Administrative and Institutional Capacity Building in the Framework of Turkey's Changing Migration Paradigm

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Abstract

Migration, redirected to Anatolia with the decline of the Ottoman Empire, went on for many years as a result of the early Republican policy to increase the population suffering from countless wars. Apart from these migrants and temporary asylum-seekers, Turkey was hardly deemed as a "receiving country"; on the contrary, it was rather in a "sending country" position exporting migrant workers to various European countries in the aftermath of the World War II.

Regarding "irregular migration" movements emerging after the end of the Cold War, Turkey was a "transit country" for a long period of time. In recent years, however, it has remarkably become a "receiving country" after the Arab Spring and the situation in Syria, maintaining its position as a transit country as well. Nevertheless, the Turkish administrative and institutional infrastructure and the overall public perception are built on the paradigm of "transit country". The evolution of this paradigm into "receiving country" is a new phenomenon. Therefore, it is required to adopt a new outlook aligned with this new paradigm and develop a diversified set of policies in the upcoming period.

Keywords

Irregular Migration, changing paradigm, administrative capacity building, Syrian asylum-seekers, Directorate-General of Migration Management

Öz

Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun çöküş sürecine girmesi ile Anadolu'ya yönelen göç, Cumhuriyetin kurulmasından sonra da savaşlarla azalan nüfusu artırmak maksatlı politikanın sonucu olarak uzun yıllar sürmüştür. Söz konusu göçmenler ve geçici sığınmacılar dışında Türkiye "hedef ülke" olarak görülmemiş; aksine İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası Avrupa'nın çeşitli ülkelerine göçmen işçi gönderen "kaynak ülke" konumunda olmuştur.

Soğuk Savaştan sonra ortaya çıkan "düzensiz göç" hareketleri bakımından ise Türkiye uzun bir dönem "transit ülke" pozisyonunda olmuştur. Ancak son yıllarda Arap Baharı ve Suriye'deki gelişmelerden sonra transit ülke konumunu korumakla birlikte dikkate değer derecede "hedef ülke" konumuna gelmeye başlamıştır. Bununla birlikte, Türkiye'nin idari ve kurumsal altyapısı ile kamuoyundaki genel algı "transit ülke" paradigması üzerine kurulmuştur. Bu paradigmanın "hedef ülke" konumuna doğru evrilmesi yeni bir olgudur. Bu nedenle önümüzdeki dönemde değişen paradigmayla uyumlu bir bakış açısının ve çeşitli politikaların oluşturulması gerekmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Düzensiz göç, paradigma değişimi, idari kapasite artırımı, Suriyeli sığınmacılar, Göç İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü

1. Introduction:

In terms of international migration, countries are usually categorized into three groups. Countries of emigration are called "source country". In this regard, *"the country which is the source of migration flows (regular or irregular) (country of origin*)" or *"the country which people leave to settle overseas permanently or temporarily (sending country)"* are also the terms having the same meaning (Perruchoud & Redpath-Cross, 2013, pp. 38, 57, 63). Countries of immigration are called "country of destination" and defined as *"destination country for migration flows (regular or irregular")*. Receiving country, host country or state of employment are similar terms (Perruchoud & Redpath-Cross, 2013, pp. 30, 41, 49). The country(ies) used as a transit route between source and target countries is/are called "country of transit", defined as *"country within which migration flows (regular or irregular) passes"*, or "state of transit", defined generally as "*a state within which a person passes while traveling to the country of destination*" (Perruchoud & Redpath-Cross, 2013, pp. 85, 86).

At any period of time, one country may be among any and all of these three categories. Turkey, for instance, has occasionally or concurrently become a source, destination and transit country throughout its history. Its geographical standing and the political and economic developments occurring within its vicinity or domestically have been the factors determining Turkey's situation vis-a-vis international migration movements.

This paper studies domestic migration flows starting with the period of Ottoman decline and continuing throughout the Republican period, its transformation into a "source country" from 1960's until 1980's, and its swift retransformation into a "transit country" and ultimately "receiving country" in the context of new migration flows post World War II. The migration management policies implemented since the late Ottoman period to this day as well as the latest migration practices are discussed so as to determine what steps could be taken against potential issues arising from the mentality of a "source country" and the securitization of migration in Turkey, which received Syrians in the recent period.

2. Immigration and Migration Policies during the Ottoman and Republican Eras:

2. 1. Immigration during the Ottoman Era:

A study of Ottoman migration flows points to the asylum of tens of thousands of Jews arriving from Spain since 1492 as the first major domestic migration movement. During this period, 36,000 Jews are estimated to have come to Istanbul only. Together with those coming from the West and Central Anatolia and those settled in former Ottoman territories such as today's Serbia, Greece and Iraq, the figure is estimated to reach as high as 56,490 in 1535 (Shaw, 1991, p. 37). The number of Sephardic (Spanish) Jews, who, after displaced from first Spain to Portugal and then from Portugal, sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire is known to be around 90,000. During the Ottoman period, not just Sephardic Jews, but also Jewish communities from Central and Eastern Europe and from Russia and Caucasus, mainly Ashkenazi Jews, sought asylum in the Ottoman Empire. With the weakening and territorial decline of the Ottoman Empire, Jewish communities living in the ceded territories migrated to remaining Ottoman territories along with the Turks and Muslims (Güleryüz, 2015, pp. 64-69).

On the other hand, political developments in Europe caused many political asylum-seeking movements during the Ottoman era. As the 1697 Battle of Zenta between the Ottoman Empire and Austria resulted in Ottoman defeat, the Prince of Transylvania and King of Hungary Imre Thököyl and nearly 2,000 people sought asylum (Arat, 2017, p. 27), as well as Charles XII of Sweden and nearly 4,000 people in 1709 (Arat, 2017, p. 126), and Ferenc Rakoczi the Second, leader of the Hungarian independence movement, in 1917 (Kaynak et al., 1992, p. 13; Arat, 2017, p. 34). After failing in his fight against the Tsarist Russia, Prince Adam Czartorski, a leader of 1830 Polish revolution, continued to fight outside the country and established a bureau in Istanbul in 1841. In an attempt to unite the military and political figures outside Poland, he established what is known as Polonezköy today (formerly, Adampol), and placed those coming from Poland into this settlement (Kaynak et

al., 1992, p. 14). Following suppression of the Hungarian liberation movement in 1849, the first group of Hungarian migrants composed of 1,120 people, mostly military figures, took refuge in the Empire on 23 July 1849, followed by the asylum of the Hungarian President Lajos Kossuth and his retinue on 23 August 1849 and a group of 2,000 people three days later (Kaynak et al., 1992, p. 13).

Following the 1771 Russian invasion of Crimea, Crimean Tatars began to emigrate in 1772. The number of the first group of migrants is estimated to be around 100,000 (McCarthy, 1995, p. 15). Starting with the 1783 Russian annexation of Crimea, migration of Crimean Tatars continued through 1792-1793, 1802-1803, 1812-1813 wars and 1830s; and more than 10,000 people migrated as the allied British, French and Ottomans armies pulled out after the Crimean War of 1853-1856, followed by 200,000 people during 1860-1861, tens of thousands of people in 1874, 1890 and 1902 migration flows and 10,000 people during starvation period of 1921-1922 in the Soviet Russia (Arat, 2017, pp. 344–347). McCarthy (1995, p. 18) states that at least 300,000 Nogais and Tatars took refuge in the Ottoman Empire, while Karpat (2010, p. 163) argues that 1,800,000 people immigrated into the Ottoman Empire during 1783-1922. During the period of Ottoman collapse, 1821-1922, more than five million Muslims were displaced from Crimea, the Caucasus, and the Balkans. Five and a half million Muslims either perished in war or died of hunger or as a refugee (McCarthy, 1995, p. 1).

It is estimated that, during the period of 1859-1879 following the Russian conquest of the Caucasus, around 2,000,000 people composed mainly of Circassians left the Caucasus, but only around 1,500,000 survived and settled in the Ottoman lands. In addition, 500,000 Circassians and other Muslims migrated from Russia (Kazan and the Urals) between 1881-1914 (Karpat, 2010, p. 170). Stating that the census of Tatar, Circassian, Abkhaz etc. Muslims in Russian-conquered territories was not taken meticulously, McCarthy (1995) argues that around 1,200,000 Caucasians left the Caucasus to emigrate, and only around 800,000 would survive and be resettled in the Ottoman territories. Of these, 600,000 came during 1856-1864 and 200,000 in the following

this period of time (McCarthy, 1995, pp. 37–38). Another research puts forward that the number of Crimean and Caucasian people emigrating from Crimea and the Caucasus to the Ottoman lands was 1,000,000 to 1,200,000, including those perishing on the road, with death rate of the migrants being around 25-30% (Saydam, 1997, p. 91).

