

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[10] "This entry includes the figure for the difference between the number of persons entering and leaving a country during the year per 1,000 persons (based on midyear population). An excess of persons entering the country is referred to as net immigration (e.g., 3.56 migrants/1,000 population); an excess of persons leaving the country as net emigration (e.g., -9.26 migrants/1,000 population). The net migration rate indicates the contribution of migration to the overall level of population change." (This information is retrieved from Index Mundi Website).

Table 7. Some Western Countries by Net Migration Rates

Country	Net Migration (per 1000 people)		Country	Net Migration (per 1000 people)	
	2007	2014		2007	2014
Netherlands	2.63	1.97	Belgium	1.22	1.22
Denmark	2.50	2.25	Spain	0.99	7.24
Germany	2.18	1.06	Czech Republic	0.97	2.15
United Kingdom	2.17	2.57	Finland	0.78	0.62
Italy	2.06	4.29	Cyprus	0.42	9.89
Austria	1.91	1.76	Russia	0.28	1.69
Norway	1.72	7.96	Turkey	0.00	0.46
Sweden	1.66	5.46	Poland	-0.46	-0.47
European Union	1.60	1.9	Latvia	-2.26	-2.37
France	1.52	1.09	Estonia	-3.46	-3.37

Source: The table model is taken from Kaya (2009). Data is combined from CIA World Fact book, 2014.

As is presented, immigration continues to be the major demographic factor affecting population of the states in the West. In accordance with the previous data, rising net migration in some countries such as Spain, Sweden, and Cyprus are explained in studies mainly as results of the 2008 economic crises. For instance, in Spain, half of the foreign population in the country is sourced from other European Union countries such as Romania, United Kingdom, Italy and Germany (IOM Country Overview, 2014).

6.1.2 Global Political Economy and Migration Policy Trends

Although migration data points out different social economic dynamics as the core reasons of international migration, the Western countries mostly focused on declining the number of immigrants and the rise of strengthening of the immigration and asylum policies. On the other hand, contrary to Kaya's argument, UN Population Division's 2013 World Population Policies Report points out that growing number of governments have exposed openness to migration in the recent years. In addition, the report unveils that "three quarters of all governments either had policies to maintain the level of immigration or they were not intervening to change it, while 15 percent had policies to lower the immigration levels" (p.9). Karal (2014) discusses paradoxical situation between UN's approach and recent migration movements as follows:

> …considering the critical social economic developments in last decades, such as Iraq and Afghan Wars, global economic crises, Arab Spring, Syrian Civil War and South-Sudan Civil War forcing to keep immigrant levels same can cannot be considered "openness" in a democratic sense. It would not be misleading to argue that when thousands of people were in need of new economic resources, better life chances, socio-economic support or political asylum, keeping restrictive policies at the same level can be categorized as relatively restrictive immigration policy (n.d.).

In a similar vein, Ruud Koopmans criticizes European Union immigration policies from a different angle. Koopmans conducted a research on immigrant policies and rights in 33 countries (of which 27 are EU member states), using the MIPEX indicator system of immigrant rights on domains of nationality, long-term residence, labor market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation and anti-discrimination. Koopmans (2012) argues that, although the EU claims a unification of many areas of law among the member states, immigrant rights are mostly heterogeneous between different member states (p.25). Koopmans' study shows us that most European countries follow regional or national trends in deciding migration policies. The study figures out that, even though immigrants' rights had extended

since the 1980s, this trend was not a linear tendency and it ended in 2001. Koopmans also argues that especially "strong right-wing populist parties tended to keep countries on restrictive paths or to reverse liberalization trends, especially after 2001" (p.27). In the areas of access to public service employment, cultural and religious rights and marriage migration rights differed to a large extend in many European countries. Koopmans (2012) claims that if a supranational human rights regime were prevalent, policies between diverse countries would be closer to each other, whereas in Europe, policies differ to a large extend between different states.

As discussed earlier in Chapter 4, this diversification of immigration policy can be evaluated as a result of different citizenship and sovereignty understandings in diverse countries as well as countries' differing socio-economic structural needs and security concerns. Gordon et al. (as cited in Bash et al.,1994, p.25) argues that there is a correlation with the rise and intensity of the transnational migration and "sustained economic crises" in the world. The areas that were considered "peripheral to industrial capitalist development became the focus of interest of corporations in major capitalist states by the first half of the 1970s" (Bash et al. 1994, p.25).

> The consequent reduction of industrial production in "core" economies such as the United States and the establishment of capital intensive industries in "the periphery," including Caribbean countries and the Philippines, led to dramatic changes in the labor markets of these nation-states (Bash et al. 1994, p.25).

Bash et al. (1994) argues cheap labor and flexible labor rights in oppressive regimes served as a sustenance factor for core capitalists' investments in the peripheral regions. Capitalist investors can invest in infrastructure more in periphery to provide better services for their production. Although this economic circulation creates new opportunities for national populations of the peripheral states, in turn, it sparks unemployment, and decline of benefits for the working classes in core states. In this sense, numerous industrialized states turned into "deindustrialization" or "post-

Fordism" (Bash et al., 1994) rising finance and service sector while creating rise of unemployment or diminishing of the rights in industrial sector workers.

This main circulation along with other complex economic web between different cities in the world creates a critical trap for immigrants who are mostly the benefiters of the industrial sector in industrialized countries. Many states that reached the edge of "deindustrialization" limit their acceptance of migrants with the highly qualified immigrants. In this regard, states do not hesitate to build hurdles for the rest who are considered "unable", "uneducated" or simply as "burden" to the host states' economy and social services. Moreover, international investment, loans and global production limitations which were supposed to support local populations created huge economic deficits, and inflation as well limiting usage of resources in many countries which enhanced internal and international migration an increased insecurity of migrants globally (Bash et al. 1994, p.26).

As one of the recent instances of these uneven development patterns "the world has been affected by the worst global recession since the 1930s in 2008 which declined global GDP by 2.2 per cent in 2009" (World Bank 2010 Report as cited in IOM, 2010, p.122). The global financial crises started in the US in 2008 turn into catastrophic crises which also affected international migration flows (IOM Report 2010). As analyzed in the report, "the depth, scope and duration of the economic crisis have varied according to country, geographic region and labor market sector" which in turn pushed people into the search of new opportunities (IOM Report 2010, p.122).

Moreover, unexpected results of the general immigration trends also points out that although third-country national's migration to developed European countries or north-American countries is a continuing tendency worldwide, most immigrants stay in their own regions. This was also a result of "core states" response to international immigration flows. Including European Union, numerous supra national organizations, and different states organized around collaborations which promoted policies aiming

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at keeping migrants and refugees in their regions of origin, Milner (2009) details that continuing trend as follows: "The European Union member states and institutions have presented an array of initiatives with one common theme: instead of receiving asylum seekers on EU territory, they propose to deal with them abroad" (p.54).

This policy of "dealing migrants abroad" is at stake in regional consortiums, local integration programs, and buffer zone arguments for territories encountering conflicts, environmental degradations, social and economic disasters. As a result of these parameters, contrary to general belief, according to data, most migrants in Europe comes from other European Union countries while most refugees and immigrants stay in their own regions instead of living in developed countries (UNHCR Global Trends 2011).

6.1.2.1 Structural Factors Affecting Immigration Policies

Meyers provides an in depth and multi-sided study on the different factors affecting states' immigration and asylum policies. Meyers (2004) argues that three domestic structural factors affect immigration policy of countries deeply and creates major divergences in different countries' immigration policies: economic structure, geopolitical position of the country, population density and foreign policy considerations (pp.192-193). In general in times of economic recessions, state tend to restrict international migration into their countries. Mostly immigrants are one of the first social groups who are to blame as "welfare burden" on states. Second, geopolitical and sometimes even strategic position of the country in global policies created differences in countries' differing immigration policies. For instance, when Britain and France still carried the ideal of world power and colonial ties (Meyers, 2004, p.193), they were more willing to accept immigrants and refugees from their former colonies as a part of representation of continuing power. Similarly the US followed a more liberal immigration and asylum policy as a result of its claim as a super power.

Although numerous core countries of development carry the responsibility of increasing immigration movements worldwide, apparently, not many are willing to share this responsibility. Departing from Wallerstein's World Systems Theory, Meyers (2004) discusses the convergence of structural factors with structure of world market. In this regard, global structure of the world market is also responsible of global immigrant flows (p. 180). World Systems theorists argue that:

> …the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, noncapitalistic societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate from the periphery to the core in Western Europe, North America, Oceania, and Japan. This basic migratory process is augmented by the existence of ideological and material ties created by prior colonization (Meyers, 2004, p.180).

Similarities between different countries' immigration policies are related to "the international interdependence between the socioeconomic and foreign policy factors that produce these policies" (Meyers, 2004, p.181). "The state of the economy, the volume of dissimilar immigration, wars, foreign policy considerations, and ideological considerations shape immigration control policies of individual states" as Meyers argues (2004) (p.181).

Meyers (2004) builds certain arguments to analyze immigration policy-making patterns of different states. First, he argues that international economic recession periods increased restrictions on immigrants in different states. Most countries avoided from accepting immigrants in times of economic downturns. As a result migrants have been regarded as burden to country's economies for long decades.

Second, history of immigration policy presents discriminatory approaches towards different immigration movements from diverse countries, ethnicities and races. According to Meyers periodically some groups are discriminated as a result of a reflection of national policies in global immigration policies. Between different periods, groups of immigrants have encountered restrictions against them. In late 1800 Chinese and Japanese, Jews, later on Asians, Africans, Middle Easterners and Latin

American have witnessed different levels of discrimination against them especially in Western countries. Meyers (2004) explains this trend in immigration policies in different countries as "shared migratory pressures" (p.183). When a state reacts a certain migratory movement with restricting its policies, other states in international community are more prone to act in tandem. Wars, alliances and common foreign policy considerations, ideological cycles are considered among the other determinants that creates similar trends in different countries' immigration and asylum policies (Meyers, 2004).

6.1.3 Legal Developments on Immigration Policies

Although history of discussions on asylum dates back to second World War, the multi lateral cooperation on global migration started late in 1994 with an international conference. The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo created first global approach and agenda to provide answers for international migration in 1994. Problems of human trafficking, controlling irregular migration and rights of migrants were among the prominent topics in first global agenda on migration (IOM, 2013a). For many years the consensus on treatment towards migrants was not achieved in Europe especially in areas of family reunion, accommodation, health care and education (Whittaker, 2006).

Following Cairo, the issue of international migration and development has been issued in major UN conferences and documents, including the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), the fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), the UN Millennium Declaration (2000), the 2001 Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance), and the World Summit Outcome (2005) (IOM, 2013, p.22). Apart from these instruments, the Schengen Treaty and Convention (1990), Dublin Convention (1990), the Maastricht Treaty (1992), Amsterdam Treaty (1997), and Tampere Conclusion (1999) are considered

among the "notable steps in crafting of common policies" in migration policy-making (Whittaker, 2006, p.47).

The first UN General Assembly High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development was held on 14–15 September 2006. After this first high-level initiation the GFMD (Global Forum on Migration and Development) was created as an "informal, non-binding, voluntary and State-led process to move forward the global dialogue and cooperation on migration" (IOM, 2013, p.24).

One of the problematic issues in high-level dialog on international migration was different UN member states' reluctance to accept international agreements on international migrants' rights. Since some approached the issue of international migration as a part of national sovereignty discussion, ratification of agreements in national parliaments took years. For instance UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (ICRMW) was adopted in 1990 after a decade of multi-state discussions. As detailed by IOM reports, "as of 3 May 2013, only 46 States were party to the Convention, none of which were high-income destination countries" (IOM, 2013, p.23).[11]

6.1.4 Development of Laws on Asylum

International initiations regarding asylum goes decades before the first international collaborations on migration. Throughout the 20th century, the international community steadily assembled a set of guidelines, laws and conventions to ensure the adequate treatment of refugees and protect their human rights. The process began under the League of Nations in 1921. Following the demise of the League of Nations and the formation of the United Nations, the international community was deeply aware of the refugee crisis following the end of World War II. In 1947, the International Refugee

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[11] For further information on states regional initiations to set different agreements on migration please see: IOM, International Migration Development and International System, p.23-24.

Organization (IRO) was founded by the United Nations. The IRO was the first international agency to deal comprehensively with all aspects pertaining to refugees' lives. In addition, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was established in 1944 to address the millions of people displaced through Europe as a result of World War II.

In the late 1940s, the United Nations agreed that a body was required to supervise global refugee issues. Resolution 319 (IV) of the United Nations General Assembly of December 1949 founded the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly. In July 1951, a diplomatic conference in Geneva adopted the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, which was later amended by the 1967 Protocol ("1951 Convention and Its 1967 Protocol," 2011). The 1951 Convention was more or less limited to European refugees in the after the World War II, but the 1967 Protocol enlarged its extent "as the problem of displacement spread around the world" ("1951 Convention and Its 1967 Protocol," 2011, p. 1).

UNHCR's status and duties are an outcome of The *United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (known as Geneva Convention) created by United Nations in 1951 is the major text defining the status of refugees, role of contracting states and duties of international community. As detailed by UNHCR, "the Convention is both a status and rights-based instrument and is underpinned by a number of fundamental principles, most notably non-discrimination, non-penalization and *non-refoulement* ("Introductory Note on Geneva Convention," 1951, p.3). According to Geneva Convention, refugee is defined as follows:

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

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In this very definition of refugee in the Convention directly referred to people within Europe. All refugees outside of Europe are clearly excluded from the first version of the Convention. Agier (2011) commented on this earlier definition of refugee in connection with the Cold War. For Agier in the first form of the Convention, "the Western world wanted to be the land of asylum for the "good victims of communism" (Agier, 2011, p.7). As is clearly observed from the changes in immigration and asylum policies, asylum policies show more political motivations of states. Early global reaction to refugees and late response to immigrants shows that major determinant between this differences is political. States preferred to discuss refugees in a global scene whereas they preferred to keep in-migration as a part of state sovereignty discussion instead of a global discussion.

The Convention was approved at a special United Nations conference on 28 July 1951. It entered into force on 22 April 1954. First version of the Convention was limited to protecting European refugees after World War II but a 1967 Protocol removed the geographical and time limits, expanding the Convention's extent. Due to this value-laden and politically shaped definition of refugee convention, definition is amended in 1967 Protocol. Article 1 of the Convention as amended by the 1967 Protocol provides the definition of a refugee as follows:

> A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (UNHCR Geneva Protocol, 1967).

Protecting stateless people who fit into the broader context of "political refugee" became the major aim defined in UNHCR conventions. On the other hand, as Agier hesitates "a function of control (whether in the application of asylum policies or in the management of camps) came to accompany that of protection, and very often to

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dominate it" (Agier, 2011). Hence controlling refugees started to overcome humanitarian aspect of the issue.

6.1.4.1 Organization for African Unity's (OAU) Convention on the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (1969 OAU Convention)

Milner (2009) details that although being parties to Geneva Convention in 1951, this form also raised two major concerns in African states. First, most African refugees were not "fleeing from individualized persecution but generalized violence", second, refugee status determination protocols offered by 1951 Convention seemed to be "too resource and time intensive" for many African states when the intense refugee populations residing in their countries are considered (Milner, 2009, p.7). Upon these concerns Organization for African Unity (OAU) adopted an additional definition of refugee in 1969. Article I (2) of the OAU's Convention on the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (1969 OAU Convention) states that:

> The term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality (Organization of African Union, 1969).

This definition provided by OAU Convention 1969 extends recognition of refugee to people who are victims of generalized violence. Moreover, Convention's recognition of large groups of people who are sharing a common reason of flight is also a new feature which is still known as *prima facie* determination of refugee status (Rutinwa, 2002; Milner 2009). [12] Whittaker (2006) evaluates collective approach in OAU Convention as follows:

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[12] The number of refugees who are recognized prima facie varies (Prima facie determination of refugee status An overview and its legal foundation, 2009). Jacobsen (2005) higlihts that "in 2003, some 64% of the world's 9.7 million refugees were granted refugee status on a group or prima facie basis, and less that

…rights in the developed world appear to be based on the concept of autonomous persons giving priority to individual, political and civil rights, where in non-Western traditions there is more emphasis on economic and social entitlements, family obligations and community duties" (p.7)

However, it is hard to agree with this reasoning when the circumstances of acceptance of this Convention are considered. In post-colonial period when numerous African states carried the burden of internal conflicts, population unrest and social problems, it would not be just to explain African states collective approach merely with an ethnocentric claim that West is more individualistic whereas East is prone to collectivism. Moreover, African states' revision of Convention is also a part of reaction to apartheid in colonization which depends on regional states' support of each others' populations (Milner, 2009). Since 1960s are characterized with withdrawal of colonial movements from African territories, unity calls and collective reaction of African states would not be surprising.

6.1.4.2 Immigration and Asylum Policies in Africa

Contrary to general perception Europe hosted 29 % of the African immigrants in 2009. However, 52 % of out migration from Africa was intra-continental (Klavert, 2011, p.1-2). Although, African continent holds mixed migration trends, main characteristic of immigration is intra-continental.

> The figure for intra-continental migration in sub-Saharan Africa was 65%, the highest intra-continental movement worldwide. In the case of North Africans, on the other hand, 90% emigrated to a destination outside Africa. A total of 31 million Africans are believed to have lived outside their country of origin in 2010, or 3% of the total African population. Of the 31 million emigrants, about 2.3 million were refugees (Shimeles as cited in Klavert, 2011, p.1-2).

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a quarter (24%) were granted refugee status following individual determination" (p. 5). Depending UNHCR 2007 report Milner argues that "2.7 million refugees in Africa at the start of 2006, 2.1 million (77 per cent) were recognized prima facie basis (Milner, 2009, p. 7).

Table 8. International Migrant Stocks 2010

		Destination (millions)						
		Africa	Asia	Europe	LAC	N. America	Oceania	Total	Origin (%)
Origin (million)	Africa	15.5	4	7.7	0	1.7	0.4	29.2	53
	Asia	1	46.1	19	0.3	14.2	2	82.6	56
	Europe	0.8	7.8	37.3	1.5	9	2.4	58.7	63
	LAC	0	0.6	3.9	4.6	23.5	0.1	32.8	14
	N. America	0.1	0.5	0.9	1	1.4	0.2	4.1	34
	Oceania	0	0.1	0.3	0	0.3	0.9	1.6	57
	Various	1.8	2.1	0.9	0.2	0	0.1	5.1	
	Total	19.3	61.3	69.9	7.7	50	6	214.2	
	Destination (%)	81	75	53	60	3	15		

Source: IOM, Migration and the UN post-2015 Development Agenda, p.29

Immigration and asylum has a long history in Africa affected by the colonial migration roots and cultural ties. However, modern immigration and asylum policies in Africa can be evaluated in two periods between the early 1960s, 1970s and after the 1980s. Milner (2009) claims that especially refugees and immigrants blending into local communities was a common trend in Africa in the 1960s and the 1970s. In this atmosphere, immigrants and refugees could benefit larger chances to provide their own survival via agriculture or finding place in local economies. Moreover, immigrants were also a safe tool for newly independent nation states to appeal international donor contributions to their economies in the 1970s.

The 1970's turned into a highly politicized period for African states in terms of definition and application of immigration and refugee policies. Due to Cold War politics, independent African states fall into two distinct poles either supporting the United States or the Soviet Union. At this period African states were mostly "quasi-states" which has fluctuating economies and multi power centers (Jackson, 1990, p.21).

Depending on fluctuating politics and time limited support, burden sharing between African states and World powers regarding immigrants declined in later paces of the Cold War. As a result, African states became more reluctant hosting refugees shifting policies from what can be called 'open asylum policy' into 'restrictive asylum policy' (Karal, 2014, p.3).

Although international influence in African politics had been intensified, areas of interest for international community were mostly limited to political economy of African states. On the other hand, during the late 1970s and 1980s, worsening human rights in numerous African countries became more apparent (Veney, 2006). Clapham commented on these dynamics as:

"Western states did not want to risk the imposition on Africa of principles of human rights or democracy which would be applicable to their allies as well as to their adversaries, and which would tend to push African leaders into the less demanding arms of Soviet Union" (Clapham, 1996, p.191-2).

However, this tolerance toward human rights abuses in many African states affected states' approach to refugee populations later. As critiques claim, many refugee groups were armed against communist regimes, which created further security problems in the refugee camps. Nevertheless, this armed groups' conflicts with other armies ended up with massacres of refugee people in numerous cases resulting in declining trust for welcoming refugees (Milner, 2005).

Effects of transformation from authoritarian systems into democracies was noteworthy in African state's approach to immigrants. This transformation in Africa created huge populations of internally displaced as well as intra-regional migrants. In 1994, Africa hosted 43 % of world's refugee population (Veney, 2007, p.4). For instance, between 1993-2003 huge refugee flows occurred from Ethiopia to Kenya as a result of the end of Marxist Dergue regime in 1991. Thousands of Ethiopians sought refugee in neighboring countries.

While the number of refuges fell in southern Africa, they rose in West Africa and the Great Lakes Region. In the Horn of Africa, the refugee crises did not

fundamentally change—the numbers fluctuated between 1.7 million in 1994 and 1.36 million in 2002 (Veney, 2007, p.5).

International community's approach to African independence was also effective in state policies on immigration and asylum along with other factors such as development, conflicts, environmental problems (Betts, 2009). UNHCR supported African state's open border policies in 1960s sharing two third of its global funds in Africa (UNHCR, 2000a). This created a relative strength in political and economic development in African states. Moreover, international community's support was also mostly in line with colonial roots between developed world and Africa as well as age's political discussions. As a result, many African states developed huge dependency in foreign aid whereas their national economies stayed dull. Horst (2003) describes this dependency with instance of Somalia:

> The refugee flows that followed the Ogaden war in Ethiopia caused the government to launch an international appeal for assistance in 1979. Soon after, Somalia had become a major focus of the international aid regime (Kibreab, 1993). The government had a strong economic interest in institutionalizing the refugee problem, since the amount of aid it received constituted a considerable proportion of Somalia's GNP. President Barre's forces, like the rest of the state, depended heavily on supplies of food aid that were officially brought in for the Ogaden refugees. Difficulties arose at local level, where food handouts destroyed the market for rural producers and created a strong dependency on foreign assistance (Bastlund, as cited in Horst, 2003, p.55).

On the other hand, international aid sourced basically from political discussions and power disputes over the region did not hamper organizational crises in state economies and state society relations in the region (Milner, 2009). Socio-economic crises and conflicts between diverse states affected immigration and refugee flows in the continent. However, refugees and immigrants after the 1980s found restrictive policies in host states contrary to more liberal host country profile in the 1960s.

6.2 Immigration and Asylum: Humanitarian Rights or Human Rights?

When differences in sovereign states and international organizations' approach to governance of immigration and asylum are observed, it would not be misleading to figure out political and socioeconomic dynamics in these approaches. First, asylum seekers and refugees are taken into consideration as a political issue which should be dealt with internationally as a part of day's vibrant political discussions. Second, for long decades, migration has not been taken as an international issue rather it was accepted as a problem of sovereign states. Here, we can also observe different approaches to migrants' and refugees' rights while first is seen as a part of state's duty, latter's rights are accepted as a part of international responsibility. Several debates occur as a result of different approaches of sovereign states to the Convention and diverse approaches to definition of immigrants' rights.

The Convention describes a refugee who has been victimized as "target of an individual and specific form of harassment" (Whittaker, 2006, p.3). Unless an immigrant is victimized individually, she/he could not meet the criteria for refugeness. In this sense, being a part of groups who are escaping from a conflict was not enough to meet the Convention's barrier. In addition, as a result of contradictive readings of the Convention, some groups can be omitted from protection at certain points. For instance, "the Convention was not to apply to refugees who were the concern of UN agencies other than UNHCR, such as Palestinian refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)" (Whittaker, 2006, p.3). Although, they meet criteria defined in the Convention, their protection situation did not provide them same rights with refugees who were the concern of the UNHCR.

Another debate regarding protection of refugees was on the issue of 'refoulement' that is detailed in *1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees.* This principle is accepted by some states on arbitrary bases and exceptions.

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Article 33: No Contracting State shall expel or return ("refouler") a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion.

The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country in which he is, or who, having been convicted by a final judgment of a particularly serious crime, constitutes a danger to the community of that country.

According to this principle, states are prohibited from returning a refugee back to her/his country where the individual may encounter treats to her or his life or freedom. Exception is only the refugees who are considered as a treat to host country or who had committed serious crime previously. However, as Whittaker (2006) criticizes, Convention signatories understood this principle that "they would not be required to give permanent asylum to all refugees but, of course, must do their best to ensure adequate and effective protection" (p.4). As Whittaker (2006) argues,

Nevertheless, it has been argued, the refugee claimant becomes subject to decisions by states which may rate their own political agendas higher than humanitarian concerns. There is the point, too, that expanding the definition of 'refugee' to include individuals from other endangered groups brings the risk that governments will shut the door on all groups (p.6).

The states' arbitrary approach to refoulement principle resulted in lacking of certain rights for refugees. For instance, a host state must provide all refugees same standards and treatment and rights including education, welfare services, housing, job opportunities and special passport. "No refugee must regard himself as outside the law in a country of refuge" (Whittaker, 2006, p.4). However, very limited number of refugees acquire these rights in host countries, whereas, most are accepted as "guests or irregular migrants" contrary to their rights defined in the Convention.

When 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees revised the geographical limitations in earlier convention, most states welcomed these changes. Whittaker (2006) argues about mid 1960s:

> Most major refugee flows were now in the developing world rather than in a lacerated, post-conflict Europe. Decolonization had brought new states into being and such communities were anxious to stabilize erosion of population and to bring into being schemes for relief for their displaced and disadvantaged people. The industrial states of the developed world were now envisaging programmes for addressing human rights violations on a larger scale. In respect of evident 'conscience', it has to be said that within such states there were now active and vocal champions of refugee need (p.5).

Although, mid 1960s created a more liberal atmosphere for immigrants and refugees in terms of economic and social rights, immigration stayed as a part of political decision making of the nation states. The day's international approach to immigration and asylum issued was also a part of global restructuring of economy. Huge transformations after the World War II not only created political and ideological tensions between the East and the West but also resulted in a huge hub for cheap labor in recovering economies.

As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, changing approaches in states' approach to immigration and asylum issues are not merely sourced from immigrants' presence or intensity in one country. Global social economic restructuring, regional political economic dynamics and age's prevalent policy making paradigms are also significant for state's decision making in immigration and asylum issues. Changes in definitions of immigrant, asylum seeker and refugee and humanitarianism also follow a similar pattern with changes in immigration and asylum policies.

6.2.1 Humanitarianism

Humanitarianism is "an act and ideology of responding human misery by way of extending support and care to those in need" (Berhanu, 2000, p.32). It is driven by numerous motives and led by international organizations, states, donors etc. Humanitarianism can be described in three different phases: "The era of ethical and religious humanitarianism, of welfare and philanthropy, and of development" (Berhanu, 2000, p.33). In this regard, first humanitarian movements started out of

missionaries and continued with voluntary organizations and international actors. This perspective evolved into a policy dynamic when it blended with welfare and development policies later on.

International humanitarianism has been rising in parallel to mounting of neo-liberalism after the 1980s. De Waal (1997) argues that especially disaster situations create a justifying atmosphere for intervention into the domestic politics by foreign supra-national organizations. Moreover, according to him, humanitarianism can support existing power relations in a country. Berhanu (2000) provides a precise and important discussion on humanitarianism in immigration and asylum policies on Ethiopia and its latent relations with militarism. He claims that major efficiency in the activities of humanitarianism lays in international institutions' "reluctance to recognize that most humanitarian disasters are rooted in the deficient political setting in the countries where intervention is effected" (p.35).

> The militarization of humanitarianism in the 1990s gave birth to what De Waal calls 'philanthropic imperialism' which in his view enjoys unbridled powers in a manner that at times contravenes established international conventions. (Berhanu, 2000, p.35).

Problematic aspects of militarization of humanitarianism and general aid policy are described as follows:

> According to African Rights (1997:358) the technocratic approach that pervaded the overall mode of operation of agencies within the domain of the international humanitarian set-up often undermined the urge for dealing with the political aspects of famine. At the same time, the channeling of resources that bolster the position of authoritarian systems continues unabated, often impunity, humanitarian aid so dispensed empowers the powerful and creates new political and economic groups as its constituency of support (African Rights 1997 as cited in Berhanu, 2000, p.35).

Considering these intriguing facts, Berhanu (2000) reasons that humanitarian actors are inherently political (p.36). In this regard, although, humanitarianism claims an apolitical position in providing resources to countries experiencing calamities, diverse

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political power dynamics diminish this position. Instead of providing survival tools for disaster-affected populations, humanitarian aid can strengthen current inequalities, injustice or authoritarian systems in a country. In addition to that, humanitarianism also helps establishment of new economic and political groups, which provide support for international organizations, and their agendas in local level.

Similarly Agier's study is significant to analyze latent ties between humanitarian care systems and control. Agier (2011) names today's approach to immigrants and refugees as a reflection of "ambiguity of humanitarianism" (p.4). Neo-liberal care systems intermingle with control. Controlling migrants and refugees in borders or camps is also a part of today's citizenship technologies that aims to separate between the legally acceptable and unacceptable individuals (Agier, 2011). Agier (2011) discusses this statement as follows:

> The development of refugee camps from the 1960s and 1970s in the Middle East and Asia, then from the late 1980s on a massive scale in Africa and to a lesser degree in Central America and Eastern Europe, were only the anticipation and preparation- 'morally correct' as vulnerable lives really were saved at this time- of a political strategy and control technique that closes the gates of the "World" to all these undesirable 'remnants' (p.4).

The refugee camps function as a distinction of control between the "morally correct," vulnerable, and desirable from the undesirable individuals (Agier, 2011, p.4). This approach basically depends on the assumption that only desirable individuals possess the right to claim security and their rights in developed parts of the world. This assumption represents one of the biggest dilemmas of today's neo-liberal democracies.[13] Nevertheless, others who are assumed less desirable are destined to be subject of technologies of control and surveillance in modern state. This distinction is internalized as a *de facto* reality that no one dares to question this modern discourse of "inequality" in terms of human rights. In this regard, humanitarian discourse

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[13] For further discussion on roots of liberal democratic understanding of equality please see Dean, M. (1999). Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society. (London: Sage Publications).

welcomes this separation contextually whereas migrants' basic human rights are discarded.

> …there is a specific order and organization of power in the camps, and more generally in the places of humanitarian intervention, which the concept of 'humanitarian government' is designed to express as closely as possible. This power defines its own space as one of exception, a frontier, an out-place in the sense that individuals are treated and managed as nameless victims devoid of identity- as stateless, in fact, in the sense that they no longer have any framework in which to exercise their citizenship (Agier, 2011, p.214).

Apart from this discussion, on the other hand, UNHCR claims that international human rights and humanitarian rights should be considered as combined issues:

> The creation by States, in the aftermath of the Second World War, of two separate organizations to deal with human rights and refugees respectively, does not mean that these issues are not interrelated. The work of the United Nations in the field of human rights and that of the High Commissioner for Refugees is inextricably linked in the sense that both entities share a common purpose, which is the safeguarding of human dignity. The human rights programme of the United Nations deals with the rights of individuals in the territory of States. The refugee organization was established in order to restore minimum rights to persons after they leave their countries of origin (UNHCR Fact Sheet no.20, n.d.).

However, practices of the states tells a different story when their approach to migrants are considered. Most states follow paradigms that make clear differentiation between the human rights and humanitarian rights. It would not be misleading to point out that immigrants and refugees are mostly considered within the limits of humanitarian rights. Agier (2011) calls global mechanism composed of international organizations, states and other international actors as 'humanitarian government' (p.5). According to Agier (2011) humanitarian government and its principles overcome the basic rights and laws provided for immigrants.

> …it is perfectly clear today that the Geneva convention of 1951 defining the rights of asylum an refugees no longer actually governs the policies of asylum and hospitality practiced by those Western governments that drafted and voted for it at the time of the Cold War. In the UN agencies, the international

organizations and the majority of Western countries today, direct control of population movements prevails over the protection of the stateless (p.211).

Moreover, states' control over their migration is significant in their approach to hosting immigrants in their territories. As Agier (2011) details most countries do not depend on their international duties or immigrants' human rights while defining asylum or residence criteria. Instead of considering international human rights, most states' immigration and asylum policies are decided in terms of their population policies.

Last but not least another political aspect of states' immigration and asylum policy is the selection criteria. Policy and program objectives mainly ask for migrants who meet their objectives (Newton, 2002, P.21). Ingram and Schneider (as cited in Newton, 2002) argued that:

> ….the selection of target groups is a value-ladden process that incorporates the positive or negative perceptions that groups have. According to them, even seemingly neutral target population designations such as "the elderly," "people on welfare," "college students" or "farmers," are permeable to the assumptions and predispositions that people have towards these groups (p.21).

Immigration and asylum policies are determined not only depending on a country's socioeconomic or political position but also on diverse criteria that are open to discussion. These aspects can also be pointed out as problematic issues in humanitarian side of immigration and asylum policies and their application. As detailed earlier, global humanitarian discourse and humanitarian laws prevails the human rights of migrants. Although, immigrants' possess certain rights as a part of their human rights, receiving countries' humanitarian approach, its population policies, socio-economic expectations shade these rights. Instead, most states welcome immigrants and refugees via vague and mostly arbitrary selection criteria within a humanitarian approach while immigrants' human rights are mostly discarded.

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6.2.2 Immigrant, Refugee, Asylum Seeker in Law and Policy

Migration covers human rights, population, development, family, children, women, gender issues, health, environment, economy, security and so on. In this regard, global policy making in migration is often referred as a part of "global governance of migration" in international documents. This structure is defined as "multi-level, multi-actor governance" which is composed of "State and non-State institutions, policies, laws, practices and partnerships at the national, regional and international level addressing migration issues" (IOM, 2013, p.9).