In the Balkans, the 1875 Herzegovinian rebellion and the Austrian invasion of Bosnia-Herzegovina following the 1876-77 Ottoman-Serbian and 1877-89 Ottoman-Russo Wars (the latter known as the War of '93) triggered a migration flow from this region. The number of Bosnian immigrants to Ottoman lands between 1878-1912 (including Turks and Albanians) is estimated to be between 80,000-100,000 (Karpat, 2010, pp. 261, 278). Gündüz (2012, p. 140) argues, based on Bosnian sources, that 140,000 – 160,000 people might have migrated during 1878-1912 and that the rate of unauthorized migrants among these is quite high.

During and after the War of '93, i.e. between 1877-1879, more than 1 million Muslims were displaced from what is Bulgaria today. Some of these were Circassians and Tatars displaced by Russians from their homelands. Some returned later; around 262,000 perished in the following three years, and nearly 515,000 people settled in remaining Ottoman territories (McCarthy, 1995, pp. 109–110). Karpat (2010, p. 184) estimates that around 262,000 people died in this period and nearly 1.5 million people emigrated. Şimşir (1986, p. 201) states that around 1 million Turks migrated in this period, 500,000 people were killed or died. With respect to migrations during the War of '93, Ipek informs that nearly 500,000 people residing in Tuna and Edirne provinces were massacred or died of starvation or illness and calculates that around 1,230,000 people survived this massacre and had to emigrate. Of these immigrants, 150,000 gathered in the Western Thrace and Rhodope, 200,000 in Shumen, 300,000 in Macedonia, and 387,804 in Istanbul (İpek, 1999, pp. 40–41).

Mass migration from the Balkans (Bulgaria, Romania, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro) continued well after 1879. For instance, the Bulgarian statistics show that, even during the decade of peace between

1893-1902, more than 70,000 people immigrated to Turkey. Migration from the Balkan countries resurged between 1908-1909 and hit the peak during the 1912-13 Balkan Wars. Migrations from this region continued throughout the World War I (Karpat, 2010, pp. 184–185). Of the total of 2,315,293 Muslims living in 1911 in the territories ceded to Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia during the Balkan Wars, only 870,114 Muslims remained after the end of the war. The difference of 1,445,179 people (62% of the total Muslim population) was either killed or forced out. Of these, 632,408 died, and 413,922 of the surviving 812,771 came to Turkey between 1912-1920 and followed by 398,949 who immigrated between 1921-26 as part of Turkish-Greece exchange of population (McCarthy, 1995, pp. 190–192).[28] According to Bıyıklıoğlu (1987, pp. 92–93), a total of 440,000 Turks migrated, including 200,000 Turks from Bulgarian-invaded West Thrace and 240,000 from Macedonia. Şimşir (1986, p. 207) takes into account immigrants coming from the Balkans in the same period and calculates that around 1 million people left their homeland and nearly 200,000 of these died during the war. A document of 23 October 1912 issued during the war shows that the number of people applying to Directorate-General of Migration for resettlement reached as high as 180,993. Of these, 115,883 and 65,000 came respectively from the lands under Bulgarian and Greek invasion (Halaçoğlu, 1995, p. 63).

Additionally, the number of people who settled in the Northeast and East Anatolia coming from the South Caucasus following the dissolution of the Tsarist Russia and establishment of the Soviet Union during the World War I was reported to be 272,704 (McCarthy, 1995, p. 262). On the other hand; as the White Army (Voluntary Army) fought against and was defeated by the Red Army in the civil war which broke out in Russia after the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, around 250-300 thousand White Russians[29] came to the Ottoman lands in 1919-1920 (Bakar, 2012, pp. 310–311).

28 The Joint Exchange Commission composed of Turkish and Greek representatives, registered 388,146 people coming from Greece to Turkey (McCarthy, 1995:191).

29 The term "White Russian" originates from the White Army and is not related to modern-day Belarus (White Russia).

Ultimately; McCarthy, who provides the most cautious figures, informs that 5,381,000 Muslims, including 2,100,000 domestic migrants and those who came under Turkish-Greek exchange of population, immigrated into Turkey from Crimea, the Caucasus and the Balkans, during the period between 1821- the year when the Greek uprising began- and 1922 (3,801,000, excluding domestic migrants and exchanges of population) (McCarthy, 1995, p. 374). According to Karpat (2010, p. 331), who provides the most generous estimation, the number of people immigrating into the remaining Ottoman lands between 1860-1914 is 5 to 7 million.

2.2. Immigration during the Republican Era:

The first major migration flow of the Republican Era was the forced exchange of the Greek-Orthodox population of Turkish nationality who were resident in Turkish territory except Istanbul and the Muslim population of Greek nationality who were resident in Greek territory except West Thrace, beginning as of 1 May 1923 under the "Agreement and Protocol Regarding Turkish-Greek Exchange of Population" signed in Lausanne on 30 January 1923 (Arı, 1995, p. 1). The number of people immigrating into Turkey as part of the exchange of population varies across sources. While Geray (1970, p. 13) argues this number to be 384,000 (See: Table 1), McCarthy (1995, pp. 190–192) reports it to be 388,146, based on the Joint Exchange Commission records and 398,849 by his own calculations. Arı (1995, p. 92), on the other hand, argues this number to be 456,720 based on the State Statistics Institute data and to be 499,239 based on the Resettlement Yearbook, and estimates the number of the exchange people to be more than 500,000 when adding around 50,000 people who fell under the exchange scheme but took refuge in Turkey before the exchange. Another source (as cited in Yıldırım, 2006, p. 153) adds to the number found by the Joint Exchange Commission the round number of 130,000 migrants who came from Greece after the Balkan Wars and from the West Thrace and Aegean Islands during the Turkish-Greco War, and reaches 518,146 .

Table 1: Immigration into Turkey from the Balkans and the Caucasus (1923-1997) (İçduygu & Biehl, 2012, p. 12).

Country/Year	1923-1939	1940-1945	1946-1997	Total
Bulgaria	198,688	15,744	603,726	818,158
Greece	384,000	-	25,889	409,889
Romania	117,095	4,201	1,266	122,562
Yugoslavia	115,427	1,671	188,600	305,698
Turkestan	-	-	2,878	2,878
Other	7,998	1,005	8,631	17,634
Total	823,208	22,621	830,990	**1,676,819**

Bulgaria constitutes one of the major source countries during the Republican era. To punish Turkey for its involvement in the Korean War and its membership to NATO, 152,000 to 156,000 Turks were forced by Stalin's order to emigrate from Bulgaria between 1950-52 (Karpat, 2010, p. 414). 154,393 people immigrated to Turkey in 1950-51, at the peak of this migration movement, as well as another 130,000 between 1969-78 who immigrated as part of the limited migration agreement of 22 March 1968 aiming to unite separated families (Şimşir, 1986, pp. 227, 379, 384). In 1989, as a result of the policies aiming to force Turks to emigrate, such as forced name-changing, 340,000 people migrated to Turkey from Bulgaria (Karpat, 2010, p. 408). Another source states the number of migrants to be 310,000 (Toğrol, 1989, p. 25). Some of the migrants returned to Bulgaria following the collapse of the communist regime, and more than 240,000 became Turkish nationals (Özgür Baklacıoğlu, 2006, p. 321).

Another major source country during the Republican era is the former Yugoslavia. Scholars offer different figures as to the number of migrants from Yugoslavia.[30] Between 1923-1940, a total of 116,487 people came as resettled and free migrants (Özgür Baklacıoğlu, 2015, p. 198). The most intense flow of migrants from Yugoslavia came between 1952-1960, reaching 151,812 people (Geray, 1970, p. 14). Recently,

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30   For details on this topic, see: (Özgür Baklacıoğlu, 2015, pp. 197–204).

during the break-up of Yugoslavia; 1992 20.000[31] Bosnians immigrated during the 1992-95 Bosnian War, and 17,746 Kosovars took refuge in Turkey during the 1998-99 Kosovo War (Özgür Baklacıoğlu, 2015, p. 197). The most intense flow of immigration from Romania took place between 1934-1938, with the number of migrants to Turkey reaching 45,000-50,000 (Karpat, 2010, p. 235).

In response to the latest developments in the surrounding countries; more than 1 million people took refuge in Turkey following the 1979 Iranian revolution. While the number of the Iranians reached 2 million at one point, the wealthy Iranians migrated to U.S. and the West Europe, some returned to Iran and a small portion stayed in Turkey (Arat, 2017, pp. 367–368). From Iraq, 51,542 and 467,489 people sought asylum in Turkey in 1988 and 1991 respectively (Kaynak et al., 1992, pp. 45–49). In response to the recent developments in Syria, 3,128,074 immigrants have come from Syria as of April 2011, according to official figures (GİGM).