Lu (2009) argues "immigration is theoretically and conceptionally controversial as it is politically divisive" (p.3). Hence, controlling and identifying migration is hard since it issues undocumented and irregular events as well. In this regard, not all classifications of immigrant, refugee, illegal migrant, and asylum seeker are reasonable classifications (Tapinos as cited in Lu, 2009). Although classifications are important to adhere people's rights, it is also problematic because, mobile immigrants possess different statuses over time (Lu, 2009, p.3).

Basically refugee is the term to define a person who fled from persecution because of race, religion, nationality, opinion, or membership in a particular social group. These people are also unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of that country" (1951 UN Convention and 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees). International migrants are people who migrate from their country of origin to another country "to live or work temporarily, and those who emigrate, eventually to settle permanently" (Ferris, 1998, p.7). Most international migrants are leaving their countries voluntarily. However, as is widely known undocumented and illegal migrants are increasing in the world every year. Apart from migrants and refugees, asylum seekers are people who claim refugee in another country other than their country of origin. As defined by UN Economic and Social Council (1992) internally displaced people are "who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers as a result of

armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights, or natural or man-made disasters; and who are within the territory of their own country" (UN Economic and Social Council, 1992).

Difference between an economic migrant, refugee or asylum seeker is hard to distinguish since most of these categories are mainly human rights categories. Even asylum seekers' rights who do not qualify to Geneva Convention differ from refugees' rights. In numerous cases these rights can be undermined during asylum seeking process in different countries (UNHCR Fact Sheet No.20, n.d). Difficulty in distinguishing between different categories of immigrants is also issued in UNHCR papers:

> It may be argued that if the emphasis is placed on threats to life and freedom, there is little to distinguish between a person facing death through starvation and another threatened with arbitrary execution because of her political beliefs (UNHCR Fact Sheet No.20, n.d.).

Considering from a human rights angle, situation of migrants and vague definition in international laws are quite problematic. Departing from these discussions, people should possess their main human rights and treated accordingly even if they do not meet criteria for specific statuses. However, unless people acquire certain statuses in international agreements and humanitarian law, it is even harder to provide them their basic human rights as numerous cases present. This discussion is also prevalent in policy documents and in line with this study's arguments. Although, policy documents prefer to employ a democracy and equality discourse towards refugees and migrants, we can still question how far we can consider these groups as democratic citizens and within an equality discourse.

6.2.2.1 Rights of Immigrants and Asylum Seekers

In general, international protection includes the prevention of refoulement, assistance in the processing of asylum seekers, providing legal counsel and aid, promoting arrangements for the physical safety of refugees, promoting and assisting voluntary repatriation, and helping refugees to resettle (article 8 of the Statute of the Office of the UNHCR). However, many of these rights either for immigrants or refugees are discarded by states on the basis of arbitrary and political approaches to international protection measures. One of the reasons of this arbitrary approach towards migrants is explained by Whittaker (2006) as follows:

> Most importantly, the recognized refugee will expect and be offered a permanent place of safety. Nevertheless, it has been argued, the refugee claimant becomes subject to decisions by states, which may rate their own political agendas higher than humanitarian concerns (p.6).

Although numerous mass exoduses meet criteria for refugeness, many countries refuse to give this status since they claim most refugees are economic migrants. Currently, only an estimated 10 to 20 per cent of asylum seekers are granted refugee status in these countries (UNHCR Fact Sheet No.20, n.d). UNHCR reports detail why many groups of immigrants are not considered refugees:

> Contemporary refugee movements are different from those of the period immediately following the Second World War. Reasons for leaving are very often complex and not simply the result of immediate persecution. Persons flee because of civil conflicts, massive violations of their human rights, foreign aggression and occupation, poverty, famine, disease and ecological disasters. Many do not qualify as refugees on the basis of the United Nations definition (UNHCR Fact Sheet No.20, n.d).

One can simply extrapolate from UNHCR's reasoning that decision making process on categorization of migrants mostly a long political process. This process does not have clear-cut differentiation between economic migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers

that most people's rights annihilate in years. Many countries except some Latin American and African countries follow a strict definition of the term 'refugee' and prefer not to provide immigrants that status. For instance, thousands of Syrian refugees are titled as 'guests' in Turkey instead of 'asylum seekers' or 'refugees'. Qualification for refugee status strictly ties to being 'political refugee' (Güçer, Karaca, & Dinçer, 2013).

On the other hand, in Africa, many countries depend on OAU Convention of 1969 that accepts refugees en masse. However, countries that are parties of OAU Convention can still prefer to follow their hesitations to that convention. While numerous African states accepted OAU's Convention on specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa, only few of them changed their national legislation in accordance with international agreement (Onyango 1986, in Crisp, 2003), p.9). In this regard, even en masse acceptance of refugees does not provide them their all rights as defined by the UN agreements. The refugee and asylum cases are mostly intermingled with state's sovereignty and security discussions.

Inefficient application of rights and lacking protection results in numerous problems for immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers in host countries. For instance, UNHCR Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas (Obi & Crisp, 2002) detailed risks of living urban environment for immigrants as "the threat of arrest and detention, refoulement, harassment, exploitation, discrimination, inadequate and overcrowded shelter, as well as vulnerability to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), HIV-AIDS, human smuggling and trafficking" (p.2). In addition to these risks, surviving in urban areas is more expensive for immigrants economically than the urban poor. In most cases irregular migrants "often face greater expenses than other urban poor because of costs associated with bribes, often related to the lack of documentation" (UNHCR, 2011b). Differing from urban poor, they can also encounter discrimination not only as a result of poverty but also because of their ethnic origins as well.

Jacobsen (2005) argues that even in places where immigrants can freely move in the host country, they still have difficulty in registering and renewing proper IDs, work and travel documents that affect their livelihood seriously. In line with Jacobsen, in his study on effects of Austrian visa regime on immigrants and refugees, McMaster (2006) argues that vague legal status can lead refugees to live in "uncertainty and insecurity" affecting their livelihoods negatively in the long run (p.139).

6.3 Ethico-politics at work: Governmentality of Global Immigration and Asylum Policies

As is issued in different parts of this research, this study is mainly built around an interpretive discussion on governmentality of immigration and asylum policies after 2000s. Modern power and governmentality are defined with post-social politics of responsibilization by Nikolas Rose. Rose called this responsibilization politics as ethico-politics. In line with Rose's definition Inda (2006) argues that there lies two major issues at the core of ethico-political strategies of government: 1) Tactics that target general population and ingrain them "necessity of being prudent and conducting themselves ethically in the face of social insecurities" 2) Repressive technologies to deal with groups who fail to manage their own lives and taking ethical responsibility (p.63).

Inda (2006) argues that post-1965 governance of " illegal migration" falls into latter category. Governmental bodies let them be states or organizations, bring certain ethical political approaches to management of immigration and asylum in the world. According to this framework, modern governmentality of immigration and asylum pertain oppressive measures on immigrant groups who are assumed to take ethical responsibility over their lives. This approach results in categorization of immigrants as people who are unable to take ethical responsibility on their lives, such as dependent, poor or underclass. Following a similar line, this study points out vague and

problematic aspects of governmentality of immigration and asylum policies. In line with previous discussions and background, this part argues that policy documents -as the major discursive proof of policy making processes- issue migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and different types of immigration in line with ethico-political approach of modern neo-liberal governmentality.

This part claims that policy documents' framing of international migration (especially irregular migration), migrants and refugees carry characteristic of ethico-political governmentality. For instance policy documents represent migrants 'imprudent' and 'unethical' while representing migration and asylum as a national or regional problem mainly discarding previously discussed global roots of international migration. Moreover, it proposes individual responsibility and risk taking as well as drawing its principles within post-social (or advanced liberal) rationalities and technologies of government. This part also covers exclusionary, categorizing, sometimes ethnocentric aspects of post-social / ethico-political governmentality. How ethico-political technologies / policies problematize immigration, asylum and agents of these issues, provide us a picture of different and mostly repressive/exclusionary character of modern day immigration and asylum policymaking. While observing ethico-political dynamics in policy-making processes and policies, research issues problematization of migration and immigrants, securitization of immigration as a technology of governmentality, the promotion of the society and self within the liberal responsibilization paradigm of governmentality.

This part contends that immigration and asylum policies promote an ethico-political agenda for governance of immigrants in the world. This framework discards global political economic or structural dynamics of international migration and places it into an ethical judgment agenda. This program downgrades international migration into an ethnocentric and discriminative position. On the other hand, this agenda evaluates global migration as a shared responsibility of multiple governments such as individuals, states, institutions and international actors while diluting global

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responsibility of states in policy making. However, most responsibility is directed to host states, institutions, NGOs, migrants themselves and regional initiatives in this limited paradigm. This part discusses propositions of ethico-political paradigm in global immigration and asylum policies with a reference to Mitchell Dean's analytics of governmentality method.

6.3.1 Problematization of Migration and Immigrants in Policy Documents

Neo-liberal approach to social issues and its reflection in the political economic processes in the international arena has also paved the background for current negative framing of migrants in diverse parts of the world. While necessitating migration for cheap labor, resources and development, neo-liberal policies also come out with dependency rhetoric for migrants. As a common discursive tool in labeling the poor, under-developed or uneducated, migrants are also approached as "immature masses" that needed to be democratized, civilized and individualized as a part of securitization (Inda, 2006).

In addition to this background, an idealized way of being immigrant or refugee is promoted in policies. In general, 'immigration' has been defined and re-defined continuously as a discursive policy category accordingly with the changing perspective of international approach to migrants and refugees. Within this context, being an immigrant had shifted from a political category of Cold War years into an 'ethical category' (Malkki, 1992). At first hand, immigrants who were 'running away from the damages of Communist regimes' are now considered as the victims of their states' incapability to support the survival of its citizens. Victimization of migrants also meant labeling their states of origin as inefficient underdeveloped states that are unable to provide survival for their populations.

Second, later in the West, it became prevalent in numerous state programs on poverty, crime prevention and migration, being an immigrant started to be referred as one's personal issue being separated from its social context. Within this securitization paradigm, immigrants are perceived as "problem to be solved" (Bigo, 2002; Awoke, 2003; Bakewell, 2008, p.229). As Sassen, (1999) argued one of the central themes of the legitimization of the securitization discourse became the "imagery of mass invasion". Hence, the Western public in general is dragged into an invisible fight with the immigrants who try to dissolve host societies' social cohesion. In this regard, migrants are mostly issued with reference to security issues and otherness. IOM World Migration Report 2003 claims that September 11 event's effect on migration management policy was minor, however, mass presence of immigrants in different countries created concerns:

> While the impact of September 11, 2001 had a fairly negligible impact on migration management worldwide, flows and stocks of aliens are fuelling debate revolving around internal and external security issues, particularly in the United States, but also in other industrialized countries (IOM, 2003, p.25).

In this perspective, although, the West had taken treats 'rationally' and did not reflect it to migration management processes, "aliens" builds up a major threat particularly in the US but also in other developed countries. Hence, the report frames migrants' presence as the major problem which causing security debates whereas states' strengthening policies after 9/11 events are not questioned.

As an example of differentiation of migrants from civilization and humanity, most times especially migrants from Africa are defined with their clan ties. As Besteman (1996) argued, "Rebels fighting against a tyrannical dictator became clansmen and tribesmen ousting a 'clan leader'" when Somali conflicts was represented in Western media (p. 122). As a consequence of such representation, Somali migrant populations are known with clan conflicts in the places they migrate.

In one of the interviews of this study, this topic was issued. I got engaged with this local NGO called Ethiopian Somali Community in Addis Ababa via a Somali friend that I knew from Turkey. The NGO is a small shanty of two rooms made of tin in the Bole Michael Somali neighborhood. When I went there for the first time, there were migrants waiting in line. Women were escorted by their relatives. I went into Mohamod's office and set on wood blocks during the interview. I went there two times to interview with Mohamod. Both times, another man (a claimed Ethiopian agent) was present during our talk. In this regard, positive picture drawn by Mohamod is mostly doubtful. Regarding clan issues, Somalia is represented in the media as one of the countries suffering from clan conflicts and attachment to ancestral linkages. I felt the urge to ask to Mohamod that if they have any clan conflicts in Addis? Mohamod and his friend smiled and they both confirmed what Mohamod said:

> The dilemma about Somalian population is that they are known with clan differences and clashes in their country, but they do not have any current problems outside of their country. We attach to each other and support each other when something happens to a member of our community via clan system (Interview 2, Head of Organization, Ethiopian Somali Community, 8 /11/2012- 1ˢᵗ Interview).

As is confirmed, clan system and ancestral ties are employed as social security systems for Somali diaspora rather than a base for conflict. As Besteman (1996) reasons, clashes which are fed from diverse domestic political factors, socio-economic dynamics are misrepresented in media as clan conflicts. This approach proposes a misunderstanding towards migrant communities' traditional ties with their communities as well as a misreading of core reasons of underdevelopment or internal conflicts in their countries of origin.

The modern immigration and asylum policies problematize immigration as a "social problem" of individual instead of a "social issue" related to diverse social and economic dynamics in the world. In addition to that, modern liberal governmentality of immigration and asylum problematizes immigration and immigrants separating them

from social processes, global economic policies, and regional dynamics. In addition, in modern day policies, immigrants' conduct is problematized as being "dependent" and "disempowered."

Many people who flew from their homes have difficulty in regaining their rights in other countries. Nevertheless in documents, these groups are mostly approached with equality, responsibility and self-governmentality discourse. To be equal or self-reliant, these groups should first possess their human rights instead of waiting for their humanitarian rights for decades. Except clear-cut political refugees, numerous immigrants suffer to reach their basic rights whereas policies propose equal treatment for them with democratic citizens. Immigrants, especially people who are flying from their homes in seek of asylum in another country can stay with limited choices. Closing doors to asylum seekers, violation of their rights in processing their applications and after they gain refugee status, and hostile situation in their countries of origin, which makes their repatriation, or return very hard (UNHCR Fact Sheet, No.20, n.d., p. 9).

Another significant issue is the common discourse of migration and asylum policies in different regions. In general, most migration in so called 'third world' and specifically in Africa is basically approached as forced migration issues. Even these basic discursive choice create clear-cut differences in states' approach to migration as social, economic or political issue. Moreover, distinct representation of migration in different regions put migratory movements in different parts in discursive map of the world. Western representation of immigration presumes that migration in African countries is basically political, necessitating political discourse of refugee regime.

As discussed in Chapter 4, sovereignty, citizenship and security paradigms in a global world do not produce positive outcomes for immigrants. One of the problematic affects of globalization on international migrant flow was lessening of the value of labor with flexibilization of labor and search for "skilled or trained labor." This specialization resulted in mass employment in national economies whereas created a hostile discourse

for migrants. On the contrary, as a result of states' exceptions as major parties of international conventions creates arbitrary approaches to immigrants in many countries. This arbitrary approach is not limited to Africa or Latin America; however, it is prevalent in many developed countries as well.

6.3.2 Securitization of Migration as Technology of Government

Representations of immigrants as a part of security paradigm of neo-liberal policymaking result in harder life choices for migrants in different parts of the world. As discussed in some studies on immigrants and refugees are exposed to high surveillance by the host government, police or host community abuse, refoulement, discrimination, vulnerability to violence, problems in accessing employment, education, health services due to lack of legal status, freedom of movement (Markos, 1997; Gundel, 2002; Grabska, 2006; Jacobsen, 2005; Landau, 2005; Campell, 2006; C. Horst, 2006; Betts, 2010; Gladden, 2012).

The term "securitization" was used as a "political/ military term" during the Cold War years to define "the protection of a state's boundaries, its integrity and its values against the dangers of a hostile international arena" (Doty, 2000 as cited in Kaya, 2009, p.8). However, today the domain of security extended into the social issues such as migration, identity and culture. Doty (as cited in Kaya 2009) argues that "issues have recently become security issues through a process of social construction, namely 'securitization'." As Kaya (2009) details:

> The securitization of migration, or in other words stigmatization of migrants, became a vital issue after the 9/11 attacks in the United States and related ones in other places, notably Madrid (11 March 2004) and London (7 July 2005) (p.9).

Especially after the 1980s global economy's evolution towards a post-industrial state, intensified insecurity of international migrants. Although immigration in the 1960s was welcomed by restructuring capitalist economies, neo-liberal policies after the 1980s started to approach migration as a part of security discourse. As Bash, Glick Shiller and

Szanton Blanc (1994) argue restructuring of production from among different industrial centers in seek of cheap resources and labor, negatively affects immigration and asylum policies. As a result, migration turned into an issue of security paradigm instead of welfare or development paradigm. Today's securitization approach towards immigrants should also be considered as a part of global capitalism's effect on nation state and its citizenship discourse.

Rise of neo-liberalism, states' withdrawal from welfare state ideal, rising poverty, unemployment as well as boom of multi-dimensional security threats are generally considered as the major determinants of the strengthening immigration and asylum policies in the West. Security started to be used as a term to define certain social events departing from its context in the changing frame of the immigration in the West. Securitization of migration became one of the basic characteristics of the modern day immigration and asylum policies.

6.3.2.1 Surveillance

Sassen (as cited in Wong, 2011) argues "although there is no enough evidence of that undocumented migration and poverty, unemployment, lack of social services correlates, modern day policy makers put forward irregular migration as the source of many of the social problems". In this sense, immigrants are separated from the context of being "victims of underdevelopment" and their position is reformulated as "criminals or causes of social malaise" in the host societies. Most migrants started to encounter surveillance based on nationality, race, ethnicity or religion in the host countries. In addition to that, this surveillance is normalized as a part of host states' security agenda.

While immigration policy cannot prevent terrorism, IOM believes it can be an important vehicle for more efficient law enforcement and intelligence. Immigration authorities can contribute to national and international intelligence through direct encounters with illegal immigrants and through partner networks with transnational law enforcement and immigration agencies (IOM, 2003, p.26).

Inda (2006) associates this negative approach to irregular migration with technology of government. Within this discourse, while the states restrict their borders, they also define a citizenship and anti-citizenship discourse. Immigration and asylum policies divert from the very liberal understanding of equality and turns into selective technologies of government. Thus, policies can define educated, high-skilled immigrations that are expected to positively contribute to the host society, whereas "others" are labeled as the unwanted guests. In a similar line of thought Rose (as cited in Inda 2006) argues that:

> The image that takes shape here, then, is of an undeserving mass of anti-citizens who have failed to embrace their responsibilities as subjects of "moral community" and must consequently be subject to permanent and despotic administration in the name of protecting the public's safety (p.53).

IOM report (2003) points out new surveillance tactics operated in immigration control:

> New strategies are being tested including biometric profiling, such as iris scanners and finger printing. All major immigrant-receiving states are examining ways of increasing data exchange among themselves, and with carriers and other states… Without effective data sharing systems, information collected by specific carriers or individual governments will be of limited value in what is inherently a global issue. Privacy and civil rights issues must be safeguarded while security is promoted through information sharing (p.26).

The prevalent surveillance of immigrants represents two aspects of ethico-political governmentality: first, a technology of exclusion, second, multiplicity of government. As a technology of exclusion, systems such as biometric profiling, iris scanning, and finger printing data are collected continuously. A biopolitical control of self is adjusted along with collective control of migrants. In addition to that, data sharing among different governmental bodies such as border police, states, international organizations are proposed as a precaution to protect national borders from 'unwanted' populations. Share of data shows that governmentality practices in assemblages or regime. Means, procedures, tactics, and technologies are assigned to meet technical aspect of this composite and multi sided regime.

> …they are designed to transform the habits of individuals and populations seen as vulnerable to particular risks or who have some sort of deficiency (for instance, lack of power or self esteem), the goal being to empower these people and turn them into responsible subjects capable of properly governing themselves. Barbara Cruikshank (1999) has called these mechanisms "technologies of citizenship." (Inda, 2006, p.31).

Content analysis reveals that the topic of surveillance in documents is designed around the prominent words of "European border surveillance." These underlined words shows that Europe's securitization paradigm is planned upon border management issues. To protect Europe's external borders, Schengen area implementation of necessary technologies and responsibility of member states are underlined. Border guards, equipment of check points, electronic surveillance, and protection of borders from human smuggling are among the issues revealed in content analysis. Although, border management is presented in documents as a prerequisite of migrants' and asylum seekers' security time to time, the analysis shows that these propositions does not possess a primary place in documents.

In other words, the securitization of immigration and surveillance of migrants are defenses of sovereign states of their citizens' rights before immigrants' rights who are considered as "non-citizens" or "anti-citizens" as Inda prefers to call. However, this approach is quite double ethical application of the human rights to immigrants in terms of the principle of liberal equal rights regarding immigrant's rights.

6.3.2.2 Security – Development Nexus in Policies

There lies a "security-development nexus" approach in the heart of this paradigm change (Faist, Fauser, & Kivisto, 2011). According to this approach, insecure position of underdeveloped states is worsened by their economic devastation that can be eliminated by application of straight development programs in the region. In accordance with this modernist development paradigm, concepts related to development discourse, such as instability, poverty and bad governance are applied to explain reasons of insecurity in the region.

Security- development approach found its resonance in reports of different states and institutions. As one of the major donors in the Horn of Africa especially supporting through IGAD (the Intergovernmental Authority for Development) and the African Union, European Union strategy is worth some attention. As a significant instance of "development – security nexus" European Parliament's EU Strategy for the Horn of Africa (EU Parliament, 2014) report details:

> …whereas the vicious circle of insecurity, instability, poverty and bad governance can only be successfully and effectively addressed through a comprehensive and holistic approach committed to achieving development in the countries of the region in a sustainable form; whereas the Horn of Africa exemplifies the development-security nexus, being a region where criminal activity, especially terrorism and piracy, flourishes as a consequence of extreme poverty and bad governance or absence of state governance (p.4).[14]

As said by the Parliament, underdevelopment of the Horn of Africa is intermingled with terrorism, extreme poverty and lack of governance. However, the Horn of Africa's position in global political economy, development programs' or humanitarian interventions' effects are not mentioned. By the way the region has been unlucky due to states' inefficiency to control and guide their populations that are trapped in a vicious circle of insecurity, instability and poverty.

Shimizu and Sandler (2002) argue, "new security threats in the post–cold war era are influencing wealthier states to engage in greater burden sharing" (p.618). Burden sharing is promoted as a common security tool for neo-liberal states as well. In this regard, burden sharing raises concerns about the "exploitation hypothesis" which criticizes burden sharing as a shield to cover greater aim of hampering security threats for developed countries. (Shimizu & Sandler, 2002, p.618).

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[14] "Ethiopia is an important strategic and security ally for Western governments, and the biggest recipient of development aid in Africa. It now receives approximately US$3.5 billion in long-term development assistance each year. Donor policies do not appear to have been significantly affected by the deteriorating human rights situation in the country" (Human Rights Watch World Report, 2013, parag.23).

Barnett (2002) argues "by the late 1960s, refugee policy became intertwined with conflict and post-conflict recovery" (p.619). Enmeshed position of refugee policy with new security paradigm, created a change in position of institutions of refugee regime as well. In this context, Barnett points out the changing nature of UNHCR as follow: "Refugee crises since the 1960s have altered the nature of the UNHCR from an apolitical, coordination agency to an operational organization charged with assisting states in eliminating refugee problems" (Barnett 2002, p.619). Hence, institutions adopting refugee policies came to a position where their apolitical and coordinative character more significantly evolved into an operational one. Then, their ability to form and practice refugee policies depending on certain expertise and a neo-liberal paradigm became more substantial.

One of the major institutions, whose proposals are part of the international refugee law, is UNHCR. UNHCR Executive Committee conclusions are legal documents that are binding for those states that are parties to refugee conventions. In this sense, UNHCR Executive Committee (ExCom) reports should be evaluated as a reflection of consortium on refugee policies between diverse parties including but not limited to United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, diverse NGOs and donor countries. In this regard, seeking imprints of paradigm change of refugee regime from aid and development perspective into a security-development nexus perspective would be meaningful. [15]As a common instance of this paradigm shift in refugee policies, *2005 Executive Committee report on Local Integration and Self -Reliance* stimulates development with security:

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[15] "Following the Global Consultations, the High Commissioner launched the Convention Plus initiative to build upon the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees by developing tools of protection which would enable multilateral initiatives to be taken to promote burden and responsibility sharing in a number of areas, including in achieving durable solutions. Drawing on the ideas in the Agenda for Protection, a "Framework for Durable Solutions for Refugees and Persons of Concern" was presented in May 2003 to suggest methodological models for improved targeting of development assistance for refugees through initiatives known as development Assistance for Refugees (DAR), Repatriation, Reintegration, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (the "4Rs") and Development through Local Integration (DLI), based on broad-based partnerships between governments and humanitarian and development actors" (ExCom Report, 2005).

> Experience has shown that in many countries, restricting the rights of refugees and delaying the attainment of durable solutions for years causes frustration and tension among refugees and in the host community. In such situations refugees, in particular women and children, become more vulnerable to various forms of exploitation such as trafficking and forced recruitment, and may develop a long-term dependency on humanitarian assistance. Often, the result is the marginalization and isolation of refugees, which can lead to an increase in irregular movements and even to security and stability problems for the host State, as well as for other States in the region (Executive Committee, 2005)

In this sense, refraining from providing local help to refugee populations can result in isolation of refugees and long-term dependency of especially vulnerable populations. However, more than refugees' and immigrants themselves their protracted situation might finally affect host state's security and stability negatively. As is detailed in the report, supporting refugees in their countries is supported by the international community as a reaction to irregular movement of immigrants. In this regard, immigrants are issued as a part of security paradigm more than a humanitarian case.

To sum up, in line with Inda, Kaya (2009) argues that securitization of migration is a form of governmentality which defines migrants as anti-citizens. In this line of thought, we encounter stigmatization, categorization and labeling of immigrants and high surveillance as a part of state's security concerns. However, illiberal and unequal treatment to migrants that undervalue migrant groups' security is mostly undermined or ignored by policy makers. For Kaya (2009) stigmatization of migrants as the core reason of the global disorder conceals states' responsibility to provide solutions to social problems such as poverty, unemployment or social discontent. In this regard, scapegoating migrants eases governments' hands before public. Governments, as the major responsible bodies, who are expected to transfer services to public can conceal their role putting all the responsibility onto newcomers.

6.3.3 Liberal Responsibilization Paradigm in Policy

As argued in ethico-political governmentality thesis, modern governmentality also carries utopian elements such as post-industrial ideals that closely correspond to day's neo-liberal economic expectations. In this regard, policies follow a similar pattern promoting community, organization, state, society and individuals' responsibilities. According to ethico-political governmentality discussion, this paradigm aims to create an environment that enables maximizing human capital, professional knowledge, improving quality of life via facilitating the improvement of quality of life. Evaluation of policy documents presents a liberal responsibilization trend in line with major arguments in this study. This drift mainly performs upon global intergovernmental and inter-organizational level, regional level, state level and individual level that creates a composite character.

6.3.3.1 Global Responsibility Sharing

The immigration and asylum regime created strong consortium among different parties on keeping irregular migrants in their own region. In this regard, regional development policies have started to promote a regional development approach that includes 'burden sharing' and 'aid transferring' activities to regional powers. This responsibility mostly points out different parties of immigration and asylum policy such as immigrant, state, and regions of origin.

International solidarity in encountering international migration and refugee crises is frequently issued in EU Commision's Annual Reports as well. Issue is mostly referred as a common international problem that should be dealt via collaborations between supra-national organizations, states and diverse NGOs in EU Commission's report. Similarly, Regional Protection Programmes (RPPs) are directed as the major solution bodies for immanent refugee crises:

The resettlement of refugees from outside the EU continues to be a key act of solidarity between the EU and its Member States with third countries that are hosting large refugee populations. The Commission's goal is to ensure that more refugees are resettled each year by more Member States, while respecting the voluntary nature of resettlement. In reaching agreement on the Joint EU Resettlement Programme104 under the European Refugee Fund in March 2012, Member States agreed, for the first time, on specific common EU resettlement priorities for 2013. (European Commission, 2012, p.14).

The Commission is also providing financial support to the UNHCR to support efforts enabling refugees in countries neighbouring Syria to be properly registered and thus gain access to protection. The support includes assisting the local authorities with the provision of transport from border crossing points, providing the necessary equipment and supplies, as well as, wherever necessary, providing training and familiarizing non-governmental organisations, officials, and other stakeholders with the basic principles of international protection (European Commission, 2012, p.14).

These precise searches for collaborations between different states, local and international organizations also points out a certain characteristic of governmentality of immigration and asylum as a regime. Practices of government are organized as assemblages or regimes. In this policy organization, not only visible aspects of government (such as statistics, reports, numbers, data and spaces) are shared, but also technical aspects of governmentality such as procedures, techniques and technologies are maintained in global and regional policies.

6.3.3.2 Regional Consortiums and Buffer Zones

In line with this paradigm in immigration and asylum regime, organizations promote a "regional empowerment" approach for immigrants and refugees. Beyond being highly significant in policy reforms of the last decade, this approach is also embodied in some organizations that support regional management of immigrants. To provide such a management, diverse programs are funded by European Commission, UNHCR and International Organization of Migration (IOM) whose initiations are also supported by

the United Nations. Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (RMMS)[16] and Return Consortium[17] can be counted among the brand new organizations serving to similar ends in facilitating irregular migrants' stay in their regions of origin. Collaboration of organizations mainly from western states and international organizations pave our way to evaluate these policies as an extension of the paradigm change in neo-liberal immigration and asylum.

In a similar vein, European Parliament's EU Strategy for Horn of Africa report points out the significance of regional precautions for regional stability as a part of economic and political agenda:

> IGAD (the Intergovernmental Authority for Development) remains an insufficiently developed instrument for the enhancement of cooperation, integration and security at regional level; whereas there is a need for IGAD to play a central role in the political and security architecture of the Horn of Africa, as well as in conflict prevention and political and economic integration in the region, with a view to committing and anchoring the countries of the region to a common political and economic agenda (European Parliament, 2014, p.5).

The report also relates regional development and support as a part of security – development paradigm that necessitates international concern:

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[16] Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat and Somalia Return Consortium are the two of the band new organizations which facilitate repatriation of refugees via regional conflict resolution and humanitarian aid programs. "The RMMS aims to address overall regional migration and asylum challenges identified by the Inter Agency Standing Committee's Mixed Migration Task Force (IASC MMTF), and coordinate closely with existing Mixed Migration Task Forces (MMTFs in Puntland, Somaliland, Djibouti, South Central Somalia and Yemen - all co-chaired by UNHCR and IOM).The establishment of the RMMS was a response to key recommendations from the Regional Conferences on mixed migration in the Gulf of Aden, attended by agencies and authorities from the region (held in Yemen 2008 and Djibouti 2009) …The creation of the RMMS is therefore part of a wider development of regional initiatives to support migration development. Currently the secretariat is a small unit co-located with the Danish Refugee Council's regional office (East and Horn of Africa) in Nairobi, Kenya which hosts and supports the RMMS. The RMMS core Steering Committee and founding agencies are UNHCR, IOM, DRC, Intersos and the Yemen Mixed Migration Task Force" (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat, n.d.)

[17] The Return Consortium is an initiative of DRC, FAO, INTERSOS, IOM, Islamic Relief, NRC and UNHCR to facilitate IDP voluntary return programming in Somalia.

…there is a threefold European and wider international interest in the security situation in the Horn of Africa, relating to: firstly, the threat posed by international terrorism through such factors as the movement of people of Somali origin to and from European countries and the funds channelled to terrorist organisations from piracy and kidnappings; secondly, the economic threat to international trade and the need to facilitate the safe passage of shipping; and thirdly, the need to assist the UN in its objectives, for example in protecting World Food Programme vessels in the region (European Parliament, 2014, p.4).

The content analysis reveals that European Parliament's strategy towards the Horn of Africa is mainly directed on security issues. Somalia is the major country at EU's focus since it is enmeshed with instability and security as presented in the report. As is presented in European Parliament's report, regional programs and security development agendas are considered as a tool to prevent international irregular movements of immigrants to different parts of the world. It is also obvious that immigration is issued as a part of responsibilization and security discourse that concerns developed economies.

6.3.3.3 Promotion of the Social and Self: Responsibilizing 'Others'

Since populations affected by changing policy practices are migrants themselves, immigration and asylum policies have developed a discourse which promotes self-governmentality, self – sustainability and self-reliance of these populations. In a more specific discussion on reflection of these mechanisms in social security systems, Rose (1999) argues that insurance and personal social services have been implemented by the policy makers as different technologies of government since 1950s. In this regard, personal responsibility and autonomy would be protected without creating dependency to the states directly. Thus, individual's survival turned into his/her own responsibility but under the control of certain mechanisms.

The 1980s witnessed the rise of empowerment approach in development programs as discussed in earlier chapters. In a relevant sense, concept of self-reliance first

introduced by global refugee policies as the key feature and intersecting aim of numerous development programs in *UN Economic and Social Council Resolution 1980/11: Assistance to refugees in Djibouti in 1980.* Ideal of self-reliance as a part of the empowerment program for refugees also took its place in legal documents in the 1980s. The concept first issued in a legal document titled *Recommendations from the Pan-African Conference on the Situation of Refugees in Africa, Arusha (Tanzania),* in 1979. Self-reliance as a branch of responsibility politics not only addresses immigrants themselves, but also underlines the importance of sovereign state and regions of origin. Francis Deng, the Representative of the United Nations Secretary General on Internally Displaced Persons, and Roberta Cohen underlines the role of sovereign state in dealing with protracted problems of internally displaced people:

> Since there is no adequate replacement in sight for the system of state sovereignty, primary responsibility for promoting the security, welfare and liberty of populations must remain with the state. At the same time, no state claiming legitimacy can justifiably quarrel with the commitment to protect all its citizens against human rights abuse. . . . Sovereignty cannot be used as justification for the mistreatment of populations (IOM, 2000, p.39).