3. Republican Migration Policies and Evolution of Migration Paradigm in Turkey

From the foundation of the Republic until 1960, there existed a tendency to increase the population (Arı, 2003, p. 28). At the end of the Independence War, the nation was consisting mainly of women, the elderly and the children. The number of men who could be conscripted in case of a war, and the rate of men among the population (lower than 40%) made immigration from outside the country a necessity (Özgür Baklacıoğlu, 2015, p. 216). As a result of immigration, immigrants made up 22.8% of the population growth during 1923-1927. During the period of 1927-1935, this rate decreased to 9.17%, and later to %2 during the period of 1940-1950, which includes World War II. Again, this rate went up to an average 6.6% between 1923-1960, an increase helped by immigrants coming from Bulgaria after 1950 (Geray, 1970, p. 18). What played a critical role in building a nation- state was the

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31 In this period, more than 60,000 Herzegovinans sought asylum in Turkey, and most of them returned after the establishment of peace (Arat, 2017, p. 390).

fact that immigration flows during this period were composed mostly of Turks and Muslims who came from neighboring countries built on former Ottoman territories (Balkır & Bianca, 2015, p. 223).

After 1960s, the policy to increase population was gradually abandoned. Five-year development plans would cover the issues such as "population and family planning", and fast growth of population would be considered among priority issues (Balkır & Bianca, 2015, p. 223). As Turkey put in place its first Five-Year Development Plan (1962-1967), "need for workforce" was among the planned targets. The assumption by the planners was based on sending unskilled workers abroad and having them meet the need for skilled labor when they return (Abadan-Unat, 2002, p. 43). The First Five-Year Development Plan stated that "*Another aspect of the employment policy is export of excess workforce to Western European countries in need of workforce. However, Turkey is a country with excess workforce, but in need of high-skilled labor…*", establishing a strategy based on finding a remedy for population growth and unemployment. In this matter, workers' savings played a determining role (Abadan-Unat, 2015, p. 262).

As a consequence of this policy, a Labor Agreement was signed with Germany in 1961. And similar agreements were made with Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands in 1964, with France in 1965, and with Switzerland in 1967 (Abadan-Unat, 2002, pp. 42–43). After the 1973 oil crisis, the Western Europe halted labor import from Turkey. In response, Turkish workers redirected themselves to the Middle Eastern countries and Australia in 1970s, the Russian Federation and the Commonwealth of Independent States in 1980s and 1990s (İçduygu, 2012, pp. 13–14).

As the globalization ongoing as of 1980s brought about the desire for free movement of labor, just like ideas, goods, technology and capital, and as the political and economic developments occurring in the neighboring countries over the last 30 years gave rise to the desire to move to safer and more developed countries, immigrant flows to Turkey started to consist of non-Turk and/or non-Muslim "foreign" migrants (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013, pp. 175–176). Erder interprets "irregular migration" flows emerging in this period to be an inescapable result of economic and

political disruptions caused by globalization as well as "the response by ordinary people to globalization". Also, he underscores that the migration flows bringing transit and permanent immigrants and refugees into Turkey are not just on the south-north axis, but rather represent a global population movement (Erder, 2015b, pp. 78–83). As of the end of the Cold War in 1989, not just the south-north axis, but also the east-west axis has grown in importance (Abadan-Unat, 2015, p. 271).

Turkey is a transit country as it geographically bridges Asian, European and African continents and has critical sea routes for immigration into developed countries. Also, immigrants often try to obtain residence and work permit in the status of an international student or pensioner so as to work in Turkey if they manage to find a job. This turned Turkey, formerly known as a "sending" country, into a "receiving" and "transit" country. Recently, Turkey has been receiving immigrants of various ethnic and religious backgrounds from a broad variety of countries, who are rather categorized as "foreign" (İçduygu, 2014, pp. 222–223).

This immigration flow toward Turkey consists partly of regular immigrants and partly of irregular immigrants. Irregular immigrants include European Union citizens, professionals, pensioners and students seeking education in Turkey (Erder, 2015a, pp. 89–90) (İçduygu, 2015, p. 287). As may be inferred from the following graphs, foreign population in Turkey[32], has been following a constant upwards trend (Figure-1, Figure-6).

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32 TÜİK defines foreign population as "foreigners who are registered with the Address-Based Civil Registry System with the intention of staying in Turkey (registration is sufficient); foreigners whose residence permit with at least six-month validity that is still effective in the reference year" and "persons who waivered their Turkish citizenship and remain in the country by declaration of address" (Balkır ve Kaiser, 2015:224). .
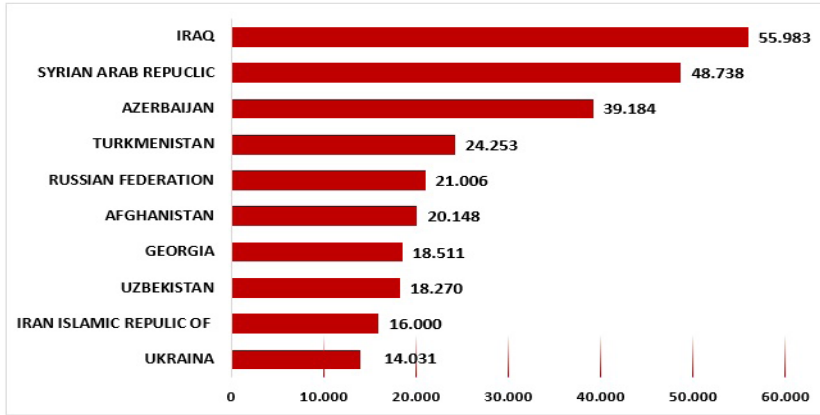
Figure 1: *Number of foreigners with residence permits in Turkey in 2016* (Top 10 nationalities) (GİGM, 2017c)
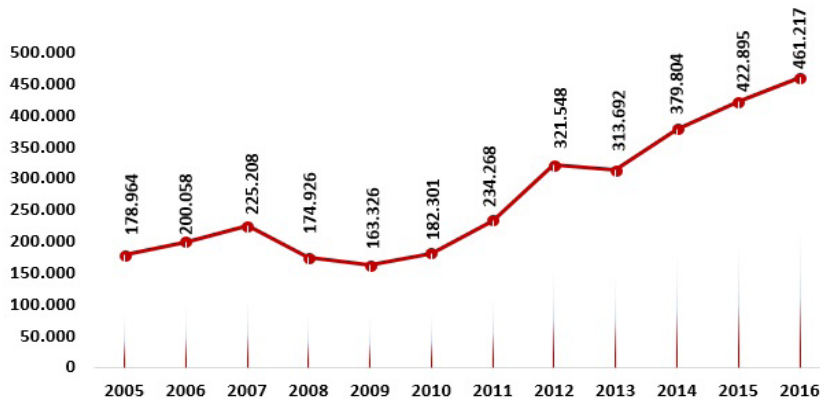
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Figure 2: *Number of residence permit granted to foreigners per year* (GİGM, 2017c)
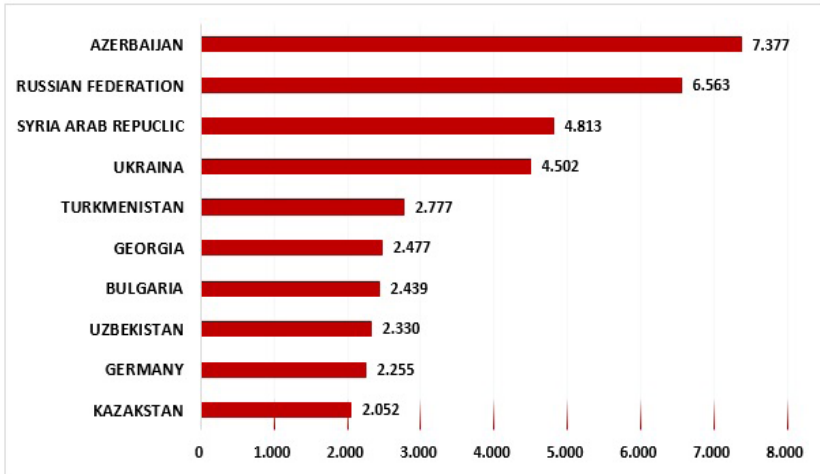
Figure 3: *Number of foreigners with family residence permits in Turkey in 2016 (Top 10 nationalities)* (GİGM, 2017d).
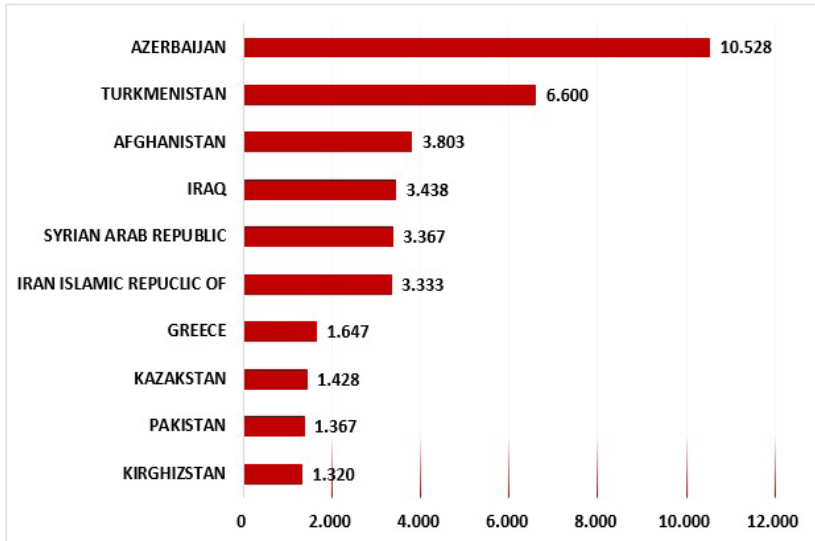