The concept of self-reliance was welcomed in policy documents and legal references as a reflection of neo-liberal approach to immigration and asylum. Although the concept mainly targeted immigrants and refugees by definition, the broader paradigm is also employed regarding regions and states. It is detailed in UNHCR Handbook of Self Reliance (UNHCR, 2005) as follows:

> Self-reliance is a key component in any strategy aimed at avoiding or addressing protracted refugee situations, enabling agencies and refugees to find durable solutions that are truly sustainable; providing a foundation for building towards the Millennium Development Goals; and developing capacities contributing to the pursuit of the Agenda for Protection (Introduction,.xi).

The content analysis presents that self-reliance will be promoted in all stages of operation in UNHCR projects. Self-reliance is promoted in the documents for

collaboration, trust and interaction between communities. As a part of capacity-building paradigm self-reliance is proposed as a tool for protection for refugees as well.

Social mechanisms, which had been deteriorated by neo-liberalism's target of economic individual, are now recalled in sake of reviving a modern form of social security. Although seeming as a divergence from the neo-liberal project, this understanding frees governmental bodies from taking "extra burden" in providing social security to diverse segments of society. In this regard, neo-liberal systems release themselves from targeting all and diluting their limited energy for all.

However, although target of this strategy was immigrants, neo-liberal immigration and asylum policies also emphasized and promoted the revival of "traditional agencies of moral authority" regarding immigrant and refugee populations (Rose, 1999, p.185). The social and community was called back in policy documents to provide survival of immigrants in their own groups. The dilemma lies in a logical lock for Rose (1999) that these communal ties are the ones, which had been demolished to a certain extent by the welfare regimes before. Current paradigm basically centers on the idea of responsible liberal individual via promoting an idealized, moral way of act labeled "self-reliance." Following path of self-reliance, immigrants are expected to be 'agents of development' whose lives do not become a burden neither on resources nor on host communities and donor countries anymore. Certain form of technologies of self finally elaborates sphere of governmentality to individual level.

In modern applications, governmentality does not dilute its power of control with replacing discipline and sovereignty with a new form of power (Dean, 1999). On the contrary, ethico-politics and responsibilization extend leading and controlling roles of governing bodies to micro locales. Via placing responsibility and self-control into the

heart of being an ideal member of society, ethico-politics found its place in policy programs of neo-liberal organizations.

Importance of self-reliance in reaching the final aim of creating "agents of development" out of refugee populations is detailed in Executive Committee Programme (UNHCR ExCom, 2005) as well:

> By developing and strengthening refugees' skills and livelihoods, self-reliance brings benefits to all stakeholders. For host States, self-reliant refugees contribute to the sustainable social and economic development of the country and have the potential to attract additional resources which can also benefit host communities. For the international and donor community, the achievement of self-reliance reduces the need for open-ended relief assistance and further underpins the durability of solutions. For refugees, it helps them regain better control of their lives, provides greater stability and dignity, and may help them become "agents of development" (Paragraph 6).

Immigrant and refugee populations carried into an ethical category that needs to be self-relied, self-esteemed and providing their own needs within the borders of their regions in line with the policy dynamics. Although conflicting with the ideal of humanitarianism, this new approach facilitates local development and regional aid programs to keep refugees in their regions of origin as clearly stated in development reports.

As a part of ethico-political mentality, immigrant populations are presumed as groups who are supposed to help each other in their communities. This approach is also in line with "rise of the social" argument that is discussed earlier. According to this argument, neo-liberal policy making promotes social self-help mechanism while states' withdraws from the social welfare scene. While social welfare mechanisms diminish, they try to substitute their roles and responsibilities with other actors and mainly immigrants themselves.

This paradigm implies and endorses the idea that immigrants should be able to support themselves in modern neo-liberal survival mechanisms. For instance, refugees from Somali should first try to meet their needs via traditional community support systems instead of "passively" waiting for external help. Moreover, time-to-time it is criticized that international aid provided for these groups creates "dependency syndrome" which is a certain pathological situation.

Ideal of "community survival mechanism" is underlined as a remedy to this pathological limbo. As a reference to ethico-politics, refugees are expected to help each other "normally," instead of putting themselves into a pathological situation that is called "aid dependency."

A similar argument is found in Harrell-Bond's discussion on international donor compliment's causing in high dependency among refugee populations (Harrell-Bond 1984 as cited in Horst, 2001, p.8). Horst (2001) discusses in a UNHCR working paper that she was surprised to talk to a well-off Somali businessman who was complaining about his relatives' dependency to his wealth for familial survival (Horst, 2001).

> Omar is complaining about the fact that he is providing things for his family members, whereas the UNHCR is not doing anything: they should be providing all that. To me, his reasoning is inconsistent. On the one hand he doesn't want to be considered a refugee all his life, on the other he insists the international community has the obligation of assisting refugees. And some of his demands/complaints are unreasonable: He has bought a house in Mombassa where four of his relatives are schooling, and there are orphans for whom he provides shelter there. He finds it ridiculous that he has to pay for the education of these relatives because UNHCR is not assisting them. To me, I don't see why they should when he is quite well off and is not even a refugee anymore [being the citizen of a European country]: why should that responsibility not be his, when it has always been? (p.8).

This governmental strategy of remoralizing and responsibilizing immigrants acts upon previously defined ethnocentric paradigms. It assumes that immigrants and refugees as vulnerable groups are strongly tied to their traditional roots. As discussed in Horst's

evaluation, neo-liberal policy making calls for sustenance of traditional survival mechanisms to reduce immigrants' reliance of modern aid systems. This way is assumed to be only natural and easier way of coping instead of people's dependence on UNHCR aid. However, would the researcher propose a similar argument of "community help" if she were talking about another group rather than Somalis? Why Somalis are assumed to help themselves while others are assumed more eligible for social security and aid systems.

In a similar line, this approach might result unexpected traditional dependencies for immigrants. While they are assumed as a part of democratic citizenship discussion, this revival of tradition mechanism might result further dependencies or subjectivities for especially women, children and other vulnerable populations. Clan, family or neighborhood support may result in different control and surveillance over dependent groups. This system may create diverse subjectivities, inequalities that are contrary to modern liberties.

Collins (1999) claims that "A shift in the responsibility for coping with drought from the household and community to national government and international organizations has occurred, further eroding traditional coping mechanisms" (p.2). However, it should also be questioned that does prevalence of traditional coping mechanisms in a society diminish states' or international governmental bodies' roles in sharing responsibility over these populations? On the other hand, does not immigrant as individual possess her/his human right to be supported for survival as an actor in immigration and asylum regime?

To conclude, the ethico-political paradigm also changes the responsible actors from welfare provision actors to communities and immigrants themselves. As Garland (1996) reasons, irresponsible individual can be blamed for any undesirable result of policymaking and aid provision instead of other actors. This way, other actors defend

their strong characters. While immigrants are continuously controlled and motivated for societal and self-realization, states and international actors' role fade away from the scene.

6.4 Analytics of Ethico-political Governmentality of Global Immigration and Asylum Policies

This chapter gave a historical background on development of immigration and asylum policies in the world. Supported by the background and arguments provided in previous chapters, this part provided an evaluation of immigration and asylum policies with reference to global restructuring of economy, transformations of nation states and development of liberal ethico-political rationalities in policy making. While observing diverse visibilities of ethico-political power and governmentality in today's immigration and asylum policy documents, this part also covered relevance of historical background on globalization, capitalism and neo-liberal ideological milestones to ethico-political governance of immigration in the world.

This part issued exclusionary, categorizing, and ethnocentric aspects of post-social / ethicopolitical governmentality. Problematization of migration and immigrants in different contexts, political development of legal and humanitarian concepts and their place in human rights v.s. humanitarian rights debate also took place in chapter's discussions. Different representations/ problematizations of immigration, asylum and different actors in policy-making, reminds us repressive and discriminative character of ethico-political technologies. This research issued securitization of migration as a technology of government and the promotion of the society and self in liberal responsibilization paradigm in modern immigration and asylum policies, while developing a critic out of analytics of government methodology.

This chapter provided a general background and a solid base for this study's specific case study construction of ethico-politics of power for immigration and asylum policies in Ethiopia. In this regard, global policy making processes points out that development of neo-liberal/advanced liberal rationalities are in line with global transformations in different parts of the world. However, it worth questioning that if immigration and asylum policies regarding Ethiopia provides similar or diverging trends in terms of ethico-political governmentality of modern day policies.

CHAPTER 6

ETHICO-POLITICAL GOVERNMENTALITY OF IMMIGRATION AND ASYLUM IN ETHIOPIA

Current migration patterns in Africa are mainly designed by colonialization's effects on the region and African states' relations with the former colonial centers (Adepoju, 2009). Migration destinations followed colonial roots; Senegalese emigrating to France, Ethiopians emigrating to Italy, Congolese emigrating to Belgium, Nigerians to the UK, Cape Verdeans to Portugal (IOM, 2005). Rural to urban migration is another characteristic of migration in Africa due to most African economies' export oriented feature that shapes their agriculture and mining industries. Especially in post-independence years, industrialization in urban centers created a boom in rural-urban migration which persist until today (IOM, 2003a). Even though, Africa is one of the geographic regions that is identified with emigration and with asylum applications in the global north, African countries absorb more than 17,228,396 millions of documented immigrants and refugees (UNDP, 2013). Among many countries hosting refugees and migrants in Africa, Ethiopia became the biggest refugee hosting counting country in Africa as of July 2014 with 629,718 refugees (UNHCR, 2014).

This chapter is composed of two main parts. First part gives a background on Ethiopia's significant position in the Horn of Africa; briefing Ethiopia's socio-economic history, current profile and country's ties with global neo-liberal economy. First part ends with a brief on Ethiopia's present national immigration and refugee legislation. In the second part, I will issue construction of ethico-political paradigm in global policy propositions for Ethiopia following analytics of governmentality method. Problematizations of Africa, Ethiopia, and immigrants; and Ethiopian

immigration and asylum control as an assembled regime will be evaluated. This part will be built around these research questions: How is ethico-political paradigm constructed in global policy propositions for Ethiopia? What are the reflections of ethico-political paradigm in governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia?

To analyze ethico-political paradigm and its reflections, I draw findings from content analysis of 38 global documents (namely global/ annual reports of UNHCR, IOM and European Commission)[18] on immigration and asylum issues in the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia between the years 2000 and 2013. 11 interviews [19] conducted with international and local organizations and undocumented immigrants will be complimentary data in discussing the main arguments and findings of the general content analysis.

I argue that global policy plans for Ethiopia construct an ethico-political paradigm that carries visible, technical, rational, identity formative aspects. I also maintain that this paradigm reflects on Ethiopia at differing levels such as positioning the country as "safe third country" of the global north, strengthening of control over immigrants, increasing dependence on individual and community as a part of neo-liberal policy making. These reflections create certain "uncalculated effects" on governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia affecting the state, migrant communities and individuals. I aim to contribute to governmentality studies evaluating alternative governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia that is both proposed by global propositions and affected by Ethiopia's structural dynamics.

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[18] For details on documents please see Appendix A.

[19] Please see Appendix B, C, for interview details.

7.1 Ethiopia's Significant Position in the Horn of Africa

In terms of numbers of immigrants and refugees hosted, Ethiopia hosts the largest immigrant and refugee flows from South Sudan, Somali, Congo, Eritrea and Kenya respectively in the Horn of Africa[20]. As of July 2014, East and Horn of Africa hosts 2,038,900 refugees (UNHCR, 2013, p.12). Ethiopia is the top country hosting refugees and people who are in refugee like situations[21] in Africa. According to UNHCR 2015 estimates refugee numbers in Ethiopia will raise to 720,000 as a results of ongoing conflicts in South Sudan and Somali. Ethiopia also hosts 645,356 documented migrants from Somali, South Sudan and Eritrea (IOM, 2014b).[22]

Ethiopia has a unique position in its region for hosting immigrants but also being an extremely poor country witnessing endemic poverty and food deficit with a population of 94,1 million (World Bank, 2014).[23] The country is the third biggest receiver of the foreign direct investment in Africa (UNCTAD, 2014). It is also a country of origin for mixed migration patterns in the region. Large groups of Ethiopians go to Saudi Arabia and Yemen for work as well as Middle East, Turkey and Europe if possible.

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[20] Horn of Africa is the geographic region in the East Africa including states of Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somali, and Djibouti.

[21] People who are in refugee like situations are defined by UNHCR as refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), returnees (refugees and IDPs), stateless persons, and others of concern to UNHCR.

[22] Numbers of undocumented migrants are not included. However, according to Somali Community and Jesuit Refugee Service estimates there are 160,000 undocumented Somalis residing in Addis Ababa and its surroundings (Source: Interview with head of Somali Community and Expert at Jesuit Refugee Service).

[23] "In many regions the poverty level index is assessed to have a Multidimensional Poverty Index % = 0.562 ;and a Human Development Index of .0363 which ranks Ethiopia as 174 out of 187 countries." (UNDP; 2012 Report Human Development Statistical Tables) (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat, 2011).

There are thousands of Ethiopians also working informally inside Yemen – many in rural areas working as laborers (mainly on Khat[24] plantations) and herders. Some can also be found in specific areas of large cities such as Sana'a, Aden and Ta'iz. (Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat, 2011).

Ethiopia holds a strategic position for global economic actors such as the US, Japan, Germany, France, Israel, China and India. Apart from being the only Christian majority country among its neighbors in the Horn of Africa, it also hosts the largest bases for organizations of African Union, UNHCR, IOM, and UNICEF in the continent. Ethiopia's rising role in the region as the major economic partner of China and India in Africa, US' strategic ally in war against radical Islam, or water politics in the Middle East (e.g. Renaissance Dam project) are some general aspects of Ethiopia's strategic and political role in the Horn of Africa.

Considering these characteristic, Ethiopia holds a significant place in immigration and asylum policies in Africa as well as in global policies. In terms of immigration and asylum policies, its significance will be discussed with a reference to Ethiopia's role as "the safe third country" of the Global North and reflections of governmentality of global policy in Ethiopia's immigration and asylum policies. To evaluate Ethiopia's designated role in global immigration and asylum policies, a short background information will follow on social history, economy and geo-strategic position of Ethiopia and its global economic allies.

7.1.1 Social History and Current Profile of Ethiopia

According to Habib (2010), federal system experience in Africa should be evaluated in two distinct categories: first one represents colonial inheritance, second one is a result of last two decades' conflicts in the region (p.6). Ethiopia carry characteristics of both categories. Except from a brief presence of Fascist Italy between 1936-1941 Ethiopia did not experience colonialism. Italians stayed in the country only 5 years, however,

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[24] Khat is a plant which is produced to use as a type of light drug from cocaine family. Khat production is one of the major sources of economy in Ethiopia.

their effects in rural economy and local culture prevailed. Although, Italian colonialism is drawn out of the country in 1941, its contributions to economy are welcomed by Emperor Haile Selassie who asked Italians to stay in the country to foster development initiations that they started earlier. Today a huge population of Ethio-Italians still live in Ethiopia as well as in Italy. Italian presence is still felt in agriculture techniques, immigration patterns, coffee production types/or consuming styles and urban architecture in the main cities. Henze (2000) gives a picture of Italian invasion and its effects in modern Ethiopian agriculture:

> Ethiopians were usually ejected from the land allocated to Italians and then employed as day laborers… Italians, did, however, make Ethiopians aware od improved techniques of agriculture and forestry and introduced new crops: oilseed, cotton, sugar, and new fruits and vegetables. Small scale Italian entrepreneurs set of agricultural and raw material based industries: coffee washing and roasting establishments, oil mills, sawmills, flour mills, bakeries and a textile mill in Diredawa (p.224).

Apart from five years colonial break, Ethiopia had been an imperial regime until 1974 until the government was withheld by Marxist /Leninist Mengistu Haile Mariam powers. Until that time, several peasant revolutions had been witnessed in the country that are suppressed by the government with the help of dominant allies of the time (Fernyhough, 2010). In 1960, first serious coup initiation was organized by opposition who wanted to end Emperor's presence and the US' ideological dominance Ethiopia. The initiation was suppressed by government forces next day easily and coup leader's dead body was hung symbolically in front of St. George Cathedral as an example of corporal punishment (Henze, 2000, p.255).

During imperial times modernization movements were initiated first by Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913), and this trend continued during Haile Selassie (1930-1974). As one of the founding fathers of modern Ethiopia most modern buildings and huge initiatives in transportation, education and health are developed during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie. Haile Selassie's power ended in 1974 by Marxist /Leninist Mengistu Haile Mariam's powers called Dergue. The coup group occurred in imperial

government circles in years without any disruptions. This was considered as a prominent outcome of Wollo famine of 1972-1974 that showed that Emperor did not possess necessary means (Swain, 2000). After the collapse of Soviet Union, Marxist Mengistu Government was left alone in Ethiopia as well. Due to withdrawal of foreign support and rising power of opposition movements, Dergue Government fell in 1991.

7.1.1.1.1 Ethiopia as a Strategic Ally of World Powers in the Horn of Africa

Ethiopia's relations with diverse global powers dates before the establishment of Ethiopia as a democratic republic. These relations affected economic restructuring of Ethiopia especially after 1990s. Moreover, different liberalization patterns and democratization in the country had certain effects in Ethiopia's approach to immigrants and refugees alike numerous African countries (Veney, 2007; Milner, 2009).

In the history, Ethiopian emperors strategically allied with different world powers including Russia, Britain, the US and French against external threats time to time. For instance, to get rid of Mussolini's Italy, Haile Selassie is backed by Stalin's Russia. While until 1944 Britain was active in Eritrea[25] and Ethiopia, after Eritrea's separation from the country, the US power increased in Ethiopia while Britain's focus stayed with Eritrea. US' relations with Ethiopia based on strategic partnerships in time of developing powers of the world. US provided huge loans to Ethiopia to party them and guarantee its position in the Horn of Africa since 1945s after Britan's effect is diluted in the country.

> The United States provided 800,000 dollars in economic assistance to Ethiopia during the years 1946-1948 and the US Export-Import bank granted a 2.7 million loan for improvement of ground transportation. 1.3 million in economic assistance was provided during the period 1949-1952 (Henze, 2000, p.246).

Early relations with the US only cancelled for 15 years during Dergue regime in Ethiopia. First five year development plan was organized in 1944 in Ethiopia with the

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[25] Eritrea was a former Italian protectorate and a part of Ethiopia until 1943.

help of World Bank. In this sense, Ethiopia's integration to global economy took shape in early 1950s. Ethiopia's production patterns stayed similar mainly depending on coffee, hides and skins and other main products (Henze, 2000, p.271). However, this production patterns fed by five year plans did not positively affect traditional production and survival techniques in local economy. When the need for land reform was recognized in late 1960s it was too late to hamper massive famine appeared in the country in 1973. While drought risked lives of thousands, the US avoid helping Ethiopia due to homeland's internal problems as well as Soviet's rising interest in the country.

After the fall of Dergue Government, a new constitution was prepared and bicameral legislature and a judicial system are formed in 1994. The first formally multi-party election took place in May 1995; Meles Zenawi was elected the Prime Minister and Negasso Gidada was elected as the President. Meles Zenawi government has been one of the strongest allies of the US during 1990s and 2000s due to their support in elimination of radical Islamist groups and relatively supporting the democratization models ("A brittle Western ally in the Horn of Africa," 2007). Prime Minister Meles Zenawi commented in mid-1990s that the most significant long term threat to Ethiopia's security is Islamic fundamentalism (Shinn, 2002). Being a close ally of the West is reflected in land reforms, structural adjustment programs and development goals for the country for two decades. Time to time, Western support to Ethiopia is questioned at large due to mass human rights violations in the country that became more apparent in 2005 elections when at least 23 protesting students shot dead in Addis Ababa University (BBC, 2005). Many critics claimed that "the Ethiopian regime exploited the jihadist terror threat and propagated about terror connections of legitimate opposition campaigners and supporters" ("A brittle Western ally in the Horn of Africa," 2007).

Today still most violation events are not published in local media news and journalist supporting freedom of thought are severely punished. Arbitrary arrest, torture and ill-

treatment is common features of punishment either for locals or immigrants in case they are found as "threats" to government (Human Rights Watch, 2013). Nevertheless, Western support for the country continued during years as a result of Ethiopia's strategic position in terms of regional politics.

7.1.2 Population Dynamics and Economic Transformation

Agriculture is the backbone of the economy in Ethiopia. Food crops are the major source of livelihood. The crop groups are cereals, pulses, oilseeds, vegetables, root crops, fruit crops, stimulant crops and sugar cane. Stimulant crops consist of Chat, coffee and hops (Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2012b). "While the lowland areas are mostly inhabited by a pastoral people, who depend mainly on livestock production and move from place to place in search of grass and water", the majority of population lives in highland areas of the country (Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2012, p.3). Food insecurity is a defining characteristic of poverty with up to 10 million people dependent on humanitarian assistance" (African Development Bank Group, 2011, p.7). Abegaz (2004) contends that "Ethiopia's market-led agricultural development strategy must focus on boosting sustainable growth while ensuring subsistence for all" (p.313).

Though urbanization increased and people working in service sectors increased in the recent decades, only 16 percent of population lives in urban areas in Ethiopia (CSA, 2010 as cited in Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2012, p.3). In addition, living in the urban areas does not coincide with high welfare standards compatible with the standards in developed states. For instance, half of Ethiopia's population (50.9 per cent) lives in single-room dwellings, 93 per cent of houses country wide are composed of corrugated iron sheet instead of proper construction material (Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2012b, p.23).

Ethiopia is ethnically diverse country that hosts around 80 ethnic groups in differing sizes. Main religions in Ethiopia are Orthodox and Protestant Christianity and Islam:

> …about half of the population are Orthodox Christians, one-third are Muslims, about one in every five (18 percent) are Protestants, and 3 percent are followers of traditional religion" (Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2012, p.4).

There was no clear information on Ethiopia's population until after the 1980s, since the first systematic housing census was conducted in 1984. Ethiopian population increased drastically from 42.6 million in 1984 to 53.5 million in 1994. Moreover, last housing census in 2007 presents that population of Ethiopia is 73.8 million (Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2012, p.7).

Ethiopia did not have a clear health policy before 1960s as well. Country's first health policy was introduced by World Health Organization (WHO) in 1960. During the 1970s, Dergue regime formulated a health policy underlining the issues of disease prevention and control (Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2012, p.5). However, the policy did not last long due to food security problems in coming years.

To follow a systematic health policy, government prepared the Health Sector Development Programme (HSDP) as a 20 year health development strategy in 2010 (Ministry of Health, 2010). Although, numerous anti-campaigns are held nation wide, harmful traditions such as FGM and uvulectomy[26] are still quite common in Ethiopia. 23 percent per cent of girls between the ages 0-14 years are mutilated in the country every year (Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2012b, p.27).

7.1.2.1 Ethiopian Economy and Its Global Allies

Until 1974, Ethiopian state was more or less in a feudal state where "production relations upheld a feudal social structure and reinforced the dependency of peasants on their lords (malkanna)" (Fernyhough, 2010, p.31). This system was used as a mean to provide social hierarchy between the ruling class as lay and clerical and the other

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[26] "Uvulectomy is a procedure involving the cutting of the uvula and sometimes the near-by structures such as the tonsils. The uvula is a small soft tissue that hangs down from the back of the mouth above the throat and between the two lymphoid tissues (tonsils). It helps to prevent choking during swallowing and is used in producing certain sounds necessary for language communication. At country level 32 per cent of children between the ages 0-14 have been removed from their uvula." (Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency, 2012b)

landless agricultural laborers (*zéga)* (Tegegne, 2011). Abegaz (2004) claims that agrarian system in Ethiopian highlands carried characteristics of Afro-Asiatic tributary system more than a Western feudal system. This system basically functions according to politically dependent peasantry's will whose "right to land is conditional on payment of tribute" (p.316). In any case, land tenure system and increased coercion on peasants, who worked for imperial power and their local lords, are considered one of the major reasons of 1974 revolution in Ethiopia (Cohen and Weintraub as cited in Fernyhough, 2010).

Ethiopia experienced a socialist land reform in 1975. The socialist reform mainly depended on nationalization of rural and urban land, establishment of peasant associations /collectives, government run marketing, and establishment of large state farms. Although major principle of the system state's ownership of the land continues today, major reforms on forced collectives and marketing are made in land tenure system for a more liberal functioning (Abegaz, 2004, p.321).
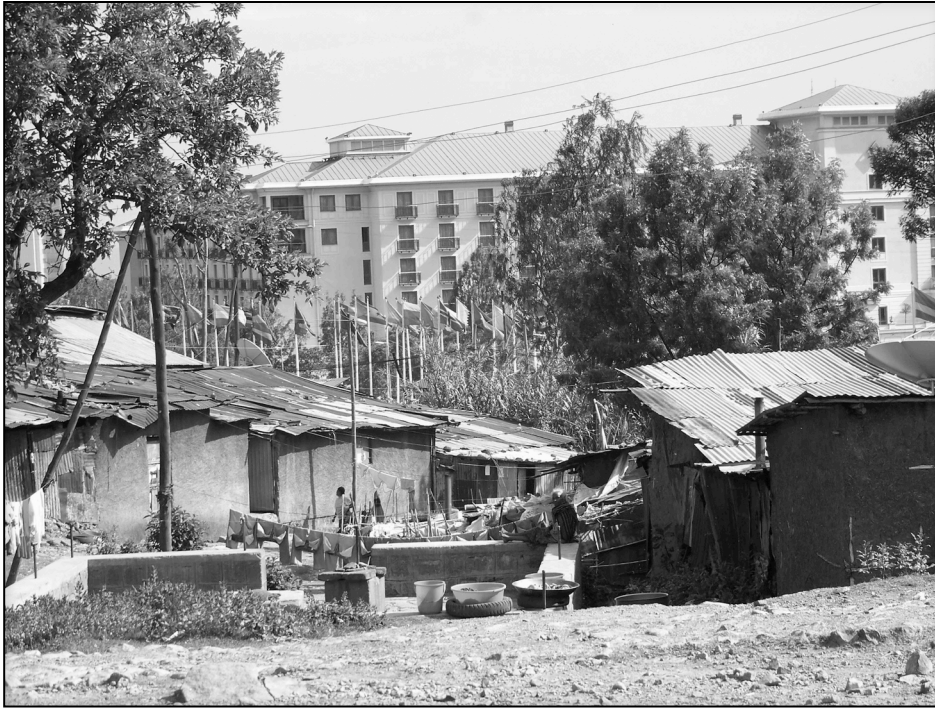
Figure 2. Sharaton Addis with Shanties Behind

Photo by Figen Gündüz-Letaconnoux

Today, highly poor and dependent character of Ethiopian economy makes it open to effects of global structural economic dynamics. Ethiopia ranks 157 out of 169 countries on the United Nations Development Program's 2010 *Human Development Index*. About 30% of the population lives below the poverty line. Undocumented labor is most common feature of employed population in the country. Unemployment rate in urban centers is 17.6 per cent. These disparities affect women more than men. Ethiopia was listed 122 out of 134 countries in terms of gender inequality in *World Forum Global Gender Report* (2009) (African Development Bank Group, 2011, p.8).

7.1.2.1.1.1   Liberalization of Economy and Its Effects in Immigration and Asylum Policy

As a response to unstable economies and domestic state-society discrepancies after independence, many African countries adjusted structural adjustment programs (SAPs) as an escape in the 1980s. These programs required African countries "to undertake liberalization and privatization of their economies, deregulation, cuts in public expenditures and employment, and massive and repeated currency devaluations, among various policy conditionalities" (Veney, 2007, p.66). As generally discussed, SAPs had various negative effects on African economies and societies from increasing authoritarianism due to complications in application of the programs, public employees, students and women's increasing burden with the cutback in social aid, fall of life expectancy in the continent during 1990s, and rising gap between social classes (Veney, 2007, pp.68-69). SAPs had been shaped immigration and asylum regimes of African states in especially in the 1980s along with the effects of democracratization movements (Veney, 2007; Milner, 2009).

> One important factor was the implementation of structural adjustment plans (SAPs) by several countries of the region as they attempted for more than a decade to set their economies right. Conforming to IMF and World Bank conditions, many countries reduced the size of the public sector—the dominant employment sector—through retirement, retrenchment, and redundancies; the private sector followed suit. As a result, heads of household found themselves out of work, adding to the existing unemployment pool—mostly young males (IOM, 2000, p.145).

Neo-liberal economic idealism towards Africa imposed structural adjustment programs in Ethiopia as well as many African countries in the 1980s and 1990s. Contrary to expectations on economic welfare "the structural adjustment era has seen the lowest rates of economic growth ever recorded in Africa (actually negative, in many cases) along with increasing inequality and marginalization" (Ferguson, 2006, p.331). Encouragement of state withdrawal from the market relations strengthened

patrimonial links and corruption under the label of civil society (van de Welle 2001, Hibou 2004 as cited in Ferguson, 2006).

Although joining this trend late, Ethiopia was not exception. Ethiopia strengthened a patrimonial system in market relations, however, the state did not roll out from market totally. Semi-privatization became the characteristics of economic establishments in the country. Their effects in structural adjustment programs became more apparent in Ethiopia especially after 1991. Highly undercapitalized fields in economy started to integrate global economic dynamics after 1990s with the fall of Dergue regime. Since then, structural adjustment programs fund by large international donor contributions and IFIs have been effective in Ethiopian economy.[27] Main agricultural products' production schemas such as coffee are mainly designed by these programs and controlled by global giants.

SAPs had shaped immigration and asylum regimes of African states in especially in the 1980s along with the effects of democratization and liberalization patterns (Veney, 2007; Milner, 2009). These negative patterns resulted by SAPs and IFIs role in Africa are quite apparent in today's Ethiopian economy, state structure and state society relations as well as in state's approach to immigrants and refugees. Along with well-known global key players such as the US, Germany, Japan, Italy, France, effects of rising economies such as China and India are quite prominent in Ethiopia which needs attention.

7.1.2.1.1.2   Key Global Players in Ethiopia

If you take a walk in Bole Road, one of the main roads in capital city Addis Ababa, you will see as much *faranjees* (foreigners) as in an international airport. If you keep walking you will probably recognize that Chinese and Indian consist most of the *faranjees* in the city. The effects of economic partners in the capital city of Ethiopia is

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[27] For instance, Ethiopia received US$ 240.6 million only in August 2009 from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for its Exogenous Shocks Facility (African Development Bank Group, 2011, p.3).

quite visible in everyday life. Especially Chinese and Indian businessmen and employees are an active part of Addis life. The city hosts numerous Chinese and Indian restaurants, the Chinese products can be found in every shop, the local product bazaar serves vegetables and foods that are commonly preferred by Chinese and Indian customers.

China is indisputably the most visible economic actor. The county built African Union's new headquarters in Addis Ababa two years ago as the biggest building in the city. Chinese cars are built in Ethiopia (BBC News, 2012) and nowadays, the country is building country's first soft railway in Addis Ababa. Although, China is the major contributor to Ethiopian economy, their image in the streets is not very positive. Some Ethiopians approach especially Chinese as "invaders" and harass them in the streets. As a Japanese resident testified that she is afraid to be outside because some Ethiopians wrongly assume that her family is Chinese and mostly giving them hard time throwing stones to their car. As is seen, some radical nationalist Ethiopians do not welcome *faranjees* (foreigners) mostly in the city life.

Supporting regional integration for a much more competitive global system, World Bank strategy introduces China and India among the recent key players in Africa and calls African states to collaborate with them to enhance regional and global competitiveness. Alike, IMF, UNCTAD, OECD and Asian Development Bank reports also highlight the significance of "South-South cooperation" for rebalancing of global economy (IOM, 2014a).

In Ethiopia, China is indisputably the most apparent economic player in economic terms. Trade between China and Africa has increased more than six-fold during the past decade to $120bn (£76bn) in 2011 (BBC News, 2012). China became the number one export and import partner of Ethiopia in 2011 (World Bank, 2012, p.3). China prefers to import raw materials as well as oil, coal and gold from African countries. According to the Ethiopian Investment Agency (EIA) from 1998-2012 a total 948 Chinese business got licenses to invest in Ethiopia. Moreover, the Chinese cumulative

investment from 1998-2012 reached 41,663,744,000 birr (2,314,652,444 USD) (Tiruneh, 2014, p.20).

> Increased aid, debt cancellation, and a boom in Chinese-African trade, with a strategic Chinese focus on oil, have proven mutually advantageous for China and African state elites… As a result, China overtook the UK as Africa's third most important trading partner in 2005 (after the US and France).(Tull, 2006, p.459-464).

The share of China among the investing countries is the highest. Especially China's contributions to Ethiopia are centered on investments on infrastructure and manufacturing. China's presence in Africa and especially in Ethiopia creates concerns on its discouraging effects on local production due to float of low price Chinese products in local market, and illegal trading patterns among Chinese investors without official licenses (Tiruneh, 2014, p.2). In Ethiopia, Chinese companies' main focus is on mining, telecommunication, electricity, water, small trading, infrastructure, leather garments etc. "In the last seven years China has become an important trading partner for Ethiopia accounting about 15% of its trade which was none before 2005" (Alemayehu Geda & Atnafu G. Meskel as cited in Tiruneh, 2014).

In general, Chinese-African relations create concerns not in terms of the shape of entrepreneurship in Africa but China's development approach. Although Chinese approach claims that it would create an uncommon South –South collaboration contrary to previous South –North relations, the type of relation is not very dissimilar. There is no foreseeable long term contribution from Chinese investments in Africa. China directs its unskilled labor into Africa via its companies. Although China increases its quantitative visibility, it does not directly turns into long term structural change in the relations. This system does not facilitate African countries' integration into global economy however, it endures prevalent center-periphery statuses. African states' facial transformation in industrialization and infrastructure does not go beyond providing necessary facilities of technology, transfer, communication and infrastructure needed for import products for new global power China at local level. In

this regard, it does not seem likely that African state's integration into global economy either via North-South or South –South collaborations does not create structural long term development for them (Mohan & Power, 2009).