Figure 4: *Number of foreigners with student residence permits in Turkey in 2016 (Top 10 nationalities)* (GİGM, 2017d).
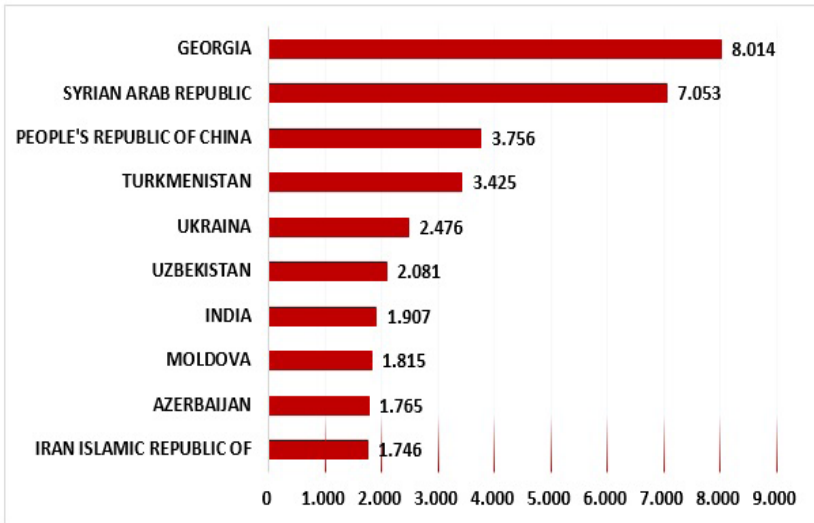
Figure 5: *Number of foreigners with work permit residence permits in Turkey in 2016* (GİGM, 2017d).
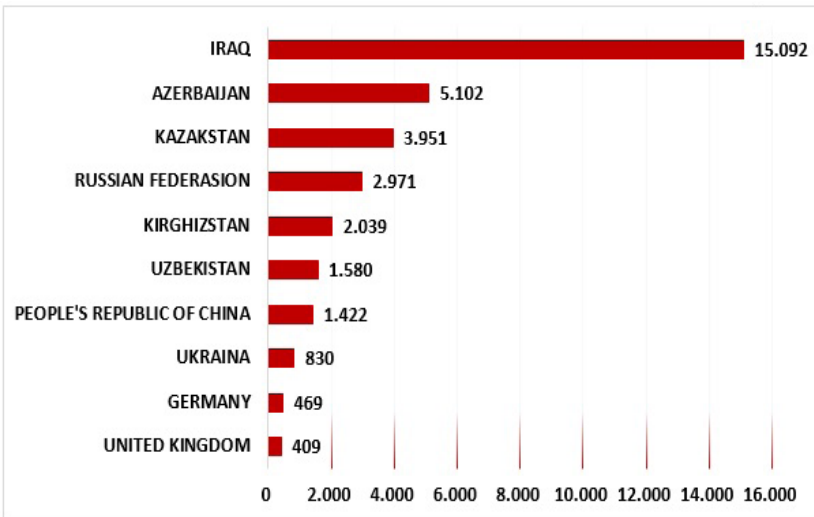

Figure 6: *Number of foreigners with other residence permits in Turkey in 2016 (Top 10 nationalities)* (GİGM, 2017d).

Categorizing the history of irregular migration in Turkey into "*emergency period*" in 1979-1987, *"maturation period"* in 1988-1993, *"saturation period"* in 1994-2000/2001 and *"institutionalization period*" from 2001 to this day, İçduygu groups irregular migrants in Turkey into three. These include irregular transit migrants using Turkey as a point of passage to West, mainly Europe, irregular migrant workers who arrive at Turkey to live or work without valid documentation, and asylum-seekers who do not leave Turkey although their asylum applications have been refused and they are expected to depart (İçduygu, 2015, pp. 281-283).

As may be seen in Figure 7, the number of irregular migrants caught in Turkey has increased significantly over the last few years. The irregular immigrants caught in Turkey are composed mostly of those coming from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Moldova, Palestine, Myanmar, Georgia and Iran (Figure 8).
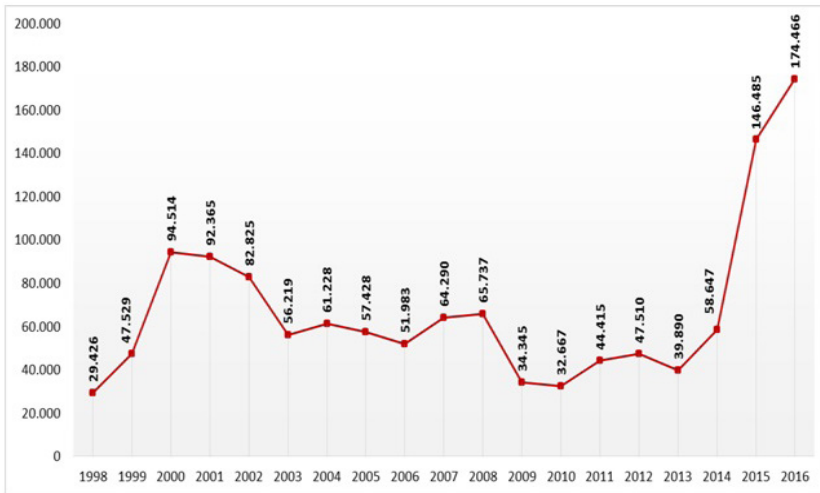
Figure 7: *Number of irregular migrants apprehended in Turkey per year* (GİGM, 2017c).

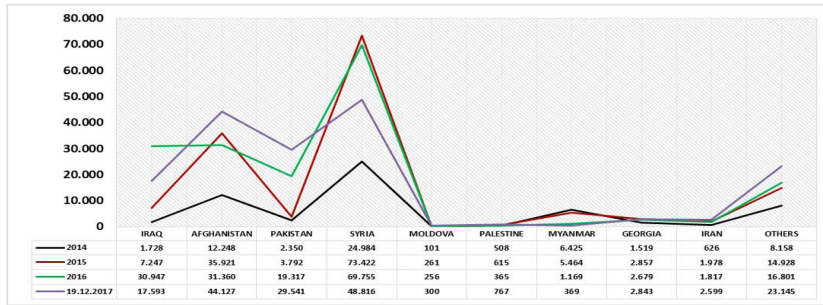|	IRAQ	AFGHANISTAN	PAKISTAN	SYRIA	MOLDOVA	PALESTINE	MYANMAR	GEORGIA	IRAN	OTHERS
2014	1.728	12.248	2.350	24.984	101	508	6.425	1.519	626	8.158
2015	7.247	35.921	3.792	73.422	261	615	5.464	2.857	1.978	14.928
2016	30.947	31.360	19.317	69.755	256	365	1.169	2.679	1.817	16.801
19.12.2017	17.593	44.127	29.541	48.816	300	767	369	2.843	2.599	23.145

Figure 8: *Distribution of irregular migrants by citizenship by year* (GİGM, 2017c).