These collaborations are significant in economic restructuring of Ethiopia. Nevertheless, these South-South collaboration also receives criticism from the human rights groups. The claim is dependent on the argument that Western countries condition their aid with "good governance" when China does not interfere into domestic politics in countries such as Kenya, Nigeria and Ethiopia (BBC News, 2010).

The claim is somehow true but it does not purify the Western approach's facial interferences into country's politics. This non-interference and sovereignty principles are mostly visible in immigration and asylum policies that avoids recommendations on human rights although claiming being "humanitarian". In this regard, global economic partners' role in Africa can be categorized in win-win perspective while African states benefit from huge aid loans in different aspects of development, foreign donor countries take advantage in terms of economic resources, FDIs, cheap labor, open market for cheap goods and high-tech products. In addition to these economic aspects, especially Global North creates huge buffer zones and "safe third countries" in Africa maximizing economic and military relations and minimizing human rights claims via immigration and asylum policy propositions.

7.2 *Ethiopia's National Immigration and Refugee Legislation*

Ethiopia's differing immigration and asylum processes cannot be fully understood without referring to socio-historical realities of the African continent. Modernization and integration into global political economy as an African counterpart resulted in certain legitimacy, hegemony and social problems in Ethiopian state. Instead of sharing power with the society and encountering social demands of people Ethiopian leaders mostly favored strong central state models that controls every aspect of social life.

Given the progressive erosion of once potent traditional values and practices, and the dismal failure in adopting and adjusting to the new elements of 'modernity' imposed as a result of global interdependence, value-sharing and convergence on common concerns seem unlikely in several societies of the developing world. Thus, African elites and counter-elites assign priority to the quest for domination rather than consensual hegemony (Berhanu, 2000, p.28).

Considering this background, although international law and policies draw major determinants of refugee protection for international community, state's approach and national legislation differ to certain extent at local level. In this regard, treatment of immigrants and refugees in Ethiopia is limited to certain constraints resulted by global, regional and national dynamics. Problems of identification, economic reasons, lack of municipal refugee legislation concerning refugees, the problem of enforcement and compliance can be counted as the major problems regarding immigration and asylum legislature in Ethiopia (Markos, 1997).

Ethiopia is party to the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Convention), its 1967 Protocol, however, with reservations. These reservations include treating the 1951 Convention's rights to exemption from exceptional measures, to work, and to primary education as recommendations-and the 1969 Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa (African Refugee Convention). The 1995 Constitution makes international agreements "an integral part of the law of the land" and gives the executive and legislative branches specific authority to provide asylum (US I for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). However, reservations regarding international refugee law limits refugees' benefiting from international law as it is expected.

The 2004 Refugee Proclamation of Ethiopia requires NISS (Ethiopian National Intelligence Security Service) to issue identity cards to refugees and asylum seekers and prohibits their prosecution for illegal entry or presence. The Government issues identity cards to asylum seekers and refugees in urban areas, but not to those in camps.

UNHCR seeks to issue verification that the government issues most Eritreans identity cards and six-month renewable residence permits (US I for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009).

The 1995 Constitution provides that "any…foreign national lawfully in Ethiopia has, within the national territory, the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence, as well as the freedom to leave the country at any time he wishes," but reserves the right of reentry to nationals. The 2004 Refugee Proclamation gives refugees the right to international travel documents, but authorizes the head of NISS to designate areas where refugees and asylum seekers must live "provided that the areas designated shall be located at a reasonable distance from the border of their country of origin or of former habitual residence." (US I for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). In this regard, Ethiopia gives a significant power on national intelligence in controlling immigrants in the country.

As Marcos (1997) details in his study, major confusion in the law regarding refugee legislation is resulted by identification of Somali refugees in Ethiopia. The borders of most African states are drawn by colonial rule periods which undermined the centuries old migration movements in the region. As a result, Somali people are also spread to countries including Somali Land, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Kenya in the region. Even in federal system of Ethiopia, Region 5 is called Somali region due to its being centuries old homeland to Somali people.[28] Considering these social dynamics and large population of Ethiopian citizens who are ethnic Somali, identifying refugees become harder for authorities. Moreover, misidentification is also tried to be abused by people who are not refugee but try to receive aid provided to refugees from different NGOs (Interview, Head of Projects, Jesuit Refugee Service, April 4, 2013).

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[28] Region 5, Somali Region is known in Ethiopia as an underdeveloped region which has been witnessing decades old conflicts between Ethiopian government forces and region's liberation forces.
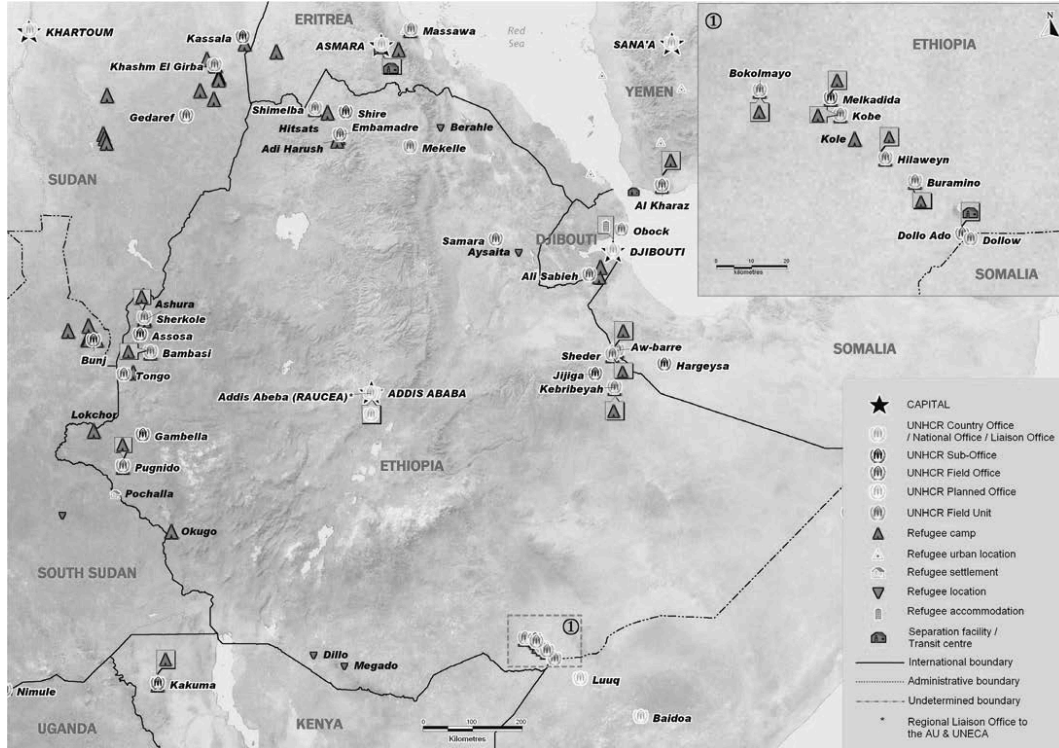
Figure 3. UNHCR Refugee Camps in Ethiopia 2015

Source: As of January 2015 720,000 refugees are residing in 23 camps in Ethiopia. These camps are mainly located around the 23 camps around Assosa, Dollo Ado, Gambella, Jijiga, Semera and Shire (UNHCR, 2015b).

Although 1951 Convention recommends host governments to provide right to freedom of movement, access to education, employment or income generating activities, refugees do not possess these rights in Ethiopia. However, Ethiopia as a host state takes some articles of this Convention with significant reservations. For instance, Ethiopia put a reservation to article 17 of Convention which deals with host states' provision of right to work for refugees, and on article 22 regarding the rights to access education for refugees. In this regard, "the education of Somali refugees in Ethiopia is

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the exception rather than the rule" (Markos, 1997). [29] Moreover, inefficient economic resources of Ethiopia can also be considered as one of the major impediments before refugees' way to enjoy these international rights (Diress, 2011).

According to National Legislation Database, Ethiopia does not have municipal refugee legislation (UNHCR, 2012). The Ethiopian Immigration Act requires application of different measures for refugees when entering into the county. Since they cannot provide any legal documents to authorities, their entries are accepted as 'illegal' according to Ethiopian Immigration Act (Ethiopian Government, 1971). Built upon this inefficiency of compliance of international law and national law, refugees right to work, access to education or owning immovable property is totally abolished (Markos, 1997). In general, Ethiopia does not allow refugees to work. The Government only grants work permits to foreigners when there are no qualified nationals available and rarely issues permits to refugees. The Government also tolerates some refugees with special skills working illegally. Authorities tolerate refugee participation in the informal sector, including trading in markets or doing other piecemeal jobs.

In practice, undocumented migrants living in the cities can illegally buy certain documents that would help them to possess certain domestic rights. Interestingly enough, some migrants confirmed that they bought "Ethiopian ID cards" in exchange of money. Since the country is also home to Ethiopian Somalis their identification is not easy and they can enjoy this IDs for some time. These migrants live and work in

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[29] For detailed information see Goodwin-Gill (On UN Treaty) "National treatment", that is, treatment no different from that accorded to citizens, is to be granted in respect of a wide variety of matters, including the freedom to practice religion and as regards the religious education of children (article 4); the protection of artistic rights and industrial property (article 14); access to courts, legal assistance, and exemption from the requirement to give security for costs in court proceedings (article 16); rationing (article 20); elementary education (article 22, paragraph 1); public relief (article 23); labour legislation and social security (article 24, paragraph 1); and fiscal charges (article 29). Article 26 of the Convention prescribes such freedom of movement for refugees as is accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances. Eleven States have made reservations, eight of which expressly retain the right to designate places of residence, either generally, or on grounds of national security, public order (ordre public) or the public interest. (Retrieved from UN Treaty Official Web site, on 12 /3/ 2013, http://untreaty.un.org/cod/avl/ha/prsr/prsr.html).

the country as Ethiopians for a while unless their status is recovered or they fail to renew the ID cards due to changing pricing.

The 1995 Constitution offers only citizens the right to work; and also grants them the right to join unions, to bargain collectively, and to strike, as well as to other labor rights generally. The 2004 Proclamation exercises Ethiopia's reservation to the 1951 Convention's right to work, placing the same restrictions on refugees as on other foreigners. The Constitution offers only citizens the right to run enterprises and reserves other limited property rights to citizens. Refugees, however, can hold title to and transfer other types of property (US I for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009).

Finally, the 1995 Constitution limits its offer of equal access to publicly funded services to citizens. For instance, refugees cannot attend public schools in Ethiopia. The latest document on refugees in Ethiopia is the 2004 Refugee Proclamation. The proclamation exercises Ethiopia's reservation to the 1951 Convention's right to primary education, placing the same restrictions on refugees and their children as on other foreigners.

7.2.1 *Responsibility Sharing in Implementation of Law and Policy*

In management of immigration and asylum policies, there are certain responsibility sharing and partnerships among different institutions in Ethiopia. The organizations dealing with immigration and asylum issues in the country can be summarized as a) government agencies, b) international and local NGOs, and c) international organizations.

Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA) is the major governmental agency both managing immigration and asylum procedures in the country. ARRA is responsible of registration of immigrants and refugees, camp management, distribution of core relief items to refugees, providing food, education and health security,

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protection of camps and assistance in 23 camps in Ethiopia. The organization is the main responsible body in Ethiopian state's collaborations with the third parties such as other countries, international organizations and NGOs regarding immigration and asylum issues. ARRA facilitates and provides support via local personal to other organizations. This state organization is the main collaborator to UNHCR and IOM in Ethiopia. International organizations' decisions are expected to be confirmed by ARRA before reaching to implementation level. In this regard, organization's additional role is to protect Ethiopian states' expectations and draw limits in controlling activities of international and local organizations working on the issue.

Apart from ARRA, there are distinctions between definition of roles between organizations working with immigrants and refugees or asylum seekers. UNHCR is responsible to provide protection and assistance to 720,000 refugees living in 23 camps in Ethiopia. UNHCR partners with international and local NGOs in implication of local projects and provision of services to camps. Ethiopian Bureau of Agriculture, Natural Resources Development and Environmental Protection is UNHCR's second governmental partner. This shows close relationship of refugee issues with environmental and agricultural dynamics in Ethiopia. In this sense, protection and distribution of land, collection of fire wood in local settings keeps an important place in projects conducted in camps and surrounding areas.

International and local NGOs dealing with immigration and asylum vary from humanitarian aid agencies, national refugee councils, medical agencies, agricultural and pastoralist development agencies, religious organizations, and local NGOs. While government agencies, international organizations and NGOs are UNHCR's implementing partners, Ethiopian civil society organizations are partnered by UNHCR at operational level. Although there are local immigrant and refugee community associations in Ethiopia, neither UNHCR nor IOM lists them among their partnerships. Ethiopian Orthodox Church is one of the noteworthy partners of both

UNHCR and IOM implementing projects at local level. Church provides religious services to refugees and immigrants in camps or city shelters.

IOM supports Ethiopian government through projects and programs in management of international migration in the country. Migrant resettlement, family reunification are among the responsibilities of IOM in the country. Alike UNHCR, IOM's major partner is ARRA. However, regarding immigration issues, IOM mostly partners with international organizations such as AU and IGAD on counter-trafficking, migration and development, health, rehabilitation of children and women and drug prevention. While defining its duties IOM relates itself with international duties and responsibilities more than local projections. In this regard, its partnerships with Ethiopian governmental organizations mainly includes Ethiopian Foreign Affairs, and Ethiopian Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs that deal with more holistic issues in the country. To conclude, governmentality of immigration and asylum shows a composite character via responsibility sharing between implementing and operational partners.

7.3 Ethico-political Governmentality of the Immigration and Asylum in Ethiopia

Global borders are shaken at large while globalization and neo-liberal political economy has been deteriorating borders and creating a time-space compression. Now we pursue immigrants' routes not only in neighboring countries, however, all possible destinations that welcomes international labor. Between international financial centers and resources a new worldwide grid occurs "constituting a new economic geography of centrality, one that cuts across national boundaries and across the old North-South divide" (Awoke, 2003). Intense mobility of immigrant populations throughout the world flickered concerns especially in the West as one of the idealized destinations for World migrants. Ethico-political governmentality arose as modern neo-liberal system's response to today's "social malaises" such as criminality, sickness, poverty

and undocumented migration. While disciplinary techniques aimed "normalization" and "correction" of the problematic ones (O'Malley, 1996), ethico-political technologies targeted environment that creates the risk.

This part deals with how international migration and refugee regime's propositions for Ethiopia that construct ethico-political power. As imprints of neo-liberal (or advanced liberal) ethico-political power is observed in health, education, elderly care, criminology, demography, immigration is another field that power is observed (Garland, 1996; O'Malley, 1996; Rose, 1996; Li, 1999; Greenhalgh, 2008; Glenn, 2010). This part aims to unearth construction of ethico-political power in policy plans for Ethiopia and reflections of ethico-political power in immigration and asylum policies in Ethiopia. The following steps of Mitchell Dean's analytics of government method will be sought in this part.

Table 9. Different Steps of Dean's Analytics of Government Method

The identification of problematizations

The priority given to 'how' questions

Practices of government as assemblages or regimes

- *The examination of fields of visibility of government*
- *The concern for the technical aspect of government*
- *The approach to government as rational and thoughtful activity*
- *Attention to the formation of identities*

The extraction of the utopian element of government

The circumspection about the role of values

The avoidance of global or radical positions

Scapegoating migrants have long been a trend for socio-economic and security concerns of the states. When global international organizations' annual reports and policy propositions are considered at large, an ethnocentric paradigm is present when we direct a close gaze to "how they problematize immigrants and immigration patterns in Africa?". This part unearths how problematizations of the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia, immigrants and international bodies' conducts in documents construct an ethico-political paradigm? This part argues that while the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia and migrants, are represented with a negative framing, international organizations' conduct as different bodies of governmentality is represented positive and idealistic. This idealistic approach should be considered an extension of advanced liberal rationalities of government and as a part of utopian idealistic element of government as Dean categorizes it. The analysis also reveals that global gaze towards Ethiopia is a part of a totalistic approach directed towards Africa.

7.3.1 Problematization of Africa and Ethiopia: Totalizing Problems

In the literature, Ferguson (2006) claims that problematization of Africa in world politics and claims that although the huge continent is composed of numerous cultures, states, languages which creates an extensive heterogeneity, West approaches to Africa in a totalistic manner. This approach characterizes Africa (especially Sub-saharan, black Africa) "by reference to a series of lacks, failures, problems, and crises" (Ferguson, 2006, p.270). This part contended that in a similar approach, analyzed documents totalize problems of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa considering these geographies as a part of Africa.

In a similar approach the documents analyzed situates Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa into larger map of Africa when referring them. Ethiopia's or the Horn of Africa's significant /unique characteristics mostly do not find place in documents. However, the country and the region that it is placed is generally referred within a holistic perspective. Namely the county is approached as single problematic state within a

more problematic geography. To analyze this perspective first, I focused on problematization of Africa in the evaluated documents.

The content analysis revealed that the problematization of Africa in documents referred Africa as a place of inequality, discrimination, extreme poverty and undemocratic governance. Conflicts, human rights violations, HIV and epidemic illnesses are represented as the major characteristics of this mystified continent.

> Africa includes a large share of the world's poorest states, accounting for some 49 per cent of the total population, or 323 million people living below the poverty line (UNDP as cited in IOM, 2005 p.29).

Without any reference to global economic or environmental dynamics of human displacement, the common discourse is limited to radicalizing Africa as "other" of the world. It can be concluded that definitive characteristic of Africa with "failure" by laying behind what they "supposed to do" (Ferguson, 2006, p.280). In this sense, Africa is approached within an ethno-centric paradigm that relates its problems to underdevelopment and traditional societies.

In the quotations drawn from content analysis, Africa is the far away geography where human misery is related to traditional clan ties, conflicts, human rights violations and deficiency of democratic institutions. The following paragraph gives a description of Somali in UNHCR annual report as a reflection of this perspective.

> …Some are attached to militia groups and large numbers are physically or mentally disabled. Although many children benefit from the traditional clan-based mutual assistance mechanisms, thousands have no access to education, given Somalia's lack of basic infrastructure, teaching materials and trained teachers (UNHCR, 2000, p.154).

The ethico-political approach has a factor of stripping African people from their humanity issuing them only in the context of social problems. Their poverty, social issues and reasons for immigration are described as in a banal way. Their problems are defamiliarized and separated from their structural dynamics and common socio-economic problems in different parts of the world. African migrants' poverty becomes

a poverty just belonging to them while their illegality is a particular characteristic they inherit from their geography. African migrant as "the agency" dissolve from the scene, we only see him/her as victim or perpetrator of certain problems. This inhuman approach results in differing policy propositions for the problems of this part of the world.

Ethiopia is not an exception in definition of Africa in documents. Definitive characteristics of the country in documents are poverty, inequality, degraded status of women, millions of forced migrants and undemocratic government.

> Conflicts, human rights violations, and other emergencies together with weak or deficient democratic institutions, continue to pose pressing problems for many African states and often result in forced displacement of populations. The major sources and destinations of refugees and IDPs in Sub-Saharan Africa have shifted over time. Initially concentrated in the East African region, where environmental disasters, such as drought and desertification, and ethnic, border and guerrilla wars in the Horn of Africa (Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia and southern Sudan) gave rise to large movements of refugees and IDPs in the 1980s and 1990s, in recent years there has been a shift to Central and West Africa (IOM, 2005, p.37).

Ethiopia shares same destiny with general representation of Africa in documents with ethnic conflicts, guerilla wars, human rights violations, environmental disasters, drought and desertification. However, although the country shares similar problems according to this paradigm, the documents evaluate country "facially" via documented statistics, policy programs instead of in-depth analysis of migration. Moreover, the documents at the same time address and discard countries that they issue. Although policy plans are relevant to number of countries, the organizations do not state direct propositions for host states. This perspective creates a general "facial" discourse of "take it or leave it". As content analysis shows, Ethiopia is referred 687 times in all documents included in this study, however, direct policy suggestions for the country do not go beyond general prescriptions planned for the Horn of Africa region or Africa in general.

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7.3.1.1 Problematization of Migration and Immigrants: Dependency and Criminality Rhetoric

Generally speaking immigrants are either problematized as a part of "dependency" or "criminality" rhetoric in the documents. They are either victims of their "undemocratic and underdeveloped" home countries that are unable to provide them necessary survival skills or they are terrorists, prostitutes, or less harshly unskilled people do not worth social aid. When major problematization of immigrants and immigration is set on a discourse of "deserving and undeserving" it is easier to categorize, label and select among them to compromise the necessary skills that developed countries are seeking for.

> Internal migration in Africa has also been influenced by forced migration patterns. The endemic problems of IDPs and internal trafficking play a major role in internal migration in Africa. The development of high-risk corridors and their links to HIV, prostitution and trafficking are further characteristics of such migration trends. Few governments have established policies or strategies to effectively manage internal migration. The controls that are taken for granted at international borders are rarely acceptable (or applied) within countries (Gugler, 1996 as cited in IOM, 2005, p.36).

Migration in Africa is problematized and defined as simply as forced migration and most immigrants are defined within this context as forced migrants and refugees. Although Africa is home of million of migrants, this characteristics are silenced. HIV, prostitution and trafficking are defined as "characteristics of migration trends" separating these social issues from their structural roots. The Horn of Africa where Ethiopia is the biggest host country is not also an exception for this approach. Migration patterns in the region are represented as a small part of totally problematic area.

> Migration in Africa falls into two major categories: forced movements of refugees and internally displaced persons; and labor migration. … Refugees and internally displaced persons constitute the vast majority of African peoples on the move. Once centered in the Horn of Africa, refugees became even more

highly visible in the Great Lakes region and in West Africa. The series of wars and conflicts in these regions also generated millions of internally displaced persons within national borders (IOM, 2000, p.144).

Although, numbers tell that Africa hosts as much immigrants as asylum seekers or refugees, common rhetoric prefers to identify migration patterns in the continent with "refugeness discourse." The major reason of this distinction is the dominant approach towards the continent that characteristics of migration in the continent meet asylum criteria: wars, conflicts, disasters, life threatening situations. Second, politically and legally migration is largely considered an internal issue of the sovereign states, asylum is legally more intriguing necessitating international intervention. Following matrix (Table 10) gives a complementary brief on this argument via frequency of different topics in EU Commission, IOM and UNHCR's documents.

Table 10. Word Frequency Matrix of Documents Published by EU Comm., IOM and UNHCR

	Organizations		
Words searched	*EU Commission*	*IOM*	*UNHCR*
Ethiopia	2	75	449
Horn of Africa	2	17	121
Africa	22	1,502	183
Migration	335	14,053	23
Refugee	17	456	1,150
Asylum	191	820	339

Word frequency matrix of documents published by different organizations gives an idea of the focus areas of the organizations and their reports. First, the matrix reveals that there is a distinction between different organizations' focus areas: IOM focusing on migration, UNHCR on refugees and EU Commission on migration and asylum. These distinctions represents collaborative character of governmentality of immigration and asylum and responsibility sharing among different organizations.

Second, this matrix relatively matches with the arguments discussed before that Ethiopia is represented in documents as a part of Africa more than a significant country hosting the biggest refugee population in Africa. Although UNHCR report is limited to Horn of Africa it is significant that still it is the report that Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa are most frequently used. Similarly, "refugee" is most frequent in UNHCR reports when it is compared to other organizations' reports. Considering these dynamics, it would be complementary to content that Ethiopia and Horn of Africa are mostly related to forced migration discourse being considered in the responsibility area of UNHCR.

Frequency of Africa in IOM documents should not be misleading. Since length of IOM reports (2,288 pages) exceeds length of UNHCR reports (637 pages), this schema gives and idea of the evaluation of organizations' focus areas within their documents. However, it would be still relevant to conclude that Ethiopia, Horn of Africa and Africa are most commonly issued by UNHCR as a part of refugee discourse rather then other organizations. If thousands of pages of UNHCR annual reports are considered this assumption would be more concrete.

Frequency of "asylum" in EU Commission reports is mostly referred within the context of management of asylum recipients in the member states. Since protection of borders and application of surveillance systems are among the major aims of EU Commission, it is not surprising that management of asylum issues takes large place in documents.

Regarding problematization of Africa, the following quote shows another one sided approach:

> Another regional migration phenomenon is migrant trafficking. This includes Nigerian women who feed the prostitution market in Europe and in Asia and children sold as slaves in the region or in Central Africa. It is estimated that several tens of thousands of child slaves currently work on West African plantations (ILO as cited in IOM, 2003b, p.38).

Migrant trafficking has several roots including the Western prostitution market's demand for cheap laborers from Africa. However, instead of discussing how these "modern slaves" find passage to Western countries and directing roots of this economic market ties, the documents present it as a solid problem of Africa. The following paragraph refers Ethiopian and Somali women's 'destined end' either as laborers or prostitutes as if these categories as mutually inclusive.

> The development of channels for the irregular migration of Ethiopian and Somali women to the Gulf States – either as laborers or to enter prostitution networks – is a recent phenomenon that could escalate further (IOM, 2003b, p.39).

Rather than targeting root causes of these anti-humanistic patterns, documents mainly focuses on "how to reduce harmful affects of these problematic human miseries on our developed world?". In this regard, migrants are referred in line with criminality, illegality, prostitution and slavery.

7.3.2 Reflections of Multiple Problematizations in Documents on Ethiopia's Immigration and Asylum Policy

The documents present a problematic and polarizing picture of immigration and asylum in the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia. The migratory movements are generally represented within 'illegality and criminality' discourse and immigrants are either victimized or criminalized. Ethiopia is one of the major targets of these policy propositions presented in documents not only due to its being the biggest host country in Africa, but also holding a place of the major ally of the global north in the region. In

this regard, as Flyvbjerg's (2006) "critical reflexivity" presumes that Ethiopian immigration and asylum regime is as an ideal model in terms of observing the reflections of global ethico-political paradigm at local level. The reflections of problematizations on Ethiopian immigration and asylum policy will be discussed via securitization of migration and vague definitions of status and deficient provision of migrants' human rights.

Securitization of migration and criminalization of migrants in international documents creates certain policy outcomes in the host countries. Negative representation of migrants in documents finds its resonance in states' approach to migrants. Since policy propositions in documents follow criminalizing and non-intervention approach towards immigrant issues, it gives states utmost power in controlling migrants.

Kadeer, an undocumented Somali migrant man living in Addis Ababa, represents reflections of this problematic approach in Ethiopian police's approach to migrants living in cities. I met Kadeer via an expat friend living in Addis Ababa. He is a self-educated migrant. His English is fluent and he helps international organizations in translations and connecting them to migrants in town. I talked with Kadeer in a central café in Bole neighborhood.

> Undocumented refugees live in the cities, however when there are big meetings in the city like African Union meeting or so, police come to our place and check our documentation arbitrarily. If a person does not have proper ID, they are supposed to leave the country. However, you can contact to Somali Embassy in Addis and get a passport and a visa from immigration office if you have enough money. Otherwise you are expelled (Interview 11, Kadeer, undocumented migrant, 17/03/2015).

As migrants' testimonies confirm, although Ethiopian state follows an "open border policy" as proposed by international organizations, its application of free movement of people is quite problematic. In this regard, most immigrants in the cities are relatively well-off while people with smaller budgets cannot survive in urban areas. As is presented in the quote, migrants' lives and statuses in the country is quite insecure. As

Kadeer contends, to be blamed as a "Somali spy" is very common assault for immigrants and its another rigid reason for expel from the country.

> To be blamed as a spy is very common charge in Ethiopia. They take you into custody, beat you up and make you admit that you are a spy. Even you claim that they took your testimony under torture, you cannot prove and receive more of it when you go back to jail. Expelling from the country due to this kind of charges is very common among refugees (Interview 11, Kadeer, undocumented migrant, 17/03/2015).

My experience with the undocumented migrants confirm Kadeer's claims. When I was volunteering for the Somali school, I was also trying to contact Somalis with some Turkish aid agencies in the town. The manager of Somali School, Ahmad, a young undocumented Somali migrant, claimed to be under harsh police surveillance in the city for being an educated Somali several times in our conversations (Interview 1, Undocumented migrant, 8/11/2012). When common negative approach to Somalis are considered, this was expectable. Later on, in 2014, I found out that Ahmad was jailed for 3 months under suspect of being a "Somali spy." After his release he asked me for further help in contacting Turkish aid agencies for the school and his personal plans to study in Turkey. However, his records as "Somali spy" did not ease my hand in providing contacts with them. Personally I found myself in a troubled situation in one hand, I wanted to help Ahmad, on the other hand, as an expat helping Ahmad would cause me and Turkish community (aid agencies, embassy) further problems. I told Ahmad that I would provide him the necessary information about different agencies, however, he would better contact them himself. Couple of months after his release Ahmad is expelled from the country and sent back to Somalia. As Ahmad's personal story presents, general surveillance over immigrants is quite common and arbitrary.

Apart from surveillance, international legal statuses of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees are interchangeably and vaguely defined in documents as a political preference. This definitions easies the hand of host states in application of rights of immigrants whereas degrading the human rights of immigrants. Especially non-intervention and sovereignty rhetoric in international agreements creates problems for

provision of migrants' rights. Even though, their basic human rights are threatened, migrants' voice can be silenced and host countries can still enjoy international donor contributions due to their strategic significance.

Ethiopia parties Geneva Convention and OUA Convention with reservations. Nevertheless, international donor countries' and organizations' avoidance from encountering Ethiopian government as the biggest host in Africa, creates "arbitrary application of laws" and no consequences or sanctions on Ethiopian state.

Most undocumented migrants living in Addis Ababa consider themselves "refugees" since their reasons of flight from their homes meet the criteria of "refugeness". However, unless these people prefer to live in refugee camps, UNHCR or ARRA do not consider them refugees. They are dismissed from reaching any of their rights. They hold what they call "refugee ID cards" provided for them by Somali Community in Addis Ababa by Ethiopian government's permission. The functions of this semi-formal ID card is limited to Money transfer (in some banks), hospitals, renting house, using local flights (Interview 2, Head of Organization, Ethiopian Somali Community, 20/02/2013 -2nd Interview). Nevertheless, they cannot possess any health insurance or driver's license with this card, cannot enroll formal schooling in the country or buy immovable property. It is not a legal document to facilitate provision of rights for refugees.

Surprisingly, instead of discussing acquisition of rights either by camp or "urban refugees," UNHCR extends this vagueness in documents calling undocumented migrants living in the cities as "urban refugees". However, this status is not a legal definition and does not provide any rights for refugees or migrants living off-camps. For instance "UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solutions in urban areas," 2009 detailed risks of living urban environment for refugees as "the threat of arrest and detention, refoulement, harassment, exploitation, discrimination, inadequate and overcrowded shelter, as well as vulnerability to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), HIV-AIDS, human smuggling and trafficking" (p.2). However, the report

does not clarify legal status of these undocumented migrants to deal with mentioned discriminations and problems.

On the one hand, the state claims an open-border policy, on the other hand, human rights of migrants are strictly eliminated in their daily life. Considering these dynamics, negative definition of migrants labeling them "unethical" (illegals, smugglers, prostitutes, criminals), problematic representation of migratory movements in Africa (in relation to criminality and terror) cause Ethiopian state's arbitrary approach encountering /hosting migrants.

7.3.3 Immigration and Asylum in Ethiopia as a Governmental Regime

Dean (1999) argues that societies conduct education, punishment, development goals etc. according to *governmental assembleges or regimes* (M. Dean, 1999). As a system of organization of policies and practices, governmentality of immigration and asylum possess characteristics of such a regime. Immigration and asylum regime carry these following elements as discussed earlier in detail in Dean's analytics of government method: *the fields of visibility of government, the technical aspect, government as rational and thoughtful activity, attention to the formation of identities.* This part intents to analyze immigration and asylum regime in Ethiopia as governmental assembleges following the steps defined by Dean.

Content analysis of documents convey a unitary system of discourse, practices and institutions. These assemblages of policies, practices and institutions call states such as Ethiopia to unite into this system of thought to reach the ideal form governance in policy making. This part deals with visible, technical, and identity formative aspects of governmentality of immigration and asylum.

7.3.3.1 There is No Refugee: Visible-Concealed Aspects of Government

The system of governmentality for immigration and asylum has visible, technical, ideological, and identifying aspects called "fields of visibility of government" (Dean, 1999). The documents make certain issues "visible" such as documented refugees living in camps since they can be statistically counted and controlled, whereas they conceal undocumented immigrants as if they are "invisible".

The most visible spatial aspect of governmentality of immigration and asylum is refugee camps. The camps are presented in documents mostly as "safe havens" for refugees. However UNHCR documents points out shortcomings of camps in the Horn of Africa that force people in refugee like situations try their chances in cities.

In the camps, there were serious incidents of rape, domestic violence and other forms of abuse despite determined measures to combat crime. Torrential rains critically affected shelter in the Kakuma camp. Some shelters collapsed, leaving refugees homeless and creating an emergency that required urgent action. The rains aggravated sanitation problems in the camps, posing a serious health threat. The rains also swept away the Garissa-Dadaab road, which is the main highway to the camps and is essential for the supply of relief items to the refugees. As a consequence, there was a diversion of a substantial amount of funds towards road repairs and aircraft fuel (UNHCR, 2001, p.166).

Appadurai defines refugee camps as products of nation-states which are "context-produced rather than context-generative" like urban slums, ghettos and prisons (as cited in Turton, 2005, p.268). For him, these are "the starkest examples of the conditions of uncertainty, poverty, displacement and despair" (as cited in Turton, 2005, p. 268). Nevertheless, camps represents the visible aspect of everyday realities of humanitarianism (Hilhorst & Jansen, 2010).

Omar, a Somali migrant, comments on why he prefers to live in the city rather than living in camps saying "I did not have proper documents when I came to Ethiopia. I heard stories about the camps such as lack of services and food, like you cannot live properly, rape, harassment.. I did not want to limit my freedom with camp life" (Interview 10, Omar, undocumented migrant, 10/03/2015). The camp life represents hopelessness, uncertainty and poverty that most migrant do not want themselves to trap into. In this regard, most visible aspect of management of refugees is "failure" although the documents try to confirm the opposite.