On the other hand; among all of the irregular migrants, the rate and number of the irregular migrant workers coming to Turkey to work have decreased significantly in the recent period. While the annual number of irregular migrant workers was around 30,000 in early 2000s, their numbers decreased to fewer than 10,000 in 2010. Instrumental in this decrease was heavy punishments introduced for human trafficking and smuggling, implementation of effective border controls, as well as the right to free movement in EU which has been given to East European migrants who had previously selected Turkey as their country of destination. Also; despite the geographical restrictions implemented by Turkey, asylum applications by those coming from non-European countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq are co-handled by Turkish Ministry of Interior and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Therefore, many asylum-seekers are able to stay in Turkey under state-provided temporary protection[33] until receipt of refugee status and resettlement to a third country. Consequently, the refugee procedure itself makes Turkey a transit country for asylum-

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33 "**Temporary Protection:** "The protection provided to foreigners who are forced to leave their country, may not return to their country of departure, have arrived at our borders en masse or individually at times of mass flows to find urgent and temporary protection, or who have passed our borders but whose demand for international protection may not be processed individually. See: The Regulation on Temporary Protection issued by the Decision of the Cabinet of Ministers no. 2014/6883 dated 13 October, issued based on the Law on Foreigners and International Protection no. 6458 dated 4 April 2013 (Official Gazette, 22.10.2014, No: 29153).

seekers who earn the refugee status and wait for resettlement (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013, pp. 26–28).
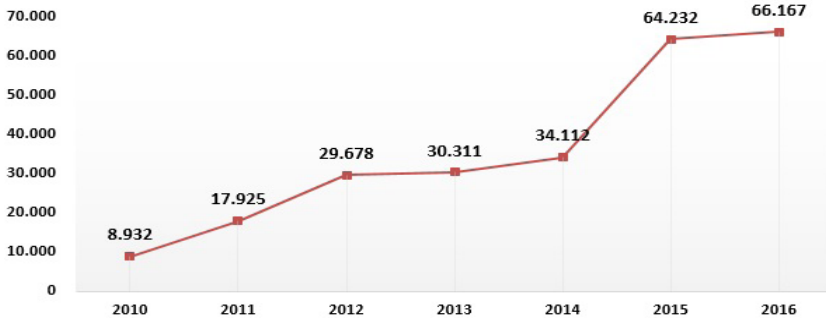
Figure 9: *Number of international protection application per year* (GİGM, 2017b)
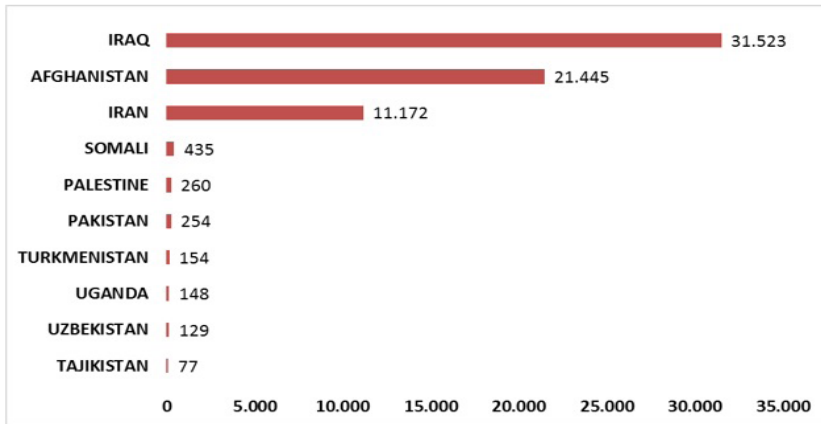

Figure 10: *Number of international protection applications in Turkey in 2016 (Top 10 nationalities)* (GİGM, 2017b)

As can be observed in Figures 9 and 10, applications in Turkey for international protection have increased tremendously. Most of these applications are made by those coming from Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran. Syrians in Turkey may not apply for international protection as they are under temporary protection. Annual increase of Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey is provided in Figure-11.
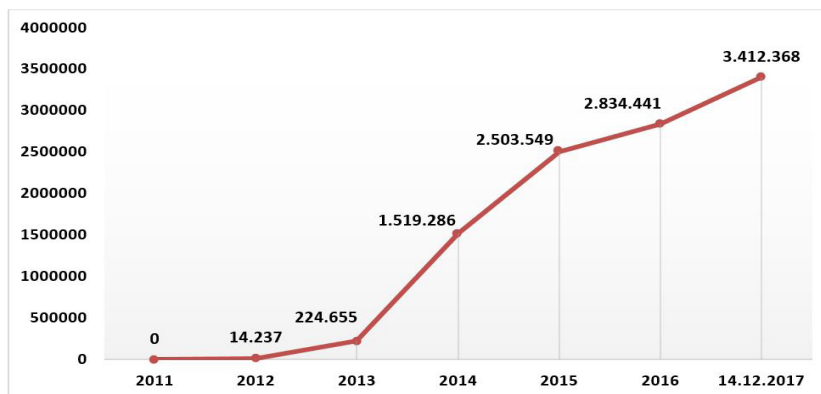

Figure 11: *Distribution of Syrian refugees in the scope of temporary protection by years* (GİGM, 2017e).

In recent years, migrants have become more likely to stay in Turkey for longer periods and continue their lives in Turkey by working in various industries. It is a fact that African irregular migrants, who used to have markedly transit characteristics, have become increasingly likely to stay in Turkey and work permanently.[34] Also, more and more asylum-seekers and refugees, particularly Syrian asylum-seekers, are participating without registration in the Turkish labor market. (İçduygu, 2015, p. 285). These developments ignite the debate on "economization" and accordingly "securitization"[35] of migration in Turkey.

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34 In Istanbul only, the estimated number of West, Central, and other sub-Saharan African migrants ranges between 35,000 – 70,000 (Şaul, 2015, p. 112).

35 According to the Copenhagen School (Buzan, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998, pp. 23–24), **Securitization** takes place through *"presentation of an issue as an existential threat that requires urgent measures and justifies practices falling outside usual political practices".*

4. Perception of Migrants and Securitization of Migration in Turkey:

In Europe, perceiving migration as a security threat dates back to end of the Cold War. This threat perception peaked in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Despite many arguments highlighting benefits of migration, the discourses underscoring the cost of migration in Europe has become more popular, particularly in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis (İçduygu, 2015, p. 289). The most significant factor exacerbating concerns about migration was the fact that most of the terrorists having attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 (15 of 19) had used forged or falsified documentations – commonly used methods in irregular migration-, or committed visa abuse, as they entered the U.S. (Koslowski, 2004, pp. 3–4). After September 11 attacks; as the migrants then-resident in the respective country were involved the terror incidents on 11 March 2004 in Madrid and 7 July 2005 in London[36] gave rise to louder backlash not just against irregular migrants but all kinds of them. In response, many racist attacks took place against migrants, and discrimination and xenophobia exacerbated (Akçapar Köşer, 2012, p. 567). With these developments, the securitization of the phenomenon of migration reached completion.

In Turkey, following acceptance of full candidacy to EU membership, the discussion started on securitization of migration, particularly of "transit migration". This was caused by EU's request from Turkey to securitize migration on its border. In other words, the discussion in Turkey as to the phenomenon on transit migration began after it was conceptualized and problematized in Europe. What should also be taken into account is the fact that migration in Turkey had been "economized" by this period of time. Irregular migrants (circular migrants), especially from the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Eastern Europe, were employed in low-skill jobs required by the urban middle class, such as housework, babysitting, caretaking, while transit irregular migrants and asylum-seekers entered labor market to survive and

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36 Said attacks were not covered one by one, as they become more frequent over the recent years and still continue.

continue their migration travel, thus economizing the migration. There are arguments that securitization of transit migration in the framework of EU harmonization laws not just had positive impacts, like punishment for human trafficking and migrant smuggling, but also led to shifting of EU's migration control load to peripheral countries like Turkey, as can be noted in the case of the Readmission Agreement [37] (İçduygu, 2015, pp. 290-292).

While these developments were unfolding, more than 3 million Syrians -by official figures- sought asylum in Turkey in the aftermath of the developments in Syria in 2011, further deepening the country's migration issue and making migration a key item of the national agenda. Initially seen as a "guest", Syrian refugees gradually became an "issue" with louder discussions and as the civil war in Syria dragged on. The situation of Syrians in Turkey is becoming permanent. The longer they stay in Turkey, the more likely they are to become permanent. As Syrians find new paths of like in Turkey in proportion to their length of stay, their return becomes even more difficult even if they want to leave. Affecting Turkey economically, socially and particularly in terms of security, this situation is expected to continue for a longer period of time (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 320). In this context, it may be argued that the process of securitizing migration in Turkey with a mentality of "receiving" country has come to the forefront after it has become clear that Syrians will become permanent. Recently, many field studies and academic assessments were carried out to understand how the society views Syrian refugees. A selection of these studies is provided in the following.

In October 2014, a study by the Center for Economy and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM, 2014) informed that 86% of the respondents said receiving of Syrian refugees should stop, while 29.7% said they should be made to return to their country.

A study conducted in February-April 2014 by the Hacettepe University Center for Migration and Policy Studies (HUGO) informed that the many respondents said that Syrians must return to their countries

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37 For a detailed analysis on this matter, see (Akkaraca Köse, 2014).

as soon as possible, no more Syrian should be received, Syrians should be concentrated in camps away from urban centers, Syrians are not adaptive, do not take care of their hygiene, are lazy, do not keep their promise, make a lot of noise and are rude.