Undocumented migrants are a "policy blind spot" (Human Rights Watch, 2002) in Ethiopia. Police and community neighborhood surveillance is very heavy on them, however, their numbers are invisible. UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) data reveals that there are 4,325 refugees residing in Addis Ababa (UNHCR Ethiopia Operational Overview, 2013). Contrary to UNHCR data, Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) Emergency Needs Program 2013 report indicated that there are 81, 720 refugees living in Addis Ababa (Interview 8, Program Manager, Jesuit Refugee Service, 4/04, 2013).[30] Along with these statistics, refugee committees and representatives who are affiliated with Somali Community in Ethiopia estimates that more than 160,000 undocumented migrants are living in Addis Ababa (Interview 2, Director, Somali Community in Ethiopia, 8/11/2012 -1st Interview). Although numbers vary, according to registrations made at Somali Community in Ethiopia, they register around 5000 undocumented migrants every year just in Addis Ababa and in its districts (Interview 2, Director, Somali Community in Ethiopia, 8/11/2012 -1st Interview).

Since, undocumented migrants and asylum seekers are statistically "invisible" they are not present in global documents as well. Policy propositions are vague failing to define their "in-between" statuses that reflect itself in state's arbitrary approach to them. On the contrary, undocumented immigrants in Addis Ababa consider themselves "refugees"

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[30]Jesuit Refugee Service data refers to those refugees who have been registered only at refugee community centers.

since they are flying from internal conflict or life threatening situations. Content analysis of 7 interviews conducted with them reveals the most visible definition for themselves as "refugee" instead of "undocumented migrant".

The focus in UNHCR data on undocumented migrants only cover refugees who are registered by UNHCR and receiving some form of assistance by their country office. On the other hand, undocumented migrants who are not registered with the office of UNHCR or ARRA are perceived illegal and fall behind assistance programs of these main implementing bodies.[31]

I met with Abdullah at Somali School. He was a young educated Somalian trying to help his community. We conducted an half an hour interview with him at the School. Interview with Abdullah, a young Somali undocumented migrant, underlines results of "visibility" dilemma in their lives as continuous surveillance either by police or Ethiopian neighborhood:

> You cannot hear so much from refugees words against Ethiopian Government. They are afraid of getting arrested by the police. If someone is taken to prison for some reason, nobody hears from him again. There are apartment sites and condominiums in which Somali refugees live in Bole. In these sites, refugee residents are under control of the security guards and their land lords. Their land lords limit their entrance or exit hours from the compound. One of my friends complained that doors of the compound close at 10 p.m. Even though we pay our rents regularly not to get into trouble of finding residence again, we are continuously controlled and downgraded by Ethiopian people (Interview 4, 20/02/ 2013).

Even though they do not have a concrete right to do so, land lords and police control Somali migrants in city by stopping them randomly on the streets, asking questions about their guests or threatening them to take their residence from them. These kinds of

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[31] Registering to UNHCR and ARRA in urban areas are a limited chance for urban refugees in general. According to UNHCR and ARRA offices only refugees who cannot stay in refugee camps due to health issues or hostile situations are accepted as legal urban refugees and eligible to receive assistance by UNHCR. However, numbers of these refugees are so limited (4,325 refugees) when it is compared to large population of urban refugees in Addis Ababa.

restrictive implementations are common by Ethiopian police authorities, security guards and even local Ethiopians since they assume Somali people as guests or foreigners.

As another example of result of this vague status and invisibility in policies, Hansala's thoughts about this life in limbo and reaction from different offices are in line with our argument:

> Since we are refugee, they do not consider us valuable. When we go to embassies they approach us as 'criminals'. Even one of the Ethiopian secretaries in the embassy of country A. shouted at me when I was asking her if I needed to submit additional documents while applying for visa. She told me why do not I go back to my country and apply for visa instead of bothering them. She was like an ambassador herself before me (Interview 9, Hansala, undocumented migrant, 5/03/ 2013).

I met with Hansala via her brother at Somali School. She is a young (18 years old) an undocumented Somali migrant living in Addis Ababa. She wanted to go to a third country to have a university education there. She applied for the university and accepted for the language school first. When I talked to Hansala, she was informed five months after her application that her visa application had failed. During that time, she had been visiting the embassy continuously and trying to learn about her situation. Finally the embassy informed her mediator friend that they lost her documents. After days long insistence of her mediator, finally she could receive the answer which was negative. Her situation is one of the common experiences among undocumented immigrants whose rights are limited basically due to vague status in the country.

Starting from policy documents, undocumented immigrants' presence in Ethiopia is either under-calculated or totally concealed. Although text search identifies that Ethiopia is referred many times in different documents, documents do not claim any proposals for Ethiopian state's approach to undocumented migrants. Undocumented migrants in Ethiopia either stated as parts of general policy paradigms for Africa or with a reference to micro policy programs organized with them in different cities. The interest mainly center on "keeping undocumented in their own regions of origin" and

funding projects around this aim. The documents keep silence in statuses and future of undocumented migrants in Ethiopia.

7.3.3.2 Technologies of Exclusion: Ethiopian Doctors in Chicago

Ethico-political governmentality employs certain technical means to reach certain ends which are generally known as 'technologies of government'. For instance, to control the punishment system, criminal system utilizes laws, surveillance systems, time schedules, economic plans, services and even certain morals on the limits of punishment. Similarly, ethico-political paradigm functions beyond discursive paradigm and have "means, mechanisms, procedures, instruments, tactics, techniques, technologies and vocabularies" that constitute authority in immigration and asylum policies (Dean, 1999, p.31).

Border management and *selection of migrants* via different means are two significant topics regarding exclusion character of ethico-political power. European Union's collaborations with third countries, collaborative framing of migrants via statistical tools (EASO, Frontex, Europol), combined monitoring of border management across countries, bio-control and point systems, regional protection programs, regional migration conferences, formation of sub regional economic communities and IOM's Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) programs are some aspects of technologies of ethico-political governmentality in migration. As presented in documents, ethico-political paradigm is constructed as a authority tool technically and institutionally going further than discursive elements.

Approaches to border management globally have been and will continue to be strongly affected by security concerns. Some regions in the world have been the subject of attacks linked with international terrorist networks and the possibility that they might constitute targets for further assaults, or transit or organizing points for further attacks elsewhere cannot be excluded. Consequently, the strengthening of border management systems in terms of technology, infrastructure, business process for inspection of

travelers, and training of staff has become a primary area of concern (African Union, 2006, p.13).

Technologies of ethico-political power function on exclusion via dividing practices (Inda, 2006a). Point-based elimination systems are one of the major instances of these practices along with selection of skilled migrants from Africa. This system invests in human capital in return benefiting from financial outcomes in a post-liberal understanding. As a result "the World Bank estimates that about 70,000 African professionals and university graduates leave their country of origin each year to work in Europe or North America (Weiss, 2001 as cited in IOM, 2003,p.6). The situation creates serious brain drain especially in health and technology sector that African countries are deprived of.

> A recent estimate suggested that some 400,000 scientists and engineers from developing countries (between 30 and 50% of the total stock) were working in research and development in the industrial countries, compared with around 1.2 million doing the same at home... The percentage of such migrants in the US from several Central American countries – El Salvador, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic – varied roughly between 25 and 40 per cent of those at home. More Ethiopian doctors are practicing in Chicago than in Ethiopia (IOM, 2005, p.173).

Ethico-political governmentality of migration legitimizes discrimination of immigrants with technologies of exclusion via dividing practices. As a result of advanced liberal rationalities, migrants who can make the utmost contribution to host societies are given priority in welcoming policies whereas others are outcaste. In this regard, migrants are discriminated in terms of skills, education, countries of origin or their contributions to the host countries. For instance, point based system that is activated in Australia, United Kingdom and New Zealand basically provides residence permit or asylum to applicants on a point based system on which migrants are given grades depending on their education level, language ability, experience, employment, age, adaptability and their partners' qualifications. System surely protects host societies from inflow of "undeserving migrants," however, downgrades migrants' rights.

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Numerous refugee councils come to Ethiopia to decide acceptance requirements for their countries and set eligiblity criteria for migration and asylum. Interview with Jan, a volunteer working with Dutch Refugee Council in Addis Ababa, confirms discriminative processes applied for refugees in asylum processes. I met Jan in my Amharic class and we became close friends in time. When I learned that he was volunteering for Dutch Refugee Council, I organized an one hour interview with him. Jan explains their council's function as helping refugees in advocacy in applying for asylum in third world countries. He clarified the selection criteria for helping asylum applicants as follows: "My director visits the camps in Ethiopia that are decided by UNHCR. Alike other organizations he tries to choose refugees who are young and well educated. Possibly the ones with the highest expected contributions to the host country (Interview 3, Volunteer, Dutch Refugee Council, 30/01/2013).

The processes required for asylum applications impose division between immigrants who can speak the host country languages or people with special professions. Moreover the process is quite arbitrary that asylum seekers talk about some reasons of rejection that are mind strecting. I met Aisha, a Somali woman, living alone with her five years old son in Addis Ababa since 2009 at Somali School. I interviewed with her via a Somali translator. Although she spoke basic English, that would not be enough for her to express herself. She told me the process that she had been through when applying for asylum to England. Aisha's husband is an unofficial Quran teacher in England living there with his relatives' support. She wants to join him with her son. She applied for asylum in 2009 and 2011 to England but she was rejected. She explains the rejection as follows:

Last time they asked me for a real proof that my husband was my real husband. They asked me for communication letters exchanged between me and him during the past to prove that we were really husband and wife. I did not have any letters that I only talk to him on the phone. Then my application was rejected upon the reason of "inefficient documentation" (Interview 5, Aisha, undocumented migrant, 26/03/2013).

Many asylum seekers are having a hard time in passing English proficiency exams required by the host countries. For instance, Somali asylum seekers in Addis Ababa can only apply for residence permit to UK if they pass the exam with a possible score above 60 over 100. That is a high bar to overcome for them. As is observed in real life stories as much as border management criteria is strengthened, their reflections in migrants' lives become more stiff.

7.3.3.2.1 Ideological Discrimination in Policy Programs

In 2001 UNHCR conducted an extensive repatriation program for Ethiopian refugees living in neighboring countries. As a result, around 12,000 Ethiopian refugees were repatriated (UNHCR, 2000, p.127). However, UNHCR's repatriation decisions, as defined in documents, cover groups of people arbitrarily and ideologically. While deciding resettling migrants, UNHCR limited itself with the refugees who became refugees in pre-1991 period. This date refers to a significant period in Ethiopia when Marxist regime is overthrown. In this regard, refugees who became "victims" of the Marxist regime are helped, however, refugees resulted from the current regime (numbers unavailable) are ignored.

All organizations strictly tied to their donor countries' preferences and ear marking in transferring aid to immigrants and refugees in Ethiopia. Jesuit Refugee Service is one of these international organizations mainly funded by Catholic states providing aid for refugees in the field of education, emergency assistance, healthcare, livelihood activities and social services in camps and in cities. They help refugees from Great Lake Region, Somali, South –Sudan, Malawi, Rwanda, Brundi, or Congo (DRC) who come to Ethiopia with complex problems such as in need of urgent medical care, hunger or extreme depression. Although organization works closely and successfully especially with emergency care of new refugees arriving in Ethiopia, selection criteria is a bit vague as a result of emergent conditions and special border problems related to Horn of

Africa. For instance Ethiopia as a federal state includes a Somali region bordering Somali. In this region, Somali is spoken and since people are originally Somali it is hard to differentiate between them and Somali refugees. Ethiopian Program Manager at Jesuit Refugee Service tells about how they handle this confusion:

> We interview these people and we understand whether they are coming from Somalia or not. For instance one day a man came to our office and he was claiming that he is coming from Mogadishu (Somalia). Even I do not speak Somali, you can understand from their accent. For instance, if they come from Mogadishu, they say no as "Maya," however, if they are Somali Ethiopians they say "May" when they are speaking Somali. When I understand from this man's accent that he is Ethiopian Somali. I asked him, you are Ethiopian Somali why are you lying?

> Another time, we encountered a man coming from Jijiga (a city in the Somali region of Ethiopia) again he was claiming to coming from Mogadishu. …Then I asked the man who was claiming to be a refugee that "Can you count me districts of Mogadishu?" He could not even count two. … Then he accepted that he was coming from Jijiga. He told me that he was in dire situation and wanted to be helped. However, we sent him back (Interview 8, Program Manager, Jesuit Refugee Service, Interview, 4/04/2013).

This instance points out a more complex problem about the situation of helping refugees (as documented aid receivers) and other poor. In a country where millions witness extreme poverty, discriminating between defined categories and ignoring others points out more historical border issues and mentality of modern humanitarian aid. The scene presented here is like an invisible court differentiating between the deserving and undeserving according to rules of humanitarian aid system. As is presented in Manager's claim, the paradox of modern aid system imposes on the poor man an ethical perspective of giving his right to more deserving one, judging him for "lying" and being "dishonest."

Considering donor countries' religious preferences, ideological discrimination is not limited to politics but also present in religious approach to refugees. In Jesuit Refugee Service they hold a strict Catholic agenda and a Biblical discourse in providing reconciling for refugees.

As a person, when I solve their problems that gives me great pleasure. In addition, sometimes, they, refugees, see their families die before their eyes. They have mental problems after that problems. They turn into careless lives, drinking, smoking type of addictions became very common to them. They start to sleep on the streets. We organize what we call "group counseling" to see "the hope of seed" in them with the help of Holy Spirit (Interview 8, Program Manager, Jesuit Refugee Service, Interview, 4/04/2013).

At this point I was surprised how he directly took this survival mechanism as a religious way to cope with their problems. The manager himself is a pastor and they get help from refugees with theology diplomas for sermons. They have groups counseling (Bible sermons) on Friday afternoons what he defines "the center of discussion is God." This time is significant for being a time for Muslims' Friday prayer however, they do not provide any imams for refugees who are Muslim.[32]

He also gave me a self testimony that he said being written upon self testimony of Laurette Nadi (not her name) an 18 years old Congolose woman refugee running away from Uganda-Rwanda border of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)[33]. The woman has the most tragic story of her house being attacked by Hutu villagers, her family being killed in front of her eyes and all her siblings including her being raped. After longitudinal tragedies she made her way to Ethiopia with the help of a Somali family. Her words written by the manager for official records carry this theological aspect ingrained in mentality of provision of aid. The following words are taken from her official testimony:

The team gave me a room, listened and shared my despaired feeling, awful, tear-jerking sorrow. Then they counseled me constructively and sowed a hope of seed in my heart using Biblical words. They provided me emergency financial assistance for food, and

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[32] My limited number of interviews only covered Jesuit Refugee Service as an organization of religious motivation. In this sense, my data does not give any evidence if there are other organizations of different religions that positively discriminating their community members.

[33] The region is known with Kivu Conflict which is basically between the DRC government army and Hutu Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR).

resting place which was very important until I have got a decision on my application for refugee status by ARRA.

Apart from young woman's extremely heart-breaking story religious counseling points out a different aspect of providing aid for refugees in dire needs. The findings point out dividing and exclusionary practices of immigration and asylum regimes. This characteristic is a significant point of departure for ethico-politics that mainly functions through technologies of exclusion via dividing practices.

7.3.3.3 Government as Rational and Thoughtful Activity

The very idea of ethico-political governmentality center upon post-social (or advanced liberal) idealism. Advanced liberal idealism promotes governmentality with rationality and "intrinsically programmatic character" (Dean, 1999, p.32). Set of values, know-how transfer, collaboration and solidarity are some prominent dynamics of rationalities of government to reach the best possible conduct of immigration and asylum.

> Solidarity continues to be an essential component of EU asylum policy. The communication on intra-EU solidarity in asylum92 seeks to reinforce practical, technical and financial cooperation among Member States, moving towards a better allocation of responsibilities and an improved governance of the asylum system (EU Commission, 2011, pp.15-16).

It is thus clear why migration issues are a vital component of national poverty reduction strategies and should be taken into account within the UN Millennium Development Goals. Apart from the technical capacities of migrants to compensate shortcomings in the home country, repatriation of migrant funds can significantly help finance development (IOM, 2005, p.29).

Programmatic character of governmentality regulates, reforms, organizes and improves conduct of diverse agencies to reach specific ends and to promote certain way of conduct. The organizations create migration profiles, mobility partnerships, migratory

missions and a cooperation platform in Ethiopia (EU Commision, 2009, pp.7-8). This programmatic structure carries an *utopian idealistic element*.

The documents issued in this study mainly profiles migrants, migration and Ethiopia negatively whereas the very same documents frames other governmental agencies such as international organizations idealistically. According to documents, these organizations carry characteristics of liberal rationality that even small gains are presented as significant steps and detailed in tandem. UNHCR Global Report details how provision of sanitary materials for women creates idealistic outcomes:

> All refugee women received underwear and those aged 15-45 received a supply of sanitary napkins monthly. This helped boost their self-respect and eased their interaction within their communities (UNHCR, 2001, p.152).

Although micro issues might be beneficial for women's self-respect, numbers are exaggerated. A fictitious idealization of the projects is prevalent in some UNHCR reports especially the ones aiming at gender mainstreaming. Although, gender specific programs are limited, these programs' success is over-emphasized in documents. For instance, following paragraph describes food ratios provided for Eritrean refugees. That are assumed to "empower women and increase the female participation in decision making processes" (UNHCR,2000, p.135). However, these categories are not mutually inclusive and positively correlated.

> Wheat grain was milled in Asmara in order to reduce the workload of women, giving them more time to care for their families and participate in community activities. The distribution of food through refugee committees (36 per cent female participation) helped to empower women by involving them in the decision-making process. (UNHCR,2000, p.135).

Greater participation of women in programme activities improved their access to and control of resources. A larger number of women assumed leading positions in the settlements, particularly in refugee welfare councils, church groups, adult literacy activities, food management and health management committees. In Adjumani (Uganda), the number of reported cases of domestic violence fell to 16 (from 42 in

1999), indicating an improvement in gender relations. Over 370 children who discontinued their education (47 per cent of them girls) were trained in various skills including income-generating activities (UNHCR, 2000, p.169).

The discursive approach of claiming a positive development in women's empowerment via increase in food ratios is basically ethico-political. The ethico-political understanding of modern development reflects itself in this claim that meeting of material means results in a facial "idealistic empowerment" which is misleading.

Last but not least, ethico-political governmentality function via professional knowledge. To back up such professionalism, international organizations create job hubs in Africa for international researchers. IOM report points out result of professionalism in the region.

> Paradoxically, about 100,000 non-African experts now work in sub-Saharan Africa, a number far greater than at independence and about the same as the number of Africans working in western Europe and North America. According to IOM data, these foreign experts, whose work is tied to development assistance in the region, now occupy positions not available to qualified Africans and account for 35 per cent of the region's annual official development aid (IOM, 2000, p.146).

Instead of recruiting local professionals, the organizations create an unemployment sector hiring internationals in the region. This paradoxical character also points out how governmentality values certain type of knowledge while discriminating other.

7.3.3.4 Formation of Identities: Responsibilizing the Agents of Governmentality

Ethico-politics function upon assigning certain responsibilities for host states and immigrants themselves to reduce the burden of international community. This part presents how the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia and migrants are responsibilized by policy schemes presented in international organizations documents. This responsibility sharing paradigm is significantly collected in different topics such as capacity building, self-

government, self-esteem, self-reliance, community development and empowerment in the documents. This framework have certain reflections in immigration and asylum policies in Ethiopia such as assignment of Ethiopia as "safe third country" of the Global North, invention of diaspora remittances as new social security valve, negative effects of non-intervention /self-government paradigm on underrepresented communities such as Christian Somalis and increased burden on women as care givers.

7.3.3.4.1   Regional Consortiums and Ethiopia as "the Safe Third Country"

The IOM, published its 2010 World Migration Report with a title "Future of Migration: Building Capacities for Change". Capacity building has been major part of immigration and asylum policies especially after 2000s. The report, claims that enhancing capacities of African state on dealing with immigrant flows and supporting immigrants and refugees in their self-management will change the future of migration. The report proposes further regional responsibility sharing especially for states that are hosting thousands of immigrants and refugees. IOM provides training for the local police, and the Federal Police of Ethiopia held a consultative and capacity building training workshop for members of the Police Force and Border Control officials on irregular migration, smuggling, and human trafficking from Ethiopia (IOM, 2012).

Regions of origin takes a large place in documents in relation to immigration and asylum policies of the Global North and European Union. Integrated approach between source regions and countries of origin, local assemblages, and political actors are stressed frequently as an aspect of ethico-political paradigm in governmentality of immigration and asylum. Regional consultative processes is one of the major focuses of policies regarding immigration and asylum in different parts of the world with a significant emphasis on Africa. In Africa with the Intergovernmental Agency of Development (IGAD), international consortiums and collaborations on immigration are

started to organized in the recent years. These collaborations are relevant in terms of global strategy in creating buffer zones or safe third countries in the global south.

> Ongoing interest in regional consultative processes on migration (RCPs) Governments in key regions of Africa renewed their dialogue on migration in 2010, within the framework of informal regional processes on migration. As noted earlier, the year 2010 saw the first ministerial meeting of the Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa (MIDSA) process in 10 years and, in Eastern Africa, the IGAD-RCP held its first meeting as an RCP to discuss and agree a plan of action. Furthermore, interest in the establishment of new RCPs advanced significantly among Central African countries, which decided to constitute an RCP for the region, involving countries that were already a part of the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) (IOM, 2011, p.62).

European Commission and UN's Joint Migration and Development Initiative (JMDI) is one of these initiations with 15 million euro project budget targeting policy programming on migration in 16 countries in Africa including Ethiopia (IOM, 2010, p.50). Ethiopia's role is detailed in IOM document as a significant country for regional consortiums. The African Union shares a similar commitment to development goals of European Union for Africa "developing its public and private institutional capacity at all levels – national, regional and continental" for migration control. Ethiopia is the center of IGAD and prominent member in such collaborations detailed as follows:

> The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in partnership with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and in collaboration with the African Union Commission (AUC) are jointly implementing a regional project on "Capacity Building in Migration and Border Management for Selected IGAD Member States funded by the IOM 1035i facility for member States" The project is an extension and continuation of the East African Migration Route (EAMR) Programme funded under the EC Aeneas programme by the European Commission, and governments of Italy, Malta, Netherlands, and UK. (IGAD, AU, & IOM, n.d.)

Open-border policy in Africa is supported by the Abuja Treaty, COMESA Agreement (Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa), CEMSAD (Community of Sahel-Saharan States) and IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) supported by European Union (Klavert, 2011, IOM, 2003b). Management and coordination of open

border policies are closely monitored by international organizations. Countries' enthusiasm or reluctance is evaluated regularly. IOM Report details reluctance of some states in open-door policies:

> Many African countries remain ambivalent about the principle of free movement of persons and are reluctant to modify domestic laws and administrative practices. Intensive advocacy is therefore needed to harmonize national laws that conflict with regional and subregional treaties to facilitate intraregional labour mobility, establishment and settlement within the region (IOM, 2010, p.13).

As IOM report presents, international immigration and asylum regime calls states for collaboration in open-border policies, adjusting their domestic laws and administrative practices with the proposal. Similarly, UNHCR report points out problems in implementation of policy in Ethiopia as follows:

> Although Ethiopia generally maintained its open-door policy toward refugees and the granting of asylum, a few incidents of refoulement occurred. UNHCR was able to intervene in some cases, with the result that the individuals concerned were permitted to re-enter the country (UNHCR, 2000, p.140).

However, as undocumented migrant stories detailed earlier, the cases of concern to UNHCR are merely documented refugees whereas arbitrary detention or expel of undocumented migrants do not count as refoulement as cited in UNHCR report. In addition, Head of Somali Community in Ethiopia explains other aspects of Ethiopia's open-border policy and why Ethiopia helps Somalis:

> Many of the politicians of current Ethiopian government were opposition members of the former government headed by Mengistu. During opposition years, Somali government helped them for survival and developing their programs in Somalia. That's why they now eager to help Somali people… Current transition government in Somalia and Ethiopian government are in good relationship. Somalia-Ethiopia border is very large (a border of 600.000 km). Goods and people can move freely between the two countries. There is no current problems (Interview 2, Head of Organization, Somali Community in Ethiopia, 20/02/ 2013 - 2nd Interview).

Although UNHCR and IOM reports reflect concerns for refoulement of immigrants, these criteria is set differently when EU regulations are concerned. Regional

consortiums consist the major tool for successful buffering of immigrants in their regions of origin. If migrants somehow find themselves in Europe or any other developed parts of the world, in this control regimes "resettlement" is presented as a remedy to reduce the risk of destination countries.

> Burden and responsibility sharing within the EU as well as with regions of origin enabling them to provide effective protection as soon as possible and as closely as possible to the needs of persons in need of international protection, and 3) the development of an integrated approach to efficient and enforceable asylum decision-making and return procedures (EU Commission, 2004, p.4).

> Such a Resettlement Scheme would also contribute towards enhancing protection in the regions as by sharing refugee numbers more equitably the protection capacity of a third country in the region of origin could be enhanced in that more resources would be available to that country to protect those within their borders who were not in need of resettlement (EU Commission, 2004, p.4).

One of the three regional directorates of UNHCR is also based in Ethiopia since 1998 (UNHCR, 2000,p.6). In addition to that, donations point out importance of Ethiopia as a buffer zone in immigrants' way to Europe. UNHCR's total estimated budget dealing with documented refugees and people with refugee like situations is 2,169,452,261. Considering all African countries, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia (206,880,080) holds the major countries that budget is spent on (UNHCR, 2015a).
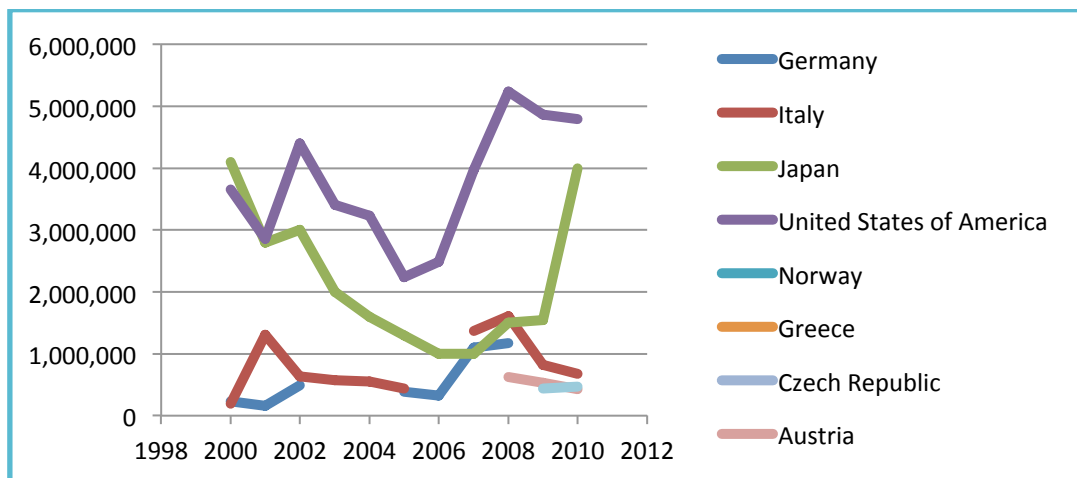
Figure 4. Some Countries Annual Earmarked Donations to UNHCR for Ethiopia (in USD)

Source: The table is composed out of UNHCR Global Reports by the author.

Earmarking activities of global powers in the Horn of Africa figures out the political character of funding refugee programs in the regions. Earmarking donations is one of the main technical aspects of ethico-political governmentality functioning in Ethiopia. As is seen, Germany, Japan, the US and Italy are the most active donors regarding refugee funds in Ethiopia between 2000 and 2010. Data points out that Ethiopia compete with Kenya on the US' contributions to UNHCR in the region.

The policy schemas for Ethiopia present diaspora remittances as an alternative security valve in the region. In Ethiopia received 524 million USD remittance in 2012 consisting of 1.2 per cent of its GDP (IOM, 2014b). The African Union defines African diaspora as "the sixth region".

Thus far, there is a severely limited capacity to deal with the three key aspects of migration that have engaged the attention of policymakers in Africa: huge inflows of migrant remittances, brain drain of skilled professionals and its impact on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the potential for diasporas to contribute to the development of their home countries. (The latter's potential is considered to be

very significant, as demonstrated by the fact that the AU recognized the African diaspora as its 6th region.) (BBC News, 2012).

O'malley (1996) names these risk reducing procedures of ethico-political governance as "insurantial processes". Insurantial processes focuses on reasons of problematic behaviors, acts on risk analysis and implements collective measures instead of divisive ones (unlike disciplinary techniques) (p.191). Governmental mechanisms seek to eliminate risk whilst spreading the responsibility to social actors. Diaspora is invented as a social security tool in immigration and asylum procedures in a similar vein.

> Results in the dedramatization of social conflicts by eliding the question of assigning responsibility for the origin of "social evils" and shifting the issue to the differing technical options… required to optimize employment, wages, allowances, etc. (Danzelot, Simon, Ewald & Gordon as cited in O'Malley, 1996, p.191).

IOM focuses on diaspora remittances in a similar tone calling for "repatriation of migrant funds" to foster finance development in Africa as a part of UN Millennium Development Goals (IOM, 2005,p.29).

> The Lusaka Decision exhorts governments to integrate migration into their national and regional agenda for security, stability, development and cooperation; to work towards the free movement of people; to strengthen intra-regional and interregional cooperation in matters concerning migration, and to create the necessary political, social and economic conditions in Africa to serve as incentives to curb brain drain and attract much needed investment through its diaspora. (IOM, 2005, p.44).

Diaspora became one of the central discussions for the AU's Vision and Strategic Plan 2004-2007:

> …the AU Constitutive Act "encourages the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of the continent" (Art. 3). The strategic vision also envisages putting in place a special programme entitled "Citizens of Africa" with the objective of involving African citizens at large in this process, and promoting the talents of the African diaspora in particular (AU, 2004). (IOM, 2005, p.44).

Diaspora remittances' importance for national and regional development underlined in policy documents. As a result attracting diaspora remittances became institutionalized in Ethiopia along with other nine countries.

More than 10 African countries have now set up diaspora-related institutions and ministries in order to coordinate diaspora-led development-related issues in Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal and Sierra Leone (Oucho, 2009 as cited in IOM, 2010, p.9).

> Ethiopian example confirms O'Malley's argument on insurantial aspect of policy plans. IOM reports clearly defines remittances as insurance against unexpected risks: "In Ethiopia, remittances are commonly used by rural and urban families to pay the travel costs of an economically active household member to work abroad" (IOM, 2005, p.40).

> Evidence from Ethiopia, shows that a proportion of remittances are often saved and can provide insurance against unexpected events, and in this way remittances not only reduce poverty, but can be a safeguard against poverty in the future (IOM, 2013, pp.20-21).

Families request remittances to create better work opportunities, also to substitute social insurance that they lack most of the time. As data discloses diaspora remittances are proposed as alternative strategies in policy documents. Their role is not only defined as social security but also security precautions against future poverty.

7.3.3.4.2 Governing Through Individual and Social: Responsibilizing Immigrants and Communities

Socializing and responsibilizing characteristics of ethico-political power is detailed in previous chapter. In line with the arguments presented earlier, this part emphasizes ethico-political schemas' special focus on individual and community. Ethico-political paradigm proposes "remoralizing" individuals for continuous self-control with

programs of capacity building, self-reliance, self-responsibility. In line with this authority, the paradigm offers enhancement of in-community survival techniques for immigrants and refugees that would reduce burden of other agencies.

UNHCR document states the significance of self-reliance for refugees in Ethiopia and offers that Ethiopia should augment refugees' out of camp access as a part of self-reliance schema:

> While Ethiopia's "out of camp policy" for Eritrean refugees, allowing them to reside outside the refugee camps as long as they are self reliant, is a positive exception, most refugees do not have freedom of movement and are confined to camps. These restrictions of movement affect refugees' self-reliance opportunities and often refugees found outside camps without permits or with expired passes faced detention (UNHCR, 2010, p.74).

According to UNHCR, refugees would find better life chances for self-reliance out of camps. As a result of global policy propositions, Ethiopia pursues an open door-policy for immigrants since 1991. They can move in the country freely as confirmed by state officers (Markos, 1997) and confirmed by the interviews conducted in Addis Ababa. However, open door policy in Ethiopia towards migrants does not directly refer that they gain 'refugee status' and continue their lives with the aid provided by governmental agencies or international NGOs. Jacobsen (2005) argues that even in places where refugees can freely move in the host country, they still have difficulty in registering and renewing proper IDs, work and travel documents.

Since these migrants' status is undefined in the law and local legislation, urban migrants in Addis Ababa do not receive permanent aid from UNHCR, ARRA or different NGOs transferring aid to refugees in the camps. Although, it is assumed that immigrants with higher capacities of coping with the urban life choose to live in cities, advantages of living in urban areas in Ethiopia are arguable. They are under risks of arrest by police, refoulment, discrimination, vulnerability to violence as experienced by undocumented migrants as in any parts of the world (Landau, 2005).

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Ahmad, a young Somali undocumented migrant living in the city, tells about hardships and depressive situations that they go through due to lack of support:

> Ethiopians are scared of us that we are extremists. I had friends there who were refugees like me. They tried to find jobs, they failed. Some of other poor started to beg at the streets. But they could not do that as well since they were young they tried to find something to survive. Finally they go back to Somalia. I do not know what happened to them. Maybe they joined extremists, Al-Shabab. I do not know. People join Al-Shabab because they cannot find any other way out. It is the only exit. Even myself thought of joining Al-Shabab several times, not because I believe in radicalism but at least to survive. Our Somali government is too weak, they are totally useless. We lost our land, our animals. I have a land by myself but due to drought I cannot grow anything in my land. So I feel really disappointed (Interview 1, Ahmad, undocumented migrant, 8/11/2012).

Ahmad is one of the common examples that I heard from Somali migrants that they go through severe depression and even consider extremism as an easy exit. In a failed state, when most survival chances are deprived, people tell about how extremist groups take place of civil society backing people for their survival.

All Somali migrants that I interviewed define themselves "Muslim." Kadirriya[34] is the oldest belief in Somalia. Kadirriya sect is a branch of Sufi Islam which rejects radicalism and promotes a much more moderate interpretation of Islam. On the other hand, it has been taken over at large by Wahhabism's[35] spread in the country.

In Somalia, one third of population is Wahhabi. Wahhabi doctrine follows a literal interpretation of Quran which legalizes a more radical approach of Islam. This

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[34] Kadirriya is one of the oldest sects of Islam. For more information on Kadiriyya's role in African history please see Africa in the Nineteenth Century Until the 1880s by J.F. Ade Ajayi.

[35] Wahhabism is a new ideology born during 18th and 19th Centruies inspired by the ideas of Ibn Abd al-Wahhab. The ideology rejects traditional Islamic scholars and scholarship claiming "reviving the true tenets of Islam." Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's idea of purifying Islam rejects worship and reverence of the person of the Prophet Muhammad. (This information is retrieved from The Islamic Supreme Council of America website on 11/29/2015. See the following web page for a more detailed information: http://www.islamicsupremecouncil.org/understanding-islam/anti-extremism/7-islamic-radicalism-its-wahhabi-roots-and-current-representation.html

approach spread in Somalia in years and became influential among public. Since countries such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar supports Wahhabis in Somalia, Wahhabism also perceived as a ideology of civil society. Wahhabis construct schools, organize funding events and provide aid for to the deprived people in Somalia. In return ideology gains people's support nationwide. In a weak state where there are so many leaks in social security, social rights of people and providing efficient social services, ideology crystallized in civil society finds a large space of influence. That's why Wahhabism is seen as a way to welfare more than a path to radicalism among people.

The relationship between the responsibilization paradigm and other agencies that takes the place of civil society in some African countries is significant and needs further evaluation. However, it is necessary to say that "radicalism" is more than "radicalism" as we know it in African reality.

Lack of resources or inability to be employed officially limit immigrants lives in the city as well as restricting them within their communities' resources. Muhsina, a young woman living alone in Addis Ababa, tells about how she survives with the money sent by her husband who lives in England.

> He is my only support to survive in Addis. He sends money through xawilaad[36]. My life is very routine. I do same things every day. If I go to England, I want to study and work in shifts to help my family in Somalia. My husband lives in London. And he tells me every time that life is very fine and nice in there… That is why everybody has buufis[37] here. We want to go somewhere (Interview 6, Muhsina, undocumented migrant, 26/03/2013).

Degrading and losing their statuses is also significant among migrants. I met with Muhsina at Somali School as well. She is a self-confident, funny and social woman that she can easily makes friends. She told me that they owned a restaurant with her family back in Somali and they considered themselves wealthy. When she recalls her

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[36] Xawilaad system is money transfer system common in Africa.

[37] They talk about developing "buufis" – an obsession with migrating to another country.

better-off days, she looked quite sad and silent contrary to her general attitude. Loss of their history and living in-between countries make their lives harder. They call their longing for better life chances and dreamy mood as "buufis" – an obsession with migrating to another country. It is quite significant to see how Somali community's life in limbo found terms in their language.

Kadeer, an educated Somali migrant man tells about arbitrary approach to them by government even though they are let to live in the cities.

> Nowadays Ethiopian government started to charge people 1150 US dollars per person to let them stay in the country. That is why I hear many people started to migrate to Nairobi, Kenya. Instead of giving this huge amount of money (when it is a large family it is impossible to pay), they prefer to move Kenya and deal with police officers with small amounts of money (Interview 11, Kadeer, undocumented migrant, 17/03/ 2015).

According to current ARRA and UNHCR practice in Ethiopia, refugees are supposed to register in a refugee camp in fifteen days after their arrival to Ethiopia. After their registration, their application to be a refugee is processed by ARRA and Ethiopia within a time ranging from 1 week to 4 months (Interview 8, Program Manager, Jesuit Refugee Service, 4/04/2013; Interview 7, Expert, GAIA Project, 27/03/2013). During that period, refugees are provided a one-time emergency aid in the refugee camps, or in the urban centers that they arrived.[38] When refugees get into camps and they have some health issues UNHCR provides them urban refugee status and they can live in cities. If they do not possess such a status they are accepted as illegal / undocumented refugees in the cities.

As a part of ethico-politics of governance of refugees, refugee populations are expected to help each other and finally become "self-reliant" in their own communities. In this regard, current refugee policy paradigm approaches refugees as

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[38] Interview, Program Manager, JRS, 2013. If they arrive to Addis Ababa and apply for a refugee status, they are referred to Jesuit Refugee Service by ARRA or UNHCR for one-time emergency aid.

'democratic individuals' who are supposed to provide their own needs in neo-liberal sense.

> These practical actions can be related to improving general protection in the host country, establishing an effective procedure for determining refugee status, building capacity and training on protection issues for those working with refugees, support measures benefiting the local community hosting refugees, etc. (EU Commission, 2015, prg.3)

However, such a predefined characteristic for refugees have different effects in practice. Especially for women, children or any other vulnerable populations, dependence on 'community support' instead of aid can result in further dependency or subjectivities for them. For instance, dynamics of local socialites such as clan, family or neighborhood can form different control mechanisms on individuals which are not open to liberties. Nevertheless, within this paradigm, unexpected or 'uncalculated' results of individual self-reliance mechanisms can be a 'failure' of individual itself.

This framework creates outcaste groups among migrants. Unless a person follows general patterns of the community life they cannot get any help. Kadeer's instance of Christian Somali man is meaningful in terms of explaining reality of such a situation:

> There are some Christian Somalis. They are really in vulnerable situations. One of them lives in Siddis Kilo away from main Somali neighborhood in Bole in Addis. Because he is an outcaste of Somali community. He is scared of being killed or beaten up by his people. In Somali community if a person converts to Christianity, everybody knows that. People gossip about the family and this person. That's why they do not feel safe. Because some people really believe that since the person has left Islam for Christianity he can be killed. They think "I kill this man then I will go to Heaven" (Interview 11, Kadeer, undocumented migrant, 17/03/ 2015).

Proposing community help and socializing responsibility clearly discards vulnerable groups in the society. Especially it has a certain effect on elimination of migrants' chances or preferences to form lives other than their communities' preferences. Changing religion is only one of the reasons to be outcast from the community. In this

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regard, overall perspective towards community empowerment loses its validity when considered with diverging values and traditions of migrant societies. This argument has certain responsibilizing outcomes for women as well.

7.3.3.4.2.1   *Engendering Responsibility*

The male dominant character of migration in Africa feminized since the 1990s (IOM, 2000). In 2003 "female migrants account for almost 47 per cent of the stock of 16 million migrants in Africa" (Zlotnik as cited in IOM, 2005, p.35). In relation to feminization of migration, ethico-political responsibility framework has a specific emphasis on empowering women to further their self-sufficiency. Initiations on micro-credit schemas and provision of life stock are some examples presented in documents as tools to foster empowerment of women in their migrant communities.

> A micro-credit scheme created specifically for urban refugee women helped to meet basic needs and facilitated a limited degree of self-sufficiency (UNHCR, 2000, p.149).

> In Port Sudan, a series of pilot projects were implemented to further self-reliance among refugee women and to improve networking among entrepreneurs. Over 120 women participated in income generation training and in credit programmes for women's groups in Port Sudan. Some women were trained in the production and distribution of sanitary items, others were engaged in soap production and marketing (UNHCR, 2000, p.164).

The identity formative characteristics of self-reliance and self-sufficiency for women are idealized in UNHCR Global reports as the major aim of the policy programs. Women's participation into self-reliance activities and leading positions in refugee welfare councils, church groups, adult literacy activities, food management and health management committees are also encouraged in Ethiopian camps.

> Skills training in embroidery and carpentry was offered to 56 refugees in Kebrebeya Camp as part of the self-reliance strategy, and 25 women in Kebrebeya augmented their income by producing school uniforms. UNHCR

supported 25 female heads of household with vegetable marketing activities. More than 100 households in Aw-barre and Kebrebeya were trained in multi-storey gardening techniques (UNHCR, 2009, p.77).

Activities set for women are mostly gendered activities such as teaching, broidery, and food management. In this sense, general policy aiming empowerment of women can also result in over-emphasis on women in gendered works. Moreover, avoidance of organizations social help in care taking puts more burden on women as care-givers for elderly, sick or young. Besides, unexpected outcomes of such strategies for women are generally undermined in this framework. For instance, ideal of 'community survival mechanism' is not functional in case people are in vulnerable situations such as community surveillance or abuse.

Another example given by Omar, a Somali migrant man, provides an idea of how far these vulnerabilities can reach: "In family rape is very common unfortunately. I heard about rape many times. Mostly victims tell stories that they are abused not from outsiders but from their relatives" (Interview 10, undocumented migrant, 10/03/2015).

In such cases, encouraging immigrants for community self-help mechanisms can further women's or any other vulnerable groups' discrimination or abuse destining them to stay in their community whatever happens. Although documents mention micro programs such as providing household cooking fuel and stoves to protect women from sexual violence while collecting firewood outside the camps (UNHCR, 2009), their effects are far from producing solutions.

Departing from these basic discussions we can say, approaches of this kind miss basically two major points, first, existence of people's traditional survival mechanisms, in group support systems do not directly refer that people are immune from any dependency. Traditional support systems can result in in group dependency and raise some individuals (such as community leaders, head of families, or elders) as authorities over others sometimes contrary to others' will. Second, active presence of

traditional survival strategies does not remove international responsibility to provide immigrants and refugees better standards of living. This part of the discussion is silenced in policy documents and individual and social responsibility is generally presented as a substitute for international responsibility on the issue.

7.4 Construction of Ethico-political Paradigm and Its Reflections in Immigration and Asylum in Ethiopia

Foucault unearthed the latent relationship between discourse and day's politics in his studies on Archeology of Knowledge. For him, political structure as a means of power reflects itself in narration of the history as well as finds its place in institutions as a result. Policy propositions of global documents on the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia clearly represents a similar trend. Problematic, discriminative, labeling and ethnocentric approach in neo-liberal (or advanced liberal) policy making regarding welfare provisions for the social issues are present in documents on immigration and asylum policies for the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia.

This part evaluated the research question on how global policy plans / propositions in IOM, UNHCR and European Commission annual documents construct an ethico-political paradigm for governmentality of immigration and asylum in the Horn of Africa and specifically in Ethiopia? Besides, this chapter speculated upon the major research question on reflections of this paradigm on immigration and asylum policy making in Ethiopia. Ethico-political paradigm's main propositions on remoralizing, responsibilizing and controlling in accordance with post-social rationalities are analyzed in detail. The data disclosed that ethico-political paradigm has certain outcomes for immigration and asylum policies of Ethiopian state as well as lives of immigrants.

First, policy documents problematized Africa in a totalizing perspective of dependency, inefficiency and lack of democracy in the continent. Ethico-political

paradigm's ethno-centric problematizations of Horn of Africa and migration patterns in the region also created hierarchy between worldwide grid of migration in which Ethiopia, Horn of Africa and Africa is associated with "refugee discourse." This approach underlined "forced" character of immigration. Although the continent hosts more than 17 millions migrants, the documents preferred to recall the area with refugees and asylum.

Problematizations of Ethiopia and immigrants were not an exception to this perspective: The immigrants are either "victimized" or "criminalized" in their problematizations in the documents. Their statuses are vaguely defined interchangeably in accordance with the political discourse. This paradigm reflected in Ethiopia's immigration and asylum applications as intensive and discriminative surveillance of migrants and diminishing of migrants' human rights due to lack of legitimate sanctions as a result of vague legal statuses. As a result, migrants are not provided any legal aid.

Second, ethico-political power enforces governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia as an assembled regime. This governmental regime consists of visible /concealed aspects, exclusionary character, neo-liberal rationality, and identity formation. Migration in Ethiopia is linked with social structural and historical dynamics that are hard to solve with top-down modern paradigms (such as inefficient borders in Somali region of Ethiopia). However, the documents focus on visible and controllable aspects. Statistics are missing regarding undocumented migrants or people in refugee like situations living off-camp.

Lack of policy regarding undocumented immigrants creates a temporary protection regime rather than providing a long term solution. Moreover, immigrant livelihoods are also affected this life in limbo which creates "uncertainty and insecurity with the prospect of being returned to their country of origin" (McMaster 2006, p.139). As Somali livelihoods confirm, being at the blind spot of policy creates lack of hope for

future endeavors such as continuing education, applying for a job or family reunion in another country which negatively affect their lives in the long run.

Exclusionary character of modern immigration and asylum differentiates between "deserving and undeserving migrants." That create huge brain drain in Ethiopia alike in different parts of Africa especially in health and technology services that the country is lacking. In line with "investment in human capital" principle of ethico-politics, neo-liberal rationalities put an ideologically and politically selective focus on migrants. This divisive character is represented in different organizations' ideological programs.

Last but not least, ethico-politics constructed in documents forms identities to reach destined ends of neo-liberal governmentality. The identity formation proposes includes responsibilization, remoralizing and socializing characteristics either for states, immigrants and communities. The designated identity for Ethiopian state is being "safe third country" of the Global North that is institutionalized via regional consortiums, open-door policies and Western countries' earmarked donations into immigration and asylum programs in the country. The role assigned for Ethiopia made it the unitary actor in managing immigrants in the country. As a result, human rights violations, surveillance, police harassment became the unexpected side effects of "safe third country" identity.

Ethico-political paradigm's selective focus on individual and community as the post-social security systems results in uncalculated negative outcomes for individuals specifically for underrepresented communities and women. Contrary to general assumptions provided in policy documents, immigrants' heavy dependence on familial and kinship networks for providing livelihood, further worsens their integration to local communities (Grabska, 2006, p.300). Lack of policy due to self-responsibility and community support principles create multiple subjectivities for women and other vulnerable groups. Besides, women's assigned position as "caregivers" as a remedy to

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lack of social protection, increases their burden among their community members. The migrant interviews showed that clan, family or neighborhood support may result in different control and surveillance for women and underrepresented individuals. This system may create diverse subjectivities, inequalities that are contrary to modern liberties.

Last but not least, Ethiopian governmentality of immigration and asylum produces carry characteristics of "society of security" dangling between *society of discipline* and *society of control*. As discussed earlier, there is not a clear-cut substitution of "a society of sovereignty of a disciplinary society and the subsequent replacement of a disciplinary society by a governmental one" (Foucault, 1979, p.19). As presented in Ethiopian instance, sovereignty-discipline-government interchanges time to time in Ethiopian immigration and asylum regime.

Ethiopian state's application of securitization, surveillance, intervention systems into migration control carry characteristics of this trifold structure that act as sovereign, punishes as in disciplinary regime and seeks to integrate ethico-political control systems as a governmental regime. This system creates an alternative governmentality of immigration and asylum that is both affected by Ethiopia's structural dynamics and calculated and designed by global propositions.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Development of neo-liberal policymaking and modern welfare states' approach to social issues such as health, education, population, and criminality issued at large in governmentality studies. Immigration and asylum policies' crossroads with post-social states' policy-making processes found place in the literature as well. This study intended to contribute governmentality studies bringing a relatively understudied geography into focus of discussion. Issuing Ethiopia was not significant merely for picking an underrepresented country from an underrepresented geography, Africa. However, it was significant to mark that in growing literature of immigration and asylum, Ethiopia as the biggest host country in Africa took such a small place. The study pointed out that this place given to Ethiopia in global policy propositions (as represented in annual reports) is backed by global political economic and policy-making dynamics rather than realities of neither the country nor the immigrants themselves.

The study also aimed to contribute governmentality studies providing a reading of society of security and society of control discussions from a non-Western geography. This part had some shortcomings: First, documents covered in the study were mostly the documents of a Western paradigm. Second, due to local limitations, the study did not provide conclusions on Ethiopian state's immigration and asylum policies directly. However, reflections of global propositions on Ethiopian immigration and asylum policies are traced via immigrants' testimonies and local and international organizations' interviews. In this sense, second contribution to governmentality studies is relatively hypothetical, rather than solid. On the other hand, it is still relevant

to see discrepancies between idealistic paradigm drawn in global reports and certain reflections of this approach in Ethiopian context. In this regard, it would not be misleading to claim that this study provided an introductory pace for future discussions on application of differing governmentality theses in non-Western contexts.

This study intended to answer two major research questions: How is ethico-political paradigm constructed in global policy propositions for Ethiopia? What are the reflections of ethico-political paradigm in governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia?

In addition to these research questions the study was built upon the following arguments:

Argument 1: Ethico-political power is constructed in global policy propositions for Ethiopian immigration and asylum issues via visible, technical, rational, and identity formative aspects.

Argument 2: Ethico-political paradigm reflects on Ethiopia at differing levels such as positioning the country as "safe third country" of the global north, strengthening of control over immigrants, increasing dependence on individual and community as a part of neo-liberal policy making. These reflections create certain "uncalculated effects" on governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia affecting the state, migrant communities and individuals.

This study aimed to understand construction of power in modern day policy-making processes. In this regard, study started with two preliminary assumptions that are sourced from governmentality studies literature: First, liberal understanding of equality was double ethical differentiating between obeying, deserving ones and the others. Second, ethico-political power arose as prevalent form of power in neo-liberal welfare regimes along with society of control especially after the 1980s.

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As a background to discussions provided, the dissertation provided a map of genealogy of power along with relationship between social and economic transformations and different modes of power. This genealogy confirmed that ethico-political power is closely related to transformation of liberal welfare regimes and societies. Genealogy also presented that ethico-political power is not only a discursive and ideological concept however, it has certain technical and institutional aspects arose out of historical social and economic stages.

Ethico-political power is defined as socializing and responsibilizing power of the 21st Century that calls for rise of social, social responsibilization and self-government. In line with liberal understanding of ethics, ethico-political power necessitates active participation, community action and entrepreneurship. Corresponding to Deleuzian society of control, ethico-political power requires self-government of individuals and communities to enhance intensity and space of control. In this regard, individual and communities in control societies are expected to govern themselves, be able to self-government and become active members of the society.

The rise of social and community in neo-liberal welfare regimes is also closely related to ethico-political governmentality. It is assumed that through active participation of individuals and communities in control of health, hygiene, education or crime control, it would be possible to contribute well being of the whole society. As an extension of post-social /advanced liberal rationalities, ethico-political power multiplied governmentalities and control. Ethico-politics' selective focus on individual and community also functioned via technologies of exclusion via dividing practices between the subjects. Liberal rationality does not only decide "the inferior" or "superior" but also regulates the means, strategies and programs that enhances the capacity of those who do not have the required characteristics (Dean, 1999). This study sought traces of ethico-political power and post-social rationalities in global governmentality of immigration and asylum.

The dissertation issued significant effects of globalization, transformation of neo-liberal restructuring on nation-states, citizenship and immigration. While globalization, neo-liberalism and movement of capital relocated the center and periphery of the world, millions of people from different geographies got into a continuous motion in search of better life chances. International migrant flow was lessening the value of labor with flexibilization of labor and search for 'skilled or trained labor'. Migrants' tragedy as a common scene in today's media is not totally separate from nation-states' approach to citizenship. As discussed earlier, when securitization and surveillance are intensified people became more eager to risk their lives to find a place in developed countries.

This study discussed these forceful relations between nation-states' securitization, citizenship dynamics with references to macro and micro dynamics. Anti-citizenship technologies discussion is evaluated as a part of these securitization discussions in neo-liberal understanding of welfare. Consulting Inda's (2006) study, this study argued that post-social /advanced liberal understanding of welfare sets dividing practices between migrants and citizens via technologies of exclusion such as point based selection systems, bio-technologies of border control and intense surveillance over migrants. The study argued that technologies of anti-citizenship, as Xavier Inda defines, reflects double faces of ethico-political policy making in modern states.

This dissertation followed Mitchell Dean's analytics of governmentality method to deconstruct different steps of ethico-political governmentality at global and local levels. To understand construction of ethico-political paradigm in global policy propositions the study focused on following steps and principles:

- The identification of problematizations
- The priority given to 'how' questions
- Practices of government as assemblages or regimes
    - *The examination of fields of visibility of government*

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- *The concern for the technical aspect of government*
- *The approach to government as rational and thoughtful activity*
- *Attention to the formation of identities*

- The extraction of the utopian element of government

- The circumspection about the role of values

- The avoidance of global or radical positions

The study conducted analytics of governmentality method at Ethiopian context and in global propositions. In this study, first, different *problematizations* of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are questioned at a global policy level. Moreover, problematizations of Africa and Ethiopia as the context are also discussed. The study also showed that migration in Africa and Ethiopia is problematized as a part of security discourse. Through content analysis of selected annual reports and additional documents, the dissertation presented that global legal and social categorizations of immigrants are not only legal but also ideological, and context dependent. Observing relevant concepts of immigrant, refugee, and asylum seeker in their historical context and in content analysis, the study pointed out that in diverse contexts, and time periods some categories overcome the usage of other categories.

The study focused on *problematization of African migration* dynamics in documents. In this regard, a specific focus was directed definition of migration movements in Africa, the Horn of Africa and Ethiopia. A negative framing of migration in Africa was prevalent in the analyzed documents. The migratory movements are generally represented within 'illegality and criminality' discourse and immigrants are either victimized or criminalized. HIV, prostitution and trafficking are defined as "characteristics of migration trends" separating these social issues from their structural roots. The Horn of Africa where Ethiopia is the biggest host country is not also an exception for this approach. Migration patterns in the region are represented as a part of problematic area.

African countries host millions of migrants along with asylum seekers and refugees. However, the common discourse in documents defines migration patterns in Africa within "refugee and forced migration discourse." The common migration patterns in many African countries might meet asylum criteria. However, legal statuses of migrants and their rights are not provided to migrants. The population of migrants that possess refugee or asylum seeker status is only a very limited part of all migrant populations in Africa. While most migrants' statuses are left vague in documents and in practice this "forced migration discourse" towards Africa implies certain distinction that: politically and legally migration is largely considered an internal issue of the sovereign states, forced migration is legally more intriguing necessitating internationally binding statuses.

Modern liberal governmentality of immigration and asylum *problematize immigrants* as "anti-citizens" unable to meet their communal responsibilities and deserve to be under control and surveillance for the sake of host societies. The content analyses revealed that migrants are approached mostly within the paradigm of "security" more than humanitarian or human rights issue. They are either victims of their "undemocratic and underdeveloped" home countries that are unable to provide them necessary survival skills or they are terrorists, prostitutes, or less harshly unskilled people do not worth social support.

The study contends that negative framing of immigrants as "unethical" (illegals, smugglers, prostitutes, criminals), and problematic representation of migratory movements in Africa (in relation to criminality and terror) reflects on Ethiopian state's arbitrary approach in hosting migrants. Criminalization of migrants in global policy documents is a result and effect of international approach towards migrants. This approach reflects in intense surveillance over migrants in Ethiopia. As confirmed by migrants' interviews, arbitrary detention, condemning as "spy," unjust treatment in courts and continuous surveillance either by community or police are among the major characteristics of these negative reflections.

As discussed by Inda (2006), international global reports' framing of migrants and their statuses in Ethiopia fit into "anti-citizenship" arguments. Outcaste situation of migrants and their constant criminalization in the country points out discriminative characteristics of immigration and asylum regime. In this negative approach migrants become "anti-citizens" differing from democratic citizens, migrants' rights are continuously degraded. The findings of the content analysis also revealed, for instance, regarding migrants living in different cities, the documents stay mute. Their numbers unknown and their statuses are vaguely defined. Some documents define them as "urban refugees" whereas this definition does not have a reflection in acquisition of their rights. This results in arbitrary approach of host states and deprivation of their basic human rights.

The study underlined that international legal statuses of immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees are interchangeably used and vaguely defined in documents as a political preference. Host states and international organizations might limit their responsibilities thanks to vagueness in provision of human rights of immigrants. Especially non-intervention and sovereignty rhetoric in documents create problems for provision of migrants' rights. Even though, their basic human rights are threatened, migrants' voice can be silenced and host countries can still enjoy international donor contributions accordingly their strategic significance.

Governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia is also analyzed as a governmental regime composed of *visible, technical, rational and identity formative aspects*. The refugee camps are the most visible aspect of governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia. Migrants living outside of camps do not possess any legal statuses and their numbers in statistics vary to a huge extend. It can be said that undocumented migrants are "policy blind spot" (Human Rights Watch, 2002) in Ethiopia. Including analyzed documents, undocumented immigrants' presence in Ethiopia is either under-calculated or totally concealed. Although, interviews show that they define themselves "refugee" this self-definition does not encounter any legal

rights. Due to undocumented migrants and asylum seekers' statistically "invisible" character, they are not present in global documents as well. Policy propositions are vague in defining migrants' statuses that reflect itself in state's arbitrary approach to them.

Statistics are commonly associated with documented and calculated in other words "controllable" aspects of governmentality of migrants in the documents. Moreover, stats are clarified in defining capacity building and material aid provided in for immigrants. Alike, statistics are also benefited to measure and present the extent of the target population to receive humanitarian aid. In this regards, they are used as contours underlining the utopian and idealistic aspects of government whereas concealing other aspects.

Considering Ethiopian context, *technologies of exclusion and dividing practices* are activated via border management, selection of migrants, and ideological discrimination in policy programs towards migrants. Monitoring of border management across countries, bio-control and point systems, regional protection programs, regional migration conferences, formations of sub regional economic communities are some instances of complex governmentality of immigration across countries. In addition to border control, migrations are selected via eligibility criteria by third countries when they apply for asylum. Interviews with international organizations and migrants reveals that application and selection processes of undocumented migrants by third countries are quite arbitrary and downgrading the equal delivery of migrants' rights. The study also showed that third countries do not totally reject migrants, however they select. As one instance from the content analysis points out "more Ethiopian doctors are practicing in Chicago than in Ethiopia" (IOM, 2005, p.173). This instance represents how intense the effects of brain drain and selection of the educated migrants might be on different African countries.

Ideological discrimination in policy programs is also drawn from content analysis of documents and interviews. Instances from documents showed that international organizations operate their programs in accordance to Ethiopian state's ideological preferences. In Ethiopian instance, UNHCR report presented that the organization formed a repatriation program for pre-1991 refugees who are considered "victims of the Marxist regime." This ideological discrimination is also prevalent international organizations' provision of certain services to refugees.

Interview of JRS presented that aid is religiously motivated at certain points and religious counseling was provided according to Christian belief. Specific timing of Biblical sermon (Friday afternoon) for Somali migrants implies that ideological preferences of organizations take a large place in provision of aid for migrants in Ethiopia. This selective approach also represents liberal aspects of technologies of governance via dividing practices. In Ethiopian case, dividing practices are both set among migrants as well as between migrants and citizens by the state. Although the State parties international conventions on the issue, the law and jurisdiction put certain restrictions on migrants' lives that creates hierarchical relations between migrants and citizens.

The study also evaluated *governmentality of immigration and asylum as a rational and thoughtful activity* that center on know-how transfer, collaboration and responsibility sharing between the state, international organizations and other actors. Programmatic character of governmentality regulates, reforms, organizes and improves conduct of diverse agencies in Ethiopia to promote a certain way of conduct. The organizations create migration profiles, mobility partnerships, migratory missions and a cooperation platform in Ethiopia (EU Commission, 2009, pp.7-8). Overall rationality behind governmentality of immigration and asylum proposes post-social /advanced liberal aspects such as entrepreneurialism, selective and skill based approach towards communities and individuals and an aggregate control of migration composed of multiple organizations and based on unitary reason.

The research also presented that a certain type of professionalism was dominant among organizations. On numerous fields, analyzed international documents points out that humanitarian aid systems function as humanitarian aid sector. As discusses at large in different studies, humanitarian aid function as a job hub for international organizations. As pointed out in IOM report, "about 100,000 non-African professionals work in Africa occupying positions not available to qualified Africans and account for 35 per cent of the region's annual official development aid" (2000, p.146). Western professionalism is preferred over African professionalism.

Global reports propose differing ethical responsibilities for organizations, the state and migrants. Another aspect of responsibility sharing is present in duties and responsibility sharing among ARRA, IOM, UNHCR and other organizations. IOM mostly covers international migration issues such as border management, resettlement of Ethiopian migrants from outside of Ethiopia, whereas UNHCR limits itself with management of refugee issues. ARRA partners both organizations as a central implementing partner whose permission is required for any projects to be conducted in Ethiopia regarding immigrants and refugees. Interestingly enough Ethiopian Orthodox Church is another implementing partner to these organizations, duties are defined as provision of religious services to both migrant and refugee communities. In general, this programmatic structure of governmentality of immigration and asylum carries a *utopian idealistic element* that facilitates certain values. Organizations' actions are polished and idealized in a fictive way that they continuously present a positive picture of governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia. The documents analyzed also presented an "idealistic empowerment" paradigm especially towards women in immigrant communities as a part of post-social aspects of governmentality.

Supporting this study's major argument, governmentality of immigration and asylum as represented in documents carry *identity formative aspects*. Ethico-politics function upon assigning certain responsibilities for host states and immigrants themselves to reduce the burden of international community. This responsibility sharing discourse is

issued via topics such as capacity building, self-government, self-esteem, self-reliance, community development and empowerment in the documents.

Formation of identities for Ethiopian state situates Ethiopia as "safe third country" of the Global North. This identity is formed and institutionalized via Western countries' donations to Ethiopia, open-door policies and regional consortiums. Ethiopian state's designated role is also revealed in content analysis. This role situates Ethiopia as the major actor designing immigration and asylum in the country. In this regard, Ethiopia's "safe third country" image is fogged by unexpected effects such as human rights violations, surveillance and police harassment towards immigrants.

Formation of identities for migrants themselves is quite significant in documents as well. Policy propositions present in documents reveal exclusionary, categorizing, sometimes ethnocentric aspects of post-social / ethicopolitical governmentality. As is exposed in content analysis, migrant communities are expected to be self-governing, responsible and self-reliant to be "ideal migrants." Responsibilizing approach issues migrants' problems as issues of morale rather than social problems. The dissertation also revealed that this ethico-political paradigm is quite ethno-centric in its approach to immigrant communities. These communities are evaluated as communities of tradition that are supposed to help each other and provide care towards groups in need as a part of their responsibilities. In this regard, international organizations assign especially women with care taking responsibilities.

This perspective approaches diaspora as a social security valve that people should support their families back in their countries of origin continuously. Within this framework, in many documents, African diaspora are introduced as "sixth region" while immigrants themselves are considered as agents of development. Numerous programs and continuous government calls are directed African communities abroad to attract their investment at home.

Responsibilization approach is also a reflection of *the utopian element of government* and *significance of values* in governmentality. The entrepreneur, responsible self is idealized in global documents as an extension of utopian idealistic paradigm. As much as migrants are responsible, self-governing and rational, they are assumed to meet their communal and social duties. This perspective of entrepreneur and active participant self and idealized way of life to reach certain ends is directly sourced from neo-liberal ideals. Hence, continuous control is provided via self-control of migrants and communities.

This perspective is not immune from certain negative effects on migrants' lives. As migrant interviews showed, social fields withdrawn by international agencies might be placed with radical organizations. As indicated in several parts of the study especially in war-torn regions, radical organizations might substitute aid agencies acting like civil society organizations. This finding is quite noteworthy to scratch possible negative outcomes of utopian aspects of governmentality such as self-government. Since, most population are in a dire situation and lacking basic survival items, it is not easy to self-help or to be self-reliant in their situations. In this regard, considering instances provided throughout the study, it would not be misleading to propose that utopian aspects of governmentality of immigration and asylum should be revised.

Overall, the dissertation presented that international organizations' policy plans and proposals as presented in documents aim to stabilize a neo-liberal governmental regime regarding management of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia. However, Ethiopia has certainly diverging dynamics then the West. To place it into map of ideal types of societies, that are detailed earlier, Ethiopia dangles between *society of security* and *society of control*. Control and surveillance of migrants in the country carry characteristics of society of security with intensified implementation of disciplinary mechanisms in detention, surveillance and control. On the other hand, position assigned for Ethiopia by international organizations tries to introduce a neo-liberal society of control in governmentality of immigration and asylum. Composite character

of control, responsibility sharing between diverse organizations and investment in skilled migrants as human capital are some characteristics of this regime. However, the dissertation also contends that international organizations propose application of neo-liberal regime in Ethiopia without totally institutionalizing dynamics and responsibilities of the neo-liberal system. In this regard, reflections and "side effects" of ethico-political paradigm in governmentality of immigration and asylum in Ethiopia are both fed by country's structural dynamics as well as global policy propositions for the country.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LIST OF REPORTS COVERED IN CONTENT ANALYSIS

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Other Relevant Reports Included

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UNHCR ExCom. (2006). Local Integration and Self-Reliance. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, *25*(1), 134–142. doi:10.1093/rsq/hdi0114 (9 pgs).

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APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR UNDOCUMENTED MIGRANTS

Person:
Gender:
Age:
Marital status:
Education level:
Occupation:
Income:
Date:

1. Can you tell me about your travel to Ethiopia? When did you come? And how?
2. How was your life in Somalia? Which city /village are you coming from?
3. Why did you migrate to Ethiopia? Did you decide by yourself or within your family / clan? With whom you come to here?
4. Do you consider yourself as a migrant or refugee? What is the difference for you?
5. Who is the head / responsible person in your family here?
6. What are your responsibilities in your family? Who are the people that you are responsible for (e.g. your family members, your business friends, your community, or clan)?
7. Did anyone help you when you first came to Ethiopia?
8. Where do you live in Addis? Why did you choose this neighborhood?
   Would you like to live somewhere else in Ethiopia?
9. Do you have any types of ID cards? Eg. Refuge ID card, drivers license, passport etc.