The statements in the survey*" Turkish economy is harmed by refugees"* was supported by 70.7% of respondents; *"Syrians are taking our jobs"* by 56.1% across Turkey and 68.9% in the region's provinces; *"There will be big problems if Syrians stay in Turkey"* by 76% across Turkey and 81.7% in the region's provinces; *"We (and Syrians) are culturally different"* by 70.8%. 62.3% of the population (two times in the region's provinces) thought that *Syrian refugees disrupt the public morality and peace by committing violence, theft, smuggling and prostitution in where they live*. Granting citizenship to refugees is strongly rejected with a disapproval rate of 81.7%. In his assessment of the results, Erdoğan, who conducted the study on behalf of HUGO, highlights that the region's people, while initially welcoming of Syrians, are gradually shifting to what could be defined as "xenophobia" as Syrians' length of stay and number increase, with a future risk of turning into otherization, hate and even violence (Erdoğan, 2015, pp. 330–340).

In this framework, another study conducted by the research firm BAREM and published on 25 February 2016 found out a positive perception of 29% and a negative perception of 64% against migrants in Turkey (Uslu, 2016).

5. Institutional and Administrative Organization in Migration Management from Past to This Day:

5.1. Migration Management Institutions in the Late Ottoman Period:

Although the Ottoman Empire had to deal with migration affairs since the end of the 18th century, no dedicated organization was established neither by Selim the Third (1789-1807) and Mahmud the Second (1808-1839), with then-existing administrative organs handling resettlement of migrants. A number of offices in charge of these affairs were

established under the Ministry of Interior, but they did not have the capability to organize mass migrations. After the Crimean War, it was the Ministry of Commerce which was responsible for resettlement and provisioning of refugees who came in huge numbers after 1856. In this period; the Municipality, founded in 1854, worked with the Ministry of Commerce to resolve the issues facing migrants. The responsibility of the Municipality, however, was limited to Istanbul as well as the meeting of basic needs and overseeing transfer of those who would be sent to the Anatolia or Rumelia. Another institution which handled various affairs of migrants who came to Istanbul was the Ministry of Police. Resettlement affairs in the provinces were carried out by provincial administrators, under the supervision of the Ministry of Commerce (Saydam, 1997, pp. 101–103).

This situation continued well until 1859; and as uprisings started in the Balkan Peninsula and migration into the Ottoman lands increased tremendously, the Municipality and the Ministry of Police became insufficient to resolve migrants' issues (Kocacık, 1980, p. 158; Saydam, 1997, p. 104). In response, the Imperial Decree of 5 January 1860 was issued, ordering the establishment of the Migrants Commission. While initially subordinated to the Ministry of Commerce, the Commission became independent in July 1861 (Saydam, 1997, p. 106). Karpat (2002, p. 322) states that this was the first institution in the Islamic world by which the state became directly involved in social planning in a future-planning, a long-term and rational fashion, and it was also the first in the world as an institution that regulates migration and plans resettlement policies. The Refugees Commission set the places in which migrants would resettle, redirected migrants to these places, and compiled many statistics. The Commission played a vital role in preparing the legal and economic framework which would enable refugees to resettle peacefully and developed a list of uncultivated lands in various provinces, redirecting refugees to these lands (Karpat, 2014, p. 129).

In this period; an "Officer for Resettlement of Migrants" was appointed in almost every central area, and sub Migrants Commissions

were established in key centers where migrants would be predominantly settled, including Trabzon and Samsun (Saydam, 1997, p. 111). As the number of migrants decreased in 1865, the staff of the Commission was reduced by a large number and the Commission was subordinated to Supreme Council of Justice. However, the staff of the Commission increased again in response to soon-following Circassian and 1867 Abkhaz migrations. The Commission, operating under the Council of State as of 1867, was reduced in size on 10 March 1875 and subordinated to the Ministry of Police in the form of an office (Saydam, 1997, p. 118; Kocacık, 1980, p. 158).

As the Ottoman-Russo War broke out in 1877-1878 and the local Muslim population left their homes and came to Istanbul in waves, said institution was re-established under the name "the General Commission for Administration of Migrants" (İpek, 1999, p. 69). In June 1878, a Migrants Directorate was established in every province and was subordinated to the Istanbul-based General Commission for Administration of Migrants. Also, another Commission called "Commission for Aid to Migrants" was formed. The task of this new commission was to organize aid to migrants coming to Istanbul, assessing the situation and needs of migrants, registering incoming migrants and their places of resettlement in different books, and finding a job for migrants with a trade. The Commission for Aid to Migrants was reporting its activities to the General Commission for Administration of Migrants, and all of its costs were covered by the General Commission (Kocacık, 1980, pp. 159–160).[38]

Established in 1878 and reorganized occasionally, the General Commission for Administration of Migrants was abolished in 1894 due to reduced number of migrants, and its duties were transferred to the Ministry of Interior. This new practice, however, lasted only three years;

38 On 22 January 1878, a dedicated organization called "the Committee on Aid to International Migrants" was formed under chairmanship of the Austrian-Hungarian consul. The committee consisted of eighty-three members, all of them foreign nationals. This committee operated until 9 April 1879, and secured a considerable degree of aid, particularly from abroad. With the income it received, it operated 14 bakeries to distribute bread to migrants and opened 9 hospitals with a total bed capacity of 770 (İpek, 1999, pp. 76–77).

and as the Ottoman-Greco War caused new huge waves of migrants to come from the Balkans in 1878, the Commission was reinstated under the name High Commission for Migrants. The commission was chaired by the sultan (Kocacık, 1980, p. 161). This organization continued to operate until 1908 (Halaçoğlu, 1995, p. 106).

According to the 1911-13 Ottoman annuals, the relevant organization operating in the period of Balkan Wars was the "Directorate of Management of Migrants", subordinate to the Ministry of Interior. As resettlement of many tribes alongside migrants was on the agenda of the Union and Progress government in 1913, the organization was renamed to the Directorate-General for Tribes and Migrants in 1914. And the Resettlement Law was enacted in 1934, with the Minister of Interior Şükrü Bey (Kaya) appointed as the Director-General. In 1917-18, the organizational reach of this directorate-general was expanded (Ağanoğlu, 2012, pp. 165–166; Halaçoğlu, 1995, pp. 106–107).

As has been touched upon hitherto, the late Ottoman period was marked by forced migrations from lost territories. In this period, the administrative organization in charge of handling migration had an element of continuity, despite occasional, short-lasting abolitions or shrinkages at times of reduced migration. Underscoring that the level of institutionalization for migration and resettlement policies is significant in that it indicates the Ottoman Empire's capability to implement administratively- and managerially-sophisticated policies even during the period of dissolution, Kale (2015, p. 159) argues that it was intended through these migrations to increase the population which dwindled by wars, to boost agricultural production and tax incomes by cultivating formerly-uncultivated lands.

5.2. Migration Management Institutions from the Foundation of the Republic to This Day:

The intense migrant flows that occurred during the Balkan Wars, the World War I and the National Independence Struggle continued through the early Republic era and occasionally created thorny resettlement issues (Geray, 1970, p. 8). The first major challenge of the Republic

was the exchange of population between Turkey and Greece. 1 million and 250 thousand Greeks left Turkey, and half a million Turks came to Turkey as exchange (Arı, 1995, pp. 8, 92), and the resettlement of the latter required tedious efforts. Until the establishment of the Ministry of Exchange, Urban Planning and Resettlement on 13 October 1923, the duty to resettle the exchange was assigned to the Directorate for Settlement, subordinate to the Ministry of Health and Social Aid, and the Ministry of Finance was tasked with handling properties of the exchange Greeks, called "abandoned assets". With the concern that said directorate and ministry would be overwhelmed by these duties and the problems would only grow bigger after the arrival of the exchange, all these duties including the issue of abandoned assets were reassigned to the newly-established Ministry of Exchange, Urban Planning and Resettlement (Arı, 1989, p. 695; *İskân tarihçesi*, 1932, pp. 13–17).

Mustafa Necati Bey was the first Minister of the Ministry of Exchange, Urban Planning and Resettlement, which was shut down on 11 December 1924 as resettlements were not performed as intended and due in particular to a conflict of powers. The reasons why the Ministry failed to attain the desired efficiency may be explained as follows: public servants transferred from other ministries had insufficient knowledge, bureaucratic progress proved quite slow despite urgency of the situation, most of the exchange Greeks' properties were at unusable condition or occupied, some exchanges departed from their place of resettlement as they were not resettled in accordance with their agricultural knowledge and they moved to regions where their relatives or other migrants from their hometown lived, and class characteristics were not paid attention (Macar, 2015, pp. 182–183). With the Law no. 529 dated 11 December 1924 on Abolition of the Ministry of Exchange, Urban Planning and Resettlement and Transfer of Its Duties to the Ministry of Interior; the Ministry of Exchange, Urban Planning and Resettlement was abolished and its duties were transferred to the Directorate-General for Resettlement, subordinate to the Ministry of Interior (Mübâdele İ'mâr ve İskân Vekâletinin Lağvıyla Vezâifinin Dâhiliyye Vekâletine Devri Hakkında Kânun, 1925).