•••

10. Did any aid organizations contact you since you came to Ethiopia-like UNHCR, IOM, ARRA or others? If yes, what kind of help did they provide to you?
11. Do you get any help from UNHCR? Did you ever register in a refuge camp or in Addis? Did you stay in a camp at border or did you come to Addis directly?
12. Do you have any relatives in other parts of Ethiopia? Or in camps? Which camps?
13. What do you know about refugee camps? Did you hear any stories negative /or positive about refugee camps?

•••

14. How is your relation with Somali community in Addis? Do you have family or friends in here? Do you feel confident living in your neighborhood?
15. What is your clan? Is clan important for you? Why do you think clan ties are important for Somalis?
16. Does your relatives / community support you when you live in Addis? What kind of support do you have with your relatives/ friends/ clan members?
17. How do you support your clan and Somali community?
18. Do you have any charity activity in your Somali community? How do you help each other? (E.g. Giving money, taking care of each other, taking care of kids, taking care of elderly or sick people)
19. Do you attend any ceremonies organized by Somalis in Addis such as weddings, funerals, meetings, coffee drinking etc? Do you feel confident when you are together with your clan members/ community members?
20. How do you provide your survival? If you are working, are you satisfied with your work / or income?
21. Do you / or any person you know have any health problems? What do you do when somebody gets sick in the family/ or neighborhood?
22. Do you think Ethiopia controls migrants? How?
23. Do you think you can reach your rights as a refugee in Ethiopia?
24. Do you have any problems because of your undocumented status?
25. Are any of the following issues made you insecure in Ethiopia? Please explain shortly the reason beside the issue.
     Host government:
     Police:
     Host community relations:
     Refoulement:
     Discrimination:
     Vulnerability to violence:
     Problems in accessing employment:
     Access to education:
     Health services due to lack of legal status:
     Freedom of movement:
     Threat of arrest and detention:
     Harassment:
     Exploitation:
     Discrimination:
     Inadequate and overcrowded shelter/ or housing problems:
     Vulnerability to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV):
     HIV-AIDS:

Human smuggling and trafficking:
Uncertainty about future:
Insecurity:
Economic problems:
Other:

26. Considering the issues that you encounter as a refugee in Ethiopia? Do you feel comfortable or uncomfortable? Can you explain why?
27. Do you have any relations with Ethiopians? Do you have any Ethiopian friends? Do you attend their events /weddings/ ceremonies etc?
28. Is there anyone in your family married to an Ethiopian? What would you think if someone from Somali community marries to an Ethiopian person?
29. How do you see Ethiopian culture? Is there any similarities / differences between Somali and Ethiopian cultures?
30. Have you ever had a problem with Ethiopian police or state forces? What was this problem? How was it resolved?

•••

31. What do you do during the day? Do you every get stressed/ depressed?
32. If you are a believer, how do you think believing in Allah help you?

•••

33. Which countries did you apply for asylum? Why these countries?
34. Did you take any tests to get visa to different countries? How did you find these tests/ processes?
35. Was your application for asylum rejected before? What was the reason for rejection?
36. What are your plans if you go to another country?
37. Do you any additional comments?

*Thank you very much for your participation in this research. Results will not reveal your name, or any information related to you. The result will only be used for academic research purposes.

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR ORGANIZATIONS

Person:
Position:
Date:
Language:
Place:
Place detail:
Notes:
Time:
Keywords:

1. Could you describe your organization's conduct in general / in Ethiopia?
2. What is your organization's particular position in immigration and asylum issues? Which kind of migrants are in your target group?
3. What are your past and current projects?
4. How would you describe your organization's vision and programs?
5. How would you define your organizations' values and aims?
6. Where are your specific places of activity (e.g. camps, city center, clinics etc.)?
7. How do you evaluate conditions in camps?

8. Who are your partner organizations in Ethiopia?
9. Could you describe your relationship/ position/ responsibility sharing between partner organizations?
10. Does your organization have a say in policy making proposals / does your organization partner with others only at project level?
11. Do you follow a unified program with other partnering organizations?
12. What kind of problems do you encounter working with your partners (eg. Legal, communication, monetary etc.)?
13. Do you have any collaboration with refugee community organizations?
14. Do you receive any training from international organizations' experts/ researchers?
15. How do you transfer your project results / evaluations between partners?
16. Do you develop / apply any models in your projects? How do you generalize your results?
17. There are refugees and irregular migrants in Ethiopia mainly from Somali, Sudan, Eritrea and Congo. Who are in your focus group?

18. How do you decide your focus group?
19. What is general profile / demography of migrants (nationality, age, gender etc.)?
20. What do you think major reasons of migration to Ethiopia?
21. What are migrants' major issues / problems in Ethiopia?
22. How do you collaborate with migrants?
23. Do you apply any training for migrants/ refugees in your projects? If so, how do you prepare training program?
24. Are there different programs for vulnerable immigrants/ refugees (parentless children, disabled, elderly, health issues etc.)?
25. How do you persuade migrants to take part in projects?
26. Do you apply any award system while conducting your projects? How do you control results?
27. How do you think your programs contribute migrants' lives?

28. How do you evaluate general approach to immigrants and refugees in Ethiopia?
29. How do you evaluate different organizations' approach to immigrants and migrants?
30. How do you evaluate state's response to undocumented migrants/ refugees?
31. How do you evaluate different authorities (e.g. religious services, security forces, ARRA) response to undocumented migrants/ refugees?
32. How do you evaluate legal framework regarding migrants/ refugees in Ethiopia?
33. Do you have any information on other countries' legal response to migrants in Africa? Could you compare diverse policy responses to migrants/ refugees in Africa?
34. Did you observe any changes in immigration and asylum policies / laws in Ethiopia in recent years? How do you evaluate these changes?
35. How do you evaluate Ethiopia's open border policy?
36. How do you evaluate Ethiopia's approach to migrants from different countries?
37. Do you think international asylum laws are in line with Ethiopian national law considering immigration admissions/ inclusion procedures /welfare provisions? Do you see any contradictions in implementation of these laws at local level?
38. Do you have any additional comments?

APPENDIX D: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

	Type	Name	Status / Origin of Respondent	Date
1.	Individual	Ahmad	Undocumented migrant -Somalia	8/11/2012
2.	Organization	Somali Community in Ethiopia	Head of Organization - Somalia	8/11/2012 -1st Interview 20/02/2013 - 2nd Interview
3.	Organization	Dutch Refugee Council	Volunteer - Netherlands	30/01/2013
4.	Individual	Abdullah	Undocumented migrant -Somalia	20/02/2013
5.	Individual	Aisha	Undocumented migrant- Somalia	26/03/2013
6.	Individual	Muhsina	Undocumented migrant-Somalia	26/03/2013
7.	Organization	GAIA Project	Expert -Ethiopia	27/03/2013
8.	Organization	Jesuit Refugee Service	Program Manager- Ethiopia	4/04/2013
9.	Individual	Hansala	Undocumented migrant-Somalia	5/03/ 2013
10.	Individual	Omar	Undocumented migrant-Somalia	10/03/2015
11.	Individual	Kadeer	Undocumented migrant-Somalia	17/03/2015

Organization in the list are chosen upon their collaborations with UNHCR and IOM. All interviews are conducted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia between the years 2012-2015. All names are nicknames. Real names of the respondents are not revealed.

APPENDIX E: CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name: Dilek Karal
Date of Birth   21. 2. 1983
Nationality: Turkish
Address: Vilnius, Lithuania
Telephone: +370 620 35 144
E-mail: dilekaydemirs@gmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
Ph.D.	METU Department of Sociology	2015
MA	University of North Texas, Department of Sociology	2008
BA	İstanbul Fatih University, International Relations	2006
Exchange Student	The Hague University	2004- 2005

WORK EXPERIENCE

1. International Strategic Research Organization   *September 2008 – June 2012*
                                                                          Ankara, Turkey

Researcher
- Researcher in the *"Center for Social Studies:* Working on area related reports and policy briefs and conducting projects, giving presentations, writing column and book reviews on organization's websites and journals (both in Turkish and English), organizing roundtable meetings, seminars, and conferences, participating in meetings organized by the organization and other academic institutions, conducting interviews with scholars and ambassadors, training interns, and participating in news programs in mostly state TV/radio channels to comment on current social developments in Turkey.

Project Coordinator
- Project Coordinator of the Istanbul Urban Security Project between 2008- 2012 under Center for Social Studies. Project is funded by Turkish Ministry of Internal Affairs.

2. University of North Texas   *January 2006 – June 2008*
                                                  Denton, TX, USA

Student Assistant

• Student Assistant at International Office of the University of North Texas between

2006-2008.

CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

• Aydemir, D. (2011). Civil Society and Woman (Sivil Toplum ve Kadın), TOBB University, March 14, 2011.

• Aydemir, D. (2011). Women in Politics and Civil Society (Siyasette ve Sivil Toplumda Kadın), Tarımsal Kalkınma Vakfı, April 2, 2011.

• Karal, D. (2011). Second Bridge to European Union: Euro Turks (Avrupa Birliği'ne İkinci Köprü: Avrupalı Türkler), Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı.

• Aydemir, D. ve Güçer, M. S. (2010) "Okul ve Okul Çevresi Güvenliğinin Sağlanması: İstanbul Örneği" II. Risk Altında ve Korunması Gereken Çocuklar Uluslararası Sempozyumu, (School Security and School Environment: Istanbul Case) April 24-27, 2010, Turkish National Assembly Annual Conference, Ankara.

• Güçer, M. S. ve Aydemir, D. (2010) "Terörün Çocuk Mağdurları" Suça Sürüklenen ve Mağdur Çocuklar Uluslararası Sempozyumu, (Child Victims of Terrorism: Criminalized and Victimized Children), May 27-28, 2010, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Diyarbakır: Dicle University.

• Conference on Training on Election Monitoring, Independent High Electoral Commission and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Iraq Parliamentary. 28 Şubat-10 Mart 2010.

PROJECTS & ACTIVITIES

- *Project Coordinator*, Istanbul Urban Security Project, Sponsored by Ministry of Internal Affairs, USAK, 2008-2012.
- *Participant in the project*, "Facing the Challenges of Policy Research through Training Strategists in Balkans", financed by the European Commission, (2009-2011).
- *Participated in the Official Observer Team* composed jointly by Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) for Parliamentary Elections in Iraq-Baghdad (3-10 March 2010).
- *Columnist* Journal of Turkish Weekly and ANALIST Magazine of International Relations (Ongoing).
- Addis Ababa *UN Women Association* member (2012-2015)

PUBLICATIONS

BOOK REVIEWS
- Aydemir, D. (2009). Book Review: Jeff SAHADEO & Russell ZANCA, Everyday Life in Central Asia: Past and Present. Journal of Central Asian and Caucasian Studies, Vol. 4. No:7 pp.197-201.
- Aydemir, D. (2009). Book Review: Sam Tranum (Ed.), Life at the Edge of Empire: Oral Histories of Soviet Kyrgyzstan. Journal of Central Asian and Caucasian Studies, Vol. 5, No. 9, June 2010, pp. 164-167.
- Aydemir, D. (2010). Book Review: Nitzan Ben-Shaul: A Violent World: TV News Images of Middle Eastern Terror. Journal of Turkish Weekly.
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- Aydemir, D. (2009). Book Review: Inge Clearhout & John Devreker: Pessinous: Sacred City of the Anatolian Mother Goddess, Journal of Turkish Weekly.

REPORTS & ARTICLES

- Dilek Karal, Violence Against Women in Turkey (Türkiye'de Kadına Yönelik Şiddet), USAK Reports No:13, 2012.
- Dilek Aydemir, Learning Without Fear: School Security (Korkmadan Öğrenmek: Okul ve Okul Çevresi Güvenliği), USAK Reports No:12, 2011.
- Dilek Aydemir & Elvan Aydemir, Women in Turkish Politics: Pushing Limits! (Türk Siyasetinde Kadınlar: Çok Oluyoruz!), USAK Reports No:11, 2011.
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- Third Bridge to European Union: Turks in Europe, (AB'ye Üçüncü Köprü: Avrupa'daki Türkler), ANALİST Journal, Issue 6, August 2011.

COMMENTS IN TURKISH NEWSPAPERS:

- No Country for Women, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 18 /7/2011.
- Handcuffing Violence Against Women in Turkey, *Hurriyet Daily News* and *Radikal Daily*, 8/9/2011.
- Is Turkey Getting Worse for Women?, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 20/3/2011.
- London's Payback to Its Bad Boys, Todays Zaman, August 14, 2011.
- Why Do We Still Discuss the Headscarf Issue?, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 11/10/2010.
- "Student Protests and Reactions: Shall We Talk for a Minute, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 10/12/2010.

EDITORIAL EXPERIENCES

- *Book Review Editor:* Review of International Law and Politics and Central Asian and Caucasian Studies.

APPENDIX F: TURKISH SUMMARY

Afrika ülkeleri 17,228,396 kadar göçmen ve mülteciye ev sahipliği yaparak göç ve sığınma konusunda dünyada önemli bir yer tutmaktadır (UNDP, 2013). Fakat göç ve sığınma konusundaki literatüre baktığımızda Afrika ülkelerinin Batılı ülkelere nazaran literatürde daha kısıtlı şekilde yer aldığı görülmektedir. Ferguson (2006), Afrika'nın dünya politikasında yer alma şeklini incelediği çalışmasında, kıtanın birbirinden çok farklı kültürler, ülkeler ve dillere ev sahipliği yapmasına rağmen, Batı'nın Afrika'ya yaklaşımının büyük ölçüde genelleyici olmasını eleştirmektedir. Bu yaklaşım Afrika'yı (özellikle Sahra-Altı, kara Afrika'yı) pek çok eksikliğe, başarısızlıklara, problemlere ve krizlere referansla tanımlamaktadır (Ferguson, 2006, p.270). Ferguson'a (2006) göre Sahra-Altı Afrika'nın "başarısızlıklarla" ve "yapması gerekeni yapmamış olmakla" anılmasının altında yatan neden, Afrika ülkelerinin küresel kapitalist yapılanmaya Batı'nın beklediği şekilde entegre olamamış olmalarıdır.

Benzer şekilde Mamdani (1996), Afrika'ya yönelik genel tutumun Afrika'yı ya "egzotik" ya "banal" görme şeklinde ikili bir karşıtlık içerisinde ele aldığını belirtir. Mamdani'ye göre, birinci yaklaşım Afrika ülkelerinin gerçeklerini, küresel dinamiklerden tamamen koparır. İkinci yaklaşım ise, Kıta'nın kendine has yapısal dinamiklerinin farklılıklarını göz ardı eder. Bu bağlamda, Afrika'nın fakirliği, sosyal sorunlar ve göç nedenleri, banallık ve sıradanlık diskuru içinde ele alınır. Afrika'nın sorunları adeta yabancılaştırılır, yapısal dinamiklerinden ve dünyanın farklı kesimlerindeki küresel sosyo-ekonomik sorunlardan kopuk bir şekilde değerlendirilir. Küresel kontekstten tamamen ayrı ele alınan Afrikalı göçmenlerin fakirliği sadece onlara ait bir fakirlik gibi konu edilirken, kayıt dışı /yasa dışı olma hali adeta Afrikalı göçmenlerin doğdukları coğrafyadan miras aldıkları bir özellik gibi öne çıkarılır. Bu yaklaşımda, Afrikalı göçmenler göç ve mülteci rejiminin "aktörleri" olma özelliklerini

kaybeder, onları sadece bazı sorunların ya kurbanı ya da faili olarak görürüz. Bu taraflı yaklaşım, Afrika'ya yönelik çeşitli politika önerilerinde de öne çıkmaktadır.

Etiyopya da bu yaklaşımdan büyük ölçüde etkilenmektedir. Literatürde Etiyopya, Afrika'nın farklı ülkeleri ile birlikte, büyük Afrika haritasının bir parçası şeklinde, genelleyici bir yaklaşımla ele alınmaktadır. Etiyopya, özellikle uluslararası raporlarda, ülkenin kendine özgü tarihi ve sosyal yapısından ziyade, Afrika'nın farklı kesimlerindeki ülkelerle ortak bağları ve sorunları çerçevesinde genelleyici bir üslupla yer bulmaktadır. Bu açıdan, ülke uluslararası raporlarda genel olarak fakirlik, eşitsizlik, kadının negatif toplumsal konumu, milyonlarca yerinden edilmiş nüfus ve demokratik olmayan bir rejim ile tanımlanmaktadır. Şüphesiz Etiyopya'da, farklı Afrika ülkeleri ile bir kısım benzer sorunlar yaşanmaktadır. Öte yandan, Etiyopya göç ve mülteci meselesini sadece kayıt altına alınmış istatistikler ve Afrika'ya dair genelleyici politika yapım programları çerçevesinde anlamaya çalışmak oldukça yetersizdir.

Etiyopya süregelen Güney-Sudan krizi ve Somali krizi neticesinde 2015 yılında 720,000 kayıtlı mülteciye ev sahipliği yaparak Afrika'nın en büyük ev sahibi ülkesi oldu. Mülteci statüsü tanınan göçmenlerin dışında ülke aynı zamanda binlerce düzensiz göçmene de ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. IOM (2014) verilerine göre, halihazırda Etiyopya'da 645,356 kayıtlı göçmen yaşamaktadır. Etiyopya Afrika'nın en fazla göçmene ev sahipliği yapan ülkesi olmasına rağmen, Afrika kıtası ile benzer bir şekilde, uluslararası göç ve sığınma çalışmalarında oldukça kısıtlı şekilde yer almaktadır.

Bu çalışma, göç ve sığınma literatürünün görece daha az ele alınmış bir başka boyutuna odaklanmıştır. Bu tez çalışmasında göç ve sığınma literatürü yönetimsellik literatürü ile bir arada tartışılmaktadır. Bu açıdan çalışma etiko-politik iktidarın Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikaları özelinde tartışılması ile literatüre oldukça farklı

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bir katkı sunmaktadır. Elinizdeki çalışma, Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikalarına dair etiko-politik iktidarın inşasını ele almaktadır.

Yönetimsellik çalışmaları, modern politika yapım süreçlerinin etiko-politik iktidarı inşa ettiğini öne sürmektedir. Yönetimsellik literatürüne göre, etiko-politik iktidar, farklı aktörlere sorumluluk yükleyen, kolektif ve toplumsal bir iktidar tipidir (Rose, 1999). Etiko-politik iktidar, modern devlet anlayışında, devletin vatandaşlara refah sağlama sorumluluğunun, özellikle sorunlu addedilen göç, suç, hastalık ve güvenlik gibi alanlarda bireye ve toplumsal gruplara yüklenmesini öngörür.

Üretim tarzı ve iktidar biçimleri arasındaki ilişki göz önüne alındığında, etiko- politik iktidar, neo-liberal yönetimselliğin bir gereksinimi olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu bağlamda etiko-politik iktidar, neo-liberal yönetimselliğin daha genel politik-ekonomik ve politika yapım stratejisinin bir parçasıdır. Erken liberal devletler daha çok disipline dayalı veya bio-politik iktidar ile anılırken, neo-liberal yönelimler yeni etik ve politik araçların ortaya çıkmasını gerektirmiştir. Bu sayede neo-liberal devletin sosyal politika yapım süreçleri bu yeni etiko –politik iktidar araçları çerçevesinde şekillenir. İktidarı bireyselleştirirken aynı zamanda toplumsallığına vurgu yapan modern etiko-politik iktidar, sosyal politikaları yeniden şekillendirir. Paradoksal bir biçimde, neo-liberalizmin son on yıllarda, daha önce üretim-tüketim ilişkileri çerçevesinde yok etmeye çalıştığı toplumsallığı, sosyal politikalar alanında yeniden inşa etmeye çalıştığı gözlenmektedir. Evde bakım hizmetleri, sosyal sorumluluk projeleri gibi örneklerde görülen biçimde, önceden devletin bireye yönelik sorumlulukları çerçevesinde sağlanan hizmetler, yeniden toplumsal dayanışma mekanizmalarının sorumluluk alanına havale edilmektedir. Neo-liberal sosyal politikalar aynı zamanda birey sorumluluğuna vurgu yapmayı da sürdürmektedir. Aktif, katılımcı, kendini geliştiren, sorumluluk sahibi, sağlıklı bireyler toplumsal iyilik hali için idealize edilmektedir. Bütün bu gelişmeler çerçevesinde disiplin toplumundan kontrol toplumuna geçişte, etiko-politik iktidar iki farklı teknoloji /teknik ile

yönetimselliği daha etkin hale getirmeyi amaçlamaktadır: İktidar teknolojileri ve bireyi hedef alan kendilik teknolojileri (Rose, 1999).

Yönetimsellik teorisi, etiko-politik iktidarın neo-liberal yeniden yapılanmanın bir parçası olarak, özellikle 1980 sonrası küresel politika yapım süreçleri ve sosyal güvenlik sistemlerinde etkinliğinin arttığını iddia etmektedir. Yönetimsellik çalışmaları literatürü, Batı'da, iktidar ekonomilerindeki değişimlerin, politika yapım diskuru, stratejileri, süreçleri ve pratiklerini değiştirdiğinin altını çizer. Küreselleşme, kapitalizm ve endüstrileşme gibi unsurların etkisiyle oluşan politik bir gerçeklik olmanın yanı sıra etiko-politik yönetimsellik aynı zamanda teknolojik bir boyutu da haizdir. Bu teknolojik /teknik boyut göç konusu özelinde göçün yönetimi ve kontrolünü sağlamaktadır. Sınırların şekillendirilmesi, güvenlik güçleri, istatistikler, politika önerileri ve kurumlar gibi somut mekanizmalar, göçün yönetimselliğine teknolojik /teknik bir boyut kazandırmaktadır. Bu teknik açı, daha soyut politik rasyonalite ve mantığa daha somut bir yön sağlayarak, göçün "problemli" addedilen konularına "görünürlük" kazandırır (Inda, 2006, p.6).

Modern liberal demokratik toplumlarda, göç ve sığınma politikalarının büyük oranda keyfi ve seçici /ayrımcı şekilde uygulandığı görülmektedir. Liberal demokrasi ve sosyal adalet olguları ile tezat şekilde uygulanan bu politikaları savunmak oldukça zordur (Straehle, 2007). Straehle'nin (2007) iddia ettiği şekilde küresel göç ve sığınma politikaları göçmenleri "istenen" ve "istenmeyen" şeklinde "bireysel otonomi ve fırsat eşitliğine" aykırı şekilde ayırmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, küresel göç ve sığınma politikaları, uluslararası organizasyonlardan hükümetlere kadar uzanan ve politikaların işleyişini kolaylaştıran büyük bir sistem içerisinde işlemektedir. Öte yandan, bu politikalara daha makro bir perspektiften yaklaşıldığında bu politikaların farklı aktörlerin beklentilerine uygun şekilde, bölgesel ve hatta ülke ülke farklılaşan şekilde uygulandığı gözlenmektedir. Uzun yıllar farklı politika yapıcıların küresel politik-ekonomik ve sosyal kaygıları çerçevesinde oluşan politikalar açısından, Batı

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demokrasileri ve farklı coğrafyalar arasında ciddi uygulama farklılıkları bulunmaktadır.

Bu çalışma etiko-politik iktidarın diskur ve pratiklerinin göç ve sığınma rejiminin Etiyopya'ya yönelik politika önerilerinde yeniden üretilmesinin farklı yönlerini ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışma, Etiyopya'yı konu eden uluslararası raporlarda etiko-politik iktidarın inşasını analiz etmek için yönetimsellik literatüründen faydalanmaktadır (Yönetimsellik literatürü 3. Bölüm'de detaylandırılmıştır).

Araştırma Soruları ve Temel Argümanlar

Çalışma, literatür taraması sonucu belirlenen üç organizasyon (UNHCR, IOM ve Avrupa Komisyonu) tarafından yayınlanan 38 adet raporu kapsamaktadır. Bu raporlar, bu üç organizasyon tarafından yayınlanan yıllık raporlardan oluşmaktadır. Aynı zamanda, bu kurumların yayınladığı fakat yıllık raporlar içerisinde yer almayan, fakat direk olarak çalışma konusunu ele alan farklı raporlar da analize dahil edilmiştir. Çalışma 2000 ve 2013 yılları arasında yayınlanan raporlar ile sınırlandırılmıştır. Raporların yanı sıra çalışmada Etiyopya, Addis Ababa şehrinde yaşayan göçmenler, uluslararası organizasyonların ülke ofisleri ve bir yerel organizasyonla gerçekleştirilen toplam 11 mülakat da analiz edilmiştir.

İçerik analizinde öncelikle ele alınan farklı raporlar kaynak kategorizasyonu ile coğrafya, yayınlayan kurum ve raporun sayfa sayısı çerçevesinde düzenlenmiştir. Bu düzenleme, raporlarda ele alınan farklı konu başlıklarının sıklığını anlamada yardımcı olmuştur. Buna ek olarak analizde raporlar, öncelikle çalışmanın teorik argümanından hareketle yönetimselliğin analitiği metodunun farklı aşamalarına uygun şekilde kategorilere ayrılmıştır. Bu kategoriler dışında ortaya çıkan bağımsız kategoriler de raporların okunması süresince kodlanarak, çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir.

Bu çalışma, şu araştırma sorularını cevaplamayı amaçlamıştır:

• Etiyopya'ya yönelik küresel politika önerilerinde etiko-politik iktidar nasıl inşa edilmiştir?

• Etiko-politik paradigmanın Etiyopya'da göç ve sığınma politikalarının yönetimselliği üzerindeki yansımaları nelerdir?

Bu araştırma sorularına ek olarak, çalışma şu argümanlar üzerine inşa edilmiştir.

1. Argüman: Etiko-politik iktidar Etiyopya'ya yönelik küresel politika önerilerinde görünen, teknik, rasyonel ve kimlik inşasını hedefleyen özellikler üzerinden inşa edilmiştir.

2. Argüman: Etiko-politik iktidarın yansımaları Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikaları üzerinde farklı düzeylerde gözlenmektedir. Etiyopya'ya, Küresel Kuzey'in Güney'deki "güvenli bölgesi" rolünün biçilmesi, neo-liberal politika önerilerinin bir yansıması olarak göçmenler ve göçmen toplulukları üzerinde artan gözetim bu yansımaların bir yönüdür. Bu yansımalar, Etiyopya'da göç ve sığınmanın yönetimselliği konusunda devlete, göçmen gruplara ve göçmen bireylerin yaşantılarına etki eden bir kısım negatif "öngörülemeyen sonuçlar" ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Dean'in yönetimsellik çalışmalarına yönelik oluşturduğu "yönetimselliğin analitiği" metodu, belli bir konuda iktidarı elinde tutan politika yapım rejimlerinin, ele aldıkları konuları belirli kalıplar içerisinde yansıttıklarını iddia etmektedir. Bu teorik ön kabulden hareketle çalışmada analiz edilen raporlarda Afrika'nın, Afrika Boynuzu'nun, Etiyopya'nın ve özelde göçmenlerin "konu edilme biçimleri" (*problematizations*) tartışılmaktadır. Böylelikle çalışma, bölgenin, Etiyopya devletinin ve göçmenlerin göç rejiminin farklı aktörleri olarak raporlarda ele alınma biçimlerini sorgulamaktadır. Etiko-politik iktidarın bu farklı aktörleri tanımlarken ürettiği

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diskurun problemli yönleri de böylelikle çalışmada kendine yer bulmaktadır. Etiko-politik iktidarın Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikalarına yönelik etnik-merkezci ve ayrımcı özelliklerinin açığa çıkarılması, yönetimsellik çalışmaları literatürüne de oldukça önemli bir katkı sunmaktadır. Belirli bir iktidar tarzının göçmen nüfusu ile ev sahibi ülkeyi etkileyen farklı yönlerinin derinlemesine incelenmesi de oldukça önemlidir.

Çalışma ayrıca güvenlik toplumu ve kontrol toplumuna dair tartışmalara Batı-dışı coğrafyalardan bir örnek alan çalışmasıyla katkı sunmayı amaçlamıştır. Bu konuda çalışma bazı kısıtlılıkları haizdir: Öncelikle, çalışmada konu edilen bütün raporlar Batı paradigmasının ürünü olan, Batılı organizasyonlar tarafından yayınlanmış dokümanlardır. Yerel bir kısım kısıtlılıklar nedeniyle çalışma, Etiyopya devletinin göç ve sığınma politikalarına yönelik direk çıkarımlarda bulunmamaktadır. Bu nedenle Etiyopya'nın göç ve sığınma rejimine yönelik küresel politika önerilerinin Etiyopya'daki yansımaları, göçmenlerin yanı sıra yerel ve uluslararası organizasyonların ülke ofisleri ile gerçekleştirilen mülakatlar çerçevesinde analiz edilmiştir. Bu nedenle literatüre Etiyopya yönüyle yapılan katkı, Etiyopya hükümetinin kendi söylemleri ve verileri çerçevesinde oluşan somut bir katkıdan ziyade, Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikalarının göçmenler ve organizasyonlar tarafından tanımlandığı şekliyle oluşan ikincil bir katkıdır. Bu kısıtlılığa rağmen, Etiyopya göç rejimine yönelik idealist küresel politika önerileri ve bu önerilerin Etiyopya özelindeki yansımaları arasındaki kopukluk /farklılıkların analizi, literatüre katkı açısından oldukça anlamlıdır. Bu açıdan, araştırma, farklı yönetimsellik tezlerinin Batı-dışı coğrafyalarda uygulanmasına yönelik gelecekte gerçekleştirilebilecek çalışmalara bir giriş mahiyetindedir.

Temel Bulgular

Etiko-politik yönetimselliğin farklı boyutlarını irdelemek amacıyla bu çalışmada, Mitchel Dean'in yönetimselliğin metodu isimli araştırma tekniği takip edilmiştir. Yönetimselliğin analitiğinin merkezinde yer alan şu aşamalar, çalışmanın takip ettiği temel aşamalardır:

- İşleyiş / konu edilme biçimlerinin belirlenmesi

- "Nasıl" sorusuna öncelik verilmesi

- Yönetimin farklı öğelerden oluşan bir yapı /rejim olarak incelenmesi

  o Yönetimin görünüm biçimlerinin analizi

  o Yönetimin teknik yönünün incelenmesi

  o Yönetime rasyonel ve düşünen bir yapı /aktivite olarak yaklaşmak

  o Yönetimin kimlik tanımlayıcı yönüne vurgu yapmak

- Yönetimin ütopyan yönünü açığa çıkarmak

- Değerlerin rolünü dikkate almak

- Küresel / radikal pozisyonlar almaktan kaçınmak

Çalışmada, yönetimselliğin analitiği metodu iki yönlü ele alınmaktadır. Öncelikle küresel politika önerilerinde Etiyopya'ya yönelik politika önerileri incelenirken, diğer yandan bu önerilerin Etiyopya'daki yansımaları yine aynı teknik yardımıyla aşama aşama incelenmiştir. Bu tezde, öncelikle göçmen, mülteci, sığınmacı gibi farklı göçmen gruplarını tanımlayıcı kategorilerin küresel dokümanlardaki işleniş /konu edilme biçimleri ele alınmaktadır. Odaklanılan coğrafya olarak Etiyopya ve Afrika'nın dokümanlardaki işleniş / konu edilme biçimleri de ayrıca incelenmektedir. Çalışma, Afrika'daki göç dinamiklerinin uluslararası dokümanlarda genel olarak güvenlikleştirme bağlamında ele alındığını açığa çıkarmaktadır. Çalışmada ele alınan

uluslararası dokümanlar ve yıllık raporların içerik analizi, göçmenlerin küresel düzeydeki yasal ve sosyal tanımlanış biçimlerinin sadece yasal çerçevede şekillenmediğini göstermektedir. Göçmenlere yönelik, ele alınan dokümanlardaki tanımlar zaman zaman ideolojik ve değişen kontekste bağlı şekilde de tanımlanmaktadır. Göçmen, mülteci, sığınmacı gibi kavramların tarihi gelişiminin incelenmesi ve küresel dokümanlardaki kullanış biçimlerinin içerik analizi, bu kategorilerin politik tercihler çerçevesinde zaman zaman birbirinin yerine kullanıldığını göstermektedir.

Çalışmada ayrıca uluslararası raporlarda Afrika göç dinamiklerinin işleniş biçimleri de irdelenmektedir. Özellikle Afrika, Afrika Boynuzu ve Etiyopya çevresinde gelişen göç hareketlerinin uluslararası raporlardaki tanımlanma şekilleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Genel olarak Afrika ve bu bölgedeki göç dinamiklerine yönelik raporlarda negatif bir işleyiş dikkati çekmektedir. Afrika'daki göç hareketleri genellikle "yasa-dışılık ve suç" diskuru çerçevesinde ele alınmakta; çoğu örnekte göçmenler ya kurban veya fail olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bazı örneklerde, AIDS, fahişelik, insan kaçakçılığı "Afrika'daki göçün karakteristik özellikleri" olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu diskur, sosyal bir mesele olan göçü, kendi sosyal ve yapısal dinamiklerinden ayırarak, güvenlikleştirmektedir. Etiyopya'nın en büyük ev sahibi ülke olarak bulunduğu Afrika Boynuzu da aynı yaklaşımdan nasibini almaktadır. Bu bölgedeki ve Etiyopya'daki göç hareketleri, uluslararası raporlarda problemli bir coğrafyanın problemli parçaları şeklinde sunulmaktadır.