With the Law no. 1624 dated 19 May 1930 on the Central Establishment and Duties of the Ministry of Interior, the Section One under the Directorate-General for Civil Affairs was tasked to determine place of resettlement for nomads, tribes, and international migrants, to handle their transportation, to ensure that they would become producers, to distribute land to landless peasants and compile statistics. The same Law tasked the Section Four of the Directorate-General for Security Affairs with handling affairs involving foreigners (Dahiliye Vekâleti Merkez Teşkilât ve Vazifeleri Hakkında Kanun, 1930). The Resettlement Law no. 2510 of 14 June 1934 assigned the duty of "admitting migrants and refugees" to the Ministry of Interior, and the Central Resettlement Commission formed under the Ministry of Interior was tasked with administering resettlement affairs (İskân Kanunu, 1934).

With the Law dated 18 November 1935 on Amendment of Certain Articles of the Resettlement Law no. 2848, many aspects of resettlement affairs were co-assigned to the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Health and Social Aid (İskân işlerinin Sıhhat ve İçtimai Muavenet Vekilliğine Devrine ve Ayrı Bir Bütçe ile İdare Olunmasına Dair Kanun, 1935). With the Law no. 2849 on Transfer of Resettlement Affairs to the Ministry of Health and Social Aid and Its Administration with a Separate Budge, a Directorate-General for Resettlement was established and subordinated to the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (İskân Kanununun Bazı Maddelerinin Değiştirilmesine Dair Kanun, 1935). These amendments caused all resettlement affairs to be tasked to the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, while matters relating to security and policymaking were assigned to the Ministry of Interior, a situation that caused a dual structuring in administrative organization for migration and resettlement (Emek İnan, 2014, pp. 91, 100).

The administrative organization for resettlement end of migration management evolved in the way as described in the following. On 24 March 1950, the Directorate-General for Social Aid, then subordinate to the Ministry of Health and Social Aid, was merged with the Directorate-General for Land Affairs, then-subordinate to the Ministry

of Agriculture, and they were reorganized into the Directorate-General for Land and Resettlement Affairs under the Ministry of Agriculture. As the workload of the Ministry of Agriculture became heavier with resettlement of migrants coming from Bulgaria as of 1950, the Directorate-General was subordinated to the Prime Ministry. On 9 May 1958, it was subordinated to the newly-established Ministry of Urban Planning and Resettlement. The Directorate-General for Land and Resettlement Affairs continued to operate under the Ministry of Rural Affairs and Cooperatives as of 16 July 1964, and under the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Rural Affairs as of 14 December 1983. As of 17 January 1985, resettlement affairs would be carried out by the Directorate-General of Rural Affairs, subordinate to the same Ministry. This Directorate-General was abolished in 2005, and the principle was adopted to handle resettlement affairs under the Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement. On 22 April 2005, this duty was transferred to the Directorate-General for Disaster. With the 2011 establishment of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, resettlement affairs for migrants were assigned to the Section of Resettlement by State, Department of Resettlement, and Directorate-General for Construction Affairs (Emek İnan, 2014, pp. 92–93, 95–98). This latest arrangement is still in effect today (CSB, n.d.). As can be concluded; in response to the number of migrants admitted to Turkey, the resettlement activity is carried out at the level of section today, while it was carried out at ministerial level in the early Republican era.

Under the Law no.3152, dated 14 February 1985, on the Establishment and Duties of the Ministry of Interior, "performing actions relating to admission as migrant" was listed among the duties of the Directorate-General for Civil Registry and Citizenship Affairs (İçişleri Bakanlığının Teşkilât ve Görevleri Hakkında KHK ile 176 Sayılı KHK'nın Değiştirilerek Kabulüne Dair Kanun, 1985). The Department of Foreigners, Borders and Asylum, subordinate to the Directorate-General for Security, carried out the activities relating to security dimension of migration. Formerly a Department with 4 sections, it was expanded to 7 Sections on 29 October 2003. As per the
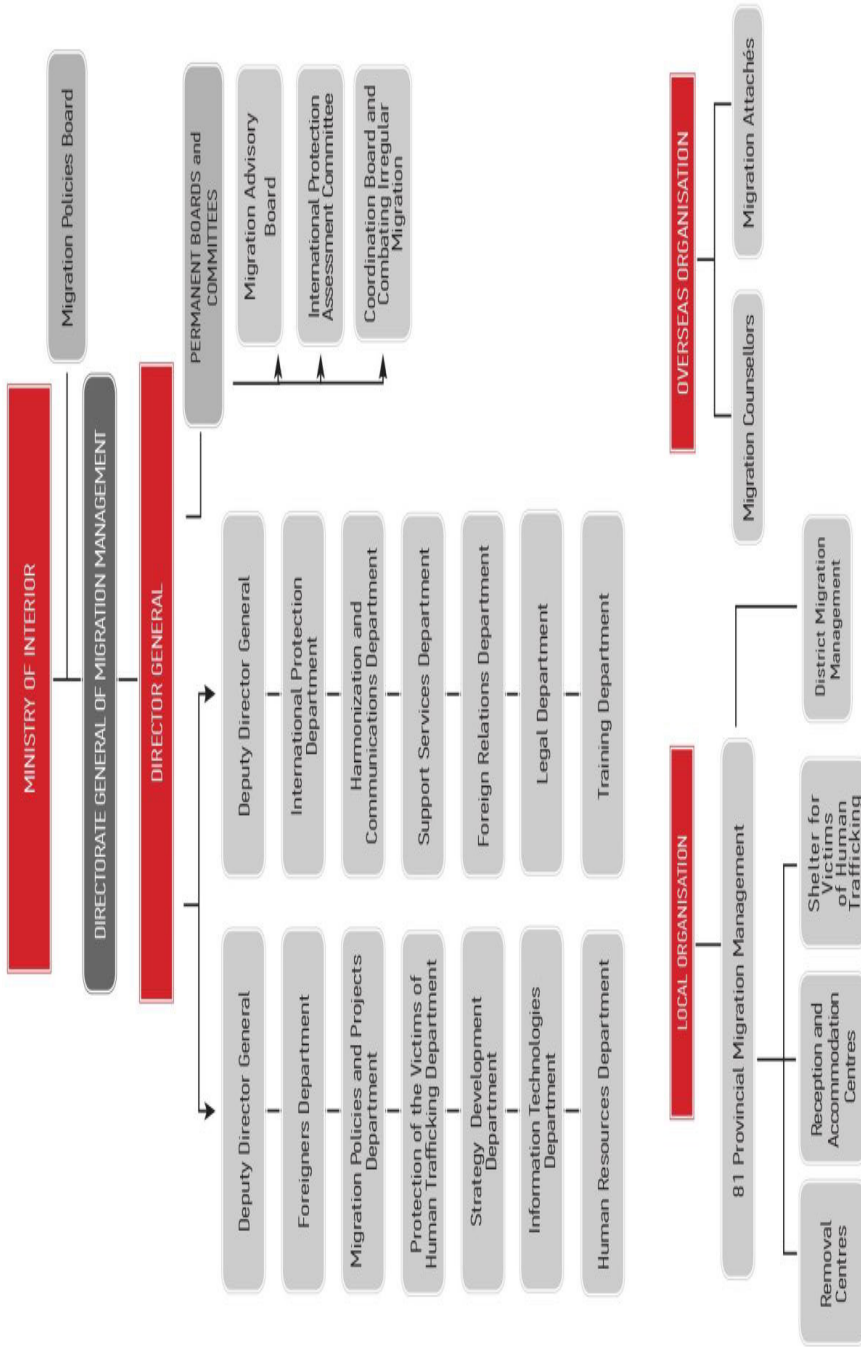
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Figure 12: *GİGM Organisation Chart* (2017a)

Decision of the Cabinet of Ministers on 28 May 2010, the Department of Foreigners, Borders and Asylum's Passport Section was turned into the Department of Passport, while it was reorganized on 26 August 2010 into a department composed of *Administrative Bureau, Section of Strategy Development and Support, Section of Border Disputes, Section of Border Gates, Section of Asylum, Migration and Citizenship, Section of Foreigners, Section of Fight against Illegal Migration and Human Trafficking, Section of Deportation, Section of Work Permits, and Section of Visa*. A part of the duties of the Department of Foreigners, Borders and Asylum was transferred as of 10 April 2014 to the Directorate-General for Migration Management (GİGM) as per the Law no. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection, which took effect by the publication in the Official Gazette no. 28615 dated 11 April 2013 (EGM, n.d.-b). Following this reorganization, the Department of Foreigners, Borders and Asylum was renamed to the Department of Border Gates, and the Section of Illegal Migration and Human Trafficking was elevated to departmental level (EGM, n.d.-a).