Afrika ülkeleri mülteci ve sığınmacıların yanı sıra aynı zamanda milyonlarca göçmene de ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Öte yandan, incelenen raporlardaki genel diskur, Afrika'daki göç hareketlerini genel olarak "mültecilik ve zorunlu göç diskuru" çerçevesinde ele almaktadır. Afrika'daki genel göç hareketlerinin sığınma ve mültecilik kriterlerini karşılayıp karşılamadığı tartışılabilir. Fakat milyonlarca göçmene yasal statüleri ve bundan kaynaklı hakları verilmemektedir. Mülteci ve

sığınmacı statüsü taşıyan nüfus, göçmen nüfusunun çok küçük bir kısmıdır. Öte yandan, pek çok göçmenin yasal statüsü muğlak bırakılırken, raporlarda bu göçmenlerin genellenerek "mülteci" şeklinde sunulması politik bir tercihe işaret etmektedir: Politik ve yasal olarak göç, ülkelerin egemenliği ile ilgili özel bir mesele olarak ele alınırken, zorunlu göç ve mültecilik uluslararası müdahaleleri de içeren daha kapsamlı yasal zorunluluklar ve kontrol doğuran bir meseledir. Bu çalışma, sözü geçen diskurun bilinçli bir tercih olduğu iddiasındadır.

Modern neo-liberal yönetimsellik, göçmenleri anti-vatandaşlar olarak ele almaktadır. Inda (2006) tarafından dikkat çekildiği şekliyle anti-vatandaşlar olarak göçmenler, kendi toplumsal sorumluluklarını karşılayamadıklarından dolayı, kendilerine vatandaşlar kadar geniş haklar tanınmasını hak etmemektedirler. Bu nedenle göçmenler üzerindeki gözetim ve kontrol normalleşmektedir. İçerik analizi, uluslararası raporlarda göçmenlere insan hakları, insancıl haklar diskuru ile değil, daha çok "güvenlik" diskuru ile yaklaşıldığını ortaya koymaktadır. Göçmenler genel olarak tanımlanacak olursa uluslararası raporlarda ya kendilerine gerekli hayatta kalma becerilerini sunamayan demokrasi yoksunu ülkelerinin kurbanı, veya terörist, fahişe gibi suçla ilgili durumların faili ya da en hafifi ile vasıfsız kişiler olarak ele alınmaktadır. Bu çerçevede tanımlanan kişilerin de sosyal yardım almayı hak ettiği "düşünülemez."

Bu tez, göçmenlerin uluslararası raporlarda "etik olmayan" tanımlar ile negatif konu edilme biçimlerinin (yasa-dışı kişiler, insan kaçakçıları, fahişeler, suçlular) ve Afrika'daki göç hareketlerinin problemli sunumunun (suç ve terör ile ilişkilendirilerek), Etiyopya devletinin göçmenlere yönelik keyfi tutumu üzerinde çeşitli yansımaları olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Göçmenlerin uluslararası raporlarda suçla ilişkilendirilmesi, göçmenlere yönelik uluslararası tutumu da şekillendirmektedir. Bu yaklaşımın Etiyopya'daki yansımaları göçmenler üzerindeki baskıcı gözetimde gözlenmektedir. Göçmen mülakatlarının onayladığı şekilde, keyfi

gözaltına almalar, casus olarak suçlanma, mahkemelerde adaletsiz yargılanma, işkence, gerek Etiyopya toplumu gerekse polis tarafından sürekli gözetim, göçün güvenlikleşmesinin ve göç konusunda küresel raporlarda tartışılan "müdahalesizlik" gibi prensiplerin Etiyopya üzerindeki yansımalarının bir kısmıdır.

Çalışma, göçmenlerin uluslararası statülerinin uluslararası raporlarda birbirinin yerine geçebilen şekilde, muğlak ve keyfilik çerçevesinde kullanıldığına dikkati çekmektedir. Bu bağlamda, ev sahibi ülkeler ve uluslararası organizasyonlar göçmen haklarını sağlamaya yönelik sorumluluklarını bu muğlak tanımlara sığınarak büyük ölçüde göz ardı edebilmektedir. Özellikle raporlarda yer alan müdahale etmeme ve egemenlik retoriği göçmenlerin haklarının kısıtlanmasında önemli bir konudur. Göçmenlerin hakları tehdit edilse dahi, egemenlik retoriğine bağlı olarak ev sahibi ülkelere yapılan uluslararası yardımlar devam etmekte ve bu ülkeler stratejik konumlarının getirdiği uluslararası katkılardan faydalanmayı sürdürmektedir.

Bu tezde, Etiyopya'daki göç ve sığınmanın yönetimselliği aynı zamanda görünür, teknik, rasyonel ve kimlik tanımlayıcı yönleri bulunan bir rejim olarak da ele alınmıştır. Mülteci kampları Etiyopya'da göç ve sığınma rejiminin en görünür yönünü oluşturmaktadır. Kamplar dışında yaşayan göçmen gruplara ülkede tanımlanmış hiçbir yasal statü bulunmamaktadır. Bu göçmenlerin sayıları oldukça muğlaktır. Bu açıdan, kayıt dışı göçmenlerin ülkede göçmen politikalarının kör noktası olduğu söylenebilir (Human Rights Watch, 2002). İçerik analizine tabi tutulan raporlar dahil, Etiyopya'daki göçmenlerin sayıları ya eksik verilmekte ya da tamamen yok sayılmaktadır. Göçmen mülakatlarının içerik analizi göçmenlerin kendilerini "mülteci" olarak tanımladığını gösterse de, bu tanımlamanın ülkede yasal bir karşılığı yoktur. Göçmenlerin ülkedeki istatistiki "görünmezliği" uluslararası raporlara da benzer şekilde yansımaktadır. Raporlardaki politika önerilerinde göçmenlerin statüleri muğlaktır ve Etiyopya devletinin göçmenlere yönelik keyfi tutumunda da bu muğlak tanımlamanın yansımaları olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmaz.

Analiz edilen dokümanlarda istatistikler genel olarak göçün yönetimselliğinin hesaplanabilir tabiri diğer ile "kontrol edilebilir" yönünü kapsamaktadır. Öte yandan yönetimselliğin farklı bir boyutunu oluşturan uluslararası organizasyonlar ve bu organizasyonların faaliyetlerinin sunumunda ve özellikle kapasite inşası konularında istatistikler öne çıkmaktadır. İstatistikler benzer şekilde raporlarda yardım alacak hedef kitlenin çapını hesaplamak için de kullanılmaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, istatistikler, uluslararası göç rejiminin ütopik ve idealist yönlerinin altını çizerken, görünmesi istenmeyen, yetersiz yönlerini saklamaktadır.

Etiyopya kontekstinde, dışlayıcı teknolojiler ve ayrımcı pratikler sınır yönetimi, göçmenlerin seçilmesi ve politika yapım programlarındaki ideolojik ayrımcılık şeklinde vücut bulmaktadır. Çalışmanın içerik analizinin vurguladığı şekilde Chicago'da Etiyopya'dan daha fazla Etiyopyalı doktor görev yapmaktadır (IOM, 2005). Farklı ülkeler arası sınır kontrolü, bio-kontrol ve puan sistemleri, bölgesel konferanslar ve bölgesel koruma programları, bölge altı ekonomik komitelerin kurulması, uluslararası göçün yönetimselliğinin farklı boyutlarını oluşturmaktadır. Sınır gözetiminin yanı sıra göçmenler, sığınma talebinde bulundukları üçüncü ülkelerde yeterlilik prensibi çerçevesinde elemeye tabi tutulmaktadır. Uluslararası organizasyonların Etiyopya ofisleri ve Addis Ababa'da yaşayan göçmenlerle gerçekleştirilen mülakatlar da göçmenlerin üçüncü ülkelere başvuru ve kabul süreçlerinin bu ülkeler tarafından oldukça keyfi uygulamalar çerçevesinde gerçekleştiğinin altını çizmektedir. Tartışmaların açığa çıkardığı şekilde, uluslararası sistem, göçmenleri tamamen reddetmemekten ziyade, üçüncü ülkelere muhtemel katkısı en yüksek olabilecek göçmenleri seçmektedir. Bu durum göçmenlerin uluslararası haklarına eşit erişimini hiçe saymaktadır. Ayrımcı göç ve mülteci politikaların bir sonucu olarak Afrika ülkelerinin pek çoğu, yetişmiş iş gücünü kaybetmektedir.

Bu çalışma aynı zamanda, uluslararası göç ve mülteci politikalarının Afrika'nın pek çok bölgesinde adeta büyük bir iş yaratma sektörü gibi işlediğinin altını çizmektedir. Bunun en önemli nedeni etiko-politik yönetimselliğin bir uzantısı olan profesyonellik arayışıdır. Halihazırda, Afrika'da yaşayan 100,000 kadar Batılı uzmanın Afrikalı uzmanlara kapalı olan çalışma alanlarını ele aldığı ve bu uzmanlara harcanan bütçenin Afrika'ya gönderilen yıllık kalkınma yardımlarının yüzde 35'ini kapsadığı görülmektedir (IOM, 2000, s.146). Afrika'da bulunan uluslararası organizasyonların öncelik verdiği bilgi ve profesyonellik "Batı tipi" profesyonelliktir. Bu durum kalkınma, insani yardım gibi farklı konularda Afrika'ya yönelik politikaların paradoksal yapısını vurgulamaktadır.

Politika yapım önerilerindeki ideolojik ayrımcılık rapor ve mülakatların içerik analizi bulguları ile desteklenmektedir. Dokümanlarda öne çıkan örnekler, uluslararası organizasyonların Etiyopya'ya yönelik politika önerilerini, devletin ideolojik tercihlerine paralel şekilde oluşturduğunu göstermektedir. Etiyopya örneğinde, Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteciler Yüksek Komiserliği (BMMYK) raporu, kurumun 1991 öncesi mültecileri için Etiyopya'da geniş çaplı bir geri-dönüş programı uyguladığını göstermektedir. Dikkati çeken nokta 1991 öncesi mültecilerinin Marksist Dergue Rejimi döneminde mülteci durumuna gelmiş kişileri kapsamasıdır. Çalışma, benzer ideolojik ayrımların, uluslararası organizasyonların mültecilere sağladığı yardımlarda da zaman zaman gerçekleştiğinin altını örneklerle çizmektedir.

Jesuit Mülteci Servisi ile gerçekleştirilen mülakat, kurum tarafından mültecilere sağlanan yardımın donör ülke tercihleri çerçevesinde dini motivasyonla gerçekleştiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Kurum tarafından mültecilere sağlanan dini danışma-rehabilitasyon hizmeti de benzer şekilde sadece Hristiyanlık inancı çerçevesinde sunulmaktadır. Örneğin, Somalili mültecilere yönelik Cuma öğle vakitleri gerçekleştirilen İncil vaazı, mültecilere yönelik sağlanan yardımda dini motiflerin ciddi şekilde öne çıktığına işaret etmektedir. Bu ayrıştırıcı yaklaşım yönetimsellik

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teknolojilerinin neo-liberal yönünü de göstermektedir. Ayrıştırıcı pratikler üzerinden işleyen bu yön, Etiyopya özelinde devletin göçmenlere yaklaşımında ayrımcılığın yanı sıra aynı zamanda vatandaşlar ve göçmenler arasındaki ayrımcılık da göze çarpmaktadır. Etiyopya devleti göçmen ve mülteci haklarına dair uluslararası anlaşmalara taraf olmasına rağmen, yerel hukuk ve yargı göçmenlerin hayatları üzerinde ciddi kısıtlamalar yapmakta, göçmen ve vatandaşlar arasında hiyerarşik ilişkiler oluşmasına neden olmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, aynı zamanda göç ve sığınmanın yönetimselliğini düşünen bir yapı /aktivite olarak ele almaktadır. Bu yapı, bilgi paylaşımı, devlet, uluslararası organizasyonlar ve diğer aktörler arasında işbirliği ve görev-sorumluluk paylaşımı üzerinden işlerliğini sürdürmektedir. Yönetimselliğin programlı yapısı belirli bir işleyiş biçimi çerçevesinde Etiyopya göç rejiminin farklı aktörlerinin aktivitelerini düzenler, yeniler, organize eder ve geliştirir. Farklı aktörler Etiyopya'da göç profilleri oluşturma, göç hareketlerine yönelik işbirliği, göç misyonları kurma şeklinde bir işbirliği platformu çerçevesinde hareket etmektedir (EU Commision, 2009, pp.7-8). Bütüncül olarak ele alındığında bu paradigma, yönetimselliğin post-sosyal / ileri liberal yapısının bir yansımasıdır. İleri liberal yapı, yönetimselliğin, girişimcilik, topluluklara ve bireylere seçkinci ve yetenek bazlı yaklaşım, göçün temel bir mantığa dayalı ve çoklu işbirlikleri çerçevesinde gerçekleşen idaresinde kendini göstermektedir.

Uluslararası raporlar, devlet, uluslararası organizasyonlar ve göçmenler için farklı sorumluluklar tanımlamaktadır. Etiyopya'da bu yaklaşımın yansıması, Etiyopya Mülteci ve Geri Dönüş İdaresi, Uluslararası Göç Örgütü (IOM) ve BMMYK gibi kurumların rol paylaşımında görülmektedir. Görev ve sorumluluk paylaşımına dayalı bu yapı aynı zamanda ütopik /idealist bir yön de taşımaktadır. Göç rejiminin temel aktörleri olan organizasyonların eylemleri bu idealist diskurun bir parçası olarak, parlak bir biçimde sunulmaktadır. Böylelikle, uluslararası raporlarda Etiyopya göç ve

mülteci rejiminin işleyişi, farklı aktörlerin eylemleri, "kurgusal bir başarı" resmi ile sunulmakta, bu tablo yönetimselliğin sadece "görünen," "görünmesi istenen" pozitif yönlerini yansıtmaktadır. Özellikle göçmen kadına yönelik, incelenen raporlarda idealist bir "güçlendirme" (*empowerment*) paradigması sunulmaktadır. Bu sunum da benzer şekilde yönetimselliğin ileri liberal yönünün göçmen kadınlara yüklediği sorumluluğa bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Bireyin güçlendirilmesini, göçün bir aktörü olarak sorumluluk almasını öneren yönetimsellik, aynı zamanda göçmen hayatları üzerinde bir kısım "öngörülemeyen" sonuçlar da doğurabilmektedir. Sivil toplum ve uluslararası yardımların yerini alan radikal aktörler bu negatif sonuçların sadece bir yönüdür.

Bu çalışmanın temel argümanını destekler şekilde göç ve sığınma rejiminin yönetimselliği yeni kimlik tanımları oluşturmaktadır. Uluslararası aktörlerin sorumluluklarını azaltmaya yönelik olarak, etiko-politik iktidar, ev sahibi ülkelere ve göçmenlerin kendilerine belirli roller biçmektedir. Sorumluluk paylaşımına yönelik bu diskur, kapasite inşası (*capacity-building*), kendi kendini yönetim (*self-governance*), kendine güven (*self-esteem*), kişilerin kendini idamesi (*self-reliance*) gibi kavramlar üzerinden vurgulanmaktadır.

Bu kimlik inşasında, Etiyopya devleti için biçilen rol Küresel Kuzey'in "güvenli üçüncü ülkesi" rolüdür. Bu kimlik, Batılı ülkelerin Etiyopya'ya yoğun insani yardımları, ülkenin göçmenlere yönelik açık-kapı politikası benimsemeye yönlendirilmesi, bu konuda desteklenmesi ve bölgesel işbirliklerine katılımının desteklenmesi gibi unsurlarla inşa edilmekte ve kurumsallaştırılmaktadır. Etiyopya'ya verilen bu rol, aynı zamanda ülkenin, kabul ettiği göçmenler üzerindeki yetkilerini oldukça genişletmektedir. Etiyopya'nın "güvenli üçüncü ülke" imajı, göçmenlerin maruz kaldığı sürekli gözetim, insan haklarının ellerinden alınması ve göçmenlere yönelik süregelen polis tacizi gibi sorunlarla gölgelenmektedir. Öte yandan, ülkeye

biçilen stratejik rol gereği, ülke, göçmenler üzerindeki baskısını sürdürmesine rağmen, aynı zamanda uluslararası insani yardımlardan faydalanmaya da devam etmektedir.

İçerik analizinde öne çıkan bir diğer unsur da raporlarda, göçmenlere farklı roller yüklenmesidir. Raporlarda öne sürülen politika önerileri, etiko-politik yönetimselliğin ayrımcı, dışlayıcı, kategorize eden ve zaman zaman etnik merkezci bir hal alan yönlerini açığa çıkarmaktadır. Göçmenlerin "ideal göçmenler" olabilmesi için kendi kendilerini yönetebilmesi ve idamesi şarttır. Bir başka göze çarpan konu da göçmenlerin yaşadıkları sorunların sosyal sorunlardan ziyade, göçmenlerin kendilerini iyileştirme, "ideal göçmen olma" çabaları çerçevesinde aşılabilecek "moral-etik" sorunlarmışçasına ele alınmasıdır. Bu kapsamda, göçmenler kendi grupları içerisinde birbirlerini desteklemeye teşvik edilmekte, aksi davranışlar eleştirilmektedir. Bu açıdan raporlarda sunulan paradigma göçmenlere yönelik etnik merkezci bir pozisyon almaktadır. Özellikle Afrika'daki göçmen toplulukları, raporlarda birbirlerine yardım etmeleri ve bu konuda sorumluluk almaları beklenen geleneksel topluluklar olarak yansıtılmaktadır. "Yardım bağımlılığı" (*dependency sendrome*) adeta bir hastalık gibi sunulmaktadır. Bu konuda, uluslararası organizasyonların politika önerilerinde kadına da aileye hizmet noktasında önemli bir sorumluluk yüklediği gözlenmektedir. Bu sorumluluğu almaya talip olan göçmenler idealize edilmekte, toplumsal sorumluluk almak aktif katılımcı birey olmanın "ideal göçmen" olmanın bir gereği şeklinde sunulmaktadır. Burada ayrıca şu soruları sormak da mümkündür: Göçmenlerin geleneksel toplumsal kurumları halen yaşatması, uluslararası toplumun göçmenlere karşı sorumluluğunu azaltır mı? Öte yandan, göçmenlerin grup içi dayanışmasının farklı göçmen grupları üzerinde öngörülemeyen etkileri nelerdir?

Bu noktada, göçmenlerin geleneksel toplumsal dayanışma mekanizmalarının varlığının göçmenlere destek konusunda uluslararası sorumlulukları azaltmadığının altını çizmek önemlidir. Aynı zamanda, göçmenlerin grup içi dayanışma mekanizmalarına yönlendirilmesinde ele alınan toplulukların değer sistemi, inanç

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sistemi ve toplumsal kontrol mekanizmaları gibi özelliklerinin de derinlemesine tanınması gerekmektedir. Örneğin, kadın göçmenlere yardımın kesilip, bu göçmenlerin göçmen grupları içerisinde desteklenmesi beklentisi, kadınlar üzerinde toplumsal gözetimi veya mahalle baskısını artıran bir unsur olabilmektedir. Benzer şekilde ana akım inançlardan, kabullerden farklı yaşantıları benimsemiş göçmenlerin de göçmen gruplar içerisinde desteklenmesi mümkün değildir. Somalili göçmenlerin verdikleri örnekler, Hristiyan Somalililerin, veya aile içi fiziksel veya cinsel şiddete maruz kalmış kişilerin grup içi şiddete sürekli şekilde maruz kalabildiğini göstermektedir. Göçmenlerin kendi toplumsal gruplarının vicdanına terk edilmesi özellikle sözü geçen şekilde mağduriyetler yaşayan, şiddete maruz kalan kişilerin üzerindeki toplum baskını daha da artırıcı bir unsur olabilir.

Sözü geçen konuların yanı sıra, sorumluluk artırma söyleminin, ele alınan coğrafyaların gerçekleri çerçevesinde şekillenmesi oldukça önemlidir. Örneğin Somali gibi iç savaşın devam ettiği bir coğrafyadan gelen göçmenler için dini radikal gruplar adeta yok olan sivil toplum mekanizmalarının yerini almaktadır. Somalili göçmenler pek çok kişinin El-Şebab gibi radikal terör örgütlerine örgüt ideolojisini destekledikleri için değil, devlet sisteminin çöktüğü, geçim kaynaklarının oldukça sınırlandığı bir ortamda hayatta kalabilmek için katıldıklarını belirtmektedir. Bu durum, uluslararası insani yardımın önemini ve farklı coğrafyalardaki etkisini göstermektedir. İnsani yardımın çekildiği alanları bir sivil toplum kurumu işlevi yüklenen radikal örgütler alabilmektedir. Şüphesiz bu iddia, sadece yardıma ihtiyacı olan göçmenlerin radikalizm tehdidi altında olduklarını göstermemektedir. Bu iddiada amaçlanan, uluslararası politika yapım önerilerinin, bölgesel gerçekleri göz önünde bulundurularak revize edilebilmesine kapı açmaktır.

Sorumluluğu bir politika yapım önerisi olarak ele alan bu etiko-politik yaklaşım aynı zamanda yönetimselliğin ütopik yönünü ve bazı değerlere vurgu yapan yönünü de açığa çıkarmaktadır. Yönetimselliğin ütopik idealizminin bir yansıması olarak,

girişimci, kendi kendini idame ettirebilen birey, raporlarda idealize edilmektedir. Raporlarda ele alınan etik yaklaşıma göre, göçmenler ne kadar rasyonel ve sorumluluk sahibi olursa, topluma yönelik sorumluluklarını o derece yerine getirmiş olurlar. Girişimci ve aktif katılımcı bireye yönelik bu yaklaşım ve belirli sonuçlara ulaşmak için dizayn edilen ideal yaşam formülleri kaynağını neo-liberal idealizmden almaktadır. Göçmenlerin ve göçmen topluluklarının kendi kendilerini geliştirmeleri ve kontrolleri yoluyla, neo-liberal sistem de bu gruplar üzerinde sürekli bir kontrol sağlamış olur. Çalışmanın içerik analizinin ortaya koyduğu şekilde Somalili göçmenler, ideal, katılımcı bireyler olmaya teşvik edilmekte, grup içi yardımlaşmaları artırılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Son olarak, uluslararası raporlarda Etiyopya'ya yönelik öne sürülen politika önerileri, Etiyopya'da neo-liberal bir göç ve sığınma rejiminin inşasını hedeflemektedir. Öte yandan, Etiyopya'da uygulanmakta olan göç ve sığınma rejiminin Batı'dan farklılaşan yönleri olduğu açıktır. Farklı toplum modellerine yönelik, teori bölümünde detaylandırılan ideal tiplere referansla tanımlanacak olursa, Etiyopya güvenlik toplumu ile kontrol toplumu arasında bir konumda yer almaktadır. Göçmenlere yönelik uygulanan keyfi gözaltılar, gözetim ve kontrol daha çok bir güvenlik toplumunun özelliklerini yansıtmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, uluslararası raporlardaki politika önerileri, Etiyopya göç ve mülteci rejimine yönelik neo-liberal bir kontrol toplumu öngörmektedir. Kontrol ve gözetimin karmaşık yapısı, farklı organizasyonlar arasında sorumluluk paylaşımı, vasıflı göçmenlere insani yatırım şeklinde yaklaşılması bu rejimin farklı özelliklerini yansıtmaktadır. Öte yandan, bu tez uluslararası göç ve mülteci rejiminin Etiyopya'da gerekli kurumsallığı inşa etmeden ve sistemin sorumluluklarını almayarak, neo-liberal bir işleyiş sistemi kurma iddiasında olduğunu savunmaktadır. Bu sistemin Etiyopya göç ve sığınma rejimi üzerindeki yansımaları ve "yan etkilerinin" ise, hem uluslararası sistemin Etiyopya'ya yönelik politika yapım önerileri, hem de Etiyopya'nın kendi yapısal dinamikleri çerçevesinde şekillendiği söylenebilir.

Tezin Katkısı

Bu çalışma, Etiyopya'da hem uluslararası politika önerileri hem de Etiyopya'nın kendi yapısal dinamikleri çerçevesinde oluşan göç ve sığınmanın yönetimselliğini irdeleyerek, yönetimsellik çalışmalarına katkı yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma öncelikle, Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikalarına yönelik uluslararası politika önerilerinde etiko-politik iktidarın kurgulanış aşamalarını incelemektedir. Bu noktada çalışma, etiko-politik iktidarın literatürde tanımlanmış özelliklerinden hareket etmektedir: popülarize eden, toplumsallaştıran, sorumluluk yükleyen, dışlayıcı ve ayrımcı özellikleri v.b. (2. Bölüm'de detaylandırılmıştır). Mitchel Dean tarafından detaylandırılan yönetimselliğin analitiği metodunu izleyerek, çalışma, Etiyopya'ya yönelik küresel politika önerilerinde etiko-politik iktidarın inşası ve işleyişine dair kapsamlı bir analiz sunmaktadır.

İkincil olarak, bu çalışma, Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikalarında etiko-politik paradigmanın inşasına yönelik alan çalışması ve içerik analizine dayalı ilk bilimsel araştırmadır. Çalışma aynı zamanda Etiyopya'ya yönelik küresel politika önerilerinde inşa edilen etiko-politik iktidarın Etiyopya ve ülkede yaşayan göçmenlerin hayatları üzerindeki yansımalarına da yer vermektedir. Bu açıdan genel olarak literatürde Afrika ve Etiyopya'ya yönelik hakim olan genelleyici yaklaşım eleştirilmektedir. Bu açıdan çalışma, literatürdeki önemli bir eksikliğe dikkat çekmekte, Etiyopya özeline yönelik kapsamlı bir araştırma sunarken, aynı zamanda Afrika ve Etiyopya'ya yönelik genellemelerin ötesine geçmektedir.

Tez Planı

Çalışmanın ilk bölümü **giriş** bölümünden oluşmaktadır.

2. Bölüm çalışmanın metodolojik çerçevesini tanımlamaktadır. Çalışmada yararlanılan metodoloji yorumlayıcı yaklaşım (interpretive sociology) ve soykütüksel

yaklaşımların (genealogy) özelliklerini taşımaktadır. Çalışmada yararlanılan metodolojik yaklaşımlar, yönetimsellik çalışmalarına yönelik kurgulanmış, "yönetimselliğin analitiği" yöntemiyle birleştirilerek ele alınmıştır. Bu bölümün ilk kısmında, çalışmanın metodolojisi, etiko-politik iktidarın özellikleri ve göç ve sığınma çalışmalarında yönetimselliğin analitiği metodunun işlenişi gibi konular detaylandırılmaktadır. Mitchell Dean'in yönetimselliğin analitiği metodunun farklı aşamaları tanımlanarak, çalışmanın teorik kavramları ile birleştirilmiştir. Etiko-politik iktidarın özellikleri, temel araştırma soruları ve yönetimselliğin analitiği metodunun farklı aşamaları göz önüne alınarak alt-araştırma soruları oluşturulmuştur. Bu soruların oluşturulmasındaki amaç, mülakat soruları ve içerik analizini, çalışmanın temel araştırma sorularına paralel şekilde geliştirmektedir. 2. Bölüm aynı zamanda örnek olay incelemesini doğrulamakta ve araştırmanın zaman sınırlaması, veri toplama yöntemi ve içerik analizini içeren araştırma tasarısını sunmaktadır.

3. Bölüm çalışmanın teorik çerçevesini sunmaktadır. Bu bölüm, yönetimsellik çalışmalarındaki temel kavram ve konulara dair kapsamlı bir literatür taraması sunmaktadır. Bu bölümde Michel Foucault, Mitchell Dean, Gilles Deleuze, Nicolas Rose, and Michael Hardt ve Antonio Negri'nin yönetimsellik, etiko-politik iktidar, güvenlik ve kontrol toplumları üzerine tartışmalarından faydalanılmıştır. 3. Bölüm, yönetimsellik tarihinin soykütüksel gelişimine değinmekte ve değişen üretim şekilleri ile değişen toplumsal iktidar tipleri ilişkisine vurgu yapmaktadır. Neo-liberal devlet ve etiko-politik iktidar ilişkisine gelene kadar yer alan farklı toplumsal iktidar modelleri ve baskın iktidar ekonomileri ilişkisi detaylandırılmaktadır. 3. Bölüm, etiko-politik iktidarın göç ve sığınma rejimi ile ilişkisine değinerek sonlanmaktadır.

4. Bölüm "Küreselleşme, Ulus-devlet ve Anti-vatandaşlık Teknolojileri" başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu bölüm, çalışmanın makro düzeyini kapsayan küreselleşme ve kapitalizmin yeniden yapılanması gibi süreçlerin, dünyada ve Afrika'da göç ve sığınma hareketleri üzerindeki etkilerine dair bir altyapı sunmaktadır. Bu bölüm iki

kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde, neo-liberal sistemin yeniden yapılanması, dekolonizasyon, ulus-devletlerin dönüşümü gibi makro dinamiklerin dünya genelindeki göç hareketleri üzerindeki etkileri tartışılmaktadır. Ulus-devletlerin dönüşümü, küresel ekonominin lokal etkilerini ve dolayısıyla yüzbinlerin göçünü etkilemektedir. Bu bölüm aynı zamanda, küresel kapital hareketlerinin ve küresel ekonomiye entegrasyon çabalarının Afrika ülkeleri üzerindeki etkilerini de detaylandırmaktadır. Neo-liberalizmin küresel yapılanması, Afrika ülkelerinin pek çoğunda devlet-toplum ilişkilerini, sanayileşme ve demokratikleşme süreçlerini etkilemiştir. Bu bağlamda Afrika ülkelerindeki göçmen hareketleri küresel ekonomik dönüşümlerden büyük ölçüde etkilenmiştir.

Bu bölümün ikinci kısmında ileri liberalizm (advanced liberalism) ile göç ve sığınmanın güvenlikleştirilmesi ilişkisi, Xavier Inda'nın "anti-vatandaşlık teknolojileri" kavramına referansla tartışılmaktadır. Bu bölüm aynı zamanda, takip eden bölümlerdeki etiko-politik iktidar ve göç ilişkisine dair tartışmalara arka plan oluşturma amacıyla, neo-liberal politika yapım süreçlerinde "sosyal sorumluluk" fikrinin ortaya çıkışını irdelemektedir. Sosyal sorumluluk fikrinin ortaya çıkışı ve göçmenler üzerinde toplumsal gözetimin artması, liberal refah devletlerinin dönüşümü ile yakından alakalıdır.

5. Bölüm "Etiko-politik Yönetimsellik ve Küresel Göç ve Sığınma" başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu bölüm, tez çalışmasının örnek alan konusunu oluşturan Etiyopya'da göç ve sığınmanın yönetimselliği tartışmasına bir arka plan oluşturmaktadır. 5. Bölüm aynı zamanda araştırmanın makro düzeye dair bulgularını tartışmaktadır. Bu bölüm, dünyada küresel göç ve sığınma politikalarının gelişimine dair bir özet sunarak başlamaktadır. Tarihi arka plana ek olarak, bu bölümde göçmen, mülteci, sığınmacı gibi kavramların süreç içerisinde ortaya çıkışı ve gelişimi tartışılmaktadır. Bu tartışma aynı zamanda göçmenlere dair farklı hukuki kategorileri insan hakları – insancıl hukuk bağlamında ele almaktadır. Bu tartışmada, göçmenlere dair farklı statü tanımlarının

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yalnızca hukuki değil aynı zamanda ideolojik ve kontekste dayalı olduğu iddiası savunulmaktadır.

Bu bölüm aynı zamanda, etiko-politik yönetimselliğin dışlayıcı, kategorize eden ve etnik-merkezci yönlerini ele almaktadır. Göç, sığınma ve göç rejiminin farklı aktörlerinin incelenen raporlarda birbirinden çok farklı şekillerde konu edilişi, etiko-politik iktidarın "ayrımcı" yönünün altını çizmektedir. Bu bölüm aynı zamanda, göçün güvenlikleştirilmesini bir yönetimsellik teknolojisi olarak ele almaktadır. 5. Bölümde liberal sosyal sorumluluk fikrinin bir parçası olarak birey ve toplumsallığa yapılan vurgu, yönetimselliğin analitiği metodu çerçevesinde tartışılmaktadır.

6. Bölüm "Etiko-politik Yönetimsellik ve Etiyopya'da Göç ve Sığınma" başlığını taşımaktadır. Bu bölümde, etiko-politik iktidarın Etiyopya'ya yönelik küresel politika önerilerinde inşa ediliş şekilleri konu edilmiştir. 6. Bölümde aynı zamanda etiko-politik iktidarın Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikalarındaki yansımaları tartışılmaktadır. Bu bölüm, içerik analizi sonucunda elde edilen bulguları konu etmektedir.

Bu bölüm iki ana kısımdan oluşmaktadır. İlk kısım, Etiyopya'nın Afrika Boynuzu'ndaki önemli konumunu; Etiyopya'nın sosyo-ekonomik tarihi, ülkenin halihazırdaki profili ve ülkenin küresel politik ekonomiyle bağlarına atıfla özetlemektedir. Bu kısımda aynı zamanda Etiyopya'nın göç ve sığınma mevzuatına ve ülkede yer alan farklı uluslararası organizasyonlar arasında konuya yönelik sorumluluk paylaşımına da yer verilmiştir. 6. Bölümün ikinci kısmında Etiyopya'ya yönelik küresel politika önerilerinde etiko-politik iktidarın inşası tartışılmaktadır. Afrika, Etiyopya ve göçmenlerin raporlarda konu ediliş biçimleri incelenmektedir. Aynı zamanda bu kısımda, yönetimselliğin analitiği yöntemiyle, Etiyopya göç ve sığınma politikaları çok yönlü bir rejim olarak incelenmiştir. Bu bölüm, etiko-politik iktidarın dışlayıcı niteliklerinin Etiyopya'nın göç rejimi üzerinde yansımalarına dair bir tartışmayla son bulmaktadır.

Bu tez çalışması, **sonuç** bölümünde ele alınan argüman ve araştırma sorularının değerlendirilmesi ve yorumlanması ile son bulmaktadır.

APPENDIX G: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ■

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN
Soyadı :   KARAL
Adı: Dilek
Bölümü :   Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Ethico-political Governmentality of Immigration and Asylum: The Case of Ethiopia

TEZİN TÜRÜ:

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın. ☐

2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullancılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ☐

3. Tezim bir (1) yılsüreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.) ■

Yazarın imzası   Tarih

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