GİGM was established under the Law no. 6458 on Foreigners and International Protection so as to develop and implement an effective migration management strategy and latest policies, and provide a competent institutional organization equipped with qualified staff and robust infrastructure. GİGM aims to organize in 148 countries, 81 provinces and abroad, implements migration-related policies and strategies, ensures coordination between relevant institutions and agencies, and carries out the affairs and actions relating to entry and exit of foreigners from Turkey, their exit or deportation from Turkey, international protections, temporary protections, and protection of human trafficking victims. The purpose in establishing GİGM, a civilian agency, is to ensure that migration is managed by specialized, open-to-change, internationally-cooperative, informed, and dynamically-adaptive mechanisms (GİGM, 2015). As seen in Figure 12, GİGM sub-units include new offices and councils as well as those formerly at the level of section under the Department of Foreigners, Borders and Asylum (Department of Foreigners), Directorate-General for Security.

At this point, migration-related security and policy-setting have been separated, and thus a dual-structure has been adopted.

GİGM emerged as a necessity in response to the arrival of Syrian refugees in what will be the most wide-scale migrant flow in Turkey with a permanent impact. This expansion of migration-related administrative and institutional organization was caused by the facts that Turkey was suddenly faced with a mass migration, which is half the number of migrants received in the later Ottoman period and two times the number of migrants received in the Republican era, that new migrant flows emerged in the region that includes Turkey as well as on a global scale after the Cold War, and that migration policies have become securitized. With regards to security dimension of migration, it is noteworthy that an organization which merely started at the level of section under the Ministry of Interior grew to the level of department and ultimately to the level of "Directorate-General" alongside the Department of Fight against Illegal Migration and Human Trafficking[39] under the Directorate-General for Security (EGM, n.d.-a). Many international organization agencies, government agencies, aid organizations etc. have a migration-related sub-unit in their organizational chart.

One of the key indicators in Turkey relating to improvement of administrative and institutional capacity for migration is the improvement of academic works both in quantity and quality. Sirkeci and Yüceşahin (2014, p. 1) highlight that even a simple search on electronic databases shows a markedly increased number of studies as well as a markedly broadened diversity of academics contributing to the field and the literature over the last years. The number of Centers for Migration Studies founded under the universities to deal with these matters has also increased significantly (almost 20 currently). In addition, a commission called "Center for Migration Studies" was founded under the Training Department, Directorate-General for Migration Management. GİGM planned the Commission to include national and foreign academics and experts from relevant

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39 As stated above, this department was formerly a section subordinate to the Department of Foreigners, Borders and Asylum.

government institutions and agencies, universities, non-governmental organizations, international organizations (GAM, n.d.). Recently, new non-governmental organizations have been established to operate in the field of migration studies, including Center for Asylum and Migration Studies (İGAM)[40] and Foundation for Migration Studies (GAV)[41].

The issue of migration has become a major item in the public discussion, particularly after the arrival of Syrian refugees. Some experts, however, claim that the media interest in the issue remained very limited, demonstrating a third-page-news approach over a specific incident (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 341). It is noteworthy that the majority of social media posts over the issue argue for depurate or deportation of Syrians with concerns over "security", "public order", sharing of economic resources with refugees, race and religion, national interests and costs caused by migrants (Ünal, 2014, pp. 77–82). In short, the issue has gone beyond "emergency disaster management" into a situation requiring mental and institutional change (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 345).

6. Conclusion:

A study of the history of Turkey in the 18th century reveals that that was almost a "history of migrations". During the period of collapse of the Ottoman Empire, it received what is calculated to be 5 to 7 million migrants from the ceded territories. The interwar period after the World War I, known as the period of dissolution of empires, witnessed many forced migrations (Abadan-Unat, 2002, pp. 32–33); and the Republic of Turkey continued to receive migration from former Ottoman territories since the day it was founded. Likewise, the period from the second half of the 20th century to this day is globally called "the age of migration" (Castles & Miller, 2008). The migrations received by the Republic of Turkey were also seen as a part of the nation-building process and of the policies aiming to increase the population, which dwindled by wars. After 1960s, policies to increase the population were slowly abandoned, and migrant workers were sent to many developed European countries,

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40 See: http://www.igamder.org/; (15.08.2017).
41 See: http://gocvakfi.org/; (13.08.2017)

particularly Germany. After the 1973 oil crisis, outgoing migrant workers redirected themselves to oil-rich countries.

Particularly after the end of the Cold War, a new east-west axis has been added to then-existing south-north axis of global migration. With an accelerated globalization and increased regional conflicts and wars, migration and asylum flows saw a markedly upwards trend. The security dimension of migration became more highlighted, especially in European countries, and restrictions were applied on the movement of persons to fortify the European Fortress, resulting in irregular migrations. Turkey, geographically a "passage route", has become the center of "transit irregular migration" flows. As Turkey-EU relations reached a certain level and its application for full membership was admitted, Turkey was asked to harmonize its migration-related policies with those of EU and started to securitize the migration phenomenon, particularly with regards to circular migration flows. On the other hand, irregular migrant workers arriving through circular migration flows as well as asylum-seekers started to stay for longer periods and enter the labor market in Turkey. It is this period that saw increased flows of "regular migration" -by those coming as students, professionals and EU citizens wishing to spend their pensioner days in Turkey. As a result of these developments, Turkey's migration paradigm evolved from a transit country into a target country. With the 2011 arrival of Syrian migrants in numbers unprecedented in the Turkish history, the phenomenon of migration became a key item in the national agenda of Turkey, which is housing more "foreign" migrants that has ever been in previous periods.

Initially considered "temporary" and "guest", Syrians have turned out to be "permanent" for many more years as the likelihood for a solution to Syrian civil war becomes thinner. This was a factor accelerating otherization of migrants and refugees in Turkey, mainly Syrians. The question of migrants and refugees is increasingly treated in the context of security, and is becoming associated with the concept of "xenophobia".

Boasting a deep history and experience of migration, Turkey started to respond to these issues by calmly implementing the kind of

legal and administrative practices for migration management which prioritizes the human aspect of migration. Most important steps to this end include the establishment of the Directorate-General for Migration Management as per the Law on Foreigners and International Protection and the regulations including the Regulation on Temporary Protection. On the other hand, it is critically important to note that we are going through a period which may not be managed by usual crisis management processes. As emphasized by Erdoğan, the actual determining element in the process of such massive migration flows is the perception and level of acceptance by the public, while state-led regulations are effective in the short-term. In this regard, the level of public acceptance is critically significant in migration management and related government policies. This is directly proportional to securing of public support (Erdoğan, 2015, pp. 320, 342). It is essential to maintain an approach that is turning from situational awareness into institutional awareness.

As detailed in the fifth section, Turkey boasts a deep institutional know-how of migration, from the past to this day. The attention which must be paid to the issue of migration is demonstrated by the fact that the Commission for Migrants, the first of its kind in the World, was at one point headed by the Ottoman Sultan. On the other hand, what should be meticulously studied in the context of causality is the fact that, during the Republican era, the resettlement dimension of migration was reduced from the level of ministry to the level of section, while the security dimension was elevated to the level of directorate-general from the level of section. In order to avoid succumbing to xenophobia and racism, as observed in modern Western societies, more efforts should be shown by the bureaucracy and the academic circles. It may be an option to establish our bureaucratic organization, maybe at the level of Ministry, in a way to handle the issues facing the Turkish diaspora, especially those in Europe, and to cover all migration-related areas (prevention of brain drain, attaining brain gain), including fighting against "xenophobia". It should be noted that the multi-dimensional nature of migration makes migration management a race against time

requiring coordination among many institutions, agencies and non-governmental organizations.

Another noteworthy step is to develop the kind of authentic and practicable policies that are befitting of the lands we live in, and to ensure public support from all circles. As accurately emphasized by Abadan-Unat, "The nation-state still persists despite the new societal texture created by today's migration flows and the new challenges it brings with. Today's challenge is to use a human rights-sensitive and equalist policy to combine these new trends with the challenges of the nation state which have changed in form and substance." (Abadan-Unat, 2015, p. 271). To this end, it is highly important to make proper use of and encourage the interest shown by the academics in this field and the academic studies which grow in number day by day, and to have scientists from different disciplines meet at the common ground.

In this regard, what should also be considered is the option of transforming the GİGM's Center for Migration Studies into a Migration Institute, which would make proper use of the academic know-how in the country and provide the training needed by the field employees of any institution, agency or non-governmental agency. Finally, what should also be considered is to establish a Migration Agency, based on the fact that providing the right information at the right time in an accessible manner is the best way to prevent the occasional flow of public misinformation offered through printed, visual and social media.

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